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THE ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL PARTY

IN THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

with particular reference

to the ministries of

Bishop Samuel Waldegrave

and Dean Francis Close

Alan Frederick Munden

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Doctor of Philosophy

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

Faculty of Arts

Department of Theology

1987

-6 JUL 1987

The Anglican Evangelical party in the diocese of Carlisle in the nineteenth century with particular reference to the ministries of Bishop Samuel Waldegrave and Dean Francis Close

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The early records of the Society of the Holy Cross (SSC) and deposited in the Kent Archives Department at Maidstone are reproduced by the permission of the Master of the Society of the Holy Cross; and at the other end of the Anglican spectrum I an indebted to the Director of the Church Society for access to early records of the Church Association.

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Michael Hennell told my wife Debra that in marrying me she would be sharing her life with Francis Close. This has proved to be correct - in supporting the research, visiting various locations throughout the country - and not least in typing this thesis. The good wife of Proverbs 31:31 has earned her reward and this work is dedicated to her.

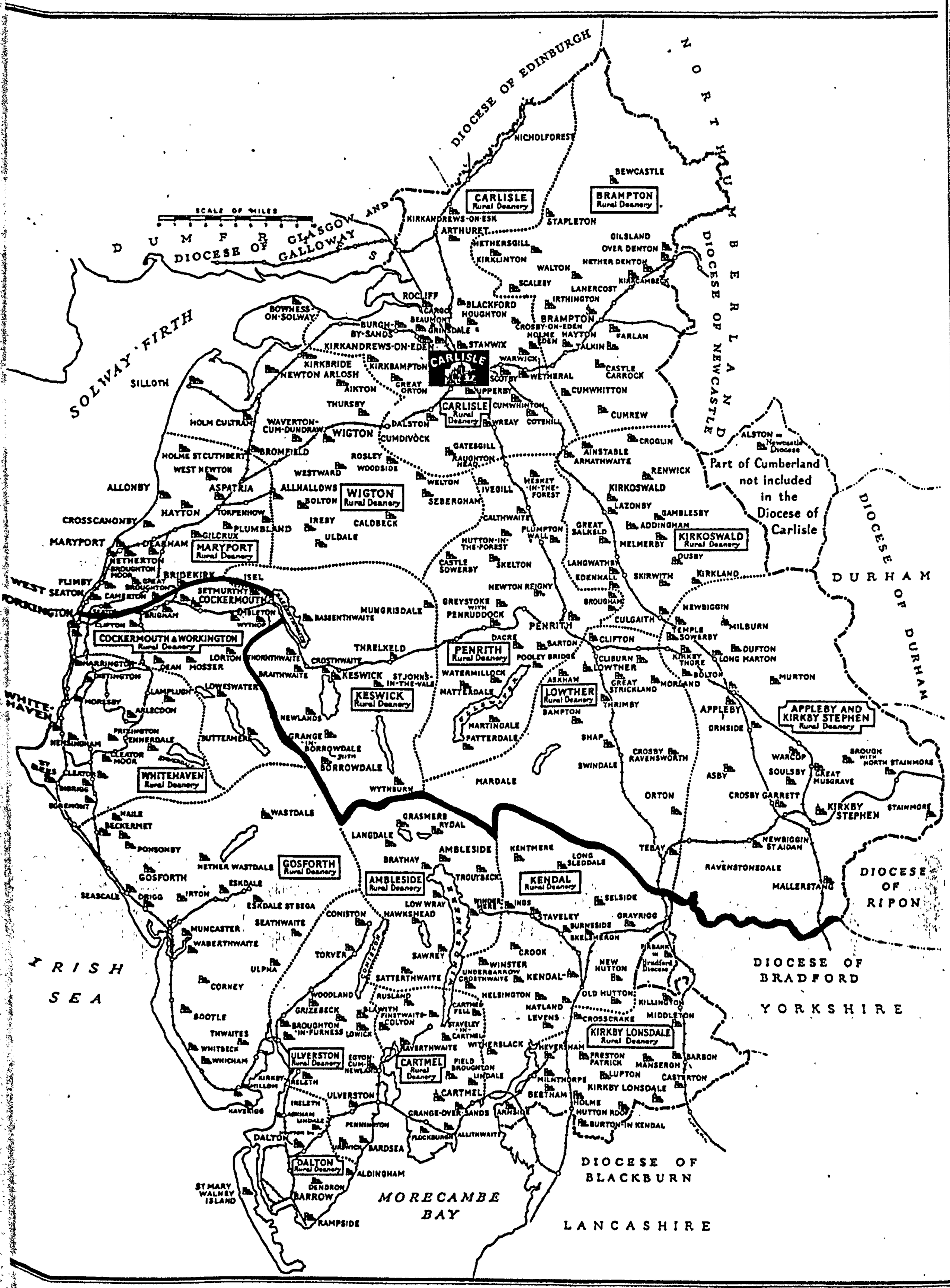
Abbreviations

CA	Church Association (Church Society since 1950)
CMJ	The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CPAS	Church Pastoral Aid Society
CRO	Cumbria Record Office (Barrow in Furness) (Carlisle)
CW1	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society. Old Series (1866-1900)
CW2	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society. New Series (1901-)
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
EC	Ecclesiastical Commissioners (Church Commissioners since 1948)
ECU	English Church Union
D and C	Dean and Chapter, Carlisle
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
SSC	Societas Sanctae Crucis (Society of the Holy Cross)
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
VCH	Victoria County History
WEL	Waldegrave Episcopal Letters
WPL	Waldegrave Private Letters

After that whole generation had been
gathered to their fathers, another
generation grew up, who knew neither
the Lord nor what he had done for Israel
Judges 2:10

If the writers of ecclesiastical histories have not themselves also some practical, experimental knowledge of the nature of pure Christianity, as well as theoretical and speculative notions concerning it, they must for ever be embarrassed in contemplating the conduct of good men; and the more they aspire to what is called the philosophy of history, that is, the more they affect to develop general principles, to form abstract systems, and to unfold the secret motives of men's hearts, the worse guides they will become to their unbiased, unsuspecting readers, and the more likely to mislead and prejudice their minds.

Isaac Milner's preface to the fourth volume of Joseph Milner's, The History of the Church of Christ, new edition edited by Thomas Grantham (London 1847) Vol.1 xxiv



MAP OF THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE IN 1933.

The black line shews the southern boundary of the diocese before 1856.

PART ONE
ANGLICAN EVANGELICALISM - A GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Part One of the thesis gives a general introduction to Anglican Evangelicalism, looking in particular at the unique contribution of Charles Simeon at Cambridge, and an over-view of the Evangelical party in the nineteenth century.

All this is a necessary background to an understanding of the development of Evangelicalism in the diocese of Carlisle - in the early period under Dean Isaac Milner and in the later period under Bishops Henry Montagu Villiers and Samuel Waldegrave and Dean Francis Close.

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PART ONE

ANGLICAN EVANGELICALISM - A GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Evangelical body in the Church of England is constantly spoken of as dying or dead; and this view is fostered by the church histories of the period. They unanimously praise the men of the Evangelical Revival at the end of the last century - the men who in their own day were utterly despised, and altogether excluded from the counsels of the church; and they affirm, with the most extraordinary inaccuracy, that the Evangelical school was dominant in the church during the first forty years of the nineteenth century. But then they absolutely ignore all it has done in the past half-century - with possibly a passing acknowledgement that the CMS, after all, is alive, and doing something. In fact, they treat the Evangelicals, in regard to the practical work of the church, as 'a negligeable quantity'.

My hope is that this history may do something to correct this serious misconception.

E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, (London 1899) Vol 1, ix-x

a) A definition of Anglican Evangelicalism

The term Evangelical derives from euaggelion = the proclamation of the good tidings, the announcement of the good news of Jesus Christ, concerning his incarnation, teaching, death, resurrection and exaltation. It concerns the response of the sinner to the Saviour and of the believer's incorporation into the church. The Evangelical Christian looks back to the apostolic faith of Paul the Apostle, and to its restatement by Augustine of Hippo and by the Reformers. Evangelicalism was associated with the sixteenth century Reformers, the seventeenth century Puritans, and the eighteenth-century revival. Though each expression of Evangelical faith has not been wholly identical in emphasis, what is fundamemtal was the belief that it was the authentic witness to scripture as the final authority in matters of faith and doctrine.

What is clear is that the background to the eighteenth century revival was diverse. It 'was a genuinely international movement from the foothills of the Urals in the East to the Appalachians in the West'. (1) It had its roots in the piety of High Church Anglicanism as well as in the enthusiasm of the Moravians, and may also be regarded as a reaction against eighteenth century rationalism. (2) Dr. J. D. Walsh speaks of the mixture of traditions. 'Through the sentimental passion-piety of the Herrnhütters, German pietism cross-fertilised High church Anglicanism'. (3)

The movement was not just orthodox in doctrine, but 'enthusiastically orthodox'. (4) Indeed 'enthusiasm' was seen by R. A. Knox as involving:

> a new approach to religion; hitherto this has been a matter of outward forms and ordinances, now it is an affair of the heart. Sacraments are not necessarily dispensed with; but the emphasis lies on a direct personal access to the Author of our salvation, with little of intellectual background or of liturgical expression... '. (5)

The chronicler of Evangelicalism, G. R. Balleine, began his History of the Evangelical Party in November 1729 with John and Charles Wesley meeting with their friends to study the Greek New Testament. (6) But this was some years before John Wesley's heart-warming experience at 'about a quarter to nine' on 24 May 1738. A more fitting date to mark the beginning of the eighteenth century revival is 1735, when Howell Harris, Daniel Rowland and George Whitefield were converted to faith in Christ.

> In point of time, Whitefield was the pioneer of the Evangelical revival in England ... the conversion of Whitefield, with its consequent fruits, must be reckoned as the starting-point of the Evangelical revival in England. (7)

The term 'Methodist' was used to describe the followers of John Wesley and those Evangelical ministers associated with the revival who remained within the Church of England. It remained something of a term of contempt well into the Regency period. 'Evangelical' had been used as early as 1531 to describe the Reformers. Sir Thomas More referred to 'Those Evaungelicalles theimself cease not to pursue and punishe their bretherne'. (8) In the eighteenth century 'Evangelical' was probably first used by Thomas Haweis in July 1759. He reported to Samuel Walker that William Talbot, Vicar of Kineton, 'took his living with a view to doing good, before he could be at all said to be Evangelical'. (9)

The distinction between 'Methodist' and 'Evangelical' is difficult to make without over-simplification. It is certainly

inaccurate to maintain that Evangelicalism arose out of the ministry of John Wesley. 'Evangelicalism was largely formed by men who owed little or nothing to Methodism, and stood increasingly apart from it'. (10) One obvious difference in emphasis was between Arminianists, and most Evangelicals within the established church who were moderate Calvinists. A minority were ultra-Calvinists, and fewer still were Arminians. It is clear that 'the Methodist revival in its Arminian guise hardly touched at all the established church'. (11) In March 1741 Whitefield made it clear to Wesley that they 'preached two different gospels'. (12) This was apparent in April 1764 when John Wesley visited Richard Conyers. A servant showed Wesley into Conyer's study.

> By the books lying in the window and on the table, I easily perceived how he came to be so cold now, who was so warm a year ago. Not one of ours, either verse or prose, was to be seen, but several of another kind. O that our brethren were as zealous to make Christians as they are to make Calvinists! (13)

A. M. Toplady who published a two volume work entitled an Historic proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England, wrote to Wesley that

> You complain that the Evangelical clergy are leaving no stone unturned to raise John Calvin's ghost. (14)

But by the late 1780s even the Methodists had to admit 'that nearly all the converted clergymen in the Kingdom were Calvinists'. (15)

While there was deep theological division between Arminian and Calvinist, the heart of the distinction between Methodist and Anglican Evangelicism was over church order. (16) Evangelicals in the Church of England regarded Methodist itinerancy as 'a

breach of church order'. (17) Even Wesley admitted that 'the grand breach is now between the irregular and regular clergy'. (18) In the lengthy correspondence between Samuel Walker and the Wesley brothers the difference betweem them was over church order. (19)

Having referred to some of the obvious differences it is possible to identify three groups which were united in proclaiming the gospel-in John Wesley's phrase to 'offer Christ' - but which were far from being identical in outlook. The three divisions were the Wesleyan Methodists, the Calvinistic Methodists and the Anglican Evangelicals.

Wesleyan Methodists

The modern ecumenical movement has made much of John Wesley's confession that he lived and died a member of the Church of England. But this needs to be put alongside his earlier activity which made it clear that the seeds of schism were sown from the start of the Methodist movement. The first Methodist conference met in 1744, and two years later the religious societies were formed into circuits. In 1760 communion was administered in unconsecrated buildings. In 1784 the Wesleyan Connexion was established and in that year the 'Conference of the people called Methodists' was constituted. In the same year John Wesley ordained Thomas Coke to superintend the work in America. In 1787 chapels were licensed as preaching houses, and in 1795, after Wesley's death, the Plan of Pacification was completed. For all of this the Methodist historian Dr. A. S. Wood concluded that

> There is a sense in which the Methodists did not leave the Anglican fold, for they never really belonged to it. (20)

Calvinistic Methodists

While the Wesleyan Methodists were Arminian in outlook, the Calvinistic Methodists, as the name suggests, owed their theological stance to John Calvin. This different emphasis brought fierce clashes between Wesley and Whitefield, and between their followers.

The Evangelical revival reached the poorest of the poor as well as the rich members of society. A significant convert was Selina Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon, who became a leading figure in the Evangelical revival and opened chapels and appointed her own chaplains. She became the patron of several Anglican ministers, and supported the work of George Whitefield on both sides of the Atlantic. After 1782 the Countess became a 'reluctant dissenter' when she was forced to register her chapels as dissenting places of worship.

George Whitefield was an outstanding preacher of the gospel and unlike John Wesley was no organizer.

> He could win souls, but he had no clear plan for keeping them. It was well for him and for the revival as a whole that by the time he had returned from his first trip to America John Wesley had appeared on the scene, ready to produce an organization specifically devised for that latter purpose. (21)

Calvinistic Methodism developed in Wales and became a separate denomination in the early nineteenth century.

Anglican Evangelicals

The Anglican Evangelicals were those clergy in the Church of England who from the 1730s and 1740s were distinct from their fellow Anglicans in their theology, and from the Methodists in church order. Evangelicals numbered only a few at the beginning of the period to several hundred at the end of the century. They were variously described as 'church Evangelicals', 'church Methodists', and 'serious clergy'.

Henry Venn the younger who later became the secretary of the Church Missionary Society saw the distinction as follows:

> There was a body of Evangelical labourers, who were independent of the Methodists, and nearly contemporaneous with them, and whose labours had an immediate and remarkable influence upon the clergy of the Church of England ... there were, thus, two kindred, but separate and independent, streams of light, penetrating the gloom which brooded over the Christian community. That which flowed in the channel of Methodism, burst forth, indeed, in a more resplendent and sudden blaze: the other proceeded by a more gradual and quiet, but progressive, course. (22)

Dr. A. S. Wood has described the 'pure Evangelical' as being

> essentially a churchman. His passionate attachment to the revival did not dim his vision of the established church as the framework within which evangelism could be most effectively prosecuted. He clung to the traditional standards of the church, doctrinal, liturgical, and homiletical - the Articles, Prayer Book and Homilies. He recognised that the parochial system was basic to the whole constitution of Anglicanism, and that subordination to episcopal authority and jurisdiction was the linch-pin of the church's discipline. He therefore disapproved of itinerant preaching ... To him, an itinerant ministry, however justifiable it might appear in the exigencies if the times, involved an act of ecclesiastical insubordination. (23)

In echoing words from G. R. Balleine, Wood concluded that 'whereas the Methodist made the world his parish, the Evangelical tended

to make the parish his world'. (24) Anglican Evangelicalism was a provincial movement and developed in isolated situations but with virtually no supporters in the far north of England.

Of the early Anglican Evangelicals Henry Venn the elder was particularly influential not least over the young Charles Simeon. In his commitment to the Church of England Venn did for Simeon what he in turn was able to do for the hundreds of men he influenced during his lengthy ministry at Cambridge.

b) Charles Simeon and 'A school of divinity'

Through the ministry of Charles Simeon (1759-1836), Vicar of Holy Trinity church, Cambridge, there developed a movement within the Evangelical party which was to have a lasting impression upon Evangelicalism. The impact of his 54 year ministry was significant to generations of undergraduates entering the ordained ministry and other professions at home and overseas. In the opinion of Abner Brown, a clearly defined 'school of divinity' (1) began which developed into a clearly recognisable party.

> The young men of Cambridge who had been in direct contact with Simeon became year by year scattered over the globe as parish clergymen, colonial chaplains, missionaries, and even as members of the bar and official laymen; and whether approving or disliking him, bore with them some effects, direct or indirect, of his influence. To them, and to the circles in which they respectively moved in and after in life, his name stood as a type and watchwork of serious religion; whether viewed as a beau ideal to attract, or a beacon to warn. It is evident that the numbers of educated men in every walk of life, and during many years, who had, in some way, been under his pulpit or other teaching, must have had a considerable share in forming public opinion, and in writing the standard literature of the day ... His opinions were gradually recognised as a school of divinity; his undergraduate friends swelled into the dimensions and definiteness of a party, and his religious movement was unconsciously carried forward on all sides, until now it is difficult to ascertain how much or how little of the present religious element which pervades society has been due to Simeon's influence. (2)

In April 1779 while he was a student at Kings College, Cambridge, Simeon was converted to faith in Christ when he was preparing himself for Holy Communion. He was ordained deacon in May 1782, and began his ministry at St. Edward's church. Henry Venn reported what happened.

> In less than seventeen Sundays, by preaching for Mr. Atkinson in a church at Cambridge, he filled it with hearers - a thing unknown there for near a century. He has been over to see me

> six times within the last three months: he is calculated for great usefulness, and is full of faith and love. (3)

But Mr. Atkinson was not pleased with Simeon's work. 'Filled my church, has he? Never mind, I'll undertake to empty it in a fortnight'.(4)

Simeon encouraged his father to approach the Bishop of Ely to appoint him to the vacant living of Holy Trinity church. The Bishop offered him the living which he accepted and began his ministry in November 1782. He was ordained priest almost a year later in September 1783.

When Simeon began his ministry at Holy Trinity 'scarcely a person was in church, whereas at St. Edward's it used to be full before I came'. (5) But the situation changed, and he began to have a significant influence over the undergraduates. Early in 1784 Henry Venn reported that 'Mr. Simeon is made for great usefulness. There are nearly twenty promising young students...'.(6)

Simeon developed contact with students through a fortnightly sermon class for those intending to be ordained, and through a weekly conversation party which was open to all undergraduates. By the late 1820s about 60 men attended the conversation parties and 15 to 20 the sermon classes.

The impact of the man upon his students lasted a lifetime. Writing in 1882 and shortly before his own death, Dean Francis Close recalled

> In October 1816, I presented my introduction to him. From that day till his death he was my affectionate father, and my wise and helpful counsellor. There were few like him; a perfect gentleman, a deeply taught Christian. (7)

In all an estimated 1,000 future clergy came under the direct influence of Simeon whilst they had been undergraduates at Cambridge. His impact was such that it developed into a particular style of ministry which was loyal to the Church of England. 'His mission, as he felt it, was to teach races of future clergymen; to be the father of fathers'. (8) Simeon's position was unrivalled in the Church of England, and it is clear that he 'had a much larger following of young men that Newman, and for a much longer time'. (9)

Simeon made his own theological position clear in the sermons he preached before the University of Cambridge. His understanding of the Church of England was presented in a series of four sermons preached on Deut. 5:28-29 entitled 'the excellency of the liturgy', (10) and one on 2 Cor. 1:13, 'the churchman's confession, or an appeal to the Liturgy', (11) which he had preached in 1805. On 'Evangelical religion' he preached two sermons - on 1 Cor. 2:2 called 'Christ crucified, or Evangelical religion described', (12) together with Psalm 119:128 on 'the true test of religion in the soul', (13) 'which were written for the express purpose of exhibiting, in as clear and comprehensive a manner as he was able, his opinions upon that important subject'. (14)

This sermon (while not actually preached before the University) was intended to complete a series of four University sermons preached in 1815 on 1 Cor. 10:15 on an 'appeal to men of wisdom and candour', 'on the corruption of human nature', 'on the new birth', and 'on justification by faith'. (15) These University sermons together with a further series preached in November 1831 on Rom. 8:9 on the

Holy Spirit, (16) 'comprehended all the topics which he considered as of primary and fundemental importance to mankind'. (17)

Strange as it may seem Simeon was opposed to human systems, and considered that truth was neither the exclusive possession of Arminians or Calvinists. He considered that

> God has not revealed his truth in a system; the Bible has no system as such. Lay aside system and fly to the Bible; receive its words with simple submission, and without an eye to any system. Be Bible Christians, not system Christians. (18)

'The scripture system' as Simeon called it, was broader than some exact and dogmatic theologians would allow. (19) Calvinists and Arminians were 'right in all they affirm, but wrong in all they deny'. (20) Simeon was not committed to a middle position, but one which included both extremes.

> When two opposite principles are each clearly contained in the Bible, truth does not lie in taking what is called the golden mean, but in steadily adopting both extremes, and, as in a pendulum, oscillating, but not vacillating, between the two. (21)

Simeon's theological position was best described as 'a moderate Calvinist', (22) 'a semi-Calvinist', (23) or perhaps his favourite description of being 'a Bible Christian'. (24) Simeon made it clear in his sermon entitled 'Christ crucified, or Evangelical religion described', that the subject of Paul's preaching was Christ - crucified, and 'set forth as the only foundation of a sinner's hope'. Moreover, this doctrine must be felt by the hearer and 'show forth its fruits in a life of entire devotedness to God'. (25)

> Thus to preach, and thus to live, would characterise a person, and his ministry, as Evangelical, in the eyes of the apostle: whereas indifference to this doctrine, or a corruption of it, either by self-righteous or Antinomian mixture, would render

both the person and his ministry obnoxious to his censure, according to the degree in which such indifference, or such a mixture, prevailed. We do not mean to say, that there are not different degrees of clearness in the views and ministry of different persons, or that none are accepted of God, or useful in the church, unless they come up to such a precise standard; nor do we confine the term Evangelical to those who lean to this or to that particular system, as some are apt to imagine: but this we say, that, in proportion as any persons, in their spirit and in their preaching, accord with the example in the text, they are properly denominated Evangelical; and that, in proportion as they recede from this pattern, their claim to this title is dubious or void. (26)

Simeon's lasting influence is clear in three areas of his ministry - as a churchman, as a missionary strategist and as a patron of livings.

1 Simeon as a churchman

In Abner Brown's estimation

> Simeon had not only grasped the simplicity of Evangelical truth, but also the true principles of sound churchmanship ... he was a loyal churchman, staunch and affectionate to the Church of England. (27)

Simeon's own devotional life and public ministry were grounded upon the Bible and the Prayer Book which he regarded as 'a composition of unrivalled excellence'. (28) He had personal cause to be thankful for the Prayer Book in that he had been converted to faith in Christ as he prepared for the obligatory college Communion service. Soon after this the Liturgy in the college chapel became 'as marrow and fatness to me'. (29) For Simeon the Anglican formularies - 'The Articles, the Homilies, and the Liturgy are the standard of divine truth'. (30)

Simeon provided a perfect example for those intending to enter the ministry.

> It was Simeon who, more than any other single individual, taught the younger Evangelicals to love the Church of England and enabled them to feel that they belonged within her body ... without the steadying influence of Simeon at Cambridge, there would have been many more secessions than in fact occurred. (31)

In his public ministry and private counsel, in parochial organisation and spiritual oversight Simeon practiced what he preached. So significant was Simeon that Charles Smyth has concluded that he ought to be put alongside Bishop Samuel Wilberforce 'as one of the founding fathers, or remodellers of the Church of England in the nineteenth century'. (32)

2 Simeon as a missionary strategist

Simeon was directly involved in mission at home and overseas. In his parish he developed his own visiting scheme, and for the committed core of the congregation numbering about 120 individuals, he divided them into six groups for pastoral oversight. (33) By the 1820s most Evangelical parishes had their own visitation scheme and had developed a programme of outreach to the poor through cottage meetings and evangelism.

Simeon was particularly concerned with overseas mission and from the first he was involved in the founding of the Church Missionary Society. India became his special concern. He confessed that

> I used to call India my diocese. Since there has been a Bishop [in 1814], I modestly call it my province. (34)

It is likely that CMS developed in India through the influence of Simeon on men intended to serve as officers in the Indian Army. (35) In all it is estimated that some sixty of Simeon's followers became CMS missionaries. (36)

The evangelisation of the Jews became a special concern for Simeon, so much so that he was called 'Jew mad'. (37) It was said that 'We must look upon Mr. Simeon as chief friend of Israel in this country'. (38) His concern was such that 'Jews should be pressed with vital Christianity at once'. (39) Support for the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews was led by Simeon, and he encouraged the formation of auxiliaries in Evangelical parishes.

3 Simeon and patronage

Simeon's patronage extended beyond his personal support of individuals to the right of presentation to parishes. The establishment of evangelical patronage settled 'the problem of continuity' (40) for Evangelical ministry. In the twenty years 1816-36 twenty-one livings were purchased - some in watering places like Cheltenham, Bath and Bridlington, and others in urban centres like Derby and Bradford (later to become cathedrals).

In an age when livings were bought and sold as valuable real estate Simeon made it clear that there was a difference between himself and other men who purchased advowsons.

> They purchase income - I purchase spheres, wherein the prosperity of the established church, and the kingdom of our blessed Lord, may be advanced; and not for a

season only, but if it please God, in perpetuity also. (41)

The standard by which Simeon judged the suitability of a candidate for a vacant living was clear. He must be

> a truly pious and devoted man, a man of God in deed and in truth, who, with his piety, combines a solid judgment and a perfectly independent mind. (42)

Simeon took no notice of parishioners who pressed him to appoint a favourite curate to the benefice. In one instance he received two petitions - one from 400 people, the other from 700. (43) In his charge to the Simeon Trustees (established in 1817) Simeon made it clear that

> They consult nothing but the welfare of the people, for whom they are to provide, and whose eternal interests have been confided to them. They must on no account be influenced by any solicitation of the great and powerful, or by any partiality towards a particular individual, or by compassion towards any one on account of the largeness of his family or the smallness of his income. They must by particularly on their guard against petitions from the parishes to be provided for, whether on behalf of a curate that has laboured among them, or any other individual. They must examine carefully, and judge before God, how far any person possesses the qualifications suited to the particular parish, and by that consideration alone must they be determined in their appointment of him. (44)

Simeon asked a friend,

> Why have I bought those livings? Not to present a good man to each, but to fill them with the men who shall prove great and leading characters in the church of God. (45)

Such a 'great and leading character' was Francis Close, whom Simeon appointed as the incumbent of Cheltenham Parish Church in 1826, and who 30 years later became the Dean of Carlisle.

c) The consolidation of Anglican Evangelicalism

There has been the mistaken tendency to regard 1836 as the end of an era.

> The Evangelical movement is studied till the death of Wilberforce in 1833 or possible that of Simeon in 1836, after that no one knows what happened to the Evangelicals or much cares. (1)

Dr. B. E. Hardman even made the point that

> The death of Simeon saw the close of Evangelical greatness, so far as the influence of the party in the church and nation was concerned. Indeed for some years before 1836 it was evident that the party was in serious decline, and that another quite different movement was to be in the ascendant. (2)

Certainly 1833 saw the commencement of the Oxford Movement, but it was to be some years before the Tractarians and their successors made any real impression on the Church of England. Much of the factual inaccuracy and distortion of the position of the Evangelical party and of its contribution to the Church of England in the nineteenth century has been due to the propaganda of later Anglo-Catholic historians. For example, S. Baring-Gould in writing on the Evangelicals of the 1840s and 1860s regarded them as 'severe, sour and heretical, not to say Antinomian'. The early Evangelicals may have been 'a class to themselves', but later there was 'a sad degeneracy among the ranks of the so-called Evangelicals'. (3) It was a pity that Baring-Gould's views and selective quotations were used so uncritically by the Cumbrian historian Charles Murray Lowther Bouch, and which has unfavourably coloured the Evangelical leadership of the diocese of Carlisle. (4)

Nineteenth century Evangelicalism had as its strength a steady growth in the number of adherents, in its range of interests

and concerns, and in its own self-confidence, but at the same time had as its great weakness an absence of overall leadership and party unity. Given the numerical strength of the Evangelical party and its wide geographical distribution as well as its variety of emphasis and opinion, it is no small wonder that Evangelicals were seen as 'a rope of sand'. The phrase had been used by John Wesley in 1769 as a description of the 50-60 Evangelical clergy in the Church of England. They were 'a rope of sand, and as such they will continue'.(5) This description as being 'a rope of sand' dogged Evangelicals throughout the nineteenth century. (6) But however much they tried to unify their efforts, whether under the banner of the Church Missionary Society, the Church Pastoral Aid Society or the Church Association, there always remained more than a grain of truth in Wesley's description and from which the Evangelicals were unable to escape.

It has been calculated that by the end of the eighteenth century that there were between 300-500 Evangelical clergy. (7) By 1850 they numbered something between a quarter and a third of all Anglican clergy. (8) In the mid-century two detailed estimates were made. In 1847 Francis Close calculated that

> It is not easy to calculate the number of the clergy of our church, who with some variations and minor shades of opinion, hold and teach Evangelical truth: it would not, I believe, be too much to say that they were from 4,000 to 5,000. Nearly 3,000 have affixed their names to one or other of those societies which fight under Evangelical colours - and not a few are deterred from doing so by the fear of assuming a party garb. (9)

In 1853 William John Conybeare working from a sample of 500 clergy calculated that of the 18,000 clergy in the Church of England,

1,000 were 'peasant clergy in mountain districts'. That is non-graduate clergy who held very poor paid livings in 'Wales and Cumberland'. (10) Of the remaining 17,000 clergy he divided them into three broad groups:

3,500	Anglican	)	
1,000	Tractarian	)	7,000 high church clergy
2,500	'High and dry'	)	
3,500	Evangelical	)	
2,500	Recordite	)	5,500 low church clergy
700	'Low and slow'	)	
1,000	Theoretical	)	
2,500	Anti-theoretical	)	3,500 broad church clergy

By the end of the century G. R. Balleine maintained that 'the Evangelicals [were] stronger than at any previous period'. (11) Basing his calculations on the support given to CMS, Balleine believed that one quarter of the parishes would be an under-estimate of Evangelical strength, whereas the 5,700 CMS supporting parishes would indicate about one third as being Evangelical. However, Eugene Stock kept his options open.

> While it is true that the Evangelical clergy and laity are but a minority now [in 1899], it is true also that there were a smaller minority 50 years ago, and a much smaller minority 100 years ago. (12)

From the earliest period Evangelicals met together for mutual edification. Some gatherings of clergy (and sometimes laity) took the form of clerical societies, the earliest being Samuel Walker's 'Parson's Club' formed in 1750. Many of these societies were local and short-lived and continued as long as Evangelical ministers remained in the district. Others became more significant gatherings

for the whole of the Evangelical party. Two examples were the Islington Clerical Meeting which when founded in 1827 attracted about a dozen clergy, and which by the 1860s numbered 350-400. The other was the important conference at Weston-super-Mare. (13) It began in a modest way in 1849, and by 1858 the two-day conference attracted 260 clergy and 26 laymen. At this meeting both Hugh Stowell and John Charles Ryle spoke about Evangelical unity. For

H. Stowell

> I am no advocate of church unions, or for any new machinery; we have too many of them already. What we want is, new fellowship - communion through such machinery as we have. Our clerical societies are obvious means of inter-communication: they can offend no one, alarm no one, and they might easily become a kind of electric telegraph amongst us all, lending and enabling us to act with more power, and, consequently, with more success. (14)

J. C. Ryle greatly valued these clerical meetings.

> I hope that, ere long, there will not be a county where there is not such a meeting as that we have attended this week. I do not see why we should not, in every county, collect our little companies of ten, or twelve or fourteen - once every year, and take counsel together about the things of the common gospel in which we are concerned. I hope that the idea will be taken up, and that we shall hear of the example set here, being carried out all over the land. (15)

Increasingly J. C. Ryle called for Evangelical unity.

> In the main we preach the same doctrines, and hold the same opinions. In the main we support the same societies, go to the same meetings, subscribe to the same charities, work our parishes in the same way, go to the same booksellers' shops, read the same books, papers and magazines, and groan and sigh over the same evils in the world. But here our union stops.
>
> For defending common principles - for resisting common enemies - for facing common dangers - for attaining common great objects - for harmonious conduct in circumstances of common perplexity - for decided, prompt, energetic action in great emergencies - for all this, I say unhesitatingly, we have no organized union

> at all. Every Evangelical churchman does what is right in his own eyes, and every district goes to work in its own way. We have God's truth on our side. We have numbers, strength, good will, and desires to do what is right; but from lack of organization we are as weak as water. (16)

But the mood had changed and a different sort of unity was required. Much of the earlier meeting together had been for spiritual and pietistic reasons, a common focus to share a vision for missionary and philanthropic activity at home and overseas. But from the mid-nineteenth century the emphasis changed and the meeting became more polemical and political. Evangelicals saw a common enemy outside the Church of England as having invaded and settled within her territory. Increasingly much Evangelical activity became pre-occupied with the three R's of 'rationalism, ritualism and Romanism'. (17)

Ryle urged his fellow Evangelicals to unite under the banner of the Church Association. For him the situation was perfectly clear.

> I think it offers a fulcrum for shaking the country, and uniting all Evangelical churchmen. If we stand aloof from it, like the men of Succoth and Penuel, we must not complain if it does not succeed. My own mind is fully made up. Whatever be the faults and defects of the London Association, I mean to support it so long as it sails under its present colours. (18)

Some Evangelicals, including Ryle, saw the Church Association as 'the headquarters of the Protestants of the Church of England'. (19) But this high view was not sustained, and soon the Church Association moved away from being a 'church defensive society' (20) to that of a prosecution society, or as its enemies maintained a persecution society. (21) In 1870 an unsuccessful attempt was made to encourage the Church Association to promote a more spiritual

emphasis and a less confrontational stance and a closer partnership with the numerous clerical and lay associations. But in the end the Church Association tended only to divide Evangelical opinion rather than unite it. Certainly if the Evangelical party had been more united in the 1860s and 1870s, and had not embarked upon numerous legal battles it might have made more impact on the wider church and brought less antagonism.

By 1877 the Church Association had established through the courts that 59 ritualistic matters relating to vestments, ceremonies and ornaments were illegal. (22) But while it was one thing to determine what was lawful, it was quite another to enforce the letter of the law. More moderate Evangelical opinion was clear that

> Ecclesiastical litigation is not only miserable, but extremely likely to do mischief to the cause of Evangelical truth. We can hardly imagine any course more certain to prejudice public opinion against the party who pursue it, more inevitably doomed to failure so far as practical result is concerned, or more calculated to deaden spiritual vitality and promote a harsh and unchristian spirit. (23)

It became increasingly clear 'that Evangelical churchmen as a body were not in sympathy with the Church Association'. (24)

At different periods of crisis it was the well respected and more moderate bodies which drew the Evangelical party together. In the 1820s and 1830s, the CMS drew Evangelicals together when there was deep division over Roman Catholic emancipation, Irvingism, Brethrenism and Millennarianism. (25) In the 1880s and 1890s it was the Church Pastoral Aid Society which brought Evangelicals together who were divided over their response to holiness teaching and to the damaging effects of the prosecutions of the Church Association. (26)

Writing in the 1890s, Eugene Stock looked back to the 1850s and 1860s.

> As a fighting party, the Evangelicals now seem very weak to one who remembers them 30 years ago, or reads of their doings at that period. As a body of workers in the service of Christ, they have never at any time been so strong. (27)

Certainly the year 1856 was a watershed in the life of the Evangelical party. That year marked the beginning of a series of Evangelical appointments by Lord Palmerston, and the commencement of the 'new Evangelical movement' which was associated with the mid-century religious revival. (28)

If 1856 was significant for the wider Evangelical Party, it was particularly important for the diocese of Carlisle. In that year the small ancient diocese was considerably enlarged to include the northernmost part of the diocese of Chester. 1856 marked the beginning of the 13 year episcopate of two Evangelical Bishops - Henry Montagu Villiers and Samuel Waldegrave, and the 25 year ministry of Dean Francis Close. Their leadership had the effect of strengthening and consolidating the already existing Evangelical presence in the diocese.

PART TWO

PRE 1856: THE UNREFORMED DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

Part Two of the thesis examines the Cumbrian background as well as the condition of the Church of England in the diocese of Carlisle. The Evangelicalism of the diocese is concluded by looking at the ministries of two Carlisle Evangelicals - Dean Isaac Milner and John Fawcett - both of whom provided the foundation for the leadership of Henry Montagu Villiers and Samuel Waldegrave and Dean Francis Close.

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PART TWO

PRE 1856: THE UNREFORMED DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

Carlisle offers a good example of a diocese that was overwhelmingly Anglican, one where the established church was neither hindered by effective opposition, nor - it should be added - stimulated by criticism and competition. In other ways also it was unusual, if not unique. A geographically and culturally cohesive unit, unlike sprawling Lincoln or Chester, it was more manageable than most episcopal jurisidictions. True, its isolation and frontier position had stamped the inhabitants with a proud provincialism seldom equalled elsewhere except in the neighbouring shires, but this independence offered no obstacle to a native like [Bishop William] Nicolson - indeed, these characteristics made Carlisle in many ways an ideal diocese to administer. Yet the poverty of the region and the backwardness and inaccessibility of some of the mountain parishes offered difficulties which partly offset its advantages.

F. G. James, North Country Bishop a biography of William Nicolson, (Yale University Press, USA 1956), 106

a) The Cumbrian background

By the Local Government Act of 1974 the name Cumbria was given to the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, and part of Lancashire north-of-the-sands. A similar geographical area comprises the enlarged diocese of Carlisle formed in February 1856. Throughout this thesis, Cumbria, and the enlarged diocese of Carlisle, will refer to the extensive region north of Morecambe Bay.

Today 'Cumbria is still more largely an agricultural region than most other parts of England and Wales'. (1) Yet there was a time when agriculture was even more prominent. In 1851 20% of the population were involved in agriculture. This continued until just before the First World War when that proportion declined. From the 1860s there was a steady depression in the farming industry, together with the consequent disappearance of Cumbrian rural culture and tradition.

The population of Cumbria steadily increased throughout the eighteenth century. By 1811 40% of the population of Cumberland were living in twelve towns each with a population of over 1,000 inhabitants. Westmorland was even less developed. Under 30% of the population were living in the four principal towns of Kendal, Appleby, Kirkby Stephen and Kirkby Lonsdale. Between 1801-31 the population of England and Wales increased by 56.6% - but the rate of increase was significantly lower in Cumbria. It was 45.5% in Cumberland, 32.3% in Westmorland, and 36% in Furness and Cartmel. In 1831 1/5 of the region's population lived in Carlisle, Whitehaven, Penrith and Keswick, and the two principal towns were Carlisle with a population of about 20,000, and Whitehaven with about 17,000.

By the end of the nineteenth century Westmorland was the most sparsely populated English county with Cumberland not far behind.

The largest Cumbrian towns suffered from intense overcrowding and the social problems which arose from poor living conditions. Towns with a bad record for overcrowding were Carlisle, Kendal, Ulverston and Keswick. In 1852 Keswick was described as being 'encompassed by foul middens, open cesspools and stagnant ditches, or by still fouler drains'. Nearby Braithwaite was 'one of the most romantic and filthy villages in England'. (2) In Carlisle and Whitehaven well over 30% of all tenements were overcrowded. The problems remained unsolved and still by the early 1900s labourers working in Barrow were compelled to live in nearby Dalton in Furness and Ulverston.

From the eighteenth century there were modest improvements to the region's communications. From the 1750s turnpike trusts were established and the Ulverston canal (opened in 1795) connected the town with Morecambe Bay. Both facilitated in the movement of goods and people. The improved accessibility opened up the area to an increasing number of tourists.

The coach journey from London to Carlisle took two days and nights. The visitors who took advantage of the modest inland spa at Gilsland could only be accommodated at the single hotel. Other visitors stayed at Allonby and enjoyed the new experience of sea-bathing. But the majority of tourists came to view the outstanding natural beauty of the mountains and lakes. From the 1760s guide-books were published, but the maps of the area were misleadingly inaccurate until the nineteenth century.

Harriet Martineau, in A complete guide to the English Lakes (published in 1855) gave useful advice to the fell-walker.

> Let him go forth early, with a stout stick in his hand, provision for the day in his knapsack or his pocket; and, if he chooses, a book: but we do not think he will read today. A map is essential, to explain to him what he sees: and it is very well to have a pocket compass, in case of sudden fog, or any awkward doubt about the way. (3)

From the late 1830s the extensive railway network opened up the region still further. Carlisle became accessible from the south in 1846, and by 1847 Windermere was only 7-8 hours from Euston. The development of the railways had two noticeable effects on the local population. It increased rural mobility, and assisted in the migration of the poor away from Cumbria. Primarily the railways were developed for industrial purposes for the transportation of iron ore and coal, only secondarily were they for the benefit of visitors. As well as making the inland lakes accessible the railways opened up the coast of Cumbria, particularly Seascale on the west coast and Silloth in the north. Originally Silloth was intended to become an industrial centre and port for Carlisle, but instead of becoming industrialised, Silloth became a seaside resort for invalids and the middle-classes from Carlisle and the border counties.

From the eighteenth century the predominant agriculture and associated textile industry was seriously challenged by developing industries, mainly in the mining of slate (principally at Coniston), in the extraction of copper ore (mainly at Coniston and Keswick), and in the mining of iron-ore (especially in the Furness district and on the west coast of Cumbria). In the north, the textile industry of spinning and weaving employed a large number of people. In the

1840s nearly 25% of the inhabitants of Carlisle worked in seven cotton mills. Although there was a serious decline in the textile industry, by 1871 still 20% of the Carlisle workforce were employed in textiles.

During the nineteenth century the valuable mineral wealth of Cumbria was commercially developed until it was exhausted by the 1930s. Haematite ore, with its 60% of high iron content, meant that less coke was required for the smelting process. One of the richest iron ore mines in the world was at Hodbarrow, near Millom. The industrial transformation and commercial development of a whole area is well illustrated by Barrow in Furness. In the early 1840s, Barrow was an insignificant fishing village of 150 inhabitants. In the twenty years 1861-81, the population had increased from 3,135 to 47,259. By the 1850s Barrow had become a more significant port than nearby Ulverston, and it was optimistically predicted that it would be a serious rival to Liverpool. Barrow was a nineteenth century industrial town which was 'railway inspired and railway dominated'. (4) But unlike most industrial towns which developed in an ad hoc way, Barrow was planned from the start as an industrial town. It progressed from iron production then steel (after the invention of the Bessemer process in 1856), followed by shipbuilding. Barrow attracted a variety of migrant workers.

Barrow became the most polyglot of all the Cumbrian towns, first of all attracting ironworkers from Staffordshire, the largest single in-migrant group there in 1861 and 1871, followed in order of magnitude by settled contingents from Westmorland, Ireland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Worcestershire and Scotland. Just over 40% of the settlers (1871) were from counties other than Lancashire, and many of the Lancastarians had travelled in from the nearby countryside. (5)

During the ten years 1861-71 some 3,000 people left the rural hinterland of Furness and settled in Barrow and in other ore-producing centres. The migration into these industrial communities had peaked by the 1870s and 1880s.

In 1851 17% of the population of Cumberland had been born outside the county. The Census showed that 44% of the population of Carlisle originated from Scotland. There were a large number of Irish immigrants in Cumbria. They came in the 1830s for harvesting and many stayed on to work in the mines and in the construction of the docks and of the railway. In the period 1851-91 Lancashire was followed by Cumberland in having more Irish-born residents than any other English county. Cleator Moor, an important new industrial centre fifteen miles south of Workington, was known as 'Little Ireland' (6) for in 1861 as many as 58% of the population were Irish. Many Irish were living in nearby Egremont and Frizington. A combination of social disruption and religious intolerance towards Roman Catholicism, resulted in the formation of Protestant Orange Lodges in Workington, Whitehaven and Cleator Moor in the 1870s and 1880s. (7)

The considerable number of migrant workers had a profound social effect on the local community. The 1881 Census showed that Cumbria had the highest proportion of unmarried persons in England per 100,000 of each sex. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Cumbrian bastardy figures were 80% higher than the rest of England and Wales (the figure for rural south-west of Scotland was even higher). This high rate of illegitimacy was regarded with deep concern. The Cumbrian philanthropist George Moore encouraged 'the

ritualists to try their hand, as the Evangelicals had failed' to curb immorality.(8) Bishop Villiers referred to the high illegitimacy rate in the diocese, and in his opinion there were two main reasons 'the great number of beer-houses, and the custom of hirings'. (9) Dean Close regarded registry office marriages as being one of the greatest causes of immorality. (10)

Cumbria became an important centre for a significant group of artists and literary figures who developed into an influential Lakeland school. The combination of remoteness and romanticism provided the ideal environment for the creative genius of William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey. The Lake District provided the setting for the flowering of the natural theology of William Paley, and the wide-ranging scientific interests of Isaac Milner. Certainly Cumbria was no cultural backwater. It was said that Paley enjoyed the company of a 'circle of enlightened and well-informed gentry' with whom he met for discussion on Sunday evenings'. (11)

From the mid-nineteenth century the Lake District became an important tourist centre. In the early 1860s as many as 22 coaches went in and out of Keswick each day during the height of the summer months and in 1864, with the coming of the railway, still more visitors poured into the town. In the 1870s summer Saturday trains and steamers brought 10,000 day-trippers into Bowness. Between 1852-83 the number of lakeland visitors increased from 8-15,000 to between 40-50,000, and remained at that level until just before the First World War. Charles Bell captured the transformation of his Ambleside parish.

A village yet, and not a busy town,
With gas, and Institute and great hotels,
And houses tall, and somewhat pretentious too,
And other changes which came in the wake
Of what are called improvements, march of mind...
Excursion trains, and steam-boats on the lake,
Have won the land from quiet and repose,
And for the summer months have sent
Their crowds like swarms of locusts through the land. (12)

The tourist trade generated much seasonable employment for the working classes, but also attracted a number of the middle and upper-classes who settled as residents. The 'off-comers' encouraged the growth of Nonconformity, philanthropy and social activity. In the later nineteenth century the middle-classes were active in lakeland conservation led by Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley, the Vicar of Crosthwaite. The Lake District Defence Society was formed in 1883, and the National Trust in 1894.

As further background it is important to look at the condition of the Church of England in Cumbria in the eighteenth century.

b) The Church of England in Cumbria

Studies of the Church of England in the eighteenth century have made it clear that episcopal neglect and clerical negligence were not as common as previously supposed. (1) The problem was not always one of clerical indifference.

> The care and relief of the poor was beyond the competence of the amateur efforts of parson, churchwardens, and overseers, as it had long been beyond the competence of religious almsgiving to relieve it. The parson and his colleagues had not been unfaithful; they had, in the name of the church and in the spirit of their religion, served their people well according to the standards of the time. The very magnitude of the problem revealed that a revision in standards of administration was urgently needed ... new conditions demanded new techniques, and a new science of administration. (2)

The spiritual thirst of the age was satisfied by the eighteenth century revival: but much of the necessary reform in administration was delayed until the appearance of a new generation of higher clergy. The twin evils of the Church of England in the eighteenth century were non-residence and pluralism. This was partly created from lack of regular episcopal supervision, and more commonly from dire clerical poverty. But non-residence and pluralism were common too among bishops, though few of them could have pleaded the added hardship of poverty. Writing in 1730 a critic noted that

> The offence and scandal given by the shameful non-residence of bishops and their neglect of their dioceses. [For the past two years] there hath not one bishop appeared among us in all the north part of England. With what grace can non-resident bishops reprove non-resident clergy? Mutual connivance is necessary. The word 'incumbent' too frequently loses its name. I could give you instances of rectors who have not, like a certain bishop, set forth in their rectories for six years together, and of another living near me on which there has been neither resident rector nor resident curate for above twelve years. (3)

The arch-episcopal pluralist of the age was Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff between 1782-1816. He held two Cambridge professorships and numerous livings

> The tithes of two churches in Shropshire, of two in Leicestershire, of two in his diocese, of three in Huntingdonshire, of five more as appropriations to the bishopric, and of two more in the Isle of Ely as appropriations to the archdeaconry of Ely. (4)

From 1789 he'lived in learned leisure' at Calgarth Park (5) on the banks of Lake Windermere, and returned to Llandaff to hold summer ordinations. He did not remain idle in Cumbria. He helped restore the fabric of Heversham Grammar School, consecrated churches for the Bishop of Chester, and was involved in a whole range of other activities.

> I have now spent above twenty years in this delightful country, but my time has not been spent in field-diversions, in idle visitings, in county bickerings, in indolence or in intemperance; no, it has been spent partly in supporting the religion and constitution of the country by seasonable publications; and principally in building farm-houses, blasting rocks, enclosing wastes, in making bad land good, in planting larches and in planting in the hearts of my children principles of piety, benevolence and self government. By such occupations I have much recovered my health, entirely preserved my independence, set an example of spirited husbandry to the county, and honourably provided for my family. (6)

Of the Bishops of Carlisle Hugh Percy 1827-56 was the last episcopal pluralist. In addition to the bishopric, he was the chancellor of Salisbury cathedral and a prebendary of St Paul's cathedral.

Episcopal absence could be justified by attendance at the House of Lords, and by social convention which expected their presence in London society. Bishops of the more remote dioceses, only spent the summer parliamentary recess in their palaces. John Douglas, the Bishop of Carlisle between 1787-91, set out from London

in July and returned to the capital in October. (7) Ordinations were performed during their summer residence by letters dimissory by neighbouring bishops or away from their own dioceses and held in London or Westminster. (8)

William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle between 1702-18, has been described as being 'eminent as a scholar, capable as an administrator and diligent as a bishop, if not remarkable for saintliness'.(9) Of the 38 (10) ordinations held in his diocese, 18 included candidates from York, Durham and Chester. In December 1718 Nicolson was the only bishop in the northern province who held an ordination. (11)

In accordance with the provisions of Canon 60 confirmations were performed only once in three years. This comparative infrequency could mean that in some remote areas confirmation services were not held for many years, and that many 100s or 1,000s of candidates were confirmed together. During his first year in office Bishop Nicolson confirmed over 5,500 candidates (nearly 10% of the population) few of whom were under 16 years old because during the episcopate of his predecessor, Thomas Smith, no confirmation had been held for 14 years. Nicolson followed the usual practise of the day and held his visitation and confirmation together. In 1701 he held confirmation services at the four deaneries of Carlisle, Wigton, Penrith and Appleby, and a total of 1,153 candidates were confirmed. (12) His successor Samuel Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle between 1718-23 separated the confirmation from the visitation. He reported in 1719 that

> I made my visitation at the four usual places ... that I might as soon as possible acquaint myself with the state

CONFIRMATION IN THE FORTIES

of my diocese ... I have hitherto met with all due respect from the clergy, which I hope to preserve by a faithful discharge of my duty amongst them. I did not confirm during my visitation, as believing it could not be done in so orderly and decent a manner as I desired; but have promised to go through the diocese again, as far as I am able, to confirm a few parishes at a time, such as can most easily be got together. (13)

The actual practice of confirmation was not all that it ought to have been. Between 8.00 am and 8.30 pm Bowyer Edward Sparke, Bishop of Chester between 1810-12, confirmed 8,000 candidates at Manchester. (14) A similarly mammoth service was held at Grantham, when there were between 7-8,000 candidates. (15) At York Minster, Archbishop Harcourt entered the pulpit and extending his hands over the congregation, pronounced the words of confirmation. (16) Walker King, Bishop of Rochester 1809-27, confirmed in 1826 in two batches, first the girls filled the church, and then the boys. 'The bishop laid his hands upon four at a time by joining two heads together, and laying one of his hands upon two heads. (17) As late as 1852, Archbishop Musgrave 'Passed rapidly along the kneeling candidates, laying his hands on each one as he passed, and saying the words of prayer for each railful'. (18) In the diocese of Carlisle the kneeling candidates were confirmed at the communion rail (19) until Bishop Harvey Goodwin confirmed candidates in pairs in full view of the congregation. (20)

An improvement in the conduct of confirmation services was encouraged by the Evangelical bishops. Bishop Villiers was concerned about the thorough preparation of confirmation candidates, and maintained that it was better for clergy to refuse candidates, than to present them unprepared to the bishop. (21)

Bishop Charles Summer remarked to his chaplain

> I am at times overwhelmed with the sense of my responsibility at these seasons, and I can't help fearing how many opportunities I lose. (22)

The practice of non-residence and pluralism was common throughout the Church of England. Non-residence was high at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by implication just as high in the previous century, though it diminished following the reforms of the 1830s and 1840s. In 1809 from a total of 11,194 benefices, there were some 7,358 non-resident clergy. By 1827 there had been some decrease. Out of 10,583 returns there were 6,120 non-resident incumbents. In the 1835 report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 4,224 out of 5,230 assistant curates were employed by non-resident incumbents. (23) In some instances the non-residence was purely technical where neighbouring parishes were served by one clergyman. But not uncommon was the situation of the incumbent of St. John's, Beckermet, who reported to his bishop that

> I do not reside upon my cure, I reside upon a very respectable curacy in Wiltshire, and I have been regularly here once a year. (24)

The 1835 report made it clear that 2,878 benefices were without a parsonage house, and an additional 1,728 houses were uninhabitable. This lack of accomodation provided an obvious reason for non-residence, and the payment of rent from an already meagre income, reduced the clerical standard of living still further.

As far as the situation in the diocese of Carlisle was concerned, about half of the 127 benefices were held in plurality; 31 benefices

had no parsonage house, and a further 14 houses were uninhabitable. (25)

Preaching at an ordination service in Carlisle, the celebrated William Paley commended the poverty of the clergy: it was a privilege and an advantage to be poor.

> In the first place the stations which you are likely for some time at least to occupy in the church, although not capable of all the means of rendering service and challenging respect which fall within the powers of your superiors, are free from many prejudices that attend upon higher preferments ... Another and still more favourable circumstance in your situation is this: being upon a level with the greatest part of your parishioners, you gain access to their conversation and confidence, which is rarely granted to the superior clergy without extraordinary address and the most insinuating advances on their parts ... . (26)

But such platitudes must have brought little comfort to those about to be ordained to serve in the obscurity of a remote Cumbrian chapelry, and without any prospect of preferment if any for many years.

In 1760 it is estimated that 60% of the Cumbrian clergy were receiving incomes which were no greater than those of a ploughman or shepherd. (27) Many of the clergy were from a background of yeoman farmers and peasantry, and through ordination became 'suspended between two social classes, the peasantry and the squirearchy'. (28) It is clear that

> While the diocese of Carlisle was adorned by the science and poetry of Dean Milner, and the acute logic of Archdeacon Paley, the mass of the inferior clergy were, in manners and aquirements, scarcely raised above the Cumbrian peasantry. (29)

Even by the standards of the day some clergy were extremely poor. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were 'readers' who received an income of £3-4 a year. Often they were schoolmasters who taught a handful of village children. In the

Furness district the term 'reader' often applied to a deacon who was not licensed to preach. Ordained clergy were responsible for the 'Parochial chapelries' and readers for the smaller chapelries. The office of reader died out by the end of the century. (30)

By the end of the eighteenth century, the average national salary for a curate had risen to £70 a year, and in 1796 parliament approved a maximum salary of £75 for curates of non-resident incumbents. (31) But these figures were well above the salaries of Cumbrian clergy. In six livings in Westmorland in 1799 the stipends of curates for non-resident incumbents ranged between £15 and £36 a year. (32) Some of the clergy in the diocese of Carlisle

> were too poor to buy books; they possessed no means of going beyond the bounds of their parishes, except on foot, or by a possible lift in a market cart. (33)

Two of the poor peasant clergy became sufficienty well-known to be included in DNB. Josiah Relph (1712-1743) the Cumberland poet was the incumbent of Sebergham, and at no time in his brief ministry did his income exceed £50 a year. (34) The most well-known character was Robert 'Wonderful' Walker (1709-1802). (35) He was the youngest of 12 children, and served as curate and school-master to his native village of Seathwaite, near Broughton in Furness between 1736-1802. Apart from his teaching and clerical duties, he worked on his small-holding, was an able craftsman, made his own clothes, and took his wool to market. He was 'discovered' by William Wordsworth and featured in his works. It was said of Walker that he carried

> with him into church the stern habits of frugality, industry, temperance and self-denial in which he was reared, and which doubtless he had seen practised in his father's family from his earliest childhood. (36)

Yetin spite of his situation, Walker raised a family of eight children and left a fortune of £2,000.

A number of the poorer peasant clergy remained in rural obscurity throughout what was often a lengthy ministry. Samuel Sherwen (1790-1870) who became the Rector of Dean, 'twice he walked to Chester to pass his examination and obtain ordination from the Bishop' (37) James Marshall (1751-1842) the curate of Ireby between 1777-1842, who began his ministry on £25 a year, and which rose to £50 a year, was in addition both a farmer and coal merchant. (38) William Sewell (1771-1869) the aged incumbent of Troutbeck, had an unusual encounter with Bishop Villiers. On visiting the parish, Villiers asked a shepherd if he knew where he could find the incumbent. The shepherd politely replied, 'He is before you, my Lord; I am he'. To which the astonished Bishop retorted that Sewell would be better employed among his parishioners. Sewell's answer summed up the plight of the poorer clergy:

> My Lord, when you find me better remuneration, I can probably afford to lay aside assisting my neighbours; and I shall be very glad to give up salving sheep. (39)

The contrast could not have been greater between the pauper clergyman and the aristocratic Bishop, between the unlettered country pastor, and the modern reforming Evangelical Bishop.

c) Evangelicals in Cumbria

The eighteenth century Evangelical revival made little impact upon Cumbria, and Dr. L. E. Elliott-Binns is correct in stating that in the extreme north of England 'there were few signs of Evangelical influences'. (1) There were no Evangelical clergy in Northumberland or Durham, and the situation was only slightly better in Cumbria. (2)

From the mid-eighteenth century Arminian Methodism and Calvinistic Methodism was being preached in Cumbria, but at no time did it have a large following. Between 1748-90 John Wesley made twenty-six visits to Cumbria mainly on his way to Scotland, or via Whitehaven to the Isle of Man or Ireland. The late formation of the two Methodist circuits, indicates the strength of the movement - at Whitehaven in 1769, and at Carlisle in 1801. Certainly the work had taken some time to become established. In April 1770 there were only fifteen Methodists in Carlisle. A small chapel was erected in the 1780s, and on his last visit to Carlisle in June 1790, Wesley noted,

> The work a little increases here; a small handful of people stand firm, and those that opposed are broken to pieces. Our house would not near contain the congregation, and the Word of God was with power. (3)

On his visit to Carlisle in 1798, Charles Simeon spoke out against Methodism and its teaching on sinless perfectionism, and he was pleased that those who heard him speak were 'brought to see the erroneousness of the sentiments' which some had adopted, and unity was restored in place of division. (4) By the early 1800s there were over 500 Methodists in the Carlisle circuit.

In June 1750 George Whitefield preached at Kendal and Ulverston. At Kendal he noted that 'an entrance is now made into Westmorland'. (5) But he was not welcomed at Ulverston by the incumbent Edmund Atkinson.

> Last Saturday evening, and on the Lord's day, I preached at Ulverston. There Satan made some resistance. A clergyman, who looked more like a butcher than a minister, came with two others, and charged a constable with me; but I never saw a poor creature sent off in such disgrace. I believe good was done in the town. (6)

After that Whitefield travelled onto Whitehaven, but his reception there was not recorded.

Two Countess of Huntingdon's chapels were established in Cumbria and also in the remote parish of Bootle, near Broughton in Furness. Trevecca students had opened up the work, and in 1780 a meeting house was erected and endowed by a relative of Lady Glenorchy's tutor, John Whitridge, a native of Bootle, and convert of George Burder, one of the early ministers. (7) Richard de Courcy and William Romaine preached at Bootle parish church until they were no longer welcomed. (8) Opposition to Romaine preaching in the church became obvious when he found that he could not open the pulpit door.

> Immediately [it was] suspected that a blacksmith in the parish, who was a great enemy to the gospel, had played them a trick, and stepping up to the clerk, desired him to sing a long Psalm, whilst he ran to get pincers, and a hammer to open the pulpit door. This was at last done with as little noise as possible; and Mr Romaine got admission to the pulpit and preached to the great edification of the people. (9)

In the mid-eighteenth century those at the edge of the revival were also established in Cumbria; By the 1750s Benjamin Ingham, one of the original members of the Oxford Holy Club and SPG

missionary with John Wesley, had formed over ten societies in Westmorland. Ingham, who was a powerful preacher, and deeply influenced by the Moravians, was opposed by John Wesley and the establishment. Wesley was critical too, of the teaching of Robert Sandeman, who maintained that faith was mere assent to the truth of the gospel, and his position was in effect, more antinomian than Wesley's. In the 1760s many of the Inghamite congregations in Cumbria had turned in on themselves and become Sandemanians. (10)

While most Anglican clergy were critical of Methodism, those most sympathetic to the revival were prepared to listen to Wesley, though not wholly agreeing with his theology. Some of the Anglican clergy in Whitehaven heard Wesley preach in April 1772, (11) and again in April 1784. (12) Wilfred Clark, Vicar of Wigton between 1763-1802 appears to be one of the few who openly supported Wesley. (13)

Three early Evangelical clergy in Cumbria were Thomas Hervey, John Farrer and Charles Church. They, like many of their contemporaries, were isolated saints who were members of the widely scattered Evangelical network. Thomas Hervey was the Perpetual Curate of Underbarrow, near Kendal between 1766-1806. It was said that were was 'no other clergyman of congenial sentiments within a distance of many miles'. (14) One of his sons, Romaine Hervey became a curate at the Evangelical centre of Rauceby, Lincolnshire. John Farrer spent his ministry in the north-east of England, and resigned as Rector of Sunderland through ill-health, and became Vicar of Stanwix, near Carlisle between 1795-1808. (15)

Charles Church (1785-1822) was born at Whitehaven and educated at St. Bees School. After graduating at Cambridge, he

was ordained deacon in 1808, and priest in 1810. He was curate at Beckermet 1808-10, and Perpetual Curate of Hensingham 1810-16.

In June 1814 while preparing a series of lectures on regeneration he experienced an Evangelical conversion, and shared this with members of his congregation.

> Hitherto I have been preaching from the pulpit doctrines contrary to the truth of the gospel; but during the preparation of the discourse I am now about to deliver, it has pleased God to open my mind to a correct view of the great and glorious doctrines of Christianity, and it is my bounden duty to preach to you those truths which God has taught me. (16)

His ministry was now extended to nearby Whitehaven and included active support for the Bible Society which he had previously criticised. In 1816 he heard of a vacancy for a chaplain with the East India Company, and the formal offer to him came from Charles Grant and Charles Simeon. Before he left Hensingham, John Fawcett of Carlisle took Church to see Dean Milner for advice, instructions and encouragement. (17) Church and his family sailed in December 1816 and arrived at Madras in June 1817. He then had three appointments in India. First at Cuddalore, 100 miles south of Madras between 1817-19, then at Vizgapatam, 600 miles north of Cuddalore, and finally at Madras. Illness dogged the Church family. Their eldest child was unwell early in 1821, and was sent back to England, but died at sea in January 1822. Then two other children became ill and Church caught dysentry. The family left India in March 1822, and Church died at sea in April 1822.

Opposition to Evangelical clergy and their ministries could come from the grass roots or from episcopal censure. In the north-west of England Evangelicals suffered under the bitter attacks and

restrictions imposed by George Henry Law, Bishop of Chester between 1812-24. Law described his theological position as imitating 'the moderation and firmness of Bishop Ken', (18) and sought to eradicate Calvinism from the Church of England. He believed that the plain teaching of scripture opposed

> the dark tenets of Calvin ... Equally erroneous and unscriptual are the opinions entertained by this sect, under whatever title denominated, respecting justification by faith ...(19)

In Law's opinion

> the establishment of episcopacy will most effectually check every erroneous doctrine, stop the wild progress of enthusiasm, and spread the knowledge of uncorrupted Christianity. (20)

The result was 'He was very hostile to Calvinism and all that he considered such'. (21) In order to ensure a supply of non-Evangelical clergy for his diocese, Law founded and partially endowed St. Bees theological College in 1816. In the first year 20 students were admitted to the college which was described by the first Principal, William Ainger as

> designed to afford direction and assistance, in their presentation for holy orders, to those young men in the northern districts of the kingdom, who have it not in their power to seek the advantages of a regular academical education. (22)

Ainger shared his Bishop's dislike of Calvinism, and at least one student had to hide his convictions from the Principal. But others in the diocese were not so fortunate, and in 1815 Law refused to ordain two Evangelicals as priests. Since both William Carus Wilson and John Blackburn were already associated with Charles Simeon he too was brought into the controversy. Simeon described the case to his friend Thomas Thomason.

> In another quarter there has been cruel persecution. The Bishop of [Chester] has refused orders to two excellent youngmen, on account of what he called Calvinism. I should fill sheets of paper if I were to state to you their case. Within my memory there has been nothing to be compared with this case, in point of oppression. (23)

William Carus Wilson (1791-1859) (24) was born at Casterton, near Kirkby Lonsdale, and educated by John Fawcett of Carlisle. He graduated from Cambridge and was ordained deacon in September 1814 to the curacy of Whittington, near Kirkby Lonsdale. For his priest's examination Wilson had to write on Daniel Whitby's Five Points against Calvinism and afterwards Bishop Law 'rebuked him before all the other candidates for ignorance of the scriptures, and sent him back to Lancaster from London to prepare better'. (25) The result was that 'his license to preach was withdrawn, and he was suspended from the ministerial functions'. (26) Wilson then consulted his friends Robert Housman and Charles Simeon.

Robert Housman who was Simeon's first convert at Cambridge, (27) was the first minister of St. Anne's chapel, Lancaster 1796-1836. Housman offered to write to Henry Ryder, the newly appointed Bishop of Gloucester about the situation (28) and in addition, sent an anonymous letter to the Lancaster Gazette in which he denied the charge that Wilson had taught antinomianism, and commended his ministry at Whittington.

> In the pulpit, Mr. Wilson was plain, faithful, earnest and affectionate ... He collected together the children of the parish, to the amount of one hundred, and formed a Sunday school in his own house, where he and his friends were the willing and assiduous teachers. That he might preserve the Sabbath from violation, in the varied froms of idleness, folly or intemperance, he received on the evening of the sacred day the young men of the village into his house, where he endeavoured to improve them in reading, and in the knowledge of their several duties to God and man. He

> was also alive to the temporal distresses of his people, and had formed excellent plans for the permanent comfort of the poor. He considered the parish as his more extended family, and his thoughts, his time, his purse and his heart, were devoted to their service. He was their prudent counsellor, their kind friend and their upright pastor. (29)

But the letter of Veritas remained unanswered, and Housman and Wilson were believed to have been teaching antinomianism. Housman showed his confidence in Wilson, by allowing him to preach at St. Anne's chapel in 1816. Once shortly after he was ordained priest, and secondly during a period of illness, when Housman invited different ministers to deliver his Wednesday evening Bible lectures. The ministers included Wilson who also preached at two Sunday services. For this Housman was reprimanded by Law, who was told 'that the ministerial duties be regularly discharged by yourself, if in your power; if not by a licensed curate'. (30)

On the one hand, Simeon rejoiced that Henry Ryder was to become Bishop of Gloucester - 'O that we had twenty more such!' - but on the other that

> Many afflictive things have happened lately in the church. Five pious young men are running into Huntington's and Dr. Hawker's principles, and are leaving the church ... There have also been two most excellent young men refused orders for inclining towards Calvinism, (Mr. Wilson's eldest son, of Casterton Hall, and Mr. Blackburn). The Bishop has acted a most unjustifiable part towards them; but I believe he meant to do right. What will be the issue of it I know not. The Bishop seems inclined to relax; but it has made a great noise. (31)

Simeon believed that Wilson had

> Stumbled over the block which the Bishop laid in your way (just as 99 out of 100 would have done), by not distinguishing the grounds of perseverance. I think the great mass of Calvinists (though a moderate Calvinist myself) are wrong ... Man to the latest hour of his life may fall; nor is there anything in him that warrants him to say, 'I cannot fall finally'. He is a child in his Father's arms; let those arms be withdrawn from underneath him, and his own weight will precipitate him to destruction. (32)

Simeon advised Wilson to write to the Bishop, having previously sent a draft to Simeon, making it clear that on reflection he believed that 'a man may fall from the state of grace', but that this did not mean that this gave him an occasion 'to relax in our vigilance and circumspection'. Simeon supported Wilson - 'I perfectly approve of your not moving an inch, till you are driven out'. (33)

Simeon urged Wilson to read what he had written, and not to think that he (Simeon) had 'trimmed' his views, but that they were 'truly scriptural, and at the same time more calculated to unite men of real piety, than the partial statements of either party'. Above all, 'we should not be wiser than God, nor more jealous than God; nor more attached to one set of truths than another'. (34) Simeon cautioned Wilson against making the issue the subject of public debate; and rather to make it a matter of prayer. But it was a test case. 'The Bishop has committed himself in a way that he will not do again'. (35)

Simeon was overjoyed at Henry Ryder's appointment as Bishop of Gloucester, and regarded it as 'an unspeakable blessing to the church. But it is not by him that I either do work, or intend to work. The Bishop of Bristol (Mansel) is the man who does for me all that I can ask'. (36) Whereas Law refused to ordain Wilson to the priesthood, William Lort Mansel, Bishop of Bristol and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, ordained him in March 1816 in the college chapel. The other young man in the controversy, John Blackburn, was ordained priest in June 1816 by Henry Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich.

Later in his ministry Wilson became the centre of a controversy

over his alleged portrayal in Jane Eyre. Wilson became Rector of Tunstall, Lancashire in 1816, and non-resident Rector of Whittington from 1825. (37) In 1824 he founded and endowed the Clergy Daughter's School at Cowan Bridge, and which was attended by the Bronte sisters. The school was transferred to Casterton in 1833, and Wilson became the Perpetual Curate of Casterton between 1833-56. In addition to the Clergy Daughter's School, Wilson established a nursery department at Silverdale and a school for 100 orphan children who intended becoming domestic servants or country school-mistresses. Casterton became the model for similar school which were established at Bristol and St. Mary's, Brighton Hall (under H. V. Elliott). (38)

Evangelicals like Housman and Wilson fared better under John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester between 1828-48. He preached at the consecration of Casterton Church in October 1833. (39) In his 1841 Charge, Sumner referred to both the church and the school. The plan of the church, described in Wilson's 'Hints for Building Churches', was copied at Holme, near Burton (both churches were erected at the modest sum of £750 each). Of the school Sumner said

> Casterton affords an example of all that is picturesque, as well as of all that is useful. A group of buildings, designed and employed for the highest purposes, is sheltered by surrounding hills, and surrounded by spreading trees: and pleasure grounds, beautiful in themselves, are ornamented by parties of happy children, who are here allowed to take their occasional recreation. (40)

Sumner supported the efforts of Evangelical clergy and in turn they warmly responded to him. Housman commented that 'If all ministers were like the Bishop of Chester, there would be some grounds for the theory of apostolic succession'. (41)

Although the establishment of the Clergy Daughter's School was commended by Evangelicals, it received condemnation from its critics.

Mr. Brocklehurst the proprietor of Lowood School addressed Mrs Reed

> Consistency, madam, is the first of Christian duties, and it has been observed in every arrangement connected with the establishment of Lowood: plain fare, simple attire, unsophisticated accommodations, hardy and active habits: such is the order of the day in the house and its inhabitants. (42)

Whether or not Mr. Brocklehurst is intended to be William Carus Wilson in Charlotte Bronte's Jane Eyre (published in 1847), Mrs Gaskell's comments in her Life of Charlotte Bronte were answered by Wilson's son, William Carus Wilson, in his book A refutation of the statements in the life of Charlotte Bronte regarding Casterton Clergy Daughters' School, when at Cowan Bridge. In the same year in which this book was published, Dorothea Beale was briefly the headteacher of the school between January and December 1857. Her frustration with the school's administration, her known High Church views and criticism of what she considered a repression of the children, helped to make the necessary reforms of the school in 1858. Miss Beale was the formidable principal of Cheltenham Ladies College between 1858-1906, and who in 1906 established a scholarship from Casterton to Cheltenham. (43)

During Bishop Sumner's episcopate a number of Evangelicals worked in Cumbria, and they received every possible support from their Bishop. Most of these individuals will be referred to later - particularly Samuel Peach Boutflower, who was curate of Coniston in 1838, and of Brathay, Ambleside 1839-42, and later returned to the diocese as the Perpetual Curate of Brathay. He also became Archdeacon of Carlisle 1867-82. William Hodgson succeeded Boutflower at Brathay 1842-56, served as the first Principal of Moore Theological College, Australia 1856-68, and was briefly Rector of Clifton,Penrith

1868-69.

Between 1840-46 Evangelicalism briefly flowered at St. Bees College, under the only Evangelical principal, Robert Pedder Buddicom. At the same time David Anderson served on the staff, becoming the first Bishop of Ruperts Land 1849-64, and then responsible for the diocese of Carlisle during Bishop Waldegrave's fatal illness in 1869.

The distinguished John Antes Latrobe was the Perpetual Curate of St. Thomas', Kendal between 1840-65, and was described as being 'well-known as a hardworking clergyman and faithful minister of the gospel'. (44) Latrobe was the son of the Moravian composer Christian Ignatius Latrobe, and both father and son were friends of Dean Milner. (45)

In Cumbria the few Evangelicals were widely scattered and for the most part their ministries were local and short lived. However, in Carlisle two Evangelicals gave stability and leadership until just before the appointment of Bishop Villiers in 1856.

d) Evangelicals in Carlisle

i) Dean Isaac Milner

Isaac Milner was one of the second generation of 'serious clergy' in the eighteenth century, and on becoming the Dean of Carlisle in 1791 was the first Evangelical to be appointed to a senior position in the Church of England. Henry Ryder 'the first Evangelical Bishop' did not become Dean of Wells until 1812, and Bishop of Gloucester until 1815. (1) Milner's appointment was not only significant for the whole Evangelical movement, but was particularly important for the planting of Evangelicalism in Carlisle.

Though from a poor Leeds family Joseph Milner (1744-1797) and Isaac Milner (1750-1820) both entered the University of Cambridge. After graduation and ordination Joseph became the master of Hull Grammar School and in July 1768 lecturer at Holy Trinity church and, on the presentation of William Wilberforce, Vicar of North Ferriby. Milner was converted to faith in Christ in 1769 (2) and although this news was unfavourably received, by the 1780's he had regained his earlier favoured position in the town. So much so that by 1797 (and a few months before his sudden death) he became Vicar of Holy Trinity, the parish church of Hull. By the time of his death Hull had become an important centre of Evangelicalism under the patronage of William Wilberforce, and with Hull Grammar School as 'the great seminary for boys in the East Riding'. (3)

Joseph Milner's reputation was established by his ecclesiastical history - The History of the Church of Christ which he published in five volumes between 1794 and 1809. Joseph was inspired to write his

history having read the earlier, and less well known, A review of Ecclesiastical History by John Newton, published in 1769. (4) Joseph completed the first three volumes, published in 1794, 1795 and 1797. Three volumes were later revised and corrected by Isaac who published a fourth volume in 1803 and a fifth in 1809. He planned to complete the History with a sixth volume, which would have included the period up to the 'rise and progress of the Bible Society', (5) but this remained unwritten. The five volume History was regularly revised by Isaac and appeared in numerous editions, and was revised again by the editors. (6) John Scott, son of the biblical commentator, Thomas Scott, completed the Milners' work in three volumes in 1826, 1829 and 1831. For the first three volumes Joseph had used Edward Stillingfleet's extensive library at nearby Hotham, but for his revisions and subsequent volumes Isaac had 'access to books which he had not' (7) - from the Cambridge University library, from Lambeth Palace and from Germany. For the 1804 edition of the second volume Joseph Jowett made minor alterations and Charles Simeon read the proofs. The History was an 'Evangelical apologia' (8) and, with Thomas Scott's Commentary, an important inspiration for Evangelicals.

> It was one of the ingredients of that burst of self-confidence which marked the Evangelical movement in the 1790s and helped its fusion into a formidable church party by the early nineteenth century. In 1750 the Evangelicals had been congeries of scattered individuals: by 1800 there were a group with collective self-consciousness and esprit de corps. (9)

Isaac was devoted to his elder brother and was deeply moved by his death. As a memorial to him Isaac published a volume of his sermons together with a memoir in 1800. Between 1809 and 1830

three further posthumous volumes of Joseph's sermons were published - volume two in 1809 by William Richardson of York; volume three in 1823 by John Fawcett of Carlisle; and volume four in 1830 by Edward Bickersteth, secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

Isaac Milner was born in January 1750 and between the ages of six and ten attended Leeds Grammar School, but on the death of his father he had to leave and for the next eight years he worked in the city's woollen industry. Eventually Joseph was in a position to help his younger brother, and asked Miles Atkinson to examine Isaac's suitability to become an usher at Hull Grammar School.

> Upon proceeding to the workroom in which Isaac Milner then laboured, Mr. Atkinson found him seated at his loom with Tacitus and some Greek author lying by his side. Upon further examination, it appeared that, notwithstanding his long absence from school, and the interruption of his literary pursuits, his knowledge and his love of classical learning remained unimpaired. (10)

This was the break he needed, and for two years Isaac was usher to his brother Joseph until he became a sizar at Queen's College, Cambridge. In 1774 he became senior wrangler in the mathematical tripos, and his performance was so outstanding that his examiners wrote <u>incomparabilis</u> next to his name. Certainly his academic achievement was outstanding. He graduated BA in1774, and MA in 1777. He became a fellow of Queen's College in 1776 and in 1780 a Fellow of the Royal Society. He took his BD in 1786 and was awarded a DD in 1792. Between 1783-92 he was the first Jacksonian Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and in 1788 he became President of Queen's College. Between 1798-1820, Milner was Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, and was twice Vice-Chancellor of the University 1792-93 and 1809-10. Milner had been ordained deacon

in 1775, and priest in 1777.

Through the active support of George Pretyman (Pretyman Tomline after 1803), Bishop of Lincoln between 1787-1820, Milner was nominated to the deanery of Carlisle in December 1791. Undoubtedly Milner's friendship with Wilberforce influenced Pretyman's support. Further, William Pitt who was the Member of Parliament for the University, 'would find the influence of Milner ... a foremost scientist, a leading man, socially valuable to him'. (11) Milner's appointment was approved by the Carlisle chapter in January 1792, and early in the following month the absentee Dean was installed by proxy. But Milner did not take possession of the deanery until December 1793, at the conclusion of his term as University Vice-Chancellor.

Apart from his University duties from 1787 Milner was a member of the Board of Longitude. This Body reported to the government discoveries relating to safe navigation, for the improvement of chronometers and for the publication of a nautical almanac. Meetings of the Board took place in London and were held three times a year. Milner frequently stayed with William Wilberforce, with whom he had travelled on the continent in 1784-85 and during which Wilberforce had been converted.

By the time that Milner became 'the portly dean, with his stentorian voice', (12) he was a popular and well-respected member of the University. With Charles Simeon, Joseph Jowett and William Farish, he was one of the leading Evangelicals in Cambridge. Milner's influence extended beyond Queen's College to the 1,000 students of the University. At Queen's College the number of Evangelical under-graduates increased (13) so much so that critics referred to the

College as 'a nursery of Evangelical neophytes'. (14) Under Milner's leadership Queen's College gained the confidence of Evangelicals.

> Evangelical parents sent their sons, young Evangelicals seeking ordination came from all parts of the country, and long before, instead of being one of the smallest colleges, Queen's became one of the largest in the whole university. (15)

In Cambridge, Milner in the face of much opposition, supported the formation of the Bible Society auxiliary in December 1811, which had undergraduate support, but was opposed by Herbert Marsh, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. Even F. K. Brown the critic of Evangelicalism, had to admit that 'the crisis at Cambridge' - the formation of the Bible Society auxiliary - 'was in fact, designed or accidental, an Evangelical triumph'. (16) In November 1818 he became a Vice-President of the Cambridge auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society. In the course of the University examinations in January 1801 Milner examined Henry Martyn, who was the senior wrangler of that year. Milner subsequently followed Martyn's progress as missionary and bible translator and, like Simeon, was deeply moved by his early death in October 1812.

On becoming Dean of Carlisle Milner ensured that each June he presided at the summer meeting of the cathedral chapter.

> My idea of a Dean and Chapter is, that of a cabinet, the members of which act cordially with each other; and support each other against their adversaries, of which they have but too many. (17)

Since Milner was the only Evangelical member of the chapter, he certainly knew what he was speaking about.

Journeying from Cambridge meant a considerable amount of travelling, often in bad weather on poor roads. This was no mean

achievement for a man who suffered from ill-health. He suffered from very severe headaches for more than forty years, for which he took opium to bring him relief.

Between 1794-1817 Milner was almost without exception in Carlisle during the summer months. The longest stay in the city was between June 1814 and May 1816 when ill-health prevented his return to Cambridge. After he returned to the University in October 1817, Milner never again travelled to Carlisle. But until the end of his life maintained contact by correspondence with the acting Dean, Robert Goodenough. During his residence in Carlisle Milner entertained friends and visitors at the deanery. He provided hospitality for the assize judges and with the Bishop when he was resident at Rose Castle. Milner had a good relationship with Edward Venables Vernon (Harcourt after 1831), the Bishop of Carlisle between 1791-1807, and Archbishop of York between 1808-48. Milner and Samuel Goodenough, Bishop of Carlisle between 1808-27, were the last occupants of the deanery and Rose Castle to wear wigs, (18) and although they disagreed with each other they maintained a good working relationship.

Milner had very cordial friendships with two successive chancellors of the diocese of Carlisle. The celebrated William Paley was Archdeacon of Carlisle between 1782-1805, and Chancellor between 1785-95. Paley welcomed Milner's appointment to the deanery, and said that 'he could not have been better pleased, except it had been himself' to have become dean. (19) The two men frequently met together, and occasionally with other literary men to discuss religious matters. Milner believed that Paley's posthumously published sermons

were his best, since they more clearly exhibited 'the essential doctrines of the gospel, than those which their distinguished author had displayed in any other of his works'. (20) Paley's successor as Chancellor was Joseph Dacre Carlyle who was the Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge, and the Perpetual Curate of St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle, 1795-1801. Between 1799-1801 he travelled on diplomatic business throughout the eastern Mediterranean and on returning to England was appointed by the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle to St. Nicholas church, Newcastle upon Tyne.

When in residence at Carlisle, Milner was occupied in historical research and in preparing sermons which he preached on Sundays at the cathedral, and on Wednesday evenings at St. Cuthbert's church. He preached at every possible opportunity, and even in churches on his journey from Cambridge. It was said of him that 'to labour effectively in the pulpit, was his great object'. (21) Milner was a popular preacher with a powerful voice, and it was something of a novelty to have a Dean preaching Evangelical sermons. When it was known that he was to preach 'great crowds were waiting' to hear him. (22) Paley wrote to a friend that

> When the Dean of Carlisle preaches you may walk upon the heads of the people. All the meetings attend to hear him. He is indeed a powerful preacher.

And an unnamed Carlisle resident reported

> When it was known that the Dean was to preach in the cathedral, I have seen the aisles and every part of it so thronged, that a person might have walked upon the heads of the crowd. It was pleasing to see how religious persons of different denominations flocked around the pulpit. (23)

Not only his preaching but in his reading of the Liturgy commanded

attention. 'When the Dean read, a pin might have been heard in any part of the densely crowded cathedral'. (24)

Like other deans, Milner was involved in the maintenance of the cathedral fabric. He corresponded with Robert Smirke the cathedral architect over repairs to the fabric and the adjoining Fratry. In May 1811 Milner opposed the demolition of part of the city walls, the stones from which were to have been used in the construction of a new court house. The removal of the wall only twenty feet away from the deanery would have weakened the stability of the house. Though he was unmusical Milner supported a three-day musical festival in 1807 to mark the erection of a new cathedral organ. But the festival was poorly attended and no further festivals took place while Milner was Dean.

Milner was active in the life of the city, and gave generously to charitable institutions. From 1809 he was involved in the establishment of a National School in Carlisle. But the Bishop and the Dean disagreed over the attendance of the children of Non-conformists. Bishop Goodenough insisted that all children would attend Anglican services on Sunday, whereas Dean Milner felt that Nonconformist children should be free to attend their own place of worship. Milner would have supported the amalgamation of Anglican and Nonconformist schools in Carlisle, but this suggestion was unacceptable to the Bishop. The Bishop wrote to the Dean

> I can only add here, unequivocally, that if I have anything to do with the plan, that plan must be to educate for the inculcating of the doctrines, and for the adopting of the principles, of the Established church ... I educate professedly for the church, not for the conventicle. (25)

Certainly there was a need in the city to strengthen the position of the Church of England. The activities of the Methodists were a matter of concern for the Bishop, and for that reason he maintained that the education of the poor should be thoroughly Anglican.

> If a school under Dr. Bell's plan be wanted anywhere, it is at Carlisle, where dissenters and Methodists do so abound, as I am informed, and where the force of education has been almost entirely exercised in favour of those who vary or dissent from the establishment. It is high time that something should be done for the church; and I do not see upon what grounds any one can object to such a purpose. There are many dissenters who are so, from not having had opportunities of being taught better; and such would be glad to have their children properly educated. There is education enough to be had in Carlisle for those who dislike our church. They have never been disturbed in going to those places of education. I claim the same freedom: let no one disturb us. (26)

Already Milner was a keen supporter of the Bible Society and when an auxiliary was formed in Carlisle in September 1813, he was the only member of the cathedral chapter to support it. Again Bishop Goodenough and Milner disagreed and many leading laymen were also opposed to the formation of the auxiliary. Like Simeon (27) Milner co-operated with Nonconformists in the distribution of the scriptures, and he supported Moravian and Wesleyan missionary societies. In December 1817 an auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society was formed in Carlisle and in February 1818 Milner became its president. In the same year Milner subscribed towards the erection of two new Anglican churches for Carlisle, but they were not opened until April 1831.

Milner was a man of wide interests and inventiveness. He experimented with humming-tops, and devised card-tricks and enjoyed playing chess and draughts. He investigated alleged hauntings, optical delusions, sleights of hand, and detecting the tricks of

jugglers. He was interested in electricity, astronomy, natural history, heraldry and the camera obscura. He constructed 'certain mechanical inventions' (28) invented an improved reading lamp called 'Dr. Milner's lamp', and a simple water clock, as well as being 'a great dabbler in air pumps'. (29) Indoors he learnt shorthand, and outdoors enjoyed horse-riding. Milner had a good knowledge of English Literature, spoke French and encouraged the study of scripture in Hebrew and Greek. He was a great talker and was often compared with Dr. Samuel Johnson. He was occasionally irritable and blunt, but had a good sense of humour, and was popular with children. He possessed an extraordinary memory which must have helped his contact with people. Throughout his life he maintained a vast correspondence on a wide variety of subjects.

> Applications from clergymen (unknown as well as known to Dr. Milner) for 'worthy curates'; applications for testimonials from persons desiring public stations of almost all kinds; inquiries from parents about their sons; notices of new philosophical and mathematical instruments, for which the inventors desired his patronage; in short, applications of almost every imaginable kind; and this, in addition to his regular college and Carlisle business, and to the routine of duties which belonged to him in his capacity of Vice-Chancellor. (30)

Isaac Milner was a humble man who disliked large formal meals, and preferred the company of one or two close friends. In his house Milner held simple devotions morning and evening for his servants and visitors. In common with other Evangelicals he condemned the race-course, describing it as the 'sink of iniquity'. (31) In September 1808 he preached against the races and the erection of a theatre in Carlisle. Milner also opposed duelling and boarding schools.

Like other Evangelicals Milner was a convinced churchman. He was a strong defender of infant baptism, and regarded the Thirty-nine Articles and the Liturgy as being 'in perfect correspondence with each other'. (32) The Liturgy was of great value because it allowed the poor to participate in public worship, and to protect them from false teachers. The confession of sin in Morning and Evening Prayer, was he believed, 'an epitome of the whole gospel' (33) but the Bible was supreme. 'The scriptures, I must for ever contend, are sufficiently clear to the most uncultivated mind in all things which concern the great and essential doctrines of salvation'. (34) Although he was briefly an Arminian, Milner soon adopted the characteristic Evangelical position of being a moderate Calvinist.

It was his conviction, 'that all religious reasonings which did not proceed on [the doctrines of grace] were essentially erroneous'. (35)

Though Milner disliked controversy and especially theological controversy, he was an able disputant, whether in his critisisms of Thomas Haweis' church history, or in defending Calvinism against its opponents. With Charles Simeon and Thomas Haweis,Milner criticised the Bishop of Lincoln's Refutation of Calvinism. Milner concluded that 'the Bishop's opinion is exceedingly dangerous, because it puts the parts of the gospel in wrong places ... the Bishop's notions are Pelagian, or semi-Pelagian at best ...'. (36) Milner disapproved of Herbert Marsh's opposition to the Bible Society, and his notorious 'trap for Calvinists'. Milner believed that

> Dr. Marsh appears to me to lay abundantly too much stress on the niceties of biblical criticism ... I do not think, that the minute and accurate investigation of the various readings of manuscripts, or a scientific knowledge of the grounds of preference in settling the very best reading in all cases, ought to be considered as the most important part of divinity ...

> 'Rightly to divide the word of truth', to understand the doctrines of the bible, and to apply them with judgment and effect, according to the different circumstances of men in various parishes and congregations, is divinity indeed - is that which indeed merits the dignified name. (37)

But Milner's criticism did not mean that he was an obscurantist who did not value the contribution of biblical scholars.

> In my opinion, it is one of the material uses of biblical critics, that, by the labours of such men, ordinary students have been relieved from the drudgery of going over the same ground themselves. Moreover, it affords a rational satisfaction to find, that the canonical scriptures, after the most diligent scrutiny, made both by friends and adversaries, furnish so few ambiguities in the readings, and none that can materially affect the evidence for any one important doctrine. (38)

Milner was directly involved with publishing and journalism throughout his life. This was in the publication of his own works - particularly in the numerous editions of the History - and in the management of the Cambridge University press. He believed that the Christian Observer was 'the best of the religious monthly publications'. (39) With others in 1815 Milner founded The Patriot, or Cumberland and Carlisle Advertiser, and subsequently contributed lengthy articles. Isaa Milner died on 1 April 1820 at the home of his friend William Wilberforce. He was buried in the chapel of Queen's College, Cambridge, and the sermon preached by Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington.

Milner was one of the leading Evangelicals of his generation, and succeeded in taking his Evangelicalism away from Cambridge and planting it in Carlisle. But his own influence was limited and he had few supporters. Only subsequently could it be said that

> The principles of which Dean Milner was the champion are stamped broad and visible on the ecclesiastical life of the nineteenth century in the diocese of Carlisle. (40)

But at the time most of this influence was confined to Carlisle. During the period 1793-96 Milner had

> only preached once [outside the cathedral] there all this time; the number of clergy there gives him little opportunity. He has had, however, opportunities of preaching oftener in the country.

In the cathedral Joseph and Isaac Milner had opportunity for preaching. The latter 'had preached several times with great faithfulness and downright plainness of the first and most fundamental truths.' (41) A year later Joseph returned to Carlisle and preached once in the cathedral and once at St. Cuthbert's church. He found that more women responded to the gospel - particularly 'the genteel ones of this place' - but yet only a few of them 'really seem to have a keen appetite' for the gospel. Few men were interested. They

> have no relish for Jesus. I except old Mr. Fawcett, our Fawcett's uncle and father-in-law, who, I am glad to find, in his old age, seems to be at the feet of Jesus. (42)

In July 1797, Joseph Milner described the spiritual condition of Carlisle.

> The people here, the aborigines, are a well-behaved, simple people; the refinement, shall I say, or the lewdness and impudence, of the southern part of our island, they know not. They have the sample, I take it, of the manners of the whole country, in the time of James I. But they are withal, very ignorant in religion; they wander as sheep without a shepherd. They seem, however, open to conviction, they have conscience. There are, here, some Methodists and Dissenting interests, but feeble and of little weight, nor is there a dissenter here of any popularity, or, as it should seem, of any religious zeal. What a fine field for a pastor, steady, fervent, intelligent, and charitable! Pray ye to the Lord of the harvest etc. I inculcate this duty on those I have access to - for it is a pitiable thing to see the ignorance of this place - ignorance, rather than contempt of Divine truth, is its character. The Lord may, in his time, send them such a supply. At present their state is lamentable beyond expression. (43)

Apart from Milner's summer residence in Carlisle, it was impossible to provide and sustain an Evangelical ministry in Carlisle. But the situation changed when he was able to secure John Fawcett as the master of the Grammar School and as the Perpetual Curate of St. Cuthbert's church. It was in this key appointment that Dean Milner's influence was most apparent, and provided the continuity between the Evangelicalism of Milner and of Bishop Villiers and Dean Close.

ii) John Fawcett

John Fawcett (1769-1851) was born in Leeds and attended Leeds Grammar School. In November 1787 he was admitted to Jesus College, Cambridge, and a year later migrated to Magdalene College. (44) Already Magdalene had become an important stronghold for Evangelicals with particular links with the Elland Society (though Fawcett was not an Elland candidate). (45) Fawcett became a scholar of Magdalene and the Norrisan prize-winner in 1791 and 1792. He graduated BA in 1792 and MA in 1795, and was ordained deacon in July 1793 and priest in July 1794.

Between 1793-95 Fawcett was curate to James Stillingfleet, the Rector of Hotham, and an assistant master of Hull Grammar School under Joseph Milner. It is likely that Isaac Milner recommended Fawcett to his brother and certain that he secured his nomination for the mastership of Carlisle Grammar School in June 1795. Fawcett held this appointment between February 1796 to June 1803. (46) From 1799 Fawcett acted as an assistant curate of St. Cuthbert's church and in December 1801 was appointed by the Dean and Chapter to the

living. Since the income of St. Cuthbert's was inadequate, and there was no parsonage house, Fawcett lived at nearby Stanwix and took private pupils in his own house. (47) Stanwix was also convenient for Scaleby, where Fawcett was the Rector between 1802-26.

Fawcett had a number of Evangelical connections. His first cousins, the Fawcetts, who were friends of Charles Simeon, lived at Scaleby Castle. (48) Fawcett married his cousin Eleanor, and her sister Bessie married Simeon's curate, Thomas Truebody Thomason. James Farish the Vicar of Stanwix, had at least two sons who were Evangelicals - William Farish, Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge and Jacksonian Professor; and his younger brother Charles Farish who was lecturer of St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle between 1801-04.

In his ministry Fawcett was supported by his fellow Evangelicals. As early as July 1797, Joseph Milner reported that Fawcett had already been preaching for three months at a church. (49) Isaac Milner was in Carlisle in December 1802. He had been ill for the previous two months, and was accompanied by his surgeon, Mr Farish. 'My presence was absolutely necessary to support F[awcett], and on some other accounts'. (50) During the time when Fawcett was the assistant curate of St. Cuthbert's, there were problems with Methodists in Carlisle, and fortunately Charles Simeon, who was returning from a preaching tour in Scotland, spent a few days in the city.

> In my return through Carlisle I had another opportunity of serving God, and I trust, of benefiting my fellow-reatures. The church of my dear and honoured friend Mr. John Fawcett was at that time very much distracted by the Methodists, I mean by the followers of Mr. Wesley, who adopt that name. Of that body there are many thousands, I doubt not, who are truly and eminently pious; but there are also many who are lamentably enthusiastic and deluded. The doctrine of sinless perfection is not only espoused by many of them, but maintained

> as actually existing in their own experience. Of his hearers there were some of this cast, who being really pious themselves are very active in doing good, had great sway among the people, and were making proselytes to their opinions. (51)

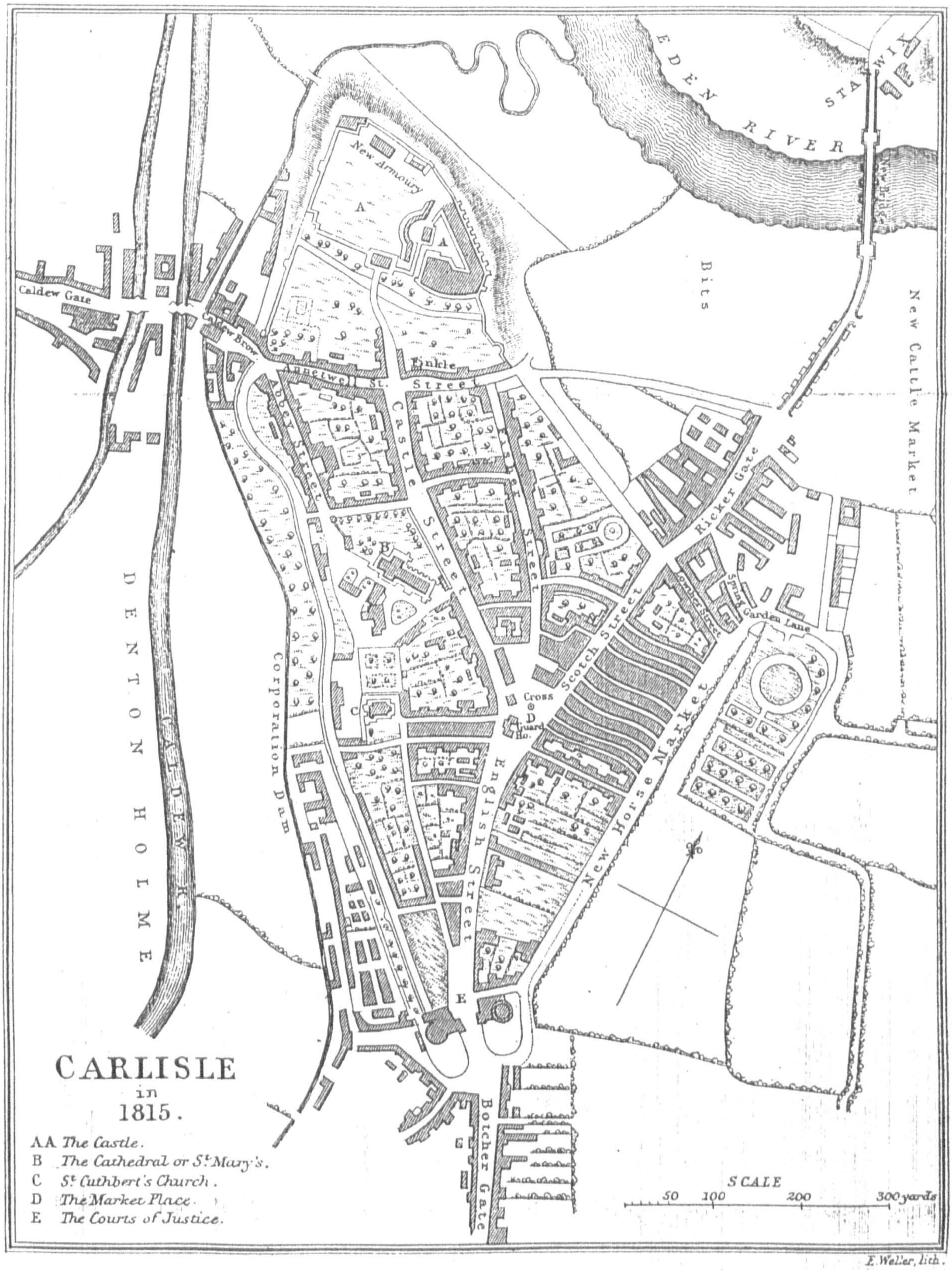
Simeon spent a whole afternoon speaking about the error of the system, and made it clear that there was no such thing as instant perfection, rather, 'the whole scripture speaks of sanctification as gradual and progressive'.

> Of such topics as these I insisted at large; and it pleased God to bless the conversation, that every person in the company was brought to see the erroneousness of the sentiment, which he had begun to adopt; and from that time the minds of many individuals, who had been grievously perplexed, were composed; and union pervaded the whole church, which was just on the eve of being rent sunder by divisions. It happened, unfortunately, that the person, who had first introduced these sentiments, was absent; and it is to be feared continued still to hold them; but no further inroad was made by them, nor has been made since. (52)

In common with most Evangelicals Fawcett, who was a quiet retiring man, experienced opposition during the early years of his ministry at St. Cuthbert's, and men walked out of the church. But in due course the opposition subsided. Speaking in May 1814 on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of his new parsonage house in Botchergate, he recalled the situation at the commencement of his ministry.

> Nor can I be ignorant, that some measure of reproach did attend my preaching in the earlier period of my ministry ... I trust, indeed, that had I experienced a different treatment, I should still, have laboured among you with meekness and fear. (53)

The house which was erected at a cost of £1,234.4.6, (54) was a clear demonstration of his congregation's support and the sentiment was expressed in a Hebrew inscription over the main entrance 'The gift of my People'. (55) In his sermon published at the request of his congregation, Fawcett spoke of his joy at being the



CARLISLE in 1815.

AA *The Castle.*
B *The Cathedral or St. Mary's.*
C *St. Cuthbert's Church.*
D *The Market Place.*
E *The Courts of Justice.*

E. Weller, lith.

London; Longmans & Co.

minister of St. Cuthbert's.

> The numbers that attend the church; the spirit of devotion which appears in a considerable part of the congregation (would that it were more general!); the increase of communicants; the readiness with which you have met every call upon your liberality, whether for the relief of distress, or the aid of Christian missions, all these have imparted to me the most sincere satisfaction. (56)

In July 1815 Simeon again passed through Carlisle, and renewed old acquaintances at Scaleby Castle. In Carlisle he spoke at a Bible Society meeting and gave detailed criticism of the recent attack against the society. On the Sunday, Simeon preached at St. Cuthbert's church and at Scaleby on the Monday and Tuesday. Simeon confessed that he found it difficult to refuse a speaking engagement.

> This is contrary to my judgement; but I find it difficult to say NO, when urged by my friends to such a service.

He then rested the following day before proceeding on his journey to Glasgow. (57)

Fawcett's ministry developed in the characteristic Evangelical pattern. He held 'Fawcett parties' - based on the Simeonite model - for Bible reading and prayer, and led by Fawcett and his curate (Mr. Ward) and a group of laymen. (58) He was an early supporter of the Carlisle temperance movement, and supported the erection of the Cumberland Infirmary. He published his sermons and addresses, (59) published Short questions upon the Catechism, (60) and his own hymn book Collections of Psalms and Hymns went through 12 editions between 1802-39. Between 1828-31 he was responsible for the erection of Christ Church, Carlisle, and between 1836-41 the erection of St. John's church, Upperby. Two of his particular concerns were in the support of CMS and in education.

Throughout his ministry Fawcett was involved with the CMS. He was one of the original members in 1799, and became one of the 26 country members of the committee. (61) In Carlisle Fawcett acted as the CMS agent 'for the purpose of circulating reports and papers, in order to make the society better known'. (62) In this capacity in July 1801 he received 25 copies of the annual report for distribution. (63) In 1807 there were only seven CMS supporters in Carlisle. (64) From that year he began to preach annual sermons for CMS, and was responsible for the formation of the Carlisle auxiliary in December 1817. by October 1813 Fawcett was able to inform the London headquarters that

> few persons of my lower classes have associated themselves to further the missionary cause by weekly penny subscriptions ... I see some of the members of the weekly association the first Monday of every month. (65)

During the year 1819-20, all but £50 of the £276 collected by the Cumberland Association was from Fawcett. In Westmorland, £100 of the £160 donated was from the Carus Wilsons at Kirkby Lonsdale. (66) In the 50 years 1817-67, £14,416 15s had been raised by the Carlisle auxiliary. (67) Fawcett spoke at the jubilee breakfast meeting of CMS in November 1848, and remarked that he was the only person present who had been a member of the society since its foundation. (68)

At a meeting of members of St. Cuthbert's congregation held in March 1849 it was resolved 'to establish new schools in St. Cuthbert's parish, comprising day schools for boys and girls, Sunday schools and an infant school'. To mark the jubilee of Fawcett's ministry, it was proposed that his name should

> be connected with the schools, as a more suitable memorial of the esteem and love of his congregation than monumental brass or marble, and that the schools be called therefore 'The Fawcett Schools'. (69)

The schools, which were situated near St. Cuthbert's church, were erected at a cost of £1,700 (and included a grant of £334) and were opened free from debt on 7 January 1851. (70) The schools included

> a day school for boys, girls and infants; a Sunday school for boys and girls, connected with which as a sick club, and separate libraries for the scholars and the teachers, and an evening school.

By the end of the third quarter of the first year, 380 children were attending the day schools, and during the second half of the year there were 220 children in the Sunday school with 41 teachers. Though Fawcett died in December 1851 it was noted 'that he lived to see them completed and in operation, with every prospect of success'. (71)

The memorial in St. Cuthbert's church records Fawcett's ministry.

> This monument is erected by his parishioners and friends in grateful remembrance of the faithfulness and affection with which during a period of upwards of fifty years he preached in this church the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

Less than five years were to intervene between the death of John Fawcett and of the two Palmerston appointments to Carlisle - Bishop Villiers and Dean Close.

PART THREE

POST 1856: THE REFORMED DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

Part Three of the thesis is concerned with the Palmerston appointments and later episcopal changes. Then in some detail an examination of the ministries of Bishops Henry Montagu Villiers and Samuel Waldegrave and Dean Francis Close.

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PART THREE

POST 1856: THE REFORMED DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

In the latter days of July in the year 185., a most important question was for ten days hourly asked in the cathedral city of Barchester, and answered every hour in various ways - Who was to be the new Bishop?

The death of old Dr. Grantly, who had for many years filled that chair with meek authority, took place exactly as the ministry of Lord ... was going to give place to that of Lord ... . The illness of the good old man was long and lingering, and it became at last a matter of intense interest to those concerned whether the new appointment should be made by a conservative or liberal government.

It was pretty well understood that the out-going premier had made his selection, and that if the question rested with him, the mitre would descend on the head of Archdeacon Grantly, the old Bishop's son. The Archdeacon had long managed the affairs of the diocese; and for some months previous to the demise of his father, rumour had confidently assigned to him the reversion of his father's honours.

Bishop Grantly died as he had lived, peaceably, slowly, without pain and without excitement.

(A. Trollope, Barchester Towers [1857] (London 1960) p1)

a) The Palmerston Bishops

While it may be an overstatement to describe Anthony Ashley (the Earl of Shaftesbury) as the 'Bishop maker' (1) he made it his intention 'to see the situation through Palmerston's eyes'. (2) Clearly Shaftesbury saw what was not obvious to his father-in-law, Lord Palmerston.

> I much fear that Palmerston's ecclesiastical appointments will be detestable. He does not know, in theology, Moses from Sydney Smith. The Vicar of Romsey, where he goes to church, is the only clergyman he ever spoke to; and, as for the wants, the feelings, the views, the hopes and fears, of the country, and particularly the religious part of it, they are as strange to him as the interior of Japan. Why, it was only a short time ago that he heard, for the first time, of the grand heresy of Puseyites and Tractarians! (3)

Yet Palmerston was not totally ill-informed: and he enjoyed the pretence that he was. His views were clearly stated.

> I have never considered ecclesiastical appointments as patronage to be given away for grace and favour, and for personal or political objects. The choice to be made of persons to fill dignities in the church must have a great influence on many important matters; and I have always endeavoured, in making such appointments, to choose the best man I could find, without any regard to the wishes of those who may have recommended candidates for choice. (4)

Certainly Palmerston had the best interests of the country in mind when he made episcopal appointments. He looked for what he regarded as 'a good and proper man', who would relate well to Nonconformists. He believed that

> It is desirable that a bishop should have practical knowledge of parochial functions, and should not be of an overbearing and intolerant temperament. His diocesan duties are enough to occupy all his time, and the less he engages in theological disputes the better. Much mischief has been done by theological bishops ... (5)

Palmerston often said, 'If the man is good man I don't care what his political opinions are'. (6) But herein lay a difficulty for Palmerston as well as for other Victorian Prime-ministers, the tendency to equate party affiliation in the church with that in the political world. (7)

In general terms Palmerston considered that the population of England and Wales could be divided into two-thirds as Anglicans and a third as Nonconformists. The Anglicans were divided into the high church and the low church parties.

> The high church are few in number and are favoured chiefly in the higher classes, the different degrees of low church or at least of those who are against high church are numerous, among the higher class and one may say, universal among the middle and lower class of churchmen.
>
> The safest course is to lean towards the low church by which means a greater degree of religious harmony is obtained than by the other course ... a few more Bishops like Oxford and Exeter would raise a flame throughout the country, and even Blomfield was the cause of great discontent. (8)

But Palmerston's rough analysis took no notice of the findings of the Religious Census of 1851, nor of W. J. Conybeare's inclusion of the minority Broad church party. In reality theological opinion was deeply divided, and these divisions crossed party boundaries.

It was Palmerston's opinion that 'men of very moderate capacity have too often been chosen for the office of Bishop'. Caution was required in making episcopal appointments. Men like Samuel Wilberforce and Henry Phillpotts 'would be better if their abilities were less'. (9) During the course of Palmerston's premiership, between February 1855 to February 1858, and between June 1859 to July 1865, a number of Evangelicals were raised to high office in the Church of England. In the first ministry the appointments were

more cautious and conservative, but from 1859 they were more imaginative and liberal in outlook. These appointments included Archbishops, Bishops and Deans, as well as university, crown and cathedral appointments. (10)

Shaftesbury wanted the most suitable men appointed. They would be 'the best men that could be found, possessing such qualities and attainments as might render them good, though not the best, men'. His criteria did not necessarily include academic achievement.

> Professors, tutors, and dons of colleges are by no means, on an average, men fitted for episcopal duty. The knowledge of mankind, and experience of parochial life are not acquired in musty libraries and easy-chairs. Practical divinity is one thing, speculative divinity another, and the accomplishments that make an active and useful Bishop, are purchased at the cost of that learning which would make him a theological champion, armed at all points, and ready on all occasions. (11)

Shaftesbury's Evangelical faith influenced the names whom he recommended to Palmerston.

> The first Bishops were decidedly of the Evangelical School; and my recommendations were made with that intention. I could not foresee the duration of his power, and I was resolved to put forward men who would preach the truth, be active in their dioceses, be acceptable to the working people, and not offensive to the Nonconformists. He accepted my suggestions on these very grounds and heartily approved them. (12)

Palmerston acted shrewdly. His appointments increased his political supporters. Shaftesbury noted that

> The first appointments were so successful that they influenced elections, turned votes in the House of Commons, and raised around him a strong party in the country. (13)

The Evangelicals were good and godly, and some of them just happened to be Whigs - Villiers, Waldegrave, Baring and Pelham were all Whigs. Of the appointment of Villiers to Carlisle and Baring to Gloucester, Shaftesbury wrote

> His two Bishops, whom I named to him, have brought him unbounded popularity; and well they might. Will he not believe that my next advice will be of the same character? (14)

The Daily News warmly supported the appointment of Villiers and Baring.

> They are both superior to their school: they are well born, bred among large-hearted men of the world, and have imbibed in the circles with which they have been familiar every maxim of tolerance, consideration for others, generosity and justice. (15)

Of Villiers it was said that he was

> humble, labourious, sincere; one who did admirable practical work. While other classes of men have been represented on the bench, the working parish priest ought to be represented, and of this class Dr. Villiers was an admirable representative. (16)

The Evangelical bishops included men who possessed high academic ability (Charles Baring and Samuel Waldegrave gained double firsts at Oxford) and had considerable parochial experience (Charles Baring, Robert Bickerseth, John Pelham and Henry Villiers had all held lengthy incumbencies). The three Evangelical deans - Francis Close, William Goode and Henry Law - had lengthy experience in parishes and, in addition, Goode was a noted apologist.

Yet Dr. B. E. Hardman can still maintain

> That none of these men were of any great stature or made any permanent contribution to the church of their day ... there were a number of excellent parish priests who made good pastoral bishops, but they did not make ecclesisatical statesmen nor any contribution to theological thought and scholarship.

The single exception which Hardman conceeded, was Samuel Waldegrave's Bampton Lectures on Millennialism. (17)

There was much unfounded prejudice against the appointment of

Evangelicals as bishops. Samuel Wilberforce bluntly condemned 'Lord Palmerston's wicked appointments'. (18) Professor O.Chadwick describes how

> The Palmerston Evangelicals were denounced as ignorant and factious enthusiasts; were watched with lynx-eyes that they might stumble; were mocked and humiliated. (19)

The leadership style and personal qualities of the Evangelical bishops was not identical. Pelham of Norwich was a pastor, 'a man of the bible and of prayer', in stark contrast to his predecessor the liberal Samuel Hinds. Bickersteth of Ripon was 'a quiet and solemn pastor' who was 'diligent and devout'.(20) He was regarded as 'eminently a preaching prelate', (21) who was first and foremost a diocesan bishop, rather than a party bishop. (22) Bickersteth 'gloried in the title of Evangelical, but he always repudiated the charge of being a low churchman'. (23) On the other hand, Baring of Durham was criticised for being a party bishop, rather than the bishop of a diocese. (24) It was through his rough handling of Anglo-Catholic clergy that he was dubbed as 'over-Baring' (over-bearing) or 'past-Baring' (past-bearing), (25) and was accused of treating his clergy as though they were potatoes in a field. (26) Villiers has been described as 'a kindly man of simple piety' (27) an able, new-style, reforming bishop. Waldegrave was a single-minded, hardworking and conscientious prelate, loved by his friends and hated by his enemies.

Mrs G. Battiscombe accurately concludes that

> The Shaftesbury bishops were, on the whole, good Christian men who did their duty conscientiously in their dioceses and made little stir in the world at large. Their influence might have been greater had the mortality among them not been so

> surprisingly high ... Ten years after Palmerston's death [in1865] only four Shaftesbury bishops survived. (28)

Villiers died at Durham aged 48, and Waldegrave died at Carlisle aged 52. The deaths of these two Evangelical bishops robbed the party of two able men who could have been significant Evangelical leaders well into the 1870s and 1880s. If they had lived, J. C. Ryle, later Bishop of Liverpool, would not have been such an isolated Evangelical leader.

In 1860 on Villiers' translation from Carlisle to Durham, it was rumoured that William Thomson the ambitious, reforming Provost of Queen's College, Oxford who was born at Whitehaven would succeed him. Certainly he was the sort of person whom the Queen favoured as a Bishop. With 'his dignified manners, his strong sonorous voice, clear logical sermons, won her admiration and that of the Prince Consort'. (29)

In June 1860, Thomson wrote to his wife

> Last night I saw Sam Oxon, who told me that he had it on high authority that but for the accident of Carlisle being my native diocese, I should have had it. I expressed doubts, but he smiled and said I might assure myself it was perfectly true. He said that Temple also had been named. Hence, it was meant also to have a hit at me; 'they have such a horror' he said 'of anyone with brains'. (30)

In the event, Waldegrave succeeded Villiers, and Thomson became briefly the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol between 1861-62. On the death of John Bird Sumner in September 1862, Charles Baring, Bishop of Durham, was Shaftesbury's choice as Archbishop of Canterbury, and Samuel Waldegrave, Bishop of Carlisle, as Archbishop of York. (31) But this Evangelical leadership was not to be, and Palmerston translated Charles Thomas Longley from York to Canterbury. A. C. Tait received

the news with some concern, since he was offered the Archbishopric of York.

> Last night brought the announcement of Longley's appointment ... My anxiety is lest the Evangelical and Liberal sections of the church may lose what they have gained of late years. But all my thoughts have turned in another channel by the most unexpected receipt, before afternoon service, of a letter from Palmerston, offering me the Archbishopric of York. I should have at once declined to leave my great post in London for this quieter sphere had it not been that I have some fears as to my health, and the difficulties which beset the final settlement of what are to be the limits of the London diocese. (32)

It would be interesting to speculate about the destiny of the Church of England if Tait had left London for York in 1862, and not for Canterbury in 1868. In the event, Tait declined the Archbishopric of York. Gladstone favoured Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, for York, and Palmerston, Samuel Waldegrave. But,

> The Queen vetoed the appointment, to the great indignation of the minister, and insisted upon the translation of the new Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol - a proposal which increased Lord Palmerston's wrath. (33)

On the death of Archbishop Longley in October 1868, Tait believed that Archbishop Thomson would succeed him, and that Samuel Wilberforce would be translated from Oxford to York. (34) Bishop Waldegrave favoured the appointment of John Jackson, Bishop of Lincoln, as Archbishop of Canterbury. But in the event Jackson was translated to London, and Tait became Archbishop of Canterbury.

In response to a letter from Tait Waldegrave replied:

> My dear friend ... Be assured that no one will more heartily pray for you - no one will more warmly rejoice with you - than your old and grateful pupil, who now writes to you.
>
> He will pray that all physical strength may be vouchsafed, which is needful for one who will now have upon him 'the care of all the churches': and he will also pray that all

that wisdom to discern, and that faith to execute, that which is right, may be given, which will be so largely required.

Oh, my friend, you are called to the helm in very troublous times: two contending winds blow hard against our barque - practical infidelity from one side, practical popery from the other. How can you do well, unless you take that great chart of the written word to guide your course, and unless you trust Him who is in the ship and whom the winds and waves obey? Therefore, I say that I will pray for wisdom and faith on your behalf.

All who love you and the Church of England will anxiously enquire 'Who is to go to Fulham?'. Do not, forgive my boldness, be a party to bringing to the seat you quit a successor either from the Deanery of Westminster [A. P. Stanley], or the Palace of Cuddesdon [Samuel Wilberforce].

And then, I speak freely because I love you and our dear Church of England, when you are Archbishop, act for yourself without fear; and let the world see that we have a primate who will trust the laity to arm him and his brethren with the requisite powers for suppressing the treason within our camp. It is lamentable how truly the laity mistrust us and how certainly they will leave us, if we do not do something. I have lately had some experience in these matters and the earnest sympathy my simple determination to exert any power I have, has worked, convinces me that which I once told Archbishop Longley is true, that if he would but lead, the whole country would follow us.

But I will not weary you: only let me again thank you for writing and tell you how truly I feel with and for you and yours. (35)

A few days later Waldegrave wrote to Bishop Jackson on his translation from Lincoln to London.

I cannot but tell you how thankful I am that you have been called to the Bishopric of London ... I hope that, in conjunction with our dear Archbishop of Canterbury, we shall now find that we have legislators for the church - and legislators unhampered by that miserable condition of the previous concurrence of Convocation.

Let Convocation speak if it will - but do not let us wait for it while the enemy is in our citadel. I fancy that the Bishop of London is the legislator properly of the church. Take up then the subject of the Ecclesiastical law courts also. But I will not trouble you, save to express my great joy that, as my original wish to see you at Canterbury has not been conceded, it has pleased our God to give my old friend and tutor Tait such a successor to be at his right hand. Was it not for this, my dear Bishop, that the Lord was making you ready when he

visited you so grieviously a blow in the spring? (36)

The following year, 1869, the so-called 'rain of bishoprics' took place. (37) Death, and the implementation of the Bishop's Resignation Act meant that elderly, incapacitated bishops could retire.

Editorials in The Times looked forward to the appointment of bishops who would be men of their age who would unite rather than divide the Church of England.

> The creation of new class of bishops, with less territory, less income, less pomp, less political duty, less used to interfere with the discharge of their first duties, and less to excite the jealousy of the sects. (38)
>
> The great duty of a bishop is to unite his diocese, not to divide it by leading a party within it ..., now, more than ever, we need in the rulers of the church men equally pious, moderate and wise. (39)

In Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave the diocese of Carlisle had been led by two outstanding Palmerston bishops. Their 13 year rule of the diocese will now be examined in greater depth to see how their Evangelicalism was worked out in practice.

b) The ministry of Bishop Henry Montagu Villiers

Henry Montagu Villiers (1813-1861) was born in London the younger brother of the fourth Earl of Clarendon. His aristocratic connections and natural ability paved the way for his personal advancement. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford and graduated BA in 1834, and MA in 1837. He became DD in 1856. He was ordained deacon by Bishop J. B. Sumner in January 1836, and priest the following year. (1) In 1837 he married Amelia Maria Hulton of Hulton Park, Lancashire. One of their sons, also called Henry Montagu Villiers, later abandoned his Evangelical roots and became an Anglo-Catholic.

Villiers had a wide parochial experience in the north, the midlands and in London before becoming Bishop of Carlisle. He was briefly curate of Deane, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire 1836-37, under Edward Girdlestone. (2) Villiers was then Vicar of St. Nicholas, Kenilworth 1837-41, and Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, London 1841-56. He became a Canon of St. Paul's cathedral in March 1847.

Villiers was one of the leading Evangelicals in London, and was described as doing 'an immense amount of good in his parish. His exertions are unceasing; his church crowded'. (3) In his large and important parish he was assisted by five curates. There were the usual range of parochial organisations and Evangelical auxiliary societies as well as numerous schools - two Ragged Schools, Sunday Schools, Charity Schools, two National Schools and an Infant School. (4)

In addition Villiers published a number of devotional works and, like many of his fellow-Evangelicals, became pre-occupied with pre-millennialism. Each year from 1842 Villiers invited a number

of well-known Evangelicals to give Lent lectures on the Second Coming. These included such well-known names as Edward Auriol, Robert Bickersteth, Alexander Robert Charles Dallas and Thomas Rawson Birks. Almost all of the speakers were thoroughly committed to pre-millennialism, apart from John Charles Ryle who, while holding clear views on the subject, could in no way be described as a pre-millennialist. (5) Writing the Preface to the 1843 lectures, Edward Bickerseth said of the twelve lecturers (who included Villiers) -

> They all expect a millennium yet to come; they all look for the personal coming of our Lord before that millennium; they all believe the political restoration of Israel to their own land. They look for the first resurrection, and glory of the saints at the coming of our Lord before the millennium. (6)

Ten years later in his Bampton Lectures, Samuel Waldegrave was to dismiss pre-millennialism as 'an enticing but by no means harmless phantasy'. (7) Evangelicals were divided over the issue, but for those who believed in Christ's personal reign there was a common bond which drew them together. Since his incumbency at Kenilworth Villiers had known William 'Millennial' Marsh, whom Villiers described as 'his father in Christ'. Their friendship remained until Villiers' death. (8)

Throughout his ministry Villiers remained in close fellowship with Nonconformists. On Sunday mornings he greeted William Brock (the elder) the minister of Bloomsbury Baptist chapel with the ancient greeting - 'The Lord be with you', to which he responded - 'And with thy spirit'. Villiers welcomed Brock to Bloomsbury in 1848, and Villiers regarded him 'as a fellow labourer in the vine-yard of the Lord'. Their Sunday Schools were not in competition

Engraved by T. ... Lound from a Photograph by Mayall.

with each other, 'but generous co-operation' existed between them. (9) On leaving St. George's, Bloomsbury, Villiers received silver plate valued at 600 guineas. 'No minister in London was more popular than Villiers when in 1856 he was appointed by Palmerston to the bishopric of Carlisle'. (10)

Palmerston's first episcopal appointment was of Villiers as Bishop of Carlisle. Bishop Percy died at Rose Castle on 5 February, and Villiers was nominated to succeed him on 7 March. His appointment was confirmed on 10 April, and Villiers was consecrated bishop in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, London on 13 April 1856. The consecrating Bishops were Thomas Musgrave (York), John Graham (Chester), Charles Longley (Ripon) and James Prince Lee (Manchester). Robert Bickerseth, then a Canon of Salisbury cathedral, and soon to become Bishop of Ripon, preached the sermon on Luke 12:42-43. Following the usual custom, Villiers was not personally installed in his cathedral, but the ceremony was performed by the Vice-Dean, with the Chancellor of the diocese standing in for the Bishop, and in the presence of four clergy and the diocesan registrar.

Villiers' appointment marked a new stage in the history of the diocese of Carlisle. He came as a modern, reforming Evangelical Bishop to the enlarged diocese of Carlisle. The episcopate of Bishop Hugh Percy was dull and uneventful. His aristocratic background and marriage to Mary Manners Sutton, daughter of the Archbishop of Canterbury brought him early promotion in his ecclesiastical career. Between 1822-27 he advanced from being Archdeacon of Canterbury to Dean of Canterbury, then briefly Bishop of Rochester before being translated to Carlisle. From 1816 until his death he held the

wealthy Prebendal stall of Finsbury at St. Paul's cathedral. The restoration of Rose Castle was funded out of the endowments, and he spent £40,000 of his own income on the property, and built the gardens laid out by Sir John Paxton. He was 'a prelate of the old school ... a genial specimen of a courtly gentlemen', who was an authority on farming and a good judge of horses. (11) An obituary notice recorded that

> He was of the High Church, but no Tractarian and set not his affection on mediaeval frippery; he stood aloof from that and equally so from the disorganised portion of the church, who descend so low in the case of discipline as to be indistinguishable from dissenters. Take him all in all, it may be long, perhaps, ere we find in his situation a better man. (12)

Percy's lengthy episcopate between 1827-56, held back the enlargement of the diocese of Carlisle. Until the nineteenth century there were twenty-three dioceses in England and Wales. Industriali-sation had created a movement of the population into the urban areas of Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds. Dioceses like Chester were extensive and included the city of Chester in the south and St. Bees in the north, making adequate episcopal supervision impossible. In his 1832 Charge, Bishop Sumner noted that Manchester was a single parish of 200,000 persons; and in the past 15 years, 41 churches had been consecrated in Lancashire. (13) By 1841 Sumner reported that of the 170 new churches in the diocese, 14 new churches had been erected in Cumbria. (14)

The method adopted for the reform of the Church of England was a more tactful exercise than that adopted for the reform of the Irish Church in 1833. The creation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1835 enabled necessary reform to take place in a

redistribution of episcopal income, the creation of additional bishoprics, and the modification of existing diocesan boundaries. An increase in church building also became possible, together with a resident clergyman earning a salary of £150 a year.

In the first report of the Commissioners, the northern province of the Church of England was described as follows:

York diocese	891 benefices	1,463,503 population
Chester diocese	555 benefices	1,902,354 population
Durham diocese	146 benefices	452,637 population
Carlisle diocese	127 benefices	127,701 population

The report recommended the creation of the two new sees of Manchester and Ripon, and readjustments to other diocesan boundaries. Rather than increase the number of Bishops in the House of Lords, it was proposed to amalgamate the sees of Gloucester with Bristol, and St. Asaph with Bangor. Gloucester and Bristol were united in 1836 (divided in 1897) and the see of Ripon created. The second union did not take place, and the see of Manchester which was created in 1847, did not have its Bishop in the House of Lords. This new diocese consisted of two huge Archdeaconries of Manchester and Lancashire.

The third report of the Commissioners recommended the enlargement of the small, ancient diocese of Carlisle, to include north Lancashire, and to be amalgamated with the island diocese of Sodor and Man.

> That the sees of Carlisle and Sodor and Man be united; and that the diocese consist of the present diocese of Carlisle, of those parts of Cumberland and Westmorland which are now in the diocese of Chester, of the deanery of Furness and Cartmel in the county of Lancaster, of the parish of Alderston [ie Alston] now in the diocese of Durham, and of the Isle of Man. (15)

Local opposition prevented the amalgamation of Carlisle with Sodor and Man, and though other recommendations were approved, did not come into effect until the death of Bishop Percy.

Villiers was already an ideal choice for a bishop of an enlarged diocese. For three years 1853-55 he was a member of the Cathedral Commission which recommended an increase in the number of bishops and in the creation of additional dioceses. (16) Villiers' administrative ability was not in question, but in an old-fashioned High Church diocese there was uncertainty about the prospect of having a young ambitious Evangelical Bishop.

At his visitation in June 1856 Archdeacon William Jackson called for unity among the clergy of the diocese.

> My intention has been to suggest to you that essential unity may and ought to exist among us, even with the differences of opinion which prevail. Party feeling, party business, party names, are the very germs and principle of schism. (17)

From the outset of his episcopacy Villiers made it clear that 'he had no sympathy with those who are wholly Romanists, and he had none for those who are semi-Romanists'. (18) A number of the clergy were High Church in outlook, and there were few Tractarians apart from isolated examples like that of Edward Hughes, curate of Whitehaven in the 1850s. Villiers made it clear that he was pleased that

> no encouragement had been given in the diocese to the dissemination of views so diametrically opposed in spirit to the writings of the Reformers and to the scriptures of truth.
>
> I may congratulate you on the all but complete absence from the diocese of those doctrines which, if by subtle reasoning, they can be distinguished from, are yet so near akin to the errors of Romanism as to have perverted many who were once

> members of our Reformed Protestant church. I am thankful that we appear to be clear of the filthiness of the confessional, as well as free, in nearly every parish, from the more harmless puerilities connected with the services of the Church of Rome. (19)

Having established his own position Villiers was anxious 'to bring the two divisions of the diocese into such working order that the different parts should harmonise together'. (20) In this there was a willingness to work together. 'I have found in this diocese a unity of feeling and a willingness to co-operate in every good and useful work, which I suspect no other diocese can surpass'. (21)

Theological orthodoxy, unity among the clergy, and an open relationship between bishop and clergy were important to Villiers.

> I beg, therefore, to invite from each of you the most free, open, and confidential communications. I shall, while I reserve the right of decision, feel thankful for any suggestions which may conduce to improvements amongst the people, or to lead to greater harmony and unity amongst the clergy. (22)

However, this open style did not include the revival of Convocation. Villiers regarded its revival with the greatest suspicion. Rather than create unity, it would only bring further division in the church. In his opinion, 'the great body of the working clergy had no confidence in Convocation'. (23)

The administrative unity of the enlarged diocese was created through the work of the senior clergy and through the appointment of rural deans. Archibald Campbell Tait had been Dean of Carlisle since 1849 but the Chancellor and Archdeacon of Carlisle were recent appointments by Bishop Percy. The office of Chancellor of the diocese was important. The Archdeacon was in effect only the surrogate to the Chancellor. Only in 1887 the right to conduct visitations was restored to the archdeacons. (24) In 1855 Bishop

Percy transferred William Jackson from his position as Chancellor of the diocese (since 1846) to that of Archdeacon of Carlisle, and his friend Charles James Burton as Chancellor. Burton, who held this position between 1855-87, was a noted ecclesiastical lawyer.

In May 1856 Bishop Villiers appointed Robert Wilson Evans as the first Archdeacon of Westmorland whose area of jurisdiction covered the southern part of the enlarged diocese. Evans, who had served in the diocese since 1832, was Vicar of Heversham between 1842-66. He had been a fellow and tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was the author of a number of publications which included The Bishopric of Souls, and five volumes in the Theological Library series. Of Evans it was said that he 'held the archdeaconry to the great satisfaction of the clergy and laity of the district'. (25) On his death in 1866, Bishop Waldegrave referred to Evans as 'our truly venerable brother [who] recognised and cherished honesty of purpose and sincerity of heart'. (26)

Although the ancient office of rural dean had been revived in 1835, none were appointed in the diocese of Carlisle until January 1858, when eighteen rural deaneries were created within the two archdeaconries of Carlisle and Westmorland. (27) Villiers believed that the appointment of rural deans would increase the bond between all the clergy and the bishop. (28) The eighteen appointments were not made on the basis on churchmanship. Only three of the new rural deans can be positively identified as Evangelicals - Thomas Dundas Harford Battersby and Samuel Peach Boutflower and John Dayman; two were High Churchmen - Richard Gwillym and Christopher Parker. In at least four cases, it was length of

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service which was the determining factor in the appointment of Edward Heelis, Henry Curwen, Thomas Wilkinson and Christopher Benson. In February 1861 Bishop Waldegrave increased the number of rural deans, and subsequently 'assistant rural deans' were appointed in the larger deaneries.

In his only Charge to the diocese (1858) Villiers spoke at some length about education. He was anxious to make progress in the improvement of the schools in the diocese. The Carlisle Diocesan Education Society (founded in 1855) had made little headway since Bishop Percy's death and Dean Tait's appointment as Bishop of London. Villiers referred to 'other causes' which meant that 'not much progress has been made in educational matters for some months'. (29) This may have been a criticism of Francis Close, whom Villiers had been anxious to secure as Dean to assist him in the promotion of education in the diocese. But Close who had made Cheltenham the scholastic centre of Evangelicalism, failed to make much impression on the schools of Cumbria. Villiers took his own initiatives in promoting education and appointed Joseph Lowther Hodgson, the Perpetual Curate of Wetheral as the diocesan school inspector. For Villiers he was the ideal choice. He was

> a north countryman, whose feelings were naturally with the men of the north, and in whose judgment I had from much personal intercourse, a great confidence. (30)

To assist Hodgson, an 'organizing master' was appointed, and much of the local inspection was carried out by the rural deans.

Throughout Cumbria the educational provision was poor. The old school buildings were 'totally unfit for the purposes of education', and the teachers 'betray the want of proper training'. (31) Of the

100 educational districts, 38 were under government inspection, 54 under diocesan inspection, and eight districts had no schools. Of the schools which Hodgson visited, most of the buildings were unsuitable - with the endowed schools being the worst. Many of the schoolmasters (whose average age was 38) were self-appointed, and received an average salary of £40 a year. (32)

In 1856 the government inspector reported that

> Large tracts of country are all but barren in the inspector's harvest. In the whole of Westmorland, for example (excluding Kendal), there are but two certified teachers. In the two extreme portions of Cumberland, south of Whitehaven, and north of Carlisle, there is not one ... Of the south-west sea-board of Cumberland, I know absolutely nothing ... Of the general state of education I can give no idea except an emphatic silence. (33)

Villiers considered that the Sunday School, which was 'the nursery for the congregation' (34) was a 'necessary evil'.

> Necessary, because the parents cannot and will not teach the children; evils, because they break up the family union on the only day on which the parent, being a working man, can see his children. The evil would be partially remedied by allowing parents to call for their children and to sit with them in the church. (35)

Villiers believed that there were four factors which contributed towards the deficiencies of Cumberland schools:

1 The funds were too small to secure good buildings and teachers. Since the parishes were extensive, it was difficult to collect the pupils.

2 The teaching was unskillful.

3 The parents were not interested in education. They liked to see a show of knowledge, rather than a good foundation.

4 That economic conditions affected the rural districts. (36)

Whereas the provision for the education of the poor was inadequate, there were a reasonable number of grammar schools. In the 1860s, Westmorland had 40 Grammar schools for a population of 60,000, ie one school to 1,500 inhabitants. Cumberland with a population three times that of Westmorland, only had 30 Grammar schools. (37)

However slight there was improvement in the endowed schools of the diocese. In 1861 there were 141 endowed schools. Two-thirds of these had an income of less than £30 a year, and the rest between £40-90. (38) By 1864 there were 158 endowed schools, of which 90 had been improved. (39) By 1867 there were only five parishes in Westmorland without any school, and in the ten years 1857-67 there had been an increase in day-school attendance of between 1:11 to 1:9. (40)

The establishment of a training college for teachers would have improved the standards in the diocese. Geographically the nearest college was Bede College, Durham, but the Evangelical training college was at Cheltenham. Writing a reference for a lady superintendent for the Ripon Female Training Institution, Bishop Waldegrave wrote to his friend Bishop Bickerseth

> I would gladly engage her in the service of my own diocese, were we in possession of the valuable institution which you have been so happy as to inaugurate in yours. (41)

On numerous occasions Bishop Goodwin spoke of establishing a diocesan training college, but it was never built. (42)

A ray of light for the schools of the diocese was provided by George Moore, the Cumbrian-born Evangelical philanthropist.

Villiers commended Moore for his untiring zeal for establishing in 1856 competitive school examinations. (43) At the examination held in 1858 3,000 people were present in the Allhallows district to see 800 children examined in the presence of Villiers, local clergy, other worthies and George Robertson Moncrieff, the clerical government inspector. (44) Each year the annual examination drew a host of distinguished visitors and well-known Evangelical leaders. From its origins at Allhallows, the scheme was extended throughout Cumberland in 1868, and then into Westmorland. (45)

Villiers was deeply concerned about the education of the laity, and also about the quality of the lives of the clergy of the diocese. He emphasised 'personal piety', 'prayerfulness' and the visitation of the congregation. He stressed careful confirmation preparation, as well as paying 'heed to the style and manner of your preaching', since, 'much, very much will depend upon the work of the pulpit'.

Above all, there must be consistence in the minister's life.

> How can we be believed when we preach, if our lives out of the pulpit contradict what we say in the pulpit? ... We must be often in our pulpits, often with our people, but always with our God.

True Christian discipleship was to be the concern of the minister.

> Care little, then, whether men call you High Church or Low Church, but make sure that by your faithful preaching, you are adding to the true church of Christ ... I acknowledge the importance of making churchmen, but I feel the greater importance of making Christian churchmen. (46)

An area in which the minister was to set an example to his flock was in being against excessive drinking. Drunkenness was in Villiers' opinion, a 'gigantic evil'. (47) In the 1850s, it was said of the hill-clergy of Cumbria that a proportion of them were

'more or less intoxicated at one time or another, at parties, fairs or markets', and several clergy, according to one informant were 'notorious drunkards'. (48)

During his episcopate Villiers was involved with the disciplining of some of his clergy. The comment by C. M. L. Bouch that Villiers was 'a strong Evangelical and a disciplinarian' (49) gives the wrong impression of Villiers. Whether or not he was Evangelical, a Bishop had the right to discipline drunken clergymen! At least three clergy were suspended for drunkenness. In the summer of 1857 Robert Wightman, the Perpetual Curate of Newton Arlosh, was suspended for three years from exercising his ministry. The suspension was lifted in January 1861, but a further case was brought against him in November 1863. He resigned from the living, and was replaced by an Evangelical, William Mutrie Shepherd. Also in the summer of 1857, Robert Powley, Perpetual Curate of Eskdale, was suspended for two years for being drunk. The case of Thomas Bewsher was more protracted. Bewsher had been ordained by Villiers to the curacy of Mungrisdale in December 1856. He was suspended for drunkenness, and given notice to quit the curacy by May 1860 for failing to provide two full Sunday services. This order was confirmed by Bishop Waldegrave who expected that he would leave by Christmas Day 1860, but he remained until February 1861. Bewsher appealed to Archbishop Longley, but to no avail, and he held no further offices in the church, and died in 1874.(50)

Frederick Paget Wilkinson, Rector of Great Orton 1857-59, foolishly entered into a number of favours with the patron of the living Sir Wastel Briscoe, in which Wilkinson agreed to resign

from the benefice on the coming of age of the patron's grandson, who would become the incumbent. For this favour Wilkinson would receive a £100 year pension for life. Although Wilkinson was found guilty of simony, Villiers believed that he had been misled about the situation. (51) Wilkinson resigned from the living of Great Orton, and became Vicar of Ruyton XI Towns, Shrewsbury.

At least two clergymen were banned from ministering in the diocese. Villiers placed a ban on a clergyman named Hastwell, and this was extended by Bishop Waldegrave. (52) Similarly Villiers placed a ban on Charles Frederick Booker, who had resigned from the living of Parkstone, Dorset, and this was confirmed by Bishop Waldegrave. (53)

Villiers travelled extensively throughout his diocese, and set himself the target of preaching in every church. (54) Certainly he preached in remote hamlets where the inhabitants had never before seen a Bishop. (55) There was the novelty of hearing a Bishop preaching - when Villiers preached at Allhallows in August 1857, so many people turned up to hear him, that for the first time in his ministry he preached in the open air to 800-900 people sitting in the churchyard. (56) In the course of his episcopate Villiers consecrated churchyards and cemeteries, eight new churches and chapels, and held eleven ordinations.

His work as a Bishop was exemplary. Bishop Waldegrave said of his predecessor

> In that Christian energy, by which this diocese has been so largely benefited, he has left behind him an example, which every one of us can profitably follow. (57)

In his work in the diocese, Villiers was found to be

> preaching in the open air, visiting from cottage to cottage, praying with the dying, exhorting the living, elevating to a wonderful degree the tone of morality amongst the working classes in the neighbourhood; besides throwing open his house to the younger clergy, and especially to the candidates for holy orders. (58)

George Moore noted that his friend Villiers 'always preached extempore', and said of him that

> His powers of preaching are great. He is most persuasive. He shows the greatest firmness with the greatest kindness. I think him the most large-hearted Christian gentleman I ever knew. He is also very honest and straightforward in his opinions. I think it the greatest blessing, that he is sent to my native county to regenerate it, and with God's blessing he will. (59)

As a preacher Villiers was in demand outside his diocese. In May 1857 he preached the first in a series of sermons to the working classes in Exeter Hall, London. The occasion was described by Lord Shaftesbury:

> Last Sunday a glorious triumph for religion and the Church of England. Ah, blessed be God! A splendid proof of the use and value of the Religious Worship Act passed two years ago! Under the powers of this Act, in Exeter Hall, an evening service was conducted by the Bishop of Carlisle in full canonicals, for the benefit of all comers, especially the working classes, who 'were not habitual church or chapel goers': such was the advertisement.
>
> An attendance of more than 3,000 - order, decency, attention and even devotion. They sang well and lustily, and repeated the responses to the Litany (the only part of the Liturgy used) with regularity and earnestness. Villiers preached the sermon, on 'What saith the scripture?' - practical, pious, affectionate, true; delivered with dignity and power, and deeply impressive. (60)

The following year Villiers preached to the working classes in Westminster Abbey (61) and in 1859 in St. Paul's Cathedral, on his favourite subject - 'The coming of the Lord'. (62) In Carlisle both Bishop Villiers and Dean Close preached to the

working classes at special services held at St. Cuthbert's church, but the number of those attending was small. (63) In January 1857 Villiers preached a new year sermon at Christ Church, Carlisle, and this custom was continued by Bishop Waldegrave. (64)

Villiers supported the initiatives of George Moore and his friends to provide a scripture reader in every market town in the diocese, and with Dean Close helped establish the Country Towns Mission. By 1876 there were over 30 scripture readers in the diocese.(65)

The Bishop was anxious to make some progress in meeting the 'spiritual destitution' of the city of Carlisle. (66) He recognised the contribution made by the Nonconformists, but he wanted more Anglican work in the city. In July 1858 he published a circular appealing for funds to provide for the salary of a clergyman to work among the poor of Carlisle, (67) and in January 1859 opened a temporary wooden church in West Tower Street. (68) Villiers supported Dean Close in his concern to reach the poor of the cathedral city, and to provide an Anglican chaplain for the three workhouses in the Carlisle Union - at St. Mary's workhouse, Coalfell Hill and Harraby Hill. (69)

Throughout his ministry Villiers worked well with Nonconformists, and commended them for their church-building in Carlisle.

> I do not ignore, nor do I undervalue the labours of my Nonconformist brethren, nor am I insensible to the kindness and courtesy I have met with at their hands. (70)

Certainly Villiers was an Evangelical churchman, but he was not unaware of the Nonconformist contribution. His friend William Brock said of Villiers that while he was

> In union with Christ and in communion with all who belonged to Christ; conscientiously and faithfully attached to his own sect of the church, but unfeignedly and fraternally regardful of every other section of the church which the Lord hath purchased with his own blood. (71)

At the beginning of his episcopate Villiers won the favour of the Carlisle Nonconformists by not insisting on a dividing fence between the Anglican and Nonconformist plots in the Carlisle cemetery. (72)

In the diocese, Villiers supported the main Evangelical societies - CMS, CMJ, CPAS and the Irish Church Missions. At the first annual meeting of the Carlisle YMCA in May 1857 Close spoke of his, and of Bishop Villiers' involvement:

> If anyone asked why the new Bishop and the new Dean joined so heartily in this and hundred institutions, he would tell them that it was because the new Bishop and the new Dean had been laborious parochial ministers for many a long year. (73)

Villiers and Close were united in their beliefs and in what they were doing. The Dean said of the Bishop that 'they were both fighting under the same commander and sailing under the same colours'. (74) Villiers looked back with gratitude to the ministry of Dean Milner. Presiding at a meeting of the Carlisle auxiliary of the Bible Society, Villiers spoke of the close association between the Society and Dean Milner, and of his role as President.

> I am following somewhat in the steps of one whose praise is in all the parishes, and who was connected also with the cathedral of this city - I refer to Dean Milner. (75)

The involvement in the Bible Society by Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave and Dean Close meant an increasing support for the work of the Society. (76)

Villiers commended the preaching of charity sermons 'for the cause of the gospel at home and abroad', and he was convinced that 'the diocese would be in a more healthy state' if half-yearly sermons were preached - one for home mission and the other for overseas mission. (77) Lectures too, could be delivered in each parish. They would be the means of uniting the clergy and laity. The lectures did not have to be exclusively religious, 'but rather the contrary, leavening them with religion'. (78) But such things were only preparatory to preaching. There were nearly 100 churches in the diocese which had only one Sunday service. But, observed Villiers, 'the best mode of airing a church is keeping it well used'. (79)

Like other Evangelicals, Villiers encouraged a monthly administration of the Lord's Supper, in place of the more usual practice of only three or four times a year.

> I confess I am not one that attaches to the ordinance a superstitious, shall I say, a Romanist value? I am convinced, as strongly as you can be, of the Protestant doctrine that the elements remain unchanged; that is, that the bread and wine are neither changed into nor joined with the real body and blood of Christ ... But, my reverend friends, there may be frequent services, there may be frequent monthly communions, but, after all there may be no conversion to God. (80)

Villiers resisted supporting any move to revise the Liturgy, since it gave to the national church a broad basis of agreement which allowed for 'a fair latitude of interpretation which was consistent with scriptural truth'. For him, as for other Evangelicals, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion gave the boundaries of conformity.

I shall offer the strongest resistance in my power to any attempt to force changes in the mere spirit of a party, or to make changes for mere love of change; or to any narrowing of the basis of the Church of England, so as to exclude men who are prepared to say they honestly and ex animo can give in their adhesion to the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles 'in the true, usual and literal meaning of the said Articles, not putting their own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but taking it in the literal and grammatical sense'. (81)

Bishop Villiers, a Whig in his politics, rarely spoke in the House of Lords, and when he did speak he opposed the revival of Convocation, the marriage with the deceased wife's sister, and of the selling and hawking of goods on Sunday. But he spoke of the poverty of the diocese (82) and of the poverty of many of his clergy (83) and provided them, when possible, with practical financial assistance. (84)

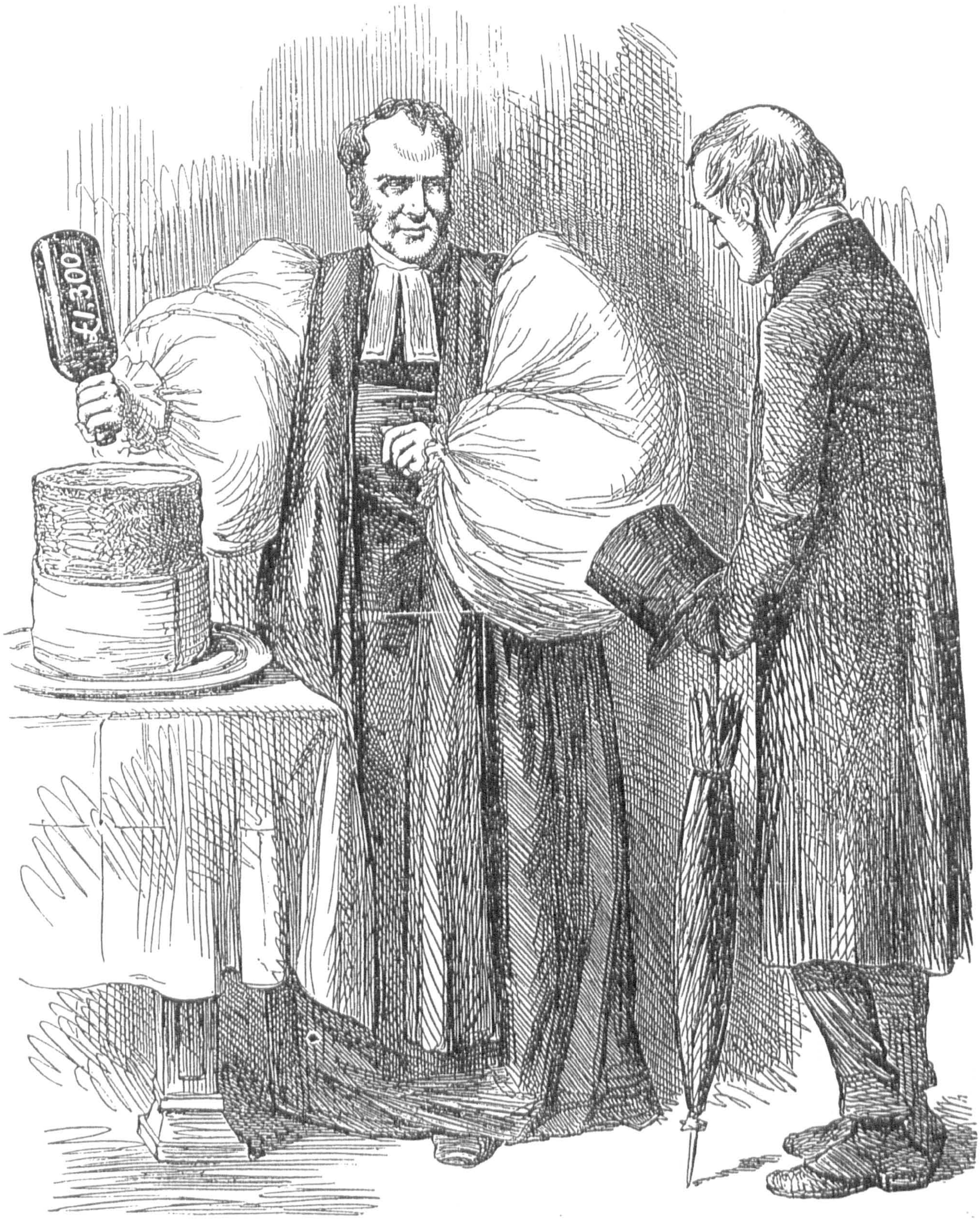
On the appointment of Bishop C. T. Longley as Archbishop of York, the able Villiers was translated from Carlisle to the senior bishopric of Durham. He was elected as Bishop of Durham on 21 July 1860, and the appointment was confirmed at York on 24 August. He was enthroned by proxy in Durham cathedral (Archdeacon Coxe taking the oaths) and two days later Villiers was installed in the cathedral. As Bishop of Durham, Villiers held two ordinations in his chapel at Auckland Castle, licensed clergy to their livings, and began to prepare for his Primary Visitation of the diocese. But early in July 1861, Villiers was taken seriously ill, suffering from what was described as 'suppressed gout' (85) and died 'after a most excruciating illness of more than a fortnight's duration'. (86) He died on 9 August, and the funeral held on 16 August. He was buried in the chapel of Auckland Castle.

So much for a good and able Bishop - apart from the fact that the last six months of his life were to cause Villiers and his family considerable pain over the appointment of his son-in-law to a lucrative living.

During his brief episcopate, Villiers had a number of chaplains. Two had been former curates at St. George's, Bloomsbury - Aubrey Charles Price, 1856-60 and Thomas Clarke, 1856-60. Villiers' son, Charles, was chaplain to his father between 1857-61, and Thomas Rawson Birks Rector of Kelshall, Hertfordshire,was his examining chaplain. The Bishop's domestic chaplain was Edward Cheese. Cheese, an Oxford graduate, was ordained deacon by Villiers in 1857, and priest in 1858. In December 1858 he became the Perpetual Curate of Raughton Head, half a mile from Rose Castle, and in April 1860, married Amy Villiers, the Bishop's eldest daughter. The couple were married by the Bishop of Winchester at Holy Trinity Church, Chelsea.

In February 1861 Villiers appointed Cheese to the wealthy living of Haughton-le-Skerne, the income of which was £1,300 a year. Immediately Villiers received petitions from the Churchwardens of nearby Darlington. Darlington with a population of 15,000 had three incumbents, whose incomes were £175, £200 and £225. One of the parishes was soon to expand by 1,500-2,000 people, making it double the population of Haughton-le-Skerne. The Bishop defended his action in appointing Cheese.

> I have already given the living of Haughton-le-Skerne to a gentleman whose talent, piety and pastoral activity will speedily convince the parishioners that their interests have been attended to. (87)



THE DURHAM CHEESE.

Bishop (to Needy Clergyman). "I AM EXCEEDINGLY SORRY, DEAR BROTHER IN THE CHURCH, BUT YOU SEE I HAVE NOT A DROP LEFT FOR YOU. I HAVE POURED IT ALL INTO MY CHEESE."

Villiers was accused of nepotism, and he became the target for wounding criticism. The editor of the Carlisle Journal considered that the only particular merit of Edward Cheese was that he had married Miss Villiers!

> It is rather mortifying to find the popular preacher and beloved diocesan, who was regarded as one of the great ornaments of that religious sect which was supposed to be indifferent to the good things of this world, so soon disappointing public expectation by following in the track of the nepotists whose errors he and his school were to have corrected ... This appointment will cast a greater slur on the church than the publication of fifty volumes of Essays and Reviews. (88)

It was in defending himself which brought most criticism.

> He made a great mistake, not in appointing his son-in-law, but in professing that he was the best man to be appointed ... No one could blame Bishop Villiers for promoting a deserving relative, but there was much unwisdom in his trying to extricate himself from the obvious imputation of nepotism, however qualified and even praiseworthy. (89)

A cartoon in Punch deeply affected him, and it was said that it contributed to his early death. It was entitled 'the Durham Cheese'. It portrayed the Bishop decanting a bottle of port labelled at £1,300 into a Stilton cheese, and addressed a needy clergyman standing by the table.

> I am exceedingly sorry, dear brother in the church, but you see I have not a drop left for you. I have poured it all into my Cheese. (90)

Rather too much was made of Villiers' action, and cast an unnecessary slur on his character. Charges of nepotism could be equally made of Bishop Goodwin. Though some slight objection was made to the appointment of his son to the parish of Crosthwaite in 1878, the death of George a few months later glossed over this

favoured action. (91) But H. D. Rawnsley, the biographer of Bishop Goodwin, makes no disparaging reference to the appointment of his son-in-law, Henry Ware as the first Bishop of Barrow in 1889. (92)

Villiers was a fine Bishop, and the Cheese affair apart, was an able father in God. One obituary notice recorded that

> He was an eminent and sound preacher of the gospel, and both as a parish priest and a Bishop energetic in his discharge of all his duties. (93)

A. C. Tait had a high regard for Bishop Villiers. 'Our own Bishop of Carlisle I highly regard as a heartily and truly religious man'. (94) After his death, Tait observed

> Villiers' loss will be much felt. I was rejoiced to see The Times did justice to him. The malignant remarks of the Guardian and Saturday Review could injure only the writers. Whatever mistakes he may have made, he was a man of rare charm, full of friendship - and that honest manliness which made him very dear to the middle-class of Englishmen. I doubt whether any Bishop had as much influence with that class. It seemed to be his mission to strengthen the church with that class in which dissent has generally its stronghold. (95)

George Moore, who was called 'a sort of lay-bishop', (96) had been a great friend of Bishop Villiers, and it was said of them that

> The two friends were alike in character - strong, courageous, straight-forward, and unflinching in the pursuit of their respective objects. They were alike manly, cordial, and popular. (97)

It is moving to record that 'George Moore's name was among the last words [that Villiers] uttered'. (98)

c) The ministry of Bishop Samuel Waldegrave

Samuel Waldegrave (1817-1869) who was born at Cardington, Bedfordshire, was the second son of the eighth Earl Waldegrave. His mother was an Evangelical, and at an early age she led him to faith in Christ. He was educated at Cheam School which, for the first half of the nineteenth century, had an Evangelical stance. (1) The headmaster, Dr. Charles Mayo, was an advocate of the Pestalozzian system which stressed observation and deduction from what was seen. (2) Waldegrave later described Mayo as

> a great and good man, to whom education owes more than many among the masters of that craft are aware. (3)

Waldegrave matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford in April 1835, and graduated BA in 1839 with a double first in classics and mathematics; MA in 1842, and DD in 1860. His tutor at Balliol was A. C. Tait, who cared for Waldegrave during a serious illness as an undergraduate. (4)

Although he had every prospect of an academic career at Oxford, Waldegrave confessed to his friend C. P. Golightly, that a long residence was 'not at all palatable to me'. (5) Waldegrave was hesitant about becoming a Fellow of All Souls College. He wrote to his friend and future brother-in-law, Roundell Palmer.

> I may with confidence tell you that I did feel anything but pleased at the prospect of being a fellow of /Palmer's/ college - for I am sure you will not betray me. I dreaded the change from a quiet college to one which has the character of gayety (sic) and idleness, and I felt very keenly the requests expressed by you especially and other friends of my standing here'.

His 'tastes and principles' were examined and he was elected Fellow of All Souls in 1839 and remained as such until he left

Oxford on his marriage.

> I may have been wrong in aspiring to the position: but being in it I do hope to enjoy in it advantages which God's grace can under all circumstances bestow. (6)

Waldegrave became librarian of All Soul's in 1842, and between 1842-44 was a public examiner in the school of mathematics. He was ordained deacon in 1842, and priest in 1843. He wrote to Golightly,

> I shrink from the difficulties of a clerical life at Oxford: while on the other side I have numerous offers of curacies some very desirous indeed. (7)

But his fears were overcome and between 1842-44 Waldegrave served as curate of St. Ebbe's church, Oxford.

St. Ebbe's, Oxford

During the lengthy incumbency of William Hanbury, the Rector of St. Ebbe's between 1809-60, the church had an Evangelical ministry. Hanbury was insane and unable to perform his clerical duties. In his place a succession of Evangelicals were curates in charge of the parish. It was in response to the uncertainty of the continuity of Evangelical ministry at St. Ebbe's, that led to the establishment of the Oxford Evangelical Trust in 1864.

The first known Evangelical curate at St. Ebbe's was Robert Francis Walker between 1813-15. (8) Thereafter the curates represented the whole spectrum of Evangelicalism, and included such diverse characters as Henry Bellenden Bulteel, William Weldon Champneys, Henry Highton and Frederick William Robertson. In the early 1840s there were a succession of notable Evangelical curates.

These were Henry Burgess Whitaker Churton 1838-42, Edward Arthur Litton 1841-43, Charles Thomas Baring 1842-44 and Samuel Waldegrave 1842-44. Waldegrave described Litton as

> a first-rate man both in points of talent and Christian piety ... he is so affectionate a friend and one whose society is so profitable.

Of Baring, Waldegrave said 'is such a truly good man, and so staunch a Protestant'.(9) Later Baring became Bishop of Durham, and neighbouring Bishop to Waldegrave; and Litton became an examining chaplain to Bishops Villiers and Baring.

For a few months in the summer of 1847 F. W. Robertson was curate of St. Ebbe's. He was broken in health and had turned his back on his Evangelical background. His biographer, Stopford A. Brooke, with characteristic half-truth noted that

> The parish had not been regularly worked for some time, owing to the severe illness of the incumbent. (10)

But the truth was that Waldegrave had worked tirelessly in the parish, and had been responsible for the erection of Holy Trinity Church.

By 1841 the population of the parish had risen to 4196, and was still increasing. The church accommodation was inadequate. St. Ebbe's church only held 600 people (including children), and a National Schoolroom which in 1842 had been licensed for worship only held another 250 people. Waldegrave reported to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that the parish consisted

> Almost entirely of the poorest classes [such as] journeymen tailors, journeymen shoemakers, bricklayers and agricultural labourers, with some college servants. There are no rich people in any part of the parish. (11)

Waldegrave proposed to erect a district church as a chapel of ease to St. Ebbe's, and which would serve a population of 2055 people. By the autumn of 1843 upwards of £1,000 had been raised on subscription, and by May 1844 it had risen to £2405. In his fund-raising, Waldegrave was supported by his friends. In dedicating the chapel of ease to Holy Trinity (reflecting the dedication of Simeon's church in Cambridge) there was every possible expectation that with a secure Evangelical ministry there could be outreach into the parish and university. (12)

> In support of Waldegrave's efforts it was said that
>
> Waldegrave will be immediately at work to obtain further means for building and endowing, and he is so generally, and very deservedly,popular, that I think he will be able to work with great success: but the parish itself is very poor ... (13)

Waldegrave had hoped to begin the erection of the church in the early summer of 1844, but this was impossible over technical legalities concerning the state of mind of the incumbent of the parish. Technically Hanbury was still the incumbent although his duties were carried out by his curates. The situation was further complicated over the precise state of Hanbury's health. As Waldegrave reported to the Commissioners, 'I am informed that the lunacy of the incumbent of St. Ebbe's has not been legally established'. (14) Waldegrave became frustrated with the situation and wrote again to the Commissioners.

> I trust in God that, after all the expectations held out to us the scheme is not now to be knocked upon the head. I had hoped that the question as to the incumbent's state of mind had been finally set at rest. In fact it ought not to interfere ...Though not legally insane [the incumbent] is in truth incapable of judging. (15)

Waldegrave was anxious to proceed with the erection of Holy Trinity church for three reasons. First, the needs of the parish.

> I know every street, alley and house in the district, and know how crying is their want, and it seems as if a tedious legal enquiry was to blast all our hopes that that want should now be met. (16)

Second, the Bishop of Oxford had allowed Waldegrave to approach the patron (Sir Robert Peel) to make an appointment, (17) but the delay meant that Waldegrave's nominee, Joseph West, remainded unpaid.

> He is a poor and married man, and has given up two chaplaincies in Oxford on purpose to take the post ... (18)

In fact West only gave up the chaplaincy of the Radcliffe infirmary, and remained chaplain of New College and Magdalen. (19) Third, Waldegrave was about to leave Oxford on his marriage, and was to become Rector of Barford St. Martin.

The issue over the incumbency of St. Ebbe's became a test case, and Peel's 'Act to make better provision for the spiritual care of populous districts' was amended to cover this situation. In September 1844 the situation was resolved, and Holy Trinity became one of first three districts created under the provision of the Act. (20) Holy Trinity church was consecrated on 8 October, closed in 1954 and demolished in April 1957.

St. Martin, Barford St. Martin

Waldegrave was appointed to the college living of Barford St. Martin, five miles west of Salisbury in 1844. He succeeded Frederick Gambier who, like Waldegrave, was a fellow of All Soul's

College, and an Evangelical. The rural parish with a population of about 500 inhabitants provided Waldegrave with an income of £665 a year. From this he employed a curate, and at least two of whom followed him to the diocese of Carlisle - Edward Carr and William Anthony Voss.

Waldegrave was Rector of Barford for 16 years and this gave him a useful parochial experience before becoming Bishop of the rural diocese of Carlisle. Life for the Waldegraves was not uneventful at Barford St. Martin.

> We have had a very merciful escape this morning. A cottage immediately adjoining our garden and close to my own two cottages took fire about 10 o'clock. The flames rapidly spread - the wind driving them away from our houses. Three cottages have been destroyed and 19 poor people deprived of their homes. The most painful feature of all is that the cottages destroyed were the property of the inhabitants and I believe uninsured.
> My old clerk and his two aged sisters with a poor widow of 86 are among the sufferers. (21)

While he was at Barford a number of developments took place in his family life. In January 1845 Waldegrave married Jane Anne Pym, the eldest daughter of Francis Pym a Bedfordshire MP, and two children were born to them - Samuel Edmund and Elizabeth Janet. Waldegrave's mother died in 1843, and his father remarried in 1846. Waldegrave's stepmother Sarah supported his churchbuilding activity in Carlisle. In 1848 his sister Laura married the High Churchman Roundell Palmer (1812-1895). (22) Palmer, who was a distinguished lawyer held high political office including that of Lord Chancellor. He was knighted in 1861 and created the first Earl of Selborne in 1872. Though there were considerable differences between the churchmanship of Waldegrave and Palmer the two men maintained a

close friendship with each other.

Apart from his parish duties, Waldegrave continued his academic work. He was a university examiner in 1846, and select preacher at Oxford in 1847-48, when he took as his theme, The way of peace: or the teaching of scripture concerning justification, sanctification and assurance. (23) In 1854 he was the Bampton lecturer, and in his eight lectures countered pre-millennialism by a powerful advocacy of his own a-millennialist position. The lectures were published in 1855 as New Testament Millennarianism: or, the Kingdom and coming of Christ taught by himself and his apostles. (24)

Waldegrave's main literary work on millennialism was well researched and continued numerous detailed footnotes and extensive quotations in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. His thesis was that the doctrine of a personal reign of Christ on earth for 1,000 years is 'at variance with the plain teaching of scripture', indeed such a view is 'unsupported by scripture, when rightly understood'. It is 'a scriptural impossibility': the bible has no evidence for 'the doctrine of a personal reign' of Christ.

Waldegrave was arguing against the popularly held pre-millennialism of many Evangelicals of the day. For him it was nothing less than a 'bewitching phantasy', and therefore needed examination and condemnation. Waldegrave was concerned with the right interpretation of scripture, and actually refers to the use of hermeneutics to aid this process of discovery. He was anxious that the interpreter should look to the 'plain, literal and obvious sense' of the scriptures, 'and to return to the plain words of the Holy Ghost'. The right interpretation did not include an 'unbending literalism in matters

of detail' in the prophetic writings. All of this was in contrast to the pre-millennialists, who indulged in a 'loose and illegitimate mode of interpreting the inspired word of God'. (25)

In the Spring of 1850 the Deanery of Salisbury became vacant. A rumour suggested that Charles Baring might become Dean. Waldegrave was delighted. 'I am quite over-joyed at a report that Charles Baring is to be the new Dean of Sarum'. (26) But Waldegrave's father was anxious to see his son as Dean. Samuel wrote to his father:

> I have been so much discouraged by the want of decision on the part of our two last Deans, that I cannot contemplate without pain the prospect of having a third Dean who halts between two opinions. I do believe that a firm and wise man might be of great use even to the Bishop, for I cannot but think that in spite of strong prejudices he might be influenced for good if circumstances brought him into close contact with a judicious and Evangelical man. As it is, his natural coldness and reserve keep all such men at a distance from him, and he literally knows nothing of them except through the indiscretions of some of their number which call for reproof, and the interpretations made of the rest by the Tractarians who surround him and who alone say anything to him. (27)

Waldegrave's wife Jane Anne did not share her father-in-laws wishes. She maintained that they preferred the quiet of Barford St. Martin to 'the worldly, Tractarian, atmosphere of "The Close"', and, she believed, 'it is clearly not God's will that we should be placed at Salisbury'. (28) They did not want to leave their home. However Jane Anne saw that the ideal arrangement would be for her husband to become Dean, and at the same time to continue to live at Barford St. Martin. Such an arrangement would have been a legal impossibility since a Dean had to reside in his deanery. Yet Salisbury had its attractions, and she maintained that 'any other

deanery, I feel certain, dear Sam would feel it his duty to refuse'. Both Waldegrave and his wife could not leave Barford 'unless he was certain it would pass into the hands of a pastor who would indeed feed the flock'. (29) He was convinced in his own mind that 'the doctrines of semi-popery' would be taught there if he left. 'I fear [it would] be the case if this living were at the disposal of the College constituted as it is'. (30) However, in the event, Waldegrave did not become Dean of Salisbury, and instead the educationalist Henry Parr Hamilton was appointed.

The simple piety at Waldegrave's rectory deeply moved the young A. M. W. Christopher.

> Waldegrave encouraaged his poor parishioners who were unable to go to work through infirmity or age, to come and join them [after breakfast for family prayers]. The stone floor of the kitchen was covered with a thick corded matting. Thus the neighbours were made welcome and comfortable. Waldegrave, while himself a double first-classman, had the gift of expounding the scriptures lucidly so that their meaning was made clear to all those present at that 'happy and profitable half-hour'. (31)

It was said that

> It was impossible to visit him without being refreshed, for his heart was full of the holy scriptures, and his conversation without any constraint, effort, or affectation, was constantly turning upon the word, and work and will of God. (32)

Waldegrave was one of the leading Evangelical clergy in the area and as such sought to encourage his fellow Evangelicals. He was critical of the spiritual condition of the diocese of Salisbury. 'I know full it is', he said, 'with bright exceptions, of unsound divinity'. (33) But the situation was far from bleak. There were a number of 'avowed low churchmen' (34) and considerable lay Evangelical support. (35) At a meeting of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire

clergy in June 1858, there were 55 Evangelicals - 24 from Dorset-shire and 11 from the Salisbury area. (36) In January 1860 a clerical prayer meeting was held in Salisbury. Circulars were sent out to invite sympathetic clergy and of the 30 who promised to attend, 27 'were present and a spirit of prayer and supplication seemed to be poured out upon our assembly'. (37)

While Waldegrave enjoyed good relationships with his fellow Evangelicals, he was not in favour with those who held other theological positions. A case in point was with Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury. Hamilton, a Freemason, was the first Tractarian to become a bishop. Both men held strong opinions and were critical of each other. At first their relationship was cordial: it concluded with Hamilton's belief that his relationship with Waldegrave was 'so very difficult (I confess it) from what they have been with almost all the rest of my clergy'.(38) Hamilton was critical of Waldegrave's appointment as Bishop of Carlisle, and Roundell Palmer tried to reconcile the two men.

In the Spring of 1855, Hamilton confirmed 19 of Waldegrave's candidates. Of them Waldegrave believed that 'Everyone of whom I can say that I believe them to be thoroughly sincere in their desire to serve the Lord'. He commented on the confirmation service:

> The Bishop gave a charge to the children which was unobjectionable from beginning to end. My little party must have thought that the Bishop had got the notes of their minister's last address to them, he so exactly repeated head by head what I had said in my closing lesson. This was in answer to prayer for we had heard of a Charge last week in which confirmation was almost made a sacrament. (39)

Waldegrave gave his support to CPAS, to the Irish Church Mission

and to the Bible Society. Bishop Hamilton objected to Waldegrave's support for the Bible Society and in addition to the obvious support which he gave to Nonconformists. But Waldegrave defended himself by making it clear that it was in his loyalty to the Church of England which brought Nonconformist criticism. The two previous Bishops of Salisbury - Burgess and Denison - together with Archdeacon (later Dean) Lear had all supported the Bible Society, and at Lear's request, Waldegrave became the secretary of the Salisbury auxiliary.

As a matter of principle, Waldegrave supported existing societies, and did not introduce any new societies which he knew were disapproved of by the Bishop. He also observed etiquette in respecting the sensitivities of other clergy.

> I never, in my life, attended a Bible meeting in a parish when the incumbent disapproved. I have been asked to do so - but I have uniformly declined. (40)

The only exceptions to his rule, were his support for a book hawker in Wiltshire, who 'was and is to this day, a very staunch churchman', and in his support for the YMCA. Waldegrave had at first refused to support the movement, but after much hesitation joined it. However the complaint from the Nonconformists was that too many churchmen were involved in its management.

Waldegrave saw Hamilton as follows:

> He is a man who is by nature impatient of all divergence of opinion: his views of episcopal authority are such as tend to increase the evil. He had accordingly looked upon me as guilty of personal opposition when I was really doing nothing more than exercising and acting upon an independent judgment in matters of indifferent. (41)

Roundell Palmer saw Waldegrave as follows:

> He is, I am aware, a man of decided opinions, whom nothing can ever turn aside from doing what he believes to be his duty. But he is much less under the influence of party feeling, than among men of weather convictions: and without supposing that he always does full justice to those from whom he differs (alas! Who does?) I have always found him candid, considerate and of a loving spirit.

Many things had been said against Waldegrave, and 'they have wounded his amiable and affectionate spirit'. (42)

The correspondence was closed, but it indicates the depth of feeling between the two men - between a diocesan bishop and one of his clergy, and between two fellow bishops.

Unlikely as it would seem Evangelicals were appointed to the cathedral chapter of Salisbury. Between 1854-57, Robert Bickersteth was a Canon, and also the cathedral treasurer and Proctor for the Convocation of Canterbury. He retained his London living of St. Giles in the Fields, and spent his three months residence at Salisbury, where he preached in the cathedral on Sunday afternoons and, when invited, on Sunday evenings in the area. Bickersteth enjoyed a good relationship with Bishop Hamilton, and became a close friend of Waldegrave. (43) In November 1856 Bickersteth was offered the see of Ripon which he accepted, and was consecrated in June 1857.

Even more unlikely Waldegrave succeeded Bickersteth as Canon Residentiary, and was in addition the cathedral treasurer and Prebendary of Calne. On his appointment he wrote to his father.

> The more I hear of the matter, the more I an convinced that my appointment is God's doing, not man's. This gives me good hope for the future, that, as he has called me to the work, he will give me help to do it well. (44)

During his three months residence he occupied a house in the Close called Leadenhall in which Bickersteth had lived. Waldegrave was critical of magnificent cathedrals which echoed nothing but the 'sound of beautiful music and lifeless sermons' and wanted them to be used for simple services for the poor. (45) Eighteen of Waldegrave's cathedral sermons were later published as Words of eternal life: or some of the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. (46)

In May 1859 Waldegrave was elected Proctor for the Convocation of Canterbury, and in the following month he delivered the Latin sermon to Convocation in St. Paul's cathedral.

Carlisle

Early in 1860 rumours were being circulated about preferment for Samuel Waldegrave. One rumour suggested that he might succeed Joseph Cotton Wigram as Archdeacon of Surrey on Wigram's nomination as Bishop of Rochester.(47) Another rumour which Waldegrave took to heart was that being the son of a peer was disadvantageous to clerical preferment. (48) But his aristocratic background did not hinder his nomination to succeed H. M. Villiers as Bishop of Carlisle. On 2 June 1860, Waldegrave wrote to his sister:

> I wait upon Lord Palmerston on Monday at twelve with my decision. He offers me Carlisle, by the Queen's permission. Pray for us. Your loving brother, Samuel Waldegrave. (49)

Waldegrave's nomination was due as much to Lord Shaftesbury as to the Bishop of London, A. C. Tait. (50) On his acceptance there were those who rejoiced and they sent him numerous letters of congratulation on his appointment, (51) but there were those

who were critical of his elevation, most notably the Bishops of Oxford (Wilberforce) and Salisbury (Hamilton). Waldegrave believed that it was Hamilton who was 'at the bottom of much that is said against me'. (52)

Waldegrave's appointment was something of a coup for the Evangelical party. He was something of a rising-star and, had he lived, might have been one of the leading Evangelicals in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly he was one of the most learned of the Palmerston Bishops, and was in the opinion of Eugene Stock, 'a distinguished Oxford man, and one of the most decided Evangelicals that ever lived'. (53) What convictions he held at Oxford and at Barford St. Martin he retained as a Bishop. J. C. Ryle, who also remained true to his Evangelical convictions after becoming a bishop, said

> Of Samuel Waldegrave, at any rate, it never could be said that the mitre proved an extinguisher to his antecedents, or that his usefulness and faithfulness were checked by his promotion. (54)

Waldegrave was elected on 28 September 1860, his appointment confirmed on 10 November, and kissed the Queen's hand on 14 November. The consecrating Bishops were Charles Thomas Longley (York), Henry Montagu Villiers (Durham) and Robert Bickersteth (Ripon). The sermon on Colossians 2:8 was preached by Waldegrave's old friend Charles Bridges, Rector of Hinton Martel, Dorset.

> We thank God for the solemn ordinance of this day, setting apart a much honoured brother to the episcopate in our church. We thank God, because we can testify that he is no 'novice' in his Master's work; but that he has so 'used' the lower ministrations 'well, as to purchase to himself this good degree' (1 Timothy 3:6, 11). (55)

Another friend, William Whitmarsh Phelps, whom Waldegrave had appointed as his examining chaplain was also present in York Minster observed that

> If anything was calculated to raise my estimation of the man, it would be the humble, prayerful, and serious spirit which I have witnessed in him since I have been here [at Bishopsthorpe] ... and I assure you that I can bear witness to the fact that the neighbourhood he has left retains a firm hold on his affections, and that the Barford congregation is much in his remembrance before the throne of grace. (56)

Ten years before Waldegrave had expressed reservations about the sort of person who might be appointed to succeed him at Barford St. Martin. Sadly his worst fears were confirmed, and the College authorities appointed an Anglo-Catholic in his place. Already the incumbent-elect, Charles Hinxman, spoke of uniting the parties in the parish. In Waldegrave's opinion there were no factions in the parish - but to send a known Tractarian to Barford St. Martin would create division where none existed. (57) The distruption caused by the appointment of an Anglo-Catholic to a non-Anglo-Catholic parish was not uncommon, and frequently resulted in the movement of members of a congregation away from the Church of England to Dissent, or non-attendance at a place of worship.

As the congregation left York Minster after Waldegrave's consecration, Phelps recorded his own feelings.

> As we left the Minster a fine pealing volume of sound was poured forth from the belfry tower in honour of the occasion; and certainly, if church bells are to be rung, their musical metal can hardly be put into requisition on a more suitable or legitimate occasion than when they announce to the sons and daughters of the Church of England that a new Bishop, worthy of the office from his learning, piety, and faithful diligence shown in another sphere of duty, is in the good Providence of God raised to the important and responsible

> office of an overseer of that church. At any rate, the merry peal touched a cord in my heart that vibrated to the sound.(58)

Unlike his predecessors, Waldegrave was present for his installation conducted by Dean Close on 21 November. (59) However, it was still a private ceremony, and it was not made a public occasion until Bishop Goodwin was enthroned. (60)

By mid-November Waldegrave and his family had moved into Rose Castle. The move from Barford St. Martin had been expensive, and Waldegrave purchased items of furniture and fittings in Rose Castle from Bishop Villiers at a cost of £800. (61) Bishop Waldegrave was delighted with his new home.

> I have a capital house here - but I might place a door here and a window there, better than the original architect did - at least think so - but I do not go and live in the woods and moors in consequence. (62)

Rose Castle was an important country house and Waldegrave was the last aristocratic occupant. Under Bishops Percy, Villiers and Waldegrave the house and its occupants enjoyed a modest baronial lifestyle. Under Bishop Goodwin life was less grand, and it was said that on Dean Close's first visit to the new Bishop he was surprised that the butler was not wearing a distinctive uniform. (63)

The income of the Bishop of Carlisle was raised to £4,500 in 1856 - making the bishopric on a par with the Bishops of Chester, Lichfield, Norwich, Peterborough, Ripon and St. Davids. (64) This included the sum of £2,000 from the Commissioners. (65) In July 1856 the episcopal residence had been transferred to the Commissioners for them to administer. Thereafter they continued to improve the permanent endowment of the see of Carlisle. (66)

THE HON. AND RIGHT REV. S. WALDEGRAVE, D.D.,

BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

From a Photograph by John Watkins, Parliament-street.

Though there were obvious social differences between himself and his clergy, Waldegrave encouraged them to meet with him. This could take place on public occasions like visitations, confirmations, the consecration or re-opening of churches as well as less formal clerical gatherings. But they were also free to consult with him directly and privately. Visitors to Rose Castle, situated five miles from Carlisle, were met at Dalston station, then conveyed by carriage to the house, and were invited to stay the night. But if this was inconvenient or too far to travel, Waldegrave tried to be in Carlisle every Wednesday at noon, at 1 Castle Street, the residence of George Mounsey, the Diocesan Registrar. If Waldegrave could not be present notice was given in the local newspaper.

Waldegrave welcomed correspondence from his clergy, and encouraged them to write to him 'fully and freely'. (67) Usually he replied by return of post and only pressure of work delayed his correspondence. In return,Waldegrave expected his letters to be answered. He was impatient with those who failed to reply, and rebuked those who did not respond to him. (68)

In his administrative work Waldegrave was assisted by the Chancellor and two Archdeacons, the Diocesan Registrar, his chaplains and his secretaries in London and at Rose Castle. One of his part-time secretaries was also tutor to his son. Many of his letters Waldegrave wrote himself. Some of these were private and some called for an immediate response. Certainly the extant letter books should not be taken as the totality of his correspondence. 'This is the forty-second letter I have written

today ...' he wrote to his sister Mary. (69) To ease the burden of his correspondence he used a copying machine, since 'it saves time', (70) but, admitted that writing so much didn't improve his handwriting! (71) Inspite of his episcopal duties, Waldegrave kept in constant touch with his wife when he was away from Rose Castle, and would send her a brief note to inform her of his progress.

Much of Bishop Waldegrave's brief episcopate was spent on diocesan administration and in securing the already established Evangelical base in the enlarged diocese. Like Bishop Villiers, Waldegrave worked on unifying the diocese, in using new confirmation centres and in being kept informed about what was happening in the remote southern part of the diocese. Official communication was maintained through correspondence, three episcopal charges, pastoral letters, and in January 1867 by the publication of the first Carlisle diocesan calendar. (72) Later in this thesis more attention will be given to four broad areas of Waldegrave's work - in the time and trouble he took over diocesan appointments and ordinations; in establishing the Carlisle Diocesan Church and Parsonage and Benefice Augmentation Society, and in challenging the activities of the Anglo-Catholic minority in the diocese.

As a Bishop, and particularly as an Evangelical Bishop, Waldegrave was in demand as a preacher. He received numerous invitations to preach and speak at services and meetings throughout Great Britain. In May 1862 he preached the annual sermon for the Church Pastoral Aid Society on 'The lifting up of Christ', (73) and in May 1868 for the Church Missionary Society on 'The faithful word, and the duty of holding it fast'. (74) On this Eugene Stock

commented

> The sermon was not eloquent or powerful in the ordinary sense; but it was almost the ideal of an Evangelical sermon of the old type, 'full of meat' and 'full of unction'. (75)

Waldegrave was not a powerful preacher or speaker. He was often inaudible, even to the sharp ears of the press who were unable to take down what he was saying. (76) Inspite of this the content of his preaching was clear and direct, deeply rooted in scripture and applied to the issues of the day. In the winter of 1867-68 Waldegrave gave a lecture to the Manchester Church Association on 'The sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation'. (77) In giving this lecture Waldegrave became the only English diocesan bishop to publicly identify himself with the Church Association. Waldegrave was very conscious of the constant demands upon him

> My duties are so many that I find it extremely difficult to discharge even them ... that I am sometimes tempted to make a rule to do nothing beyond my own diocese. (78)

However, one commitment outside the diocese was expected of him, that of attendance in the House of Lords. Sometimes he was tempted to wish that he lived in London, rather than in Cumbria, 'But my master knows me better'. (79) Within three months of becoming Bishop of Carlisle, Waldegrave was obliged to be in London to act as chaplain to the House of Lords. This meant that between February and July 1861 he was obliged to be in attendance. He described himself as being 'an unwilling prisoner in London by his duties as junior Bishop in the House of Lords'. (80) Yet inspite of his absence in London, Waldegrave still returned to his diocese and held 25 confirmations, consecrated or re-opened five churches and church-yards, held two ordinations, preached two

or three times a week or more, and visited nearly every part of the diocese. Parliamentary work did not interest him. Of the Bishops, he lived furthest from London and his quiet speech was unsuitable for a debating chamber. Yet he spoke on those subjects which interested him most - he supported Lord Shaftesbury's 'Uniformity of Public Worship Bill' and he was in favour of Sabbath observance and against the disestablishment of the Irish Church. For Waldegrave

> The Church of England was the bulwark of Protestantism in Ireland, and it was only to defend the Protestant liberties of England and the world that they had taken the stand they had taken. (81)

Waldegrave was strongly in favour of the established church (82) and he sought to maintain its position and privileges. For him, the church of England was above all other churches 'the most scriptural - scriptural in its doctrine - scriptural in its discipline'. He held a traditional Reformed view of the church. The church of Christ was visible, yet contained a smaller company of the elect who comprised 'the invisible or mystical church'. This spiritual remnant was 'from the beginning one and indivisible'. The visible church was a mixture of good and evil, and would continue as a'mixture of good and bad until [Christ's] coming again, and an awful separation at his coming'. 'Genuine Christianity' (and by this he meant Evangelical Christianity) would express a 'corporate visibility' but this would not be perfect. 'Still will such visibility never exist in anything but a fragmentary form until the Lord appear'. Until the return of Christ the course of the church is 'one of joy and sorrow,

conflict and triumph, even to the end'. (83)

As a Bishop, Waldegrave had little time for literary work. He published a few sermons and wrote prefaces for other men's work. In May 1866 he published a second edition of his 1854 Bampton Lectures (for which he acknowledged the assistance of an unnamed friend - probably Archdeacon Evans) (84) and in September 1867 his third episcopal charge was in effect a lengthy essay on the ministry.

Waldegrave was a man of prayer and encouraged his clergy to pray for him. (85) In his letters to his sister Mary he regularly asked for her prayers. In common with his fellow Evangelicals, Waldegrave met with others for prayer. He had held a prayer meeting in Salisbury, and began one in Carlisle. In inviting a clergyman to attend he wrote

> A few of our clerical friends and their families have agreed to meet, from time to time, for the special purpose of intercessory prayer for a blessing on the work carried on in their parishes and in the diocese in general. (86)

Waldegrave's work as a bishop was demanding and time consuming. He felt overwhelmed by his responsibilities. He confessed that his

> heart yearns over the souls Christ has committed to his oversight, and whose only and honest desire is to spend and be spent for them. (87)

He was conscious too of God's grace. Quoting words from Deut. 33:25, he said

> 'As thy days, so shall they strength be'. I found it so when I became a Rector at twenty-seven; again I found it so when I was made a Canon of Salisbury in 1857; and the sufficient grace has not failed since, in 1860, I became a Bishop in the church of God. (88)

In October 1864 Waldegrave wrote to his sister Mary about his work as a Bishop.

> You can have little idea how engagement follows upon engagement in an office like mine. I returned home to hold a general ordination in May. When that was over I have to return to prepare my charge. When that was ready the Rural Deans of the diocese all assembled here. Then came the visitation itself. Subsequently we have had another examination for orders. And last week was a conference, at which Mr [Henry] Venn kindly attended, for mapping out the diocese amidst a number of honorary secretaries of the Church Missionary Society. And there is all the private correspondence going on all the while, each letter involving more or less reflection and pains. And the work never seems to end.
>
> Between this and Christmas will be a general ordination, the consecration of one or two churches with all the anxiety attendant upon setting the new districts connected with them on foot, in writing correspondence with the [Ecclesiastical] Commissioners, the patrons, incumbents and principal inhabitants of each place ...
>
> I sometimes wish that dear Bessie was here faithfully to chronicle every week's work as it passes away. To all that I have named should be added public meetings and committee meetings which are constantly occurring and at which, as Bishop, I cannot be a mere listener. (89)

Visitations and confirmations were particularly time-consuming. In the course of his episcopate, Waldegrave delivered three episcopal charges. These were delivered during the course of a cruelling week and held at seven centres throughout the diocese, each charge taking two hours to read. (90)

In the two years, 1862 and 1863, Waldegrave confirmed nearly 7,000 candidates. In 1862 he confirmed 3970 candidates (1750 males and 2220 females) in the Archdeaconry of Westmorland at 25 centres. In 1863 he confirmed 2968 candidates (1303 males and 1665 females) in the Archdeaconry of Carlisle at 30 centres. (91) In the spring of 1868 Waldegrave conducted confirmations in Westmorland for 4348 candidates and was encouraged by the large number of young people

present. (92) In the autumn of the same year he was involved in 'a tour of special services in West Cumberland', (93) and confirmed 4941 candidates in Westmorland. By December he was physically exhausted. Between 21 and 31 December he had a holiday with his family in Scotland, and then planned to have an extended vacation on the Continent. But he only reached Paris, and had to return to England. He remained in London for some weeks and sought medical advice. He stayed first with his brother-in-law at Putney Heath and for a time with George Moore at Kensington Palace Gardens, and only returned to Rose Castle at the end of July 1869. Sometimes he was strong enough to ride in his carriage, but at other times he remained confined to the house and in much pain, sometimes sedated with anodynes. Reports about his condition were regularly reported in the Cumbrian press and in The Times. (94)

During his illness Waldegrave was able to undertake only limited episcopal business. Sometimes he was strong enough to write letters, but at other times he signed letters which had been written by his wife. On 13 January he had sufficient strength to license a curate to Kirkby Lonsdale, but he was very weak. Between February and September Bishop David Anderson was made responsible for the affairs of the diocese. Waldegrave requested his clergy to pray for him. (95) At times he was able to undertake light duties - and between 14 June and 28 August issued licenses to eight clergy in the diocese.

On 1 October 1869 Archbishop Tait and his wife called at Rose Castle on their journey northward for a Scottish holiday. Tait movingly recorded the details of the visit.

I had been led to believe that the Bishop of Carlisle was better. Today we drove over to Rose Castle to see him. George Waldegrave came to us in the hall, and said that I was just in time to offer up the commendatory prayer ... He was quite unconscious ...

After I left him I took the little boy into the chapel and prayed with him, and gave him my blessing. It is just thirty-three years since I watched over Samuel Waldegrave in his rooms in Balliol, when, as a freshman, he was dangerously ill, and here was I brought back, as Archbishop of Canterbury, to say the commendatory prayer when his useful life was ended ...

The house was full of reminiscences. The furniture in the rooms unchanged. All unchanged without in the woods and gardens, and the strange changes within. O Lord, make us ready. (96)

Waldegrave died 20 minutes later at half past four, and Tait sent a brief note to Dean Close:

Thus ending peacefully a life devoted from early childhood to his redeemer's service. (97)

Waldegrave had died of a brain tumour, described at the time as 'an internal tumour between the eyes', (98) 'an obscure disease of the brain'. (99) Given more advanced medical knowledge and an earlier diagnosis and the outcome might have been different. Two years before Waldegrave had complained that he was suffering 'from a very violent headache', (100) and sadly this disability became the object of criticism in the press. (101)

Waldegrave's funeral service took place in Carlisle cathedral, and the body was interred in the graveyard in what had been the nave of the cathedral. For the burial special permission had to be obtained from the Home Secretary. The body was encased in three coffins - an internal coffin, one of lead and one of oak.

After Waldegrave's death various suggestions were made about

making a suitable memorial to him, ranging from a new wing at the Cumberland Infirmary to a memorial in the cathedral. (102) This last named received most support, and in 1872 a recumbent figure of the Bishop was erected in the south aisle of the small cathedral nave as 'a tribute of affection, admiration and respect'. In addition, the 'Bishop Waldegrave Augmentation Fund' was established for the support of three poor clergymen in the diocese, and to be administered by the Carlisle Diocesan Church and Parsonage and Benefice Augmentation Society. To this fund, Waldegrave's step-mother, the Countess Waldegrave generously gave £1,000. (103)

Bishop Waldegrave was a quiet-spoken, sensitive, hardworking, dedicated servant of Christ.

> He was particularly sensitive to criticism, his fear being that any comments of a hostile character upon any of his sayings or doings might tend to diminish his power for usefulness.
>
> His maxim in life may be truly be said to have been 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might' (Ec 9:10). (104)

The Times obituary concluded that

> He broke down from overwork and from over-conscientiousness at his work the duties of which he discharged with a conscientiousness, a self-devotion, and an anxiety that must have shortened his days. (105)

It was Waldegrave's dedication and hard work to which his successor made reference as he was installed as Bishop of Carlisle in December 1869

> Your late Bishop, Christian brethren, has left us the best legacy he possibly could leave, the monument of a life spent for God. The memory of a life so pure, so holy, so devoted, must in itself be a peculiar blessing because it is so powerful a stimulant and so effective as an example ... No one has more cause for gratitude than myself. Bishop

> Waldegrave's efforts will make me ashamed of inactivity, and will lead me to pray for grace to follow his good example. (106)

The Evangelicals had lost a champion and were bereft. Two admirers spoke of his example and his saintliness. For Dean Close it must have been a moving experience to preach a funeral sermon for a man 20 years younger than himself, and the second Evangelical Bishop of Carlisle to die since he had become Dean.

> Bring me a clergyman, a minister of any denomination, bring me a Bishop of any school of thought, produce me any man that has done the same amount of work that Bishop Waldegrave did in his few fleeting years.
>
> Find me another man of any sect or party who has done more, who has laboured more heartily, more sincerely, more devotedly. (107)

For J. C. Ryle, who wrote a preface to a collection of Waldegrave's sermons, he had nothing but praise for the late Bishop.

> They are the work of a 'man of God', of rare gifts and graces; who was loved and honoured by all who really knew him in his short life, and deeply lamented at his death, which took place in 1869. Of him it may be fully said that he died 'suo magis quam suorum tempore' ... We would it have been for the Church of England if all the chief pastors during the last three centuries had handled controversial subjects as wisely, and declared 'all the counsel of God' as faithfully, as Samuel Waldegrave. (108)

But who was to succeed Bishop Waldegrave? The diocese of Carlisle had been led by two Evangelical bishops for 13 years, so could a third Evangelical be appointed? Many Evangelicals favoured the appointment of Bishop David Anderson. (109) But already Disraeli had made it clear that he considered that 'there is hardly a "good Protestant" strong enough to make a Bishop'. (110) George Moore expressed the unease of those in the diocese who feared that an insensitive appointment would divide the diocese. W. E. Gladstone reassured him.

> You need have no fear, I can assure you, that any one will be appointed to the see of Carlisle who will stir up party animosities in that diocese. I have great hopes that it will be possible to secure for it an active, able, pious, and distinguished man, an eloquent preacher, wholly unconnected with our internal disputes and thoroughly capable of appreciating the ecclesiastical sympathies which prevail in the diocese, as I am aware, to a great extent; while at the same time he would take care that justice should be done to all. (111)

Other voices too called for an appointment which would be more in tune with modern liberal thought and more tolerant of those holding different theological positions. The editor of the Carlisle Journal while recognising the piety of Bishop Waldegrave called for an imaginative appointment.

> He was unmistakably narrow in his theological system, and could see neither beauty, propriety, nor safety, beyond the limits of a very near horizon. He was too clerical, so to speak, in his view of men and things, and was apt to treat those whom he desired to influence more as children to be made good and submissive, than as men with independent minds and opinions. He had little conception of the comprehensive character of the church in which he was a master, he could not sympathise with the many possible ways of regarding the same central truths, and could tolerate ritualists as little as he could the scientific men who are vilified because they use the reason which God has given them.
>
> Piety, devotion, goodness and sincerity are much, but they are not the sole requisites for the ministers and rulers of the church. Unless their weapons be forged in the fire of modern thought, knowledge and political aspirations, they will have little chance of holding their own against the forces that surround them. (112)

The choice of Harvey Goodwin, Dean of Ely since 1858, as Bishop of Carlisle matched the picture outlined in the Carlisle Journal. Though he was more conservative in his theology than his brother C. W. Goodwin who had contributed a tedious essay on 'Mosaic Cosmology' in the notorious Essays and Reviews, he was much more liberal in outlook than Bishop Waldegrave. He regarded

himself as a 'non-party' bishop (113) tolerant and open in his views. He saw himself as being 'as high as the church is high, or as low as the church is low, and broad as the church is broad'. His liberal-minded biographer H. D. Rawnsley commended Goodwin.

> It was by acting on this belief that he was able, though he came into a diocese where much of the church work had been carried out on somewhat narrow party lines, to win the confidence of men of very varied opinion, and to grow himself trustful of men from whose opinions he differed. He broke down party-spirit in church matters, broadened and lifted church life to a higher plane, and to a wider and more intellectual outlook than would have been possible, had he not been essentially a tolerant man. (114)

Harvey Goodwin was elected as Bishop of Carlisle on 12 November 1869, and was confirmed on 29 November. He was consecrated as a bishop in York Minster on 30 November 1869, by the Archbishop of York (William Thomson) and by the Bishops of Ely (E. H. Browne), Chester (W. Jacobson). Ripon (R. Bickersteth) and Hereford (J. Atlay). Goodwin was enthroned at a public ceremony in Carlisle cathedral on 15 December 1869. With obvious reference to the past, the editor of the Carlisle Journal wrote approvingly of the new Bishop.

> Holding firmly his own convictions, he can respect the convictions of others. He denounces nothing, no section of the church, no allowable and necessary phase of opinion, neither science nor tobacco ... We believe from his general tone that the Bishop propounds then in a liberal sense, that he honestly means to be a Bishop of no party, but of a truly national church. (115)

Following the death of Goodwin in November 1891, a layman recalled previous Bishops.

> I have known in more or less degree the Bishops under whom Westmorland has been placed since we were in the diocese of Chester, and had to visit Dr. Graham there, if neccessity obliged us.

Bishop Villiers and Bishop Waldegrave were both excellent leaders, and the latter so earnest and so sanctified, if I may use the term, that when at his death I heard from a friend in the confidence of the Prime Minister that he had resolved to appoint a Bishop of 'the Percy type', I confess I feared the change would upset the church work of the diocese, in which already a marked advance in quality and character had shown itself among our village pastors.

When I first met Bishop Goodwin I know I doubted that his cheery off-hand and unpuritanical manner was almost in too great contrast from that of his predecessor. As experience weighed on him, it seemed to me that his religious side became manifest, while he made men see by his words and writings that the highest intellectual and scientific acquirements were reconciled in him with a reverent acceptance of revealed truth. (116)

Bishop David Anderson

David Anderson (1814-1885) was educated at Edinburgh Academy, where one of his friends was A. C. Tait, later Archbishop of Canterbury. Anderson entered Edinburgh University, but left on gaining an open scholarship to Exeter College, Oxford. He graduated BA in 1836, and MA in 1839. Eugene Stock describes Anderson as

> An Oxford man of high promise, whose health had failed just at the critical moment when he was about to win an honourable place in the schools. (117)

In April 1837 Anderson was ordained deacon in Clapham parish church by J.B. Sumner, Bishop of Chester, and ordained priest later in the same year. He served his curacies in Everton, Liverpool - at St. Andrew's 1837-39, then at St. George's 1839-40.

The incumbent of St. George's was Robert Pedder Buddicom. Buddicom had been closely associated with Isaac Milner and Charles

Simeon at Cambridge, and was a Fellow of Queen's College 1807-14. From Cambridge, Buddicom became the minister of the proprietary chapel of St. George's, Everton and a leading Evangelical in Liverpool. In December 1840 Bishop Sumner appointed Buddicom as the Principal of St. Bees College and the Perpetual Curate of St. Bees. During the six years at the college, Buddicom, the only Evangelical Principal of the college, established a strong teaching staff, and increased the number of students. In 1841 he invited his former curate David Anderson to join the staff, and in 1843 he became the vice-principal. After Buddicom's death, the new Principal Richard Parkinson was not well disposed towards Evangelicalism, and in 1846 Anderson left the college.

Anderson was then appointed Minister of St. Paul's Chapel, Kilburn, London, and shortly afterwards his wife Ellen died in child-birth, leaving her husband with a family of three sons. Movingly, Anderson preached one of the two funeral sermons for his wife. (118) Anderson left London and in 1848 became the Perpetual Curate of All Saint's, Derby (now the cathedral) until he became the Bishop of Rupert's Land the following year. It was reputed that Anderson was nominated as Bishop of Rupert's Land 'on the strong recommendation of Dr. Sumner'. (119)

On 29 May 1849, two Evangelicals - George Smith and David Anderson - were consecrated Bishops in Canterbury Cathedral. Smith was the first Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong 1849-65, and Anderson the first Bishop of Rupert's Land 1849-64. The consecration was a memorable occasion. It was the first time in three centuries that a consecration had taken place at Canterbury. (120) The

sermon was preached by Henry Venn on Acts 11:21-22. (121) William Pennefather who was present was deeply moved by Handel's anthem, 'How beautiful upon the mountains', and by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce's reading of Paul's address to the Ephesian elders - for Pennefather 'It was almost too touching to bear'. (122) Of the two new Bishops, Eugene Stock commented that 'both Smith and Anderson were men of a true missionary spirit, and both did admirable work', (123) and Bishop C. J. Blomfield expressed his admiration at Anderson's 'heartiness and practical good sense'. (124) Anderson was in the best tradition of men of extraordinary courage who became missionary bishops. In his History of the Church Missionary Society Eugene Stock devoted a whole chapter to 'The great lone land of the North West Territories' and the 'North West American Mission of the CMS'. (125) Anderson took with him his three young sons and his sister to care for them. His diocese consisted of a huge area extending from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains. He described his means of travel to reach his scattered flock which consisted of settlers and native Indians.

> My own dress was a large beaver-skin cap, with ears of fur meeting under the chin, and a heavy coat, not strictly episcopal in form. These things I wore of necessity, and had the buffalo coat by my side in case of requiring it. Thus equipped, I seated myself, or rather inclined, in the carriole, which is made very light, and only large enough to hold the body, with a few blankets and buffalo robes wrapped closely round. On a projecting board behind was the box containing my robes and a few necessary articles, and following was a sledge, with our food and that for the dogs, and a few presents which I was taking with me ... (126)

While on furlough in England between 1856-57, Bishop Anderson assisted in the consecration of A. C. Tait as Bishop of London in November 1856. (127) Tait who had heard Anderson preaching

just a few days before noted in his diary,

> Strange that he and his three boys and sister should have been kept safe during these seven years in the wilderness and on the great ocean, and that five little weeks should have made such a change in our little home society! (128)

Tait still mourned the loss of his five daughters earlier in the year from scarlet fever contracted in Carlisle.

On returning to England in 1864 Anderson was appointed as the Vicar of Christ Church, Clifton. The parish of 7,013 persons was served by Anderson and five curates. This large parochial staff meant that Anderson could be released for episcopal duties elsewhere. In 1867 he became an assistant Bishop in the London diocese and took confirmations for A. C. Tait. (129) It may well have been Tait as well as Waldegrave who suggested that Anderson should stand in for Bishop Waldegrave.

During the months of Waldegrave's illness Anderson was the commissary of the Bishop of Carlisle. Anderson's powers were extended between February and March 1869 when he was given full authority 'to perform all episcopal functions' of the diocesan Bishop including the use of the seal of the diocese of Carlisle. (130) During this period Anderson held two ordinations, conducted confirmation services, consecrated churches and burial grounds and licensed clergy to livings and curacies.

i) Bishop Waldegrave's appointments

In 1860, out of the 267 livings in the diocese of Carlisle, 4/5 of them were held by private patrons, and of the rest 1/10 were in the gift of the Bishop and 1/10 the Dean and Chapter.

The Bishop of Carlisle was the patron of 26 livings in his own diocese, and 12 in three other dioceses. In addition, the Bishop had in his gift the appointment of two Archdeacons and four cathedral canonries. Such limited parochial patronage was increased by successive Bishops of Carlisle, and by 1890 the Bishop was the patron of 53 parishes, doubling in 30 years the number of livings in his gift. This additional patronage was obtained through the transfer of livings and by the erection of new churches and chapels. Important, too, was to obtain livings in the southern part of the diocese which had previously been the northern outpost of the Chester diocese. Part of the work of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was to redistribute episcopal patronage to give a fairer distribution of livings within the confines of the bishop's own diocese. In 1859 nine parishes in the gift of the Bishop of Carlisle (some of which date back to the fourteenth century) were transferred to the Bishops of Durham, Lichfield and Lincoln. At the same time the parish of Arlecdon was transferred from the Bishop of Chester to the Bishop of Carlisle, this being the first parish to come under his patronage in the southern part of the diocese. (1) (see Appendix 1)

In a few instances Bishop Waldegrave was one of a body of trustees. In one case, that of St. Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat, Barrow in Furness, the patronage was in his own name as Samuel

Waldegrave and not that of the Bishop of Carlisle.

The Dean and Chapter of Carlisle were the patrons of 27 parishes in the ancient diocese of Carlisle, and of two parishes in Northumberland, in the diocese of Durham until the creation of the diocese of Newcastle in 1882. (see Appendix 2)

For making appointments to parishes of which he was patron, Waldegrave was able to act directly and unhindered. For any clergyman coming into the diocese he made exhaustive enquiries about his character, and in addition his letters of orders, testimonials from three beneficed clergymen, and personal references. (2) If these proved to be unsatisfactory Waldegrave refused to admit clergy into the diocese. (3) When lay patrons were involved in making an appointment more correspondence was inevitable. Often the lay patrons sought Waldegrave's advice, and though sometimes this was ignored, he maintained that 'it is seldom that I am unable, if consulted, to recommend a suitable candidate for a vacant benefice'. (4) Waldegrave took pains to ensure that godly pastors were appointed. Preferably these were to be Evangelicals - but never Anglo-Catholic clergy.

Often the laity could not appreciate the issues involved. Harriet Martineau noted that the gentry 'are utterly hopeless, inane, stupid, talking solemnly of Puseyism, and blind to the plainest duties of their position'. (5) Waldegrave angered a female patron over his response to a candidate of her choice. She was opposed to the English Church Union, but the prospective incumbent, unknown to her was already a member of the ECU. To an outsider the candidate appeared from the names of the referees to be 'a moderate Evangelical

churchman', (6) but to an informed observer this was not the case. Waldegrave did not trust the members of the ECU.

> I know well the artfulness of the party in question. [They would] send a plausible man, who will profess abhorrence of extreme, who will preach a quasi-Evangelical sermon or two, but who when once in [a parish] will soon make the Bishop and his Evangelical brethren feel that one more is added to the advanced guard of the invading ritualistic army, which has already, by similar oversight of the laity, planted itself too firmly at Barrow in Furness, where the confessional and all its horrors is in full operation. (7)

When a vacancy occurred at 'the beautiful little church and cure of Low Wray close to Wray Castle, on Windermere', Waldegrave enlisted the support of his friends to influence the lay patron, J. Dawson, against appointing a ritualist to the living. (8)

Waldegrave was in a difficult position over attracting men to the diocese. Clergy were reluctant to serve in the north of England and preferred to remain in the south. 'In the pleasant southern dioceses, with which our educated gentry are best acquainted, there is no shortage of clergy'. (9) But this was not the case in the north. The diocese of Carlisle was remote and poor and there was little material advantage to attract clergy. The only advantage was its beautiful setting. Waldegrave wrote to a potential curate that

> I am told Durham [and] Northumberland is very cold; but the Gulf Stream keeps us warm, to the extent that would quite surprise you ... St. Mary's, Windermere, [is] one of the loveliest spots in England. (10)

To a prospective incumbent of Ulverston Waldegrave wrote

> I can offer you a noble appointment in a very beautiful neighbourhood, and a very mild, but healthy climate. (11)

Arnside, five miles north of Carnforth, and situated on the

coast, Waldegrave described as

> A lovely spot and only needs an Evangelical pastor to become a favourite watering place ... I so much fear the ritualists seizing upon it. (12)

But always the idyllic setting was deceptive: only when the mist cleared could the rugged terrain ahead be perceived. Bishop Villiers always made the situation clear to those coming into the diocese.

> When gentlemen came to him for ordination, and in reply to questions as to their future prospects, stated that their expectations of clerical preferment were almost nil, he was frequently induced to warn them that although they might find the air and the scenery of Cumberland delightful, yet he was afraid that it would only tend to increase their appetite, and that a curacy of £50 a year held out very little hope of a comfortable existence. (13)

Yet inspite of their comparative poverty when compared with other professional elites, many of the clergy remained in Cumbria for lengthy incumbencies. It was not uncommon to find them remaining 40,50 or 60 years in the same cure - and not always in attractive settings. Thus in the coastal towns Henry Curwen was Rector of Workington between 1837-94 and Thomas Dalton, who was a curate in Whitehaven 1833-40, then Vicar of Whitehaven 1840-89; and in rural situations, Jeremiah Walker, the Perpetual Curate of Ulpha from 1828-81 and Edward Peche Stock, Rector of Windermere 1857-1904.

During his episcopate, Bishop Waldegrave had the responsibility of appointing three Archdeacons - all of whom were Evangelicals. Two of these men (Samuel Peach Boutflower and John Cooper) outlived Waldegrave and continued to exercise their ministries well

into the episcopate of Bishop Goodwin.

Senior appointments

On the resignation of William Jackson as Archdeacon of Carlisle in Janurary 1863, Waldegrave appointed his friend and examining chaplain, William Whitmarsh Phelps (1797-1867) to succeed him. Phelps was one of the few Oxford graduates to be appointed by Waldegrave to a leading position in the diocese.

Phelps graduated BA from Corpus Christi College, Oxford in 1819, and MA in 1822, and was ordained deacon in November 1822, and priest a month later. This unusual practice was necessary because he was in charge of two rural parishes - Hindon and Pertwood, north of Shaftesbury. For the next 13 years he was an assistant master of Harrow School, and then for five years held three brief curacies in the Reading area. Between 1845-64 Phelps was minister of Holy Trinity church, Reading, and during this time he erected a number of schools, and was responsible for the restoration of Greyfriars Church at a cost of between £10-12,000.

Phelps was born three miles from Barford St.Martin, and on returning to the area for family visits became acquainted with the incumbents of Barford. He first met Waldegrave in 1844, and preached at Barford in 1850 and 1853. On the later occasion he was staying in the area recovering from an illness, and attended the church.

> Never dreaming of taking part in the service. But lo! Mr. Waldegrave had had a sharp attack on bronchitis in the night, and the two full duties falling unexpectedly upon /his curate Edmund/ Carr, he came to me at the end of the Communion service and induced me to preach for him at two minutes notice, which I did from Exodus 9:20-21. (14)

The friendship between Waldegrave and Phelps continued, and two months after being nominated to the see of Carlisle, Waldegrave invited Phelps to become his examining chaplain. This he accepted and was Waldegrave's senior examining chaplain between 1860-67. Waldegrave's other examining chaplains were Edmund Carr and George Tonge. In addition, other men also served as chaplains - John Veysey, Thomas Robert Hamilton, David Alfred Doundney and Edward Harman.

In February 1863 Phelps became Archdeacon of Carlisle, and Waldegrave wrote to him about the need for residence in the diocese of Carlisle.

> Of course, my dear friend, it is clearly understood between us that this appointment is made by me, and accepted by you, with the full intention that you should be resident in the Archdeaconry for the full eight months requested by law - and also that you should take the earliest available opportunity of entering upon a permanent pastoral post amongst us. Indeed this has been taken for granted between us throughout. (15)

A month later, Waldegrave wrote to Phelps on the same matter.

> I will not say how much I have looked forward to your permanent residence amongst us. For subjects are daily presenting themselves upon which I should wish to confer with you. (16)

The situation was both inconvenient and illegal, since Phelps could not observe the necessary period of residence required for his parish in Reading or in his Archdeaconry in Carlisle. The position remained unresolved for a whole year, and in consequence of receiving a letter from the Bishop of Oxford, Phelps resigned the living of Holy Trinity, Reading, (17) and moved to Carlisle.

On becoming Archdeacon of Carlisle, Phelps was collated to the fourth canonry at the cathedral, for which he received over

£650 a year. By custom members of the cathedral chapter took it in turns to nominate to vacant livings. By chance it was Phelps' turn to nominate, and when Appleby became vacant, he appointed himself to the living, valued at over £300 a year. (18)

After serving for four years as Archdeacon, Phelps died at Appleby in June 1867 after a brief illness described as 'dropsy combined with heart disease'. (19) Bishop Waldegrave spoke warmly of his late friend as

> A man of intrinsic modesty, and few people not brought more immediately in contact with him could be fully aware of his worth. He was an accomplished classical scholar. Very few men with whom he was acquainted were such through-going Greek scholars. He was an able divine, an affectionate preacher, a consistent Christian and wise man. (20)

> I rejoice to hear, now that he is gone, from many and sometimes unlooked for quarters, that his intrinsic modesty had not altogether concealed from view the chastened piety, the sterling sense, the loyal church-manship, and the large hearted charity of my departed colleague. (21)

Phelps' successor, Samuel Peach Boutflower (1815-1882) came from a well-established Evangelical family. (22) He graduated BA from St. John's College, Cambridge in 1838, and MA in 1841. He was ordained deacon in 1838 by Bishop J. B. Sumner, and priest in 1839. He was a curate of Coniston, then of Brathay 1839-42. Between 1842-56 he was headmaster of a preparatory school and curate of Seaforth, Liverpool. In October 1856 he returned to Brathay as the Perpetual Curate, and two years later became Rural Dean of Ambleside. In April 1866 he became an honorary canon of Carlisle, and on the death of Phelps became the Archdeacon of Carlisle, and Vicar of Appleby, holding these positions until his death in 1882.

Waldegrave had a high regard for Boutflower whom he described as 'a very good educational man'. (23) It was said of him that he was 'honoured for his piety and active work', (24) and 'sincere and generous' to the clergy of his Archdeaconry. (25) On the death of Dean Close in December 1882, Boutflower was due to have preached the next cathedral sermon, but he was taken ill and died a few days later. (26)

Within days of the resignation of Robert Wilson Evans, the first Archdeacon of Westmorland, in January 1865 Waldegrave appointed John Cooper to succeed him. John Cooper (1813-1896) graduated BA from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1835, and MA in 1838. He was ordained deacon in December 1837 and priest a year later. For 20 years he was involved in the life of his college as Fellow, Tutor and Senior Dean. In addition to his academic work, he was Vicar of Great St. Andrews, Cambridge between 1843-58. (27) A fellow tutor at Trinity College was Charles Perry who became Bishop of Melbourne in 1847. He married Cooper's sister, Frances, and when they were in England they stayed with Cooper in Kendal.

Cooper a bachelor, was appointed to the college living of Holy Trinity, Kendal in 1858, and remained there until his death. In June 1861 he became an honorary canon, and in January 1865 Archdeacon of Westmorland. In 1883 he became a residentiary canon. In Kendal he erected several schools, and took a considerable interest in both teachers and pupils. Cooper had a lively sense of humour and was well-known for his hard work. He was a fine horseman and visited his clergy on horseback, and was of great

encouragement to them and it was said that they appreciated his visits. (28)

Waldegrave spoke of 'my dear friend the Vicar [of Kendal]', (29) and of him as 'a very modest but able, good and safe man'. (30) Cooper died at Carlisle in July 1896, and was buried in Kendal cemetery.

Other appointments

There was a concentration of Evangelicals in the city of Carlisle, where the churches and cathedral were served by between 15-18 clergy. Waldegrave noted with obvious approval that 'these men are to a man constitutionalists, and all but one avowed Evangelicals'. (31) The exception amongst the beneficed clergy was James Tasker, who had been the Perpetual Curate of Holy Trinity since 1855. Tasker was a member of the ECU, and in the early 1870s encouraged the Society of the Holy Cross to open an oratory in his parish. The other member of the ECU in the city was T.G. Livingstone, a minor canon at the cathedral, and the constant irritant of Dean Close.

The obvious leader of the Carlisle clergy both in age and seniority was Dean Close. The other clergy were much younger men. This became a matter of concern to Bishop Waldegrave.

> With the exception of the Dean, [there was] not a simple man of standing in years who has weight. All the good men are young, very young. Mr. Hodgson is, from all I hear just the man we need, to be ready to state the law, should the good Dean be removed. (32)

Two of the able younger Evangelicals in the city were George Frederick Head and David Alfred Doudney. Head had been enticed into the diocese of Carlisle by Close who, as one of the Trustees of St. John's church, appointed him as the first Perpetual Curate in 1867. His first sermon at the church was greeted with acclaim.

> The Rev. gentleman preached extempore, in a popular and pleasing style, and is likely to attract large congregations. (33)

Waldegrave was delighted with Head's appointment, and spoke enthusiastically about him to Close.

> He is not too young, popular, clever at organization, has good health and private means, and is a devoted Christian. (34)

Eighteen months after his appointment Waldegrave appointed Head as the Rural Dean for the city and suburbs. Head left the diocese of Carlisle in 1873, and subsequently held incumbencies in Islington, (35) Plymouth and Clifton, Bristol.

David Alfred Doudney was one of three of Waldegrave's chaplains to hold an incumbency in the diocese. Doudney graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and was ordained by Waldegrave. Doudney served as the curate of Stanwix 1861-63 as well as afternoon lecturer of St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle. In September 1863 Waldegrave licensed him to the Denton Holme area of Carlisle where he held services in a schoolroom until St. James' church was consecrated in July 1867. Doudney remained at St. James' until 1880 (having been Rural Dean of Carlisle North between 1873-76), and became Rector of Ore, Chichester.

Edmund Carr was an active Evangelical undergraduate. He was

involved with the formation of the Cambridge Union for Private Prayer (founded in 1848, and the name changed in 1854 to the Cambridge University Prayer Union) and became a committee member. (36) He was ordained in the diocese of Salisbury, and was Waldegrave's curate at Barford St. Martin between 1849-56. After five years as the Rector of Bonchurch on the Isle of Wight, Waldegrave encouraged him to join him in the diocese of Carlisle, where he remained for the next 22 years. He was the Perpetual Curate of Casterton and Chaplain to the Clergy Daughter's School between 1861-66, and then Vicar of Dalston 1866-83. Waldegrave highly regarded Carr. (37) In 1867 he became an honorary canon and diocesan inspector of schools, and between 1880-83 was the Rural Dean of Wigton. He then left the diocese and became Vicar of Holbrooke, Derbyshire.

Edward Harman became Rector of Scaleby in 1866, and the first Perpetual Curate of Silloth in 1869. He was one of Waldegrave's chaplains, and the Bishop described him as

> A Cantab, and took high honours: but what is better, he is spiritually minded, [a] wise and holy man. (38)

Harman left the diocese of Carlisle in 1872, and returned in 1876 as Vicar of Edenhall with Langwathby. This was a party appointment by the Dean and Chapter, since Harman's predecessor, Beilby Porteus, had been a vocal Anglo-Catholic and opponent of Waldegrave.

Further south, and away from Carlisle, the small lakeside towns were important spheres of Evangelical ministry. The clergy had a responsibility for the increasing number of visitors as well

as for their resident parishioners. It was in ministering to the visitors that the work of the clergy of the Carlisle diocese influenced a wider circle than just the local population. When S. P. Boutflower was Rural Dean of Ambleside, Waldegrave made it clear that

> It is that constantly recurring influx of strangers, from all parts of our country, into our remote and humble diocese, which gives us all, and especially the lake clergy, an influence and a responsibility, in connection with the church at large, which we should not otherwise possess. (39)

The situation in the church at large demanded sound Evangelical teaching to counter ritualism on the one hand, and the teaching of Bishop John Colenso on the other. Waldegrave continued

> That the numerous visitors, both clerical and lay, who crowd your churches during the summer months, would hear no uncertain sound on the momentous subjects, with which the Bishop of Natal has dealt so inconsistently and so wantonly. (40)

Two centres for Evangelical ministry were at Keswick on the shore of Derwent Water, and Ambleside situated at the head of Lake Windermere. At Keswick, Thomas Dundas Battersby was the Perpetual Curate for over thirty years. Within the diocese Battersby was responsible for the foundation of the Lay and Clerical Union for the diocese of Carlisle (founded in 1859), and nationally in the establishment of the Keswick Convention (founded in 1875).

The patronage of Rydal, the hamlet to the north of Ambleside, passed into the hands of A. F. Hudleston, and Waldegrave felt constrained to write to him about his responsibilities as patron of the living.

> You will, I trust, not deem me intrusive if I venture to express to you the interest I feel in the recent dealings of our God with you. To succeed to property is at all times a matter for serious reflection on the responsibilities which that property involves. You have already proved in the possession of another heritage that you appreciate and would endeavour to discharge these responsibilities.
>
> May grace be continued and increased to you - so that the owner of Hutton John as the helper and succourer of all who are engaged whether at home or abroad in carrying the truth as it is in Jesus to the doors of the sinner for whom he died. But I cannot forget that Rydal brings with it the responsibility of patronage. May you be helped so to exercise that patronage as to be the honoured instrument of causing the lake of Windermere to share the privileges which once belonged to the lake of Galilee, the privileges of hearing the gospel preached to the poor by those whom we may truly call Christ's representatives - for where a faithful minister of his comes there he comes himself. (41)

Near to Rydal and at the northern end of Lake Windermere was Ambleside a community of 1,600 people. In June 1854 the parish church was consecrated and the situation then (as now) was idyllic. However, temptation came to the Perpetual Curate, Henry John Marlen. After only a year at Ambleside he was dabbling with ritualism and worse was twice found in a drunken stupor. Waldegrave wrote to the patron, A. F. Hudleston.

> I think it right to tell you, in confidence, that a most serious charge - that of open drunkeness - has been brought against the incumbent of Ambleside. I have given him a few days to consider and consult whether he had better quietly retire and cut short all proceedings by resignation or abide the result of commission. I much fear, from what I hear of the gentleman in question that Lady Le Fleming did not investigate his past history as she should have done. (42)

Marlen resigned from the living, and was suspended from exercising his ministry for three years. Waldegrave dealt tenderly with him, and implored him to humble himself before God for cleansing. (43) Marlen remained in Ambleside, and Waldegrave felt that his non-attendance at a place of worship gave no

indication of his repentance. (44) The situation at Ambleside was delicate. The churchwardens and other parishioners signed a petition in favour of appointing Robert Gordon Calthrop (45) to the living. Calthrop, the Perpetual Curate of Irton, near Eskdale, was known to the congregation at Ambleside having already taken services. But Waldegrave had other plans for Marlen's successor. Waldegrave suspected Calthrop of being a member of the ECU, and had already determined to appoint Charles Dent Bell.

> The good people of Ambleside are like a flock of sheep; signing a memorial in favour of [Mr. Calthrop]. But universal experience is that such memorials are of little value. We must act as we feel to be for the best - for the people and place and, if our gracious God guide us as I trust he will, they will soon acknowledge that we have done rightly. The more I hear of Mr. Bell, the more satisfied I am that if he take it he will prove the right man. (46)

Bell graduated from Trinity College, Dublin and was ordained to a curacy of St. Mary in the Castle, Hastings 1843-55, then the minister of St. John's Chapel, Hampstead, London 1855-61. Of Bell, Waldegrave wrote

> Mr. Bell is privately a man of mild and conciliatory manner, that publicly he is an unusually effective preacher. That his ministerial experience is considerable, and his pecuniary resources ample ... the coming of Mr. Bell to Ambleside promises to be a real acquisition to the place. (47)

On Bell's acceptance of the living, Waldegrave wrote to Calthrop. While recognising that he would be disappointed in not being appointed to the living, he spoke of the need to appoint the right man to a vacant benefice.

> I felt myself constrained to do as I hope always do in similar cases, to name that person whom I felt assured would ultimately prove the greatest acquisition to the place and neighbourhood ... Mr. Bell who is, I am glad to say, not only a man of true piety, but also a very

> effective preacher. When I add that his means are ample, you will see that the appointment is one from which by God's blessing we may hope much. (48)

However, the appointment of Bell did not solve all the problems at Ambleside, and Marlen continued to live in the parsonage house. Waldegrave wrote again to A. F. Hudleston:

> I am much concerned to say that Mr.Marlen seems resolved to stay on at Ambleside in the house which has hitherto been occupied by the incumbent of that place ... The owner of that house is, I gather from his letters, much disappointed at the post having been conferred on Mr. Bell instead of on Mr. Calthrop. Can you suggest any plan by which Mr. Bell may be provided with a temporary home so that he may have an opportunity of making himself known at Ambleside. When once that has been accomplished the good people, if any there be, who now wish to frighten him away, will be ashamed of themselves for what they have attempted to do. (49)

Inspite of the early difficulties, Bell remained at Ambleside for 11 years. He was a man after Waldegrave's heart - both devout and Protestant. He was an active member of the Church Association and subsequently published a Church Association tract on The nature of Christian worship. In it he expressed a sentiment held by Waldegrave that

> 'Christian worship is spiritual not sensuous: devotional not dramatic: reasonable not ritualistic. (50)

Bell was a minor Evangelical hymn writer (51) and wrote volumes of poetry much of which was about the Lake District. (52) In 1867 Bell succeeded Boutflower as the Rural Dean of Ambleside, and in 1869 became an honorary canon of Carlisle cathedral. In 1872 Rydal parish was added to his responsibilities, and in the same year he became the Rector of Cheltenham, where he remained until 1895. (53)

Still further south, the market town of Ulverston became an important sphere of Evangelical ministry through the astute working of Bishop Waldegrave and the wealth of Alfred Peache.

Richard Gwillym became the Perpetual Curate of Ulverston in 1834, and became one of the Rural Deans appointed by Bishop Villiers. Gwillym was a theological moderate.

> He had no sympathy with Calvinism on the one hand or ritualism on the other, and was wont frequently to deplore the spirit of party feeling in the church of Christ. (54)

Ulverston parish church was restored at a cost of £10,000, and was re-opened for worship by Waldegrave in October 1866. (55) Gwillym, who had a substantial private income and his own house, had the peal of bells replaced rather than erect a benefice house. (56) During Gwillym's ministry the patronage of Ulverston parish church and of Holy Trinity, Ulverston, had been purchased from the local bankers Messrs Petty and Postlethwaite by the wealthy Evangelical clergyman Alfred Peache. Elsewhere in the diocese Peache acquired the patronage of Coniston and nearby Torver, and later Casterton.

By the 1860s Ulverston had a population of 6,000 and the living was regarded by Waldegrave as being the third most important benefice in the diocese. The congregation of the parish church he described as being 'not accustomed to the gospel, and rather churchey (sic) in outlook'. (57) But with the death of Gwillym in December 1867 and with the patronage now in Evangelical hands the ministry at the church was to change. Waldegrave was clear about what sort of person was required. He believed that Gwillym 'was not decided in his views. We want a man who is, and

also wise'. (58) Waldegrave was also anxious to see that the next Perpetual Curate of Ulverston would give a strong lead in the southernmost part of the diocese, and furthest from his supervision from Rose Castle.

> The incumbent of Ulverston must be a man capable of taking the lead amongst his lay and clerical neighbours, by manners, judgment, ability and character. (59)

The lead which was required was to be Evangelical. Less than ten miles from Ulverston was the new town of Barrow in Furness which had become a centre for ritualistic activity in the south of the diocese, and Waldegrave wanted to provide both a strong counter-attraction and a powerful Protestant champion. However, local opinion was in favour of appointing a man of broader theological sympathies, and Peache was petitioned by the parishioners to appoint 'a moderate and a sound man'. (60)

The four month interregnum brought a number of problems. Waldegrave suspected the two curates of ritualistic sympathies, and was against them being in charge of the parish during the vacancy. (61) In their place Waldegrave appointed Nicholas Brady to take charge of the parish. Waldegrave made it clear that during the interregnum no changes were to be introduced, and there was to be no increase in the number of services. Certainly Waldegrave had cause to be concerned about the two curates. Richard Mulcaster, who was unlicensed, had a poor health record, and had been accused of drunkenness at a wedding breakfast in October 1865. (62) Alfred Edwin Daniel had been ordained deacon by Waldegrave in 1866, and had left Ulverston the following year to become the curate of Eastgate, Durham. Daniels returned to Ulverston and not only held

services in buildings in the town, but also tried to canvas support for his name to be nominated to the living. But Waldegrave made it clear that neither could Daniel officiate in the diocese, nor be appointed to the benefice.

It was clear to Waldegrave that

> We must have a man who comes to the place unconnected to any individuals or parties in it, devoid of personal ambitions, and firmly but wisely and lovingly and humbly resolved to know nothing there but Jesus Christ and him crucified. Such a person I expect will be found. (63)

At that time Evangelicalism was unknown in the area.

Waldegrave noted that

> The population consists of professional men, tradespeople and a few seafaring and many mining people. It is the centre of the district full of wealthy people, who have made their money rapidly by iron, and also of old country folk, headed by the Duke of Devonshire. Hitherto, Evangelical men have only been seen at a distance, through somewhat coloured glasses. (64)

In asking for a reference for a possible candidate, Waldegrave asked

> Has he pulpit power, a personal holiness, firmness, judgment, love? If so, he will do. A man who could weald the pulpit well, will with the other qualifications, carry all opposition before him. But he must be firm, and prepared to meet with opposition at first. (65)

The living was only worth about £160 a year and did not have a parsonage house. It was therefore essential to appoint a man with a sufficient private income to provide his own accommodation and to employ at least two curates. Peache appreciated the difficulty over the house, and gave £800 to erect a benefice house, to match the £200 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. (66) But without a sufficient private income and the social position

of the incumbent would be much reduced in status.

> There is a very beautiful church, seating 1,800 on the /ground/ floor, and a grand opportunity for a wise, as well as a good and able man. The late incumbent had a private income of some two or three thousand pounds and kept three curacies, and was widely hospitable. He was a Rural Dean and a kind of suffragan Bishop in those parts. (67)

Such a description may have prompted Waldegrave to approach John Harding, the Bishop of Bombay, to consider the appointment. Harding had remained in England after attending the Lambeth Conference, and had made it clear that he was contemplating retirement from his Indian see. In fact he did not resign as Bishop of Bombay until 1869. In writing to Harding, Waldegrave described Ulverston as being 'quite a suffragan's post, and how thankful I should such be for such a suffragan as you. (68) To Edward Auriol, Waldegrave confessed that Harding would be 'a sound and trustworthy head for all that part of my diocese'. (69) But Harding declined Waldegrave's invitation, and remained another year as the Bishop of Bombay before returning to England.

It would appear that both Peache and Waldegrave were looking for suitable candidates. But all the names whom Peache suggested Waldegrave rejected as unsuitable. So concerned was Waldegrave to find the most appropriate candidate that he even tried to entice Peache to leave his Gloucestershire living and become the Perpetual Curate of Ulverston! Other well-known Evangelicals were approached over the living. Very full references were taken up on each candidate, and for those who expressed interest, Waldegrave invited them to meet him at Rose Castle. In reporting on the progress being made to find a suitable incumbent Waldegrave

wrote

> Believe me that every effort is being made to select well for Ulverston. But it is very difficult to find a man in whom all the necessary qualifications meet. (70)

Three candidates were seriously considered, but all three declined. William Eustace had a private income of £1,000 a year, and was Vicar of Stradbally and Moyanna, Ireland. Obviously Waldegrave felt that the absence of an English degree was a limitation, and suggested to Eustace that if he had any influence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, he might be able to obtain a Lambeth degree. (71) John Filmer Sullivan, Vicar of South Mimms, Hertfordshire, whom Bishop Villiers had already tried to entice into the diocese, and Waldegrave had approached him about Kirkby Lonsdale, but he had turned it down because he was unsatisfied with the house. (72) Sullivan had good family connections and an income of £2,000 a year, but after visiting Ulverston declined the living because it had no parsonage, and in Waldegrave's words was discouraged by

> the friends of the former dynasty, [who] seem to have frightened him. Their success proves that he was not the man for the place. (73)

William Hagger Barlow was probably the most able of the candidates as his subsequent career made clear. When he was approached he was a Bristol incumbent. Later he was Vicar of St. Mary's, Islington, and finally Dean of Peterborough 1901-08. (74)

Eventually George Gustavius Morton became the Perpetual Curate of Ulverston. He had graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and was ordained deacon in 1854 and priest in 1855. Until 1866 he held

three brief curacies, and left the last one through ill-health, and when approached about Ulverston did not hold any position. Obviously he had sufficiently recovered for Waldegrave to report that Morton was in 'good health and very sufficient means, and with an excellent wife', and that he would be an 'acquisition to the diocese'. (75)

Whatever other qualities he had, Morton was a forthright sort of person. Some months after his appointment Waldegrave pointed out two defects in his character. First, he was inclined to express his views too quickly; and second, he was too self-reliant and self-opinionated. In giving him a modest rebuke Waldegrave added that 'the last man whom I spoke in this manner took it most sweetly'. (76) Hopefully Morton took the Bishop's advice! Morton remained at Ulverston for ten years and was succeeded by Charles Wareing Bardsley. (77) There had been friction between Morton and the lay-committee of the Ulverston Town Bank Sunday School, and the committee hoped that with the appointment of Bardsley, the former harmony would be restored. (78)

Moving on from the Evangelicals in Carlisle, the lakeside clergy and at Ulverston, Waldegrave welcomed into the diocese those Evangelical clergy who had worked overseas and who wished to return to an English parish. The most distinguished of these clergy was William Hodgson. Hodgson had graduated from Cambridge and was ordained by Bishop J. B. Sumner. Hodgson served his ministry in the Chester diocese, latterly as the Perpetual Curate of Brathay, between 1842-56. From this obscure hamlet of 400

parishioners, he was invited by his friend Frederick Barker, the Bishop of Sydney, to become the first Principal of Moore Theological College. Barker wrote to Hodgson

> Before you came to this Colony, I knew you in your quiet and beautiful parish in the Lake District. I knew you as the faithful pastor and as the efficient tutor of young men. I knew you as the able preacher, and even listened to your scriptural and interesting addresses with much edification and profit. (79)

In reply to the invitation, Hodgson wrote:

> It is of course a hard struggle to decide upon relinquishing the many attractions which bind us to old England in general, and especially to our happy home at Brathay. Humanly speaking, the change involves much discomfort and some considerable risk - but I see no reason to doubt that the blessing of God will rest upon a course of action which is as I believe entered upon with a view to His glory, in diffusing the knowledge of the sunny truths of the gospel ... The pleasure of working such an institution as Moore's College under your superintendence will be very great ... In this country, colleges exclusively theological seem to have a tendency to foster a hard narrow repulsive ecclesiasticism; and possibly the comparative small number of persons ordained annually in New South Wales would limit the usefulness of the institution, if the course of study were so entirely confined to theology as to debar from entering it all except those who were intending to offer themselves for holy orders. (80)

Hodgson was Principal of Moore College between 1856-68, and during this period built up the College from scratch, and saw forty-six students ordained into the ministry. A tribute was paid to his ministry in the Australian Churchman:

> His influence will continue to be felt long after he will have left these shores to return no more. As a gentleman and a scholar, New South Wales can ill afford to spare such a man; but as Principal of Moore College, I regard his loss as irreparable. (81)

Ill-health forced Hodgson to return to England, and he was keen to return to the Carlisle diocese. In addition, Bishop Barker had advised Waldegrave to secure a position for Hodgson in the

diocese. Waldegrave made two attempts to place him in a parish in the diocese. First as the Perpetual Curate of Ulverston, (82) and second as the Rector of Scaleby. (83)

However when the parish of Clifton, near Penrith became vacant, Hodgson was the ideal candidate, and was appointed as incumbent in June 1868. Waldegrave considered that Hodgson, supported by his wife, would be usefully employed in the area. To a fellow clergyman in the deanery Waldegrave wrote that Hodgson would be 'a very valuable addition to your clerical friends'. (84) For Waldegrave, Hodgson had two important assets - a good wife and a private income. The Bishop described Hodgson as

> A person of good university standing, who combines the possession of a fair private income with the still greater advantage of an excellent wife, and corresponding family. (85)

> He is married to a charming wife, has grown-up daughters and a fair private income. His wife, with God's blessing, [will] be a great gain to your part of the diocese. (86)

But in addition to having a good wife and a private income, Hodgson was a convinced Evangelical churchman who could check the ritualistic developments in the Penrith area. Waldegrave confessed that

> I have long been anxious to place in the neighbourhood of Penrith a man of position and influence who might be the barrier you describe against ritualistic innovations. (87)

In December 1868 Waldegrave appointed Hodgson as the assistant Rural Dean of Lowther. This was partially to cover for the repeated absences of the Rural Dean, Provost William Jackson, but also because Waldegrave suspected Jackson of being a member of the ECU, and that that danger needed checking at every possible

opportunity. But Hodgson's influence was short-lived, and he died at Clifton in December 1869.

Several ex-CMS missionaries returned to England and spent periods of their ministries in the diocese of Carlisle. These included Isaac Smith, who served with CMS in Sierra Leone between 1837-55; then returned to England and after a curacy in Kent became Rector of Crosby Garrett in 1861. George Candy who worked in India, initially as an officer in the Bombay Army, and then as a missionary with SPG and CMS, becoming the minister of Trinity Chapel, Bombay. (88) Candy returned to England and was licensed to Kirkby Lonsdale in January 1861. The incumbent, John Hutton Fisher, who had been Vicar since 1831 was both unwell, 'a man of notoriously intemperate habits' (89) and a bankrupt. Between Bishop Villiers leaving the diocese and the arrival of Bishop Waldegrave, Fisher's brother William, who was the Downing Professor of Medicine at Cambridge, (90) had taken him back with him to Cambridge. Technically the living was not vacant, and not unlike the situation which had existed at St. Ebbe's, Oxford when Waldegrave had been curate to a permanent invalid. Waldegrave wrote to Archbishop C. T. Longley and reported that it was unlikely that Fisher 'will ever physically be able to resume his duty. It is certain that he can never do so with advantage to the flock'. (91) The solution to the problem was that the living was placed under sequestration, with Fisher receiving £75 a year, and Candy, £100 a year together with the right to live in the vicarage. On the death of Fisher, Candy remained at Kirkby Lonsdale at an increased salary of £150 (92) until Henry Ware was instituted as the incumbent in June 1862.

Thomas Henry Fitzpatrick graduated from Trinity College, Dublin and after ordination and a curacy in Birmingham, sailed from England in June 1851 to establish the Punjab Mission. The Mission was formed in February 1852, and Fitzpatrick baptised the first convert in July 1853. (93) At about that time he wrote home

> If any of my younger brethren in orders, or any of our university men ready for orders, ask you, 'Does Fitzpatrick still think he was right in his leaving his curacy in a district of 10,000 poor in the town of Birmingham, to go to preach Christ to the heathen of India?' Tell them he can never be too thankful for it. And if they ask, 'Would he venture to say that others similarly circumstanced should do likewise?' say it is one of his most frequent and most earnest prayers that they might have grace to do so. (94)

Illness compelled Fitzpatrick to return to England, and after recovery returned once more to India, but was forced to return again. In September 1865, Waldegrave appointed him as Vicar of Dalston. In the same month Henry Venn officiated at Fitzpatrick's marriage to John Barton's sister (Barton was then a missionary in India, and later became Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge). All too soon he became ill and in February 1866 Venn returned to officiate at Fitzpatrick's funeral. (95)

James Henry Blackman who had been the Vice-principal of a government school in Bangalore, considered the hamlet of Barbon, (96) but instead accepted the curacy of Preston Patrick in 1868, becoming the Perpetual Curate in 1871.

Henry Smith who had both a distinguished academic and military background served in India between 1848-66. He was awarded the Indian Military Medal for services with the army during the siege of Lucknow, and on returning to England was briefly a

curate in Winchester, and Grange over Sands 1868-69. (97)

James Darling, who was described by Waldegrave as 'an excellent man', (98) was ordained in 1849, and served in curacies in Longor, Staffordshire and Bristol, before leaving England for Australia. Between 1854-61 he was the minister of St. John's church, Melbourne. Already as a curate he had published three volumes of Letters Doctrinal and Practical, and in Australia a sermon on Education. (99) In 1862 on returning to England he was awarded a Ph.D. from the University of Rostock (now in East Germany) and which appears to have been given on the basis of his Education sermon. (100) Darling was the Vicar of Bampton between 1862-83.

Once Evangelical ministers had settled in the diocese of Carlisle, having been ordained by Bishops Villiers or Waldegrave, or brought into the diocese by them, Waldegrave was understandably reluctant to see them leave and accept livings in other dioceses. Waldegrave was out manoeuvred by the lay-patrons of the hamlet of Woodland and prevented from securing the church for his candidate Joseph Hindley. The lay-patrons were under pressure from the Anglo-Catholics in Barrow in Furness, who, understandably didn't want the Bishop's nominee who was an Evangelical, thrust upon them. After completing two curacies in the Carlisle diocese between 1863-69, Hindley left the diocese. Charles Lawrence, described by Waldegrave as 'a loyal churchman and true Protestant and a most courteous gentleman', (101) held three curacies in the Carlisle diocese, and was offered the living of Thurton, Norfolk, by Sir Thomas Beauchamp (who was married to Waldegrave's cousin

Laura). He accepted, but his move was regretted by Waldegrave and his wife and others in the diocese. Waldegrave commented to Lawrence that

> You have been so truly a valuable servant of Christ amongst us, and you are wedded to so choice a help-meet ... (102)

But Waldegrave was not totally possessive about his Evangelical clergy, and was prepared to encourage them to apply for suitable vacancies outside the diocese of Carlisle. In December 1868 Waldegrave encouraged his former curate William Anthony Voss to apply for the position of the Director of the Church Missionary Society's Missionaries' Children's Home, in Highbury, London. Waldegrave was convinced that 'the Committee would very favourably entertain your consideration'. (103) However, Voss remained in the diocese.

Not all of Waldegrave's appointments were made easily and without local opposition. The situation as it developed at Cockermouth represented a clash of interests between the inhabitants and the Bishop. Edward Fawcett, the elderly and longstanding Perpetual Curate of All Saints, Cockermouth was the incumbent between 1809-65. In 1859 he appointed Herbert Boyne Lavallin Puxley as his curate. Puxley was a man of means, and with local support set in motion the erection of a second church in the town. The situation was already delicate and Bishop Villiers had already been involved in a dispute over previous plans to erect another church. (104) The patronage of the parish church was vested with the Earl of Lonsdale, and that of Christ Church with three trustees - Bishop Waldegrave, Edward Auriol and Puxley

(as the main subscriber). However, on the completion of Christ Church Waldegrave refused to appoint Puxley to the living. He made it clear that Puxley ought not to leave the aged Fawcett; that as a matter of principle the trustees should not appoint one of their own number; and that the duties of Christ Church would be too much for Puxley. (The parish church had a population of 2,200 and that of Christ Church 3,500). Auriol made it clear that there was no doctrinal conflict involved in the decision. But there may well have been an objection to appointing so well-known an active Freemason as Puxley to the living! Certainly the strength of the opposition may well have been orchestrated by the local Masonic lodge.

The Christ Church trustees were then petitioned by 300 parishioners to appoint Puxley, and copies of letters were sent to the press, circulated to the parishioners, to members of the House of Commons and to the Bishops. Puxley found the whole situation impossible and against Waldegrave's advice resigned his curacy at All Saints, and on his last Sunday in January 1865 was presented with £272 before leaving for a continental holiday.

Perhaps it was distress caused by the situation which brought the death of the aged Fawcett in March 1865. The trustees then unanimously appointed William Williams the Evangelical curate of All Saints since January as the first Perpetual Curate of Christ Church. Almost immediately, Lord Lonsdale, the patron of the parish church, appointed Puxley to the living, and on his return from the continent, the bells of All Saints were rung to celebrate his home-coming.

A fortnight later Waldegrave went to Cockermouth to consecrate the new church, but it was half-empty, and the principal inhabitants, subscribers and churchwardens boycotted the ceremony. Williams remained at Christ Church until 1879 when he became the incumbent of St.Jude's, Glasgow. As for Puxley he remained at Cockermouth until 1873. He was a popular local figure, and when it was rumoured that he had been offered a living elsewhere, a petition was got up to encourage him to stay. (105)

The antagonism towards Bishop Waldegrave at Cockermouth was unique, and was not wholly based upon theological division. However the Anglo-Catholic opposition to him was more orchestrated and very specific. To them his outlook and that of his appointees was against the tenor of the Catholic faith. Following his pastoral letter of 1866 on 'Ritualistic Innovation', 'a layman of the diocese' addressed him in an open letter.

> In this diocese you may for the time feel confident that you have the majority of the clergy and laity on your side ... In the case of the diocese of Carlisle, few can wonder that the Catholic Faith, in its rich, yet grandly simple outlines, is washed out and frittered away into the bare and meagre sketches and representations of truth, which please the Puritanic eye, and tickle the Puritanic ear. Our pulpits are being rapidly filled, as fast as opportunity serves, with men in no way eminent or distinguished above their fellows, who, being gathered from all parts of Great Britain, are willing with a glib and ready tongue to utter the shibboleths proposed to them, and to adopt a phraseology and mode of thought which may perhaps lawfully prevail on the other side of the border, but which in England, on the part of men holding orders in our catholic apostolic church, is simply disloyalty and treason to the faith. (106)

Part of this criticism, but only part, was true. Admittedly Waldegrave was not prepared to welcome into the diocese, or to ordain as deacon or priest, those men who, in his eyes, were

against the Reformation settlement and a Protestant churchmanship bound to the Book of Common Prayer and Thirty Nine Articles. It was however untrue that the Evangelicals who came into the diocese were neither eminent nor learned.

Consideration may now be given to the trouble and care taken by Waldegrave over candidates for orders in the diocese of Carlisle.

ii) Bishop Waldegrave's ordinations

Both Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave set high standards for those whom they ordained in the diocese of Carlisle. But perhaps for the parishes in which many of the clergy had to work the standards were too high. Yet the work of Villiers and Waldegrave was part of the wider movement to improve the quality of clerical education. (1) Alongside this was the development of theological colleges and the deepening conviction that the ministry was a profession, and a sacred profession at that. The point was well made by Chancellor C. J. Burton that

> The ministry of the church is not only a service, but a profession - a sacred profession, indeed; and, like all other professions, we must own that, in its character as a profession, the more it shall be filled up with those of lesser qualifications, the more will the better qualified shrink from it. (2)

For C. D. Bell, the ideal was of 'a Christian, scholar, gentleman' in each parish.

> That in each parish of our isle should be,
> From North to South, from East to West, a man -
> a Christian, scholar, gentleman; in mind
> devout, of spirit humble, and of heart
> enlarged, zealous and self-denying, true ... (3)

Though the ideal may not have been achieved in every parish, there was a considerable improvement in the quality and education of the men placed in the parishes in the diocese of Carlisle. This improvement was due in no small part to the efforts of Villiers and Waldegrave. Writing on 'the church in the mountains', W. J. Conybeare noted a general improvement in the clergy in the mountain districts of Wales and 'the wild moorlands of Cumberland'.

> The realms of clerical barbarism are shrinking before the advance of civilisation and the efforts of conscientious men. Yet this improvement may be rendered more rapid, and these reformers may be aided, by co-operation from without. Such co-operation can only be expected from an enlightened public opinion; and public opinion requires a fuller knowledge of the facts for its enlightenment. (4)

Certainly the situation which had existed at the end of the eighteenth century did not exist in the 1850s and 1860s. Conybeare contrasted the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle as being

> adorned by the science and piety of Dean Milner, and the acute logic of Archdeacon Paley, the mass of the inferior clergy were, in manners and acquirements, scarcely raised above the Cumbrian peasantry. (5)

However, in his 1867 Charge, Bishop Waldegrave reported that the former 'low moral tone' of the clergy of the diocese was 'a matter almost exclusively of the past'. (6) Both Villiers and Waldegrave disciplined clergy accused of drunkenness, and also raised the standards of clerical education. There were proportionately more and better qualified candidates during the eight years 1856-64 than in the four years 1852-56. (7) It is clear that the transformation in the quality and proportion of graduate to non-graduate clergy took place during the episcopates of Villiers and Waldegrave, and not just under Bishop Goodwin, (8) though in his time the proportion

of graduate clergy significantly increased.

Taking the national figures for the period 1834-1901 then the year 1878, and for the diocese of Carlisle in 1868 and 1882, will give a clear indication of the proportion of graduate to non-graduate clergy.

For the period 1834-1901, just under a quarter of all clergy were non-graduates: (9)

Graduate clergy	Non-graduate clergy
35.7% Cambridge	22.5%
31.6% Oxford	
5.3% TCD	
4.9% Durham	

For the year 1878, out of the 23,612 clergy listed in Crockford 80% were graduates and the rest non-graduates: (10)

Graduate clergy	Non-graduate clergy
36.48% Cambridge	20.81%
32.53% Oxford	
7.41% TCD	
2.77% Durham	

For the year 1868 there were 268 beneficed clergy in the diocese of Carlisle, and with a further 79 assistant curates. (11) In both groups the ratio of graduate clergy to non-graduates was identical - 63% graduates to 37% non-graduates.

Graduate clergy (beneficed)	Non-graduate clergy (beneficed)
26.49% Cambridge	36.59%
17.53% Oxford	
7.46% TCD	
4.10% Durham	
7.83% unspecified	

Graduate clergy (unbeneficed)	Non-graduate clergy (unbeneficed)
31.64% Cambridge	36.74%
15.18% Oxford	
12.65% TCD	
1.26% Durham	
2.53% other	

Of the 98 non-graduate, beneficed clergy, 41 (or 41.83%) had attended a theological college (39 at St. Bees College, 1 at St.Aidans and 1 at Queen's College, Birmingham); and of the 29 non-graduate curates, 21 (or 72.41%) had attended a theological college (10 at St. Bees, 4 at St. Aidans and 2 at the London College of Divinity).

From these figures it is clear that compared with the national figures, the diocese of Carlisle had a higher proportion of non-graduate to graduate clergy - 36% compared with 20%; whereas nationally there was an almost equal number of graduate clergy from Cambridge and Oxford universities, there were far fewer Oxford graduates in the diocese of Carlisle; of the curates ordained in Carlisle, there were an almost equal number of graduates from Oxford and TCD. By 1882 the proportion of graduate clergy had increased to 73%, with 27% of non-graduate clergy (again, identical for beneficed clergy and curates). (12)

In the year 1882 there were 270 beneficed clergy and 67 assistant curates.

Graduate clergy (beneficed)	Non-graduate clergy (beneficed)
28.1% Cambridge	26.9%
22.9% Oxford	
12.9% TCD	
5.9% Durham	
3.3% other	

Graduate clergy (unbeneficed)	non-graduate clergy (unbeneficed)
31.34% Cambridge	26.86%
14.92% Oxford	
16.41% TCD	
7.46% Durham	
1.49% other	

During Bishop Goodwin's episcopate there was an increase in the proportion of beneficed clergy from Oxford and TCD, with a

slight increase in Durham graduates. Amongst the curates, of the 18 non-graduates only one was a literate, seven trained at St. Bees, four at the London College of Divinity, and only one at St. Aidans.

In the period 1856-69, Bishop Villiers conducted 11 ordinations, Bishop Waldegrave 24 and Bishop Anderson 2:

	deacons	priests	
Bishop Villiers (11)	35	35	graduates
	9	9	theological colleges
	9	6	literates
		5	unspecified
Bishop Waldegrave (26)	56	62	graduates
	49	40	theological colleges
	23	16	literates
	1	2	unspecified

Inspite of the longstanding association between the diocese of Carlisle and the foundation of Queen's College, Oxford in 1341, and that both Villiers and Waldegrave were Oxford graduates, a higher proportion of deacons came from Cambridge than Oxford. Villiers ordained 21 deacons from Cambridge, and Waldegrave 23 from Cambridge, but only nine and seven deacons respectively from Oxford. For the two Evangelical Bishops, Cambridge was less tainted with ritualism, however there were fears that rationalism was being taught at the universities. (13) Considering the location of Durham it is surprising that there were few candidates from that university. Villiers and Waldegrave each ordained only two deacons from Durham. Villiers only ordained two men from TCD, whereas Waldegrave ordained 17 men. Dublin graduates were more Protestant than those from Durham, though Dublin was 'regarded as providing graduates of lower social standing and less cultural attainments

than the English universities'. (14) But nationally the situation changed in 1870 and the University of Durham had overtaken TCD in providing more graduate clergy. (15)

Between 1841 and 1881 the number of Anglican clergy increased by 7,000 from 14,613 to 21,663, with a national average of something like one clergyman to 1,100 laymen. (16) This increase could not be met wholly from candidates from the universities and an increasing number of non-graduate candidates were being ordained. This was particularly so for a diocese like that of Carlisle which was remote and poorly endowed and unable to provide much opportunity for professional advancement. The general observation made by Dr. A. Haig may be applied to the diocese of Carlisle.

> Bishops, faced with urgent pastoral needs in the less-favoured areas, ordained a growing number of non-graduates. The Universities were anyway an inadequate source of ordinands: they were not and never could be mere seminaries, and already a majority of their graduates were ordained - but these were still manifestly insufficient. (17)

Bishop Waldegrave recognised that not all of his clergy could be graduates.

> It would be desirable, no doubt, that every candidate for holy orders should have a university education; but since this is impossible, the next best thing is, that the vacancies in the ministry should be filled by men who have at least the qualifications of zeal, and love, and competent knowledge. (18)

Waldegrave referred to his 'strict vigilance as to the moral, spiritual and intellectual preparation of the candidates whom I admit to holy orders'. (19) In a typically worded request for a full reference for a candidate Waldegrave asked, 'Academically

he is qualified. But what is he morally, spiritually and as a gentleman?'. (20) No less important was the spiritual qualities of the candidate's wife, and of the extent of their private income - an important consideration in the relatively poor diocese of Carlisle.

The Carlisle diocese greatly benefitted from receiving ordination candidates from theological colleges. (21) Although St. Bees College was situated in the diocese, surprisingly few candidates served their titles there. During the period 1854-67, 599 students were admitted to St Bees College. (22) Assuming that each student spent no more than two years at the College and were available for ordination during the years 1856-69, only 38 students were ordained into the Carlisle diocese - one in sixteen of the students who had been admitted to a course of training.

Some Bishops had objected to the teaching at St. Bees and had refused to ordain candidates from the college. This opposition was most marked during the Principalship of the Evangelical Robert Pedder Buddicom, when the Archbishop of York (Vernon Harcourt) and the Bishops of Carlisle (Hugh Percy) and Exeter (Henry Phillpotts) would not ordain candidates from the college. (23) But Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave had no such reservations about the college even under subsequent non-Evangelical Principals. The relationship between Waldegrave and the High Church Principal George Henry Ainger was very cordial. The Bishop had a high regard for the Principal and the students, and confessed that 'I am under obligation to it for many valuable curates'. (24) Bishop Villiers ordained nine men from the college and Bishop Waldegrave

29 students.

Bishop Villiers ordained no men from St. Aidan's College, and inspite of his criticisms, Waldegrave ordained nine candidates. Whereas Evangelicals criticised the non-Evangelical theological colleges Bishop Waldegrave criticised St. Aidans because of the weakness of the college syllabus. But Waldegrave was not the only person critical of the course, and in 1869 the college was reconstituted. (25)

In a lengthy letter to John Saul Howson, the Dean of Chester, Waldegrave outlined his criticisms.

1 There should be a stricter policy over the admission of students. Before starting at the college the students should already know enough Greek and Latin to construe the Gospels, as well as the texts of John Jewel and Hugo Grotius.

2 The academic study of the students was reduced because too much practical work was required during their course.

3 The course was too ambitious.

Waldegrave maintained that the Principal,

> Dr. Baylee is in the habit of saying that this is the fault of the Bishops, who require so much. All I can say is that I had much rather have the modest undertakings of St. Bees, which so far as my experience goes are carried out, than the high promise and low performance of St. Aidans.

4 The indulgence shown to candidates by giving them private examinations and the testamur of the college, after public failures.

Waldegrave also criticised the college for too readily accepting Wesleyan Methodist students for ordination into the Church of England; for accepting men from Oxford and Cambridge who had

'morally or intellectually' failed; and, asked Waldegrave, 'Are Dr. Baylee's tutors the men they ought to be?'. While 'I respect the worth*[y]* Dr., but this only makes me more anxious to see his college working successfully'. (26)

Waldegrave was the first Bishop to accept candidates from St. John's Hall (the London College of Divinity). The Evangelical college had been founded in November 1863 by Alfred Peache with Thomas Pownall Boultbee as the first Principal. Lewis Sanders was ordained deacon by Waldegrave in May 1866, and priest in September 1867, and served in curacies in Wythop and Burnside, Kenday. Of all the candidates Sanders was first in all the subjects,

> His work being sound, accurate and thoughtful, and his Hebrew good. This last particularly gratified me, as we cannot pretend in the time to bestow very much attention on that language; still, we aim at accuracy as far as we go. (27)

Waldegrave reported that Boultbee's 'men are the best I have in every way'. (28) That was an exaggeration: by January 1868, Waldegrave had only ordained two men from the college - Lewis Sanders and George Benjamin Armes.

Waldegrave was so impressed with what he had seen that he wrote to James Targett who was still a student at the college.

> I have heard of you being at St. John's Hall for some time, and I think it cannot now be long before you will be seeking for a title for holy orders. If so, I hope that you will permit me to say how very much pleasure it would give me to have you employed under my superintendence. There is at this moment a curacy open in the south part of the diocese, close to the sea, where a man of experience in life and missionary spirit will be most acceptable. If you are not to be ready soon, is there any companion who would come? Ask Mr. Boultbee. (29)

Targett responded to the Bishop's invitation, and was ordained by Waldegrave to a curacy at St. Mary's, Ulverston. Targett also encouraged other 'companions' to join him, and at the same ordination as deacon (in September 1868) two other men from St. John's Hall were ordained with him - William Gabbott and Joseph Knight.

As a matter of principle few literates were ordained by Bishop Villiers and Waldegrave. Villiers only ordained nine literates and Waldegrave 23 literates. But the number was decreasing - between 1864-69 only six literates were ordained deacon. The literates included Nonconformist ministers, scripture readers and non-graduate schoolmasters. Waldegrave would not consider ordaining Nonconformist ministers until they had made a formal break with their previous denomination. (30) He did not encourage scripture readers to be ordained, and the number who applied for ordination declined during his episcopate. 'But', Waldegrave confessed, 'There are exceptions to every rule' and some of the best clergy in the diocese had previously been scripture readers. (31) One such was Frederick Tugwell whom Waldegrave had invited in January 1861 to come from London as a scripture reader to work at Cleator and Cleator Moor, and was ordained in December 1861 as curate of Cleator. (32) Waldegrave was prepared to make other exceptions, and invited Eugene Stock, later the distinguished CMS historian to be ordained without any formal training, but his friends advised him against this, and he remained as an influential layman. (33) Waldegrave ordained a man who had trained as a teacher at the Normal College at York, but he made it a general rule not

to ordain men to school titles. (34) In any case such candidates would have been very much in a minority, there being more opportunities for clerical schoolmasters in the South than in the North of England. (35) Waldegrave would not ordain younger literates, since such young men could 'obtain a university or similar training'. (36)

Waldegrave refused to ordain men or delayed their ordination if they were unprepared. He was always reluctant to ordain men who had failed to complete their academic course. On at least one occasion he refused to ordain as priest the following day a candidate who was unable to satisfy him in his knowledge of the Old Testament, the Greek New Testament and John Jewel's Apology in Latin. Another candidate performed so badly in his scripture papers that Waldegrave recommended that he spend a year with a theological tutor for further study. For this purpose he recommended three Oxford Fellows as tutors - William Eden, Vicar of Wymondham, Norfolk, Charles Harbin, Rector of Teston, Maidstone, and William Knight, Rector of High Ham, and examining chaplain to A. C. Tait and biographer of Henry Venn. (37)

Waldegrave would not ordain men who gave him too little notice and too little preparation. (38) He would not ordain men to serve in cures outside the diocese of Carlisle. (39) The exception being those whom he ordained by letters dimissory from neighbouring bishops. Thus Waldegrave ordained nine men for the Bishop of Durham and one for the Bishop of Ripon. A further disqualification was the age of the candidate. Waldegrave wrote to Dr. G. H. Ainger of St. Bees College

> One learns by experience. I am more and more convinced that age is a disqualification; and have accordingly declined more than one candidate lately on that very account. (40)

To a candidate who applied to Waldegrave for ordination, he sent him a reading list.

> Pearson on the Creed. Burnet on the Thirty Nine Articles. Barton's Three First Centuries and Burnett's Reformation. These with the Gospels and Acts in the Greek and Latin will be as much, and more, as you can do between /5 November/ and 19 December, when the examination will begin at Rose Castle. (41)

In Waldegrave's instructions to candidates for holy orders, it was made clear that

> Persons desirous of being admitted as candidates for deacon's orders are recommended to make a written application to the Bishop six months before the time of ordination, stating their age, college, academical degree, and the usual place of their residence; together with the names of any persons of respectability, to whom they are best known; and to whom the Bishop may aply if he thinks fit, for further information concerning them. The Bishop also requires a personal interview with each candidate. (42)

The ordinations were held on Trinity Sunday and on the Sunday before Christmas Day and at other Ember seasons. The candidates were required to be at Rose Castle on the evening of the Tuesday preceding the ordination. The examination began on Wednesday morning and ended on Friday evening. (43) The candidates living at the Bishop's residence before the ordination was becoming the norm. Yet some dioceses still retained the older and more casual approach to the preparation of ordination candidates. As late as the 1880s, it was the custom at Worcester for the candidates to lodge at hotels in the city, and to have an interview with the Bishop the day before the ordination. (44) At Carlisle Both Villiers and Waldegrave entertained the candidates at Rose

Castle. Waldegrave addressed the candidates in his chapel at Morning and Evening Prayer on the subject of the ministerial office. Each day, commencing at 10.00 am, they were examined by the Registrar, the examining chaplain and the Bishop, who prayed with each of the candidates.

There were six subjects for examination:

The New Testament in Greek.
The Old Testament: if the candidate wishes it he will be examined in Hebrew also.
The Liturgy and Articles of Religion.
The evidences of Christianity.
Doctrine.
Church history (the early church and the Reformation). (45)

Each candidate

was to show a knowledge of Pearson and Hooker, and an ability to translate Latin, a passage from one of the Fathers, for instance, or it might be Jewel's Apology. He was required also to compose a sermon and sketch out a cottage lecture. His general information on missionary subjects was tested, and questions of a practical and experimental nature were submitted to him. (46)

The candidates were examined in the Latin original of Jewel's Apology, deacons in the Greek of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, and priests in the Greek of the Epistles and Revelation. (47) The examination in Latin and Greek would have been demanding for most if not all of the candidates, but especially for the non-graduates. However one candidate, who had previously been an usher in a classical school was outstanding and, Waldegrave noted, he had a knowledge of Latin and Greek which was superior to that of an average university graduate. (48)

William Whitmarsh Phelps who was Waldegrave's examining chaplain between 1860-67, outlined some of the typical questions for the candidates at Rose Castle:

Questions on Christian doctrine

State what cautions are inserted in Article seventeen, and what inference is to be drawn from their insertion. Mention any theories of election that are at variance with that Article.

Explain the terms justification and sanctification, and the relation in which they stand to each other. What doctrine, as respects the former, does our church pronounce 'most wholesome'? What other erroneous views does it stand in contrast?

On what passage of scripture does the doctrine of absolution rest? Give the words of the different forms of absolution used by our church, and mention what safeguards she has provided for the above doctrine. Show from scripture the necessity of true confession of sin; state the parties to whom it is to be made, and describe the practical evils of auricular confession.

Questions on mission

Name the principal missionary fields of Protestant churches in the present day. Give some account of the work in one of the following three fields:

i) Polynesia ii) Burmah iii) Rupert's Land

The French Government stipulated for the restoration by the Chinese of all Roman Catholic churches in that Empire. How were these churches originally acquired, and how lost?

Questions on practical matters

What do you apprehend will be the main impediments, from within and from without, to the right exercise of your holy calling?

What should you say were the essential qualifications for an effective ministry?

Against what tendencies do you think St. Paul would caution a young clergyman? And in what terms would you encourage him?

By what means would you hope to secure your preaching from a shallow and superficial style?

Explain what you understand by the argumentative style of sermon; also by the practical, experimental, and doctrinal, with any remarks upon their uses.

State your views of the best mode of conducting a Sunday School.

> Enumerate certain defects of personal character which prevent an efficient ministry, especially dilating on a want of Christian self-denial. (49)

Following the successful completion of the examination, the candidates were taken from Rose Castle to the ordination. Most took place in Carlisle Cathedral, but other venues were used - for example the chapel at Rose Castle, St. Mary's, Wigton, St. Lawrence, Appleby and St. Thomas', Kendal.

The standard required of ordination candidates was extremely high and it must have been an exhausting period for the candidates and for their examiners. Since no ministerial training was provided by the universities and no obligatory period of training at a theological college, it was essential to examine the candidate at some depth. The examination would reveal the academically weak and the theologically unsound. At the Carlisle examination the slightest hint of Anglo-Catholicism, or of any sympathy for ritualism and rationalism would have been detected by the vigilant Bishop and his examining chaplains.

In the provinces of Canterbury and York it was the usual practice for men to remain for two years in their first curacy. In the diocese of Carlisle Waldegrave insisted that this was adhered to and with the further requirement that curates promised to stay in the diocese for a further two years. In effect this would mean that each man would serve a single curacy of four years, or two curacies during the course of the four years. This ensured that there would be a commitment to the diocese of Carlisle, and to Bishop Waldegrave, as well as preventing some individuals like ex-Nonconformist ministers from using the diocese as a stepping stone

for clerical advancement. (50) Nationally each curacy lasted between three to four years, and it is likely that housing problems as well as the need to look for an increased income was the cause for the constant movement of curates. Assistant clergy could serve a considerable number of curacies in different parts of the country, and could take between 12 to 15 years from their ordination to their first incumbency. (51)

Waldegrave would not relax the interval of one year between being made deacon to ordination to the priesthood. (52) Generally speaking individuals were ordained as priests a year after becoming deacons, and after satisfactory completion of a further examination. But there were exceptions to this practice. Waldegrave allowed at least one minister to officiate in deacon's orders because he could not face taking the priest's examination. In the case of Arthur Robert Hartley, he was made deacon in 1858 to a curacy in Cornwall from which he resigned in 1860. He then applied to Waldegrave for ordination to the priesthood and after a thorough examination was appointed to the curacy of Applethwaite (for which he received no salary) and was ordained priest in 1861. (53) But Hartley was not unique. Other individuals who had been ordained deacon in the diocese of Carlisle either delayed ordination to the priesthood, or moved out of the diocese and were subsequently ordained priest elsewhere. This was particularly seen in the men who were trained at St. Bees College. Of the 29 men whom Waldegrave ordained as deacon, only 19 were ordained as priest a year later.

After their ordination, Waldegrave continued to exercise a close oversight over the men in his diocese, and in particular

those in their first year of ministry. (54) Practical post-ordination training was given in Carlisle at a sermon class conducted by Dean Close. At first it was held on Saturdays, but from November 1867 it was held on Tuesdays. In 1868 Waldegrave encouraged William Pettit to invite Hugh Carey Derrig, a fellow curate in Carlisle, to attend the sermon classes. (55)

Inspite of all the care taken by Bishop Waldegrave, not all the men whom he ordained stayed the course or remained faithful. In the case of Maxwell Mochluff Ben-Ohiel he stayed for under a year in the diocese of Carlisle, and deserted his earlier Protestantism for extreme Anglo-Catholicism.

Ben-Ohiel who was ordained deacon by Waldegrave in December 1860, was described as 'a man of some standing and experience'. (56) He had been a student at St. Aidan's College, and the Principal had entreated Waldegrave to accept Ben-Ohiel although he was 'always for shirking work'. (57) Waldegrave agreed to ordain him following his successful completion of the deacon's examination, and on condition that Ben-Ohiel gave up giving lectures outside his parish, and that he stayed for the necessary two years in his first curacy. Ben-Ohiel began his ministry in the hamlet of Barbon, four miles north of Kirkby Lonsdale, and two miles from Casterton. Almost immediately he became disenchanted with his situation. Within two weeks of arriving he wanted to leave, and for the next nine months continued to pester Waldegrave for a curacy in Penrith, Whitehaven or elsewhere. Certainly for Ben-Ohiel and for countless other rural curates there was the experience of social isolation, a feeling of stagnation, and except

for those with a private income, crippling poverty. (58) At Barbon the income was £60 a year.

Previously Barbon had had an Evangelical ministry, and there were sufficient clergy in the district to encourage Ben-Ohiel. But he remained unsatisfied. He complained of the intense cold of the place and of illness. He lodged at Casterton and had to walk the two miles to Barbon. He found it a strain to preach at the mother church of Kirkby Lonsdale at which he was expected to speak for at least an hour and ten munutes! In April 1861 the congregation at Barbon assembled for worship, but Ben-Ohiel failed to appear to take the service. Waldegrave counselled him to 'Return to your work. Give the place a fair trial and honestly resolve, if you can, to stay out your time'. (59)

Waldegrave was only too aware of Ben-Ohiel's character and attitude.

> I am convinced that the obscurity of Barbon is its real objection. Mr. Ben-Ohiel is a man fond of popularity. He is valued at Barbon: but a few hundred poor people and farmers do not satisfy his ambition ... I shall not be sorry to be released from all connection with him. (60)

At last Waldegrave gave way to Ben-Ohiel, and he agreed that he could leave Barbon at the end of September 1861. (61) In assuring Ben-Ohiel of his forgiveness and his prayers, Waldegrave warned him that no English Bishop would ordain him to priest's orders. But Waldegrave was wrong and in the following year Henry Philpott, Bishop of Worcester, ordained Ben-Ohiel to the priesthood, and he served two brief curacies in Edge Hill and Holy Trinity, Leamington Spa. Between 1864-66 he was the domestic chaplain to the Dowager Duchess of Northumberland, to whom Waldegrave

had been in correspondence over Ben-Ohiel in 1861. (62) His most lengthy cure was as minister of St. Paul's, Addiscombe, between 1866-72, but then he held a further four appointments, none of which lasted more than two years each. He resumed his lecturing and in 1875 spoke at the Church Congress in a discussion on 'Religious Education in Elementary Schools'. (63)

Ben-Ohiel continued to draw attention to himself. The parishioners of the new iron church of St. Michael and All Angels, Chiswick, London became fearful

> That the notorious Mr Ben-Ohiel, who, notwithstanding the fact that he was trained in a Wesleyan College, is one of the most advanced ritualists of the day.

Their fears proved to be correct - certainly more correct than the description of St. Aidan's as a 'Wesleyan College' - and on the Monday on which the new church was opened, the ceremony was described by The Rock newspaper as being 'ultra-Ritualistic ... with Mr. Ben-Ohiel as the hierophant!'

> Everything that was Protestant and proper was eliminated from the services, and everything introduced that was Romanesque and illegal, at least a dozen illegal acts being perpetrated ... But we have no space to particularize all the features of the melancholy exhibition which Bishop Jackson might have prevented if he would, for he knew Mr. Ben-Ohiel's antece dents, and should therefore - before he licensed him to the new church - have insisted upon his giving a promise in writing that none of these illegal pranks should be played. As it is the Bishop's course is clear and simple, nothing more being required than the mere with-drawal of Mr. Ben-Ohiel's licence, and obviously we have the right to expect nothing less. (64)

But John Jackson, the Bishop of London, did not withdraw his licence, and Ben-Ohiel remained at the church for two years. He gave his active support for the disestablishment of the Church of

England, and in May 1877 with other well-known Anglo-Catholics like A. H. Mackonochie and A. H. Stanton, he helped form the 'Church League for Promoting the Separation of Church and State'. (65) Ben-Ohiel had travelled far from the diocese of Carlisle both in its geographical location and from the theological position of the Bishop who ordained him.

The problem with men like Ben-Ohiel was that they caused churchmen to react unfavourable against the theological colleges. (66) Certainly Waldegrave had good reason to be critical of Ben-Ohiel and the college which trained him for the ministry.

> I am sorry to say that I do not, as a rule, find St. Aidan's men effecient. Some of them have got out of my diocese as quickly as possible, as they have not liked the idea of examination for priest's orders, and the intermediate examination upon which I have in many cases insisted. Others, on the other hand, have been thankful for my help thus rendered, and have turned out well. (67)

Waldegrave would have been shocked at the progress of Ben-Ohiel's career, but very thankful that he had left the diocese of Carlisle.

After Waldegrave's death there was a noticeable change in the preparation of ordination candidates. Only after centralized ordination examinations were introduced in 1874 were the bishops able to concentrate less on their own academic criteria, and concentrate much more upon the candidate's doctrinal and spiritual preparation. (68) Speaking at the 1872 Church Congress, Bishop Goodwin believed that he had the sympathy of every Bishop in

maintaining

> That it is our great desire that the preparation of candidates for the great work of their ordination shall be as little as possible intellectual, and as much as possible spiritual.

Goodwin welcomed the development of a national examination which would reduce the activity of the bishop and his examining chaplains. For Goodwin his examination was not simply 'a question of hard, intellectual examination', but

> My habit is to collect the young men for the celebration of the Holy Communion before the time comes for their ordination. I have them every day in my private chapel, where they join together in a solemn Litany, and where, to the best of my ability, I expound to them the solemnity of the work they are about to take in hand. I take them from my own house to the cathedral on the Sunday morning, where everything is done to make the service as solemn, imposing, and impressive as that grand service can possible be made. I then take them home again to my own house; we join together in the service on the Sunday evening; and I have that last opportunity of impressing upon them the solemn duties of their office. I wish them good-bye on the Monday morning, and send them with God's blessing, into their future work ... (69)

But whatever the precise pattern of theological training and examination, it is clear that there was great clerical mobility, and while many clergy held lengthy incumbencies, the trend in the diocese of Carlisle was to seek preferment elsewhere. Of the 33 graduates ordained by Bishop Villiers, only ten were still in the diocese in 1864, and of 22 other men, only three remained in 1864. (70) In 1881, Bishop Goodwin reported that nearly three-quarters of the parishes in his diocese had changed incumbents since 1869. (71)

d) The ministry of Dean Francis Close

i) The Deans of Carlisle 1820-56

Between the death of Dean Milner in 1820 and the appointment of Dean Tait in 1849, there were three undistinguished Deans of Carlisle. The pluralist Robert Hodgson 1820-44; (1) John Antony Cramer 1844-48 (2) who succeeded Thomas Arnold as regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford; and Samuel Hinds briefly Dean of Carlisle between September 1848 to October 1849, when he became Bishop of Norwich. (3) Hinds was 'the best of a bad school' (4) well-known for his liberal views, and was, after Renn Dickson Hampden, Bishop of Hereford, viewed with suspicion by fellow churchmen, who regarded him as being a Unitarian. Bishop Wilberforce criticised Lord John Russell's 'miserable appointments', (5) and Hinds may be regarded as the 'driest of all the prelates whom Lord John Russell had nominated'. (6) In 1868 Dean Close wrote a spirited criticism of Hinds' advocacy of 'Free discussion of religious topics'.

> The Broadest churchman must take alarm when he reads these pages; and if it can be proved from them that the free and unlimited discussion which the Bishop advocates is intended to justify clergymen in teaching either ritualism or scepticism, or any other heresy, in their pulpits, such discussion will be avoided as a pestilence. (7)

On Hinds' elevation to the episcopate, the deanery of Carlisle was offered to a fellow liberal, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who declined the position because of its geographical isolation, but who warmly welcomed Tait's nomination. 'I cannot imagine a place which would suit him better. I reflect upon it with curious joy every hour of the day'. (8)

Archibald Campbell Tait

In October 1849 Lord John Russell wrote to the headmaster of Rugby School, to recommend his name to the Queen as the Dean of Carlisle. (9) Archibald Campbell Tait (1811-1882) was well-suited for the position. When he had been appointed headmaster in July 1842, a friend had written, 'I quite quake for the awful responsibility, putting on that giant's armour'. (10) At Rugby Tait had followed the reforming headmaster Thomas Arnold: but at Carlisle no one had worn the 'giant's armour' since Dean Milner. Though Tait came to the deanery physically unfit (he had nearly died of rheumatic fever in 1848) he sufficiently recovered his health to develop a style of ministry which was acceptable to the inhabitants of Carlisle. The wide range of his activities and interests paved the way for the ministry of his successor. Even Close, who was no idler, admitted that he found it hard to maintain the pace set by Dean Tait. (11)

Looking back on his appointment to Carlisle, and after reading Stanley's 'Life of Thomas Arnold', Tait was reminded

> How little I was able to do at Rugby as he did it. But, without greater vigour than for the last two years I have possessed, I could not have hoped to improve the system there, and therefore I must think that my work there was better ended. Certainly in this place, if God give me grace, and I work in the spirit of prayer, I am able to do what has not been done before. Lord, strengthen me for this great work. This cathedral has never been what it ought to be. At Rugby I came to a system which had been fully and ably and energetically worked for many years. Here I came to a system which is dead and powerless, but where there is every facility for revivification, if only I am regular and faithful. By my sermons, by schools, by visiting the poor - especially the sick and dying - by being earnest and energetic in assisting those around to undertake any good works. (12)

Samuel Waldegrave wrote to his old friend Tait, on what he considered to be the role of the cathedral, and on the plight of the poor clergy.

> I do hope that in your hands the post of Dean will prove not to be a completely useless office. For, indeed, it seems to me that if a man has judgment and courage, a Dean might prove an invaluable person in a cathedral town. Not only might he take the lead in the works of mercy and in the business of education, but he might also be the foremost man in preaching the gospel to the people. But this last will require that he should step out of the beaten path by instituting some such thing as an evening service, or a service at some suitable hour for the poor. Often as I walk in the nave of our cathedral I do wish that our Dean had the health to make that large building available for the poor ... How good would it be for you to take the lead in such a work - good for the people and good for yourself ... Of course I know that you must wait and feel your way, and gain the confidence of others before you act; but all I wish to impress upon you is the importance of attempting some such thing, and of not being deterred by the numerous lions which the slothful habits of chapters put in the way of any attempt to make cathedrals of use.
>
> I remember well your effort to save the poor College servants, and I cannot but hope that you will prove that you have still the same mind, now that you are not a college but a cathedral don. Again, may I ask you to forgive me if I suggest another kind of subject for serious thought? Cannot you as Dean be kind to some of the poorer clergy? It is quite painful to see how great people forget our Lord's command to invite those who cannot repay them. At Salisbury, if a Bible or missionary meeting bring the poor clergy in, they may (except in one or two cases, as when the Bishop happens to take the chair) seek refreshment at inns. Now, this ought not to be; for great luncheons are provided when the rich come in to infirmary sermons, to which they and their wives and their daughters go, while the utmost a poor clergyman can expect is a dinner for himself occasionally, while his wife and children may go anywhere.
>
> Do, my dear Tait, be kind to the poor clergy. And if the Whigs carry you up higher, and make you a Bishop, never forget the advice of a truly affectionate friend, who does long to see you breaking through the miserable un-christian customs of most cathedral dignitaries, and proving yourself to be one who is willing, not to make a show in society, but by simple-minded preaching of the gospel, by self-denying simplicity of habits and tastes, by self-humbling endeavours, to show kindness to the poor in all classes, to earn from your Master the name in your deanery of a good and faithful servant. (13)

Waldegrave was concerned that the cathedral should become a centre from which the word of God would be proclaimed.

> It grieves me to see those magnificent buildings devoted to nothing but a very unedifying sound of beautiful music and lifeless sermons. I should like, without preaching Roman doctrine, to adopt the Roman practice of throwing open the nave, placing a pulpit in it, and at stated times preaching the gospel to the people after a simple musical service. The choral worship might if it was necessary be continued and this might be added to it ... This was my plan years ago, and months after I wrote to Tait urging him to break through the trammels of antiquated and uselessness and make the cathedral of Carlisle a real watch-tower of God's truth. (14)

Under Tait's ministry the light from the watch-tower of Carlisle began to burn. He was installed as Dean on 5 January 1850, and for the next six years was an able leader of the cathedral chapter and congregation. The Tait family moved into the deanery in May 1850, and Tait recorded in his diary,

> This is our first Sunday in our new home. What great blessings have we received from God! How graciously has he dealt with me in providing a quiet and useful retirement when the bustle and work of Rugby seemed too much for me! O Lord, enable me to use the retirement of this place for my own increase in spiritual-mindedness, by thy Holy Spirit's help. Enable me to labour faithfully for others. (15)

At Carlisle Tait was far from inactive and retiring. At the cathedral he introduced a Sunday afternoon service at which he preached. There was a gradual increase in the number of communicants. On his first Sunday there were only nine or ten communicants. This had increased to 72 on his last Sunday. (16) A visitor to the deanery remarked on a typical Sunday.

> Besides the two services in the cathedral, at one of which he preached, he found time for a most touching meeting in his night school-room with a number of old people and invalids who were not able for a cathedral service ... Later in the day there was a similar gathering of young women ...

> Later still there was a children's class examined by him, and quite late in the evening ... I found a most interesting gathering of young men in the Dean's study, to whom he gave instruction more like that given to the sixth form at Rugby ... And this was the work of every seventh day, that of the six intervening being in keeping with it. (17)

The cathedral fabric was in poor repair. Since 1840 only £4,480 had been spent on the fabric. (18) After an examination of the building restoration work to the value of £15,000 was authorised by Order of Council in November 1852. The building work began in August 1853 and at the early stages, services continued to be held in the cathedral, but later they were held in the nearby Fratry and Holy Communion administered in St. Mary's church situated in the cathedral nave. (19) The restoration of the cathedral was completed in June 1856.

Particularly dear to Tait was the 'Dean of Carlisle's Adult School'. He founded this night school for the poor and continued to give it financial support after he left Carlisle. (20) Tait was the driving force behind The Carlisle Church of England Religious and General Literary Association (founded in 1851). It had 170 members in 1852, and 250 in 1857-58. The opening of the YMCA in 1856 drew support away from the Association and it closed in June 1863. (21)

Away from Carlisle Tait was a member of the Royal Commission 'For inquiring into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of the University of Oxford, and of all and singular the colleges in the said University'. (22) The Commission met for the first time in October 1850, and the report mostly written by Tait, was published in April 1852. One review described it as

> A truly remarkable document, and one which is destined, we are persuaded, to form an era in the constitutional history of this country. (23)

Work outside Carlisle helped Tait to cope with the limitations imposed upon him by life in Carlisle. The situation depressed him.

> In this town where my lot is now cast, there is enough of the ruggedness of life in the misery of the wretched classes round me to fill me with melancholy views of life. It would be pleasing, doubtless, to have some home embosomed in trees, with beautiful mountain views, where my children might grow up; and such a place to rest in for a few months each year would be a great blessing. But though there is no beauty to soothe, there is something good for the soul in the stern reality of life which such a town as this presents; poverty and vice are here before me in their naked deformity. This sight can only be good for us if we look at it with real Christian feelings. Otherwise it hardens and debases. (24)

Tait's concern for his family was real enough. In September and October 1853 there was an outbreak of cholera in Carlisle, and Tait noted in his diary,

> Whether Thou callest me soon or late, make me ready; and bless, O bless my dear wife and children. (25)

Tait's wife Catharine always appreciated the four summer months vacation away from Carlisle, when the family spent time together with their relations, at a hired house in the Lake District, or in Tait's native Scotland. Though Catharine entered fully into the life of the cathedral and city,

> The chief happiness of her domestic life was in the children who one after another were born to give brightness to the dingy old deanery. (26)

When the Taits moved to Carlisle they already had three children, and four more were born in the deanery. But the tragic events in the spring of 1856 were the cause of the family leaving Carlisle. Between 6 March and 8 April, five of their seven children died of scarlet fever and were buried in Stanwix churchyard. (27) Their memorial inscription simply read:

Here lie the mortal bodies of
five little sisters
the much loved children of A. C. Tait
Dean of Carlisle
and Catharine his wife
who were all cut off within five weeks. (28)

Over 20 years later Tait wrote to a friend on his recent bereavement

> I do know what it is to feel the brightness of home all obscured by a sudden calamity, and I know what is the difficulty of seeing the bright light shining through the dark clouds. (29)

Heartbroken, the remaining members of the Tait family moved out of the deanery, and moved into Halsteads overlooking Ullswater. The deanery then remained unoccupied until the Close family took possession in the winter of 1856. There was immediate sympathy for Tait and his wife. In April 1856 a meeting of their friends determined to erect a memorial to the five children, and in August 1857, the Tait memorial window, in the north transept of the cathedral was completed at a cost of £516. (30) Below the window it read:

> Window put up by public subscription in memory of five children of Archibald Campbell Tait DCL, Dean of Carlisle, afterwards Bishop of London, and Catharine his wife. They died within this abbey, between 6 March and 8 April 1856. Their bodies lie buried in Stanwix churchyard. (31)

But there was to be more for the Taits than a memorial window. Ecclesiastical promotion was seen as a sign of support and sympathy for the Dean. Even before the loss of the children, there had been moves to get him appointed as Bishop of Carlisle in succession to Hugh Percy. But Palmerston had other ideas, and appointed H. M. Villiers to the see. (32) Lord Shaftesbury suggested to Palmerston

that Tait should become Bishop of London, as representing one of the mildest representatives of the Broad Church party, (33) 'of the Arnold school', but 'a good active man'. (34) But above Shaftesbury and his influence in ecclesiastical appointments, the Queen was anxious to see Tait as Bishop of London. In September 1856 Palmerston wrote to Tait offering him the bishopric of London, and without any hesitation he accepted, and preached his final sermon as Dean of Carlisle on 5 October. He was consecrated a bishop on 23 November in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall.

On his appointment Waldegrave commented to his sister:

> He seems to be entering upon his career in a subdued and Christian spirit. May grace be given him to be very faithful. I am anxious to see by what kind of people he surrounds himself - much will depend upon this. (35)

Though Tait's chaplains included the Evangelical William Knight, they also included the liberal A. P. Stanley. Lord Shaftesbury did not conceal his concern about the appointment.

> The views of Mr. Stanley on inspiration are startling. He is, moreover, much inclined to combine ritualism with latitudinarianism, and this appointment will effectually dim the lustre of the choice made by Lord Palmerston. Hear me, I myself could have appointed Stanley a Dean. I like much that he has written, but as for examining chaplain, avert it for heaven's sake! (36)

During his time at Carlisle, Tait had been supported by the liberal-minded Carlisle Journal. He was their ideal Dean - modern, reforming liberal and Non-Evangelical. His later career was noted in the Carlisle Journal, and its readers were kept informed about his health and ecclesiastical progress. Tait was Bishop of London 1856-68, and then Archbishop of Canterbury 1868-82.

Following Tait's nomination as Bishop of London, there was the inevitable speculation over the choice of his successor. A firm favourite was Richard Chenevix Trench (subsequently Dean of Westminster and Archbishop of Dublin). Certainly his theological liberalism was supported by the Carlisle Journal. (37) But the choice was to be the conservative Francis Close, the Perpetual curate of Cheltenham parish church from 1826, and a friend of the new Bishop of Carlisle. Right from the start the editor of the Carlisle Journal was critical of Close's appointment, describing him as 'a surpliced Puritan, in a recently restored cathedral, [who] is an anachronism not acceptable even thus near the Boarder'. (38) But Close was to be the new Dean, regarding himself as the 'Rector of Carlisle', the champion of the poor and leader of the Carlisle clergy.

ii) Francis Close's Cheltenham ministry (1)

The Close family had originated from the North of England, and one member of the family, Nicholas Close, was the Bishop of Carlisle between 1450-52. (2) By the seventeenth century the Close family were living in Richmond, North Yorkshire, and had produced a number of clergymen, including Henry Jackson Close, a noted agriculturalist, who ran his own farm and published papers on husbandry. His youngest son Francis Close (1797-1882) was born at Corston, near Bath and was educated at Midhurst Grammar School and Merchant Taylor's School. The Close family were not Evangelical, but Francis' brother John Margerum, was converted

and became a friend of many leading Evangelicals of the day, and it is likely that through his influence Francis went to Hull as a private pupil of John Scott. While under his care, Close was converted to faith in Christ in 1813 when he was aged 15 years. It was Scott who encouraged Close to support the infant missionary societies - particularly CMS and the British and Foreign Bible Society. (3)

Close entered Cambridge and graduated from St. John's College in 1820, and MA in 1824. Like many other Evangelical undergraduates Close came under the spell of Charles Simeon, and became one of his model followers imbibing the principles of Simeon in his understanding of the parochial ministry and in his exegesis of scripture. Shortly before his own death, Close wrote of this early influence.

> In October 1816, I presented my introduction to him. From that day till his death he was my affectionate father, and my wise and helpful counsellor. There were few like him; a perfect gentleman, a deeply taught Christian. (4)

Close was ordained deacon in October 1820, and priest in October 1821 by the anti-Evangelical George Henry Law, Bishop of Chester, on letters dimissory of James Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Close was assistant curate to the absentee hymn-writer, John Marriott, at Church Lawford, near Rugby 1820-22, and curate of Willesden and Kingsbury, Middlesex, then a rural community outside London, 1822-24. Moving nearer to the capital meant that he became more involved with Evangelicalism in the city. Following a chance remark from his college friend, Henry Venn, the curate of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, Close became the first licensed curate of Holy Trinity, Cheltenham 1824-26. This was a recently erected chapel-of-ease to the parish church,

where Charles Jervis was the Perpetual curate.(5) Following Jervis' sudden death in the autumn of 1826, Close was appointed to the living by Simeon (who had obtained the advowson in 1816) and remained as Perpetual Curate of Cheltenham until 1856. Close regarded the appointment as Providential. (6) Looking back forty years later, he recalled, that

> When he was a young man, he was appointed to an important ministry, and many said he was too young for it, but God supported him and blessed him in it. (7)

The appointment of Close to Cheltenham was particularly significant for Simeon. The purchase of the advowson for £3,000 in the autumn of 1816 he considered to have been his most important acquisition. Simeon believed that

> If I had never done more than purchase Cheltenham, I should be already well repaid for all the pains I have taken, and all the labours I have expended. (8)

At the beginning of Close's Cheltenham ministry the population was 13,396 (in 1821) and 30 years later it had risen to 35,051 (in 1851).

In the summer of 1836 Simeon visited the churches under his patronage, and was well-satisfied with what he found at Cheltenham.

> Here at Cheltenham I have almost had a heaven upon earth. The churches so capacious, and so filled; the schools so large, so numerous, so beneficial; the people so full of love; the ministers such laborious and energetic men; and God himself so graciously with me in my exertions: in truth, I can scarcely conceive any higher happiness on earth than I am now priviledged to enjoy. (9)

At Cheltenham Close created a model Simeonite parish which emphasised a systematic preaching ministry on Sundays and Wednesdays, a strong commitment to philanthropic and missionary support, strong pastoral oversight, and in making Cheltenham a major educational

centre of national importance. These were Close's pre_occupations at Cheltenham, and only then did he attack a range of issues which he believed would corrupt the godly residents of Cheltenham. Close was not a tyrant, the despotic 'Pope of Cheltenham', (10) imposing his will on the unwilling and pliable. For example, by the early 1840s he had the support of nearly half the resident population of the town over the issue of having Bible teaching in schools. (11)

During the course of his thirty-year ministry at Cheltenham Parish Church, Close erected four district churches and a cemetery chapel - St.Paul's church (in July 1831), the cemetery chapel (in September 1831), Christ Church (in January 1840), St.Peter's (in March 1849) and St.Luke's church (in November 1854). Close's patronage, either direct or indirect, as a trustee ensured that all of the incumbents of these churches were Evangelical. There were sufficient Evangelical clergy in the town to have their own clerical meeting and were described by one of Close's daughters as 'the holy brothers'. (12)

Alongside the erection of churches for a rapidly increasing population, Close also provided a range of schooling for all social classes. He pioneered infant education in the hamlet of Alstone in the spring of 1826, using the expertise of Samuel Wilderspin the promoter of infant education. (13) A second school, the Cheltenham Infant School, established in November 1828, and transferred to purpose-built premises in July 1830, became the main infant school in the town centre and a training school for infant teachers. Close extended the provision of National Schools throughout Cheltenham. He also assisted in the promotion of

middle-class education with the establishment of Cheltenham College (1841), and in the revival of Cheltenham Grammar School, making the two schools what he called 'his right hand and his left hand'. (14)

But his greatest and most lasting educational achievement was in the work of teacher training. By the mid 1840s Cheltenham had become an important centre for the training of teachers. Between 1830 and 1845, nearly 400 masters and mistresses had been trained at Cheltenham for work in National Schools, and between 1833-47, 152 infant school teachers had been trained at the Central Infant School. Speaking in March 1849, Close could boast that

> a larger number of pupil-teachers have been apprenticed in Cheltenham than any other town of the same size in the kingdom. (15)

By 1845 Cheltenham had become the ideal centre in which to establish an Evangelical training school for teachers. With an already well-established record of achievement in teacher-training, as well as having Close at the helm with considerable experience as an organiser and fund raiser, Cheltenham was the ideal place. Plans to form a college in Cheltenham were shelved, and consideration was given to open a college in London, but without sufficient support by the Evangelicals in the capital, the Cheltenham plan was revived, and in June 1847, 'the Church of England Training Schools at Cheltenham' were opened. A fitting tribute to Close's educational achievement was marked in the town in two ways. In May 1886 the Dean Close Memorial School was opened which provided an Evangelical public school, the ethos of which had been lost at Cheltenham College after Close had left the town. In 1979, following

the amalgamation of the Colleges of St. Paul's and St. Mary, the former St. Paul's buildings, which had been erected by Close in 1849, were renamed the Francis Close Hall.

During a holiday in Geneva in the summer of 1855, Close nearly lost his life through an accident, and returned to Cheltenham a weakened man. He suffered from slight paralysis and from gout which he had inherited from his father. He had been the Perpetual Curate of Cheltenham Parish Church for thirty years, but he was unfit to continue his heavy work load. He attended few public meetings and preached only once on Sundays. He wrote to Lord Shaftesbury whom he called 'his beloved friend and patron' (16) to ask

> If he knew of any nobleman who had a quiet country living to dispose of, of half the value which Cheltenham was then to me, being upwards of £1,200 a year, all voluntary, consisting of fees and offerings, with a permanent endowment of only £40 a year. I would gladly retire upon such a benefice. (17)

Shaftesbury replied that as Close's work as an educationalist and church-builder 'were well known and appreciated in high quarters, he hoped to be able in a short time to get something better than a country living'. (18) Two Evangelical Bishops supported Shaftesbury's confidence in Close. Charles Baring had previously had direct contact with two of Close's curates. One had been a near neighbour near Winchester, the other had become his curate in Marylebone. (19) The newly appointed Bishop of Carlisle, H. M. Villiers wrote to Palmerston, and

> earnestly begged to have him as his Dean saying that nobody could be so useful to him in assisting to forward his educational arrangements. (20)

Certainly it was Close's educational work which had established his reputation rather than his controversialist activity. Waldegrave informed his sister 'that Mr. Close owes his appointment to Lord Lansdowne - he has been very successful in his educational labours'. (21)

By a strange coincidence, the Close family spent their summer holidays in 1856 in Bowness, (22) and having visited St. Bees church, Close wrote an anonymous letter to The Record on the 'High altar and popish drapery at St. Bees, Cumberland'. (23)

Close received the letter offering him the position as Dean of Carlisle on 20 October, and two days later the Cheltenham Examiner carried the headline, 'The Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle'. (24) Numerous presentations were made to Close before he preached his last sermon as the Perpetual Curate of Cheltenham on 9 November. On 6 December he was installed as Dean of Carlisle, and made a Lambeth DD by Charles Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury. (25) Evangelical appointments were the subject of adverse comment. Some of the strongest criticism came from W. B. Barter, Rector of Highclere and Burghclere, Newbury, who noted that it was sectarian injustice which treated Archdeacon Denison so badly but which could make Close a Dean, having preached an heretical sermon on the person of Christ in the 1840s. (26) But fellow Evangelicals were delighted with the appointment. Strong support came from Close's old friend Henry Venn, Secretary of CMS:

> I have waited for a day at home to express to you my most cordial congratulations upon your appointment to the Deanery, and my most earnest hopes and prayers that it may equally contribute to your happiness (in the largest sense of the word) and the glory of Christ. I see in it the adaptation of a blessing to the service which the Lord's servants are enabled to render him, which marks a divine dispensation. You have long had the talent of influence committed to you, you have occupied with that talent as long as you have had strength and voice enough, and when these began to fail, your master adds the talent of high station in the church, that you may still serve him in that particular line in which you have proved yourself faithful. I recognise also, as you do, the preparation which the Lord has given you for this post, in your previous exercises of discipline, as I can bear witness, at Geneva. I look back to that visit with praise and special interest, in respect of this event.
>
> And now, my dear friend and brother, what is before you? A multitude of plans will unfold themselves. I will only touch upon one point, which strikes me as very important. Aim at the conversion of the souls of the clergy - regard them as your flock. Be as faithful, as pointed, as personal, as you were to your people at C/heltenham/. A Bishop has not the facilities which you have in this department. His authority over them gives an official character to their intercourse. You can move more freely amongst the clergy of your own and other diocese. Count your success by the individual souls you bring to Christ among the clergy. In this way you will 'render again to the Lord' according to his goodness in placing you in such a post of influence. That word reminds me of the history from which it is taken. Many will enter the Deanery of /Carlisle/ to congratulate you, as the ambassadors did Hezekiah: 'What' shall 'these men see' or hear 'in your house?' This is my special prayer for you - the best which an affection I have felt for you, since we first knew each other as undergraduates, can form - this is the point of my congratulations. (27)

How Cheltenham would have developed without Close is a matter of speculation, but what is clear is that 'his history and the history of the town are one'. (28) Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century

> The history of the town, for all that period was the history of a single clergyman ... The reign of the Rev. Francis - what may be called the Close season - extended from 1826 ... to 1856. (29)

Like Walter Farquhar Hook, whose name was more closely linked with his work in Leeds than Chichester, Close is referred to as 'Dean Close of Cheltenham', rather than 'Dean Close of Carlisle'. Yet, having already had a lengthy ministry of thirty-two (30) years in Cheltenham, Close then embarked upon a further twenty-five years as Dean of Carlisle.

iii) Dean Close's Carlisle ministry

Close was installed as Dean of Carlisle on Saturday, 6 December 1856, and on the following day preached his first sermon in the cathedral on Revelation 3:20. At Cheltenham, Close had been the Perpetual Curate of a town of 40,000 inhabitants: in Carlisle, with its population of 30,000, Close saw himself as being in effect, the 'Rector of Carlisle', who 'has the right to go and teach the scripture everywhere in the city'. (1) Undoubtedly Close was the leader of the Carlisle clergy, and was recognised as such by three successive Bishops of Carlisle. But his position was not absolute, and on more than one occasion he was rebuked by his superiors at Rose Castle.

On moving from Cheltenham to Carlisle, Close transferred his many interests and concerns with him. But the difference was that at Cheltenham many were already well-established: in Carlisle they were poorly supported if they existed at all. In his sixtieth year Close had to pioneer many of those causes which were dear to him. He soon established himself through his preaching ministry, in chairing endless meetings for missionary societies, philanthropic causes, hospital committees and in the support of a variety of

institutions. In course of time he was to be responsible for the erection of two city churches - St.John the Evangelist (in 1867), and St.Mary's (in 1870) - and involved in the erection of St.Paul's (in 1870). While he held no official parochial duties attached to the deanery, Close became directly involved with ministry to the poorest of the city, and it was as a direct result of this involvement that he became a supporter and advocate of the teetotal movement. As Dean, Close gave evidence before three Royal Commissions - on Education (1861), on Ritual (1867) and on Cathedrals (1881). Inevitably, much of Close's ministry revolved round the daily cathedral services, and with other members of the cathedral foundation. But being the sort of man he was Close was not so pre-occupied with cathedral business as to have no time for his other concerns - not least in his anti-ritualist and temperance crusades.

Carlisle was reputed to be the most Protestant of all the cathedrals in England and Wales. The cathedral furnishings were plain enough. There were no candles on the communion table, and none were placed there until the early 1920s. (2) On the table was a crimson covering which was in use throughout the year. Following the cathedral restoration of 1856 a crimson-figured hanging was placed behind the table, and a new brass rail placed in front on it. (3)

The young Mandell Creighton (who later became the Bishop of Peterborough and then London) was a native of Carlisle. In the early 1860s he attended a Christmas service in Carlisle cathedral and described to a friend what he experienced:

THE ONLY LEGAL VESTURE.

This touching spectacle Is merely an Evangelical Dignitary obeying the Privy Council order that the Surplice *only* be worn in all ministrations and the Cope &c. &c.

LONDON, G.J. PALMER, 32, LITTLE QUEEN St. W.C.

> Oh, do you know now dreadfully I have been sickened with Protestants in this vac? ... I grieve to say I cannot speak of my Christmas services as you can: the only daily service here is at the cathedral, and that is quite in the humdrum respectable line, so much a matter of course that they never take the brown holland off the altar for it 'It is too much trouble, and gives the dust more time to settle', was the reason the old verger gave me for not doing so, and he moreover added that he always used to take it off till forbidden by the Dean, I think it was, or else a Canon, from motives of additional carefulness for the church property!
>
> The small boy choristers amuse themselves all the time by squabbling and pinching each other in the middle of a chant, the men are perpetually turning over their music and restoring large folios to their place with a horrid bang in the middle of the lessons, while the Precentor sits blinking above, looking down on all this irreverence, which he plainly sees, with an air of abject helplessness. I am sorry to say, since Christmas I have not gone nearly so often as I ought, but the service is at a most unpleasant hour, viz, Ten, which spoils your morning entirely. (4)

Unlike at York Minister, where the cathedral services were of a higher tradition than those of the city churches, (5) at Carlisle the tradition reflected that of the other city churches, and the worship was conducted in strict accordance with the Prayer Book rubrics and without variation on previously established custom. Following Morning Prayer, Holy Communion was administered once a month to between 50-60 communicants. Dean Close wore a surplice in which to preach (at Cheltenham he had worn a black gown) but never a cope. Copes had not been worn at Carlisle since 1778. (6) When the Bishop of Carlisle attended a cathedral service he wore neither cope nor chasuable, neither did he carry a pastoral staff. The only concession was that the bishop's mitre was carried in procession before him. (7)

Early in Close's ministry, improvements took place in the newly restored cathedral. Heating stoves were introduced in

October 1857, and from November of the same year, gas lighting was introduced. (8) In June 1857, Close gave 'a very handsome bible and lectern to the cathedral'. (9) and additional bench seating in November 1857 (removed during Dean Rashdall's deanship). (10) In January 1866 Close removed the locks from the pews at the east end of the choir. (11)

The cathedral chapter consisted of the Dean and four Canons. As Dean, Close was in residence for eight months of the year, when he had to preach forty sermons and had a four month summer vacation. During his residence, Close generally preached to a large Sunday afternoon congregation, and a statutory sermon at the major Christian festivals. The four Canons - Charles Granville Vernon Harcourt, Henry Gipps, Henry Percy and Samuel James Goodenough were in residence for three months of the year, and each had to preach sixteen sermons during the course of their residence. The cathedral chapter met twice a year - on 23 June and 23 November - and from time to time held special chapter meetings. Once a year the 'call roll' was taken of all members of the cathedral foundation, and if sufficient members of the chapter were present, necessary business was conducted. But if not, the meeting was adjourned. Apart from the administration of the cathedral and dealings with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Dean and Chapter were the patron of twenty-nine livings (see Appendix 2), and the appointment of a lecturer at St. Cuthbert's church.

In addition to the Dean and four Canons, the cathedral foundation also included three minor canons (to be reduced to two minor canons) - one of whom was the Precentor and another

the Grammar School headmaster. The minor canons had to attend the cathedral for Morning and Evening Prayer. There were also a number of lay members of the foundation - the organist and master of the choristers - Henry Edmund Ford held the office between 1842-1909; eight singing men (two sacrists, four lay clerks, a deacon and a sub-deacon); two minor offices of verger and butler, porter and barber; as well as eight boy choristers and eight almsmen, who acted as cathedral vergers. The cathedral library, which was open to members of the public contained 3174 books.

The members of the choir were poorly paid. In June 1862 their salaries were raised - for the organist a rise from £100 to £150 a year; of four singing men from £50 to £80, of the other four singing men from £10-35 to £25-50. These rates of pay were no incentive to stay in the choir, and it was noted that 'owing to the lowness of the choir salaries, the men were continually leaving for other situations and better pay'. (12) The choir had no fixed holiday until June 1857, when a fixed annual vacation was introduced. It extended over the course of twenty days and included two Sundays in June. During the weekdays of the holiday the cathedral was closed for cleaning. (13) But this break could catch out the summer visitor. 'In July 1858, a visitor to Carlisle cathedral discovered the cathedral virtually shut for three weeks while the staff were on holiday'. (14)

During the rest of the year, daily services were held at 10.00 am and 3.00 pm, and, much to the disappointment of Close, only four or five persons attended the weekday service out of a city population of 30,000 people. Close found the cathedral services

to be of personal spiritual value.

> I will say from experience that an hour spent in the holy musical services of this church is sometimes one of the most happy and devotional of my life. (15)

What he valued himself, Close wanted to share with others.

> It is surprising how much the force of habit and early education have to do with convictions and feelings of this description. Were such persons called in the providence of God to attend daily service, as a duty imposed upon them they would discover after a while that, far from its being irksome, or supererogatory, it had become a pleasant and profitable to their souls ... - rest in the midst of disturbance: the calmness, tranquility and repose of the little season of prayer are soothing to the inner man; and the active duties and arduous conflicts of life are resumed with fresh vigour and energy. (16)

While parish churches should express a style of worship that is popular and suited to the inhabitants of the parish, the cathedral has the opportunity to provide a 'cultivated style of music which to many is really a spiritual feast'. (17) Excellence was all important, but

> All will be alike unprofitable to the worshipper, and unacceptable to God, unless they be offered in the name of Jesus, and be inspired by the Holy Spirit. (18)

Certainly there were higher considerations than just the promotion of good music. Close confessed that

> I am fond of good choral services, and I delight in those of our cathedral; but I delight in something more than good music, and that is - God's truth. (19)

Close condemned those who came to the cathedral just to hear the music, and then left 'before the prayers are ended or the sermon delivered'. (20) To discourage this, early in Close's ministry ropes were placed across the aisles, and in 1862 these

were replaced by iron gates which were erected at a cost of £69.5.6. The gates were closed after the service had started, and on them a notice read:

> These gates will be closed after the second lesson. (21)

Close's successor, Dean Oakley, opened the gates and placed seats in the aisle, and encouraged people to remain as long as they were able to do so, and then leave without disturbing the worshippers in the choir.

But who was to have the final say over the music? There was no uniform custom which was common to all cathedrals. At Durham cathedral, the music was chosen at a weekly meeting of the cathedral chapter. At Exeter, the organist made it clear to the choristers that he was the final authority: 'the Dean is not your master. I am your master'. (22) At Carlisle, the custom was that the organist suggested choral items to the Precentor, who then authorised or changed them. But in 1858 this apparently simple procedure led to the dismissal of the Precentor by the Dean, and of a lengthy hearing before Bishop Villiers. However, it was not merely a difference of opinion over music, but an attempt by Close to remove a ritualist clergyman from the cathedral foundation.

On Friday, 12 March 1858, the organist, H. E. Ford, submitted to the Precentor, Thomas Gott Livingstone, an outline of the music for the week 15 to 21 March. (23) Livingstone took exception to the singing on March 21 of an item from The Messiah - 'All they that see him, laugh him to scorn'. Alongside the offending anthem, Livingstone added a note:

> I object to this anthem on the ground that the words of the chorus cannot be sung with propriety as part of the service in a Christian church. T. G. Livingstone.

On Saturday 13 March, the Precentor submitted the list to the Dean for his final approval. Then following the Sunday morning service, Livingstone found that Close had added a note to the draft and left it in the vestry.

> I do not concur in this objection. F. Close, Dean.

But Livingstone did not leave the matter there. On the Monday morning he sent an amended singing list to Ford, substituting for the offending item another anthem from The Messiah - 'Surely he hath borne our griefs'. - This angered Close, who sent a terse note to Livingstone.

> I will not henceforth trouble you to meddle with the singing lists, as I shall prepare them myself weekly, and furnish the organist and choir and authorities with them.

Close also altered the amended list already displayed in the cathedral, replacing the substituted item for the original one, and with his signature in place of Livingstone's. In addition, Close suspended Livingstone, and sent him an official notification.

> I, Francis Close DD, Dean of Carlisle, do hereby suspend you from the office of Precentor in the cathedral church of Carlisle until the chapter to be held on the 23rd day of June next.
> As witness my hand this 20 March 1858.

In place of Livingstone, Close temporarily appointed Frederick Stainton Tireman, and a minor canon since 1855. Immediately, Livingstone appealed to the Bishop as the cathedral visitor. But Villiers confirmed that Close had taken the correct action,

since the Dean was entitled to suspend members of the cathedral foundation between chapter meetings. To this the Bishop added that 'if the chapter confirm the decision of the Dean, then, and not till then, can I interfere as a visitor'.

There was a certain ambivalence in the situation. Like other Evangelicals, Close was critical of church buildings being used for unseemly performances. In September 1856, and just before he left Cheltenham, Close preached against the Three Choirs Festival, making it clear that he would rather have a week of sermons than singings. (24)

In Carlisle he spoke of the value of anthems - 'the glorious compositions of the elder great masters are Handel, Hayden, Mozart, and many others who can be named'; and also 'of more modern composers and some admirable living authors, as Mendlessohn, and our own Wesley and Walmesley, Best, Goss and others whose anthems unite that which is touching and soothing to the religious feelings'.

> Listening to an anthem was of considerable spiritual benefit.
>
> It may therefore be confidently affirmed that the act of listening in silent meditation to an anthem, worthily sung by a choir, during public worship, is not only a lawful part of divine service, but yields to those who have sympathy in it, a rich harvest of religious thought and devotional feeling. (25)

But in this particular instance, Close was not objecting to an anthem from The Messiah, but from the action of the Precentor, in suggesting that certain scriptures were better not used in church. Close acted in a high-handed way over the issue, but he maintained that he had cause to do so. Ever since his appointment

in 1855 Livingstone had been a difficult character, who sometimes absented himself from his responsibilities. As to Livingstone's ritualistic sympathies, he had no support from any cathedral clergy, yet his only action was to bow towards the communion table. However it was not for another eight years before he publically identified himself with the Penrith branch of the ECU.

The matter was held in abeyance until the meeting of the Dean and Chapter on 23 June. Livingstone appealed to them against his dismissal, and on the following day they informed him that they fully supported Close's action. Livingstone then appealed to the Bishop to hear the case. To meet Livingstone's legal costs of upwards of £300, the 'Livingstone Defence Fund' was set up, (26) no doubt supported by those who opposed Close and who were in favour of defending the rights of a persecuted Anglo-Catholic.

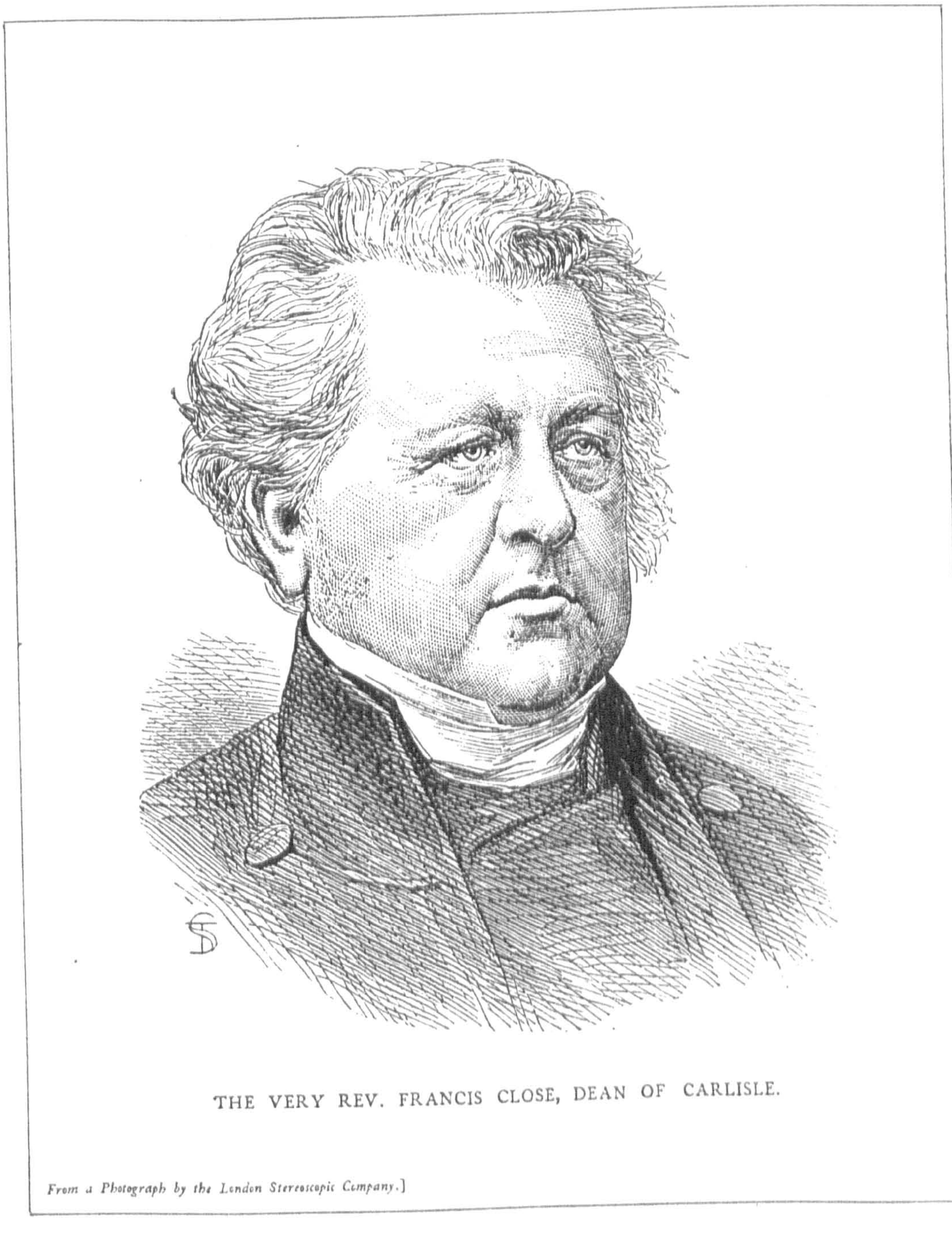
The case attracted much interest in the local press as well as the national press. The Carlisle Journal - already no friend of Close, or of the system which paid so much to the cathedral canons, yet so little to the hard-working city incumbents - referred to the 'chronic quarrel' between the Dean and the Precentor, and of the case before Bishop Villiers as 'the wilderness of ecclesiastical Latin, ecclesiastical spite, priestly squabbling and legal rhetoric'. (27) The case was held on 7 and 8 September 1858 in the Fratry and admission was by ticket. The Bishop was in a difficult position. Theologically he was at one with the Dean, but he ruled in favour of the Precentor.

The next month, Livingstone resigned as Precentor, but

remained as a minor canon of the cathedral until 1873, when he was appointed to the living of Addingham by the Dean and Chapter. Livingstone continued to be an irritant to Close. In December 1860 Tireman and Livingstone set out their situation to the newly appointed Waldegrave - who in a letter to them expressed his confidence in the Dean and Chapter. (28) In May 1865 and June 1867, Livingstone appealed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to increase his salary from £150 to £200 a year, (29) and in April 1868 with his fellow minor canon petitioned the House of Commons to create a third minor canonry, but this was rejected by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. On the illness of Canon Henry Percy, the chapter appointed Richard Watson Dixon as an assistant minor canon to ease the load on the cathedral staff. (30) The future security of the minor canons was not resolved until 1871. Bishop Goodwin proposed that in future the minor canons would be eligible to be appointed to one of six livings, each of which was valued at £300 a year - Addingham, Strickland, Rosley, Westward, Sebergham and Crosscannonby. (31)

Following Livingstone's resignation, Tireman's temporary appointment was ratified until 1861 when he left the diocese for a living in Yorkshire. He was succeeded as Precentor by William Henry Hewitt 1861-63, and Henry Whitmore 1863-77. The duties of the Precentor were clearly laid down by the chapter in November 1858:

> As to the duties of the new minor canons. The Precentor is held responsible for the general direction of the musical services and in conjunction with the organist he selects the services subject to the Dean and Canons and will be required each week to submit the list of the week's services to the Dean or Canon in residence. (32)



THE VERY REV. FRANCIS CLOSE, DEAN OF CARLISLE.

From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.]

Close had already made his reputation in Cheltenham as a popular Evangelical preacher, and at Carlisle his Sunday afternoon sermon generally attracted a large congregation. As a preacher, Close was not in the same league as 'the Evangelical Chrysostom', Henry Melvill, the Rector of Barnes (33), or as learned as Dean William Goode, 'the most learned of the Evangelical controversialist writers'. (34) Close was, however, more of a powerful popular orator, more able than Hugh Stowell of Salford, and less of a ranter than Hugh M'Neile of Liverpool. There was always something of a theatrical performance in Close's preaching (35) and a member of the cathedral congregation admitted, 'Yes, I've been to the cathedral. I like to hear the Dean preach. It's as good as a play'. (36) Unashamedly, Close made it clear that he was indebted to Charles Simeon for his preaching style, (37) but what was important was that Close believed what he preached. In October 1857 Close appeared as a 'Contemporary Preacher' who was worthy of notice:

> In his manner, however, there is no aiming at effect, all is simple, easy, natural. But the great secret of the persuasiveness of his preaching lies in this, that in listening to him it is impossible to resist the conviction that the speaker has himself known and felt the truth which he labours to impress on others. (38)

Close condemned those who slept in church - they had eaten and drunk too much at dinner (39) - though who would have dared fall asleep during one of Close's sermons?

Close preached on a whole range of issues, some of which were topical, others devotional and some were his own particular hobby-horses. Part of Close's Simeonite background can be seen

in his love for the Liturgy of the Church of England. As early as 1825, Close had preached a sermon series on the Liturgy, (40) and this was a topic to which he frequently returned. (41) Topical issues included reference to the murderer Dr.Edward William Pritchard, (42) explosions in collieries, (43) the Great International Horticultural Exhibition held in Carlisle, (44) and various royal occasions - like the landing of HRH Alexandra and of her marriage to the Prince of Wales, (45) together with sermons on his illness and recovery. (46) As Dean of Carlisle, and as a celebrated Evangelical preacher, Close was in demand outside the city. He preached in other churches in the diocese as well as further afield. In May 1863 he preached the CPAS annual sermon, (47) and twice in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. (48) From the 1860s Close preached an increasing number of sermons against ritualism, (49) which culminated in a series on auricular confession and priestly absolution. (50)

In the summer and autumn of 1865 and well into the spring and summer of 1866, the cattle plague, or Rinderpest, killed thousands of cattle throughout the country. It was calculated that 253,324 cattle had been smitten in the year 1865-66. (51) Evangelical preachers saw the cattle plague as God's judgment upon a sinful nation. Close preached his cattle plague sermon in December 1865, (52) and Bishop Waldegrave in Januray 1866. (53) As an outcome of these sermons, Close convened prayer meetings for the confession of sin, and these were held in the Carlisle YMCA and town hall. (54) Non-Evangelicals interpreted the cattle plague in other ways. Members of the ECU saw it as being God's judgment for Anglicans fraternizing with Dissenters, or divine pity over the treatment

of animals in markets and fairs. (55)

From June 1827, and throughout much of his Cheltenham ministry, Close preached an annual sermon against the evils of the race course. Moving to Carlisle, Close was fortunate enough to find another race course, and from June 1857 began his annual onslaught against the races, and in particular against the gambling and drunkenness with which it was associated. Sometimes coupled with this attack, Close included the theatre and dancing; and other issues for condemnation were alcohol, tobacco - 'that pernicious weed' (56) - and, a critic unkindly noted 'anything but hearing sermons'. (57) Certainly Close never minced his words over what he considered to be the social evils of his day.

> We protest against such ungodly pleasures as the race course because of their gambling, and because of the many offences it occasions. We condemn the theatre because we believe, and are sure, it is productive of vice, sedition and profligacy of various kinds.
>
> /Men/ are blinded by their love of pleasure; they are blinded by their evil truant hearts. Their hearts are in them, and as long as their hearts are in the race course, the theatre, the ballroom, and pleasures of the world, they will justify them, or at all events will continue to enjoy them. (58)

Close supported the Carlisle Artillery Volunteers, but threatened to withdraw his support if they held amateur dramatic performances in what he described as a 'low, unlicensed theatre on the Sands' (a district in Carlisle) where drinks would be sold. (59) This sort of comment brought him endless criticism in the press. One correspondent, referring to a public disagreement between Close and Rev. W. P. Percival as a theatrical performace, in which 'the Dean, the Dean's satellite, the Rev. Percival and the Christian Young Men's Society were the principal actors'. (60) But one of

Close's supporters reminded his critics that 'He is only preaching what he has preached for twenty-five years'. (61)

In February 1861 Close preached against 'Essays and Reviews', (62) and later in the year republished an American layman's criticism of the notorious book. (63) Publicly Close spoke out against Bishop John William Colenso, (64) and privately he wrote a poem about him:

> There once was a Bishop Colenso
> who counted from one to ten so.
> That he made the Levitical
> books to eyes critical
> unarithmetical.
> And he's written to tell the black men so. (65)

The disestablishment of the Irish Church brought Close to the defence of the unity of church and state, and this was an issue which was to unite churchmen from different theological parties. For Close 'a nation without an established church was a nation without God': (67) the Irish church was a butress against popery. In his defence of the union of church and state, Close was accused of preaching politics from the pulpit. (68) But Close had always defended the establishment, whether in the pulpit or out of it.

Another group who were strong supporters of the establishment were the Freemasons. The cult, which developed into its present form in the eighteenth century, may be defined as a syncretistic, universalistic, mystery religion, organised as a secret society. Freemasonry and theological liberalism have run together and merged as can be seen in the development of the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement in the twentieth century. This has yet to be researched, however it is clear that Freemasonry was gaining ground and becoming well-supported in the nineteenth century.

This trend can be seen in the development of Freemasonry in Cumbria. (69) Penrith was an important centre for Freemasonry, (70) and so were the coastal towns of Workington and Whitehaven. There were sixty Freemasons at a dinner in Penrith in March 1868, (71) and about eighty in Carlisle. (72) Masonic lodges were established in Workington (a revived lodge) in May 1863 (where there were sixty-five members in two years), and in Keswick in November 1865. Eighty Freemasons had a dinner in Whitehaven in April 1869, (73) and 220 Masons assembled at Workington in August 1866. (74) A number of clergy, all of whom were non-Evangelicals, were Freemasons - A. F. Curwen, J. Tyson and J. Pearson in Workington; W. Crockett of Upperby, Carlisle; J. Losh of Beckermet; J. Simpson of Kirkby Stephen; J. Hallifax of Kirkbride; D. Ace of Dacre; H. L. Puxley of Cockermouth, and S. J. Butler of Penrith. Close, who was not a Freemason, admitted that he knew little about the cult, preached to about 120 Freemasons in Carlisle cathedral in June 1860. In his address, he praised them for the way in which their giving followed the spirit and letter of the gospel. (75) Ten years later, Bishop Goodwin (also a non-Mason) preached in the cathedral to 200 Freemasons. (76)

In Cheltenham, Close had been involved with the working classes of the spa town, so much so that he was referred to as the 'poor man's friend'. (77) In Carlisle he became more directly aware to the harsh realities of the life of the urban poor who lived near to him below the walls of the Deanery. Close became concerned with the poor of Carlisle in providing for their spiritual needs and in the promotion of teetotalism.

With the Bishops of Carlisle, Close was concerned about the 'spiritual destitution' of the city. The provision of churches had not matched the rise in population. There was an obvious deficiency in the provision of Anglican churches in the city. Between 1831 and 1865 the only churchbuilding had been undertaken by Nonconformists. They had erected five new places of worship, and rebuilt or altered four more at a cost of £20,000. However, it offended some Carlisle residents when Close tactlessly omitted to mention this Nonconformist achievement, and they reminded him that they were active in Carlisle, even if the Anglicans were not! (78) Close calculated that 3,000 to 4,000 working men could not be accommodated in church, (79) and that out of a city population of 30,000, there were only 300 communicants. (80)

Close discussed the situation with Bishop Villiers, who supported Close in his desire to reach the poor for Christ. In July 1858 Close explored an area of Christ Church parish below the railway station and rented a small upper room. For eight to nine weeks while his family were away on holiday Close preached to the assembled poor. In consultation with the Bishop it was agreed that Close should have the oversight of 2,000-3,000 of the parish. (81) Close then engaged a curate and he paid his salary until Alfred Hodges was appointed to the newly formed district of St. Stephens. At his own expense Close opened three other mission rooms - in Cross Street, in Drover's Lane and in Charles Street. In February 1859 a temporary wooden church was opened in West Tower Street, which was to be used for worship until a permanent building could be erected, and Bishop Villiers

agreed that Close should be appointed to the first city living to become vacant to enable further church-building to take place. Thus Close became the incumbent of Christ Church in November 1861, and was responsible for the erection of St. John's church; and in October 1865 on becoming the incumbent of St. Mary's, he was able to supervise the erection of a new St. Mary's church in the cathedral grounds, as well as clearing the nave of the cathedral previously used by the congregation, and supported the efforts of Bishop Waldegrave in the erection of St. Paul's church. Close's motives were the very best. He made nothing out of being a city incumbent: the income he received was used to pay the salaries of curates. Close was defended by the churchwardens of Christ Church after being accused of pocketing £300 a year from the living. Over the years he had spent £1,300 from his own pocket in providing the salary of one of three curates. When Close resigned as the incumbent of Christ Church, an address was presented to him which expressed the 'deep sense of the value and results of his self-denying labours', (82) and a plaster medallion of Close was placed on the south wall of the vestry. (83)

Close was successful in providing the salary of a Scripture Reader to serve the Caldewgate area, (84) but he failed in supporting a lay-worker in the Botchergate area. In February 1860, W. P. Percival arrived in Carlisle at Close's invitation to become his unofficial 'curate', and to offer himself for ordination. Close had known Percival in Cheltenham, and had already supported his application to be ordained by the Bishop of Ripon. But Bishop Bickersteth had refused to ordain him because he had no

theological training. Close hired a room in Cross Street, Botchergate, and Percival began his ministry with a congregation of between twelve and twenty people. Soon a capacity congregation of 120-130 filled the room, and Close began to take steps to erect a permanent chapel.

It became increasingly clear that there were theological differences between the Bishops and Close on the one side, and Percival on the other. Percival was not a candidate for Villiers' final ordination in June 1860, nor for Waldegrave's first ordination in December 1860. It was rumoured that as

> The Bishop [Waldegrave] was very Calvinistic in his views and knowing that Mr. Percival was not Calvinistic, we not unnaturally thought this might be the reason for the Bishop's refusal. (85)

Although Close denied that he had anything against Percival, he believed that he was not a suitable candidate for the Anglican ministry, and was better suited for the Free Church of Scotland, or the Wesleyan Methodists with which he had previously been connected. Theologically, Percival supported liberal views. In letters to the Carlisle Journal he commended a book by F. D. Maurice, (86) and gave only cautious support for the judgment over the publication of Essays and Reviews. (87)

Percival resigned as the Dean's 'curate' in May 1861, and at his final service at Cross Street, was presented with a tea service and purse of gold. A week later he commenced holding two Sunday services in the Mechanics Institute, and was referred to as 'Rev. W. R. Percival' in the local press. The rift between Close and Percival continued. In November 1861 Close refused to

attend a meeting of the Carlisle YMCA, because Percival would have also been on the platform. (88) In April 1862, Percival broke with the Church of England, and was ordained as a Congregational minister, and his followers constituted themselves into a Congregational church. The numerical strength of the congregation was such that when a soiree was held in May 1863, nearly 500 people were present. By December 1866, Percival had left Carlisle, and it was rumoured that he had renounced his nonconformity, and was seeking ordination in the Church of England. (89) But nothing is known of his subsequent career.

In Carlisle were were a number of institutions for working men. (90) Most important were the provision of reading rooms, which were partially social and educational, and could have a radical political stance or religious emphasis. Between 1836-54 there were an estimated twenty-four reading rooms established in Carlisle. In 1866 there were 13-14 reading rooms in Carlisle, with a membership ranging from 30 to over 100. (91) Sometimes they were supported by individual benefactors. The Quaker biscuit manufacturer, Jonathan Dodgson Carr, 'provided a library, reading room, Sunday School and evening school for children'. (92) In 1839 the Carlisle Chartists met in Strongs Buildings, Bridge Street, Caldewgate. By 1847 they had nearly one hundred members, and moved to larger premises in John Street, Caldewgate. In the same year the Carlisle Temperance Society opened the Temperance Reading Room.

The most interesting development was in the coming together of radical and temperance interests in the West End Temperance Hall,

Caldewgate. The John Street Reading Room committee were looking for new premises and the West End Total Abstinence Society wanted a hall for their meetings. The West End Society was formed in May 1860, with its rules a modified version of those of the South End Temperance Society. (93) A month later the members agreed on the wording of their pledge:

> I the undersigned do agree, that I will not use intoxicating liquors as beverages, nor traffic in them, that I will not provide them as articles of entertainment, or for persons in my employment; and that in all suitable ways, I will discountenance their use through the community. (94)

At the first public meeting held in July 1860, 15 people took the pledge.

J. D. Carr gave a site in Caldewgate opposite Holy Trinity church, and the foundation stone was laid by Robert Stordy Dixon in February 1861. The new premises which cost £711.11.0 were opened in November 1861, with the reading room and library on the first floor, and the temperance hall below. On opening, the West End Temperance Society had 275 members. (95) Part of the social concern of the members was for the poor unemployed of the city, and in the severe winter of 1861 a soup kitchen was provided, and in the following year a permanent soup kitchen erected at a cost of £125. In April 1861 a branch of the Band of Hope was formed, and in the eight years 1861-68 1,625 had taken the pledge. At a meeting addressed by Close for drunkards held in March 1863, 130 were present, and at the end of which 17 signed the pledge. (96) The library with its 3,000 books, was one of the largest in Carlisle. (97) Some of the books were donated by Close, and while he supported the temperance work, he was highly critical of dances

being held in the reading room. (98) A few years later, the committee drew up a list of prohibited songs which could not be sung on Saturday evenings! (99)

Like other cities, Carlisle was hit with recession, unemployment and strikes. These caused terrible deprivation for the poor and their dependants. The starving poor were helped in practical ways - in the provision of food, clothes and coal, in the offer of employment through public works, and being given the incentive to emigrate. In all of these activities the clergy of Carlisle, including Close, were actively engaged.

In December 1857, the Weavers Relief Committee was formed, to provide assistance for the unemployed, and to investigate the general condition of the hand-loom weavers of the city. In that year, some 234 weavers were out of work, and they had 608 dependants. (100) The hand-loom industry in Carlisle had been in decline since the 1830s, and it was only in the 1870s with the development of other trade and emigration, which meant that a smaller work force could be employed in hand-loom weaving. (101) In the severe winter of 1860-61 the poor of Carlisle were in a desperate situation. Rev. B. A. Marshall of St. Cuthbert's church provided 186 lbs of meat and eleven tons of coal, and an appeal was made to local farmers to give a cartload of turnips, and gardeners carrots and cabbages to make soup. (102) The winter of 1862-63 brought further hardship. In November 1862 it was estimated that nearly 14% of the population of Carlisle were receiving charity. In the summer mills had closed, and a third of the power looms were idle, and spinners were on a two

day week. (103) Most of the practical relief was channelled through the Carlisle Relief Committee. The number receiving relief rose from 3,000 in October 1862 to a record 5,893 in December, dropping only to 4,282 in April 1863. (104)

Support for the poor weavers came from A. C. Tait, Bishop of London, and Bishop Waldegrave issued a pastoral circular to the clergy appealing for funds, and this alone raised £3,000. (105) Waldegrave and his wife also supported the sewing society for employing factory girls to make clothes for the poor. (106) Close supported the efforts to provide for the poor. In March 1863, the Dean and Chapter paid men 6d a day to work in St. Mary's churchyard. (107) But it was Close who made the point that unemployment would be reduced if the poor had not wasted their money on drink and tobacco. (108) One drastic solution to the problem of unemployment was emigration to the colonies. Emigration societies had been in existence in Carlisle since the 1830s.

Since April 1850 Close had been actively involved in enabling working men and their families to emigrate. In that month 238 emigrants left Cheltenham for Quebec. (109) In April 1863 Close became the chairman of the Carlisle Working Men's Emigration Aid Society. Funds were collected and the overseas passage subsidized. Usually it cost £3.10.0 for the passage to Canada, but only £3.0.0. for those going from Carlisle. (110) By March 1865, 218 individuals - mostly hand-loom weavers - had been sent out by the Committee. (111) Although life in Canada, New Zealand and Australia was not easy, once they had become established former Carlisle residents wrote to Close informing them of their progress. (112)

Some, however, couldn't cope with colonial life and returned home. (113) But Close's efforts were severely criticised. Richard Cobden described Close's action 'as highly reprehensible, and almost criminal'. (114) Some Carlisle mill owners believed that 'the idle ones had been transported by the Dean, and the active ones left behind' - but Close dismissed this as an erroneous suggestion. (115)

Physically helping the poor was one thing, but to reach them spiritually was another matter. Close adopted two means of pre-evangelism - by giving popular lectures and by advocating teetotalism. During the Spring of 1860, he gave a course of six 'Lectures on the evidences of Christianity, addressed to the working classes', and delivered at the Athenaeum, Carlisle. (116) Twice he spoke on the ocean. In February 1859 he had lectured to 1,000 of the working classes on 'the physical geography of the ocean' (and which had taken him six months to prepare). (117) In April 1861, he lectured on 'the infusoria and animalcula, shells, coral reefs and depths of the ocean'. (118)

In 1866, at the only Church Congress he attended, Close addressed a meeting for working men, and spoke on 'the best mode of attaching the people to the Church of England'. Close was convinced that 'this good old system' of each parish was the best means of reaching the working classes for Christ. The clergy were to go out to the people and become acquainted with them through 'the neutral ground of science, literature, and the finer arts ... to draw them to the church and the means of grace'. (119) Popular lectures would attract working men, in a way in which they would never be encouraged to attend church. Giving lectures

was considered to be better than taking part in sporting activities, for

> When his people meet him on the following Sunday in the House of God, it cannot promote their respect or reverance for his office or his work, to remember that he was bowled out at cricket by the parish clerk, or suffered at foot-ball from the hob-nailed shoes of one of his humbler parishioners. (120)

Close was convinced that the abolition of pew rents and the adoption of total abstinence by the clergy would attract people to church. The example of the minister would lead them to the worship of God.

It was as a direct result of his work with the poor of Carlisle that Close became thoroughly committed to the teetotal movement. Had he stayed in Cheltenham he probably would not have become so involved, but it was in the north that he saw for himself the results of intemperance. (121)

The teetotal movement which began in Preston, Lancashire in the 1830s spread throughout the country by radicals and Chartists, revivalists, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. Generally Anglicans tended to remain aloof, but other denominations were much involved. In St. Just and St. Ives in Cornwall, the Teetotal Wesleyan Methodists became a separate denomination consisting of those who had signed the pledge. (122) Father Theobald Mathew propogated teetotalism among Roman Catholics. During his English Mission of 1843 there were a total of 195,940 who signed the pledge - 60,940 in London, 45,000 in Liverpool and 55,000 in Manchester. (123) Some Anglican clergy became early supporters of teetotalism. In 1841, William 'Millennial' Marsh, became a

total abstainer, and only took a daily glass of wine fourteen years later when his health began to fail. (124) In the same year, 1841, Close outlined his views on the subject. He had tried total abstinence for a year. He was in favour of the principle of individual abstinence, but not of eliciting pledges from associations of large bodies which were not sanctioned by the New Testament. Further, and in common with other Anglicans, Close objected to the movement because of its radical associations.

> Union with anarchists, revolutionists, and men of every political creed, and this for a moral object, but without fixed moral and religious principles; this I hold to be unscriptural, and dangerous in the highest degree. (125)

But even when it became apparent in 1842 that Close had inherited gout from his father, he remained being a moderate social drinker. However, gout was a disabilitating disease, and later in his life it prevented him from preaching and attending public meetings. In 1850 Close spoke out against the taking of unnecessary pledges, and advocated abstinence without pledge taking. (126) In 1855 he gave up drinking alcohol, but for him it was not yet a teetotal crusade. Returning to Cheltenham in July 1861, and speaking at a temperance meeting, Close described himself as being 'an old friend to Cheltenham, but he was a new teetotaler'.

> He never knew the advantage of total abstinence until he left Cheltenham. During the time he was in Cheltenham, he was under strong prejudices with regard to the subject - he had never looked into the subject. He thought it was something opposed to the gospel, and inconsistent with the gospel, to advocate the temperance cause. (127)

For Close the adoption of teetotalism was a personal decision which was influenced by what he found in Carlisle. He said that

he 'had seen more open shame-faced drunkenness in this city than he had seen in any city in England'. (128) Others too were concerned about the intemperance of Carlisle. Bishop Villiers said that there were 175 beer houses and public houses in the city, and that drunkenness was worse in the north than in the south; (129) Bihop Waldegrave said that there was a link between drunkenness and unchastity, which was another social problem in the diocese. (130)

Close became convinced that 'moderate drinking is a treacherous thing and a dangerous thing'. The value of total abstinence was that it promoted personal health, wealth, prospects and godliness. (131) He became a convert to the teetotal crusade since it was preparatory to the gospel. 'By taking a man's bottle away you don't make him a Christian, but you improve his chances of becoming one'. (132)

Close and supporters believed that total abstinence was entirely consistent with scripture, and that like the Israelite priests in the Old Testament, all Christian ministers should be total abstainers. (133) But the majority of Anglican clergy remained unconvinced. By the mid 1860s, there were only just under 600 clergy of the Church of England who were total abstainers.(134) But teetotal clergy could become influential in their parishes in encouraging laymen to become total abstainers. W. Taylor, secretary of the Carlisle Total Abstinence Society, had 250 members in his parish. C. D. Bell of Ambleside became a total abstainer in 1862; in that year there were 40 total abstainers in his parish: in 1864 there were 135. (135)

Close became a national hero among the advocates of

teetotalism. He took the pledge in 1860, (136) and became known as the 'Teetotal Dean'. He preached the gospel of total abstinence throughout Cumbria, the North of England and in Scotland. In January 1861 he was presented with a silver medal for his temperance work. (137) He became president of the Church of England and Ireland Temperance Reformation Society (founded in 1862), and in Carlisle became the figurehead for the movement. He was chairman of the Carlisle Federal Union of Total Abstainers (founded in 1861 - and with over 630 members in its first year), and involved with the Carlisle Total Abstinence Society (founded in 1837). But Close did not merely advocate total abstinence. He supported the efforts of those who legislated against the liquor trade and the Sunday opening of beer shops and public houses. In consequence of which the Carlisle Journal included a poem about 'Close time':

> The working men should never seek
> To drink their beer on Sunday,
> But like the salman every week
> Should Close time keep that one day. (138)

In 1862 Close published a condensed review of the 'Legislation on the liquor traffic, suggested by a select committee of the House of Commons in the year 1834'. (139) In it Close appealed to the Christian government, 'to diminish, and ultimately to suppress, its sale'. (140) Close supported Maine Law (which was in effect, prohibition, relating to the US state of Maine). (141) The United Kingdom Alliance for the suppression of the traffic in all intoxicating liquors (founded in 1853), was the most powerful body in this field, and in 1857 had a membership of nearly 50,000 (including Close), and an income of £6,000. (142) Close

became the president, and frequent popular speaker of the Carlisle Auxiliary of the UK Alliance (founded in 1855). In this he was supported by his friend Sir Wilfred Lawson, Evangelical nonconformist and staunch teetotaler. (143)

Strangely G. R. Balleine, the chronicler of the Evangelical party in the Church of England, omitted any reference to the commitment of many of the leading Evangelicals to the temperance and teetotal cause. In this Close was one its leading supporters and advocates. The crusade became something of a revivalist movement, and later developed as an alternative church with its own hymn books and services.

Like his fellow Evangelicals Close was committed to upholding the sanctity of the Sabbath. In Cheltenham with the support of other Anglican clergy and Nonconformist ministers Close had made the town renown for having the most 'sober, discreet, quiet and religious appearance than any other town in England, or, we might add, the United Kingdom'. (144) Close was against employing people on Sunday, and made it a personal rule never to have a letter delivered to his house on a Sunday. (145) In Cheltenham he was successful in preventing the running of Sunday trains (apart from two mail trains) but in Carlisle he encountered other problems with the railway which he could not prevent. Carlisle was an important rail centre and the siting of the extensive sidings and engine sheds immediately below the deanery brought considerable annoyance to successive occupants of the house.

> Sometimes for three hours together of a night they could not get sleep, and he had seriously thought of leaving the deanery in consequence of this great annoyance.(146)

Not only was it not possible to occupy the bedrooms on the south side of the house because of the noise of the whistles and the house being filled with smoke from the engines, but plants died in the deanery garden. (147) Three times Close tried to bring a court order against the railway companies, but legal costs made him drop his case, Close remained insensed over the nuisance and continually wrote letters about the matter to the Carlisle Journal. Usually the newspaper was critical of Close, but in this case it supported him, yet considered that Close was like Don Quixote in attacking the railway companies. (148)

Part of the strength of provincial Evangelicalism was in the support given through local auxiliaries to the parent Evangelical societies. There were five principal societies which received widespread support. (149) Three were Anglican - the Church Missionary Society (founded in 1799), the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (founded in 1809) and the Church Pastoral Aid Society (founded in 1836); and two were interdenominational - the Religious Tract Society (founded in 1799) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (founded in 1804). In addition to the five, there were an innumerable number of minor societies.

> There were societies to improve, to enforce, to reform, to benefit, to prevent, to relieve, to educate, to reclaim, to encourage, to propogate, to maintain, to promote, to provide for, to support, to effect, to better, to instruct, to protect, to supersede, to employ, to civilize, to visit, to preserve, to convert, to mitigate, to abolish, to investigate, to publish, to aid, to extinguish. Above all there were societies to suppress. (150)

Victorian England was 'the age of societies', (151) many of

which were Evangelical in origin and in support. In well-established Evangelical centres like Cheltenham, there was active support for a wide range of missionary and philanthropic activity. There were so many religious societies in Cheltenham, that on average there were annual meetings once a fortnight, and as incumbent, Close was obliged to attend them all! (152) But this level of support and involvement was not the case in Carlisle. Often an auxiliary meeting only attracted an audience of between 30-50 supporters, and frequently many of these were women. (153)

Successive Bishops of Carlisle spoke of the inadequate missionary support in the diocese. Even with CMS, which had been established in Carlisle in July 1801, the local auxiliary only met once a year. Bishop Villiers and Dean Close were keen to have a monthly missionary meeting, or at a least once a quarter. (154) This became a reality once Close took on parochial responsibility in the city. In February 1862 a monthly missionary prayer meeting was held in Christ Church schoolroom for CMS and CPAS, and in February 1867, the St. Mary's auxiliary of the CMS was formed. (155) By 1867 the central Carlisle Missionary Society had seventeen auxiliaries in churches in the locality.

Like other Evangelicals, Close supported some societies because they actively encouraged lay participation. This was true of the Religious Tract Society (Close was president of the Carlisle Auxiliary) and the Young Men's Christian Association. The Carlisle YMCA which was founded in the Spring of 1856 with 67 members, rose to a membership of 270 in 1860; it declined to 180 members in 1876, but rose to 560 in 1889. (156) Close was

president of the Carlisle YMCA until he resigned in January 1862. (157) He had walked off the platform at a meeting held in the previous November since he would not occupy the same platform as his erstwhile 'curate', W. P. Percival. But the estrangement between Close and the Carlisle YMCA did not last, and in November 1866 Close gave a lecture on 'Domestic ritualism; how it creeps into houses'. (158) Another interdenominational society supported by Close was the Evangelical Alliance (founded in 1846). But whereas in Cheltenham Close did not support it, he became an enthusiastic supporter in Carlisle. (159)

Close had been appointed Dean of Carlisle because he was a significant Evangelical educationalist. Close's educational work in Carlisle was negligible. At sixty years of age Close was too old to originate new work; and his other concerns like work among the city poor, teetotalism, anti-ritualism and church building activities took up too much of his time. As Dean, Close was involved in the Cathedral Grammar School (founded in 1542). (160) The school, situated near to the deanery, had been rebuilt in 1852-53, but its attendance had dropped from 90 boys to only 25. Close was involved in the appointment of Thomas Charles Durham, who served as headmaster between 1861-75 (when he resigned through ill-health), and in the re-organisation of the school in the mid 1870s. But apart from preaching on behalf of the National Scoiety, (161) speaking at school prize givings, (162) and in the examination of pupils, (163) Close gave only limited attention to education.

Close advocated evening schools for the poor, and continued

to support and develop the 'Dean of Carlisle's Adult School' begun by Dean Tait. The school was well-supported, and at the annual tea in January 1858, there were over 100 working men. (164) On Monday evenings Close held a Working Men's Bible Class, and their respect for Close was such that they made presentations to him as the class broke up for the summer recess. In 1861 they gave him a gold pencil case, (165) in 1863 an address, (166) and in 1864 a bible and an address, to which he replied. (167)

Nationally, Close opposed the introduction of the Revised Code because it was nothing less than 'a government system of secular education', (168) and resisted attempts to remove bible reading from the 1870 Education Act. (169) From the commencement of Cheltenham College in 1840, Close became one of the four vice-presidents, and chairman of the board of directors. As long as Close remained in Cheltenham, the Evangelical stance of the college was maintained, but after he left, his paternalistic rule of the school was severed. In 1862 Close entered into the debate about the proposed revision of the rules and regulations of the school management, and made it clear that this would alter its theological stance. (170) His fears were certainly justified. In 1876 members of the Cheltenham Church Association were concerned about the use of The Altar Manual as preparation for the confirmation of some of the College pupils. (171) By the time that the Dean Close Memorial School was opened in May 1886, a master at Cheltenham College remarked, 'Evangelicalism! That's as dead as a doornail'. (172)

Close was one of the nine vice-presidents of 'The Christian

Book Society' (founded in 1867) which was 'conducted by Evangelical members of the Church of England for the supply of sound scriptural publications, free from Romanism, Ritualism and Rationalism'. The Society produced a list of 'standard Evangelical works, written wholly by divines and members of the Protestant Church of England'. (173) Close was an inveterate letter writer and continued a lengthy correspondence on matters of interest in the national press as well as in the Carlisle newspapers. He also saw through the press a number of his own compositions which were mainly sermons and lectures, as well as lengthy papers on topical issues such as his examination of the evidence of witnesses on the Contagious Diseases Act of 1871. (174)

In the late 1860s and early 1870s Close struck up a friendship with the Dorsetshire poet William Barnes. When Close was on holiday visiting his daughter Adelaide Susan Prevost at Came near Dorchester, he made himself available to Barnes and took services and preached for him, and Close described himself as the 'curate of Came'. In September 1869, Close reported back to Barnes.

> I plodded through all your duties yesterday without much terrible fatigue, and - barring a few additional nightmares, rather prospective than retrospective - I am none the worse today. I said a few words in favour of your offertory and school, and hope I did no wrong. If I did your humble curate humbly asks pardon. I enclose a cheque as my first annual subscription to your school. Can I assist you in seeking a mistress for it?
>
> I shall always take a deep interest in your pretty little parishes. Displeased with what I had prepared when I looked at the little flock at Whitcomb, I let off a purely extempore address on 'We do know which shall prosper - this or that'. (175)

From the mid 1870s, Close was showing increasing signs of old age. The influence of Close, like that of Stowell and M'Neile before him gradually declined. (176) Close's wife Anne Diana - described by Bishop Wilberforce as 'good and saintlike' - (177) died in the deanery in April 1877. But yet in December 1880, when he was aged 83, Close remarried! His new wife was Mary Antrim Hodgson, the widow of David Hodgson, a wealthy local landowner. Close and Mrs. Hodgson were married at St. Peter's, Bournemouth by Bishop V.W.Ryan.

On his marriage Close planned to live during the summer months at the Rookery, Scotby, three miles from Carlisle, and to attend to his cathedral duties each day. But as a result of a legal judgment it was made clear that as Dean, Close was obliged to live in the deanery. (178) The result was that the couple had to commute between two houses.

> The Dean takes his butler with him when he goes to his wife's house, and his wife takes her maid with her when she goes to her husbands. (179)

Even towards the end of his life Close was still involved in the issues of the day. He supported the publication of The Churchman in 1879, (180) and set up the Divinity Professorship at the London College of Divinity in memory of Hugh M'Neile. (181) Like other Evangelicals Close attacked the formation of the Salvation Army, yet he entertained General William Booth for tea. (182) Months before his death Close wrote to John Barton, the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, with his memories of Charles Simeon. (183) Certainly Francis Close had imbibed the principles of Charles Simeon and these had been an important factor in determining Close's ministry at Cheltenham and

at Carlisle. Geoffrey Berwick's unfortunate essay on Close which was published in 1939 has done a great disservice to Close and all that he stood for.

> In Cheltenham he was transformed from a positive Evangelical churchman into a low-church controversialist. In Carlisle he became a teetotal fanatic ... In Carlisle he travelled even further from his Simeonite principles. (184)

This evaluation of Close is simply untrue. These comments reflect more of Berwick's Anglo-Catholicism and misunderstanding of Evangelicalism, than of being based on real evidence. Berwick had been a curate of St.Stephen's church, Cheltenham between 1936-39 (when he had carried out his researches into Close's ministry), and later became Vicar of St.Cuthbert's church, Carlisle 1957-62. Berwick may have followed in Close's footsteps from Cheltenham to Carlisle, but he had little sympathy with the man, his message or his motives.

Close freely admitted that he was a controversialist (185) but made it clear that

> during 50 years of controversy he had never said anything to injure any living man, though he had had many hard things said of him. (186)

However, he was fundamentally a pastor and preacher, who reflected the outlook of the early Victorian period and became out of place as the century progressed. Like others of his generation he failed to respond to the fundamental changes which had taken place in church and society since he was ordained in the 1820s. Yet for all his limitations Close was an outstanding example of Evangelical piety and influence. Physically a large man, Close had an infectious sense of humour and was fond of his pets. He brought

his parrot and terrier from Cheltenham. The bird was banned from the house after the daughters of Bishop Villiers had taught it to say

> Take a pipe, Mr. Dean - Mr. Dean, take a pipe.
> Another glass for Mr. Dean.
> Brandy an' Waur - Brandy an' waur
> Mr. Dean, take a pipe. (187)

In 1864, after the death of Tyree his dog, a monument was set up in the deanery garden and a portrait of the dog was painted. (188) Close was certainly not the narrow minded Puritan bigot which he has been supposed to have been. He achieved a vast amount of good at Cheltenham and much of the town's prosperity and importance was directly attributable to Close and his activity. His contribution at Carlisle was much less, but it was not insignificant.

Close resigned from the deanery in August 1881, 'by reason that he is incapacitated by permanent physical infirmity from the due performance of his duties'. (189)

He left Carlisle in September and settled in Penzance, having thanked his friends for their support, and promising 'to have an affectionate sympathy in both their temporal and spiritual interests'. (190) Close wrote of the advantages in the south:

> The temperature here in the depth of winter rarely falls so low as 40^{0}! Snow, ice and skates are unknown here. Penzance is a small, flourishing town of 12,000 people, excellent shops, very cheap and good. (191)

Close died at Penzance on 18 December 1882. The telegram informing the family of the news stated:

> Dean Close passed peacefully away this morning at half-past twelve after a quiet day quite conscious to the last. (192)

Death according to his doctor was from 'failure of the heart's action'. (193) His body was transferred from Penzance to Carlisle, and after a service at the cathedral it was buried in Carlisle Cemetery.

PART FOUR
ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL CAUSES IN THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

Part Four of the thesis concerns four aspects of the work of the Evangelicals in the diocese of Carlisle - in the securing of better endowments, in the erection of churches, in their opposition to ritualism and in the formation of the Keswick Convention as part of the wider holiness movement.

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PART FOUR

ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL CAUSES IN THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

The Bishops of Carlisle, from Bradford, who succeeded Nicolson, down to Goodenough, were of the prevalent eighteenth-century type of Bishop, good men and dignified, but somewhat apathetic in the conception and execution of their duties, as we now understand the duties of a Bishop. With Goodenough's successors, the four last Bishops of Carlisle, the courtly Percy, the aristocratic and unfortunate Villiers, the saintly Waldegrave, and the hardworking and energetic Goodwin, a new regime came in; the dry bones were made to live, churches were built, livings augmented, abuses reformed, religious and charitable organisations founded, and the diocese enlarged in 1856, on the death of Bishop of Percy, and the duties and responsibilities of its overseer thereby, as in a hundred other ways, immensely augmented.

R. S. Ferguson, Diocesan Histories. Carlisle, (London 1889) p207

a) Endowments

In preparing for the first visitation of his diocese, Bishop Waldegrave issued the customary articles of inquiry to the clergy. The result of the questionnaire revealed two great deficiencies - the spiritual destitution of the laity and the temporal destitution of the clergy. The solution was obvious: to erect more churches and chapels and to provide an increased salary and adequate housing for the clergy. The erection of a church building was comparatively easy particularly if a wealthy landowner or benefactor could be persuaded to provide the necessary capital. Suitable men could be trained, examined and ordained, but they needed paying and housing. Waldegrave was convinced that given a reasonable house and salary 'a better class of man' could be attracted to the diocese. But without adequate pay and a house some clergy would not consider settling in Cumbria. Waldegrave quoted an example known to him.

> I know of a man who was offered a living in Westmorland. He took a chaise and went out to see the place he was required to live in; instead of a parsonage, he found a miserable little cottage, so he told the driver, without waiting to examine it closely, to turn the horses' heads and go back again. He was a very good man and well educated, but quite independent as to means, and probably had there been a suitable house he would have stopped and worked amongst us. (1)

In the 1860s there were just over 260 benefices in the diocese of Carlisle. These were made up of 19% rectories, 18% vicarages and 63% perpetual curacies. (2) In the mountain parishes the value of the tithe was diminished and of less value than in more fertile parts of the country: in the Carlisle diocese

62% of the parishes had no income from tithes. (3) Speaking in a debate in the House of Lords Bishop Villiers compared the comparative value of the livings in the two northern dioceses. Both had a similar number of livings; in Durham there were 261 and in Carlisle 264. But whereas in Durham only 28 livings were worth less than £100 a year, in Carlisle this amounted to just under a half of the livings. (4) In 1864 Bishop Waldegrave highlighted four matters of concern: 18% of the villages had no place of Anglican worship; 19% had no parsonage house; in 36% of the benefices the income was below £100 a year; and in 24% the benefice income was between £100-150. (5) This meant that 60% of the livings in the diocese were below the basic £150 a year which was considered to be the minimal clerical salary. The diocese of Carlisle was considered to be the poorest in England and Wales. (6)

Clergy with their own private income were shielded from extreme poverty and could, if they chose, accept a relatively poor living without a parsonage house. Some clergy were forced to supplement their meagre income by taking private pupils and coaching them for university entrance or ordination examinations, holding a chaplaincy at a school, a hospital, workhouse or prison. Elderly clergy in their 80s who were unable to perform their clerical duties had to employ a curate. For a poor, elderly clergyman on a salary of less than £100 a year and unprovided with a benefice house his circumstances were difficult. Simply renting accomodation increased their poverty, since a rental of anything between £10 and £40 a year on housing was yet another burden. In

any case non-residence in the parish was unacceptable. If the minister did not live among his people he could not hold an evening service or run an evening school if it meant walking six or seven miles in winter!

One incumbent solved the problem of not having a parsonage by building his own house. The perpetual curate of Ireby on a salary of £35 a year -

> married, brought up a family, and gave his children a good education. He and his daughters built their own house. The daughters - tall, handsome girls - led the horses which carried the stones, and Marshall himself did most of the building. The wonder was how they contrived to build it. They call it Puzzle Hall, but no one could solve the puzzle. (7)

Limited financial assistance was available to assist the plight of poor clergy. Within the diocese charities were formed to provide the clergy or their dependants. The three earliest were the Kendal Clerical Charity (established in 1786); the Society for the Relief of Necessitous Widows and Orphans of the Clergy of the Diocese of Carlisle (established in 1819); and the Carlisle Diocesan Clergy-Aid Society (established in 1838). But the income available from these charities was very limited. In 1860 the Clergy-Aid Society only received £25 from donations and £106 from subscriptions. (8)

Some means of helping poor clergy came from wealthy benefactors like George Moore. He often received requests from clergy for financial assistance. One such man had been in business, was converted, became a Sunday School teacher, and was then 'determined to enter the ministry'.

> The step caused me a great sacrifice. My business was worth more at that time than any living I could ever hope to have in the church. The struggle was great, and at last I sold everything, and went to college. There I was very successful, and came out first in my term. Good Bishop Waldegrave encouraged me to come into his diocese, and by him I was ordained to the curacy of .... Had his life been spared, I should not now have needed help. God has owned and blessed my labours; and though I have had at times much anxiety respecting the education of my family, I have not regretted the step I have taken.
>
> My daughter has thereby been sent to Casterton Clergy Daughter's School. Without it she could not have been sent. My whole income has been derived for several years from my stipend as a curate, and it has never been more than £125 a year; and were it not for the kindness of the people in making me a presentation, I entail. The eldest is fourteen years old, and she is the one you have kindly assisted in educating. (9)

Moore sent money each Christmas to Bishop Waldegrave and Archdeacon Cooper for distribution to needy clergymen in the diocese. (10) Archdeacon Phelps was also generous to poor clergy, one of whom thanked him for his gift.

> By your kindness in contributing so liberally towards the augmentation of the living of ... , I am now receiving about £53 a year. The additional increase to my salary is a great assistance and solace to my mind in declining health and years, for which I cannot sufficiently express my thankfulness and gratitude to you. (11)

Phelps urged the laity to assist in providing for the salary of a curate:

> It is certainly hard upon the clergyman who takes a small benefice and who undertakes the labour to the full extent, when he finds himself under the necessity of providing a curate. It is hard upon him to do the work and also to have the onus of supporting a curate. (12)

Successive Bishops of Carlisle were deeply concerned about the poverty of their clergy. But simply being concerned was

not enough: radical change was essential to alter a situation in which a poor mountain clergyman received £50 a year, and yet the incumbent of Aldingham received over £1,000 a year. Bishop Percy had planned to augment the poor livings of the diocese from the income of his wealthy Prebendal estates in Finsbury, Middlesex; Bishop Villiers dreamed of seeing that all of his clergy received at least £200 a year. (13) But it was Bishop Waldegrave who was able to implement practical changes and to actually raise many clerical incomes. He made it his aim that every flock had a fold, 'every fold had a pastor, and every pastor and a comfortable home and a sufficient income'. (14)

Central church funds were available to augment clerical salaries, to provide endowments and the income which could be used to erect churches and parsonage houses. The two central bodies were the Queen Anne's Bounty (established in 1704) and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (established in 1835). The ethos of these two bodies was dissimilar. The Queen Anne's Bounty was dominated by the Bishops as the governing body.

> Queen Anne's Bounty in this period was the agency which most closely resembled an episcopally based church bureacracy with central administrators acting in conjunction with the Bishops. (15)

On the other hand

> The Commissioners were very much a creation of the state, and never ceased to be somewhat outside the church's direct control. (16)

This difference between the two bodies helped bring about the unlikely alliance between Bishops Waldegrave and Wilberforce who, though usually at odds with each other, were united in their

opposition to their amalgamation. But they had little to fear. It was not until 1948 that the Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were brought together as the Church Commissioners for England. (17)

Bishops Tait and Waldegrave believed that the Commissioners should be run by the Bishops for spiritual ends. In their view the Commissioners were preoccupied with property. (18) The Bishops of Carlisle and Durham were convinced of the need to decentralise the powers of the Commissioners. In spite of the relative poverty of their dioceses they had surrendered much of their income to the Commissioners. In addition the distance from London was an inconvenience and a disincentive for them to attend meetings of the Commissioners. In 1862 a Select Committee had a majority of those who were in favour of decentralisation to local boards. To this Waldegrave gave his support.

> With reference to the general question of the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, I am of the opinion that the institution of local or diocesan boards is highly to be desired, not for the purpose of superseding, but for that of checking, the proceedings of the central office.
>
> It would have this great commendation - first, that it would enlist, all over the kingdom, hearty local co-operation, both clerical and lay, in the well-working of the Central Board; secondly, that it would constrain the Central Board to exhibit a more manifest interest in its spiritual objects. At present it deliberates, and speaks, and writes much too much as if the management of its property is but a means to an end, and that the making better provision for cure of souls. (19)

Waldegrave was not in favour of total devolution: what he wanted was more local control and the encouragement of lay initiatives in raising finance.

During the winter of 1861-62, Waldegrave sent out numerous letters canvassing for support for a diocesan society which would be concerned with the erection of churches and parsonages, and which would augment clerical incomes. Similar societies already existed in other dioceses, and in drawing up a constitution for the Carlisle society, Waldegrave consulted the rules of the societies in Chester, Gloucester and Bristol, Lichfield, Oxford, Ripon and Salisbury.

The inagural meeting of the Carlisle Diocesan Church and Parsonage and Benefice Augmentation Society took place in Carlisle in February 1862 under the chairmanship of Bishop Waldegrave. He saw the aim of the society as

> The glory of God and the salvation of souls, through the instrumentality of that Reformed church which it is our joy and our privilege to be members and ministers. (20)

The three objects of the Society were clear from the title.

To promote:

1 The increase of church accommodation within the diocese of Carlisle, by aiding in the erection of new, or in the restoration and enlargement of previously existing churches or chapels.

2 The residence of the clergy upon their cures, by contributing, in the case of benefices of small income, to the erection or purchase of suitable parsonages.

3 The increase of the stipends of the poorer clergy, by assisting in the raising of benefactions, to be offered to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, towards the augmentation of their endowments. (21)

Waldegrave believed that it was under the providence of God that a national church existed. This raised the whole level of concern and support beyond the boundaries of each parish.

> 'The whole of the national church ought to support and assist any part of the establishment'. This principle was the same within the diocese. 'All are in one diocese, and, as parts, are interested in the well-being of the whole'. (22)

Even Dean Close admitted that this principle was a good one. The Society brought the clergy together, they were all involved in one church, and in the Society, 'they were banded together in one good work for the glory of God and the salvation of souls'. (23)

The Society would be partially based on the rural deaneries. At the local level, each Rural Dean would chair a working committee. The committee would meet twice a year to raise funds and to investigate local needs, and then submit them to the central committee. At the diocesan level, the central committee, consisting equally of clergy and laity would be chaired by the Bishop. It met twice a year - at Carlisle in the autumn and at Kendal in the spring. The Society had five accounts

1 A general Account.

2 A Church Accommodation Account (for church building and restoration).

3 A Parsonage Account.

4 A Benefice Augmentation Account.

5 A Special Account for those who wished to designate their gift for a particular part of the diocese.

The Society was to assist local efforts, but not to supersede them. Money which was raised in the diocese was to be met with equal ammounts from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Waldegrave was clear about what should happen. 'Let us provoke them to do good; let us force them to grant benefactions'. (24)

Waldegrave believed that the needs of the diocese should be

constantly brought before the Commissioners. When that happened it was clear that more money became available. He illustrated his case from the example of the diocese of Ripon which had its own Society since the 1840s. Each year that diocese was awarded grant after grant: but few were awarded to Carlisle. Once the Carlisle Society was established an immediate gain was obvious. Of over £10,000 awarded in 1863, Waldegrave believed that £6,000 was the result of the existence of the society. (25)

Taking the years 1861-66, the following grants were awarded to the diocese from the Commissioners: (26)

1861	£1,850
1862	£5,292
1863	£10,560
1864	£9,357
1866	£13,500

It was calculated that something like £30,000 was surrendered from the diocese to the Commissioners; but only £10,000 was returned to meet the salaries of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter. By 1864, the dioceses of Carlisle, Lichfield, Oxford and Ripon received the greatest grant aid from the Commissioners; in March 1867 Carlisle received just under 10% of the total grant of £150,000 awarded by the Commissioners. (27)

Once the Society had been formed, Waldegrave had to bring its support before the diocese. In May 1864 he issued a pastoral letter to the clergy appealing for funds, in which he calculated that if each church in the diocese contributed £3 then £1,000 would be raised. (28) In 1868 Waldegrave appealed for further funds,

and by August £2595.10 had been raised. (29)

Over the course of time the achievements of the Carlisle Diocesan Church and Parsonage and Benefice Augmentation Society were apparent. In the three years 1862-64, ten new churches were erected, 16 new parsonages were built and 13 poor livings augmented. In the period 1862-69, 46 incumbents with incomes previously between £40 to £150, were increased to between £65 to £230. Over a longer period 1862-88, a total of £316,974.10.10 was raised from private and public sources. During this period, 128 churches were erected or restored; 94 parsonages erected or improved; and 16 mission rooms maintained or erected. (30)

Looking at the whole diocese it was perfectly clear that the incomes of many of the clergy was inadequate and needed to be increased. But in the city of Carlisle there was a situation in which the cathedral clergy were regarded as rich and idle and the city clergy very poor and overworked. The disparity in income of the clergy of Carlisle became the subject of heated debate and deep controversy.

Under the legislation of 1840 and 1851, the valuable real estate of the cathedrals was surrendered to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which then took direct responsibility for their administration and management. Following the transfer money was then re-directed back to where it was most needed in the form of what were called 'Local claims'. Each cathedral chapter was responsible for making its own claims, and for negotiating with the Commissioners over increasing the value of the endowments. (31) In 1852 the chapters of York and Carlisle were the first to hand

over their estates. (32) The negotiations over the Carlisle properties were delicate and protracted. While at the time of their transfer Dean Tait found the negotiations irksome, he gained from the experience, for as Bishop of London, and as a member of the Estates Committee of the Commissioners, he became involved in the negotiations with 13 cathedral chapters. (33)

Heated debates took place in the Carlisle chapter over the transfer of its estates, and there was opposition to substituting a fixed payment for the previous system of local control. Tait confessed that

> This day in chapter I was betrayed into unseemly anger. O Lord, forgive me! I will not let the sun go down upon my anger. O Lord, give me self-denial as a Christian, and more regard for the feelings of others, through Jesus Christ.
>
> At times I feel greatly depressed here by the uncongenial spirits amongst whom I am thrown. But, O Lord, give me to understand that nothing great was ever done without effort, and amidst much opposition.
>
> Lord, give me wisdom, zeal, love, and make me faithful in every work. This day we have been engaged in very important business as to the transfer of our estates to the Commissioners. Guide us, O Lord. May all the matter redound to thy glory. We hope to rebuild our cathedral, and thus infuse a love for the outward house of God. (34)

Tait was in favour of the Dean and Chapter being paid a fixed salary and each to have some parochial responsibility. In his opinion it was useful to have learned clergy at the cathedral who could supervise its educational establishments. (35) In addition, Tait was aware of the poverty of the city clergy. He wrote to the Commissioners about the situation.

> That one great inducement with myself, as with other members of the chapter, to entertain the proposition of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, has been the facility which the arrangements made by this transfer will afford towards

the increase of the salaries paid to the incumbents of small livings in this locality. The Commissioners are pledged in all cases in which tithes fall into their hands, to consider the spiritual wants of the parish from which the tithes are derived before they devote them to the increase of other livings elsewhere. And I apprehend that by the judicious and fair arrangements of the lessees, the Commissioners will soon be able to do what was not in the chapter's power, viz, to recover a fair proportion of the tithes from the lessees, and devote them to the adeqate maintenance of the parochial clergy. (36)

But no action was taken. Tait wrote again to the Commissioners in February 1854, requesting that the income of the four city incumbents should be augmented. A month later the Commissioners expressed their sympathy, but said that nothing could be done. (37) Many in the city were angered by the situation and at a public meeting held in Carlisle, eighty citizens signed a petition to Parliament in which they requested that the first vacant canonry be suspended, and the income redistributed to augment the income of the city incumbents. The four canonries were nothing less than 'useless sinecures', and the long term aim would be to abolish all four, and to make the cathedral chapter consist of a Dean and three minor canons. In February 1856, J. Ferguson, the MP for Carlisle, presented the 'Carlisle Canonries Bill' to suspend the first vacant canonry and appropriate its income to augment the city livings, but it was defeated at the third reading. (38)

In November 1857 Bishop Villiers presented a lengthy petition to the Commissioners signed by over 3,500 laymen of the diocese. While it was recognised that some £15,000 had been spent by the Commissioners on the cathedral restoration, they had received over £9,000 as compensation from the railway companies for loss of land. There was now no reason why the Commissioners could not augment the incomes of the clergy of the diocese. The situation

made it difficult to obtain suitable candidates for vacant livings and disheartened the clergy; and it deepened the ill-will against the cathedral chapter. Carlisle should be placed on an equal footing with other dioceses. Since it was

> at present to be one of the worst provided, and having the least possible chance of the services of a clergy who shall be qualified to fulfil the duties of their sacred office in a manner and with an effect answerable to the purpose.

The situation in the diocese of Carlisle needed to be appreciated.

> That the large parishes within the towns, as in Carlisle, should be without full spiritual care, and that the more remote and retired parishes should be left in something like destitution, equally injurious to the character and habits of the clergy ... The rural parishes within the diocese are generally of wide extent, the inhabitants being widely scattered; these circumstances must add to the labours and difficulties of the clergy, making them greater than where the population is large and compact. They feel called upon to press the vital importance of additional help from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, lest the diocese itself should deteriorate from the want of means of enabling good and pious men to remain at their posts. (39)

In January 1858 Bishop Villiers visited the three workhouses in the Carlisle Union, (40) and suggested that an Anglican chaplain be appointed at a salary of £120 a year. But his proposal was greeted with scorn. Dean Tait used to visit the workhouse - why not Dean Close? The counter suggestion was to make the cathedral clergy responsible for the pastoral oversight of the workhouses. (41)

Close certainly favoured members of the cathedral chapter having specific parochial responsibilities, and he set the example by becoming the Perpetual Curate of Christ Church and of St. Mary's. In both instances this was to allow for churchbuilding and the

creation of additional parochial districts. But the poverty of the city livings continued when the cathedral chapter had power to change the situation. Other cathedral chapters were making their 'Local claims' ahead of Carlisle. Bishop Waldegrave, who had been a canon of Salisbury, became frustrated with what he saw at Carlisle. At Salisbury the chapter met four times a year, and held other necessary meetings. But at Carlisle the chapter met only twice a year and sometimes even then the meetings were not held. Waldegrave wrote at least twice to the chapter about their lack of action. He wrote to Archdeacon Phelps: 'My respectfully expressed entreaty /is/ that you and your brethren should hasten'. (42) There was no excuse for the delay in making the 'Local claims', and clearly Close should have taken more initiatives over the matter.

Of the seven livings in Carlisle, St. James' and St. John's were under private, Evangelical patronage, and St. Stephen's under the patronage of the Bishop. The other four livings were under the patronage of the Dean and Chapter and received an average income of £133.10 a year, and were as follows:

St. Cuthbert's	£148
St. Mary's	£80
Christ Church	£140
Holy Trinity	£166

But what were the incomes of the cathedral clergy? They tended to refer to the minimum they received, while their critics referred to their maximum salary. Dean Close maintained that he received £1,425 a year, and the four canons each received £700 a

year; (43) but the Carlisle Journal repeatedly stated that the Dean received £1,600, and the four canons each received £800, and in addition they received free accommodation. (44) This accusation annoyed Close, and he defended himself and the chapter by making it clear that his income was never more than £1,400 a year, and that of the canons £650 a year. (45)

Dean Close had his own ideas about cathedral reform, and in a sermon preached in February 1861 proposed that as vacancies occured parochial duties should be performed by members of the chapter. (46) But this angered Waldegrave, and he rebuked Close for making his views so public.

> I must now express my regret that you should have broached the question from the pulpit ... It is true that you and I have as friends talked the matter over, and that there was a general concurrence between us in the desire to make some at least of the canonries available for parochial service. It is also true that you have written at some length to me upon the subject ... But this is all.
>
> My dear Mr. Dean, I write frankly to you, and to you alone, according to the scriptural rule, for I do think that on reflection you will see that you have not dealt wisely and well in this matter, and that it would have been much better had the thing been confined to our own bosoms until some definite plan were matured ... With the good hope of usefulness and success. (47)

Close developed his ideas and published them as Cathedral Reform,

> The obvious measures for effectual reformation are, first, the abolition of plurality and non-residence; that neither Dean nor Canon should be more than three months absent from the cathedral precincts; that city benefices of small value should be annexed to every deanery and canonry, whether held by a dignitary or not; and that the parochial system should by every possible means be interwoven with that of the cathedral; that the Dean and Canons should hold themselves in readiness, when not actually engaged in the duties of the cathedral, to preach for their brethren in the country parishes around; especially in those connected with the Dean and Chapter, and in every way to sympathise with and aid the rural clergy.

Close was not in favour of the cathedral chapter being responsible for the theological training of men for the ministry. Rather than benefit the few, they were to benefit the many. Their task was

> To preach the Gospel! A great missionary body, evangelizing the diocese! (48)

But Close's ideas were not welcomed. John Ingle, the headmaster of Mount Radford School, Exeter, believed that Close had failed to grasp 'the true idea of a cathedral'. The Cathedral had diocesan significance, and was not just concerned with its immediate locality. For a Dean to have parochial responsibility would 'in plain English, destroy the cathedrals'. Ingle believed that

> I am forced to regard the Dean of Carlisle's scheme as one of the most dangerous and destructive that ever was propounded. It is confiscation undisguised; destruction pure and simple. It is renedered all the more dangerous by the purity of motive, and excellence of intention, with which it is put forward. (49)

Bishop Waldegrave also gave some thought to the subject. He had been a canon of Salisbury cathedral and was therefore not unaware of the workings of a cathedral. He consulted some of his fellow Bishops, and others including his brother-in-law, Sir Roundell Palmer, and came to a different solution.

> I have come to the conclusion that the original idea of simply annexing the canonries to the town parishes is not that which, if carried out, would best, if at all, accomplish our object.
>
> Another plan is the result of my deliberations. Its main features are the augmentation of the town incumbencies now existing, and the creation of new districts on the Peel principle, under the provisions of the local claims of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Bill of 1860. You probably know whether the revenues now arising to the

Commissioners from the town parishes are sufficient to promise, both to raise these incumbencies to £300 per annum each, and to endow an adequate number of new churches to the like extent. Should this not be the case I should then be prepared to sanction a limited change, in aid of that object, being made to each canonry as it fell vacant and the crown would doubtless acquiesce in the deanery bearing its share in this contribution to the service of the population of Carlisle.

Obviously, Waldegrave concluded, such a plan would have to be approved by Parliament and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Sir Roundell Palmer would propose such a scheme to Sir James Graham, MP for Carlisle and an Ecclesiastical Commissioner, and it could be brought before the next session of Parliament. Meanwhile, Waldegrave cautioned against 'partial and local legislation' which 'would be ill-timed and might produce disappointment and "needless irritation"'. Waldegrave counselled Close

> Meanwhile, let us, so far as in us lies, hasten on the re-endowment of the See and the Chapter respectively with the promised estates. Until that re-endowment has taken place, the Commissioners will be precluded from recognizing all local claims by the Orders in Council under which our estates have passed into their hands.

Once that had been achieved, then the livings could be augmented to £300 per annum. This had already taken place in the Diocese of Durham, 'and much can be done in that of Carlisle without any special legislation at all'. (50) This was in fact the case, and by the mid 1860s, each of the seven Carlisle incumbents had incomes of £300.

Alongside the provision of an adequate salary for the clergy of the diocese was the need to increase the number of churches and chapels, and it was in this area in which Bishop Waldegrave was able to take a number of initiatives.

b) Churchbuilding

The lasting monument to Victorian faith may be seen in the numerous churches and chapels which were erected or restored in towns and cities and country parishes. (1) The need for new churches in large urban parishes was obvious, but not so apparent was the need to provide places of worship for rural communities.

In the predominently rural diocese of Carlisle parish churches were often many miles from distant hamlets and farms. One solution in small villages, was to use the schoolroom as a place of worship, and numerous 'school-chapels' were licensed for worship. But this was only regarded as a temporary measure until such time as a permanent church building could be provided. (2) Sometimes the new churches were erected through the efforts of wealthy benefactors, and sometimes through the local clergy. (3) In many cases the initiatives were taken by the Bishops, and, in the case of Bishop Waldegrave in his determination to encourage his wealthy friends to give large sums of money to erect churches in his diocese.

Over the course of the 50 years between 1840-92, 134 churches were erected and 175 churches restored in the diocese of Carlisle. (4) A very high proportion of this work took place during the episcopates of Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave:

1840-56	under Bishop Percy	26 churches erected	16 churches restored
1856-69	under Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave	47 churches erected	63 churches restored
1869-92	under Bishop Goodwin	61 churches erected	96 churches restored

Even by the mid 1870s seating accommodation in the Anglican church was still poor in the two northern dioceses. In Durham it was one seat to 67 people, and in Carlisle one seat to 66 people. By way of comparison, Norwich had the most accommodation with one seat to 22 people.(5)

In urban and industrial communities church building did not keep pace with an increasing population. This was obvious in cities like Manchester and Liverpool, but also on a smaller scale in Barrow in Furness, Maryport and Cleator Moor. However the deficiency of church accommodation was particularly accute in Carlisle. Before 1830 the city of 19,000 inhabitants consisted of the two ancient parishes of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert. In 1831 these two parishes were divided and two more churches erected. By 1851 the population of 26,310 was served by a cathedral and four parish churches. This may be compared with Chester which had a population of 27,766 and had a cathedral and 14 other places of Anglican worship. There were also fewer places for the Carlisle Nonconformists with 11 places of worship, compared with 18 in Chester. (6) In the early 1860s Bishop Waldegrave calculated that in Carlisle there was only provision for 4,600 Anglican worshippers, and in his opinion it should be nearer 6,082 or 10,144. (7)

Some initiatives had been taken before Bishop Waldegrave's episcopate. Bishop Percy had supported the erection of a new St. Mary's church, but the project was dropped. Bishop Villiers drew attention to the 'spiritual destitution' of Carlisle and discussed with Dean Close how this might be solved. One outcome

was the erection of a temporary wooden church in West Tower Street. It measured 53' x 37' and at a cost of only £180 provided church accommodation for 400 people. The salaries of the ministers were paid for by voluntary contributions. The first minister was D.B. Falconer and he was succeeded by F. J. Allnatt. Allnatt was also chaplain of the Cumberland Infirmary, and after the closure of the temporary church in December 1868 he became the Perpetual Curate of Grinsdale. (8) Soldiers at the nearby castle worshipped at the 'dismal church in West Tower Street',(9) and after it was closed they attended services at the cathedral, though Close objected to them marching to the cathedral accompanied by their band! There appears to have been another temporary wooden church in the Sands district and at which Close was preaching in May 1861. (10)

Between 1865 and 1870 five new Anglican churches were erected in Carlisle through the initiatives taken by Bishop Waldegrave and Dean Close. Already both men had had experience in erecting churches. Even The Ecclesiologist, which was no friend of Close, had to recognise his churchbuilding achievements.

> Much credit must be given to Cheltenham for having set a good example to other towns in church extension, and with its eleven churches to 40,000 inhabitants, it contrasts very favourably with other large towns of recent growth. (11)

In securing the erection of St. Stephen's and St. James', Waldegrave was able to have the financial support from some of his wealthy friends, but with Close he was obliged to raise the funds for St. John's and St. Mary's. Speaking in October 1867, Close said of himself that

> He had been a church builder for these forty years, and a beggar for church building for forty years - at Cheltenham they used to call him 'the big beggar'. (12)

The only change which took place in Close's method of fund raising was in his attitude towards pew-letting. In Cheltenham it had been necessary to adopt it, but in Carlisle he came to believe that it was wrong.

> I believe that pew-letting to be the chief cause of the alienation of thousands of the middle and operative classes from our church. Necessity, as I then thought, and the peculiarity of the case, led me to promote the erection of churches in Cheltenham supported by pew-letting. I now deeply regret it, and am taking measures to abate this mischief. I am now building a free church in this city, and a second is nearly finished, which will be nearly so (as I am told); and I never would again have anything to do with so unscriptural and suicidal a plan for raising money for church purposes. (13)

In December 1864 Close became the president of the Carlisle auxiliary of the Society for Promoting Freedom of Worship which was committed to the provision of free accommodation and the abolition of pew rents. (14)

To give a complete picture of church building in Carlisle, and incidentally of earlier Evangelical initiatives, it is necessary to go back to the 1820s. The erection of Christ Church and Holy Trinity churches and the creation of their districts out of the ancient parishes of St. Mary's and St. Cuthbert's, related to later parochial developments in the city of Carlisle.

Christ Church and Holy Trinity

As early as 1818, and if not before, there had been some concern

to increase church accommodation in the city. In that year Dean Milner had supported the incumbents of St. Mary's and St. Cuthbert's, over the erection of additional churches in their parishes. (15) In 1819 William Rees the newly appointed Perpetual Curate of St. Mary's, made a formal application to the Church Building Commissioners but no reply was received. (16) No further action took place until a public meeting was held in the Town Hall in May 1824. The meeting recommended that another application should be made to the Commissioners, in which it would be made clear that with an increasing population the existing church accommodation was totally inadequate.

In 1821 it was apparent that for the 9,943 people living in St. Mary's parish, and for the 6,878 living in St. Cuthbert's parish, there was only church accommodation for under 1,000 worshippers. While the congregation of St. Cuthbert's consisted of the middle class of the city many of the parishioners consisted of workers employed in calico printing, cotton mills and in the weaving industry. The inhabitants of St. Mary's were equally poor. The city was continually suffering from economic recession. In 1824 it was reported that 'the trade of the town has been for many years in a very depressed state'. (17) Many men were unemployed and their families lived at below subsistence level, and between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population of Carlisle lived in extreme poverty. It was only the presence of troops who were stationed in the city which prevented serious social unrest, never the less riots did take place and members of the public killed when the troops opened fire on the rioters. The serious

problems in the city meant that it became the ideal conditions to encourage radical political groups and an important base for the chartists. It was significant that the need to erect additional churches came at a time of a doubling of the city population and of social unrest and economic instability.

In June 1824 two petitions were addressed to the Commissioners in the name of John Fawcett, and the two churchwardens of St. Cuthbert's, with 17 other inhabitants of the parish; and another petition in the name of William Rees, and the two churchwardens of St. Mary's, together with 16 other inhabitants of the parish, for the erection of two additional churches in Carlisle. (18) But no reply was received, and the secretary of the Carlisle Church Building Committee wrote again in September 1824, to inquire about what action was being taken. (19) Again, there was no reply from London. He wrote again in May 1826 and this time there was a positive response that the Commissioners were prepared to grant $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total cost of the two churches, provided that the remaining $\frac{1}{3}$ was raised by the two parishes. (20)

The parish of St. Cuthbert's with the larger and wealthier congregation was in a better position to raise the required sum that the congregation of St. Mary's. John Fawcett gave part of his large garden (strictly speaking part of his glebe) (21) in Botchergate for the site of the new church, for which the congregation had already raised £2,160. The congregation of St. Mary's had raised £2,000, but had no suitable site. However a site became available in Caldewgate, belonging to a Mr. Cornthwaite, and this was purchased for £375, for the erection of a church and

the provision of a burial ground. (22)

Between 1829-31 the distinguished Quaker architect Thomas Rickman (23) and his partner Henry Hutchinson were involved in the major rebuilding and restoration of Rose Castle, at a cost of £40,000. (24) The Birmingham partnership was instructed by the Carlisle Church Building Committee to prepare plans for two new churches, each to seat about 1,000 people, and to submit their designs to the Commissioners for their approval.

Logically it was felt that the erection of the two churches should not be delayed.

> There is already great distress for want of employment, and a great number of men now employed at the new gaol will be discharged in about a fortnight. The foundations of the new churches should be begun immediately. This is a consideration, I do assure you, of great consequence to the peace of Carlisle. (25)

But legal complications, the obtaining of estimates, and then providing revised estimates caused further delay, and a year later unemployment was still regarded as a good reason for beginning the construction work without any further delay.

> It will afford employment to a great number who, I am sorry to say, are destitute of work, and are anxiously looking forward to the building of the chapels. (26)

Eventually in June 1828 Rickman and Hutchinson prepared detailed specifications for the two churches, (27) and revised estimates were £6,533,7,9, for the new church in St. Cuthbert's parish, and £6,979.14.3 for the church in St. Mary's parish. (28)

Both churches were consecrated by Bishop Percy on 21 April 1831. Christ Church, Botchergate, situated in St. Cuthbert's parish,

was erected as a chapel of ease to the parish church, and was assigned a district in June 1854. (29) The parish was united with St. Aidan's in June 1932, and the church closed in 1938 and demolished in July 1952. (30) Holy Trinity, Caldegate, (31) was erected as a chapel of ease to St. Mary's church. The church was declared redundant in July 1979, and in October 1980, Holy Trinity was united with St. Barnabas (consecrated in June 1899), and demolished in September 1981.

As well as being responsible for the erection of Christ Church, Fawcett erected St. John's church, Upperby, to the south of Carlisle, and situated in his extensive parish. As early as 1836 he had plans to erect a chapel, and in 1837 he obtained a donation of £150 from the Incorporated Society for the Erection of Churches, together with £1,009 from local subscriptions. The building was commenced in 1840, and opened later in the year, but remained unconsecrated because it lacked a sufficient endowment for the minister's salary. The district of 'St. Cuthbert's without' was assigned in May 1846, and St. John's church, Upperby, seating 250 people, was consecrated in June 1846. The first minister, William Cockett did not have a curate, and was disturbed by the activities of dissenters in his extensive parish. (32) He reported to the Commissioners, 'The parish is large and he must keep a horse'. (33) Irregularities over the assignment of the district meant that the church remained unrecognised by the Commissioners. In May 1860 Cockett was forbidden to solemnise marriages, but the irregularity was soon resolved, and in July 1860 'the district chapelry of St. John, Upperby' was assigned. (34)

St. Stephen's church

The commercial development on the banks of the River Caldew began in the eighteenth century with the textile industry, followed in the nineteenth century with brewing and biscuit making.

> Industrial and commercial activity in the area was stimulated by the opening of the Carlisle Canal in 1823, and fourteen years later, by the arrival of the Canal Branch of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway. (35)

The Citadel Railway station was opened in September 1847, and by the end of the century was served by six railway companies. The area to the south of the station was criss-crossed with railway tracks, bridges and sidings, In addition to industrial and railway development from the 1840s the area was developed for housing the poor. The new suburb built below the old town walls was a mixed community consisting of Irish and Scots immigrants, and radical free thinkers.

The Carlisle Sanitary Inspector reported that

> Over-crowding is, I am afraid, rather prevalent in the poorer parts of the city, which is no doubt owing chiefly to the large number of houses acquired and pulled down by the railway companies, thereby unhousing a large number of families and causing a great scarcity of suitable houses for the working classes. (36)

By 1861 the population of Christ Church district exceeded 10,000 people. But the church could only accommodate one tenth of the population. With the approval of Bishop Villiers, Close hired a room and began to minister to the poor in the area below the railway station. He then engaged a curate and paid his salary to work among the 2,000-3,000 poor. Within three weeks of the

resignation of the Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Rolla Charles Meadows Rouse, in November 1861, Close was licensed in his place. The proposal was to divide Christ Church parish into three districts, and to erect at least two additional churches (37) - one of which became known as the 'Citidal district church' (St. Stephen's) and the other St. John the Evangelist.

In 1862 the curate of Christ Church, Abraham Hodges, was joined by two other curates - Gilbert Sparshott Karney 1862-65 (when he succeeded Close as the Perpetual Curate of Christ Church 1865-67), and Reginald Samuel Adams 1862-65, who became the Rector of Sebergham. Each of the curates worked in a third of the parish. Abraham Hodges (1819-1910) was a dedicated Evangelical 'slum priest' who served the poorest of the population of Carlisle for nearly forty years. First as curate of Christ Church 1861-65, and then as the Perpetual Curate of St, Stephen's between 1865-98. For the two years 1863-65 he worked from a first floor room hired by Close (and paid for by him until 1867). Hodges began with six to seven worshippers, which by March 1864 had increased to 150 people, and which were to form the nucleus of the St. Stephen's congregation.

At the request of Hodges, and with the consent of Close, Waldegrave wrote to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners about the situation in Christ Church parish.

> The Board will not be surprised to learn that the working classes - who form the bulk of the population - /have a/ strangeness to the church and its ordinances. And yet a careful house to house visitation has elicited the fact that they would avail themselves of church room were it provided in conjunction with sufficient pastoral visitation. (38)

The needs of the community would only be met by the erection of a church to serve the poor: but they were not in a position to raise the capital required to match a grant from the Commissioners. Waldegrave wrote to his brother George, and he suggested that the Bishop should contact the wealthy philantropist Miss Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts. (39) Waldegrave wrote to her in September 1862 and informed her about the situation in the diocese.

> It must be borne in mind that the inhabitants of this northern diocese have become so much accustomed to things as they are, and have seen so little of what is being achieved in the way of church extension in the south, that it is difficult to move them at all in the matter. (40)

Miss Burdett-Coutts made it clear that although she was not in a position to help she would like further details. Waldegrave then sent her a map of the city which showed the location of the four new churches - of St. James, St. Stephen's, St. John's and St. Mary's. The outcome of the correspondence was that when Waldegrave was preaching at Bath Abbey in March 1863 he went onto visit Miss Burdett-Coutts in Torquay, and as a result she offered to help erect St. Stephen's church. (41)

In May 1863, Waldegrave wrote to the Mayor of Carlisle and told him that Miss Burdett-Coutts was

> no stranger to Carlisle. Having satisfied herself that the case of the district in question was, of several matters which I ventured to name to her, that in which she most effectually and most profitably aid me, she has authorized me to say that she will, on conditions, which I will name presently, contribute largely to our funds.

Her conditions were that

1 The undertaking would be supported by the citizens of Carlisle.

2 The patronage of the church would be vested in the diocesan Bishop.

3 Local architects would be invited to submit designs, and that she would select the most suitable one.

4 The church and district would 'be called by the name of St. Stephen'. (42)

Eight designs were submitted, and Miss Burdett-Coutts selected that by James Nelson, the Carlisle architect, which was of 'Geometrical Gothic, in red sandstone with white dressings', to seat 600 worshippers and at an estimated cost of £5,000. (43) Initially it was thought that Miss Burdett-Coutts would give £1,500, but in the end she paid for the entire building and fittings (£5,000), a peal of eight bells (£350), stained glass west windows (£300), as well as the salary for the schoolmistress for two years.

The local contribution was to include the sites for the church and schoolroom, and an endowment of £2,000. But considerable controversy arose over the provision of the site. While there was strong sympathy for the scheme, it nowhere matched the generosity of Miss Burdett-Coutts. Both Waldegrave and Hodges hoped that the city would give the site free of charge. Waldegrave hoped that the Mayor and Town Council would give

> without cost, an ample site for the erection within their bounds of a church, in which, also without cost, their humbler fellow townsmen - who are, as you must not forget, equally your petitioners with myself - can assemble for the worship of God according to the simple ritual of our Reformed Church. (44)

The Town Council approved by a majority of 12 to 8 the gift of 700 square yards at the junction of James Street and Hewson Street to be given on condition that all the seats were free. But immediately this was criticised as particularly favouring the Anglican church. The gift of the site was in effect a donation

of £200 to the church building fund from the Town Council. The editorial of the Carlisle Journal was clear in its condemnation:

> Why make the Dissenter pay his full price, and at the same time make a grant, equivalent to a handsome subscription, to the Church of England!
>
> The absurd distinction between churches and chapels recognised by the Corporation on Tuesday might be removed by the passing of a resolution placing all sects on the same footing. (45)

Close too was critical of the situation, and his response to the Carlisle Journal pained Waldegrave who wrote to him about the situation. He had taken part

> Simply because I was convinced that the unpretending scheme of Mr Hodges needed a more active support than, with other and more interesting undertakings on hand, you seemed able to give, even while you expressed your hearty sympathy with it ... Let us only be united, quiet and patient, and all will ere long rejoice that the work so generously begun by you, three or four years ago, in caring for the spiritual necessities of the Citidal District - even before you were incumbent of the parish in which it is situated - have resulted in the erection of a church on a site freely given, as a testimony to the success of that work, by the Town Council of your cathedral city. (46)

To keep the peace Waldegrave withdrew his acceptance of the gift of the site, (47) and the site was purchased from the Town Council by the Building and Endowment Committee for £269 which was raised by local subscription.

By August 1863 the building work was ready to begin, but there was still difficulty in providing the required amount for the endowment to provide for Hodge's salary. Waldegrave requested that the Commissioners should provide the £150 a year salary out of the Local claims. (48)

The foundation stone of the church was laid by Miss Burdett-Coutts

on 2 March 1864, in the presence of a large gathering which included the Bishops of Carlisle (Waldegrave), Ripon (Bickersteth) and Melbourne (Perry). The ceremony had been preceded by a service at the cathedral at which Close had spoken of the humiliation of the Church of England for failing to erect a church in Carlisle for twenty-five years. It was true that Nonconformists had erected chapels, but then only in the wealthiest parts of the city. (49)

Fourteen months later the church was consecrated by Waldegrave, and the occasion was marked by a brass plate on the sanctuary step:

> This church was erected by Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts,
> and was consecrated to the worship of God, May 31st 1865,
> by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Carlisle. Rev. A. Hodges, Incumbent. (50)

On the occasion of the consecration, Archdeacon Phelps wrote a poem entitled 'The bells of St. Stephen's, Carlisle':

> The English Churchman's ear,
> What can it more desire,
> Than a merry peal of bells
> From a pretty modest spire?
>
> The English Churchman's ear,
> It loves the music well
> Of notes, or grave or gay,
> From sacred towers that swell.
>
> But yet a sweeter sound
> The English Churchman knows,
> 'Tis that of lips from which
> The Gospel message flows .
>
> Be such the sound that fills
> Thy ears, thrice-honoured guest,
> When the rappel shall beat
> That calls thee to thy rest. (51)

At the evening service Waldegrave read the Liturgy and the Bishop of Durham, Charles Baring, preached the sermon. The day after the consecration Abraham Hodges was licensed as the Perpetual

Curate of St. Stephen's, Carlisle. In July 1865, 'the consolidated chapelry of St. Stephen's, Carlisle' was assigned. (52)

Miss Burdett-Coutts continued to take an active interest in the church and parish. When she visited Carlisle she accompanied Hodges and inspected the church and school. (53) The school started in the upper room formerly occupied by the congregation. A week after the consecration, of the church, Miss Burdett-Coutts gave a supper for the forty contractors, a tea for 524 parishioners, and another tea for the 250 children attending the school. (54) The school received a good report from the visiting Inspector, but not the premises. (55) George Moore gave £200 towards the site for a purpose-built three room schoolroom adjoining the church, which was opened by Bishop Waldegrave in August 1867 at a cost of £1,500. (56)

The church was a fitting monument to Bishop Waldegrave, and after his death Miss Burdett-Coutts erected a brass plate to his memory in the baptistry, and which was an extract from his will:

> This is the last will and testament of me, the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Samuel Waldegrave DD, Lord Bishop of Carlisle. I desire in the first place, to testify that I die in the faith of Christ crucified, and as a sinner saved by grace alone, humbly trusting in the alone blood and righteousness of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in the full assurance of that eternal and unchangeable love of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one triune God, which it has been my joy and delight to have been permitted to proclaim thoroughout my beloved diocese whenever I had opportunity, and which doctrines as they have been my comfort in life, are now my study and support in the prospect of death, and of eternity, and I commend all those over whom I have had the oversight in this diocese, both pastors and flocks, to God and to the word of his grace.
>
> Erected by Angela Burdett-Coutts, the founder of this church, 1870. (57)

A further memorial to the Bishop - and fitting tribute to Hodges' work in the parish - was the erection of a mission hall. The foundation stone of which records the names of the two men:

> Waldegrave Hall erected 1898
> Rev. A. Hodges Vicar 1861-1898

The people of the parish were the poorest of the poor. As early as January 1866, Hodges appealed for larger collections, for the amounts of between 17s 0d and £1.5s a week were insufficient for repairs and cleaning. In principle, he had no objection to pew rents (but who would have been able to have afforded them?), but Miss Burdett-Coutts was against them. (58) In February 1869 Hodges informed the Commissioners that 'St. Stephen's parish is by far the poorest in Carlisle, being composed exclusively of the working classes', 'with not even a respectable shopkeeper in it'. (59)

From the 1870s much of the parish was developed by the railway companies, but the poor remained isolated in their slums. As late as January 1921 Church Army Officers working in the parish referred to it as being one of 'the worst slums in England'. (60) Eventually the slums were cleared and redevelopment took place and the church demolished in January 1962. All that remains today is the former schoolroom, now a garage workshop, and the neighbouring 'St. Stephen's Street'.

St. James' church

Beyond the city centre parishes of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert

to the west of the River Eden and River Caldew, was the extensive district of Holy Trinity. From the 1840s extensive building development had taken place and the population steadily increased after the opening of the Nelson Bridge in 1852, Certainly 'from its inception as a residential area, Denton Holme catered for the needs of a working-class population'. (61) In the early 1850s plans were being made to erect a church to serve the area, and George Dixon offered £200 as an endowment fund, but since other funds were not forthcoming the idea was abandoned. (62) However in October 1858, Bishop Villiers licensed the Holme Head schoolroom for public worship. Services were conducted by Frederick Steggall, the curate of Holy Trinity between 1856-64, and his salary paid by the industrialist Joseph Ferguson and his friends.

In September 1862, Bishop Waldegrave wrote to the Commissioners to establish a Peel District and to erect a new church in the parish of St. Mary and in the district of Holy Trinity. (63) Each time he rode in his carriage from Rose Castle into the city Waldegrave was aware of the increasing population.

> I have been convinced, with constantly increasing intensity, of the duty of endeavouring to make more adequate spiritual provision for its population than already exists. (64)

Waldegrave's impression was correct. Between 1855-63 there had been a five-fold increase in the number of residents, so that by 1863 the Holy Trinity district had a population of 10,555. (65)

In order to erect a new church and establish a district it was necessary to obtain the goodwill of the incumbents of St. Mary's and of Holy Trinity. Waldegrave wrote to James Tasker

> My object in writing to you is to request you to give me your cordial support in this attempt to overcome some of the spiritual wants of Carlisle. (66)

Waldegrave invited Tasker to suggest the boundaries of the proposed district, and to commend the scheme to his parishioners. Certainly there was an obvious need to erect a church on the developing Western side of the city, and it is likely too, that Waldegrave wanted to check the progress of incipient Anglo-Catholicism in Tasker's ministry. Tasker was soon to become the only city incumbent to identify with the ECU.

Waldegrave had hoped to find a clergyman of independent means, who could work in the district without a salary. But 'no gentleman has been found who combined all the necessary qualifications with a will to embark on the work'. (67) However Waldegrave found his man in the person of David Alfred Doudney, curate of Stanwix since 1861 and afternoon lecturer at St. Cuthbert's church. In September 1863, Doudney was licensed by Waldegrave to 'the district of St. James, Denton Holme'. (68) He continued to hold services in the Holme Head schoolroom. The numbers increased and the building was enlarged to accommodate more worshippers. Doudney described the new district and those who lived in it:

> I found that it extended from a point situated just outside the ancient walls of the city of Carlisle to a distance of about two miles in the country, widening as it went; and that although at that time only a comparatively small portion of it had been built upon, there was every prospect that in the future, as the city extended the greater portion of it would be covered with houses and inhabited. The population consisted almost exclusively of persons employed in connection with the railways which pass through Carlisle and some large manufactories. In favourable times the persons employed in the latter earned very good wages but just at the time in which this new district was formed a great failure had occurred in the cotton trade, and consequently their wages had been considerably reduced. (69)

By the date of Doudney's licensing to the district, work had already begun on the erection of a parsonage, and Doudney, requested that he might move into the house to prevent vandalism. (70) Money for the house came partially from £400 which had been given to the Commissioners from the Gally Knight fund. Waldegrave had offered the money to Ulverston for the erection of a parsonage, and when this was declined, he offered it to St. James'.

Two sites were considered for the church. Some of glebeland belonging to the Vicar of Wigton, and situated between Nelson Street and the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway was considered but was not available. A better site and in an area as yet undeveloped, was given by the Commissioners. Waldegrave reported to them that,

> The site selected is very well situated with reference to the district in general ... it is also situated in the midst of some excellent building land, the property of the Commissioners, and will doubtless, if a church be built upon it, prove the nucleus of a further population and that of a superior class. (71)

The site known as Seven Wells Bank, had been the site of an earlier chapel dedicated to the Venerable Bede and connected with the cathedral, and near to 'a very copious ancient spring of water'. (72) Stone from the site was used in the font of the new church. (73)

The building Committee consisted of Bishop Waldegrave, Archdeacon Phelps and eight laymen. Phelps was particularly active on the committee, but died in June 1867 just before the building opened. The church was designed by Messrs Andrews and Pepper of Bradford. The Gothic style building, which cost nearly £4,500 was described as 'a plain and substantial church, capable of accommodating 500 persons, and having all its sittings free'. (74)

The endowment fund received £1,000 from Edmund Holland, the wealthy Suffolk incumbent, who in 1863 had been left £100,000 to be used for religious purposes. Waldegrave wrote to him for support and Holland generously gave the £1,000. (75) The Commissioners matched this with another £1,000 and £400 was received from Joseph Ferguson. Only £800 of the cost of the new church was raised in Carlisle, the rest amounting to £3,400 came from Waldegrave's friends. The Bishop's step-mother, Lady Waldegrave gave £750, the Bishop £75, and Dean Close and Archdeacon Phelps each gave £25. Other money came from wealthy Evangelical families - the Deacons, the Buxtons and the Barclays.

The Countess Waldegrave laid the foundation stone:

> This stone was laid on Tuesday, the 12th day of September 1865, by the Rt. Hon. Sarah, Countess of Waldegrave.

The building took twenty-two months to complete. Between April 1866 and February 1867 there was a lengthy strike in the building industry in Carlisle, (76) and this delayed the erection of St. James' and St. John's churches. The church was consecrated by Bishop Waldegrave on 25 July 1867.

The patronage of the new church was vested in five trustees. The first of whom were Bishop Waldegrave, Dean Close, Archdeacon Phelps, Edward Auriol (77), Rector of St. Dunstan in the West, London, and regarded as the 'Nestor' of the Evangelical party, (78) and Charles Kemble, the Rector of Bath. (79) James Tasker the incumbent of Holy Trinity - and no friend of Evangelicalism - objected to the composition of the trustees, and he suggested that they should be the Bishop, the Dean, the Archdeacon, the incumbent of Holy Trinity and Robert

Ferguson Esq. (80)

The population of the St. James' district continued to increase and in 1866 John Henry Grice McCall was appointed as the first assistant curate. In December 1867 Waldegrave encouraged the Commissioners to consider erecting another church in the Trinity district, rather than employ another curate. (81) In February 1870 Doudney applied to the Commissioners to provide the salary for a second curate to work in the village of Cummersdale, two miles from the church: but they were not prepared to comply with this request. (82) Doudney remained at St. James until 1879 when he resigned on health grounds, and accepted the living of Ore, Hastings. He was succeeded by Thomas Goss, who had been the Perpetual Curate of St. Paul's Newbarns and Hawcoat, Barrow in Furness.

St. John the Evangelist

In March 1863 a Building Committee under the chairmanship of Dean Close began to plan for a new church to be situated in the northern part of Christ Church parish, and to serve a population of 4,500 people. But there were limited funds available in Carlisle. Two main appeals were launched for funds. By June 1863, £3,091.13.6 had been promised - a third from local fund-raising, and two-thirds from a nation-wide appeal. By November 1863, the necessary £2,000 had been raised from outside Carlisle. The largest single donation was £500 from a Miss Mills of London, and the next highest from Edmund Holland, who gave £200. Bishop Waldegrave, Countess Waldegrave and Dean Close each gave £50. (83)

In November 1863, architects were invited to submit designs for the new church. Forty-one designs were submitted and exhibited in the Fratry. The design of Clarke and Son of Nottingham, in 'Early English style' was selected, and estimates were received from eight contractors. The lowest tender for £3,343 from C. and J. Armstrong of Carlisle was accepted. In all the completed building cost £5,083 and additional money had to be raised to meet these expenses.

The site for the church in London Road had previously been a nursery garden. There was no foundation-stone laying ceremony at the request of the Building Committee, 'to avoid anything like display'. (84) The erection of the church was delayed over strikes in the building industry. First, in the Spring of 1865, (85) and second, between April 1866 and February 1867. (86) Because of the delays in the opening of the church, the Charles Street Hall was twice licensed for public worship. Further delays occurred over legal matters, and only after repeated and urgent requests from Close did Bishop Waldegrave consecrate St. John's church on 27 March 1867. (87) Waldegrave preached at the consecration, and Close at the evening service.

Five Evangelical trustees were appointed as patrons of the church - Dean Close, Edmund Holland, (88) Charles Kemble, (89) and two laymen, George Head, and William Nicholson Hodgson. The first appointment made by the trustees, and the recommendation of Close was George Frederick Head, who was the Perpetual Curate of St. John's between 1867-73. Problems arose over the payment of Head's salary. Close wanted Head to be paid from 27 March 1867 (the consecration of the church), and Close made it clear to the Commissioners that 'the

church was consecrated on the faith of this prospective endowment'. (90)

Waldegrave, however, supported Head's request for payment from 23 May 1867 (the date of Head's license). For Bishop Waldegrave

> To this request I give my cordial adhesion: as the work has certainly been done: and the labourer is worthy of his hire. (91)

Yet Close blamed Waldegrave 'for the pecuniary inconvenience' from which Head was suffering, (92) and still by December 1867 Head had not been paid any salary. (93)

'The consolidated chapelry of St. John the Evangelist, Carlisle' and formed out of the parishes of Christ Church and St. John, Upperby, was approved by Order of Council on 4 November 1867. (94) In November 1868, Head applied to the Commissioners for the salary to support a second curate for the growing parish.

> The parish is large covering a considerable surface of both town and country. The population is 4,000 in a part of Carlisle that is increasing most rapidly. The people with very few exceptions are poor. Many are very poor. A mile and a half from the church ... I have the village of Botcherby. The place has been neglected for years, and many of the people are like heathen. (95)

But inspite of the obvious need the Commissioners replied that 'the Board cannot comply with your request'. (96)

<u>St. Mary (within) and St. Mary (without)</u> [St. Paul's church]

The ancient parish of St. Mary, Carlisle was inadequately provided with church accommodation. From the middle ages the congregation had worshipped in the nave of the cathedral. During the siege of Carlisle in 1645, the already decayed six bays of the Norman nave were demolished, and the stone used for the repair of

the city defences. A new West wall for the cathedral was erected, and the two remaining bays were adapted as the parish church of St. Mary.

The accommodation for the congregation was restricted to a floor area of 60' 0" x 36' 0". In 1813-1814 galleries were erected to accommodate the increasing congregation. An undated engraving shows the south and east gallery, with box-pews and a three decker pulpit against the West wall. It is uncertain where the communion table was placed, but it is assumed to have occupied 'its usual place against the East wall'. (97) But even with the provision of the galleries, the confined space could only accommodate 460 worshippers. (98) The seats in the gallery were private and the 190 seats on the ground floor were free. The worshippers were distracted by the sound of the cathedral organ situated only a few feet away from them, and the situation was not much improved by the erection of a wall between the church and the cathedral by Dean Hodgson. Much later Dean Close proposed that the St. Mary's service should begin at 9.00 am, so that the worship in one part of the building did not distract that in another. (99) Clearly the situation was furstrating - for minister and congregation. In 1819 the incumbent reported that the building 'cannot be extended or enlarged'. (100)

During the cathedral restoration in the 1850s there were plans to remove St.Mary's congregation and to erect a church elsewhere. But funds were insufficient for such a project. (101) Bishop Percy left a sum of £500 towards the erection of a new church, provided that the building work started within a year of his death. (102)

To this sum the Dean and Chapter were prepared to give a donation, and in all something like £2,500 was promised, as well as a site from the Duke of Devonshire. There was considerable support for the scheme, but a disagreement between the incumbent and some of his parishioners ensured that the project did not succeed. 173 individuals were in favour of the site and only three against it. Further difficulties arose during Bishop Villiers' episcopate and in December 1856 the Building Committee resigned. (103) Following the failure to erect a permanent building for the parish the temporary building was erected in West Tower Street.

There was little chance of making any progress until the removal of the incumbent of St. Mary's. William Rees had been the Perpetual Curate of St. Mary's since 1819. Rees was the headmaster of the Cathedral Grammar School between 1819-42 and in addition was a minor canon of the cathedral, a county magistrate, and also held the living of St. Mary, Talbenny, Pembrokeshire, some 424 miles away. On the death of Rees in 1865 the situation was then opened up for the necessary changes and alterations. First of these was in the appointment of Dean Close as the incumbent of St. Mary's. He became the Perpetual Curate in October 1865, and held this office until he resigned in July 1868. Close was appointed by the Dean and Chapter 'for the express purpose of getting the incubus [nightmare] out of the cathedral'. (104) In addition to this Close saw it as an opportunity to 'multiply the pastors and ministers'. (105) He hoped to provide two clergy to work in the parish, and until the arrival of one of them at the end of 1865, he (Close) would preach at St. Mary's. For a man who was nearly seventy this was

no mean achievement. He was as good as his word. In January 1866 he appointed William Pettitt as the senior curate, and he held the position until 1870 when he became the first incumbent of the new church. In May 1866 Close appointed a second curate, John Banks Beer.

In November 1865 further progress was made. The Dean and Chapter approved the proposal to erect a new St. Mary's church. They promised to give £500 to the project - £200 when the foundation stone was laid; £200 when the building was roofed; and £100 at the consecration. Then at their own expense, they would remove the remaining fittings of St. Mary's church and restore the nave to the cathedral. (106) Later the Dean and Chapter gave a further £125 to the building fund. (107) The parishioners too, favoured the move out of the nave and the erection of a new church. The parish vestry meeting agreed to appoint a thirty-two man committee to see through the proposals. This was wisely reduced to a working sub-committee of nine, which included Dean Close. (108)

In theory, the plan was straightforward. It was to divide the parish of 8,041 people into two roughly equal parts. Two churches were to be erected - St. Mary (within) which would accommodate 600-700 people and would replace the inadequate church room in the cathedral; and St. Mary (without) which would seat 500-600 people, and which would serve the inhabitants in the farthest part of the parish. The formal division of the parish took place in June 1868, when 'the district of St. Mary(without) Carlisle' was formed. (109) The following month, Francis Richardson became the Perpetual Curate of the new district. But the problem was over providing the most

suitable sites for the two churches. In the older part of the parish near to the cathedral there was little undeveloped land; and for the new district which was the best site? At the beginning of 1866, it was expected that the mother church would be situated in Spencer Street, and the district church in Castle Field, at the end of Carlisle Street. The War Office was prepared to allow a church to be erected in Castle Field on condition that the troops stationed in the Castle would have places in the church. But Close was not prepared to provide accommodation for the soldiers (no doubt because he wanted the available space for the parishioners), and the War Office withdrew its support. (110) The other site too, was criticised. In a petition from nearly 400 parishioners they expressed regret that the Spencer Street site was too far from the old parish church, and it would be better to locate it between Abbey Street and Lowther Street. (111)

By the autumn of 1867 the situation was still unresolved. The Bishop made it clear that 'I am anxious about St. Mary's, Carlisle'. (112) It was difficult to raise sufficient funds to erect two churches. Close reported the situation to the Commissioners.

> To attempt to raise two churches by subscription, in the present or proximate commercial and monetary condition of Carlisle is an absolute impossibility: as recent efforts have proved. But it is confidently believed that if one church could be built by other means ... (113)

Certainly no money was forthcoming from the Commissioners either to erect a new church or to provide the necessary funds to restore the cathedral nave. (114) By October 1867, £2,465 had been promised from eighteen individuals - which included £100 each from Bishop Waldegrave and Dean Close. It was then agreed to erect St. Mary's

(within) before erecting St. Mary's (without). Dean Close was to be responsible for the erection of the former, and Bishop Waldegrave the latter. But as his illness developed and he was unable to undertake diocesan business, Chancellor C. J. Burton supervised the erection of the second church.

Eventually it was agreed to erect St. Mary's (within) on a restricted site situated at the East end of the cathedral on the site occupied by the Black Swan Inn. The site was given free by the Commissioners, and by April 1868 the inn had been demolished. The Building Committee also hoped to demolish surrounding buildings to make the church visible from Castle Street, but this did not happen, and the church remained hidden from view. The building described as 'Early English and geometrical Gothic' in style, was designed to seat 600 by the Commissioners' architect, the Evangelical, Ewan Christian. (115) Christian's designs were finally approved by the Building Committee in March 1868, at an estimated cost of £5,302 and subject to approval from Bishop Waldegrave and the Commissioners. (116) Bishop Waldegrave laid the foundation stone on 4 July 1868, and to mark the occasion, forty workmen were given supper in Close's mission rooms in Drover's Lane, where they were addressed on the merits of temperance. (117) The building was consecrated by Bishop Goodwin on 25 January 1870. In his 1870 Pastoral Letter, Goodwin referred to the new church:

> St. Mary, Carlisle; a fine church, built near the cathedral, for the purpose of supplying the parishioners of St. Mary with a more appropriate place of worship that that which they occupied in the small remnant of the nave of the cathedral. (118)

On the completion of the building, Close was presented with a parchment scroll as a testimonial for his work as chairman of the Building Committee.

During the First World War panelling which had been removed from the cathedral in 1794 was erected in St. Mary's church. (119) The church was closed in 1938, and demolished in February 1954. (120) All that remains today is a vacant site at the East end of the cathedral, and an entrance gate in Castle Street.

Once St. Mary's (within) had been erected, work could then begin on the restoration of the two bays of the cathedral. (121) But no money was forthcoming from the Commissioners and the work had to be financed from the accumulated fabric fund of the cathedral. (122) By September 1870 the plans for the restoration had been approved by Ewan Christian, and the work completed for £894 by C. and J. Armstrong. (123) Eventually it was agreed to erect St. Mary's (without) on a site on the corner of Lonsdale Street and Spencer Street, on land belonging to the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Lonsdale. The architects, Habershon and Brock of London, were instructed to design a church which would seat 800 people and which would cost £2,000. The tender from the contractors, C. and J. Armstrong of Carlisle was for £2,930, and the final cost was £3,700 for a church in the 'Gothic style of architecture' and which seated 600 people. (124) There were adverse comments about erecting a cheap barn in Spencer Street - so much so that it was suggested that the new church ought to be dedicated to St. Barnabas! (125)

The foundation stone of St. Mary (without) was laid by Bishop

Goodwin on 29 January 1870, and he consecrated the building on 30 November 1870. The church was something of a memorial to Bishop Waldegrave. He had been very much concerned over its erection, and had become very frustrated over 'the whole of this perplexing business' concerning various sites. (126) The erection of a church in that part of the city had been the first idea he had had for increasing the number of Anglican churches in Carlisle: and it was the last with which he was involved before his death. (127) The pulpit which cost £55, was dedicated to the memory of Bishop Waldegrave and the font was that which had previously been used in the old St. Mary's in the cathedral nave.

Under the deed of December 1869, St. Mary's (without) was called St. Mary's after the mother church, but inevitably confusion took place over calling two adjacent churches by the same name. By March 1870, the title 'St. Paul's' was being used for St. Mary's (without), and in his 1870 Pastoral Letter, Bishop Goodwin said that 'to avoid confusion it has been determined to take for the dedication the name of the Apostle St. Paul'. (128) This became the accepted title for the church, but in all legal documents it was still called St. Mary's (without). In July 1932 the parish of St. Mary was reunited as 'the united benefice of Carlisle, St. Mary'. (129) The parishes of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert were united in January 1978. St. Paul's church was declared redundant in January 1977, and re-opened in October 1979 as 'St. Paul's Pentecostal Church'.

Much of Bishop Waldegrave's time was spent in providing additional church accommodation, but alongside this he became preoccupied with opposing ritualism throughout his diocese.

c) Ritualism

In examining the progress of ritualism in the diocese of Carlisle, of the consistent opposition from the Evangelical leadership, and of the activities of some of the members of the English Church Union, it is important to look at the background of a movement which had developed from the 1830s. What is recognised today is that there was a continuity between Tractarianism and ritualism.

> Historians have often alleged that there was no real continuity between Tractarianism and so-called-Ritualism, but ritualism was an inevitable development of Tractarian piety ... One ought not to chop off the history of Anglo-catholicism at the point at which Ritualism appears; the deep disagreement between Evangelical and Ritualist, which cannot simply be reduced to questions of ceremonial, may be inconvenient to a late twentieth-century ecumenical interpretation of nineteenth-century British church history, but this is not sufficient reason for smothering it. (1)

Alongside this any exaggerated claims about the significance of the Oxford Movement and of later Anglo-Catholicism must be depreciated.

> The older partisan histories of the Oxford Movement frequently gave the impression that all the reforms in the Victorian Church of England, all the spiritual leadership in working-class parishes, all the theological and liturgical scholarship of the nineteenth century, was somehow a Tractarian monopoly. This is of course absolute nonsense. (2)

The most important legacy of the Oxford Movement was a 'new concept of priestly vocation', which made the clergy a profession apart, separated from the laity and becoming more isolated from secular society. (3) This professionalism, which was significant for Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic alike, tended only to deepen the rift between the different factions in the church.

> The Evangelicals were demanding that the Christian minister should know his commission to be of God; that he was called to a labour which separated him from the standards of the

> world; that in the preaching of the Word and the ministry of the Sacraments he acted as the instrument of God's eternal purpose; that he should accept his awful responsibility for the cure of souls and know that he must render account for them in the day of judgment. (4)

In 1840 E. B. Pusey provided a useful summary of Tractarian teaching which at that time was popularly called Puseyism.

> Generally speaking, what is so designated may be reduced under the following heads; and what people mean to blame is what to them appears an excess of them.

The six headings included a high view of the two sacraments, of episcopacy, of the visible church and of daily devotions as well as:

5 Regard for the visible part of devotion, such as the decoration of the house of God, which acts insensibly on the mind.

6 Reverence for and deference to the ancient church, of which our own church is looked upon as the representative to us, and by whose views and doctrines we interpret our own church when her meaning is questioned or doubtful: in a word, reference to the ancient church, instead of the Reformers, as the ultimate expounder of the meaning of our church.

He concluded that

> While these differences are of degree only, there is a broad line of difference between the views so designated (Puseyism) and the system of Calvin (which has been partially adopted in our church), though not as it is for the most part held by conscientious and earnest-minded persons.
>
> I am, however, more and more convinced that there is less difference between right-minded persons on both sides than these often suppose - that differences which seemed considerable are really so only in the way of stating them; that people who would express themselves very differently, and think each other's mode of expressing themselves very faulty, mean the same truths under different modes of expression. (5)

Inevitably, 'the visible part of devotion' the externals of Tractarianism became the obvious sign of change in outlook. Pusey

cautioned that there was

> Too much at stake to admit of our risking distracting people's minds by questions about them. The nature and efficacy of the sacraments, the character and benefit of Confirmation and Orders; the whole scheme, one might almost say, of doctrine and practice is in some degree at issue ...
>
> It were better to wait till the simplicity of the priest's dress were out of keeping with the beauty and decoration of the church and the altar, so that when it came to be enriched it should seem to be forced upon us: not to begin with ourselves. It were better far to begin with painted windows, rich altar-cloths, or communion plate...
>
> It seems plainly a part of Christian charity to avoid all peculiarities which may be helped ... but without subdual of self we may be exposed to some grievous fall, from which we have hitherto been preserved, such as the going over of some to Romanism. (6)

However the progress from Tractarianism to Anglo-Catholicism to Roman Catholicism became all too frequent, and between 1840-99 some 446 Tractarian clergy seceded from the Church of England to the Church of Rome. (7)

It became apparent to the Evangelical critics that there was the closest possible link between the theology and the practice of the movement. As early as 1844 Francis Close linked the ideology of Oxford with the artistry of Cambridge.

> Romanism is taught <u>analytically</u> at Oxford, [and] it is taught <u>artistically</u> at Cambridge. That it is inculcated theoretically, in Tracts, at the one University, and it is sculptured, painted and graven at the other. The Cambridge Camdenians build churches and furnish symbolic vessels, by which the Oxford Tractarians may carry out their principles. (8)

It was in this 5 November sermon at Cheltenham that Close sounded the alarm which resulted in the modification of the activities of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1845. (9)

In 1847 Close returned to the same theme.

> Painting and architecture, and all the fine arts, were pressed into the service; and while polemical writers were debating Tractarianism at Oxford, their brethren had been promoting it by painting and sculpture at Cambridge. (10)

The erection of St. Saviour's, Leeds as a memorial to E. B. Pusey's wife, became a focus for Tractarian experimentation. (11) For Close it was the symbol of the progress to Rome.

> This outrageous conduct, irrational as it may appear, nevertheless strikingly illustrates the object of the Oxford and Cambridge architectural societies, and of those of the clergy who are daily dropping off from our communion, in expending money on church decorations and restorations; they expect that, ere long, these restorations will subserve the purpose of promoting mediaeval forms, and hasten the day of 'union with Rome' ! (12)

It was not a case of crying 'Wolf, wolf', maintained Close, and he referred to a clergyman in his diocese who, within three months of being ordained priest had seceded to Rome.

> His could hardly have been a case of deliberate perjury - no, it was self-deception - he illustrated the working of Tractarian principles, his was a case of galloping consumption - he was only a Tractarian when he was ordained, but naturally enough became a Papist in three months. (13)

The progress towards Romanism was obvious as 'Brother after brother that lapses, through the Tractarian heresy, to the Roman apostacy'. (14) Yet to the eye of the casual observer it would appear 'that the church is in a far more healthy and sound condition than she really is',

> The duties of the church were more attended to - the buildings themselves were cleansed, and rescued from a state of decay and neglect: services were multiplied - sacraments were more frequently administered.

But the reality of the situation was in the 'Romeward tendency of the whole system'. (15) Close feared that the outcome of the movement would be a revival of formalism, a return to 'that very state of deadness and inanition, out of which the early Evangelicals first aroused the church'. (16)

> For Close the whole movement was external and sensuous.
>
> I believe that all that is merely formal, external, ritual, sentimental and 'sensuous' in the present ecclesiastical revival spiritual, scriptural and faithful in the present condition of religious activity within the pale of the church, is to be attributed to the infusion of the same principles which first aroused her - those of Evangelical truth. (17)

Most ceremonial began in Oxford in the late 1830s and 1840s (18) and consisted of intoning services, lighted candles on the altar, wearing stoles and preaching in a surplice rather than in the traditional black gown. But even these innovations were considered to be popish, and were sufficient to cause riots in churches in Exeter in 1845 and 1848, in East Grinstead between 1848 and 1857, and in the London churches of St. Barnabas', Pimlico in 1850-51 and St. George's in the East in 1859-60.

> In other parts of the country, however, the innovations were quietly accepted and greatly extended. Some clergy went out of their way to proceed cautiously, beginning with doctrinal teaching and only proceeding to greater ceremonial when they were sure it would be accepted. (19)

By the mid 1860s ritualist clergy were recognised by their use of what were known as the 'six points' - the eastward position at the communion table, wearing eucharistic vestments, lights burning in daylight 'before the sacrament', the use of wafers instead of bread, water mixed with wine and the use of incense. (20)

Alongside the six points were liturgical innovations and the use of the confessional. It was the confessional which enraged Protestant opinion - and particularly so after the publication of the Priest in Absolution (published in two parts in 1866 and 1872). Though Anglo-Catholic priests saw the confessional as the means of developing the spiritual lives of the laity, many were not convinced, 'and even in Tractarian parishes only a small proportion of the congregation were penitents'. (21)

The diocese of Carlisle was barely touched by the Oxford Movement. Bishop Villiers noted with satisfaction its 'all but complete absence' in the diocese. (22) It was through his vigilence and that of Bishop Waldegrave which curbed widespread ritualistic activity, and it was their efforts together with the condemnations of Dean Close which made A. H. Mackonochie, say in 1872 that

> The Carlisle clergy are completely overridden by an ultra-Protestant clique, the strength of which lies in the Dean, and a powerful tradition left by the two late Bishops. (23)

From the beginning of his episcopate Bishop Waldegrave made it clear that he opposed Anglo-Catholicism. He took every opportunity in sermons, letters, public meetings and in his published works to point out the errors of the system. In his opinion the heart of the matter concerned doctrinal error. Tractarianism was characterised by

> The divine right of episcopacy, the visible union of the church, the inseparable grace of sacraments, the authoritative teaching of Patristic tradition became the watchwords of a party ... even where the affections of the laity have not been alienanted from the church of their forefathers by ritualistic novelties, the souls of our people have been endangered by the inculcation of doctrinal error. (24)

In 1866 Waldegrave published a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of the diocese on 'Ritualistic Innovation', and in the following year his third episcopal charge was given over to a discussion on the Christian ministry.

In his pastoral letter Waldegrave outlined what was at stake.

> There can be no longer any doubt that there exists, at this moment, within the pale of the Church of England an organized combination, the object of which is the re-instatement amongst us of those distinctive observances and doctrines of the Church of Rome, which were cast forth at the time of the blessed Reformation. (25)

Privately he believed 'That party would have me out of the see of Carlisle if it could'. (26) Though very much in a minority, these vocal individuals took up much of his time and energy. But he maintained his opposition to them.

> The sacrifice of the Mass, with all its attendant vestments, lights, censings, and protestations-auricular confession, with all its consequent sacerdotal influences, loosening family ties of God's institution and working through fraternities and sisterhoods of man's invention - these and other essentially Popish teachings and practices are now inculcated and defended, by men who have subscribed to the formularies, and who retain their position as ministers of the Protestant establishment of our land. With these formularies themselves an actual dissatisfaction is no longer denied; while the endeavour is made to supplement what is held to be defective, if not to neutralize what is considered to be erroneous, by the introduction of hymns of ominous doctrinal import, in unaccustomed, but highly significant places in the celebration of Divine worship. Nay more than this, services are held, over and above the usual daily prayer and communion office, for which there is no legal warranty whatsoever, and in which the Romeward tendencies of the devotee meet with more satisfaction than he could otherwise attain within our borders. Nor are there wanting plain indications that even Mariolatry itself is regarded as that to which a close approximation may very desirably be made. (27)

The foundation of church and nation were being undermined.

> As mere matters of ceremonial, vestments superseded by the practice of three hundred years, must surely not intrude into a Church of the Reformation. Repulsive indeed must be the attempts now made to assimilate our worship to that of Rome, in the eyes of every upright churchman who has, by the study of history, learnt to appreciate the vastness of that Providential deliverance which was wrought for our church and nation in the sixteenth century. (28)

Bishop Waldegrave's third episcopal charge delivered in 1867 was a significant statement on ministry, and was so popular that it quickly went through three editions - two in 1867 and another in 1868. This 1868 edition was subsequently republished in 1875. (29)

There were Waldegrave believed, two distinct and contradictory theories of ministry. They were the sacerdotal and the evangelistic - the Anglo-Catholic and the Evangelical.

1 The sacerdotal

In this, the minister is 'a sacrificing priest and spiritual judge'. (30) The model for this ministry came from the pre-Reformation church, claiming to be derived from the apostles by the apostolic succession, and finding 'its most full and complete exhibition in the formularies of [the Council of] Trent and the communion of Rome'. (31) The Spirit of God was not in the pre-Reformation monastic orders, nor was he in the revival of brotherhoods and sisterhoods in the nineteenth century.

The sacerdotal view of ministry was expressed privately in auricular confession, and publicly in 'form and colour, and music and incense [which], all combine to lend their delights to the office which, clad in garment unused for 300 years, you elevated the host

before the prostrate, adoring throng'. (32) From such things the church had been delivered at the Reformation.

Such an understanding of the ministry could only 'be sustained, if sustained at all, by other than scriptural proof'.(33) Since the scriptures were positively 'anti-sacerdotal' (34) when interpreted in their entirety, they failed to give 'divine sanction to the pretensions of sacerdotalism'. (35)

2 The evangelistic

In this, the minister has a 'strict and unbending loyalty to the scriptures of truth, the sufficient, the exclusive, the infallible standard and canon of the faith once delivered to the saints'. (36) Such a view of the ministry 'is embodied in the documents and constitution of the Protestant Church of England'. (37) Waldegrave made it clear that it was 'the value and efficiency of the ministry depends, on this hypothesis, on the soundness of the doctrine which it propounds'. (38)

The ministers of God were presbyters and not priests; heralds and evangelists with 'pastoral concernments'. (39) Waldegrave asserted that men should beware 'of all approaches to a system, the central point of which is an imposing exhibition addressed to the fancy and the senses'. (40) For him these included both episcopacy and the Liturgy. Episcopacy was something for which to thank God, but the truth as it is in Jesus, is 'a far greater treasure'. (41) Similarly, the Liturgy was only the casket - and not the jewel itself.

Waldegrave's understanding of the ministry was to be seen within a wider ecclesiology which had at its centre the faith of the English Reformers of 'Cranmer, and Ridley and Latimer'. Much of what was being revived and taught was nothing less than 'the old apostacy'. Waldegrave was clear in his condemnation of those innovators.

> Call it what they will, it is the very essence of Popery. Call it Anglicanism! It is Romanism in its core. It is an error at the very foundation. (42)

This condemnation explains why Waldegrave opposed the activities of the ritualists. He was at pains to declare 'his own firm belief in that doctrine concerning the Holy Catholic and Apostolic church' which was at the heart of Evangelical faith. (43) As well as the ritualists the rationalists had also become a school of thought within the Church of England. But both 'humanitarianism and sacramentalism alike are "refuges of lies"'. (44) As far as Waldegrave saw it there must be no blurring of the edges; truth was to be expressed in black and white.

> The expressed tendency to ignore the spirituality and the personality of that vital union which subsists between the Lord Jesus and every true believer - the tendency to obliterate the distinction which exists, both in scripture and in fact, between the church and the world. (45)

The solution Waldegrave urged his clergy was to

> Take your stand upon the truth of the essential deity of the Lord Jesus Christ; building up your people carefully upon it.

They were encouraged to believe what God had spoken in the Bible, and study the text of scripture, to take pains to improve their sermon preparation, (46) and to deliver this from the pulpit. (47)

The clergy were to study the scriptures, to pray, to be faithful visitors, to hold cottage lectures, and especially to nurture the younger members of the congregation. (48) They were to take every opportunity to gather their people together, 'on the wide ranging moor, on the steep fell side, at the crowded pit's mouth, and in the stifling alley'. (49)

Waldegrave was keen to encourage the clergy to refer back to the scriptures. Without driving a wedge between the Old Testament and the New Testament, it was important to learn from 'the plain, literal and systematic statements of the New Testament scriptures [for] what are the real principles of the doctrine of Christ'. (50) These principles were the source of Waldegrave's teaching on ministry and millennialism. Ritualism and pre-millennialism were both the outcome of Levitical worship, and it was the restoration of this worship which was 'irreconcileable with the plain teaching of the New Testament scriptures'. (51)

For Waldegrave what was required were dedicated clergy who remained faithful to scripture, and who were committed to prayer and to their ordination vows.

> It is by a scriptural and a prayerful ministry [which] will supply the framework of all healthy parochial machinery. (52)

The concern of the Bishop and his clergy should be to protect the souls of the laity from Romanism, ritualism and rationalism.

> To me it is a source of much thankfulness that, as our diocese has not been materially affected by the earlier manifestation, so also it is as yet untainted by the later infusion of error. Still if one member suffer, all members suffer with it. (53)

This is why Waldegrave went to such lengths to preserve the diocese from being tainted with ritualism, and why he took steps to see that no ritualism, even of the mildest sort was introduced into the churches. His concern was that no precedence should be established and no changes adopted in ministerial custom or architectual style.

Waldegrave insisted 'That the Ten Commandments be set up on the East wall of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same' (Canon 82). Waldegrave would not consecrate a new church unless the Ten Commandments were so positioned. (54) Before consecrating St. James, Hayton, Aspatria, Waldegrave wrote to the incumbent

> I take it for granted that all is complete internally, as well as externally, the tables of Commandments included ... the clergy who do not officiate, attend in gowns. (55)

The Bishop wrote to the High Churchman Henry Ware, Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, making it clear that he expected the Ten Commandments to be seen in their usual place on the East Wall, and that he should be consulted before a surpliced choir was introduced, or a surplice used by the preacher since it was not 'the preaching garment of the Church of England' and, he added, neither was he in favour of 'short, very short, sermons!' (56)

In August 1867 Waldegrave issued a mild rebuke to Dr. G. H. Ainger the Principal of St. Bees College. During the restoration of St. Bees parish church a temporary pulpit was erected, and Ainger began to preach in a surplice rather than a black gown. While Waldegrave was confident that Ainger gave no support for

'ritualistic innovations... [and] that he at least will not lend even the shadow of support to the avowedly Romanising party', he was concerned over Ainger's example to his students who would leave the college and become curates.

> But my dear Dr. Ainger, your acts will go further than your words. And when it is proved that the introduction of the surplice into the pulpit, where it has hitherto unused in that connection, is in many cases but the first of a series of Romeward movements increasing in rapidity and intensity, you will not be surprised if I counsel you to nip all suspicion in the bud by not taking ... the first step.

Waldegrave concluded by entreating Ainger not to abandon the position of neutrality which he had already shown as a High Churchman who held Protestant convictions. (57)

At Underbarrow near Kendal, Waldegrave wrote to the incumbent about proposed alterations to the church.

> I have no objection to the chancel being elevated to a reasonable extent, nor to the whole space within the rails being raised by one step above the chancel. But I object to a further step <u>within</u> the rails, and, I may add, I further object, to an altar instead of a table. (58)

Waldegrave asked for the support of Archdeacon John Cooper over the situation at Underbarrow. 'To my surprise I have had some difficulty in getting rid of a dais'. Waldegrave repeated that he 'objected to a dais or an altar instead of a table. You will support me I am sure'. (59)

Before St. John's church, Gamblesby was consecrated Waldegrave asked Archdeacon Samuel Boutflower if there 'was a footspace to the "altar"'? (60) On visiting St. Bartholomew's church, Loweswater Waldegrave saw no evidence of the use of candles on the communion table, but having received contrary information 'from another

quarter' he asked the Archdeacon to investigate. Following the recent judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Waldegrave instructed the incumbent to discontinue the use of candles and, he added, that no significant changes were to be introduced without consulting the Bishop.

> This is the course I followed when in the diocese of Salisbury, and I cannot think that I am entitled to less consideration from my own clergy. (61)

Waldegrave went to extraordinary lengths to ensure that even the smallest parishes did not fall to the influence of the ritualist. An example of the pains he took was over Woodland, a remote, widely scattered community of three hundred people to the north of Broughton in Furness. In September 1865 a small church was erected to replace an older chapel which had already been twice rebuilt in 1689 and 1822. The Perpetual Curate of Woodland, Richard Palgrave Manclarke had been a member of the ECU but he had apparently resigned at the request of the Duke of Devonshire. But still Waldegrave suspected Manclarke of being a member and was 'convinced that every tendency of his is in the un-Protestant direction'. (62)

Following Manclarke's appointment to St. James' church, Barrow in Furness, Waldegrave made every possible effort to secure Woodland for Joseph Hindley, the Curate of Eskdale since 1865, and 'an excellent man, one who has good private means'. (63) Also he was 'a very staunch and scriptural churchman' who was anxious to remain in the diocese. (64) But the lay-patrons of Woodland (described as 'certain landowners') were determined to see that the living was held by a non-Evangelical. Waldegrave suspected the

churchwarden a Mr. Stephenson, of having Anglo-Catholic sympathies or was under the influence of someone who held them. This would most likely have come from Barrow in Furness, which was the centre of ritualism in the area, and the evidence would suggest Manclarke, or T. S. Barrett, the Vicar of St. George's church.

Waldegrave was annoyed that he was not consulted by the patrons of Woodland over the appointment and was particularly concerned when he discovered that they had placed an advertisement for a clergyman in the Anglo-Catholic Guardian newspaper, and not in the Ecclesiastical Gazette or in the Evangelical Record. This action convinced Waldegrave that

> There is a party at work to un-Protestantize our church. That party would have me out of the see of Carlisle if it could: nor is Woodland too small for its arts. Mr. Hindley is a sound Protestant, and, therefore, it is that every effort will be made to keep him out, by the English Church Union, a society of which Mr. Manclarke, late of Woodland, was a member ... (65)

Above all Waldegrave wanted a minister to be appointed who 'would preach not himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord'. (66) But Hindley was not appointed and the lay-patrons selected Edwin Charles Shufflebotham (who wisely changed his name to Shawfield!) and whom Waldegrave licensed to the living in 1868, where he remained until 1893. Waldegrave was convinced that Shufflebotham's appointment had been stage-managed by one or two individuals, (67) and the Bishop would have been comforted to learn that the appointment was received not without some protest from the parishioners.

In his interview with Waldegrave Shufflebotham professed not to being a ritualist and described himself as a non-party man. But Waldegrave remained suspicious about him. Shufflebotham had trained

for teaching at the Tractarian college of St. Mark, Chelsea, he had taught for ten years before being ordained by the Bishop of Chester, and between 1865-68 had held two curacies in Liverpool. Waldegrave confided to the Rural Dean, that 'There is an amount of seriousness which is hopeful, /but/ at the same time an amount of self-satisfaction which is discouraging'. (68) Within eight months Waldegrave's suspicions were confirmed. He believed that Shufflebotham had joined the ECU, and that choral services had been conducted at Woodland by clergy from Liverpool, at which the clergy had been invited to wear surplices. (69) Waldegrave opposed the introduction of choral harvest festival services at Woodland, and wrote to the incumbent about the matter.

> To introduce choral services, and, it would seem, surpliced processions, into our mountain valleys, is, to say the least, an innovation. To do so in direct contravention of the well-known opinions and wishes of the Bishop, to whom you have promised and sworn obedience, is something more. If that choral service is accompanied by any of the peculiar ceremonies, even in a modified degree, of harvest celebrations such as have recently occupied so much public attention, the matter is still worse. (70)

Harvest festivals were not then the innocuous affairs they have become. Then they were the opportunity to parade ritualism. In 1864 Arthur Stanton of St. Albans, Holborn described a harvest festival.

> The yellow pompons are all on the altar and look most gay; they were the gayest flowers sent. We have put two sheaves of corn and some bunches of grapes round the white cross as emblems of the most blessed sacrament, the rest of the super-altar is covered with ferns and flowers and those beautiful dahlias you sent ... The screen is wreathed with oats, barley and wheat, and bunches of chrysanthemums, a row of apples, pears, lemons and oranges making a beading at the bottom. Grapes and sheaves of corn are placed at the entrance of the choir; and by the chancel pillars a pile of beans, carrots and turnips.

Two years later, more ritualism was apparent.

> We carried a new banner worked by one of the congregation and really magnificent. White silk, quite stiff with embroidery. It is the banner of the adorable sacrament of the altar, and has on it the chalice and sacred host. We had all the fruits of the earth in the church, and grapes and corn on the high altar. (71)

Waldegrave firstly criticised harvest festivals because of their associated ritualism, but his criticism over individuals who bowed at the name of Jesus was unjustified. At a confirmation service at Lowther church he rebuked some female candidates who had bowed at the name of Jesus. Following protests about his action the matter was discussed by members of the ECU at their London council meeting. (72) Waldegrave believed that the practice was a distraction. He denied that he had rebuked the candidates in anger and regretted that he had drawn attention to the matter. (73) Perhaps he was prone to outbursts of this sort. In the cathedral he rebuked two youths for laughing during a service. (74) It was for raising these non-essentials as well as his theological criticisms which angered Waldegrave's opponents who took issue with him over his interpretation of 'the catholic faith'. In their eyes he merely raised 'up a parrot-cry against anything which is right and true'. (75) A lay critic accused him of being a Zwinglian, and outlined what he considered a 'Waldegravian church' to be.

> A Waldegravian church may be to some a model of simplicity, but it seems to us quite inconsistent with such descriptions as the Holy Spirit has given us, doubtless for our guidance, of the temples which God has especially delighted to hallow by the presence of his glory. Still less are your monthly or quarterly communions, your neglect of daily prayers and holy days, in accordance with our knowledge of what the church has ordered. Let us see you inculcating obedience on the part of the clergy to the plain directions of the Book of Common Prayer. Let us see you and them using the church

> less as a place in which you may exhibit your rhetoric, and more a house of prayer. (76)

However Waldegrave's supporters did not consider that he was so wrong and 'a clergyman of the diocese' answered the lay critic. Waldegrave was being faithful to his ordination vows. The religion of the ritualists was that of a minority in the Church of England.

> It is not the churchmanship of [Archbishop] Thomson and Waldegrave, and nearly all its bishops. It is not the churchmanship of the great number of enlightened ministers and laymen of the establishment, it is only the selfish and contracted spirit of a small party in the church ... (77)

Bishop Goodwin took a slightly different line over matters of practice. He made a distinction between 'errors of defect in ritual [and] over errors in excesses'. (78)

> I say that in a diocese in which ritual excess is well nigh unknown, we should do well to examine our defects and see whether we can mend them. (79)

Two defects were noted in Bishop Goodwin's primary visitation and concerned the frequency of the administration of Holy Communion and the observance of Ascension Day. The practice in 1872 and only a few years after Waldegrave's death reflected what had happened during his episcopate. In only eight parishes in the diocese was the Holy Communion administered each week; a monthly celebration was found in over half of the parishes - in 66 churches once a month, in 71 churches once a month and at principal festivals; in 34 churches only six times a year; and in 30 churches only four times a year. Goodwin concluded, that 'Monthly celebration appears to me to be the least that we ought to tolerate, weekly is that for which we should strive'. (80)

In 1872, 128 churches had no service on Ascension day, whereas

127 held a service (at 47 of which was an administration of the Holy Communion). (81) At his second visitation held in 1875 Goodwin noted that improvements had taken place. Thirty more churches were celebrating Holy Communion once a month; and only 76 churches held no Ascension Day service. (82)

The Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 was an attempt to curb the activities of the ritualists but the imprisonment of ritualistic priests turned them into martyrs and made the whole exercise a failure. The Act was a dead letter in the diocese of Carlisle. (83) Bishop Goodwin regarded it as being of use to 'check certain extravagances' rather than to impose a single 'uniform standard of practice in the matter of public worship'. He opposed the enforcement of law against what had become local custom. (84) As far as the use of the surplice was concerned, in 1872 it was not worn for preaching in 110 churches. The Bishop was keen to see its use diminished.

> I should be glad to see the surplice supplant the gown in all ministrations, preaching included; it seems to me to be not only the more certainly lawful, but also by far the more suitable and more solemn vestment of the two. (85)

But in 1875 at the visitation held at Kendal the majority of clergy who were present wore the gown apart from the officiating clergy and two or three others who wore surplice and hood. (86)

The Church Association kept a watchful eye on the Church of England and drew attention to those dioceses which suffered from the excesses of ritualism. In the south of England the most quoted examples were in London and St. Albans. In the north

there were fewer cases and none at all in the diocese of Carlisle. In Carlisle under one in ten clergy were members of the ECU, and by the end of the century none of the 88 clerical members of the ECU who became Roman Catholics came from the diocese. (87) In the 1890s there were no members of the Society of St. John the Evangelist (SSJE) in the Carlisle diocese and no confessional boxes. (88) Another indication of ritualistic activity, or rather inactivity in Carlisle, were in applications for faculties. In February 1901 an application was refused to permit altar lights in Shap church. (89)

Apart from the diocese of Sodor and Man, Carlisle had the least ritualistic activity in the whole of the northern province. The ECU's Tourist's Church Guide for 1901 identifies four churches where vestments were in use - at Grasmere, Wetheral and St. Luke's and St. Perran's, Barrow in Furness. (90)

Taking all of the English and Welsh dioceses for 1903, there was an average of 39% of churches in which the eastward position had been adopted; 26% with altar lights; 24% for the mixed chalice; and 10% in which vestments were used. These figures may be put alongside those of Carlisle - where only 15% adopted the eastward position; 3% with lighted candles; 3% which used the mixed chalice; and 1% where vestmensts were worn. (91) The figures 'confirm the general belief that the Oxford Movement had more parochial impact in the south than in the north of England'. (92)

Bishop Waldegrave described the ritualists as 'the stealthy party which is bent upon undermining the Protestant character of our church'. (93) While this opinion was true as it affected the

whole of the Church of England, it was not the case in the diocese of Carlisle apart from three isolated pockets of ritualistic activity - in Barrow in Furness, in the Penrith deanery and in Carlisle. The Evangelical tradition of the diocese of Carlisle which had been established by Dean Milner, and considerably strengthened by Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave and supported by Dean Close was maintained until after the First World War. Only then was there any obvious evidence of the influence of the Oxford Movement.

> The Carlisle diocese stands in relation to the Oxford Movement ... in a peculiar position. In no other diocese that we are aware of did it take eighty years of the hundred years of the Movement to find acceptance from the diocesan heads, or full expression in the parish churches. (94)

i) <u>Ritualism in Barrow in Furness</u>

Barrow in Furness developed as an industrial centre from the 1850s and 1860s, and between 1861 to 1881 the population increased from 3,135 to 47,259. It was a mixed community - 40% of the population originated from outside Lancashire, and it 'was predominantly a male town, with twice as many men as women'. (1) In the mid 1860s there were over 1,000 Roman Catholics (in 1871 4.2% of the population were Irish-born) together with a large number of Nonconformists. The new town was an isolated community which existed for the creation of wealth. For those of tender conscience the town would appear to have been 'unstable, brawling and drunken' and for them emigration away from Barrow to North America provided a better situation. (2) The new community also

provided the opportunity for the development of an Anglo-Catholic centre but rather than establish the Anglican cause tended only to alienate popular opinion against the Church of England and in favour of dissent. By 1871 there were no fewer than ten places of worship in Barrow.

Apart from the chapels of ease on Walney Island and at Rampside (which had been rebuilt in 1840) the parish church of Dalton in Furness served the whole of the southern Furness district. Until Barrow cemetery was opened in 1873 all burials for the town took place at Dalton. In 1843 the schoolroom at Newbarns was licensed for worship and in 1852 St. George's schoolroom was licensed with William Llewelyn Croft as the curate.

In July 1857 James Morrison Morgan, the Vicar of Dalton appealed for funds to erect St. George's church, and by then £300 had been collected for the 'Barrow church fund'. Three years later a second circular appealed for the remaining £800 required for the building. The church which seated 1,000 people was erected on a waterfront site known as Rabbit Hill and consecrated by Bishop Waldegrave in January 1861. A north aisle was added in 1866 and the Ramsden chapel and an enlarged chancel were completed in 1884. The district chapelry of St. George, Barrow in Furness was formed in October 1861 (3) and a parish created in 1871.

The first Perpetual Curate of St. George's was Tufnell Samuel Barrett. He had graduated from Christ Church, Oxford and had been ordained deacon in 1857 and priest in 1858. He was curate of St. John and St. Nicholas, Hereford between 1857-58, and Perpetual Curate of Rusland near Ulverston between 1858-60. Barrett was

appointed by the trustees to St. George's in 1861 and within two years it became clear that the inhabitants of Barrow had no ordinary parish priest.

> Mr Barrett was undoubtedly a man of attractive gifts, much sincerity and earnest of purpose, and of strong determination. He was very fond of the sea, and held a master's certificate. He exercised a strong influence on those who responded to his teaching and who valued the services at St. George's. (4)

But not all appreciated his ministry, and in the spring of 1863 Bishop Waldegrave wrote to Barrett following reports of

> disatisfaction at certain alleged principles and practices of yours which had caused in Barrow an amount of suspicion, which, in a newly formed town, was highly prejudicial to the firm establishment of the church in the affections of the people. (5)

Barrett had caused a minor sensation by introducing modest ritualism at St. George's, and through his choice of a curate had caused much concern to Waldegrave. Already in February 1863 Barrett had written to Waldegrave for his permission to engage one or two curates - but whithout making it clear what their duties were to be or what was to be their source of income. Subsequently it was made clear that a curate would be paid £100 by the industrialists Henry William Schneider - regarded as 'the most astute capitalist in Furness' (6) - and Robert Hannay, and that the curate would work in the Hindpool district. In March Waldegrave gave his permission for Barrett to engage a curate, but already a curate had arrived and was there for a month before Barrett informed the Bishop. Waldegrave was shocked to find that the curate was the notorious Thomas Dove Dove.

Previously Dove had been the curate to the ritualist William

James Early Bennett, the Vicar of Frome, Somerset, and before that Dove had been involved in the riots at St. George's in the East. The riots which took place between 1859-60 were said to have been organised by 'publicans and brothel-keepers', but this comment apart, what took place disturbed Protestant consciences. S. Baring-Gould visisted St. George's in the East and described what he saw.

> At Evensong a pair of candles lighted, a surpliced choir in the stalls, and the surplice worn in the pulpit. Directly the doors were opened, the mob surged into the church, scrambling into the pews, some over their backs, and into the galleries. Police were stationed down the middle passage, but had been given orders to do nothing unless personal violence were offered. There ensued talking, laughing, and cracking of vulgar jokes before the service began.
>
> When the choir and clergy entered, there burst forth booing and hooting, and during the service unseemly mimicry of the intoning, and indecent parodies chanted as responses. When the choir turned East at the creed, the mob turned West. (7)

Henry Parry Liddon visited the church in May 1860 and noted that

> Mr Dove decided that there should be no service, on the ground that the choir seats had been occupied by the mob. (8)

In June the disturbances had been even recorded in the Carlisle Journal.

> Mr Dove, who intoned the prayers, was interrupted from beginning to end. (9)

Waldegrave was not unaware of Dove's activities in the summer of 1860 when he had

> actively engaged as assisting a clergyman of no little notoriety, the Rev. Bryan King, at St. George's in the East, in London ... while there, he so thoroughly identified himself with Mr. King, as to have been fined by the police magistrate a sum of fifty shillings for an assault committed when taking part, on Mr. King's side, in the commotions which are far too well known

> to need any further notice from me ... now, dear Sir, is this the man needed at Barrow? (10)

Waldegrave advised Barrett to withdraw his nomination of Dove - 'I beg you to reconsider the arrangement which you have proposed for my approval'. On making further enquiries about Dove, Waldegrave believed that 'apart from any ritualistic tendencies he may have', he considered him an unsuitable choice as a curate for Barrow. (11) Waldegrave's intention was to shield Barrett from further censure from his parishioners and from influential laymen in Barrow. To appoint Dove in the face of this opposition would only increase the dissatisfaction in the town, and would give support to 'the most unyielding ritualism of the day'. (12) Although Waldegrave was incorrectly informed over the amount which Dove had made to the magistrate (the fine had been forty shillings, not fifty shillings), (13) it was clear that he had taken part in the disturbances. Waldegrave's decision was final. He would not license Dove to a curacy at Barrow, or to any other curacy in his diocese. (14) However, Waldegrave licensed Arthur Philip Arnott as curate of St. George's in 1863 and subsequently John Allen in 1866.

Concern continued over the situation at St. George's. In 1867 two petitions were addressed to Barrett, one from the parishioners and the other from the leading men of the town, requesting him to 'return to the simple form of worship practised when he first came to the town'. (15)

Waldegrave wanted the situation to be watched and to be immediately informed by the Rural Dean if any stranger was officiating at St. George's, or elsewhere in the locality. He was particularly concerned about a rumour

> I have heard, on trustworthy authority, that a 'mission' is about to be opened in Barrow by clergy or a clergyman not of this diocese ... The greatest mischief goes on at Liverpool and Bristol in 'mission' chapels. The only licensed curates at Barrow are Mr. Arnott and Mr. Allen. (16)

Meanwhile the town continued to expand. Already Waldegrave had planned that another church should be opened in Barrow, (17) and the disturbances at St. George's only made the need more apparent. Barrett was also concerned about the expansion of the town and wrote to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

> Every day brings an addition to the population. Steel works are now partially in working order which will probably employ 2,000 hands; ship-building yards, docks and important works are in process of formation which will shortly make our population beyond the limits of an ordinary town. (18)

By 1865 Sunday services were being held in the pattern shop of the iron works in Hindpool, and the services were being conducted by the manager, J. T. Smith and by other laymen and by Richard Palgrave Manclarke. Manclarke graduated from Wadham College, Oxford and was ordained deacon in 1851 and priest in 1852. Between 1851 and 1861 he held a number of curacies before becoming curate of Woodland near Broughton in Furness. In January 1867 the St. James' Schools were opened in Barrow and Manclarke conducted the first service. In August 'The district of St. James', Barrow in Furness' was created, (19) and in October 1867 Manclarke was licensed as the Perpetual Curate of St. James. Though Manclarke was less extreme in his views than Barrett, Bishop Waldegrave now found that he had two Anglo-Catholic priests in Barrow.

At the Vestry meeting in April 1868 both of the churchwardens of St. George's resigned. One of them was the Barrow magnate, James Ramsden, who left the church and joined St. James' congregation (the

church was not consecrated until May 1869). Ramsden confessed that he bore no grudge against Barrett.

> The fact is, gentlemen, I have been driven from the church by the constant changes introduced in the service and the doctrine preached. (20)

The situation at Barrow became a matter of deep concern to Waldegrave.

> The present state of things in the important port and town of Barrow in Furness has been long a subject of anxiety and prayer with me. (21)

He was unable to curb the activities of the ritualists, and was at a disadvantage in living nearly 90 miles away. He had to rely upon local informants like H. W. Schneider, and in response to his representations Waldegrave instructed Archdeacon John Cooper to visit St. George's and to report back to him. (22) Cooper had a private meeting with Barrett and the churchwardens, and was annoyed to find that the substance of the meeting was leaked to the local press! (23) Waldegrave believed that he had the support of clergy and laity alike against the ritualists, and reported that 'the clergy of this archdeaconry repudiate ritualism, and the English Church Union so strongly'. (24)

Waldegrave sought advice from those outside the situation. He asked the Duke of Devonshire for the name of a layman in whom he could confide 'in relation to the sad proceedings of Mr. Barrett'. (25) Waldegrave conferred with Charles Baring, the Bishop of Durham, (26) William Conway, the Rector of St. Margaret's Westminster, (27) and with Edmund Holland. (28) Waldegrave made out his case as follows. The districts of St. George's and St. James served a population of 10,000. There were already three ritualistic clergy at St. George's,

and if the incumbent of St. James' engaged two curates, there would be six ritualists in Barrow. Waldegrave described Barrett as 'an advanced ritualist', who had introduced altar lights and auricular confession. Waldegrave found Barrett a difficult character. 'I do not like his spirit, and as he does not consult me, I have left him to himself'. (29) Waldegrave refused to officiate at St. George's lest he should appear to sanction what already took place. He would not hold a confirmation at St. George's (maintaining that St. James' church would soon be available), and apologised to Barrett and the congregation over the inconvenience. But Barrett remainded unmoved and ignored his Bishop's admonitions and persisted in the use of illegal ornaments and the practice of auricular confession. (30)

In August 1868 Barrett was summonded before the Carlisle Consistory Court over the changes he had introduced at St. George's. The case against him was brought by the newly elected churchwarden Thomas Carter Baynes. In January 1867 a faculty had been obtained to relay the flooring and to extend the seating in the nave. But Barrett proceeded to carry out additional alterations in the chancel. These consisted of placing a brass cross on a shelf behind the communion table, and the use of two decorated seasonal frontals which were hung behind the cross and in front of the communion table. The old communion rails had been re-erected as a chancel screen and a new reading desk had been placed in the chancel behind the screen. These minor changes had offended 'the religious feeling of a large number of the inhabitants'. (31) In consequence many of the congregation had left St. George's. These included the former churchwarden, James Ramsden, and Baynes' children who now

attended the Presbyterian church. Certainly there had been a decline in the numbers attending the morning service. In 1865 the attendance had been between 500-600 people, but since January 1868, when a new pattern of services had been introduced, the congregation had declined to between 50-60 at Morning Prayer - known locally at 'the Protestant service'. Three morning services were held - Holy Communion at 7.00 am and 10.00 am and Morning Prayer at 10.45 am. The evening service attracted a congregation of between 400-700 people.

The case of Baynes v Barrett was considered between August and November 1868. Chancellor C. J. Burton visited St. George's in January 1869, and a month later gave his judgment. The case against Barrett was dismissed. Burton pointed out that Barrett had erred and had to bear the consequence of his actions. Strangely no objection had been made to placing candles on the communion table, though passing reference was made to them in the case. It was the brass cross which had caused most concern. A wooden cross had been placed in position at Christmas and had been decorated with evergreens, and at Whitsun 1868 some communicants had presented a brass cross to the church. Strictly speaking a cross behind the communion table was illegal in the Church of England. But Burton ruled that 'The cross is in no way used in the service of the church; it is there as an ornament or decoration'.(32) The cross was an ornament and not an object of 'superstitious reverence', and 'the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it'. (33) The other changes which Barrett had introduced were considered to be an improvement to the building.

Waldegrave was placed in a difficult position over the Additional Curates' Society, the Tractarian counterpart of the Church Pastoral Aid Society. He welcomed the financial assistance of the ACS to support curates in the diocese and in return he was keen to contribute to its funds. Already the two curates of St. George's each received £80 a year from ACS, but when Manclarke could not give Waldegrave an assurance that any curate of his would not assist at St. George's, the Bishop refused to sign the application for a grant. But in the event the ACS awarded a grant without Waldegrave's signature. Hitherto Waldegrave had been impressed with the impartiality of the ACS.

> But is it not carrying 'impartiality' too far to thwart the Bishop when his object is not to hinder High Church - but to obstruct Romanizing devices. (34)

There was an obvious difference between these two church parties and Waldegrave made it clear that

> I quite understand the difference between a High Church, an honest one, I know, and a Ritualist. (35)

In December 1868 Waldegrave received an application from Barrett to renew the ACS curates' grant for St. George's, but before endorsing the application Waldegrave wanted an assurance from Barrett that he would discontinue

> Any of the practices connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper which you may have adopted and which the Court of Final Appeal has now declared to be illegal ... you have lighted candles during the celebration, you may also have elevated the elements, prostrated yourself, mixed water with the wine, and possibly (though not a whisper has reached me on the point) you may have used incense.

> That now the law has spoken you will obey it and return at all services ... to the original and long established simplicity of ritual in one Reformed church.

Barrett had already assured Waldegrave that auricular confession was not performed by the two curates; and he would rejoice if Barrett no longer practiced it himself. (36)

Barrett replied by return of post with the promise that he would obey the judgment of the Privy council. But he made no mention of discontinuing the elevation the elements and kneeling before them neither would he obey the Bishop's directive over discontinuing auricular confession.

Waldegrave's reply indicated his depth of feeling over the matter and to his objection to the practice of confession.

> I much regret that you cannot acquiesce in my wishes and counsels respecting confession. As I am certain that I write in pure love to your own soul and the souls committed to you, I will add, though it may seem severe, that I protest against the practice, even in its modified form, as administering a consolation which, when it is too late, will be found never to have been ratified in heaven.
>
> O dear Sir, the discovery that sin which you and others have pronounced forgiven remains unpardoned, and that 'the door is shut'. Your faithful friend and Bishop. (37)

But Waldegrave was not to be defeated over the ritualists in Barrow and was determined to erect a strong counter-attraction on the edge of the town in the form of an Evangelical parish church. At Rose Castle Waldegrave poured over maps of the district and was looking for a suitable site for a church. The hamlet of Newbarns appeared to be the best location. It was in the extensive parish of Dalton in Furness and outside the districts of St. George's and St. James' in Barrow. Although at the time there were only 850 residents, considerable development took place in the twentieth

century between the railway line and the proposed site of the church. Already services were held in Newbarns schoolroom and continued to be held there by clergy from Dalton until 1871, and the building demolished when Abbey Road was widened in 1877. (38) But the schoolroom was not a church, and Waldegrave noted that it 'is, erroneously, designated a "church" (Newbarns Church) in the Ordinance map'. (39)

In his own mind Waldegrave was highly suspicious of anything connected with 'the ritualistic Romanizers at Barrow: I must be on my guard, painful as it is'. (40) He was convinced that 'the Barrow business would be more difficult'. (41) Secrecy was essential, and Waldegrave confessed 'I cannot move down here'. (42) He then considered a site in Abbey Road a mile north of Barrow. This site had been found by Waldegrave's friend G. T. Edwards, the local agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was valued at £500 and was large enough for a church, parsonage and school. If he could have bought it Waldegrave would have purchased the site, but instead he appealed to the wealthy Edmund Holland. 'If you will pity and help, I will at once have the site secured and go forward'.(43) Already Holland had given £500 for a new church to be erected at Silloth, on the north Cumbrian coast. (44) But Holland was spared the expense, and the site was given by a local landowner, William Lesh, who became the first churchwarden of St. Paul's church.

In October 1868 Waldegrave wrote to the Duke of Westminster and asked him to £3,000 as an endowment for a district church at either Barrow or at Cleator Moor, four miles to the east of Whitehaven.

Cleator Moor was an equally deserving case. It was described as 'a large and thriving town' (45) where most of the inhabitants were involved in mining the rich deposit of haematite iron-ore. Although nearly 60% of the population were Roman Catholics Waldegrave was convinced that 'there is doubtless a large Church of England population which a competant pastor will bring out'. (46) The Duke of Westminster was obviously moved by Waldegrave's appeal for assistance, and generously gave £6,000 for the endowment of the new churches at Barrow and at Cleator Moor. (47)

In February 1869 Waldegrave and the Duke of Westminster were both unwell, and for a time it was impossible to obtain the Duke's signature for the transfer of the £6,000. During Waldegrave's incapacity all of the correspondence over the new church at Barrow was taken over by Archdeacon John Cooper, though from time to time Waldegrave was able to write a few letters, or signed letters which had been written by his wife.

J. M. Morgan, the Vicar of Dalton gave his permission for the creation of the new district, and with the usual requirement that the statutory fees would be his during the period of his tenure as incumbent of the ancient parish church. In his case this proved to be a profitable source of income, since he remained at Dalton for another 30 years! But there were problems over agreeing the boundaries of the district and over Morgan's fees. In principle Morgan had never objected to the formation of the district, but he was against the patronage of the new church being in the private hands of the bishop. (48) He made clear his feelings to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

> As a gentleman I object to the course taken by the representations of the Bishop of Carlisle and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as inviolating - in every particular - the written promises of the Bishop of Carlisle in my possession. (49)

Eventually the difficulties were resolved and 'the district of Newbarns and Hawcoat' was formed in August 1869. (50)

The patronage of Newbarns was in the name of 'Samuel Waldegrave, Bishop of Carlisle, his heirs and assigns'. (51) This was unique in being the private patronage of Samuel Waldegrave, rather than in the name of the Bishop of the diocese of Carlisle. His intention was that in due course the patronage would pass to five trustees. (52)

On Waldegrave's death in October 1869, the patronage passed to Edward Auriol, (53) and Edmund Holland, (54) (and by them to the Simeon Trustees in November 1877).(55) Thomas Goss was licensed to the district in December 1869, and remained there until 1880 when he became the Perpetual Curate of St. James', Carlisle. St. Paul's church was erected for £2,000 (with £100 subscriptions from Edmund Holland and from Bishop Waldegrave's widow) and was consecrated by Bishop Goodwin in July 1871. The proposed west end and tower were never built, though a modest west end was completed in 1967.

On the death of Bishop Waldegrave the situation at Barrow remained unchecked, and Bishop Goodwin preferred to ignore the situation. However a significant local response in 1872 was in the opening of a church of the Free Church of England (56) a small denomination committed to Protestant principles and episcopalian order.

By 1874 - the year of the Public Worship Regulation Act - there were five examples of the use of the confessional in the Carlisle diocese, four in the vacinity of the city of Carlisle and at St.

George's, Barrow in Furness. (57) Protestant opposition was strengthened by the provisions of the Act, and the imprisonment for ritualism of Arthur Tooth, the Vicar of St. James', Hatcham in January 1877 gave those in Barrow cause for hope.

> To remove any ritualistic clergyman as they had removed the other bad Tooth out of the Church of England, Mr. Barrett was undoubtedly an excellent fellow, but the time had arrived when personal feelings must give way to stern duty. (58)

In March 1877 the majority of the parishioners elected a Protestant churchwarden for St. George's. Alexander Ward had never previously worshipped at the church and had attended services at Urswick and Ulverston and then in Nonconformist churches in Barrow: like a quarter of the other residents of Barrow he was illiterate. (59) In the same month nearly 2,000 laymen of Barrow signed a petition to Bishop Goodwin against the services at St. George's, 'partaking as they do of advanced ritualism', and requesting him to appoint Evangelical clergy to the new district churches soon to be erected in the town. (60) In the following month a petition was addressed to Barrett requesting him to order the worship of St. George's more in tune with the spirit of the Reformed Church of England. The situation was serious - the congregation was depleted, and former members now worshipped with Nonconformists.

In January 1878 six aggrieved parishioners made their formal complaint to the Bishop of Carlisle over the situation at St. George's. Their objections were specific. In the previous month Barrett had lighted candles on the communion table, had worn an alb and stole, had prostrated himself during the Nicene Creed and during the prayer of consecration. He had elevated the paten and cup, adopted the

Eastward position for the prayer of consecration, and used a mixed chalice and wafers instead of bread. He had made a sign of the cross over the communicants and at the end of the service. In addition he had turned the West porch of the church into a confessional and it contained two crucifixes for which no faculty had been obtained. Bishop Goodwin was unmoved by the substance of the objections, and only took exception to the use of the confessional. But like his predecessor it was difficult to act in the situation. Goodwin could not see a situation developing in which Barrett would satisfy the objectors, but they might be content with the churchmanship of the new Barrow churches.

> Under these circumstances I am glad to find that the greater number of those who have signed the presentment are resident in one of the new ecclesiastical districts which have been lately gazetted. Not many months will elapse before the new churches will be open and ministers appointed, and I sincerely trust that the change which will then be made may do more towards satisfying the minds of those who dislike the clergy and services and ministrations of St. George's than I have been able or can ever hope to do. (61)

Later in 1878 further protestations were made to the Bishop under the Public Worship Regulation Act, but again he was reluctant to see that matter through the courts. (62) Fortunately for him both Barrett and Manclarke resigned in 1878. This encouraged some of the parishioners to petition the Duke of Devonshire to appoint Thomas Goss, the incumbent of St. Paul's to St. George's. (63) Instead George Carnac Fisher was appointed and remained there until 1881. (64)

In September 1878 four temporary churches were opened in Barrow at a total cost of £24,000 and each seating 500 people. They were

dedicated to the four evangelists - St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke situated in the town, and St. John on Barrow Island. All four churches were consecrated by Bishop Goodwin on 22 November 1879.

The situation at Barrow had been confined to the activities of Barrett at St. George's, and through him to Manclarke at St. James', but elswhere in the diocese other clergy had the advantage of working more closely together to propagate Anglo-Catholic principles.

ii) Ritualism in the Penrith Deanery

The formation of the English Church Union in 1860 was the culmination of the efforts of an increasing number of catholic clergy in the Church of England to protect themselves against the inroads of the state over education and the pronouncements of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In addition it provided the means to propagate the restoration of catholic doctrine and discipline. From the first the role of the ECU was militant and this was before the Church Association brought errant ritualistic clergy before the courts. From the 1840s a number of isolated Church Unions were formed and in 1859 the Manchester Church Union took the initiative in drawing them together to become a more effective force. In May 1860 the Church of England Protection Society was formed incorporating many of the existing bodies and with the aim of forming branches in every diocese. The progress of the Society was such that in May 1860 the title was changed to 'The English Church Union'. It had three clear objectives:

'To defend and maintain unimpaired the doctrine and discipline of the church.

To afford counsel and protection to all persons, lay or clerical, suffering under unjust aggression or hindrance in spiritual matters.

In general, so to promote the interests of religion as to be, by God's help, a lasting witness in the land for the advancement of his glory and the good of his church'. (1)

The membership of the ECU rose from 250 in 1860 to 20,530 in 1882; and by the end of the century there were 4,000 clerical members and 34,000 lay members. The ECU developed through the formation of local branches - which drew clergy together for mutual counsel, and by the work of active organizing secretaries. The Penrith branch was one of 24 local branches formed in the year 1866-67, and in 1870 one of the four national organizing secretaries was Charles Henry Vincent Pixell, the Perpetual Curate of Skirwith, near Penrith.

The Penrith deanery was untypical in the diocese of Carlisle. Apart from a few Evangelicals, many of the 20 beneficed clergy were Anglo-Catholics or Anglo-Catholic sympathisers. It is ironical that in forming rural deaneries Bishop Villiers may well have drawn together the Penrith clergy. From 1858 they met together once a quarter and their activities reported in the press.(2) Some of the Penrith clergy and others scattered throughout the diocese may well have been sympathetic to Tractarianism, or simply moved further in a Catholic direction in reaction to the Evangelical leadership. As a group the Anglo-Catholic clergy became bitterly opposed to Bishop Waldegrave and they sought to extend catholic thought and practice throughout the diocese.

The town of Penrith became the focus for the Anglo-Catholics because it was the geographical centre for the outlying villages and hamlets and it had Samuel Johnson Butler as the Vicar of Penrith. Butler had graduated from New College, Oxford and was ordained deacon in 1846 and priest in 1847. He became the curate of Penrith and in 1853 Bishop Percy presented him as the Vicar where he remained until 1879. Even before the ECU branch was formed in Penrith, Butler was in conflict with the Evangelical Bishops of of Carlisle.

St Andrew's church Penrith had been consecrated in March 1722, and in October 1850 Christ Church was consecrated as a chapel of ease to the parish church. The patronage of the mother church was vested with the diocesan Bishop and that of Christ Church with the Vicar of Penrith. In 1851 Thomas Scott of Brent House, Penrith offered to provide an endowment of £1,000 on condition that a separate district was assigned to Christ Church and under the patronage of trustees. But due to the opposition of Butler it took another 11 years before Scott's proposal came into effect.

In 1857 Scott increased his offer to £2,000 to provide for an endowment for a separate district and with Christ Church under the patronage of five trustees. It is likely that Scott, an Evangelical and friend of George Moore, was concerned about the theological position of Butler and was anxious to secure an Evangelical ministry in Penrith. But Butler was against Scott's offer. He manintained that Bishop Percy had also opposed the earlier proposal. In addition 'the income of the Vicarage of Penrith is notoriously inadequate', and that Scott had not contributed to the erection of

Christ Church. (3) As the incumbent Butler's position was secure - and he knew it! A separate district could be formed without his permission but his right to the patronage and fee income were protected. Scott's offer was increased to £3,000, and this was welcomed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners since it would provide sufficient capital to guarantee an income of £150 a year to the incumbent of Christ Church. While Bishop Villiers was prepared to support the formation of a separate district he was equally concerned about Butler's loss of fees and his shift in theological position. (4)

Between March and June 1858 Butler ignored appeals from Bishop Villiers and the Commissioners to change his opinion. But when he did reply Butler maintained that he was anxious to see that the wishes of the original subscribers were adhered to and that the patronage of Christ Church would remain with the Bishop of Carlisle or with the Vicar of Penrith; he also defended the rights of the pew-holders of the Parish Church. (5) Again the Commissioners pressed Butler to reconsider Scott's generous offer, (6) and Scott, tired of the delay, withdrew his proposal in March 1859. (7)

The matter was held in abeyance until 1862. Bishop Waldegrave was in favour of two livings to serve Penrith. He preferred a situation where there could be two livings each valued at between £250-300 rather than with a single living valued at £250. In addition he had no doubt that £1,000 would be forthcoming from the Commissioners to erect a parsonage house for the incumbent of Christ Church. (8) He was correct, and £1,000 was given by the Commissioners, and three years later a parsonage house was erected. Butler had met his match in Bishop Waldegrave. In the six months between March

and August 1862 the situation was resolved. Thomas Scott re-offered £3,000 (with support from William Sisson) (9) and with the stipulation that the patronage would be vested with the Bishop rather than with five trustees. Waldegrave wrote to the Commissioners for their advice, (10) and they referred to the 'considerable protracted' correspondence over the matter in 1858. (11) In addition, Waldegrave sought the private advice of the Commissioners' solicitor. (12)

Waldegrave wrote to Butler about the situation, but his reply grieved the Bishop. Waldegrave responded in a five-page letter and implored Butler 'to reconsider and to revoke your resolve'. (13) Waldegrave was anxious to discuss the matter in person, and invited Butler to see him at Rose Castle, or he was prepared to come and see him in Penrith. But Butler remained unmoved. He was anxious to retain the patronage. Most curious of all he was even prepared to offer to appoint Waldegrave's domestic chaplain, Clifford Malden to Christ Church. But, Waldegrave maintained, Butler's attitude showed his lack of confidence in the Bishop's ability to appoint a man of '"established character for sound judgment" and "conciliating disposition"'. These were the very qualities which commended Malden to Butler. Waldegrave made it clear that if he had erred over the situation it was on the right side. (14)

The situation seemed impossible to resolve, and Scott even considered trying to establish another district (Trinity district) in Penrith, but he withdrew this proposal. (15)

By June 1862 Butler submitted to the pressures on him and was prepared to surrender the patronage of Christ Church to Waldegrave, (16) but he still played for time. He wanted his parishioners - or more

likely his supporters - to have 'a voice in the matter' over the district boundaries, so that he would not lose any fee income. (17) But Waldegrave grew impatient. The situation had been unresolved for many years, and Scott's offer had been twice rejected. (18) He was anxious to settle the matter by the summer recess. Speed was essential: both Scott and Sisson were both aged over 70. (19) In July Waldegrave proposed a meeting at Penrith to include the interested parties - Butler, Scott, Milner (the previous Vicar of St. Andrew's), John Dayman, the Rector of Skelton,(20) and E. W. Hasell - to discuss the boundaries of the new district. (21)

When the situation was nearly settled Butler asked if he would receive the fees from the Christ Church burial ground. Earlier proposals had been to exclude the burial ground (situated immediately to the East of the church) from the new district, thus securing the fees for Butler. But Waldegrave was anxious to have Christ Church and the burial ground in the same district. Again the problem seemed insurmountable until Waldegrave found out that the burial ground had been purchased by the ratepayers of Penrith, and therefore Butler was not in a position to claim any special privileges over the burial ground. At last in August 1862 when on holiday in Redcar, Butler finally withdrew his opposition. (22)

In November 1862, 'the district chapelry of Christ Church, Penrith' was created. (23) As patron of the new living, Waldegrave appointed John Ravenshaw Wood as the Perpetual Curate. Wood who was most probably an Evangelical, was already known to Waldegrave, having been his near-neighbour in the Salisbury diocese, as Vicar of Compton Chamberlayne.

Who won in the end? Scott achieved what he wanted a separate district church in Penrith. Waldegrave secured another living in the diocese under the patronage of the diocesan Bishop. Butler who had no sympathy with an Evangelical Bishop lost his right of patronage and his fees, and gave him good reason for the antagonism which characterised members of the ECU towards Evangelicals, and especially against Evangelical Bishops.

Before the Penrith branch was formed in November 1866, there were an estimated 12 members of the ECU in Cumberland. At the close of the preliminary meeting there were 22 new members and associates. (24) By the following month it was reported that there were 50-60 members and associates of the Penrith branch. (25) But it is clear that only half of this number were active members of the ECU. (see Appendix 4).

Anglo-Catholic clergy tended to exaggerate the number of their followers and this gave the impression of having a wider support than really existed. The point was well-made by W. J. Conybeare:

> In this multiplying mirror, the image of a single Tractarian is transformed into an assembly of divines; and a little knot of ambitious curates pass themselves off on the dazzled public as the leaders of ecclesiastical opinion. (26)

But on the other hand Evangelicals tended to under-estimate the number of Anglo-Catholics. Membership was often a secret matter and this tended to make their opponents regard them as being Jesuistical. In January 1868 Dean Close maintained that the Penrith branch of the ECU consisted of four clergy, three laymen and three ladies. (27) In response the committee made it clear that they had the active support of ten clergy and nine laymen. (28) However

by June 1869 the number of supporters was sufficient to form another branch of the ECU in Barrow, and to consider forming a district union for the diocese of Carlisle. (29) However it was more likely that it was difficult for the few members to meet together, so more local branches would make meetings easier to attend. Alongside the ECU was the Carlisle branch of the Society of the Holy Cross which was formed in December 1871. When it was formed it consisted of only five clergy - three members in Barrow in Furness, and two at Penrith. In 1873 just under 30 clergy from the diocese Carlisle (approximately 10%) were among the 483 clergy who signed the petition to Convocation on sacramental confession.

The members of the Penrith branch of the ECU met together and were addressed by one of their members (30) or by a visiting speaker. It was often the topic introduced by the visiting speaker which provided ammunition for their opponents, and stimulus for the adoption of fresh causes by the members. After the Hon. Colin Lindsay, the President of the ECU between 1860-68 had addressed the Penrith branch in November 1867, his address on 'Objective Worship' was published. In it he expressed

> an earnest hope that the truth may penetrate the beclouded hills and mountains of Cumberland, and that the day may not be very far distant when the old cathedral of Carlisle may again become the luminary of that dreary border land which divides Catholic England from Protestant Scotland. (31)

This promoted Bishop Waldegrave and Dean Close to preach a series of sermons in the cathedral against ritualism. But they had even more ammunition in 1868 when Lindsay resigned from the ECU and seceded to Rome. Close was outspoken in his condemnation.

> If anything can open the closed eyes of our brethren in and about Penrith as to the perilous course they are pursuing, surely this will do so. Here is the man whom but as yesterday they were fêting as a true churchman, and who affected to write as such; but I saw the cloven foot, I knew the impress of Rome too well, and I would not enter the lists with one who was then a Romanist in everything but outward profession, though wearing Church of England colours. Hundreds, both lay and clerical have gone over to Rome by the same route - by that English Church Union! - the most dangerous and mischievous conspiracy ever cradled in the bosom of our church. In such secessions I rejoice. I wish all the ritualists would copy the example of the ex-president of the English Church Union. The Church of England - the church of the Reformation - would be safer and stronger if every one left it who yearn after Rome. An enemy is far more pleasant to contend with than a false friend. (32)

Following a lecture in April 1868 on 'Church Music' by John Bacchus Dykes (33) the Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham and leading Anglo-Catholic in the north of England, encouraged members of the Penrith branch, together with other clergy like Chancellor Burton to form a choral union for the diocese of Carlisle. Improvement in the quality of singing in parish churches was clearly needed, but not everyone supported the introduction of more catholic, and particularly eucharistic hymns. For this reason Evangelicals tended to criticise Hymns Ancient and Modern (published in 1861) and preferred Charles Kemble's Psalms and Hymns (published in 1853).(34)

Many of the clergy wanted to see changes but they disagreed as to what this should mean. Archdeacon Boutflower wanted improvements but not the introduction of cathedral worship into parish churches. S. J. Butler knew that Close had expressed his approval of choral services, and hoped that the Dean would allow an annual choral festival in the cathedral. (35) Close was only too aware of the poor quality of congregational singing in parish churches.

> The parish church is the church of the people - the worship there should be popular, and suited to the comprehension, taste, and feelings of the inhabitants at large.

But always the words were more important than the music. At present he believed

> Music is taking too prominant a place in our parochial worship; the extensive reunions of village choirs threaten to make this part of the service of too much consequence; and in some cases already, sense has been sacrificed to sound, and the melody of the soul to the harmony of the ear. (36)

Close favoured the improvement in the singing in parish churches, but not in the introduction of services approved by the ECU. He would certainly not allow them to hold a choral festival in the cathedral since God's truth was more important than good music! (37)

For Anglo-Catholic clergy practices associated with the burial of the dead became important matters in their pastoral practice. Bishop Waldegrave rebuked Charles Moyes Preston, the Vicar of Warcop for omitting parts of the burial service at the funeral of the son of a Nonconformist. (38) Waldegrave made it clear that Preston could in all conscience refuse to bury the unbaptised but not the other cases. In future

> my strong and affectionate counsel is that you make no difference whatever between persons baptised among Dissenters and those who have been duly baptised in the church, in the manner of your performing the service.

In Waldegrave's opinion Nonconformists would be won back to the Church of England by 'out-preaching, out-praying and out-living all opposers', and would thus gain more authority in the parish. (39)

In 1868 members of the Penrith ECU were addressed by a layman, R.Brett, on 'The burial of the faithful departed'. (40) He encouraged

them 'to make a beginning however small', in promoting 'a more Catholic, Christian mode of burial'. (41)

This would include the revival of the primitive practice of burial, the abolition of black funeral coverings and the formation of a burial guild to provide a bier and coloured palls.

> If only the Penrith branch will set to work earnestly and cautiously it will be the blessed instrument of reviving in the North true Catholic funerals ... (42)

The members took up Brett's suggestion and in September 1868 formed 'The Burial Guild of the Holy Trinity' under the direction of four officers - the warden, Beilby Porteus, the Vicar of Edenhall, a subwarden and treasurer, and secretary, Thomas Fenton, the Perpetual Curate of Hugil. The members of the Guild maintained that they were separate from the ECU, but their critics maintained that they were one and the same! At the inagural meeting in Penrith, Porteus said that he wanted to see a funeral service which was more triumphalist and less funereal - the 'heart-sickening paraphernalism of undertakerism'.

> The great object in view in the formation of this Burial Guild was to encourage a more loving and reverential tone of feeling for the departed - more in harmony with the old Catholic spirit - before consigning them to their last resting place. (43)

Membership which was open only to bona fide churchmen, was by a yearly subscription - 5s Od for members and 2s Od for associates. Members could borrow the ornaments of the Guild for their friends and parishioners. These included coloured palls, which were embroidered with the initials AMDG (ad majorem Dei gloriam), and were purple with a red cross for adults, and white with a violet

cross for children and a processional cross. From a fund a coffin could be provided rather than the usual black coffin. Those who wished could hold a vigil the night before the funeral, with four lighted candles around the coffin. At the burial service prayers would be said for the dead, communion could be celebrated, and psalms and hymns sung as the coffin was taken to the grave. (44)

Understandably Evangelical opinion was against the Burial Guild. Waldegrave rebuked Porteus for not consulting him over the formation of the Guild.

> It is hardly with the position you hold, not only as a senior incumbent of this diocese, but also as one of the representatives of its clergy in Convocation, for you to take part in a proceeding of so significance without previously giving your Bishop an opportunity of either sanctioning the plan, or of alleging reasons whether for its modification or abandonment. (45)

To which Porteus responded:

> There is room for us both in the church, without hate or intolerance of each other ... Regretful as we are of any differences or antagonism of opinion which is all I apprehend, that up to this moment does exist between your lordship and ourselves, albeit on an important question of detail chiefly; conscious of our rectitude, and loyal in our devotion to the church in which we were born and bred and hope to die, what we most desiderate in all who differ from us is to be judged with 'charity'; which 'thinketh no evil'. (46)

But for Waldegrave, it was a matter of principle that was at stake.

> Here, as in the whole controversy which is now shaking our church to its centre, ritual is but the symbol of doctrine. And this neither you, nor your colleagues who have noticed my letter, are careful to deny. You not only do not repudiate, but actually justify and defend prayers for the departed, and offerings of the 'Eucharistic sacrifice' for the quick and dead. You must pardon me for adding that the arguments you adduce on behalf of these unscriptural practices and gross superstitions painfully remind me of the arts of Roman controversy. ...

No, reverend Sir; the question between us is this - 'Shall the whole work of the blessed Reformation be undone? Shall this church and nation be led back by clergymen who have subscribed to the scriptural Articles, Homilies and Liturgy, to the mediaeval errors and to the Papistical superstitions from which we had fondly hoped that we were for ever delivered?' For I cannot distinguish between the objects of members of the Burial Guild in particular, and those of Ritualistic innovators in general ...

I am certain that the Burial Guild is in principle and aim identical with the English Church Union - the former carrying out in one method that virtually Romanizing process over which the other throws its aegis in many. (47)

In his objections Waldegrave was for once supported by the editorial of the Carlisle Journal:

> We are a little too far north for ecclesiastical millinery and the nonsense of the Burial Guild instead of working upon strengthened susceptibilities, will only provoke the resistance and disgust of manly belief. (48)

While Waldegrave corresponded with Porteus, Close attacked Pixell.

> To this newly-imported gentleman, Mr. Pixell, we chiefly owe the introduction of Ritualism into this diocese, and it will soon be seen how he and others like-minded with him set at defiance all the ecclesiastical authorities which God and his church have placed over them; and by their 'pernicious nonsense' are at this anxious moment inflicting deep wounds on the Reformed Protestant Church - making her the jest of the profane, and the butt of the Nonconformists. (49)

Edward Harman, Waldegrave's chaplain, believed that funerals in Cumberland were already conducted with reverance and decorum. The 'watching' on the eve of the funeral was unnecessary, and all that were required were simple refreshments after the service, rather than 'expensive entertainments'.

> But surely, sir, we do not want a masonic order, with prime warden and brethren, to teach us these things. We do not want velvet crosses, nor candles, of prescribed height and diameter, to enforce the lesson. We simply want Christian influence and Christian example among clergy and laity of every degree. (50)

Often it was the local clergy who provided an effective opposition to the Anglo-Catholics. For the Penrith clergy, the Evangelical Rural Dean, George Courtenay Hodgson continued to be an active irritant to all that they tried to do, as well as keeping the Bishop informed about the latest ritualistic activity.

The opposition to the Anglo-Catholics in the diocese was led by Bishop Waldegrave and Dean Close. A month after the ECU branch had been formed a private meeting took place in Carlisle and attended by 17 clergy and 35 laymen to oppose the progress of ritualism in the diocese. (51) Initially the Bishop criticised the meeting, no doubt because Close had taken the initiative and not himself, (52) but by March 1867 Waldegrave became the chairman of the Carlisle Anti-ritualistic committee. (53) By the following month, there were 500 signatures on an anti-ritualistic petition addressed to the Bishop. (54)

In January 1868 matters were taken even further and Close convened a meeting in Carlisle to establish a branch of the Church Association in the city. (55) This meeting attracted 30 clergy and laity, but at two public meetings held in the following month there was an attendance of 200 people, which included 30-40 clergy, a few men and the rest Protestant ladies. (56)

Close was deeply critical of the ECU and believed that important principles were at stake. In a letter to Thomas Fenton he wrote

> You and I so totally differ between the relative position of the church and the bible that it would be waste of words to dispute on the point. I regret to see that you derive your opinion, whence too many of the clergy of the present day derive theirs, from the fugitive High Church journals. Colensoites, and Tractarians join in subverting the Divine

> Authority of Holy Scripture - the one substituting infidelity - the other the church! (57)

But it was for such outbursts against them that members of the ECU saw Close as a useful means of making recruits for the ECU! (58)

Waldegrave took every possible opportunity to counsel his clergy against having anything to do with the ECU. These included Joseph Brunskill, the curate of Askham, George Wilkinson Atkinson, the Perpetual Curate of Culgaith, (59) and Thomas Lees, the Perpetual Curate of Wreay, whom Waldegrave discouraged from 'dallying with Popery'. (60) But his advice fell on deaf ears. The first two individuals were already members of the ECU, and Lees was soon to become a member of the Society of the Holy Cross. Pixell was a forthright and militant Anglo-Catholic crusader. Just before the start of his illness Waldegrave wrote to Pixell about the changes which he had introduced into the communion service.

> See reason, I speak in love, to humble yourself for that forward zeal which made you since you entered the diocese of Carlisle the instrument of some little evil to my flock and of great pain to myself. And you will resolve, cost what it may, to retrace your steps and to labour henceforth to save both yourself and them that hear you by sound scriptural doctrine and practice ... I see nothing before you but, sooner or later, absorbtion into that fearful apostacy whose doom is foretold in the Apocalypse of St. John and whose plagues will be wonderful. Being so absorbed you will, as we read in 2 Thess. 'believe the lie' that Rome teaches.

Waldegrave encouraged Pixell

> To receive the late decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to say the least, a providential call from God to reconsider your position ... test that position by the only infallable rule and standard, the standard of Holy Scripture.

More than that it was Waldegrave's duty to call upon Pixell to abandon those illegal practices which he had adopted

> and to return to the simplicity of ritual which has characterised the worship of our reformed church for nearly three centuries ... But, leaving this subject, I feel it my duty to point out to you that as the highest tribunal of the kingdom has now declared 'altar lights' to be illegal, it will now be your duty to abstain from the use of them in future, or of any other of the forbidden practices which, unknown to me, you may possibly have adopted.

Waldegrave wrote not to promote controversy but to deliver Pixell from the snare of his own making.

> I do most solemnly and affectionately entreat you to receive it as such with the serious respect and prayerful ... (61)

However even after he left the diocese of Carlisle in 1874, and held incumbencies in Wolverhampton and Frampton-Cotterell, Bristol, Pixell continued with his propagation of Anglo-Catholicism.

Waldegrave had good personal reasons for his cautions against the ECU. In May 1862 the ECU considered prosecuting Waldegrave for heresy. They objected to his support for services being held in theatres and to his views on baptism, (62) and linked the names of Bishops Colenso and Waldegrave as being considered worthy of deserving a heresy trial.

The Church Review, the organ of the ECU, made its position clear:

> We call upon our fellow churchmen, who take an interest in the maintenance of the Catholic faith, to unite in this our remonstrance, and to join with us in the demand that the heretical Bishops [Waldegrave and Colenso] shall be called to account; and unless they formally retract the wicked errors promulgated by them, put upon their trial. If we be asked to point out the tribunal before which they are to be arraigned, we answer, according to the latest precedents in the law books, before the Archbishop, who,

virtute officii, possesses jurisdiction over the Bishops of his province. In the case of the Bishop of Carlisle this would probably be held sufficient; but if not, or in the case of the Bishop of Natal (the English ecclesiastical law not being in force in the Cape Colony), let proceedings be instuted under the old Canon law ... the tribunal so constituted has power, not only to inquire into the accusation, but if the Bishop arraigned before it be found guilty, to visit his offence with canonical punishment, extending to deprivation, and even to deposition and degradation. (63)

But no action was taken against Waldegrave. However, as Walter Walsh pointed out, the difference between the ECU and the Church Association was obvious. 'The ECU failed, while the Church Association succeeded in proving their opponents to be law-breakers'. (64) Yet it was the very methods adopted by the Church Association which brought condemnation from those whom it persecuted, and the withdrawal of support from a number of Evangelicals, for whom the law court was not the best way to gain popular support.

The final attack on Bishop Waldegrave by members of the ECU was over the confirmation of candidates from Scotland. The issue was particularly complex and related to issues wider than simply confirmation.

The Scottish Episcopal Church

The minority Scottish Episcopal Church prided itself on being disestablished since 1688, in close association with episcopalians in America, more catholic than reformed, closer in theology to the 1549 Prayer Book than that of 1662. While many of the scattered congregations were independent, the Scottish Bishops gradually sought to bring them under their supervision. For clergy ordained in Scotland this was a straightforward matter:

but it was less clear for clergy ordained by English Bishops. By the nineteenth century the division was primarily on party lines. High Church Scottish Bishops influenced by Tractarianism who wished to exercise stronger episcopal control, English Evangelical clergy who were opposed to Tractarianism and the theological stance of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. The Bishops acted in a heavy-handed manner over minor issues: and the clergy over-reacted to the catholic teaching of the Scottish liturgy.

In 1843 Scottish Presbyterianism was divided by schism. In the same year, Scottish episcopalianism was rent by a smaller but nevertheless significant division. Twenty-five years later Bishop Waldegrave was accused of fostering this schism.

The three leaders of the Scottish episcopal schism were Evangelical clergy, ordained in England, and ministering in Scotland - David Thomas Kerr Drummond, William Dunbar and Charles Popham Miles. Drummond was minister of St. Paul's chapel, Edinburgh 1832-38, and then minister of Trinity Chapel, Edinburgh 1838-42. In 1842 Charles Hughes Terrot, the Bishop of Edinburgh, made it clear to Drummond that his non-liturgical prayer meetings were contrary to Canon 28 of the Scottish Episcopal Church. But Drummond was not prepared to stop the prayer meetings, and resigned from Trinity chapel rather than obey the Bishop's directive. The lengthy correspondence between Drummond and the Bishop was then published in which criticisms over a prayer meeting turned into a wider debate over the teaching of the Scottish Episcopal Church. With his supporters from the congregation Drummond began holding services in a hired hall, and in December 1843 opened 'St. Thomas' English

Episcopal Chapel'. For Bishop Terrot, Drummond was a schismatic, and advised members of the Scottish Episcopal Church to have nothing to do with Drummond or his chapel. But Drummond was not bitter.

> Our judgment is in God's hands. Patiently let us wait on him, and if, as we may expect, many harsh thoughts and harsher words be pressed against us, let them humble us at the foot of the cross, and not excite us to retaliate. (65)

Further north at St. Paul's episcopal chapel, Aberdeen, the English liturgy had been in use since 1722. The chapel had remained independent of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and from time to time confirmations had been held by visiting English Bishops. In Janurary 1841 a conditional deed of union was agreed between St. Paul's chapel and the Scottish Episcopal Church under which the Bishops of Aberdeen would be permitted to perform episcopal functions, but that the liturgy would remain that of the English Book of Common Prayer. In April 1842 Rev. Sir William Dunbar was elected to be the minister of St. Paul's, and almost immediately he became at variance with Bishop William Skinner. Dunbar declined to preach at an ordination service at which the Scottish liturgy was to have been used for the Communion service, and was concerned that a confirmation service held at St. Paul's was not wholly from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. A year later in April 1843 several members of the congregation would not let their children be confirmed unless the service was wholly from the English Rite. In May 1843 Dunbar withdrew from the Scottish Episcopal Church and was excommunicated in August 1843.

Charles Popham Miles, who became the minister of St. Jude's chapel, Glasgow, in September 1843, sympathised with Dunbar, and was reprimanded by Michael Russell, the Bishop of Glasgow, for preaching at St. Paul's Aberdeen. Miles dismissed the Bishop of Aberdeen as a 'silly man' for excommunicating Dunbar (66) and lost all respect for the Scottish Bishops. Miles and the Bishop of Glasgow entered into a lengthy correspondence, the outcome of which was that in October 1844, Miles resigned as minister of St. Jude's. Miles' own position was perfectly clear.

> I am deeply attached to the doctrines of the glorious Reformation. I will contend for these doctrines at every risk, and under the pressure of any sacrifice. (67)

For him there was a gulf between 'The Evangelical doctrines of the Reformation, as distinguished from Tractarian heresies'. He believed that Tractariansim 'is the deadliest enemy to the liberties of mankind'. (68) 'While I am here, I will be a determined antagonist of Puseyistical principles'. (69)

Drummond, Dunbar and Miles as clergy ordained by English Bishops, were in a stronger position than those clergy who sympathised with them, but had been ordained by Scottish Bishops. The English clergy were at liberty to leave Scotland, and return to English parishes. But the Scottish clergy were unable to freely minister in England, However, this disability was gradually removed. Under legislation of 1792 no clergyman ordained by a Scottish Bishop could preach in a church in England, Ireland or Wales. In 1840 Scottish clergy were permitted to minister for no more than two successive Sundays, provided they had permission from the Bishop of the diocese. From 1864 Scottish clergy were permitted to serve

in a benefice outside Scotland. But this change came not without some protest from the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, who were most likely to receive Scottish clergy. Both Bishops Baring and Waldegrave opposed any change which would have allowed clergy ordained in Scotland to minister in the south. Bishop Baring objected that his diocese could be invaded by 'a number of clergymen less educated than those who were already admitted', and of an inferior class even to the already poorly qualified northern clergy. Bishop Waldegrave took a similar position, and discouraged any move which would give parliamentary support 'to an extreme party in the Scottish Episcopal Church'. (70)

By 1846 there were nine chapels which were in union with 'The Church of England Association in Scotland'. Subsequently other 'English Chapels' were formed - and all have been gradually absorbed into the Scottish Episcopal Church - the last two being St. Thomas', Edinburgh in 1940, and St Silas', Glasgow in 1987. (71)

The leaders of the movement, Drummond, Dunbar and Miles together with a layman from Edinburgh, made up a deputation to England in June 1846 to test English support for them and to put their own case to the Anglican Bishops. (72) The three clergy regarded themselves as being on a par with English chapels in Europe, and of three proprietary chapels in London which were not under the authority of the diocesan bishop. Their chapels were episcopal because they maintained episcopal order, they had been episcopally ordained by an English Bishop and they used the Book of Common Prayer. Miles made it clear that the congregation of St. Jude's was 'separated from the Scottish Episcopal Church - but they are

of the Church of England'.

> Our true character is episcopal; our principles are episcopalian; and if we are independents in any sense, our violation has been influenced by circumstances - we are independents, not from choice, but from necessity. (73)

Since their ordinations were valid, and it was perfectly in order to minister in an unconsecrated chapel (there were instances of these both in England and Scotland), the congregations had no need to use the offices of the Scottish Bishops. But confirmation was a different matter. In the past some English Bishops had confirmed candidates in the English chapels in Scotland, but with the separation of a number of congregations a different policy had to be adopted. The way round the difficulty was to take the rubric at the end of the confirmation service:

> And there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.

Candidates were considered to be 'ready and desirous to be confirmed', and were admitted to Holy Communion on the basis of their faith in Christ. At St. Jude's, Glasgow

> We have endeavoured to impress upon them the fact that the confirmation of their souls in the faith of Christ, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, is the essential thing, and that it is sufficient to justify their attendance at the Lord's Table. (74)

There appears to have been no solution to the problem of confirmation until Bishop Villiers became Bishop of Carlisle.

In 1856 Admiral F. W. Pennell (75) and his family settled in Scotland and he disliked what he saw of the Episcopal Church.

> I disclaim all connection with the Episcopal Church in Scotland, as long as that Communion office forms part of her service. (76)

Pennell wrote to his friend Bishop Villiers and asked him to confirm his daughter, Caroline. Villiers consented and obtained a certificate from C. P. Miles, the minister of St. Jude's, Glasgow.

The practice begun by Bishop Villiers continued under Bishop Waldegrave. In April 1861 out of 650 candidates confirmed at Carlisle 200 were from Scotland. After the service they had tea in the Fratry before journeying home. (77) In August 1864 candidates from St. Thomas', Edinburgh, were confirmed by Bishop Waldegrave, (78) and in March 1869 Bishop Anderson confirmed a total of 388 candidates in Carlisle Cathedral, 110 of whom were from Glasgow and 53 from Edinburgh. (79)

Already members of the Penrith branch of the ECU had been in correspondence with episcopal clergy in Scotland, and both groups agreed that the 'scandal' should be ended. Coupled with this, the Penrith clergy looked for any excuse to criticise and challenge Bishop Waldegrave. For Thomas Fenton the issue was clear.

> As to the schismatical confirmation at Carlisle, he did not see how the Bishop, after confirming in his church those who did not belong to it, could say a word to his poor priests when he himself set such a bad example. (80)

The Penrith clergy were anxious to take the matter still further, but in June 1869 they decided that

> In consequence of the Bishop's illness, the matter will not at present be brought publicly forward. (81)

But since the proceedings of the Penrith branch of the ECU were reported in the press, it was naive to imagine the matter could be shelved. The Bishop lay dying at Rose Castle, but his friends

supported him. Pennell published his correspondence with the ritualistic clergy. (82)

Dean Close defended the rights of Englishmen living in Scotland, and who disagreed with the ritualism of the Scottish Episcopal Church

> To have their children confirmed by a true Church of England, Bishop, it is perfectly right and lawful for them to do so, and no power, civil or ecclesiastical, can interfere with them. (83)

Close condemned the Penrith clergy who sat 'in judgment on the conduct of their own Bishop'. (84) They were interfering in an episcopal function: 'these may be very good priests, but they are very bad churchmen'. (85)

The timing of the whole issue was unfortunate. Bishop Waldegrave was in no fit state to get involved and Bishop Anderson was acting in a caretaker capacity. Certainly given the situation the Evangelical congregations in Scotland had every right to look to the Bishops in the Church of England.

Much of the debate between the Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics was carried out in public, but clearly other things were said behind closed doors. In September 1873 three Anglo-Catholics - C. M. Preston and C. V. Pixell from the diocese of Carlisle and J. B. Dykes of Durham - were to have given a paper to the Society of the Holy Cross on 'The state of the church in the dioceses of Carlisle, Durham etc'. (86) But the paper was never given, had it been read it would have revealed a great deal about what they thought about their Evangelical fathers in God.

However in Carlisle the activities of this secret society came out into the open in their attempt to establish an oratory in the city.

iii) The Carlisle Oratory

In February 1855 six Anglo-Catholic priests founded the Society of the Holy Cross (generally called SSC - from the Latin title of its manual - Societas Sanctae Crucis). It began with six members (three of whom subsequently seceeded to Rome). By May 1865 the membership was 86 (66 in the higher order and 20 in the lower order) and a year later it had increased to 105 members. Though the membership was 358 in 1875, it was severly depleted by resignations following the adverse publicity created by the exposure of the contents of the manual for confessors entitled the Priest in Absolution. Writing in December 1877 Bishop Goodwin was clear in his condemnation.

> It (SSC) has created a scandal in the church of almost unparalled magnitude, and it seems to me that the only right course for wise and loyal churchmen is to wash their hands of it. (1)

If Goodwin had known more about the activities of SSC he might well not have given them any support in opening an Oratory in Carlisle. But how were churchmen to regard SSC?

For Charles Lowder the object of the Society of the Holy Cross was

> To deepen and strengthen the spiritual life of the clergy, to defend the faith of the church, and then, among others, to carry on and aid mission work both at home and abroad. (2)

A sympathetic view of SSC was that it provided a useful focus for ritualistic clergy.

> From a party point of view, one of the Society's most important functions was to bring together priests who normally worked and suffered in isolation; it gave them opportunities for comparing notes and discussing ways and means of meeting their difficulties; it also enabled them to let off steam. (3)

But for their critics the members of the Society of the Holy Cross were involved in a secret, Jesuitical society, which the Protestant commentator Walter Walsh condemned 'as the centre of the Romanising conspiracy'. (4) Certainly it was the secrecy which brought consternation to Evangelical churchmen, and a concern to curb the activities of the Society of the Holy Cross.

Members of SSC in the north of England were particularly isolated - both from their brethren in the south, and from their fellow clergy in their dioceses. In July 1871 Charles Lowder carried out a visitation of the north of England, and met groups of sympathetic Anglo-Catholic clergy in Wakefield, Durham and Penrith. (5) A successful outcome of his visit was a formal application to the London Chapter for the formation of a branch in the Carlisle diocese. Within a week the Carlisle branch was inagurated. In December 1871 following a celebration of Holy Communion at St. John's church, Skirwith, it was proposed by the vicar, C.H.V. Pixell, and seconded by C. M. Preston

> That the Brethren in the Diocese of Carlisle form themselves into a local branch to be called SSC Carlisle Branch.

It was further carried that T.S. Barrett be the Vicar of the Branch, and Pixell be the secretary and acting treasurer. (6)

When the Carlisle Branch was formed there were only five members - Barrett (admitted to the lower order in October 1864), Preston (admitted May 1869), Pixell (admitted May 1868), R.V.B.Evanson (admitted February 1870) and A.H.Deeley (admitted August 1870). Three further members were admitted in March 1872 - Charles Angel, Thomas Lees and Arthur Evanson O'Brien - and between November 1872 and September 1877 a further four were admitted - George Robinson (admitted November 1872), Edward Curwen (admitted December 1872), F.G.E.Ashworth (admitted February 1873) and Charles Baker (admitted September 1877). (7) It was expected that branch members would meet together for a monthly chapter meeting, but this proved to be impossible for members of the Carlisle Branch. In May 1873 the national SSC synod allowed them to meet less frequently, and in April 1875, the London chapter permitted them to meet just twice a year.

Already in 1871 at the May synod of SSC, discussion was taking place about establishing an Oratory in London as a centre for the ritualistic movement in the capital, but the plan was shelved. (8) This action perhaps seen as lack of faith by members of the Carlisle Branch may have prompted them to consider the possibility of opening an Oratory in Carlisle. They were an isolated remnant. The previous activities of its members had been curbed by Bishops Waldegrave and Villiers, and condemned by Dean Close. For Anglo-Catholics the faith was under-represented and needed a focus in the diocese. With the arrival of Bishop Goodwin it was hoped that he might be more open than his predecessors to the minority of Anglo-Catholics. But the plan to establish an Oratory by a handful

of loyal Catholics in a predominantly Evangelical cathedral city was an ambitious scheme which was fraught with difficulties.

In January 1872 Pixell sent a letter to the meeting of the London Chapter outlining their progress to date.

> Seeing that the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Carlisle, has given permission to Brothers of SSC to open a religious house with oratory attached, in his parish, this Branch is anxious to obtain a promise of assistance from the central chapter both in temporal and spiritual matters.
>
> The house will be common to all Brothers of SSC who will be expected to say offices etc. We resident in the diocese shall have to guarantee certain regular services. Of course we shall have to begin in a small way, but something surely should be done. There are 8,000 people in Tasker's parish, 32,000 in Carlisle, and a priest who believes he is one within six miles.
>
> I shall await your answer, and thereafter straight to the Bishop. We will establish an agency in Penrith. (9)

Clearly James Tasker, the Perpetual Curate of Holy Trinity, a member of the ECU, was prepared to allow the Oratory to be established in his parish (though he did not join SSC). Thomas Lees, the Perpetual Curate of Wreay situated six miles from Carlisle and who had already been elected a member of SSC, but not yet admitted to the lower order, would give what support he could. Strangely, T. G. Livingstone does not seem to have been drawn into this handful of supporters.

The London chapter sent their good wishes to their friends in the north, as well as a donation of £10 (with a further £10 in May 1873). But it was to be lack of support and adequate funding which was to cause problems throughout the short life of the Carlisle Oratory. Though to be expected, the supporters of the project had not realised the extent of the opposition against the Oratory led

by Dean Close.

At the synod of SSC in London in May 1872, Pixell introduced the subject of the proposed Carlisle Oratory.

> Having described the entire lack of Catholic feeling and privileges in that town, he went onto state the plan which the promoters of the scheme had in view, and the position which the Oratory, if started, under the 'Private Chapels Act' would hold with regard to the Bishop of Carlisle, and the incumbent of the parish.

After a discussion the Brethren approved the scheme, subject to sufficient funds being obtained from amongst members of SSC, and finding a suitable site in the parish. (10)

An application was made to the Bishop of Carlisle, to ask that if a house or home were established in Holy Trinity parish, whether he would grant a licence under the Private Chapels Act. The Bishop later reported to Dean Close how he had responded.

> I replied that I doubted whether a chapel such as was described came within the meaning of the Act, but that if I had a more definite scheme before me I would consider it; accordingly a scheme was laid before me, which I submitted for legal opinion, and was informed that it would be within the law. This being so, I said that in the event of an institution being established upon the scheme described I would give a licence on certain conditions. The chief of these was that I should require to be satisfied that there would be no ritual developments, contrary to what had been decided to be lawful. (11)

However, another and not unexpected correspondence began between Dean Close and Bishop Goodwin. Wild exaggerated rumours began to spread and Close received anonymous letters which suggested that the Brethren of SSC were to establish a monastic community of two hundred priests in Carlisle. Close was sufficiently alarmed by the rumours that he sent the letters to the Bishop.

At the same time, Close delivered a petition from over 100 clergy discouraging the Bishop from granting a licence.

> We, the undersigned, clergymen in your Lordship's diocese, having heard that application has been made to your lordship by a body of clergymen calling themselves 'The Brethren of the Holy Cross', praying that they may have your lordship's sanction to open a 'house' or 'home' for clergymen in the parish of Caldewgate, in the city of Carlisle, as a 'retreat'; offering their services to discharge clerical and religious duties in that parish, under your lordship's licence; believing, moreover, that among these applicants the leading supporters of the 'English Church Union' and the ritualistic party are conspicuous - we, with all due deference and respect to your lordship, express our earnest hope that you will not sanction or give any encouragement to such an application.
>
> Should such a step be taken, the consequences would be most disastrous to the best interests of the church in this diocese. Schism and division would be multiplied and aggravated, and a permanent feud established in the heart of the cathedral city.
>
> The great body of the clergy and laity in the city of Carlisle, and in the diocese generally, are conscientiously and determinately opposed to anything which savours of ritualism: and we are persuaded that if such a body of men as the 'Brethren of the Holy Cross' be located among us, no measures, however judicious, which your lordship could adopt would either allay perpetual discord, or prevent the introduction of customs and ceremonies offensive to the great body of your clergy. (12)

In replying to Close the Bishop insisted that there was a real tension over the whole issue.

> On the one hand, I do not like to throw cold water upon an attempt to supply more pastoral effort in that great poor parish of Trinity: on the other hand, I have thought it right to guard against the introduction of any ritual or other excesses. (13)

In responding to the petition from the clergy, Bishop Goodwin made it clear that his permission was not being sought to open a religious house in the parish, but that once a house was opened, a licence would be required for the chaplain in what was a private

chapel. The clergy attached to the house could voluntarily assist in visitation in the parish, but this would strictly be outside the wording of the licence.

The Bishop made it clear to Close, and the other clergy that

> I frankly own that I did not feel myself at liberty entirely to discourage the scheme; my aim has ever been to encourage zeal of all kinds; and I did not think that I should be justified in endeavouring to thwart an effort which might indirectly do much good to a very large and poor parish, merely because it was connected with a religious school, which is in an immense minority in the diocese of Carlisle, and with whose special views (so far as I know them) I have not sympathy. But I have endeavoured, and will endeavour, to act with great caution, and to do only that which is just and right.
>
> In the event of certain clergy buying a house in Carlisle, and living there in a manner which they may think productive of good to their poor fellow Christians, and benefit to their own souls, I should trust that there would be no ground for 'that permanent feud in the heart of the cathedral city', which yourself and the rest of the clergy who have signed the address seem to apprehend.

Finally the Bishop rebuked Close for publishing his letter which was private and confidential. This had given undue publicity throughout the diocese and elsewhere to an issue which did not warrant such attention. (14)

The weak response of the Bishop to the obvious concern of Close and the clergy was matched by the clear welcome for the oratory in the Church Herald:

> There is no doubt, however, we believe, that it is intended to build a good church in Carlisle where the catholic system of the Church of England will be carried out in its integrity; and we know quite enough of Carlisle to be convinced that there is no place in the United Kingdom where such a movement is more urgently needed, or where there is a finer field for such devoted Anglo-Catholic ministrations as there is every reason to believe will be faithfully and energetically pursued by the 'Brethren of the Holy Cross' -their very designation being a guarantee for Christian zeal and fidelity.

The Protestant panic, therefore, has by no means abated either in the city or diocese. It has within the last few days, indeed, rather increased, we understand, than otherwise, owing no doubt to the sensible reply of the Bishop to the clerical alarmists' address, which was devoid of all sympathy, it appears, with their apprehensions, and merely and most properly gave an assurance that their complaint should receive his lordship's most careful attention. (15)

Meanwhile members of SSC were raising funds and looking for suitable premises in Holy Trinity parish. In May 1872 A. H. Mackonochie the Master of the Society of the Holy Cross, sent out a circular letter to members of the Society.

> The Vicar of the Carlisle Branch has asked me to commend to your notice the following resolution passed at the Synod last week.
>
> That the SSC approves of the scheme for the proposed Oratory in Carlisle, and, subject to the necessary funds being raised by private subscription among the brethren, undertakes to treat for the securing of a site for the purpose.
>
> The Carlisle oratory is a work which the Synod considered to deserve the utmost attention of the Society. The Carlisle clergy are completely overridden by an ultra-Protestant clique, the strength of which lies in the Dean, and a powerful tradition left by the two late Bishops ... The Bishop is quite willing to encourage work (especially an increase of celebrations), and he has consented to licence a chaplain to the proposed religious house. There is an earnest demand for the privileges which such a house would afford. A site may be had in the parish of Holy Trinity (the poorest in Carlisle), of which the priest has given his consent to the scheme, but it is of the utmost importance the site should be secured at once. If you will kindly exert yourself among your friends, and send any money you can get at once to brother the Rev. C. H. V. Pixell, Skirwith Vicarage, Penrith, he will account for it to the Society, in Chapter, and send you a receipt. (16)

T. S. Barrett, 'the Vicar of the Carlisle Branch' appealed for furniture for the Oratory, which included

> An altar cross, altar lights, vesper lights, cottas, cassocks and stoles, a scaring bell, frontals and super frontals, banners, flower vases etc. (17)

The House and Oratory of the Brethren of the Holy Cross was opened in January 1873. It was situated in a narrow court off Bridge Street. This industrial area of the city consisted of a mixture of poor housing and a variety of industries - brewing, clay-pipe manufacturers, alabaster works, a wœllen spinning mill, and Carr's bread and biscuit factory.

The accomodation for the Brothers had previously been a weaving shop, and the small chapel, measuring 34' 0" by 18' 0" with seating for about 120 persons, had been weaving shops with accomodation above. The first floor had been removed to create a simple chapel with a concrete floor and simple wooden benches. The focus was an altar covered with a scarlet cloth embroided with fleur-de-lis. On a ledge behind the altar was a gilt cross, and on either side were vases of flowers and two large candlesticks, behind which was a green cloth above which was a picture of the crucifixion, and the text 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts'. On the plain walls of the chapel were coloured banners.

The House and Oratory had its dedication with a Benediction led by T. S. Barrett on 14 January 1873, and on the following day, Holy Communion was celebrated six times - at 5.45 am, 6.30 am, 7.00 am, 8.00 am, 9.00 am and 11.30 am. The 11.30 am service was open to ticket holders. The congregation consisted of about twelve members of the public and sixteen Brothers who entered in procession. They wore black cassocks, short white surplices, and two or three had scarlet stoles fringed with gold. The celebrant at this 'High celebration' was Pixell, and the sermon preached by Deeley. Wafer bread was used at the communion, which was elevated and the sign

of the cross made over each over communicant. Before the blessing the Brothers sang:

> Jesu, gentlest Saviour,
> God of might and power,
> Thou thyself art dwelling
> In us at this hour.

At 7.30 pm Evensong attracted a larger congregation, and so many were present that there was an overspill meeting in one of the adjoining rooms. The service was conducted by O'Brien and the sermon preached by Barrett. (18) Within days of the chapel being opened Close wrote to the Bishop, and drew his attention to the reports in the local press about the ritualistic practices. Close asked the Bishop

> Whether the building in question, or the officiating clergymen were licensed, or whether they have obtruded themselves on the citizens of Carlisle without your lordship's permission?

To this the Bishop replied that

> The services to which you refer have had no sanction from me - unless it be regarded as a sanction that I have taken no active steps in opposition to them. (19)

It was this inaction by Bishop Goodwin which caused Protestant concern. He could have cautioned the behaviour of some of the Anglo-Catholic clergy from his diocese and prevented visiting clergy from conducting services in the chapel. Certainly the Bishop's register does not record him licensing any clergy to the chapel.

The services at the Oratory started with a flourish but this was not to be sustained. From seven services on the first day, the pattern once a chaplain had been appointed was three daily

services - 8.00 am Holy Communion, 10.00 am Mat;ins and 6.00 pm Evensong, with the Litany on Wednesdays at 12.00 noon. Subsequently a 'service for boys' was held, and later a 'service for girls' was introduced. Until a chaplain was appointed, and then after his dismissal, services were taken, in the main, by sympathetic Anglo-Catholic clergy in the diocese. Visiting clergy also took services at the Oratory. In May 1873, Bishop Henry Lascelles Jenner, the ritualistic non-Bishop of Dunedin, New Zealand, preached a sermon and celebrated Holy Communion.

It had been hoped that William Field Ives, Curate of St. James', Whitehaven 1871-73, would become the resident chaplain, but instead be became curate of Holy Trinity, Carlisle 1873-76. Some difficulty took place in finding a chaplain, and even when one was found, considerable problems arose over his appointment. W.S.Helps' name first appeared in the service register in June 1873, but had disappeared by the autumn. Previously Helps had got into trouble - described as 'his past misconduct at Braintree' - for which he had apologised to the Bishop of Rochester (Essex was then in his extensive diocese) for his 'acts of schism while living in Essex'. (20) What Helps had done is unclear but it was of sufficient significance for the London chapter of SSC, to request that he be removed from the position as chaplain of the Carlisle Oratory, since his presence brought discredit to the whole Society.

F.S.Edwards was appointed to succeed Helps, but he soon resigned, since he was 'not strong enough to carry on the work'. (21) What was needed, Pixell maintained, was a strong man to carry out the work, but none could be found. No doubt the pressures were

related to the poverty of the area coupled with the uncertainty of the appointment, an inadequate salary and the strength of the Evangelical opposition. In December 1873 the London Chapter offered to assist the Carlisle branch in securing the ministrations of a priest for six months and with the promise of a donation of not more than £30. (22)

Pixell came up with two suggestions neither of which were acted upon. One was that the SSC London Chapter could assist their Carlisle brethren by finding a priest who could act as the chaplain of the Oratory and be the Curate to the elderly incumbent of Kirkandrews on Eden. The other suggestion was that an ecclesiastical district be formed from Holy Trinity parish which would be attached to the Oratory, which would guarantee at least a salary of £150 a year.

The minutes of the SSC make it clear that there were problems over the activities of the Carlisle branch and of the involvement of the London Chapter in the affairs of the Oratory. The local branch was small and could not sustain the ministry at the Oratory without outside support; but the London Chapter were obviously concerned about the wider reputation of the SSC, and were compelled to take more than a passing interest in what was happening in Carlisle. Even the London Chapter were not agreed about what they should do over the Carlisle Oratory. One Brother regarded the whole scheme as disast_rous to the Society and unrealistic right from the start and it had caused a scandal; another said that it was 'a patent failure', the failure due in part to the 'opposition raised by the Dean of Carlisle'. (23) Mackonochie believed that

against what had been previously expressed by the London Chapter that the Carlisle Branch were quite competant to manage their own affairs.

At the London Chapter of July 1875, Pixell reported that

> The services had ceased,it being impossible to procure a chaplain. While the place served as a rendezvous for Catholic priests in the diocese, and on the occasion of the last diocesan synod, the only early Mass was said at the Oratory chapel. It might serve as a shelter for some priests in time to come. It was doubtful that even if a priest was able to go whether the Bishop of Carlisle would sanction him. (24)

The future of the Carlisle Oratory was discussed at some length at the September 1875 synod of SSC. The Carlisle members wanted the Oratory to remain open, since it was the only place in the city to hold confessions. The outcome of the discussion was that the property would be retained in the name of the Society, but that it was to be occupied by a group of Sisters who would be the tenants of the Society.

Three years before,in the spring of 1872,the St. Mary's Home for Penitents had opened in Carlisle, and was founded by the daughter of Chancellor C. J. Burton. In May 1872 the home was transferred into the what had previously been Coalfell Hill workhouse and was opened by the Bishop. The home, which had links with a similar home in Hammersmith had room for 36 inmates. When it was opened there were six women in residence who were engaged in laundry work. (25)

It is more than likely that the home was transferred to the former Oratory in the autumn of 1875. There were common links between the two bodies. Between 1872-77 the first chaplain of the

home was Henry Whitmore and he was succeeded by Edward Hassell Curwen who was a member of SSC.

The Carlisle Oratory was a short-lived experiment. To its supporters it had been an attempt to establish a Catholic centre in a theological wasteland - in Pixell's opinion, 'Carlisle, as regarded its church privileges, was the most wretched city in England'. (26) To its opponents the Oratory was an ambitious, foolhardy failure. The Bishop of Carlisle foolishly allowed the Oratory to open and failed to take any action over what was an irregular situation. The Dean of Carlisle proved to be a powerful Protestant champion who more than any other individual was the cause of the closure of the Carlisle Oratory.

d) Holiness and the Keswick Convention

The holiness teaching which developed in the nineteenth century had various antecedents. Eighteenth century pietism flourished within the Methodist movement and Arminian perfectionism within the numerous schisms after the death of John Wesley. Overseas too, holiness teaching was being taught. Though Charles Grandison Finney was not the creator of American revivalism, his influence was immense, particularly following the publication of his book Lectures on Revivals of Religion in 1836.

Eugene Stock regarded 1856 as the beginning of the 'New Evangelical Movement'. In August 1856 William Pennefather held a four day conference which heralded a new emphasis on personal holiness, and a renewed dedication to the mission of the church.(1) The mid-century revival took place between 1857-61 in the United States and Great Britain - beginning in the United States, followed by Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales.

At the time the impact of the power of God was deeply felt. Bishop H. C. G. Moule recalled how the 1859 revival touched his father's parish of Fordington, near Dorchester.

> No artificial means of excitement were dreamt of; my father's whole genius was against it. No powerful personality, no Moody or Aitken, came to us. A city missionary and a London bible-woman were the only helpers from a distance. But a power not of man brought souls to ask the old question, 'What must I do to be saved?' Up and down the village the pastor, the pastoress, and their faithful helpers, as they went their daily rounds, found the 'anxious'. And the church was thronged to overflowing, ans so was the spacious school-room, night after night throughout the week. The very simplest means carried with them a heavenly power. The plain reading of a chapter often conveyed the call of God to men and women, and they 'came to Jesus as they were'. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that hundreds of people at that time were awakened, awed, made conscious of eternal realities. (2)

In the north of England the revival began in 1859. In the north-east it started in the summer of 1859. In September The Times reported that 'a religious "revival"' had commenced in Newcastle upon Tyne.

> This town has become the scene of a religious 'awakening' which bids fair to rival anything of the kind which has occurred either in America or the north of Ireland. (3)

By November 1859 there were 1,400 converts attending special services in Brunswick Wesleyan Methodist chapel. The revival spread to the surrounding region. Particularly significant was that the young William Booth, later founder of the Salvation Army, and then a minister of the New Connexion (Methodist) church in Gateshead, strongly supported the revival. So many were converted at his church that it became known as 'the converting shop'. (4)

In the north-west of England the revival began in the autumn of 1859. In October 1859 the editor of the Carlisle Journal hoped that the revival would not cross the Irish Sea.

> We on this side of the Irish Channel may now, it is to be hoped, fairly congratulate ourselves upon the improbability of our being subjected to a visitation of that religious excitement of which so much has been heard lately in the sister island. (5)

But this was not to be. The Irish revivalist preacher, the Rev. Hugh Hanna, was invited to speak to the Presbyterians in Whitehaven, and soon 'prostrations' occured when he spoke. James Orr makes it clear that

> Wherever Ulstermen appeared as evangelists the Ulster phenomena were in evidence also, whereas when the work was carried on by indigenous English evangelists these phenomena were rare. Some Ulstermen regarded 'Prostration' as an evidence of Revival power, and encouraged it as such. (6)

By the end of October 1859 Hanna was in Carlisle and addressing congregations at the United Presbyterian Church, and lecturing in the Athenaeum. (7) 'The revival in Carlisle' (8) began in earnest in the new year. In February Rev. M'Crie from Dumfries gave addresses on the subject of revival in the Shaddowgate School. (9) In the spring of 1860 Dr. and Mrs Palmer held a five week crusade in Carlisle from the end of February to the end of March, and based it at the Wesleyan Chapel, Fisher Street. During the five week mission 450 individuals were saved. (10)

> Six months later the work of grace was still on the increase, supported by a united meeting of five churches for purposes of prayer, and effected by the hiring of a local theatre for purposes of preaching. (11)

From Carlisle the Palmers moved to Penrith where the revival was supported by the Nonconformist congregations - Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists, Presbyterians and Independents. The emphasis was on individual perfectionism. Mrs Palmer 'generally addressed believers on the necessity of seeking entire sanctification'. (12) For the supporters of the revival this was spiritual enlightenment. But for the critics it represented madness and even death. The Carlisle Journal documented 'a victim of the revivals' a Hannah Maxwell who having attended three or four of the meetings in Penrith, returned home in what was described as a state of insanity, and died a week later. (13)

Penrith was such a fruitful area of ministry that the Palmers cancelled other speaking engagements. (14) Further south the revival struck Windermere, much to the consternation of the incumbent E. P. Stock who made it clear that

> the present so-called united prayer meetings, at Harrison's Assembly Room, Windermere, are held without his concurrence or approval, and that he is not in any way connected with them. (15)

A week later the supporters of the prayer meeting made the Rector a special object of their prayers! Near to Windermere there was much prayer.

> It has all been prayer, prayer, prayer: and the good work continues to increase without any human instrumentality ... no sectarianism, no preachers, nothing, but prayer ... (16)

Support for the revival was mainly Nonconformist and working class, and the combination of Arminianism and perfectionism made it the target for criticism from Anglican Evangelicals. There is certainly no evidence to suggest that Bishop Waldegrave 'co-operated wholeheartedly in the movement'. (17) Indeed he said that religion was too emotional today, 'they did not understand it in its fundamental truth'. (18) In February 1861 Close spoke out against the revival. He was not against 'wholesome zeal', but was against that which was contrary to scripture. He was

> against those ebullititions of fanaticism and enthusiasm which characterise the so-called religious revivals of the present day. He condemned 'revivals' as shallow and superficial, and expressed his regret that they had been the means of sending several persons to the mad-house. He could not tell why they were called 'revivals'; they were conversions, attended with great excitement and terror ... for these rapid conversions he saw no models in the scriptures. (19)

But Close's comments were criticised. In a letter to the Carlisle Journal a correspondent made it clear that it was untrue to maintain, as Close suggested, that several people in Dumfries, Annan and neighbourhood had been driven to the mad-house as a result of the revival. Only one person had been admitted to the

Crichton Institution, for which enemies of the revival had attributed to religious enthusiasm. Close's critic supported the revival. 'My earnest prayer is that Carlisle may soon have a similar visitation'. (20)

While the conservative Carlisle Evangelical leaders were critical of the teaching of the revivalists, the 'New Evangelical Movement' had a considerable impact on other Anglican Evangelicals. It was significant that when in the 1860s and 1870s the emphasis was on a new inner spiritual vitality and concern to share common insights with fellow believers, at precisely the same time the Evangelical party looked for unity in opposing 'rationalism, ritualism and Romanism'. Ironically what was to last much longer than the outlook of Bishops Villiers and Waldegrave and of Dean Close was the holiness teaching associated with the Keswick Convention and the spiritual pilgrimage of Thomas Dundas Harford Battersby.

Thomas Dundas Harford Battersby

Thomas Dundas Harford Battersby (1822-1883) was privately educated in Bristol and then at Harrow School. He entered Balliol College, Oxford and graduated BA in 1844 and MA in 1847. He was ordained deacon in 1847, and priest in 1849. As a curate in Alverstoke, Gosport between 1847-49, Battersby moved from an emotional attachment to Tractarianism to a deeper commitment to Evangelicalism. As he left Gosport he recorded

> I am persuaded on the whole of the truth of Protestant principles; Anglo-Catholicism I believe to be inconsistant, and untenable by an honest mind. But when I went to Gosport I did not think thus, or I wanted courage to avow it ... I occupied an anomalous position; I could not agree with my fellow-clergy, and yet I dared not avow myself of the opposite way of thinking. I feared to be thought an Evangelical ... And now, having chosen deliberately Protestant principles, let me endeavour to show my life and teaching that these principles are also principles of righteousness. (21)

Early in 1847 Battersby read Catholic Thoughts by Frederic Myers (22) the Perpetual Curate of St. John's, Keswick between 1838-51. Battersby, who became his curate in 1849, described Myers as 'a guide and a prophet'. (23)

Myers was an interesting character and far removed from being a conventional Evangelical minister. He was something of a mystic and a poet. Harvey Goodwin brought a party of Cambridge undergraduates to Keswick in the summer of 1840 described Myers as being

> Utterly unmusical; very dreary and mystical, fond of German speculations; and having an ecclesiastical system almost his own. Butthere were several things in him and his ways which much attracted me. One of them was the comprehensive view he took of his duties as a parish priest ... then there was the zeal with which he worked out his views; and, besides, there was a freshness and originality about him, which was to me infinitely attractive. (24)

Myers died in July 1851 and a week later Battersby and Henry Venn Elliott preached memorial sermons at Keswick. Elliott had been with Myers shortly before he died at Clifton, Bristol and Elliott challenged the Keswick congregation:

> I beseech you, then, in the name of God, remember your minister, and his dying wish and message that Keswick might grow in the love of Jesus. (25)

But neither Myers nor Elliott could have envisaged how this growth was to take place. In August 1851 Battersby was appointed to the living and remained there until his death in 1883.

Battersby developed a vigorous parish ministry and built on the work of Myers. Battersby supported the usual range of auxiliary societies (26) and was a keen supporter of CMS. He developed the Keswick Auxiliary Association for Missionary Societies and held an annual new year's day missionary meeting. Battersby's deputation work for CMS strengthened missionary interest throughout Cumbria, and in particular influenced at least one of his curates. Rowland Bates left Keswick in 1867 and became a CMS missionary in the Punjab working closely with Francis Baring, son of the Bishop of Durham.

Battersby was approved and rewarded by successive Bishops of Carlisle. Bishop Villiers appointed him as one of the first Rural Deans in 1858, and Bishop Waldegrave appointed him as a canon of Carlisle in 1866. Of Battersby, Bishop Goodwin said,

> If it be necessary, as I think it is not, to classify men according to the particular light in which some great truths of the gospel and of the church are viewed by them, I presume that Canon Battersby and myself would not be found in the same class; and on that account I am all the more earnest in expressing the deep and loving reverence with which I ever contemplated his character and conduct. He was in a true sense 'a shining light'; you could not doubt that the light of God was in him. (27)

For Battersby the light shone forth from Keswick in three ways. First, in the cause of Christian unity; second, in Evangelical unity through the Evangelical Union for the Diocese of Carlisle; and third, in spiritual holiness through the Keswick Convention.

While he was a curate in Gosport, Battersby had said

> Dissent is terrible here, but many with whom I have spoken seem not at all violent against the church, and to be merely Dissenters from force of circumstances. (28)

But at Keswick Battersby made it clear that he was anxious to co-operate with Dissenters.

> My business with the people is to make them Christians ... we must be content to call to our aid the dissenting sects, and gladly get them, if we can, to work with us in Christianizing the people. (29)

Battersby was a keen supporter of the annual week of prayer sponsored by the Evangelical Alliance and began a weekly prayer meeting in June 1858. On Charles Hudson Spurgeon's visit to Keswick in June 1861, Battersby attended one of his lectures and convened a joint prayer-meeting. (30) But this fellowship with Spurgeon did not prevent Battersby from challenging Spurgeon's accusation that the Evangelical clergy of the Church of England were guilty 'of flagrant falsehood and perjury' over their baptismal service. For Battersby, scripture and the Church of England taught that it was the disposition of the heart which was important rather than mere baptism. Regeneration was a work of the Holy Spirit, a grafting into Christ. (31) In July 1865 Battersby formed the Keswick United Christian League to hold open air services in the town - in the market place on Sunday afternoons, in the courts and alleys on Tuesdays, and in the Brigham district on Thursdays. At a time when denominational revivalry was bitter and antagonistic, Battersby gave a brief address at the graveside in St. John's churchyard in memory of Rev. Jos Dallow, the late minister of the Bethesda Free Chapel in Keswick. Battersby referred to Dallow's

'labours of the man of God'. (32)

Christian unity between members of different denominations was to be a characteristic of the later Keswick Convention.

Within a year or two of moving to Keswick Battersby fully identified himself with the Evangelical party. In 1854 he attended his first May meeting in London. But London was six hours away and Battersby was aware that many of his fellow Evangelicals in the diocese were unable to attend May meetings in the capital, and moreover were isolated from each other in the diocese. To ease the situation Battersby with three or four like-minded clergy began to meet together at Wigton. In the summer of 1859 and with his friends George Courtenay Hodgson, Vicar of Barton, and the layman W. D. Crewson from Kendal, Battersby formed the Lay and Clerical Union for the diocese of Carlisle.

In July 1859 and inspired by the example of the West of England Clerical and Lay Association (formed in 1858) Battersby sent out 22 circulars inviting individuals to attend the first meeting in August. To encourage the poorer clergy to attend he kept what he called the 'secret service money'. Twelve years later Battersby looked back and described the Carlisle Union.

> The first object of the Association was unity, and they had fully and entirely succeeded in attaining that object. They had in their Association all the decided Evangelical men in the diocese, and they met year by year to discuss various subjects connected with the church. But their chief object in meeting was not so much discussion as to come into contact one with another. Their committee agreed with this plan. (33)

One of the members indicated other aspects of their meeting together.

> The main object of the Union was to foster spiritual life in the diocese, and for this purpose to gather at least once in the year the clergy and laity of like mind to one centre for two days, and there, in the spirit of prayer and of fellowship in the great Christian principles that bound them together, to try to strengthen one another's hands in God. At all the meetings it was frequently remarked that the devotional element was prominent, and anything like party controversy was checked. (34)

Dean Close succinctly described the purpose of the Union:

> A Union not formed expressly for aggressive and controversial objects, but rather for the mutual encouragement and edification of those members of the church, whether lay or clerical, who, being united to each other by common principles and sympathies, are not ashamed of the designation - 'Evangelicals'. (35)

The number of participants in the Carlisle Union ranged from thirty clergy and laity in 1862, (36) to 81 in 1873, with ten visitors together with those specially invited. (37) The form of the gathering was similar from year to year, with meetings over the course of two days, and a sermon often delivered in St. John's, Keswick, but meetings were also held in Carlisle and Kendal.

A whole range of topics were discussed at the meetings. In response to the publication of Essays and Reviews Battersby addressed the Carlisle Union in March 1861 on 'Rationalism in the Church of England, with special reference to the volume entitled "Essays and Reviews"'. Another topic directly related to current affairs was the exceptionally high illegitimate figures for Cumbria (11 out of every 100 births) which were discussed at the 1865 meeting of the Union. (38) In 1866 Close spoke on 'Ritualism and Romanism in the Church of England'. (39) Other meetings were of a more devotional character. In October 1863 Archdeacon Phelps preached a sermon on 'Self denial required on Christ's followers', (40) and

Dean Close spoke on 'Prayer' in September 1875. (41)

In September 1867 Close delivered a paper entitled 'Insipid Sermons', having been invited by the committee to address the members of the Union on the following questions.

> What are the causes which have led to the complaint of the insipidity of the modern pulpit? How far is this complaint just? What is wanted in order to raise the tone of preaching generally in the Church of England?

Close was the ideal speaker. He was still one of the leading Evangelical preachers of the day and had been taught the craft of sermon composition and delivery by Charles Simeon. Close concluded by saying that

> The personal piety, the self-denying godliness, the laborious study, the prayerful habits of the preacher, will alone give that hallowed influence, and lively interest, and under the power of the Holy Spirit, those blessed effects to his pulpit labours for which we all pray, and for which we must give glory to God alone. (42)

The Holy Spirit would guide the godly Evangelical preacher, but what of the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Christian believer? In September 1874 Battersby prepared a paper for the members of the Carlisle Union (but in the absence of Battersby delivered by a friend) entitled 'Higher attainments in Christian holiness, and how to promote them'. (43) Battersby had recently returned from the Oxford Convention at which his own faith had been transformed and he wished to share his new experience with his fellow Evangelicals in the diocese. This paper which outlined the possibilities of scriptural holiness also revealed what was to become the main thrust of the Keswick teaching. Holiness was to be attained by three steps. First, 'we must have a clear view

of the possibilities of Christian attainment'; second, 'we must form the distinct and deliberate purpose that this life shall, by God's grace, be ours'; third, 'we must look up to, and wait upon, our ascended Lord for all that we need to enable us to do this'.

> What was needed was that the understanding should be enlightened to take in these things, not merely as theories, but as actual realities; and that the will should be brought 'to take the decisive step or steps necessary in order that these possibilities might become realities. (44)

How this paper was received by members of the Carlisle Union is unknown. But Battersby's propagation of holiness teaching alienated many of the Evangelical clergy diocese - not least Dean Close.

However for Battersby 1874 was a turning point in his life. For twenty years he had been searching for spiritual certainties. As early as 1854 he had read Mrs D. Stowe's book on The Inner Life, and in 1860 and 1873 had made reference in his private journal to the 'Higher Life'. The crisis in his life was occasioned by his reading, his desire for a deeper prayer life, and from recurring bouts of illness. Two significant influences on Battersby were his relationship with the mystical Frederic Myers and living at Keswick amidst the romantic beauty of the Lake District.

While on holiday at Silloth in 1874 Battersby attended mission meetings conducted by the evangelist William Haslam. Battersby took part in the services and afterwards spoke privately to Haslam on the subject of sanctification. During the course of their discussion Haslam encouraged Battersby to attend the international 'Union meeting for the promotion of scriptural holiness' to be held

in Oxford between 29 August and 7 September 1874.

Some 1,000 people attended the meetings which were supported by numerous Evangelicals including Alfred Millard William Christopher, Rector of St. Aldate's, Oxford. (45) During the course of the convention the receptive Battersby heard an address from Evan Henry Hopkins, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Richmond. Hopkins had fully surrendered his life to Christ the previous year and adopted a holiness position through hearing the American holiness preacher, Robert Pearsall Smith. (46) At the Oxford Convention Hopkins spoke on John 4:46ff, and during the course of the address, Battersby passed from 'a seeking faith to a resting faith' in which, in his own words, 'God enabled me to trust and make a full surrender'. (47) The experience was life-transforming for Battersby, who described what happened in terms of receiving 'a revelation of Christ to my soul so extraordinary, glorious and precious, that from that day it illuminated my life'. (48)

> We were taken out of ourselves; we were led step by step after deep and close searchings of the heart, to such a consecration of ourselves to God, as in the ordinary times of a religious life hardly seemed possible, and we were brought, hundreds of us, clergy and laymen, men and women, to the enjoyment of a peace in trusting Christ for present and future sanctification which exceeded our utmost hopes. (49)

Battersby made a 'fresh surrender to God' (50) and became a committed exponent of holiness teaching. Another fellow-traveller at Oxford was the layman Robert Wilson who lived at Broughton Grange, the owner of coal mines near Cockermouth.

In May 1875 Battersby and Wilson attended the Brighton Convention at which Pearsall Smith was the main speaker. He had already

travelled throughout southern England propagating holiness teaching and had gained much upper-middle class support. Already Battersby had invited Pearsall Smith to Keswick to speak at the end of June at a 'three days union meetings for the promotion of practical holiness'. (51) But in the event Pearsall Smith did not attend the first Keswick Convention (though during the early years of the Convention his influence was much in evidence). At the end of the Brighton Convention Pearsall Smith hurriedly returned to America - publicly the reason was overwork, but privately it was because he was found in a compromising position with a young female admirer in a Brighton bedroom. (52)

Battersby was undeterred by the absence of Pearsall Smith and was unmoved by the growing criticism from his fellow Evangelicals and began the first Keswick Convention in June 1875. The meetings were held for a week in a tent near the church and in the school-room, and the speakers included Henry Bowker (chairman of the Convention after Battersby's death), Hanmer William Webb-Peploe (53) and George Ruthven Thornton. The beautiful setting of Keswick was significant for there was a clear association between fashionable middle-class society seeking spiritual renewal in pleasant surroundings away from industrial areas. Thus Holiness conventions were held at Chamonix in the Alps, and in England at Broadlands (the Hampshire home of William Cowper-Temple), Oxford, Brighton and Keswick. (54) Frederic William Henry Myers, (55) son of Frederic Myers, described the situation with the eye of the poet.

> Close to the parsonage in Castlelet, a little hill from which Derwentwater is seen outspread, with Borrowdale in the distance. I can recall the days when that prospect was still on of mysterious glory; when gleaming lake and

> wooded islands showed a broad radiance bossed with gloom, and purple Borrowdale wore a visionary majesty on which I dared scarcely look too long. (56)

William Pennefather regarded Westmorland as his 'English home', (57) and stayed with Battersby at Keswick and captured the beauty of the district.

> The scenery is very beautiful for some way after leaving Keswick, the railway crossing and re-crossing one of those clear rocky rivers which are my delight - so fresh and joyous, seemingly to speak with a thousand voices the praise of the Creator. (58)

Numerous Anglican Evangelicals criticised holiness teaching, including Lord Shaftesbury, Hugh M'Neile, Francis Close, John Charles Ryle and George Townsend Fox. Comparing Pearsall Smith with Moody (whom Ryle and other Evangelicals supported) Ryle maintained that there was 'the difference between sunshine and a fog'. The Record denounced holiness teaching

> Pearsall Smithism ... a new peril imported from America, which would substitute sentimentalism and visionary mysticism for solid piety and scriptural experimentalism founded on the Word of God. (59)

Soon after the end of the first Keswick Convention Battersby wrote to The Record.

> I am not going to deny, indeed I am sadly conscious of the fact, that certain elements of error have been imported into the movement, aside from the main current of the teaching, by some less cautious speakers and writers, which, if not eliminated, as I believe they are being eliminated, might prove of considerable danger to the minds of those who receive them; but I also do see, and that as clear as daylight, that God is in the movement, and that the teaching is true in all essential particulars ... (60)

Shortly before Christmas 1875, The Record carried three articles entitled 'the collapse of Pearsall Smithism'. Battersby was convinced that the teaching had been unfairly judged by his

fellow Evangelicals. He believed

> That the current teaching of the Evangelical school itself was defective and one-sided, and had become convinced of the general truth of the teaching upon which the holiness movement was based. (61)

Just before the close of 1875 Battersby reflected upon the situation in his private journal.

> What is to be done? For the present my duty is, I think, that of careful reflection upon the past: upon what I have done, written and taught. I fully see now that my espousing still the 'higher life' teaching will be to expose myself to still warmer and fiercer hostility from those 'who seem to be pillars' in the 'Evangelical camp', and to separation from their company, it may be. If I make a mistake as to this, my whole influence in the church and ministry will be compromised. It is no light or trifling matter. There must be a thorough sifting of my motives, opinions and conduct as before God. If I feel that I have erred, let me acknowledge it. If not, to God let me commit my cause, and stand fast as a rock, trusting in him. (62)

Some attempts were made to bring together the opposing sides. In February 1875 William Hay Chapman convened a 'Conference of members of the Church of England' on the subject of sanctification, and it was chaired by Edward Auriol. Through Chapman's lead both critics and supporters of holiness teaching met together for devotional meetings. Eugene Stock, who supported the movement, noted that 'Hoare, Herbert James, Emilius Bayley and Richardson, [represented] the more orthodox side; while Evan Hopkins and Bowker the layman were allowed to speak for the new school'. (63) A second conference was held in 1876 and the speakers included Ryle, Garbett, Cadman, Reeve, Conway and Rowley Hill. In 1877 Ryle made his own views known in his book Holiness its nature, hinderances, difficulties and roots. In this he outlined his clear opposition to perfectionist teaching and provided a basic manual for Evangelical opinion. (64)

On the whole criticism of holiness teaching came from Anglican Evangelicals. This was hardly surprising since the emphasis of the movement was Wesleyan and Arminian and the Evangelicals were for the most part moderate Calvinists. But the weakening of this theological position and the strengthening of the bonds between the denominations resulted in a wider acceptance of pietistic teaching by Anglican Evangelicals. As well as this the emphasis of the Keswick movement gradually changed. The 'hard line' perfectionist emphasis was modified in the light of external criticism and internal development. Two key figures in the changes were Evan Henry Hopkins and Handley Carr Glyn Moule.

Hopkins attended his first Keswick Convention in 1876 and his last in 1915. It was said of him that

> He was not only the theologian of Keswick; he was its sentinel, guarding the doctrine from the frequent attempts made to lead heedless feet from the highway of victory in Christ, living and trusted, to extravagant and dangerous assertions of perfection in the flesh, or claims of resurrection power. He was also the guardian of the platform, on the one hand alert to discover new voices that might bear witness to the truth, on the other to prevent the acceptance as speakers of any who were without personal experience of the things they preached. (65)

As far as Hopkins was concerned

> It was the function of 'Keswick' to lead the struggling soul, and the clinging soul, onto the reasonable trust of the resting soul - trust in a Lord who has made and will bear. All winningness of testimony, and all outgoing of self-forgetful and sacrificial compassion, proceed from this trust. (66)

H. C. G. Moule moved from criticising Hopkins' book The Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life to an acceptance of holiness teaching from Hopkins at Linlithgow, Scotland in the autumn of 1884. In Moule's own words

> So I listened, and so I yielded and believed. I was quite conscious that I was not asked to accept a single novel thing, in the sense of the novelty of difference from apostolic truth. But I was called to a very new definiteness of insight, aim, and action, in taking and using, not in theory, but in deed, that gift of the eternal covenant: 'I will put my law in their inward parts and write it in their hearts'. It was plain that for me the call was to lay the heart which I knew too well, in simplest submission, beneath that operating hand, and leave it there. (67)

It was Moule who 'provided the theological stiffening that the movement needed'. (68) Moule attended his first Convention in 1886 and spoke seven times as Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, and five times as Bishop of Durham. (69)

Two of the earlier critics of the Keswick Convention and who modified their criticisms were Dean Close and J. C. Ryle. In October 1877 Battersby addressed the Lay and Clerical Union for the Diocese of Carlisle on 'How to walk more closely with God', and Mrs Battersby recorded Close's response.

> The dear old Dean, who was with us at Helm Lodge, on coming back after hearing it, called to me going up the stairs, and said, 'Mrs Battersby, that paper of your husband's was most admirable; I never heard anything that impressed me more. You know we used to look upon him with great suspicion, as getting into all sorts of dangerous errors about perfection, etc; but, I watched with eagle eye to see if there was any false doctrine, but I did not find the faintest trace of the kind'.
>
> And then again he said to John at the railway station, as he went to see him off, that he considered his father's paper a most masterly exposition of his views. You will, I know, rejoice and praise God for this; and, moreover, the Dean spoke in the highest terms of the paper in public. This is a wonderful change after earnestly warning all the Carlisle clergy from attending any conventions... (70)

Later still Bishop Ryle consented to sit on the platform of the Keswick Convention of 1892.

Eugene Stock commented on this changed attitude from its critics.

> When Evangelical clergymen whose orthodoxy was above suspicion began - rather timidly - to go and listen and judge, they soon found that 'Keswick', instead of being 'perfectionist', was in reality the best safeguard against 'perfectionism'. For nowhere were the sins and shortcomings of the most spiritually-minded of Christian people more unsparingly pointed out and condemned. (71)

The relationshop between Keswick and the Evangelical party may be viewed in one of two ways. First, that the Keswick Convention was unconnected with the Evangelical party.

> Very few Evangelical leaders ever attended it. It was quite an independent movement ... (72)

Second, that

> Keswick ... should be seen as a spontaneous movement within Evangelicalism, that consciously avoided the appearance of denominationalism or schism, an aim which it largely succeeded. (73)

Both of these comments are correct. Some Anglican Evangelical leaders were involved - men like Battersby, Hopkins and Moule - and they looked for support from their Nonconformist friends. Not for nothing was the slogan 'All one in Christ Jesus' adopted as the Convention motto in 1882. (74) But the shift away from fellow Anglican Evangelicals towards a closer co-operation with Nonconformist evangelicals, at the time when many of the older Evangelicals leaders were passing away and many of the younger Evangelicals were disenchanted with involvement in the wider councils of the church, did not help the direction of the party. An increased emphasis on personal piety and overseas missionary zeal and the failure to stem the tide of ritualism and rationalism

helped the Evangelical party to turn on itself. Those Evangelicals who cautiously welcomed the holiness teaching could not forsee that

> the pietism of the Keswick movement would be a contributory factor in changes which would affect the Evangelical position intellectually and, in the Church of England, as regards churchmanship. (75)

The movement which developed with such vigour on the shores of Derwent Water, flowed into mainstream Anglican Evangelicalism, and encouraged the steady stagnation which marked the course of the Evangelical party well into the twentieth century.

PART FIVE

CONCLUSION

It has often not been adequately realised that although the Evangelical Revival in England began in the eighteenth century, it was not until about the middle of the nineteenth century that this growing force became really widespread and powerful. It is most important to grasp the fact that in 1875 the Evangelical section within the Church of England was immensely stronger both in numbers and in influence than it had been either in 1800 or even in 1833. There were very many more devoted Evangelical clergy than ever before labouring in town and country throughout England, and the Evangelicals were no longer unrepresented in the Episcopate and in other posts of ecclesiastical importance.

F.W.B.Bullock, The History of Ridley Hall Cambridge (Cambridge 1941) Vol. 1, p64

CONCLUSION

From its roots in the eighteenth century Anglican Evangelicalism was never a monochrome party. For the majority of Evangelicals who represented a moderate Calvinistic position there was a common desire to reconcile the sinner to the Saviour; to focus upon justification by faith and the progressive sanctification of the believer; and of the need for faith and works to provide evidence of the New Birth. Beyond this there was a variety of interpretation. While there was agreement over primary matters of faith and doctrine, there was disagreement over secondary matters concerning, for example, millennialism and holiness teaching. But the differences were matters of emphasis and not over the fundamentals of the faith.

J.C.Ryle, who was deeply committed to the principle of Evangelical unity, was certainly aware of areas of disagreement. He noted that

> Inspiration, election and perseverance are undoubtedly points which good men in every age have disagreed, and will disagree perhaps while the world stands. (1)

Prophecy too, would be a matter about which Christians could disagree. (2) Even over some fundamental matters there could be differences of opinion.

> About baptism and the Lord's Supper, about the Christian ministry, about forms of prayer and modes of worship, about the union of church and state, about all these things it is commonly admitted that people may differ widely, and yet be fully saved. (3)

But there were a number of non-essentials which were 'neither essential to salvation, nor to loyal churchmanship'. (4) These included wearing a surplice rather than a black gown, the chanting

of Psalms, the amount of singing in a church service, turning East to say the creed, holding daily services, points in the Calvinistic controversy, the meaning of certain phrases in the baptismal liturgy, which religious societies to support, whether or not St. Paul wrote the book of Hebrews, and of the attitude towards the Church Association. (5)

Taken as a whole the Carlisle Evangelicals were orthodox and faithful and reflected the breadth of Evangelicalism. But the confrontational stance adopted by Bishop Waldegrave and Dean Close tended only to divide them from more moderate opinion, as well as to antagonise still further the minority of Anglo-Catholics in the diocese. Sadly Bishop Waldegrave became preoccupied with non-essentials and this made him appear to be negative in his outlook and condemnatory of all with which he disagreed. He saw the practice of some clergy, for example in the wearing of a surplice, as being nothing less than the beginning of the slippery slope to Rome. For a minority this might have been the case, but for the majority this was an unimportant issue which was without doctrinal significance.

From the eighteenth century belief in church order was an important characteristic of Anglican Evangelicalism. Certainly it was a matter which differentiated them from Nonconformist evangelicals. But it was the church order of the parish and of the parish church. Its boundaries were local and its sights were parochial. The Evangelical divine in his proprietary chapel or parish church was supreme and was free to exercise a godly (and frequently lengthy) ministry to his flock. He was loved by his

supporters (particularly his many female admirers) and hated by his enemies - a dissident group which included Roman Catholics, radicals, Sabbath breakers, race-course enthusiasts and drinkers. But it was difficult to extend this model beyond the confines of the parish and apply it to the diocese or province. Evangelicals loved to meet together for May meetings and annual conferences to pray and discuss, to exhort and enthuse with their fellow-Evangelicals. But how were they to relate to their non-Evangelical bishop and to their fellow non-Evangelical clergy? The problem became more obvious when an increasing number of Evangelicals were appointed as Rural Deans, Archdeacons, Deans and Bishops. They were then forced to work with or against those with whom they disagreed from other church parties. In this situation a certain amount of tolerance and understanding were required.

This tension was represented by the Carlisle Evangelicals and is well illustrated by Dean Close's self-description as the 'Rector of Carlisle' and in becoming the incumbent of two city parishes. His previous situation as the Perpetual Curate of Cheltenham was clearly defined and was regarded by his critics as the 'Pope of Cheltenham'. But as Dean of Carlisle he was not in the same position of absolute authority. This encouraged him to turn from the cathedral close out into the city. In this he tended to open up new areas of ministry in his mission rooms, churches and teetotal concerns.

On a broader front was Evangelicalism to be regarded as being totally identified with the 'Church of England' as the only legitimate expression of Anglicanism, or was Evangelicalism only

part of the Church of England? Outside the Church of England, evangelicalism constantly fragmented in the search for the illusory 'pure church', but within the Church of England it was a more difficult exercise. Moreover, which group could claim to represent the voice of authentic Evangelicalism? Was it CMS, or CPAS or the Church Association? Was Evangelicalism the same as that expressed by the Puritans, or the Reformers, or the early church or even of scripture itself?

Evangelical Bishops and Deans differed in their attitude towards the national church and in its outworking in their sphere of responsibility in their dioceses and cathedrals. In addition they were not of one mind over their membership, identification and involvement with the wider Evangelical constituency. Was the Evangelical leadership of the diocese of Carlisle an expression of authentic Anglicanism which was true to the principles of the Reformation Settlement, or was it an attempt to create a church within a church, of the Carlisle diocese being set apart and at the same time within the Church of England? The evidence would suggest that Dean Milner represented the former position and Bishop Waldegrave and Dean Close the latter. But the zeal and the dedication of these men must not be dismissed or misinterpreted: their actions were well intentioned and were intended to be for the glory of God and the good of his church.

In the 25 years 1856-81 - the period covered in most detail in this thesis - three characteristics were to emerge in the diocese of Carlisle and which were reflected by the wider Evangelical party.

First, in a defensiveness in which the Evangelicals were united in their opposition to ritualism. Though ritualistic activity in the diocese of Carlisle was minimal when compared with other dioceses, it was through consistent opposition of Bishop Waldegrave and Dean Close that restricted the activities of the ritualists and prevented them from gaining widespread support. This opposition lasted well beyond the 1880s and into the beginning of the twentieth century.

Second, pietism was an issue which divided Evangelical opinion whether it was the revivalism of the mid-century revival, or of the holiness teaching of the mid-1870s. The response of the Carlisle Evangelicals to the holiness movement reflected the response of many other Anglican Evangelicals. Eugene Stock noted that many of those associated 'new Evangelical movement' tended to be Nonconformists and had Evangelicals been more fully involved it would have had more effect on the Church of England. (6) But for those Evangelicals who were involved the emphasis on personal piety tended only to isolate them from the wider church and the issues of the day and to increase the decline and isolation of the Evangelical party.

Third, the isolationism which characterised many of the Evangelicals. Some like J.C.Ryle were prepared to become fully involved in the wider councils of the church but in doing so risked the criticism from fellow Evangelicals of being a 'neo-Evangelical'. (7) The leadership in Carlisle tended to be isolationist in outlook. Bishop Waldegrave, like a number of his fellow Evangelical Bishops (including Baring and Bickersteth), did not attend the first

Lambeth Conference; Waldegrave did not become involved in the Church Congresses and Dean Close only attended one Congress and then remained their constant critic.

If 1856 is seen as being a particularly significant year for the Evangelical party, so too is 1882. In the early 1880s a number of important church leaders, including Evangelicals, died. In 1882 these included J.N.Darby, A.C.Tait, and E.B.Pusey; and in the Carlisle diocese, Dean Close and Archdeacon Boutflower. With the death of these two individuals there was a greater sense of the end of an era than with the death of Bishop Waldegrave in 1869. Close represented that continuity with the past and direct involvement with Charles Simeon who had shaped the face of Anglican Evangelicalism.

But how best to describe the Evangelical party at the latter end of the nineteenth century? The word <u>decline</u> (8) is not wholly satisfactory, and the thrust of this thesis has indicated that this was certainly not the case. More satisfactory is to speak of the <u>transition</u> (9) of the Evangelical party. But an even better description is of the <u>stagnation</u> of Evangelicalism.

Evangelicalism had made great strides in the 1830s and 1840s, and considerable progress had been made in the 1850s and 1860s, not least in the appointment of Evangelicals as Bishops and Deans. But the Evangelicalism of the 1870s and 1880s was not moving forwards. Though the Evangelical party had considerable numerical strength it was not developing and was standing still. It was relying upon past experiences, and the cry was to return to the 'old paths'. (10) J.C.Ryle recognised that

I willingly admit the zeal, earnestness and devotedness of many religious teachers who are not Evangelical. But I firmly maintain that the way of the school to which I belong is the 'more excellent way'. The longer I live the more I am convinced that the world needs no new gospel, as some profess to think. I am thoroughly persuaded that the world needs nothing but a bold, full, unflinching teaching of the 'old paths'. (11)

But the 'old paths' of the gospel needed to be restated in a changing world - a world which was not identical to that of the eighteenth century.

The wilder and more excessively partisan activities of the Church Association and other Protestant groups lost the moderate support of Evangelicals. Those few Evangelicals who were appointed as Bishops tended to adopt a moderate stance and a greater toleration of other parties. Towards the end of the century the younger abler Evangelicals supported a more liberal theological position which developed into the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement of the 1920s. Writing of the end of the nineteenth century, Herbert Hensley Henson, and no friend of Evangelicalism noted that

> The Evangelicals were exhibiting all the marks of a moribund party. They were out of touch with the prevailing tendencies, social and intellectual, of the time. In a rapidly changing world they were still immersed in the interests, and bound by the prejudices, of a past generation. Thus, in spite of their accord with the Protestant sentiment of the nation, which their rivals alientated, they could neither command public regard, nor secure any measure of official preferment at all commensurate with their number. Not the choice of governments, but their own inferiority in personal quality, was the key to their weakness in the hierachy. (12)

At about the same time(in 1890) Randall Davidson, as Dean of Windsor, made it clear that there was no deliberate policy not to appoint Evangelicals to high office in the Church of England.

> The difficulty is to find the right men, and they must be men not only of piety, learning, and power, but of physical strength sufficient for the daily increasing burdens of episcopal work. Some of the best men are growing old. The younger generation is not overstocked with clergymen possessing all these qualifications.(13)

In an earlier generation three men of 'piety, learning and power' had been appointed to positions of authority in the diocese of Carlisle. For 13 years the diocese was ruled by two Evangelical Bishops - Henry Montagu Villiers and Samuel Waldegrave and for 25 years by an Evangelical Dean - Francis Close. Their contribution was not insignificant and provided an important chapter in the life of the Evangelical party in the nineteenth century.

PART ONE

ANGLICAN EVANGELICALISM - A GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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17 An advertisement for The Rock newspaper in June 1873 made it clear that - 'Every churchman who desires to aid in maintaining the Scriptural, Protestant and Evangelical character of the Church of England, as opposed to rationalism, ritualism and Romanism, should read The Rock, a Church of England family newspaper'.

18 Ryle, We must unite, op.cit. p3

19 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer
The report of the conference of the Church Association ... 26 and 27 November 1867, January 1868, Vol 1, p57

Cf at the same meeting when J.C.Ryle spoke of 'this London society shall be the head centre'. Ibid. p73

20 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer
i January 1876, Vol 10, p32

21 ibid. 1 December 1876, p413

22 ibid. 1 August 1877, Vol 11, pp290-293

23 Balleine, Evangelical party, op.cit. pp292-293

24 ibid.

25 Stock, History of CMS, Vol 1, pp281-285

26 Balleine, Evangelical party, op.cit. pp298-299

27 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 2, p354

28 ibid. Vol 2, p22ff

PART TWO

PRE 1856: THE UNREFORMED DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

a) The Cumbrian background

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2 Ibid. pp92,93

3 H.Martineau, A complete guide to the English Lakes (Windermere 1855) p57

4 J.D.Marshall, Furness and the Industrial Revolution (Barrow in Furness 1958) p281

5 Marshall, Lake Counties, op.cit. p86

6 C.Caine, Cleator and Cleator Moor: past and present (Kendal 1916) p297

7 J.D.Marshall, Cleator and Cleator Moor: some aspects of their social and urban development in the mid-nineteenth century, CW2, Vol LXXVIII 1978, pp162-175

8 S.Smiles, George Moore (London 1886) p161

9 H.M.Villiers, A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle 1858 (London 1858) p16

10 Carlisle Journal, 9 October 1862,2; 16 October 1866,p4

11 M.L.Clarke, Paley evidences for the man (London 1974) p35

12 C.D.Bell, Voices from the Lakes and other poems (London 1877) p36

b) The Church of England in Cumbria

1 N.Sykes, Church and State in England in the XVIIIth century (Cambridge 1934)

2 A.Warne, Church and Society in Eighteenth century Devon (Newton Abbot 1969) p165

3 C.J.Abbey and J.H.Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth century (London 1878) Vol 2, p14

4 Sykes, Church and State, op.cit. p367

5 C.M.L.Bouch and G.P.Jones, A short economic and social history of the Lake Counties 1500-1830 (Manchester 1961) p184

6 Sykes, Church and State, op.cit. pp371-372

7 ibid. p95

8 ibid. p98

9 Bouch and Jones, Lake Counties, op.cit. p184
Only Bishops Nicolson and Goodwin have been the subjects of biographies.

10 F.G.James, North country Bishop a biography of William Nicolson (Yale University Press, USA 1956) p139 has 37 ordinations.

11 Sykes, Church and State, op.cit.p98

12 ibid. p122

13 ibid. p122

14 A.Blomfield, A memoir of Charles James Blomfield DD (London 1863) Vol 1, p97

15 S.C.Carpenter, Church and People 1789-1889 (London 1933) p253

16 ibid. p252

17 N Yates, Kentish Sources VII.Kent and the Oxford Movement (Gloucester 1983) p23

18 S.Cooper Scott, Things that were (London 1923) p116

19 Carlisle Library, mss. Bishop Waldegrave to Rev T.Lees, 2 April 1866

20 H.Goodwin, The first year of my episcopate. A pastoral letter to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle (Carlisle 1870) p5

21 H.M.Villiers, A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle (London 1858) pp18,19

22 Carpenter, Church and People, op.cit. pp253-254

23 Sykes, Church and State, op.cit. p217

24 C.M.L.Bouch, Prelates and People of the Lake Counties (Kendal 1948) p390

25 VCH, Cumberland 1905, Vol 2, p110 note 4; p111 note 1

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28 J.D.Marshall, Furness and the Industrial Revolution (Barrow in Furness 1958) p159

29 W.J.Conybeare, The Church of England in the Mountains, The Edinburgh Review, No 198, Vol 97, January to April 1853, p348

30 H Ware, On the readers in the chapelries of the Lake District, CW1, 1905, Vol 5, pp89-105

31 Sykes, Church and State, op.cit. p208

32 Bouch and Jones, Lake Counties, op.cit. p184

33 H.D.Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin Bishop of Carlisle (London 1896) p135

34 DNB, Josiah Relph
One of his pupils, Thomas Denton who edited Relph's poems also is recorded in DNB.

35 DNB, Robert Walker

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37 W.M.Dickinson, Cumbriana or fragments of Cumbrian life (London 1875) p134

38 ibid. pp140-141

39 ibid. pp143-144

c) Evangelicals in Cumbria

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2 G.R.Balleine, A history of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London 1908) p82

3 The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley AM (London 1906) Vol 3, p402; Vol 4, p429, 502

4 W Carus, Memoirs of the life of the Rev Charles Simeon MA (London 1847) p161

5 L.Tyerman, The life of the Rev George Whitefield BA (London 1890) Vol 2, p259

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9 T.Haweis, The life of William Romaine MA (London 1797) pp105-106

10 J.Burgess, The Lake Counties and Christianity (Carlisle 1984) pp84-86

11 Wesley, Journal, op.cit. Vol 3, p466

12 ibid. Vol 4, p279

13 T.W.Carrick, History of Wigton (Cumberland) (Carlisle 1949) pp33, 50

14 Balleine, Evangelical Party, op.cit. p82

15 J.Farrer, Memoir of the late Rev. John Farrer (Newcastle upon Tyne 1844)
Balleine, Evangelical Party, op.cit. p82
Elliott-Binns, Early Evangelicals, op.cit. p307

16 J.Hough, Memoirs of an Indian Chaplain, the Rev. Charles Church MA (London 1859) p30

17 M.Milner, The life of Isaac Milner DD,FRS (London 1842) p256

18 G.H.Law, A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Bath and Wells (London 1825) p27

19 ibid. p18

20 E.Stock, The history of the Church Missionary Society (London 1899) Vol 1, 186-187

21 C.Hole, The life of the Rev. and Ven.William Whitmarsh Phelps MA (London 1871) Vol 1, p138 note 2

22 T.Park, St. Bees College 1816-1895 (Dalton in Furness 1982) p18

23 Carus, Charles Simeon, op.cit. pp427-428

24 William Carus Wilson (1791-1859) was the son of William Carus Wilson (1764-1851) the uncle of William Carus, the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge 1836-51 and biographer of Simeon
Carus, Charles Simeon, op.cit. p70 footnote

25 Hole, William Phelps, op.cit. Vol 1, p138

26 R.F.Housman, The life and remains of the Rev. Robert Housman AB (London 1841) pcxxxv

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28 Housman, Robert Housman, op.cit. pcxxxv

29 ibid ppcxxxvi-cxxxvii

30 ibid. pclix

31 Carus, Charles Simeon, op.cit. pp417-418

32 ibid. p418

33 ibid. pp419-420

34 ibid. pp421-422,420

35 ibid. p422

36 ibid. p427

37 Anthony Wilson Thorold was the curate of Whittington between 1849-54, became Bishop of Rochester 1877-91, and Winchester 1891-95
C.H.Simpkinson, The life and work of Bishop Thorold (London 1896)

38 J.B.Sumner, A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Chester (London 1841) p63
J.Bateman, The life of the Rev. Henry Venn Elliott MA (London 1872) p119

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40 Sumner, 1841 Charge, op.cit. pp62-63

41 Housman, Robert Housman, op.cit. pccl

42 C.Bronte, Jane Eyre [1847] (London 1966) p66

43 A.K.Clarke, A history of the Cheltenham Ladies' College 1853-1953 (London 1953) pp47-48

44 Carlisle Journal, 23 April 1858, p5

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Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. pp353, 496-497, 670-671, 685

d) Evangelicals in Carlisle

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2 J.D.Walsh, 'The Yorkshire Evangelicals in the Eighteenth century with especial reference to Methodism' (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1956) pp286-289, and especially p288 note 1

3 J.A.Lawson, Town Grammar School through Six centuries (London 1963) p171

4 A.S.Wood, John Newton's Church History, Evangelical Quarterly, No 1, Vol XXIII, January 1951, pp52-53

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The life of Dean Milner was written by his grand-niece Mrs. Mary Milner, the wife of Joseph Milner, the incumbent of Appleby between 1820-65.
This branch of the family were Evangelicals as is clear in a monument at Appleby to their one week-old son Wilberforce Milner who died in 1838

6 eg by Thomas Grantham in 1847

7 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p273

8 Walsh, 'The Yorkshire Evangelicals', op.cit. appendix C, pp383-403
J.D.Walsh, Joseph Milner's Evangelical Church History, JEH, Vol 10, 1959, p177

9 ibid. p186

10 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p5

11 C.Hole, A manual of English Church History, (London 1910) p382
For another view of Milner's appointment as Dean of Carlisle, see, F.K.Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, the age of Wilberforce (Cambridge 1961) pp291-292

12 E.Stock, The history of the Church Missionary Society (London 1899) Vol 1, p43

13 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p104
C.Smyth, Simeon and Church Order (Cambridge 1940) p215 note 2
J.D.Walsh, The Magdalene Evangelicals, The Church Quarterly Review, No 333, Vol CLIX, October to December 1958, pp499-511

14 DNB, Isaac Milner

15 G.R.Balleine, A history of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London 1908) p128

16 Brown, Fathers of the Victorians ,op.cit. p316

17 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p569

18 R.S.Ferguson, Diocesan Histories. Carlisle (London 1889) p187 footnote
It was said that Bishop Goodenough had 'three wigs known as Highty, Tighty and Scrub; the first for London and State occasions; the second for official appearances in Carlisle; and Scrub for home wear'.
C.M.L.Bouch, Prelates and People of the Lake Counties (Kendal 1948) p379

19 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p74

20 ibid. p638

21 ibid. p575

22 ibid. p272

23 ibid. p116
When Edward Pratt spoke for the CMS as Norwich, Daniel Wilson reported that 'the whole city seemed to have come together. You might have walked on the people's heads. I stand amazed at what God hath wrought'.
Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 1, p137

24 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p576

25 ibid. pp486-487, 488

26 ibid. p489

27 Carus, Charles Simeon, op.cit. p298

28 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p663

29 ibid. p70

30 ibid. pp402-403

31 ibid. p362

32 ibid. p282

33 ibid. p709, see also p598

34 ibid. p552

35 ibid. p714

36 ibid. p446

37 ibid. pp547,548

38 ibid. p548

39 ibid. p293

40 VCH, Cumberland 1905, Vol 2, p110

41 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p114

42 ibid. p130

43 ibid. p130

44 John Fawcett: the entry in J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses is untypically a complete muddle as well as being inaccurate. Borthwick Institute Inst AB16, pp268-269, 292

45 Walsh, Magdalene Evangelicals, op.cit. passim.
West Yorkshire County Record Office, Elland Society minute book C84/1, C84/3

46 C.Hole, The early history of the Church Missionary Society (London 1896) p627
F.J.G.Robinson, Notes on Carlisle Grammar School Register, CW2, 1969, Vol LXIX, p177

47 Fawcett's private pupils included Charles Hughes Terrot the Bishop of Edinburgh 1841-72 (who preached at Fawcett's funeral); John Norman Pearson, the first principal of the CMS College at Islington 1825-38; Admiral Vernon Harcourt; William Carus Wilson the founder of the Clergy Daughters' School; and William Blamire, MP for East Cumberland 1831-60

48 There are a number of monuments to the Fawcett's and Farish's in Scaleby church

49 Milner, Isaac Milner, op.cit. p130

50 ibid. p252

51 W.Carus, Memoirs of the life of the Rev. Charles Simeon MA (London 1847) p160

52 ibid. p161

53 J.Fawcett, A sermon preached ... in consequence of the foundation stone of a parsonage house having been laid (Carlisle 1814) p9

54 By the late 1860s the house was in need of 'a thorough repair', but the incumbent had insufficient means to do so
EC (St. Cuthbert's lecturship) Rev. B.A.Marshall to EC, 24 February 1868.

It was proposed to erect a new house in a better situation but the parishioners were reluctant to dispose of a house they had provided. ibid. Rev. B.A.Marshall to EC, 31 March 1870. Improvements were carried out to the house in 1872. The house was sold in 1896 for £4,000.
CRO (Carlisle) DRC/12/18, DRC/12/30, St.Cuthbert's parsonage house.

55 Bouch, Prelates and People, op.cit. p384

56 Fawcett, A sermon preached, op.cit. p5

57 Carus, Charles Simeon, op.cit. pp414-415

58 Carlisle Journal, 6 December 1867, p5

59 Fawcett's expositions on John's Gospel and Acts were published as late as 1860-61, a further indication of his standing in Carlisle.

60 J.Fawcett, Short questions upon the Catechism (Carlisle 1808)

61 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 1, p70

62 Hole, History of CMS, op.cit. p197

63 ibid. p74

64 Carlisle Journal, 6 December 1867, p5, where the seven members are listed as Fawcett, Farish, Miss Fawcett, Dr Grisedale, Mrs.Bowers, Mrs.Mosely and Mr. F.Lodge.

65 Hole, History of CMS, op.cit. p359

66 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 1, p476

67 Carlisle Journal, 6 December 1867, p5
C.Hole, The life of the Rev. and Ven. William Whitmarsh Phelps MA (London 1873), Vol 2, p246 note 1
In 1868 there were about 14 supporting parishes in Cumberland and 9 in Westmorland.

68 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 1, p70 footnote, pp493, 494; Vol 2, p39

69 CRO (Carlisle) Ca/C 10/2/3, the Fawcett Schools - today the schools are derelict.

70 CRO (Carlisle) Ca/C 10/2/5, Psalms etc to be sung at the opening of the Fawcett Schools, Carlisle, on Tuesday, 7 January 1851

71 CRO (Carlisle) Ca/C 10/2/1, The first annual report of the Fawcett Schools, Carlisle, 27 January 1852, pp6, 10

PART THREE

POST 1856: THE REFORMED DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

a) The Palmerston Bishops

1 E.Hodder, The life and work of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury KG (London 1887) Vol 3, p195

2 B.Hardman, 'The Evangelical Party in the Church of England 1855-1865' (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1963) p40

3 Hodder, Earl of Shaftesbury, op.cit. Vol 2, p505

4 ibid. Vol 3, pp192-193

5 O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London 1966), Vol 1, pp470-471

6 Hodder, Earl of Shaftesbury, op.cit. Vol 3, pp194, 193

7 D.W.R.Bahlman, Politics and church patronage in the Victorian age, Victorian Studies, Spring 1979, pp273, 295

8 British Library Add, mss, the private letter book No 2 of Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston, Lord Palmerston to Rev.Sir C.Wood, 20 November 1856

9 Bahlman, Politics and church patronage, op.cit. p254

10 Hodder, Earl of Shaftesbury, op.cit. Vol 3, pp194-195
Hardman, 'The Evangelical Party', op.cit. pp427-429

11 Hodder, Earl of Shaftesbury, op.cit. Vol 3, p198

12 ibid. p197

13 ibid. p196

14 Bahlman, Politics and church patronage, op.cit. p269

15 Carlisle Journal, 3 October 1856, p5

16 F.Arnold, Our Bishops and Deans (London 1875) Vol 2, p102

17 Hardman, 'The Evangelical Party', op.cit. pp82,83

18 R.G.Wilberforce, Life of the Rt.Rev.Samuel Wilberforce DD (London 1882) Vol 3, p84

19 Chadwick, Victorian Church, op.cit. Vol 1, p475

20 ibid. p475
S.Baring-Gould said that in his diocese Bickersteth was known as 'the Bleak Bishop' who distributed copies of sermons by Simeon and Clayton to his clergy.
S.Baring-Gould, The Church Revival (London 1914) pp204-205

21 Arnold, Bishops and Deans, op.cit. Vol 2, p115

22 M.C.Bickersteth, A sketch of the life and episcopate of the Rt.Rev.Robert Bickersteth DD, Bishop of Ripon 1857-1884 (London 1887), p1
Bishop Harvey Goodwin also described himself as a diocesan Bishop rather than a party Bishop. H.D.Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin Bishop of Carlisle (London 1896) p303

23 Bickersteth, Robert Bickersteth, op.cit. p27

24 Arnold, Bishops and Deans, op.cit. Vol 1, p372

25 A.J.Mason, Memoir of George Howard Wilkinson (London 1909) Vol 1, pp(155), 190, 194
Baring-Gould, Church Revival, op.cit. p180

26 Mason, George Howard Wilkinson, op.cit. Vol 1, p190

27 Chadwick, Victorian Church, op.cit. Vol 1, p476

28 G.Battiscombe, Shaftesbury (Boston USA 1975) pp264-265

29 R.H.Hodgkin, Six centuries of an Oxford College (Oxford 1949) p179

30 E.H.Thomson, The life and letters of William Thomson Archbishop of York (London 1919) p50

31 Wilberforce, Samuel Wilberforce, op.cit. Vol 3, p84 note 2

32 R.T.Davidson and W.Benham, Life of Archibald Campbell Tait Archbishop of Canterbury (London 1891) Vol 1, p273

33 Thomson, William Thomson, op.cit. p59

34 Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, p535

35 WEL, Waldegrave to Bishop A.C.Tait, 16 November 1868

36 WEL, Waldegrave to Bishop J.Jackson, 19 November 1868

37 Bahlman, Politics and church patronage, op.cit. p257

38 The Times, 23 September 1869, p8

39 The Times, 6 October 1869, p6

b) The ministry of Bishop Henry Montagu Villiers

1 Cheshire Record Office. For H.M.Villiers' ordination as deacon EDA 1/12 f.20r. but the Bishops' Act Book is incomplete, and does not record the date of ordination as priest.

2 P.J.Perry, Edward Girdlestone 1805-84: a forgotten Evangelical, Journal of Religious History (Sydney, Australia 1977) Vol 9, pp292-301

3 I Bradley, The call to seriousness (London 1976) p64

4 H.M.Villiers, Christmas Address, St. George's, Bloomsbury, 1852 (London 1852)

5 J.C.Ryle, Coming events and present duties (London 1867) ppv-xiii

6 The Second Coming, the judgment and kingdom of Christ: being lectures delivered in Lent 1843, at St.George's, Bloomsbury by 12 clergymen of the Church of England (London 1843) pvi

7 S.Waldegrave, New Testament Millennarianism (London 1866) p5

8 (.) Marsh, The life of the Rev. William Marsh DD London 1867) pp241-242

9 C.M.Birrell, The life of William Brock DD (London 1878) pp182, 183

10 DNB, Henry Montagu Villiers

11 DNB, Hugh Percy

12 C.M.L.Bouch, Prelates and people of the Lake Counties (Kendal 1948) p387

13 J.B.Sumner, A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Chester 1832 (London 1832) pxvii

14 J.B.Sumner, A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Chester 1841 (London 1841) pp50-51

15 Bouch, Prelates and People, op.cit. p420

16 Villiers became a member of the Cathedral Commission in 1853 to replace Bishop John Jackson who had been appointed in 1852.
C.E.A.Bedwell, The increase of the episcopate (London 1906) p21 note 2

17 W.Jackson, A Charge delivered to the Archdeaconry of Carlisle 1856 (Carlisle 1856) p30

18 Carlisle Journal, 24 October 1856, p6

19 H.M.Villiers, A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle 1858 (London 1858) pp11-12
The Charge was printed in the Carlisle Journal, 20 August 1858, p8

20 ibid. pp3-4

21 Carlisle Journal, 24 April 1857, p8

22 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p38

23 Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol CLI 1858, Convocation of York, 16 July 1858, p1560

24 H.D.Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin Bishop of Carlisle (London 1896) p291
Bouch, Prelates and People, op.cit. p434

25 DNB, Robert Wilson Evans

26 S.Waldegrave, The Christian ministry not sacerdotal but evangelistic. The Charge delivered in September 1867 (London 1867) p3

27 The archdeaconry of Furness was formed in May 1884, and the number of rural deaneries was modified. There were 20 rural deaneries in 1870, and 19 in 1882.
Bouch, Prelates and People, op.cit. pp433-434

28 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p20

29 ibid. p20 and see also Carlisle Journal, 6 August 1858, p7

30 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p21

31 ibid. pp23, 24

32 Carlisle Journal, 7 August 1857, p8

33 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p21

34 ibid. p27

35 British Parliamentary Papers. Answers to the circular of questions of the Commissioners on Popular Education in England 1861, p120

36 ibid. p121

37 D.C.Richmond, On a proposed system of grouping schools in the County of Westmorland, Schools Enquiry Commission (Westmorland 1858)

38 S.Waldegrave, The Charge delivered in October 1861 (London 1861) pp18-19

39 S.Waldegrave, The Charge delivered in July and August 1864 (London 1864) p15ff

40 Carlisle Journal, 27 December 1867, p4

41 WEL, Waldegrave to Bishop R.Bickersteth, 31 May 1862

42 H.Goodwin, A Charge delivered to the clergy and church-wardens of the diocese of Carlisle 1872 (Carlisle 1872) pp37-38

43 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p25 footnote 26

44 S.Smiles, George Moore merchant and philanthropist (London 1886) p80

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46 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p33ff

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48 W.J.Conybeare, The Church of England in the Mountains, The Edinburgh Review, No 198, Vol 97, January to April 1853, p360

49 Bouch, Prelates and People, op.cit. p421

50 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev. E.C.Gillam, 3 December 1860
Waldegrave to Rev.T.Bewsher, 17 December 1860
Waldegrave to Archbishop C.T.Longley, 15 August 1861

51 Carlisle Journal, 22 February 1859, p4; 25 February 1859, p5

52 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.H.Gay, 4 December 1860

53 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.C.F.Booker, two letters dated 25 December 1860; 9 January 1861; 12 January 1861; 20 February 1861

54 Carlisle Journal, 15 April 1862, p3

55 eg Carlisle Journal, 10 July 1857, p5
Smiles, George Moore, op.cit. p78

56 Carlisle Journal, 28 August 1857, p5
Smiles, George Moore, op.cit. p79

57 Waldegrave, 1861 Charge, op.cit. p41

58 Marsh, William Marsh, op.cit. p242

59 Smiles, George Moore, op.cit. pp78, 79

60 E.Hodder, The life and work of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury KG (London 1887) Vol 3, p47
Exeter Hall sermons for the working classes (London 1857) pp1-12. Sermons were also preached by F.Close, H.M'Neile, H.Stowell and J.C.Ryle

61 Westminster Abbey sermons for the working classes (London 1858) pp140-150

62 H.M.Villiers, The coming of the Lord, Sermons at the special services held in St.Paul's cathedral during 1859 (London 1859) pp135-144

63 Carlisle Journal, 26 November 1858, p5; 21 February 1862, p6
Smiles, George Moore, op.cit. p123

64 Carlisle Journal, 29 December 1865, p5

65 Smiles, George Moore, op.cit. pp97, 121, 122

66 Carlisle Journal, 9 July 1858, p5; 16 July 1858, p5

67 Carlisle Journal, 30 July 1858, p5

68 Carlisle Journal, 1 February 1859, p1; 31 December 1858, p5

69 Carlisle Journal, 8 January 1858, p5; 12 August 1859, p5

70 Carlisle Journal, 30 July 1858, p5

71 Birrell, William Brock, op.cit. p183

72 Carlisle Journal, 30 May 1856, p4

73 Carlisle Journal, 1 May 1857, p8

74 Carlisle Journal, 13 January 1860, p8

75 Carlisle Journal, 13 June 1856, p5

76 Carlisle Journal, 29 May 1863, p6

77 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p29

78 British Parliamentary Papers. Answers to the circular of questions of the Commissioners on Popular Education in England 1861, pp120, 122

79 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p30

80 ibid. pp32-33

81 Carlisle Journal, 24 February 1860,p6 and subsequently published in part as Notes on the declaration against the revision of the Prayer Book with the opinions of the Bishop of Carlisle and Rev.Dr.Hugh M'Neile (London 1860)

In the diocese of Carlisle one of the leaders in the movement to revise the liturgy in a more Protestant direction was John Dayman, the Rector of Skelton between 1831-71, and an active member of the Church Reform Association. It had a rather limited appeal, and even in 1880 it only had a membership of less than 200.
R.C.D.Jasper, Prayer Book Revision in England 1800-1900 (London 1954) pp50-53
Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Herald, 26 November 1853,p3

82 Carlisle Journal, 4 May 1860, p5

83 Villiers, 1858 Charge, op.cit. p6ff

84 Smiles, George Moore, op.cit. p123

85 Carlisle Journal, 9 August 1861, p5

86 The Durham Directory and Almanack (Durham 1862) pp38-39

87 Carlisle Journal, 5 March 1861, p2

88 Carlisle Journal, 5 March 1861, p2

89 F.Arnold, Our Bishops and Deans (London 1875) Vol 2, pp101-102

90 Punch, Vol 40, 9 March 1861
See also Bouch, Prelates and People, op.cit. p422 footnote, quoting from S.Baring-Gould, The Church Revival (London 1914) p183

91 Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, op.cit. pp196-200
Bishop William Nicolson as Bishop of Derry between 1718-27 ordained his son as deacon and priest and instituted him into a living all within a fortnight!
F.G.James, North country Bishop a biography of William Nicolson (Yale University Press, USA 1956) p258

92 Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, op.cit. pp287, 296-297

93 The Durham Directory and Almanack (Durham 1862) p40

94 R.T.Davidson, Life of Archibald Campbell Tait (London 1891) Vol 1, p201

95 E.H.Thomson, The life and letters of William Thomson Archbishop of York (London 1919) pp53-54

96 Carlisle Journal, 25 September 1866, p2

97 Smiles, George Moore, op.cit. p123

98 ibid.p123

c) The ministry of Bishop Samuel Waldegrave

1 J.S.Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St Aldate's, Oxford (Abingdon 1967) pp66-67

2 S.J.Curtis, History of education in Great Britain (London 1965) p213

3 S.Waldegrave, Anniversary sermon preached in the cathedral church of St. Paul, on Thursday, 6 June 1867 (London 1867)p12

For the letters of the young Samuel Waldegrave see E.Peel, Cheam School from 1645 (London 1974)

4 R.T.Davidson and W.Benham, Life of Archibald Campbell Tait Archbishop of Canterbury (London 1891) Vol 1, p58, Vol 2, p46

5 Lambeth Palace Library. Rev. C.P.Golightly papers mss.1811 ff.159-161, S.Waldegrave to C.P.Golightly, 23 February 1842

6 Lambeth Palace Library, Selborne papers, 1861 ff41-42, S.Waldegrave to R.Palmer 16 December 1839

7 Golightly papers, op.cit. S.Waldegrave to C.P.Golightly, 23 February 1842

8 J.S.Reynolds, The Evangelicals at Oxford 1735-1871 (Abingdon 1975) pp84, 185

9 WPL, Waldegrave to Aunt Mary, 3 October 1843

10 S.A.Brooke, Life and letters of Frederick W.Robertson MA (London 1866) Vol 1, p125

On Brooke and his biography of Robertson see O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London 1970) Vol 2, pp135-136
A.F.Munden, 'The Church of England in Cheltenham 1826-1856 with particular reference to Rev.Francis Close', (Birmingham University M.Litt thesis 1980) pp138-141

11 EC (Holy Trinity, Oxford) Waldegrave to EC, 28 November 1843, and EC Form of Inquiry, 6 December 1843

By the early 1870s Holy Trinity was still 'the largest and poorest parish in Oxford' and where Edmund Arbuthnott Knox was the curate between 1870-74.
E.A.Knox, Reminiscences of an octogenarian 1847 - 1934 (London 1934) p103

12 Reynolds, Evangelicals at Oxford, op.cit. p115

13 EC (Holy Trinity, Oxford) J.B.Kenyon to EC, 21 December 1843

14 EC (Holy Trinity, Oxford) Waldegrave to EC, 1 May 1844

15 EC (Holy Trinity, Oxford) Waldegrave to EC, 15 July 1844

16 EC (Holy Trinity, Oxford) Waldegrave to EC, 1 May 1844

17 The patronage of Holy Trinity alternated between the Crown and the Bishop of Oxford until 1881 when it was transferred to the Simeon Trustees. The living was amalgamated with St. Aldates in 1956.

18 EC (Holy Trinity, Oxford) Waldegrave to EC, 11 July 1844

19 Reynolds, Evangelicals at Oxford, op.cit. p115 note 4, p186

20 London Gazette, 14 September 1844
The three districts created under the 1844 Act were Holy Trinity, Oxford, St. Mary Magdalene, Barnstaple and St. Andrew's in St. Marylebone, London.

21 Lambeth Palace Library, Selborne papers, 1861 ff186-187
S. Waldegrave to R.Palmer, 19 March 1849

22 DNB, Roundell Palmer

23 S. Waldegrave, The way of peace: or the teaching of scripture concerning justification, sanctification and assurance, set forth in four sermons (London 1861)

24 S. Waldegrave, New Testament Millennarianism: or, the Kingdom and coming of Christ taught by himself and his apostles (London 1855). Second edition 1866

25 ibid. ppx, 407, 69, 274, 252, 10, 280, 329, 351, 406, 408, 459, 339, 22 footnote

26 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 11 April 1850

27 WPL, Waldegrave to Earl Waldegrave, 15 April 1850

28 WPL, Jane Anne Waldegrave to Earl Waldegrave, 16 April 1850

29 WPL, Jane Anne Waldegrave to Earl Waldegrave, 22 April 1850

30 WPL, Waldegrave to Earl Waldegrave, 23 April 1850

31 Reynolds, Canon Christopher, op.cit. pp67-68

32 Anon, The late Hon. and Rt.Rev.Samuel Waldegrave DD, The Carlisle diocesan calendar and clergy list for the year of our Lord 1870 (Carlisle 1870) piii

33 WEL, Waldegrave to Mrs./Peter/ Dixon, 5 November 1868

34 F.Arnold, Our Bishops and Deans (London 1875) Vol 2, p80

35 Reynolds, Canon Christopher, op.cit. p67

36 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 24 June 1858

37 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 29 December 1859, Waldegrave to M'am Tyre, 6 January 1860

38 Lambeth Palace Library, Selborne papers, 1862 ff110-111 Bishop W.K.Hamilton to R.Palmer, 3 December 1860

39 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 17 April 1855

40 Lambeth Palace Library, Selborne papers, 1862 ff104-107 S.Waldegrave to R.Palmer, 26 November 1860

41 ibid.

42 ibid. ff108-109 R.Palmer to Bishop W.K.Hamilton, 28 November 1860

43 M.C.Bickersteth, A sketch of the life and episcopate of the Rt.Rev.Robert Bickersteth DD, Bishop of Ripon 1857-1884 (London 1887) pp78-79, 79-83

44 WPL, Waldegrave to Earl Waldegrave, 27 February 1857

45 WPL, Waldegrave to Earl Waldegrave, 18 April 1856 see also, Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, pp150-151

46 S.Waldegrave, Words of eternal life: or some of the first principles of the doctrine of Christ (London 1864)

47 WPL. Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 23 March 1860

48 WPL, Waldegrave to Bessie Waldegrave, 12 March 1860

49 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 2 June 1860

50 Chadwick, Victorian Church, op.cit Vol 1, p476

51 Carlisle Journal, 21 February 1862, p5

52 Lambeth Palace Library, Selborne papers, 1862 ff102-103 S.Waldegrave to R.Palmer, 26 November 1860

53 E.Stock, Some lessons from past times, Church Missionary Review 1922, p106

54 S.Waldegrave, Christ the true altar, and others sermons, with the charge the Christian ministry not sacerdotal but evangelistic (London 1875) preface by J.C.Ryle pvii

55 C.Bridges, Vain philosophy the spoiler of the church. A sermon preached in the Minster, York, 11 November 1860, at the consecration of the Hon.and Rt.Rev.Samuel Waldegrave DD, Lord Bishop of Carlisle (London 1860) p5

56 C.Hole, The life of the Rev.and Ven. William Whitmarsh Phelps MA (London 1873) Vol 2, p220

57 WPL, Waldegrave to Bessie Waldegrave, 18 June 1860

58 Hole, William Whitmarsh Phelps, op.cit. Vol 2, p220

59 Carlisle Journal, 23 November 1860, p5

60 H.D.Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin Bishop of Carlisle (London 1896) pp140-141

61 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.C.Hinxman, 5 April 1861

62 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.F.R.Ralph, 20 November 1868

63 J.Wilson, Rose Castle the residential seat of the Bishops of Carlisle (Carlisle 1912) pp149-150

64 London Gazette, 19 September 1851

65 ibid. 5 September 1837

66 ibid. eg 6 February 1857, 15 September 1865

67 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in October 1861 (London 1861), p43
Waldegrave referred to this in his Ritualistic Innovation (London 1866) pp14-15

68 WEL, eg Waldegrave to G.Pringle Esq., 21 November 1867, Waldegrave to Dean Close, 26 November 1867, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Brunskill, 31 January 1868

69 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 29 November 1860

70 WEL, Waldegrave to W.Dugmore Esq., 21 March 1862

71 Carlisle Journal, 9 August 1867, p6

72 Carlisle Journal, 24 December 1862, p2, 18 January 1867, p5

73 S.Waldegrave, The lifting up of Christ. A sermon preached before the Church Pastoral Aid Society 1862 (London 1862)

74 S.Waldegrave, 'The faithful word, and the duty of holding it fast'. A sermon before the Church Missionary Society 1868 (London 1868)

75 E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London 1899) Vol 2, p350

76 Carlisle Journal, eg 29 May 1863, p6, 9 June 1865, p5, 15 January 1867, p2

77 S.Waldegrave, The sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation, Lectures delivered in St.Ann's church, Manchester 1867-68 (London 1868)

78 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.S.Karney, 1 August 1868

79 WEL, Waldegrave to the Bishop of Lincoln, 6 March 1868

80 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.S.Hodgson, 5 June 1861
Waldegrave used the same expression in a letter to B.Harrison Esq., 21 June 1861

81 Carlisle Journal, 31 July 1868, p5

82 Carlisle Journal, 10 November 1868, p2

83 Waldegrave, New Testament Millennarianism, op.cit. pp156, 353, 365, 388, 390, 401 footnote t

84 ibid. pxiv

85 Waldegrave, 1861 Charge, op.cit. p42

86 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.A.E.Hulton, 23 November 1867

87 WEL, Waldegrave to J.Postlethwaite, 14 December 1867

88 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.F.Sullivan, 9 February 1868

89 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 24 October 1864

90 Carlisle Journal, 11 October 1861, p5, 2 August 1864, p2, 26 July 1867, p4

91 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in July and August 1864 (London 1864) p81
Carlisle Journal, 25 March 1862, p2, 27 February 1863, p4

92 Carlisle Journal, 5 June 1868, p5
In 1870 Bishop Goodwin made it clear that confirmation candidates should be at least 14 or 15 years old.
H.Goodwin, The first year of my episcopate. A pastoral letter to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle (Carlisle 1870) p5

93 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.H.Ware, 5 November 1868

94 The Times, eg 6 September 1869, p7, 14 September 1869, p7, 20 September 1869, p5

95 Carlisle Journal, 16 April 1869, p5

96 Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 2, p46

97 Carlisle Journal, 5 October 1869, p3

98 ibid.

99 Carlisle Journal, 14 May 1869, p5

100 Carlisle Journal, 1 March 1867, p8

101 Carlisle Journal, 5 March 1867, p3

102 Other memorials to Bishop Waldegrave included - in Carlisle - the pulpit of St.Paul's church, a brass plate in St.Stephen's church, Waldegrave Hall in St.Stephen's parish, and Waldegrave Road in St.James' parish.
-outside Carlisle - a memorial window in Cleator Moor parish church.

103 Carlisle Journal, 30 November 1869, p3, 24 December 1869, p7

104 Carlisle Journal, 5 October 1869, p3

105 The Times, 4 October 1869, p12

106 Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, op.cit. p141

107 Carlisle Library. Undated newspaper cutting - cOctober 1869

108 Waldegrave, Christ the true altar, op.cit. preface by J.C.Ryle ppvi, vii

109 Carlisle Journal, 20 August 1869, p5

110 J.A.Wardle, 'The life and times of the Rev.Dr.Hugh M'Neile DD', (Manchester University MA thesis 1981) p396

111 Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, op.cit. p129

112 Carlisle Journal, 15 October 1869, p4

113 Carlisle Journal, 5 November 1869, p5

114 Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, op.cit. p333

115 Carlisle Journal, 24 December 1869, p4

116 Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, op.cit. pp355-356

117 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 2, p313

118 E.R.Jones and D.Anderson, Two sermons preached at St. Paul's chapel, Kilburn, in December 1847 on occasion of the death of Ellen, wife of the Rev.David Anderson MA (London 1848)

119 Carlisle Journal, 6 September 1864, p2

120 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 2, p30 footnote

121 H.Venn, A sermon preached in the cathedral church of Canterbury on Whit-Tuesday, 29 May 1849, at the consecration of the Rt.Rev.George Smith DD and the Rt.Rev.David Anderson DD (London 1849)

122 R.Braithwaite, The life and letters of Rev. William Pennefather BA (London 1878) p233

123 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 1, p473

124 ibid. Vol 2, p313

125 ibid. Vol 2, pp313-332

126 ibid. Vol 2, p317

127 ibid. Vol 2, p327
But Anderson's presence is not recorded in Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, p205 note 2

128 ibid. Vol 1, pp203-204

129 Chadwick, Victorian Church, op.cit. Vol 2, p344

130 CRO (Carlisle) DRC/1/10 Bishop's Register Book 1850-72, 2 and 9 February 1869, 11 March 1869

i) Bishop Waldegrave's appointments

1 London Gazette, 5 August 1859

2 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.R. Curzon, 12 June 1861,
Waldegrave to R. Smith Esq., 12 June 1861

3 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev. R. Curzon, 24 June 1861

4 WEL, Waldegrave to W. Postlethwaite Esq., 26 November 1867

5 J. D. Marshall and J.K. Walton, The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century (Manchester 1981) p149

6 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev. J. Robinson, 25 November 1867

7 WEL, Waldegrave to 'My dear Sir', 25 November 1867

8 WEL, Waldegrave to Mrs. Hodgson, 23 November 1868,
Waldegrave to Archdeacon S. P. Boutflower, 23 November 1868

9 A. Haig, The Victorian Clergy (London 1984) p 118

10 WEL, Waldegrave to J. B. Morgan Esq., 14 October 1867

11 WEL, Waldegrave to Bishop J. Harding, 5 December 1867

12 WEL, Waldegrave to H. Herchief, 28 November 1868

13 Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 27 April 1860, Vol CLV111,
Church Property - Petitions, p 209

14 C. Hole, Thelife of the Rev. and Ven. William Whitmarsh Phelps MA (London 1873) Vol 2, pp 211-212

15 WEL, Waldegrave to Archdeacon W. W. Phelps, 9 February 1863

16 Hole, William Whitmarsh Phelps, op.cit. Vol 2 p 239

17 ibid. Vol 2, pp 239-243

18 ibid. Vol 2, p 252
Carlisle Journal, 25 June 1867, p 2, 28 June 1867, p 6

19 Carlisle Jurnal, 7 June 1867, p 5

20 Carlisle Journal, 26 July 1867, p 5

21 S. Waldegrave, The Christian ministry not sacerdotal but evangelistic. The charge delivered in September 1867
(London 1867) p 1
Reprinted in Hole, William Whitmarsh Phelps, op.cit. Vol 2, p 278

22 D.S.Boutflower, The Boutflower Book, (Newcastle upon Tyne 1930) p95ff

23 WEL, Waldegrave to G.Moore Esq., 18 November 1867

24 H.D.Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin Bishop of Carlisle (London 1896) p228

25 Boutflower, The Boutflower Book, op.cit. p95

26 The Churchman, February 1883, p398

27 Following Cooper's resignation the living was offered to Harvey Goodwin but he refused it.
Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, op.cit. p83

28 S.Cooper Scott, Things that were, (London 1923) pp10, 107, 114, 161-162, 331, 347-349 - memorial verses to John Cooper 'in memorium'.
A later Archdeacon - Archdeacon H.E.Campbell - visited country parishes on his bicycle.
C.M.L.Bouch, Prelates and people of the Lake Counties (Kendal 1948) p415

29 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.Hadow, 6 August 1868

30 WEL, Waldegrave to Archbishop W.Thomson, 28 January 1868

31 WEL, Waldegrave to R.Nugent Esq., 28 November 1868

32 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.(.), 18 November 1867, and similar sentiments expressed in a letter to Rev.(.), 22 November 1867

33 Carlisle Journal, 7 May 1867, p2

34 WEL, Waldegrave to G.H.Head Esq., 1 December 1868
Waldegrave to Dean F.Close, 1 December 1868

35 J.B.Lancelot, Francis James Chavasse (Oxford 1929) p61
F.J.Chavasse as the Vicar of St.Paul's Holloway, joined 'a noteworthy group of incumbents' including Head.

36 F.W.B.Bullock, The history of Ridley Hall, Cambridge (Cambridge 1941) Vol 1, pp57-58

37 WEL, Waldegrave to T.Green Esq., 20 November 1863

38 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.R.Townson, 9 December 1867

39 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.S.P.Boutflower, 1 December 1863

40 ibid.

41 Bouch, Prelates and people, op.cit. pp423-424

42 ibid. p424
The last line was omitted by Bouch, and was given to me in a letter from C.R.Hudleston, 10 September 1986.

43 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.H.J.Marlen, 12 June 1861

44 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.H.J.Marlen, 14 November 1861

45 On his marriage Calthrop changed his name to Collingwood
Carlisle Journal, 24 April 1868, p5

46 Bouch, Prelates and People, op.cit. p424

47 WEL, Waldegrave to B.Harrison Esq. 19 June 1861

48 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.R.G.Calthrop, 19 June 1861

49 Bouch, Prelates and People, op.cit. p424
Slight amendment given to me in a letter from C.R.Hudleston, 10 September 1986.

50 C.D.Bell, The nature of Christian worship, Church Association tract 50 (not dated) p9

51 J.Julian, A dictionary of hymnology, (London 1915) p133

52 eg C.D.Bell, Voices from the Lakes and other poems (London 1877)

53 The Evangelical succession at Cheltenham was maintained through Charles Jervis 1816-26, Francis Close 1826-56, Edward Walker 1856-72 and Charles Dent Bell 1872-95

54 Ulverston Advertiser, 5 December 1867 (cutting)

55 C.W.Bardsley, Chronicles of the town and church of Ulverston (Ulverston 1885) pp137, 138, 141

56 H.Barber, Furness and Cartmel Notes (London 1894) p264

57 WEL, Waldegrave to 'Mr Blomfield', 27 February 1868

58 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.F.Sullivan, 26 December 1867

59 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.Lowe, 26 December 1967

60 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.Robinson, 10 January 1868

61 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Aryle, 2 December 1867

62 WEL, Waldegrave to T.Fell Esq. 5 March 1868

63 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.I.Gaskarth, 25 January 1868

64 WEL, Waldegrave to 'Mr Burgess', 19 December 1867

65 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.(.)Bunce, 25 January 1868

66 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.I.Gaskarth, 25 February 1868
Carlisle Journal, 6 March 1868, p5

67 WEL, Waldegrave to Countess Roden, 23 December 1867

68 WEL, Waldegrave to Bishop J.Harding, 26 December 1867

69 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.E.Auriol, 5 December 1867

70 WEL, Waldegrave to Miss Hodgson, 24 January 1868

71 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.G.Eustace, 26 December 1867

72 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.Candy, 6 November 1860

73 WEL, Waldegrave to Archdeacon J.Cooper, 28 January 1868

74 DNB, William Hagger Barlow
His son Henry Theodore Edward Barlow served in the diocese of Carlisle as the Perpetual Curate of St.Michael's, Workington 1893-94, and was a Canon of Carlisle 1902-06.

75 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.N.Brady, 24 February 1868

76 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.G.Morton, 27 October 1868

77 His brother John Wareing Bardsley was the Bishop of Sodor and Man 1887-92, and Bishop of Carlisle 1892-1904.

78 CRO (Barrow in Furness) BPR/2 (St Mary, Ulverston) E1/5, Report of the committee of the Town Bank Sunday School, 19 October 1878.
On Bardsley's resignation in 1893, the benefice of Ulverston became a rectory.

79 M.L.Loane, A centenary history of Moore Theological College, (Sydney, Australia 1955) p19

80 ibid. pp19-20

81 ibid. p30

82 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.A.Peache, 1 February 1868

83 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.Hodgson, 3 June 1868

84 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Hacon, 1 July 1868

85 WEL, Waldegrave to Lord Brougham and Vaux, 20 June 1868

86 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.G.Hodgson, 23 June 1868

87 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.C.Jefferson, 30 June 1868

88 Stock, History of CMS, Vol 1, p331; Vol 2, pp47, 172

89 WEL, Waldegrave to Archbishop C.T.Longley, 15 December 1860

90 DNB, Willian Webster Fisher

91 WEL, Waldegrave to Archbishop C.T.Longley, 15 December 1860

92 WEL, Waldegrave to the churchwardens of Kirkby Lonsdale, 17 March 1862

93 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 2, p560

94 ibid. Vol 2, pp68-69

95 ibid. Vol 2, pp550-551

96 WEL, Waldegrave to J.Swanton, 12 August 1868

97 Carlisle Journal, 15 November 1867, p4

98 Carlisle Journal, 10 August 1866, p5

99 J.Darling, Education. Sermon preached in St.John's church, Melbourne on Sunday evening, 7 February 1858, (Melbourne 1858)

100 In a protracted correspondence with the University of Rostock I was unable to see other papers relating to the award of the Ph.D. Clearly other English clergy gained Ph.D.'s from Rostock - for example Blythe Hurst in 1863 and John Denby Harrison in 1869.

101 WEL, Waldegrave to Bishop J.T.Pelham, 12 November 1868

102 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.C.Lawrence, 23 November 1868

103 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.A.Voss, 24 December 1868

104 Carlisle Journal, 21 August 1857, p4

105 Carlisle Journal, 21 August 1857, p4, 2 December 1864, p5, 9 December 1864, p5, 16 December 1864, p5, 13 January 1865,p5, 7 March 1865, p2, 5 May 1865, p5, 2 June 1865, p5, 16 June 1865, p6.
For problems over Rev.R.Wildig (concerning both Puxley and Williams) Carlisle Journal, 18 September 1866, p3, 25 September 1866, p2

106 Anon, A letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, in reply to his pastoral on ritualistic innovation. By a layman of the diocese (London 1867) p7

ii) Bishop Waldegrave's ordinations

1 A.Haig, The Victorian clergy (London 1984) p72ff

2 C.J.Burton, A charge to the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Carlisle, delivered at his visitation in May 1863 (London 1863) p13

3 C.D.Bell, Voices from the Lakes and other poems (London 1877) p58

4 W.J.Conybeare, The Church of England in the mountains, The Edinburgh Review, No 198, Vol 97, January to April 1853, pp3-4

5 ibid. p10

6 S.Waldegrave, The Christian ministry not sacerdotal but evangelistic. The charge delivered in September 1867 (London 1867) p6

7 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in July and August 1864 (London 1864) pp26-27

8 H.D.Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin Bishop of Carlisle (London 1896) pp149-150

9 Haig, Victorian clergy, op.cit. p32

10 Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1880 (London 1880) pviii

11 The Carlisle diocesan calendar and clergy list for the year of our Lord 1868 (Carlisle 1868)
C.M.L.Bouch gives the 1868 figures as 56.1% graduate clergy, 6.4% had attended theological college and 37.5% 'had no stated educational qualification'. But when checked against Crockford Bouch's conclusions are incorrect.
C.M.L.Bouch, Prelates and People of the Lake counties (Kendal 1948) p437

12 The Carlisle diocesan calendar and clergy list for the year of our Lord 1882 (Carlisle 1882)

13 Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. p353

14 ibid. p119

15 ibid. p123
Though the figures for the diocese of Carlisle do not indicate this!

16 O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London 1970) Vol 2, p244

17 Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. p352

18 Waldegrave, 1864 Charge, op.cit. p25
A similar view was taken by Bishop E.Bickersteth in his 1876 Charge, and is quoted in Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. p137

19 Waldegrave, 1867 Charge, op.cit. p8

20 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.P.Walsh, 8 October 1867

21 Waldegrave, 1864 Charge, op.cit. p27

22 T.Park, St.Bees College 1816-1895 (Dalton in Furness 1982) pp45, 60.
Something like 20% of students dropped out of the course each year. Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. pp125, 149

23 Parks, St Bees Collage, op.cit. p40
G.C.Gorham, Examination before admission to a benefice by the Bishop of Exeter (London 1848) p8

24 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev G.H.Ainger, 23 August 1867

25 Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. pp152-154

26 WEL, Waldegrave to Dean J.S.Howson, 13 January 1868

27 G.C.B.Davies, Men for the Ministry. The History of the London College of Divinity (London 1963) p25
Another student who entered St.John's Hall in 1866, Charles Whitaker, subsequently entered the diocese of Carlisle and became the Perpetual Curate of Natland in 1875.

28 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.T.Fox, 9 January 1868

29 WEL, Waldegrave to J.Targett Esq. 5 October 1867

30 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.D.F.Chapman, 9 January 1868,
Waldegrave to Rev. N.Pearson, 14 January 1868

31 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.E.Wickham, 31 July 1868

32 WEL, Waldegrave to F.Tugwell Esq 15 December 1861

33 E.Stock, My recollections (London 1909) p220

34 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.Lyde, 6 December 1867

35 Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. p216

36 WEL, Waldegrave to C.E.Ellwood Esq. 28 August 1868
Ellwood subsequently entered Gloucester theological college in 1873 and was ordained deacon in 1875, and priest in 1876 to a curacy at Cirencester.

37 WEL,Waldegrave to Rev.H.Baines, 5 June 1868

38 WEL, Waldegrave to B.Griffith Esq. 21 December 1860

39 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Dawson, 13 December 1860

40 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.H.Ainger, 26 November 1867

41 WEL, Waldegrave to G.H.Truman Esq. 5 November 1860
Bishop Samuel Wilberforce sent candidates a reading list of ten books which included Hooker, Pearson, Butler's Sermon and Wall on Baptism.
Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. pp191,210 note 63

42 The Carlisle diocesan calendar and clergy list for the year of our Lord 1868, op.cit. p73

43 ibid. p77
C.Hole, The life of the Rev.and Ven.William Whitmarsh Phelps MA (London 1873) Vol 2, p222ff
With Waldegrave's practice may be compared the account given by S.Baring-Gould of an unnamed Evangelical Bishop, S.Baring-Gould, The Church Revival (London 1914) pp203-204

44 L.Creighton, Life and letters of Mandell Creighton (London 1913) Vol 1, p353

45 The Carlisle diocesan calendar and clergy list for the year of our Lord 1868, op.cit. p77

46 Hole, William Whitmarsh Phelps, op.cit. Vol 2, p226

47 Carlisle Journal, 23 August 1861,p4

48 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Robinson, 25 November 1867

49 Hole, William Whitmarsh Phelps, op.cit. Vol 2, pp226-227

50 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.F.Mills, 19 November 1860, 24 November 1860, 29 November 1860
Waldegrave to Rev.J.F.Stenner, 24 November 1860
Waldegrave to G.G.Mounsey Esq. 28 November 1860

51 Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. pp225,216,222

52 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.F.Mills, 19 November 1860, 24 November 1860, 29 November 1860

53 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.C.Lowndes, 15 December 1860, Waldegrave to Rev.A.R.Hartley, 21 December 1860, 16 January 1861

54 Waldegrave, 1867 Charge, op.cit. p8

55 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.Pettit, 9 November 1867

56 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.B.Hopkins, 3 December 1860

57 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.H.Shepherd, 15 January 1861

58 Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. pp287ff, 291

59 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.M.M.Ben-Ohiel, 7 April 1861

60 WEL, Waldegrave to Dowager Duchess of Northumberland, 19 August 1861

61 ibid.

62 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.M.M.Ben-Ohiel, 23 September 1861

63 Report of the proceedings of the Church Congress. 1875 Church Congress (London 1875) p95

64 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer 2 October 1876, Vol 10, p329

65 G.W.E.Russell, Arthur Stanton (London 1917) p178
In which Ben-Ohiel is mistakenly called 'Ben-Oliel'.

66 Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. pp138-139

67 WEL, Waldegrave to Dean J.S.Howson, 13 January 1868

68 Haig, Victorian Clergy, op.cit. p157

69 Report of the proceedings of the Church Congress. 1872 Church Congress (London 1872) p390

70 Waldegrave, 1864 Charge, op.cit. p28
These figures given by Bishop Waldegrave in his Charge do not tally with the figures given in the Bishops' Episcopal Registers.

71 H.Goodwin, Charge delivered to the clergy and churchwardens of the diocese of Carlisle 1881 (Carlisle 1881) p4

d) **The ministry of Dean Francis Close**

i) The Deans of Carlisle 1820-56

1 O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London 1966) Vol 1, p34

2 DNB, John Antony Cramer

3 DNB, Samuel Hinds

4 C.K.F.Brown, A history of the English clergy 1800-1900 (London 1953) p117

5 R.G.Wilberforce, Life of the Rt.Rev.Samuel Wilberforce DD (London 1881) Vol 2, p128

6 Chadwick, Victorian Church, op.cit. Vol 1, pp470, 475

7 F.Close, Bishop Hinds' 'Free discussion of religious topics', freely discussed (London 1868) p4

8 H.Bolitho, A Victorian Dean (London 1930) p54

9 R.T.Davidson and W.Benham, Life of Archibald Campbell Tait Archbishop of Canterbury (London 1891) Vol 1, p149

10 ibid. Vol 1, p111

11 F.Arnold, Our Bishops and Deans (London 1875) Vol 1, p300

12 Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, pp179-180

13 ibid. Vol 1, pp150,151

14 WPL, Waldegrave to Earl Waldegrave, 18 April 1850

15 Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, p155

16 ibid. Vol 1, pp154, 202

17 ibid. Vol 1, pp185,186

18 Reports from the Commissioners, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. Session 31 January -12 August 1854, Vol 25, p9

19 Carlisle Journal, 27 June 1856, p8
EC (Carlisle Chapter. Cathedral arrangements. Repairs of Cathedral) passim..

20 Carlisle Journal, 25 September 1857, p5

21 Carlisle Journal, 5 November 1858, p6, 19 June 1863, p6
T.B.Graham, 'Some aspects of working-class adult education in nineteenth century Carlisle' (Nottingham University M.Phil. thesis 1972) p93

22 Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, p159

23 ibid. Vol 1, p170

24 ibid. Vol 1, pp181-182

25 ibid. Vol 1, p182

26 W.Benham (ed), Catharine and Craufurd Tait (London 1881) p32

27 ibid. pp169-254
Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, pp189-190

28 Benham, Catharine and Craufurd Tait, op.cit. p249

29 A.J.Mason, Memoir of George Howard Wilkinson (London 1909) Vol 1, p350

30 Carlisle Journal, 6 August 1858, p8

31 [J.Skinner], Memorials of Dean Close edited by one who knew him (London 1885) p31

32 Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, p187
C.M.L.Bouch, Prelates and People of the Lake Counties (Kendal 1948) p420 footnote

33 E.Hodder, The life and work of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury KG (London 1887) Vol 3, p198

34 Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, p208
D.W.R.Bahlman, Politics and church patronage in the Victorian age, Victorian Studies, Spring 1979, p269

35 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 29 September 1856

36 Davidson and Benham, Archibald Campbell Tait, op.cit. Vol 1, p208

37 Carlisle Journal, 10 October 1856, p4

38 Carlisle Journal, 24 October 1856, p5

ii) Francis Close's Cheltenham ministry

1 A.F.Munden, 'The Church of England in Cheltenham 1826-1856 with particular reference to Rev. Francis Close', (Birmingham University M.Litt. 1980) - from which detailed references in this section must be seen.

2 Mss. Pedigree of Close of Suffolk, prepared by Herbert Douglas Fisher, August 1917
DNB, Nicholas Close

3 Carlisle Journal, 6 November 1863, p5

4 H.C.G.Moule, Charles Simeon (London 1892) pp178-179
This section on Close is omitted in the edition published by the IVF in London 1948.

5 A.F.Munden, Evangelical in the shadows: Charles Jervis of Cheltenham, Churchman, August 1982, Vol 96, pp142-150
The Perpetual Curacy of Cheltenham became a Rectory in February 1863.

6 Mss. Francis Close, Autobiography

7 Carlisle Journal, 29 March 1867, p5

8 C.Smyth, Simeon and Church Order (Cambridge 1940) p203

9 W.Carus, Memoirs of the life of the Rev.Charles Simeon MA (London 1847) p783

10 The description of Close the 'Pope' was probably first used by Alfred Tennyson who lived in Cheltenham from 1844. Close's description as the 'Pope of Cheltenham' was used in the press in 1858 in the Morning Post and quoted by the Carlisle Journal, 8 October 1858, p3 and in obituary notices. 'The Dean of Carlisle is a sort of Pope himself among low-church folk'. From The Saturday Review and quoted by the Carlisle Journal, 23 October 1868, p3

11 A.F.Munden, Radicalism versus Evangelicalism in Victorian Cheltenham, Southern History, Vol 5, 1983, p118

12 Mss. Rev.F.Close to Rev.C.Davis, undated letter

13 Shortly afterwards Wilderspin examined the pupils in the recently opened infant school at Cockermouth, and infant schools were to open in Carlisle, Workington and Kendal. Cheltenham Journal, 18 October 1830, p2

14 A.Harper (ed), History of the Cheltenham Grammar School (Cheltenham 1856) p43

15 Cheltenham Journal, 5March 1849, p1

16 Carlisle Journal, 8 January 1867, p3

17 Mss. Francis Close, Autobiography

18 ibid.

19 ibid.
Cheltenham Journal, 15 November 1856, p1

20 British Library Add.mss. Private letter book no 2 of Henry John Temple, the third Viscount Palmerston, Lord Palmerston to Rev.Sir C.Wood, 20 November 1856

21 WPL, Waldegrave to Mary Waldegrave, 20 October 1856

22 Cheltenham Examiner, 11 June 1856, p11
Cheltenham Journal, 26 July 1856, p2

23 Mss. Francis Close, Large Scrapbook
letter of Close dated 7 July 1856 in The Record

24 Cheltenham Examiner, 22 October 1856, p4

25 Lambeth Palace library, Faculty Office Muniment CG/127
Carlisle Journal, 12 December 1856, p6

26 Mss. Francis Close, Large Scrapbook
letter of Close dated 3 September 1856 in The Record
B.E.Hardman, 'The Evangelical party in the Church of England 1855-1865' (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis 1963) p74

27 W.Knight, Memoir of the Rev.H.Venn the missionary secretariate of Henry Venn BD (London 1880) pp95-96
The reference to Geneva concerns Close acting as the commissary of the Bishop of London; and Close raised £222 for the erection of Holy Trinity church, Geneva,
Cheltenham Journal, 23 February 1856, p2

28 E.Humphries and E.C.Willoughby, At Cheltenham Spa (London 1928) p198

29 W.E.Adams, Memoirs of a social atom, (London 1903) Vol 1, p11

30 Close was 32 years at Cheltenham - two years as the minister of Holy Trinity church, and 30 years as the Perpetual Curate of Cheltenham parish church.

iii) Dean Close's Carlisle ministry

1 Carlisle Journal, 31 March 1865, p5

2 R.S.Ferguson, Diocesan Histories. Carlisle (London 1889) p163
P.E.Matheson, The life of Hastings Rashdall DD (Oxford 1928) p233

3 Carlisle Journal, 27 June 1856, p8

4 L.Creighton, Life and letters of Mandell Creighton (London 1913) Vol 1, p25

5 E.Royle, The Victorian Church in York (York 1983) p22

6 Ferguson, Diocesan Histories. Carlisle, op.cit. p163

7 The Royal Commission on Ritual (1867). The evidence of Dean F.Close. Questions 1461-1642, pp39-42.

On the use of the pastoral staff at Carlisle - in 1870 Bishop H.Goodwin believed that its use would be thought of as being the symbol of a party. By that date the pastoral staff was used by only four bishops - Gilbert of Chichester, Hamilton of Salisbury, Claughton of Rochester and Wilberforce of Oxford. G.W.Kitchin, Edward Harold Brown DD (London 1895) p349.
However the situation had changed by 1884, when Bishop Goodwin was presented with a pastoral staff at the Church Congress held at Carlisle in that year.
Report of the proceedings of the Church Congress. 1884 Church Congress (London 1884) p1

8 Carlisle Journal, 4 December 1857, p5, 5 March 1858, p5

9 D and C, Chapter Order Book 1855-74, 23 June 1857

10 Matheson, Hastings Rashdall, op.cit. p233

11 Carlisle Journal, 2 January 1866, p2

12 D and C, Chapter Order Book 1855-74, 23 June 1862

13 As late as 1918 the cathedral was closed for cleaning during weekdays and open on Sunday for worship.
Matheson, Hastings Rashdall, op.cit. p184

14 P.Barrett, English cathedral choirs in the nineteenth century, JEH, January 1974, Vol XXV, p36

15 Carlisle Journal, 28 June 1861, p6

16 F.Close, Thoughts on the daily choral services in Carlisle Cathedral (London 1865) p4

17 ibid. p6

18 ibid. p11

19 F.Close, Further evidence of the true character of the English Church Union ... 1869 (London 1869) pp24-25

20 Close, Thoughts on the daily choral services, op.cit. p7

21 Carlisle Journal, 18 April 1865, p2

22 Barrett, English cathedral choirs, op.cit. p23

23 Carlisle Journal, 2 April 1858, p8

The Rev.T.G.Livingstone and the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. Report of the proceedings in this case before the Hon. and Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle as visitor ... (Carlisle 1858)

24 Cheltenham Journal, 17 September 1856, 4 October 1856, p2

25 Close, Thoughts on the daily services, op.cit. pp9,10

26 Carlisle Journal, 16 July 1858, p4, 29 October 1858, p5

27 Carlisle Journal, 10 September 1858, pp4-5

28 WEL, Waldegrave to Revs. F.S.Tireman and T.G.Livingstone, 7 December 1860

29 Carlisle Journal, (26 August 1864, p5)
21 July 1865, p5, 11 June 1867, p3, 14 June 1867, p5,
17 April 1868, p4

30 Carlisle Journal, 17 April 1868, p4
D and C, Chapter Order Book 1855-74, 23 November 1868

31 ibid. 14 April 1871

32 ibid. 23 November 1858

33 G.R.Balleine, A history of the Evangelical party in the Church of England (London 1908) p197
J.Whale, One church, one Lord (London 1979) pp84-115

34 E.Stock, The history of the Church Missionary Society (London 1899) Vol 2, p365

35 A.F.Munden, 'The Church of England in Cheltenham 1826-1856 with particular reference to Rev.Francis Close', (Birmingham University M.Litt. thesis 1980) pp76-79

36 [J.Skinner], Memorials of Dean Close edited by one who knew him (London 1885) p88

37 F.Close, Fifty-two sketches of sermons on miscellaneous subjects (London 1842) pv
This reference corrects the mistaken view that Close omitted to express his indebtedness to Charles Simeon for his preaching style.
H.E.Hopkins, Charles Simeon of Cambridge (London 1977) p62

38 Contemporary preachers. No VIII the Very Rev. Francis Close DD, Dean of Carlisle, The Churchman's Magazine, No 58, October 1857

39 Carlisle Journal, 3 November 1868, p2

40 F.Close, A course of nine sermons, intended to illustrate some of the leading truths contained in the Liturgy of the Church of England (London 1825)

41 eg Carlisle Journal, 26 April 1864, p2, 30 May 1865, p3
Mss. Francis Close, Large Scrapbook, letter dated October 1863

42 Carlisle Journal, 18 July 1865, p2

43 Carlisle Journal, 31 January 1862, p6, 31 December 1866, p2
18 January 1867, p6

44 F.Close, A sermon preached in Carlisle Cathedral, on the occasion of the International fruit and flower show, on Sunday, 9 September 1877 (Carlisle 1878)

45 F.Close, Britain's gale days: the landing of HRH Alexandra, Princess of Denmark, and her marriage with HRH Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, a sermon by the Dean of Carlisle, preached on Sunday, 8 March 1863, in Carlisle Cathedral, (London 1863)

46 F.Close, Prayer heard and answered: a sermon preached in Carlisle Cathedral, on Sunday, 31 December 1871, by the Very Rev. Francis Close DD, Dean on the convalescence of of HRH the Prince of Wales; and on Her Majesty's gracious letter to her people (London 1872)

47 F.Close, A sermon preached before the Church Pastoral Aid Society, at its anniversary, in the parish church of St.Dunstan, Fleet Street, on Wednesday evening, 6 May 1863 (London 1863)

48 F.Close, Ritualism and scepticism, being two sermons; the former preached in the parish church of St.George's, Bloomsbury, on Sunday, 18 February, in aid of the 'Bishop of London's fund'; and the latter at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on Sunday, 25 February 1866 (London 1866)

F.Close, Anglican ritualism traced to Judaism. A sermon preached in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on the Sunday next before Easter (London 1873)

49 eg Carlisle Journal, 26 November 1867, p3,
29 November 1867, p6

50 F.Close, Auricular confession and priestly absolution tested by scripture, by antiquity, and by the formularies of the Church of England. Being three sermons preached in Carlisle Cathedral on Sunday, 5th, 12th and 19th October 1873 (London 1873)

51 Carlisle Journal, 11 September 1866, p3

52 F.Close, The cattle plague, viewed in the light of Holy Scripture. A sermon preached in Carlisle Cathedral on Sunday, 10 December 1865 (London 1865)

Carlisle Journal, 15 December 1865, p5

53 S.Waldegrave, The cattle plague a warning voice to Britain, from the King of Nations. A sermon, preached in the cathedral church of Carlisle, on Friday, 12 January 1866 (London 1866)

Carlisle Journal, 16 January 1866, pp2,3

54 Carlisle Journal, 16 March 1866, p4, 27 March 1866, p2

55 Carlisle Journal, 16 January 1866, p3, 23 February 1866, p7

56 Carlisle Journal, 7 May 1867, p2

Hastings Rashdall attended the 1884 Church Congress in Carlisle and commented - 'I never saw so many parsons smoking at once, still less a Bishop (American)!'
Matheson, Hastings Rashdall, op.cit. p45

57 Carlisle Journal, 26 October 1860, p8

58 Carlisle Journal, 29 May 1866, p2

59 Carlisle Journal, 25 March 1862, p3

60 Carlisle Journal, 1 April 1862, p3

61 Carlisle Journal, 18 April 1862, p5

62 Carlisle Journal, 19 February 1861, p2

63 F.Close (ed), A critical examination of the 'Essays and Reviews' by an American layman. Edited by the Dean of Carlisle (London 1861)

64 Carlisle Journal, 11 September 1863, p7

65 Mss. Francis Close, Small Scrapbook

67 Carlisle Journal, 29 September 1868, p2

68 Carlisle Journal, 29 September 1868, p2,
2 October 1868, p5, 6 October 1868, p2,
13 October 1868, p2

69 Carlisle Journal, 28 November 1865, p3

70 Anon, The history of Penrith, from the earliest period to the present time (Penrith 1858) p197

71 Carlisle Journal, 27 March 1868, p6

72 Carlisle Journal, 1 July 1864, p4

73 Carlisle Journal, 27 April 1869, p2

74 Carlisle Journal, 3 August 1866, p5

75 Carlisle Journal, 22 June 1860, p8

76 Carlisle Journal, 25 November 1870, p5

77 Cheltenham Journal, 24 January 1842, p2

78 Carlisle Journal, 8 March 1864, p2

79 Carlisle Journal, 21 February 1862, p6

80 Carlisle Journal, 2 October 1866, p4, 9 October 1866, p2

81 Carlisle Journal, 31 March 1865, p5

82 Carlisle Journal, 2 September 1864, p5, 9 September 1864, p5
28 March 1865, p2

83 R.Bower, Busts, portrait medallions and modern effigies in the churches of the diocese of Carlisle, CW2, 1904, Vol IV, p126

Other memorials to Close include - Close Street, Carlisle, and a ward in the Cumberland Infirmary, as well as a recumbent figure in the south aisle of Carlisle cathedral.

84 Carlisle Cathedral, 4 March 1864, p6

85 Carlisle Journal, 13 December 1861, p8

86 Carlisle Journal, 11 August 1863, p2

87 Carlisle Journal, 19 February 1864, pp6-7

88 Carlisle Journal, 22 November 1861, p5

89 Carlisle Journal, 11 December 1866, p2

90 D.Leigh, 'The history of further education in Carlisle in the nineteenth century' (Newcastle University M.Ed. thesis 1966)

T.B.Graham, 'Some aspects of working-class adult education in nineteenth century Carlisle' (Nottingham University M.Phill. thesis 1972)

91 Graham, ibid.p136
Report of the proceedings of the Church Congress. 1866 Church Congress (London 1866) p20

92 Graham, 'Some aspects of working-class adult education', op.cit. p83

93 Carlisle was divided into four districts in 1850 in order to promote the temperance cause by the Carlisle Temperance Society, though the only long-lasting branch was the West End Temperance Society.
Leigh, 'The history of further education in Carlisle', op.cit. p155

94 CRO (Carlisle) CRO DSO 77, Minute Book of West End Temperance Hall, May 1860-March 1872, 1 June 1860

95 Carlisle Journal, 1 November 1861, p6

96 Carlisle Journal, 20 March 1863, p5

97 Carlisle Journal, 8 March 1867, p6

98 Carlisle Journal, 9 January 1863, p5, 9 May 1871

In 1922 Dean Rashdall held a Christmas party for 250 children with a tea at the deanery and dancing in the Fratry.
Matheson, Hastings Rashdall, op.cit. p218

99 CRO (Carlisle) Minute Book of West End Temperance Hall, op.cit. 25 October 1867

100 Carlisle Journal, 4 December 1857, p8

101 J.C.F.Barnes, The trade union and radical activities of the Carlisle hand-loom weavers, CW2, 1978, Vol LXXVIII, pp149-161

102 Carlisle Journal, 4 January 1861, pp5,8

103 Carlisle Journal, 18 July 1862, p5

104 Carlisle Journal, 31 October 1862, p5, 19 December 1862, p5 17 April 1863, p5

The figures given are slightly different in Waldegrave, 1864 Charge, op.cit. p3

105 Carlisle Journal, 21 November 1862, p5
Waldegrave, 1864 Charge, op.cit. p4

106 Carlisle Journal, 6 March 1863, p8

107 Carlisle Journal, 20 March 1863, p6

108 Carlisle Journal, 5 August 1862, p5

109 Cheltenham Journal, 25 March 1850, p2, 8 April 1850, p2

110 Carlisle Journal, 3 April 1863, p5

111 Carlisle Journal, 14 March 1865, p2

112 eg Carlisle Journal, 26 June 1863, p6, 26 January 1864, p3
20 May 1864, p6, 26 August 1864, p7

113 Carlisle Journal, 28 January 1868, p2

114 Carlisle Journal, 14 August 1863, p5

115 Carlisle Journal, 15 January 1864, p5, 19 January 1864, p3

116 F.Close, Lectures on the evidence of Christianity, addressed to the working classes during the season of Lent, 1860, at the Athenaeum, Carlisle (London 1860)

Carlisle Journal, 2 March 1860

117 Carlisle Journal, 11 February 1859, p5, 17 December 1858, p6

118 Carlisle Journal, 26 April 1861, p5

119 F.Close, The best mode of attaching the people to the Church of England, Report of the proceedings of the Church Congress. 1866 Church Congress (London 1866) p245

120 ibid p245

121 F.Close, Teetotalism: the Christian's duty. A sermon preached at St.Botolph's church, Aldersgate Street, on behalf of the City of London Temperance Association, on Thursday evening, 3 May 1860 (London 1860) pp13, 14

122 N.Longmate, The water-drinkers, a history of Temperance (London 1968) p100

123 P.Rogers, Father Theobald Mathew apostle of Temperance (London 1945) p89 note 1

124 (.) Marsh, The life of the Rev.William Marsh DD (London 1867) p301

125 Cheltenham Journal, 27 December 1841, p2

126 Cheltenham Journal, 8 April 1850, p2

127 Cheltenham Examiner, 3 July 1861, p8, and reported in Cheltenham Journal, 9 July 1861, p3

128 Carlisle Journal, 4 January 1859, p2

129 H.M.Villiers, A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle 1858 (London 1858) pp14, 16 footnote

130 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in October 1861, at his primary visitation (London 1861) p38

131 F.Close, Address of the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle, delivered at the request of the Glasgow Abstainers' Union, in the city hall, Glasgow, on Monday evening, 25 March 1861 (Glasgow 1861) pp4,26, 23-24, 27

132 Close, Teetotalism: the Christian's duty, op.cit. p24

133 Carlisle Journal, 30 August 1864, p2

134 Carlisle Journal, 19 February 1864, p6
1866 Church Congress, op.cit. p246

135 Carlisle Journal, 18 October 1864, p2

136 F.Close, 'Why I have taken the pledge': or an apology for total abstinence and the Permissive Maine Law (London 1860)

137 Carlisle Journal, 18 January 1861, p5

138 Carlisle Journal, 9 April 1867, p3

139 F.Close, Legislation on the liquor traffic ...
A paper for the International Temperance and Prohibition Convention, 1862 (London 1862)

140 ibid. p16

141 Close, Glasgow Abstainers' Union, op.cit. p19

142 Longmate, Water Drinkers, op.cit. p137

143 Carlisle Journal, 14 June 1867, p4
S.Smiles, George Moore merchant and philanthropist (London 1886) pp190-191

144 Cheltenham Journal, 19 February 1844, p2

145 Carlisle Journal, 30 January 1872, p2

146 Carlisle Journal, 9 November 1866, p7

147 Dean Rashdall was a keen gardener and had more obvious success with the deanery garden.
Matheson, Hastings Rashdall, op.cit. pp191, 198, 211, 217

148 Carlisle Journal, 16 November 1866, p5, 27 November 1866, p2
1 March 1867, p8, 6 August 1869, p5, 10 August 1869, p2

149 R.H.Martin, 'The Pan-Anglican impulse in Britain 1795-1830 with special reference to four London societies' (Oxford University Ph.D. 1974)

150 F.K.Brown, Fathers of the Victorians the age of Wilberforce (Cambridge 1961) p328

151 ibid. p317

152 Cheltenham Journal, 9 October 1843, p2

153 eg Carlisle Journal, 22 July 1864, p5, 14 February 1868, p4

154 Carlisle Journal, 23 April 1858, p5

155 Carlisle Journal, 4 February 1862, p2, 1 February 1867, p6

156 Leigh, 'The history of further education in Carlisle', op.cit. Appendix 6a
Graham, 'Some aspects of working-class adult education', op.cit. pp112-119

157 Bishop Waldegrave declined the invitation to become the president of the Carlisle YMCA because he felt that he could not give it the attention it needed.
WEL, Waldegrave to Chancellor C.J.Burton, 7 December 1860, 12 April 1861. Waldegrave to J.Eccleston, 12 April 1861

158 F.Close, Domestic ritualism; how 'it creeps into houses'. ... A lecture addressed to the Young Men's Christian Association, Carlisle, on Tuesday, 6 November 1866 (London 1866)

159 Cheltenham Journal, 22 December 1845, p2
Carlisle Journal, 28 November 1862, p6

160 In February 1888 (and after 750 years) the School passed out of the control of the Dean and Chapter.
D and C, two boxes of mss. papers on Carlisle Grammar School.

161 eg Carlisle Journal, 19 June 1857, p5

162 eg Carlisle Journal, 26 June 1857, p5, 24 June 1864, p5

163 eg Carlisle Journal, 20 November 1857, p5

164 Carlisle Journal, 29 January 1858, p5

165 Carlisle Journal, 28 June 1861, p6

166 Carlisle Journal, 3 July 1863, p4

167 F.Close, The Dean's Reply (Carlisle 1864)
Carlisle Journal, 28 June 1864, p2

168 Carlisle Journal, 15 November 1861, p6, 29 November 1861, p6

169 Carlisle Journal, 19 December 1882, p2

170 F.Close, A letter to the proprietors of Cheltenham College and to those parents who have sons at the school (Carlisle 1862)

171 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer 1 December 1876, Vol 10, pp414-415

172 C.Williams, Flecker of Dean Close (London 1946) p45
This particular controversy and the need to establish another public school in Cheltenham is ignored in the recently published historical background to the school.
R.J.W.Evans, Town, gown and cloth: an essay on the foundation of the school in M.A.Girling and L.Hooper (eds) Dean Close School: the first hundred years (Cheltenham 1986) pp1-39

173 Crockford's clerical directory for 1880 (London 1880)

174 F.Close, An examination of the witnesses, and their evidence, given before a Royal Commission upon the administration and operation of the 'Contagious Diseases Acts, 1871' (London 1872)

175 L.Baxter, The life of William Barnes (London 1887) pp258-259

176 R.G.Wilberforce, Life of the Rt.Rev.Samuel Wilberforce DD (London 1882) Vol 3, p190 footnote

177 ibid. (London 1881) Vol 2, p409

178 D and C, box of mss. papers on Dean Close
F.Close to S.G.Saul, 7 May 1881
Judgment, dated 14 May 1881

179 ibid. letter from S.G.Saul, 7 May 1881

180 The Churchman, February 1883, p397

181 Carlisle Journal, 1 April 1881, p4
The trust deed of the Hugh M'Neile Biblical Professorship in the archives of St.John's College, Nottingham.

182 Carlisle Journal, 11 July 1882, p2, 19 December 1882, p2

183 H.C.G.Moule, Charles Simeon (London 1892) pp178-179, 275

184 G.T.Berwick, Close of Cheltenham, Parish Pope, Theology, October 1939, Vol XXXIX, p284

185 F.Close, Ritualism: a lecture by the Very Rev. Francis Close DD, Dean of Carlisle, at St. Jame's Hall, Piccadilly, London, 19 February 1867 (London 1867) p20

186 Carlisle Journal, 31 December 1867, p2

187 Carlisle Journal, 10 August 1860, p5

188 /J.Skinner/, Memorials of Dean Close edited by one who knew him (London 1885) pp45-48

189 CRO (Carlisle) DRC 1/11, Bishop's Register Book 1872-1895

190 Carlisle Journal, 22 December 1882, p5

191 D and C, box of mss. papers on Dean Close
F.Close to S.G.Saul, 4 November 1881

192 Mss. Francis Close, Large Scrapbook

193 Carlisle Journal, 19 December 1882, p2

PART FOUR

ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL CAUSES IN THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE

a) Endowments

1 Carlisle Journal, 21 February 1862, p5

2 CRO (Carlisle) DRC 1/10, Bishop's Register Book 1850-1872, 1 January 1858
The Carlisle diocesan calendar and clergy list for the year of our Lord 1868 (Carlisle 1868)

3 W.J.Conybeare, The Church of England in the mountains, The Edinburgh Review, January to April 1853, Vol 97, pp345-346

4 Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, Vol CLVIII, 27 April 1860, p209

5 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in July and August 1864, (London 1864) p23

6 Conybeare, The Church of England in the mountains, op.cit. p246

7 S.Smiles, George Moore merchant and philanthropist (London 1886) p122
Puzzle Hall was used as a benefice house until 1972, and is now called Ladyswood.

8 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in October 1861 (London 1861) p9

Later funds included the Carlisle Diocesan Sustention Fund, the Boutflower Memorial Fund for Sick Clergy, the Harvey Goodwin Fund for Clerical Holidays and the Bishop Diggle Memorial Fund.

9 Smiles, George Moore, op.cit. p211

10 ibid. p212

11 C.Hole, The life of the Rev. and Ven. William Whitmarsh Phelps MA (London 1873) Vol 2, p245

12 ibid. p253

13 Carlisle Journal, 30 July 1858, p5

Bishop Waldegrave regarded £150 as the mimimum salary and Bishop Lonsdale as £300 a year.

14 Carlisle Journal, 23 August 1867, p6

15 K.A.Thompson, Bureaucracy and Church Reform (Oxford 1970) p84

16 A.Haig, The Victorian Clergy (London 1984) p355

17 G.F.A.Best, Temporal Pillars (Cambridge 1964)

18 ibid. p424

19 Thompson, Bureaucracy and Church Reform, op.cit. p77

20 Carlisle Journal, 15 July 1864, p6

21 Carlisle Journal, 15 April 1862, p5

22 Carlisle Journal, 21 February 1862, p5

23 Carlisle Journal, 15 April 1862, p5

24 Carlisle Journal, 21 February 1862, p6

25 WEL, Waldegrave to C.Howard Esq. MP, 2 March 1863

26 Carlisle Journal, 15 July 1864, p6, 10 August 1866, p5
Waldegrave, 1864 Charge, op.cit. p8 - for 1864 has £8507

27 Carlisle Journal, 26 July 1867, p5

28 Carlisle Journal, 17 June 1864, p5

29 Carlisle Journal, 28 August 1868, p6

30 R.S.Ferguson, Diocesan Histories. Carlisle (London 1889) p193

31 eg London Gazette, 17 June 1853, 30 June 1865

32 London Gazette, 17 December 1852

33 R.T.Davidson and W.Benham, Life of Archibald Campbell Tait (London 1891) Vol 1, p177

34 ibid. Vol 1, p178

35 Reports from the Commissioners. Cathedral and collegiate churches. Session 31 January to 12 August 1854, letter from Dean A.C.Tait, pp633-635

36 Carlisle Journal, 23 October 1857, p8

37 EC (St Mary's, Carlisle), A.C.Tait to EC, 13 February 1854, EC to A.C.Tait, 11 March 1854

38 Carlisle Journal, 29 February 1856, 6 March 1857, p8
Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Vol CXL, 18 February 1856

39 Carlisle Journal, 23 October 1857, p8, 27 November 1857, p5

40 The three workhouses in the Carlisle Union were at St.Mary's, Coalfell Hill and Harraby Hill. In March 1862 there were a total of 2,599 paupers. When the new union workhouse at Fuse Hill was opened in January 1864 (at a cost of £12,715.7s) the first two workhouses were sold, and the third used as a training school for children.
Carlisle Journal, 22 January 1864, p5, 11 March 1864, p5, 24 June 1864, p5

41 Carlisle Journal, 8 January 1858, p5, 22 January 1858, pp5, 8

42 WEL, Waldegrave to Archdeacon W.Phelps, 8 March 1864

43 D and C, Chapter Order Book 1855-1874, 23 November 1865

44 Carlisle Journal, 30 July 1858, p5, 4 May 1860, p5
1 April 1864, p5

45 Carlisle Journal, 8 April 1864, p5, 15 April 1864, p5

46 Carlisle Journal, 1 March 1861, p5

47 WEL, Waldegrave to Dean F.Close, 2 March 1861

48 F.Close, Cathedral Reform (London 1864) pp37-38, 25-26

49 J.Ingle, A letter to the Rt.Hon. the Lord Stanley MP, on the Dean of Carlisle's recent scheme of cathedral reform (so called) (London 1864) pp4-5, 11, 22

50 WEL, Waldegrave to Dean F.Close, 12 September 1861

b) Churchbuilding

1 B.F.L.Clarke, Church builders of the nineteenth century (London 1938)

2 H.Goodwin, A charge delivered to the clergy and church-wardens of the diocese of Carlisle 1875 (Carlisle 1875) p9

3 eg Carlisle Journal, 21 February 1862, p5, 2 October 1866,p2
8 November 1867, p6
eg Carlisle Journal, 3 August 1866, p5, 5 June 1868, p5
24 July 1868, p5, 11 December 1868, p5

4 C.M.L.Bouch, Prelates and People of the Lake Counties (Kendal 1948) pp401-402, 459-462, 465-469
Some of these statistics vary when compared with other sources..

5 Goodwin, 1875 Charge, op.cit. pp5-6

6 Census of Great Britain 1851. Religious Worship England and Wales (London 1853) pcc1v

7 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in October 1861 (London 1861) p15

8 Carlisle Journal, 1 February 1859, p1, 4 March 1864, pp5,6
WEL, Waldegrave to the weekly committee of the Cumberland Infirmary, 31 January 1863
Waldegrave to Rev.F.J.Allnatt, 31 January 1863

9 Carlisle Journal, 15 October 1867, p2, 5 November 1867, p3

10 Carlisle Journal, 21 May 1861, p2

11 The Ecclesiologist, 1863, Vol XXIV, pp150-151

12 Carlisle Journal, 18 October 1867, p7

13 The Ecclesiologist, 1865, Vol XXVI, p128
also Carlisle Journal, 28 March 1865, p2

14 Carlisle Journal, 9 December 1864, p6

15 M.Milner, The life of Isaac Milner DD, FRS (London 1842) p685

16 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) Form of Inquiry 1819,
Rev.W.Rees to EC, 28 March 1824

17 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) Return to EC 1824

18 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) Two petitions, 16 June 1824

19 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) The secretary of the Carlisle Church Building Committee to EC, 21 September 1824

20 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) The secretary of the Carlisle Church Building Committee to EC, 1 May 1826

21 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) Letter to EC, 6 March 1827

22 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) D.Fletcher Esq. to EC, 23 November 1826

23 DNB, Thomas Rickman

24 J.Wilson, Rose Castle the residential seat of the Bishop of Carlisle (Carlisle 1912) pp103, 105

After Hutchinson's death in 1831, Rickman was responsible for the design of the Draper's Hall, Carlisle.

25 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) D.Fletcher Esq. to EC, 23 November 1826

26 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) Letter to EC, 16 November 1827

27 Carlisle Library:

Specification of the work, and particulars of the materials to be used in the erection of the new chapel, in the parish of St.Cuthbert, in the city of Carlisle, according to the designs of Rickman and Hutchinson, architects (Birmingham, June 1828)

Specification of the work, and particulars of the new chapel in the parish of St.Mary, in the city of Carlisle, according to the designs of Rickman and Hutchinson, architects (Birmingham, June 1828)

28 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) Rickman and Hutchinson to EC, 22 March 1828

EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) summary sheet, 26 July 1869
The cost of Christ Church was £6,629 3s 1d, of which £2,178 was raised locally.

29 London Gazette, 23 June 1854

30 C.G.Bulman, Two recently demolished Carlisle churches, CW2, 1954, Vol LV, pp311-316

31 For an earlier Carlisle church dedicated to Holy Trinity, see, D.R.Perriam, An unrecorded Carlisle Church: the church of Holy Trinity, Caldewgate, CW2, 1979, Vol LXXIX, pp51-53

32 EC (St.John, Upperby) Rev.W.Crockett to EC, 23 March 1858, 8 October 1866

33 EC (St.John, Upperby) Rev.W.Crockett to EC, 18 October 1867

34 London Gazette, 3 July 1860

35 A.Harris, Denton Holme, Carlisle. Part II. The growth of a suburb, CW2, 1967, Vol LXVII, p210

36 ibid. p224

37 EC (St.Stephen, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 6 December 1862

38 EC (St.Stephen, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 12 November 1862

39 DNB, Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts

40 Lambeth Palace Library. Baroness Burdett-Coutts papers. Mss 1388 fs 1-6, Bishop S.Waldegrave to Miss A.G.Burdett-Coutts, 29 September 1862

41 Carlisle Journal, 4 March 1864, p6, 2 June 1865, p5

42 WEL, Waldegrave to (John Irving) Mayor of Carlisle, 4 May 1863

43 Carlisle Journal, 4 March 1864, p5

44 WEL, Waldegrave to (John Irving) Mayor of Carlisle, 4 May 1863

45 Carlisle Journal, 15 May 1863, p4

46 WEL, Waldegrave to Dean F.Close, 21 May 1863

47 Carlisle Journal, 2 June 1863, p2

48 EC (St.Stephen, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 3 August 1863

49 Carlisle Journal, 4 March 1864, p5

50 Anon, History of Carlisle Churches (Carlisle 1920), no pagination

51 C.Hole, The life of the Rev. and Ven. William Whitmarsh Phelps MA (London 1873) Vol 2, p391

52 London Gazette, 7 July 1865

53 Carlisle Journal, 4 September 1866, p2
Hole, William Whitmarsh Phelps, op.cit. Vol 2, p247 note 1

54 Carlisle Journal, 9 June 1865, p4

55 Carlisle Journal, 31 October 1865, p2

56 Carlisle Journal, 16 January 1866, p2, 16 August 1867, p6

57 History of Carlisle Churches, op.cit.

58 Carlisle Journal, 16 January 1862, p2

59 EC (St.Stephen, Carlisle) Rev.A.Hodge to EC,
12 February 1869, 24 February 1869

60 EC (St.Stephen, Carlisle) Application for grant,
11 January 1921

61 Harris, Denton Holme, op.cit. p216

62 Carlisle Journal, 12 September 1865, p5

63 EC (St.James, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC,
19 September 1862

In the Bishop's letter to the Dean and Chapter the reference is to 'St.Paul's district, Denton Holme'.
D and C, Chapter Order Book 1855-1874, 23 November 1862

64 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Tasker, 9 October 1862

65 EC (Holy Trinity, Carlisle) questions addressed to
the incumbent, 24 March 1863

66 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Tasker, 9 October 1862

67 ibid.

68 London Gazette, 15 September 1863

69 D.A.Doudney's pastoral notes in Anon, St.James' church,
Denton Holme, Carlisle (Gloucester 1967) p29

70 EC (St James, Carlisle) Rev.D.A.Doudney to EC, 3 July 1863

The former parsonage is now a private hospital.

71 EC (St.James, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC,
6 August 1864

72 EC (St.James, Carlisle) Rev.D.A.Doudney to EC, 8 May 1867

73 EC (St.James, Carlisle) Messrs Smith and Watkins to EC,
7 February 1865

74 EC (St James, Carlisle) St.James' subscription list (undated)

75 Carlisle Journal, 12 September 1865, p5

76 Carlisle Journal, 6 April 1866, p5, 17 April 1866, p2,
4 May 1866, p5, 18 December 1866, p2, 12 February 1867, p2

77 In the Carlisle diocese, Auriol was also a trustee of St.Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat, Barrow in Furness, and Christ Church, Cockermouth.

78 E.Stock, The history of the Church Missionary Society (London 1899) Vol 3, pp30, 259

79 In the Carlisle diocese, Kemble was also a trustee of St.John's, Carlisle.

80 EC (Holy Trinity,Carlisle) Rev.J.Tasker to EC, 29 June 1863

81 EC (Holy Trinity, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 12 December 1867

82 EC (St James, Carlisle) Rev.D.A.Doudney to EC, 11 February 1870; EC to Rev.D.A.Doudney, 25 March 1870

83 Carlisle Journal, 29 January 1864, p8

84 Carlisle Journal, 26 March 1867, p2

85 Carlisle Journal, 4 April 1865, p3, 18 April 1865, p2

86 See reference 76

87 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.F.Head, 3 October 1867

88 In the Carlisle diocese, Holland was also a trustee of Burton, and St Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat, Barrow in Furness.

89 In the Carlisle diocese, Kemble was also a trustee of St.James', Carlisle.

90 EC (St.John's, Carlisle) Dean F.Close to EC, 13 August 1867

91 EC (St.John's, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 3 October 1867

92 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.F.Head, 3 October 1867

93 EC (St.John's, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 11 December 1867

94 London Gazette, 5 November 1867

95 EC (St.John's, Carlisle) Rev.G.F.Head to EC, 19 November 1868

96 EC (St.John's, Carlisle) EC to Rev.G.F.Head, 15 December 1868

97 C.G.Bulman, St.Mary's church, Carlisle, some notes on its history, fabric and woodwork, CW2, 1939 Vol XXXIX, p48

98 EC (St.Mary, Carlisle) EC for England. Questions to be answered by incumbents, 22 June 1848

99 Carlisle Journal, 21 May 1867, p2

100 EC (Christ Church, Carlisle) Form of Inquiry 1819

101 Carlisle Journal, 30 May 1856, p4

102 Carlisle Journal, 15 January 1869, p7

103 Carlisle Journal, 12 December 1856, p5, 4 March 1864, p5

104 Carlisle Journal, 21 May 1867, p3

105 Carlisle Journal, 14 November 1865, p3

106 D and C, Chapter Order Book 1855-74, 23 November 1865

107 ibid, 23 November 1869

108 Carlisle Journal, 24 November 1865, p5, 8 December 1865, p5

109 London Gazette, 23 June 1868

110 Carlisle Journal, 8 January 1867, p2, 21 May 1867, p3

111 Carlisle Journal, 25 May 1868, p8

112 WEL, Waldegrave to G.Pringle Esq. 21 November 1867

113 EC (Carlisle Cathedral) Dean F.Close to EC, 6 June 1867

114 EC (Carlisle Cathedral) EC to Dean F.Close, 10 July 1867, 22 February 1870

115 The design was a smaller version of that used by Christian for St.Matthew's, Cheltenham, and erected by Rev.C.D.Bell, and consecrated in April 1879.

116 Carlisle Journal, 20 March 1868, p4

117 Carlisle Journal, 9 June 1868, p2

118 H.Goodwin, The first year of my episcopate 1870 (Carlisle 1870) p7

119 J.H.Martindale, Ancient oak, recently restored to St.Mary's, Carlisle, CW2, 1917, Vol XVII, pp78-82

Bulman, St.Mary's church, op.cit. p51

120 C.G.Bulman, Two recently demolished Carlisle churches, CW2, 1954, Vol LV, pp311-316

121 EC (Carlisle Cathedral) Dean F.Close to EC, 15 February 1870

122 EC (Carlisle Cathedral) EC to Dean F.Close, 22 February 1870

123 D and C, Chapter Order Book 1855-74, 16 September 1870, 23 November 1870

In 1934 ambitious plans were made to completely restore the cathedral nave at an estimated cost of between £40-50,000. The Times, 2 August 1934 (cutting)

124 Carlisle Journal, 28 December 1870, p5

125 Carlisle Journal, 29 December 1868, p7, 15 January 1869, p7

126 EC (St.Mary, Carlisle) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 25 February 1869

127 Carlisle Journal, 30 November 1869, p3, 2 December 1870, p5

128 Goodwin, The first year of my episcopate, op.cit. p8

129 London Gazette, 22 July 1932

c) Ritualism

1 J.Kent, Holding the Fort. Studies in Victorian Revivalism, (London 1978) pp264, 277

2 N.Yates, The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism (London 1983) p36

3 ibid. p38

4 O.Chadwick, The founding of Cuddesdon (Oxford 1954) p4

5 H.P.Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey (London 1893) Vol 2, pp140,141

6 ibid. Vol 2, pp143, 144

7 G.R.Balleine, A history of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London 1908) p234 note 1

8 F.Close, The 'Restoration of Churches' is the restoration of Popery ... (London 1845) p4

9 J.F.White, The Cambridge Movement (Cambridge 1962)

10 F.Close, Three lectures on 'The present state of parties in the Church of England' ... (Cheltenham 1847) p16

11 N.Yates, The Oxford Movement and parish life: St.Saviour's, Leeds 1839-1929 (York 1975) p3

12 Close, The present state of parties, op.cit. p24

13 ibid. p15

14 ibid. p34

15 ibid. p41

16 ibid. p42

17 ibid. p42

18 L.E.Ellsworth, Charles Lowder and the Ritualistic Movement (London 1982) p5ff

19 Yates, The Oxford Movement, op.cit. p26

20 Church Association tract 258, The 'six points' of the Ritualists; what do they mean? (London undated)

21 Yates, The Oxford Movement, op.cit. p27

22 H.M.Villiers, A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle 1858 (London 1858) pp11-12

23 W.Walsh, The secret history of the Oxford Movement (London 1899) p67

24 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in October 1861 (London 1861) pp30-31

25 S.Waldegrave, Ritualistic innovation. A pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese (London 1866) p3

Also extracts in the Carlisle Journal, 21 December 1866, p6 and in the Church Association tract 15, Episcopal condemnatons of Ritualism (London undated) p4

26 WEL,Waldegrave to Rev.G.R.Hoskins, 26 November 1867

27 Waldegrave, Ritualistic innovation. op.cit. p3-4

28 ibid. p6

29 S.Waldegrave, Christ the true altar, and other sermons, with the charge the Christian ministry not sacerdotal but evangelistic (London 1875)

30 S.Waldegrave, The Christian ministry not sacerdotal but evangelistic. The charge delivered in September 1867 (London 1867) p13

31 ibid. p12

32 ibid. p50

33 ibid. p38

34 ibid. p48

35 ibid. p47

36 ibid. p21

37 ibid. p12

38 ibid. p21

39 ibid. pp30-31

40 ibid. p49

41 ibid. p26

42 S.Waldegrave, Christ the true altar, op.cit. pp14, 15

43 C.P.McIlvaine, The true temple; or the holy catholic church and communion of saints, in its nature, structure and unity (London 1861) pvi

44 ibid. pvii

45 ibid. pvi

46 S.Waldegrave, The charge delivered in July and August 1864 (London 1864) pp53, 51, 57, 58

47 Waldegrave, 1867 Charge, op.cit. p8

48 ibid. p52ff

49 ibid. p58

50 S.Waldegrave, New Testament Millennarianism: or, the kingdom and coming of Christ as taught by himself and his apostles (London 1866) p408

51 ibid. p83

52 Waldegrave, 1861 Charge, op.cit. p38

53 ibid. p31

54 WEL, Waldegrave to Archdeacon S.Boutflower, 13 November 1868

55 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.E.Salkeld, 14 October 1867
Carlisle Journal, 1 November 1867, p4

56 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.H.Ware, 29 May 1868

57 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.H.Ainger, 23 August 1867

58 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Graves, 11 January 1868

59 WEL, Waldegrave to Archdeacon J.Cooper, 14 January 1868

60 WEL, Waldegrave to Archdeacon S.Boutflower, 23 November 1868

61 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.M.Tandy, 26 December 1868

62 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Robinson, 25 November 1867

63 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.I.Gaskarth, 22 November 1867

64 WEL, Waldegrave to 'My dear Sir', 25 November 1867

65 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.R.Hoskins, 26 November 1867

66 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.M.Postlethwaite, 14 December 1867

67 WEL, Waldegrave to (unclear), 8 January 1868

68 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.I.Gaskarth, 19 February 1868

69 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.H.Ainger, 7 October 1868,
Waldegrave to Rev.I.Gaskarth, 9 October 1868

70 Carlisle Journal, 20 October 1868, p2

This letter is quoted in part in S.Baring-Gould, The Church Revival (London 1914) p184, and by C.M.L.Bouch, Prelates and People of the Lake Counties (Kendal 1948) but both Baring-Gould and Bouch failed to indicate the context of Waldegrave's objections - that Shufflebotham had joined the ECU!

71 G.W.E.Russell, Arthur Stanton a memoir (London 1917) pp52,84

72 G.B.Roberts, The history of the English Church Union 1859-1894 (London 1895) p29

Lambeth Palace Library. ECU. Minutes of the meetings of the Council, 3 June 1861, 25 June 1861

Carlisle Journal, 12 September 1862, p4

73 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.S.Hodgson, 5 June 1861

74 Carlisle Journal, 12 September 1862, p4

75 Anon, A letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, in reply to his pastoral on ritualistic innovation. By a layman of the diocese (London 1867) p5

76 ibid. p13

77 Anon, Ritualism and true churchmanship. A letter to 'A layman of the diocese' on his intemperate reply to the pastoral letter of the Lord Bishop of Carlisle. By a clergyman of the diocese (London 1867) pp9-10

78 H.Goodwin, The first year of my episcopate 1870 (Carlisle 1870) p40

79 ibid. p41

80 H.Goodwin, A charge delivered to the clergy and church-wardens of the diocese of Carlisle 1872 (Carlisle 1872) pp7-8, 8-9

81 ibid. p23

82 H.Goodwin, A charge delivered to the clergy and church-wardens of the diocese of Carlisle 1875 (Carlisle 1875) pp12, 16

83 VCH, Cumberland 1905, Vol 2, p114

84 O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London 1970) Vol 2, p349 note 1

85 Goodwin, 1872 Charge, op.cit. p23

86 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer 1 March 1875, Vol 9, p378

87 Church Association tract 293, Rome's clerical recruits from the English Church Union (London 1901)

88 Church Association tract 246, 'SSJE. Society of St.John the Evangelist. The Cowley Fathers (London undated)

89 H.Miller, A guide to Ecclesiastical Law (London 1907) p89

90 J.B.Hardy, Tourist's Church Guide, 1901 and 1902 (London 1901)

91 W.N.Yates, 'Bells and smells': London, Brighton and south coast religion reconsidered, Southern History, 1983, Vol 5 pp146, 147

92 ibid. p124

93 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Robinson, 22 November 1867 (second letter)

94 K.Harper, The story of the Lakeland Diocese 1933-1966 (Carlisle 1966) p14

i) Ritualism in Barrow in Furness

1 J.D.Marshall, Furness and the Industrial Revolution (Barrow in Furness 1958) pp353-354

2 J.D.Marshall and J.K.Walton, The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century (Manchester 1981) pp87-88, 273 note 3

3 London Gazette, 15 October 1861

4 H.E.Campbell, St.George the Martyr, Barrow in Furness 1861-1910 (Barrow in Furness 1910) p26

5 WEL,Waldegrave to Rev.T.S.Barrett, 17 April 1863

6 Marshall and Walton, Lake Counties, op.cit. p39

7 S.Baring-Gould, The Church Revival (London 1914) pp232-233

8 J.O.Johnston, Life and letters of Henry Parry Liddon (London 1904) p55

9 Carlisle Journal, 29 June 1860, p5

10 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.S.Barrett, 17 April 1863

11 ibid.

12 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.S.Barrett, 28 April 1863

13 L.E.Ellsworth, Charles Lowder and the Ritualistic Movement (London 1982) p179 note g

14 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.S.Barrett, 28 April 1863, Waldegrave to Rev. T.D.Dove, 8 May 1863

15 Carlisle Journal, 28 May 1867, p2

16 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Macaulay, 19 February 1868

17 EC (St.George's, Barrow in Furness) Waldegrave to EC, 14 November 1861

18 EC (St.George's, Barrow in Furness) Rev.T.S.Barrett to EC, 14 July 1865

19 London Gazette, 23 August 1867

20 CRO (Barrow in Furness) BPR/11 Churchwardens' Minute Book, St.George's, Barrow in Furness 1861-1938

Newspaper cutting, 5 March 1904

21 WEL, Waldegrave to G.T.Edwards Esq. 9 November 1868

22 WEL, Waldegrave to Archdeacon J.Cooper, 5 March 1868

23 CRO (Barrow in Furness) Z124, Archdeacon J.Cooper to the churchwardens of St.George's, Barrow in Furness, 16 March 1868

24 WEL, Waldegrave to W.N,Hodgson MP, 2 December 1868

25 WEL, Waldegrave to the Duke of Devonshire, 22 January 1868

26 WEL, Waldegrave to Bishop C.Baring, 30 November 1868

27 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.Conway, 18 July 1868

28 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.E.Holland, 20 November 1868

29 WEL, Waldegrave to Bishop C.Baring, 30 November 1868

30 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.S.Barrett, 20 July 1868

31 Barrow Herald, 22 August 1868 (cutting)
Carlisle Journal, 24 December 1868, p5

32 Barrow Advertiser (undated cutting)

33 Carlisle Patriot, 29 January 1869 (cutting)

34 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.Conway, 18 July 1868

35 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.E.P.Stock, 13 August 1868

36 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.S.Barrett, 26 December 1868

37 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.S.Barrett, 30 December 1868

38 Guide to the Church Congress and ecclesiastical art exhibition held in Barrow in Furness, 29 September, 1-5 October 1906 (London 1906) pp68-71

39 EC (St.Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat) Inquiry, 4 January 1869

40 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.W.Conway, 18 July 1868

41 WEL, Waldegrave to (unclear), 10 November 1868

42 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.E.Holland, 20 November 1868

43 ibid.

44 WEL, Waldegrave to R.A.Ashworth Esq, 10 September 1868

45 Carlisle Journal, 10 April 1866, p2

46 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.E.Jump, 30 November 1868

47 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.H.Wright, 25 November 1868, Waldegrave to Rev.J.Macaulay, 30 November 1868, Waldegrave to Dean F.Close, 1 December 1868

In March 1869 a new district was created, and in June 1872 St.John's, Cleator Moor was consecrated at a cost of £8,500 with Rev.Edward Jump as the first incumbent.

48 EC (St.Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat) Rev. J.M.Morgan to EC, 22 March 1869

49 EC (St.Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat) Rev. J.M.Morgan to EC, 9 July 1869

50 London Gazette, 7 August 1869

51 EC (St.Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 26 January 1869

52 EC (St.Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat) Inquiry, 4 January 1869

53 In the Carlisle diocese, Auriol was also a trustee of St.James', Carlisle and Christ Church, Cockermouth.

54 In the Carlisle diocese, Holland was also a trustee of Burton and St.John's, Carlisle.

55 CRO (Barrow in Furness) BPR 22 13/11, 13/14, St.Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat

56 VCH, Lancashire, Vol 8, p318

57 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer 1 March 1874, Vol 8, pp98-99

58 Barrow Herald, 31 March 1877 (cutting)

59 An estimated 27% of the population of Barrow in Furness were illiterate, Marshall, Furness and the Industrial Revolution, op.cit. p352

60 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer 1 March 1877, Vol 9, p68

61 Barrow Herald, 16 February 1878 (cutting)

62 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer 1 September 1878, Vol 12, pp282-283

63 CRO (Barrow in Furness) Z124, incomplete letter

64 George Carnac Fisher became Bishop of Southampton 1896-98, and Bishop of Ipswich, 1899-1906.

ii) Ritualism in the Penrith deanery

1 G.B.Roberts, The history of the English Church Union 1859-1894 (London 1895) p12

2 eg Carlisle Journal, 8 April 1859, p5

3 EC (Penrith) Rev.S.J.Butler to EC, 21 September 1857

4 EC (Penrith) Bishop H.M.Villiers to EC, 30 January 1858

5 EC (Penrith) Rev.S.J.Butler to EC, (.) June 1858

6 EC (Penrith) EC to Rev.S.J.Butler, 2 August 1858

7 EC (Penrith) T.Scott Esq to EC, 17 March 1859

8 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.S.J.Butler, 4 March 1862

9 WEL, Waldegrave to W.Sisson Esq 25 February 1862, 28 February 1862.
Waldegrave to Rev.S.J.Butler, 4 March 1862

10 EC (Penrith) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 3 March 1862

11 EC (Penrith) EC to Bishop S.Waldegrave, 4 March 1862

12 WEL, Waldegrave to W.DugmoreEsq 21 March 1862

13 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.S.J.Butler, 13 March 1862

14 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.S.J.Butler, 17 April 1862

15 EC (Penrith) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 4 August 1862

The possibility of erecting a third church without Butler's permission was raised by Waldegrave in WEL, Waldegrave to W.Dugmore, 21 March 1862, Waldegrave to T.Scott and W.Sisson Esq 1 April 1862

16 EC (Penrith) EC to Bishop S.Waldegrave, 7 June 1862

17 EC (Penrith) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 16 July 1862

18 EC (Penrith) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 20 August 1862

19 EC (Penrith) Bishop S.Waldegrave to EC, 19 July 1862

20 Rev.John Dayman was a strong opponent of Anglo-Catholism.

21 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.S.J.Butler, 11 July 1862

22 EC (Penrith) Rev.S.J.Butler to EC, 28 August 1862

23 London Gazette, 4 November 1862

24 Carlisle Journal, 27 November 1866, p2

25 Carlisle Journal, 24 December 1866, p2, 22 March 1867, p5

In the Carlisle Journal, 22 March 1867, p5, it records that before the Penrith branch of the ECU was formed, there were 17-18 members; after its formation there were 52 members and associates.

26 W.J.Conybeare, Church Parties an essay, The Edinburgh Review, October 1853, Vol 98, p318

27 F.Close, 'The English Church Union' a ritualistic society (London 1868) p14

28 F.Close, Further evidence of the true character of the English Church Union (London 1869) 22 footnote

29 Carlisle Journal, 11 June 1869, p5

30 eg C.M.Preston, The history of the church in the first seven chapters of the Acts, with remarks doctrinal and practical, suited to these times. A paper read before the Penrith branch of the English Church Union, and published by request (London 1868)

31 C.Lindsay, Two lectures on the church of God and the British Isles, and objective worship. Delivered in several towns (London 1867)

32 Carlisle Journal, 11 December 1868, p5

33 J.B.Dykes lectured on 'church music' at Leeds in 1869.
J.T.Fowler, Life and letters of John Bacchus Dykes (London 1899) p127

34 In 1872 in the Carlisle diocese, 103 parishes were using Ancient and Modern, 45 were using the SPCK collection, 28 were using Kemble's Psalms and Hymns, and 89 other books, with 6 parishes using no books.
H.Goodwin, A charge delivered to the clergy and churchwardens of the diocese of Carlisle 1872 (Carlisle 1872) p16

35 Carlisle Journal, 20 August 1869, p5

36 F.Close, Thoughts on the daily choral service in Carlisle Cathedral (London 1865) pp5, 6

37 Carlisle Journal, 14 September 1869, p2

38 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.C.M.Preston, 12, 17, 20 December 1860, Waldegrave to S.Bevan Esq. 20 December 1860

39 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.C.M.Preston, 28 December 1860

40 R.Brett, The burial of the faithful departed, a paper read at a meeting of the Penrith branch of the English Church Union (nd)

41 ibid. p6

42 ibid. p8

43 Carlisle Journal, 18 September 1868, p7

44 Carlisle Journal, 18 September 1868, p7, 25 September 1868,p6

45 Carlisle Journal, 25 Sepember 1868, p6

46 Carlisle Journal, 9 October 1868, p6

47 Carlisle Journal, 20 October 1868, p2

48 Carlisle Journal, 30 October 1868, p5

49 Carlisle Journal, 9 October 1868, p6

50 Carlisle Journal, 16 October 1868, p7

51 Carlisle Journal, 11 December 1866, p2

52 Carlisle Journal, 29 January 1867, p3

53 Carlisle Journal, 29 March 1867, p4

54 Carlisle Journal, 16 April 1867, p2

For Waldegrave's response, see Carlisle Journal, 29 March 1867, p6

55 Carlisle Journal, 31 January 1868, p4

56 Carlisle Journal, 14 February 1868, p4

57 /T.Fenton/ The early church its faith and constitution. A letter to the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle, by a curate of the diocese, with the Dean's reply etc., (London 1866) p11

58 Carlisle Journal, 11 December 1866, p3

59 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.G.W.Atkinson, 27 October 1868

60 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.T.Lees, 3 November 1868

61 WEL, Waldegrave to Rev.C.H.V.Pixell, 28 December 1868

62 S.C.Carpenter, Church and People 1789-1899 (London 1933) p347

63 W.Walsh, The history of the Romeward Movement in the Church of England 1833-1864 (London 1900) p414

Partially quoted in the Church Association tract 103, W.Walsh, Ecclesiastical prosecutions originated and advocated by the English Church Union (London undated) pp4-5

64 Walsh, Romeward Movement, op.cit. p415

65 D.T.K.Drummond, An address to the congregation of St. Thomas' Episcopal Chapel, in reference to 'A dissuasive from schism etc by the Rt.Rev.C.H.Terrot DD, Bishop' (Edinburgh 1843) p20

66 C.P.Miles, Reply to Bishop Russell: A second address to members of St.Jude's congregation, Glasgow (Glasgow 1844) p48

67 C.P.Miles, An address to the members of St.Jude's congregation, Glasgow (Glasgow 1844) p75

68 C.P.Miles, Further disclosures of Scottish Episcopacy. A third address to the members of St.Jude's congregation, Glasgow (Glasgow 1844) pp44, 48

69 Miles, A second address, op.cit. p48

70 Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 1864, Vol CLXXV, Scottish Episcopal clergy disabilities removal bill, 26 May 1864

71 In 1846 there were nine chapels associated with 'The Church of England Association in Scotland'. The dates in brackets refer to when they became united with the Scottish Episcopal Church.

St.Thomas', Edinburgh (1940)
St.Paul's, Aberdeen (1841)
St.Jude's, Glasgow
Holy Trinity, Dunoon
Gask
Christ Church, Huntly (1847)
St.Peter's, Montrose (United with St.Mary's, Montrose 1920)
St.Ninian's, Nairn
St.John the Baptist, Perth (1849)

Report of a deputation appointed at a meeting held in Aberdeen, May 1846, of ministers and lay members of the Church of England representing the congregations adhering to her forms and doctrines in Scotland, in order to visit England, and to communicate with the Bishops and other parties in the Established Church, on the subject of their ecclesiastical position in Scotland (Edinburgh 1847) p64

Other known 'English' chapels:

St.Vincent's, Edinburgh (Originally called Christ Church erected in 1856, and which joined the Scottish Episcopal Church in the 1880s)
St.Barnabas, Paisley
St.James the less, Aberdeen (1897)
St.Silas', Glasgow (erected in 1864 and developed partial links with the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1906, and was the last English chapel to join the Episcopal Church in 1987 as a private chapel)

72 Report of a deputation, op.cit.

73 Miles, A second address, op.cit. pp10-11

74 C.B.Gribble, The mistake corrected: a leter to the Rev. Dr.Champneys, Headmaster of the Collegiate School, Glasgow (Glasgow 1848) p19

75 His father was also an Evangelical and was involved in the founding of the South American Missionary Society in 1844. Carlisle Journal, 26 October 1869, p2

Admiral F.W.Pennell supported Close in opposing the activities of the Society of the Holy Cross. Carlisle Journal, 17 May 1872, p7, 24 May 1872, p7

76 Carlisle Journal, 2 July 1869, p6

77 Carlisle Journal, 5 April 1861, p5

78 Carlisle Journal, 26 August 1864, p5

Waldegrave was aware of the situation over his presence in Scotland as being impossible in officiating in the English chapels.

'The law forbids my passing beyond the bounds of my own diocese, either to consecrate or to license'. WEL, Waldegrave to 'My dear Sir', 14 January 1868

79 Carlisle Journal, 16 March 1869, p2

Lambeth Palace Library. ECU. Minutes of the meetings of the Council, 10 March 1869, has 388 candidates confirmed by Bishop Anderson - 107 from Glasgow and 60 from Edinburgh.

80 Carlisle Journal, 15 June 1869, p2

81 Carlisle Journal, 11 June 1869, p5

82 Correspondence between Admiral Pennell of Langarth; the Rev.C.H.V.Pixell, Vicar of Skirwith; and the Rev.C.M. Preston, Vicar of Warcop, on the schismatical confirmation

of Scotch candidates, the Communion Office of the Scotch Episcopal Church, and the English Church Union (Carlisle 1869)

The ten letters dated between 15 June and 10 August 1869, were published from July 1869 in the Carlisle Journal.

83 Close, Further evidence of the true character of the English Church Union, op.cit. p23

84 ibid. p23

85 ibid. p24

For a similar statement, see Carlisle Journal, 14 September 1869, p2

86 Kent Archives Department (Maidstone) CR 71, A3 SSC Minutes of Chapters and Synods 1870-1876, 16-17 September 1873

iii) The Carlisle Oratory

1 W.Walsh, The secret history of the Oxford Movement (London 1899) p146

2 M.Reynolds, Martyr of Ritualism. Father Mackonochie of St.Alban's, Holborn (London 1965) p39

3 ibid. p114

4 Church Association tract 244, Society of the Holy Cross (London undated) p1

5 Kent Archives Department (Maidstone) CR 71, A3 SSC Minutes of Chapters and Synods 1870-1876, 11 July 1871

6 ibid. December 1871

7 Kent Archives Department (Maidstone) CR 71, A55 Role of Members 1855-1884

8 Walsh, Secret History, op.cit. p65 has May 1870

9 SSC Minutes of Chapters and Synods, op.cit. January 1872

10 ibid. May 1872

11 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer June 1873, Vol 6, p147

12 ibid. pp146-147

13 ibid. p147

14 ibid. p148

Carlisle Journal, 14 May 1872, p3

15 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer
June 1873, Vol 6, p148

16 Walsh, Secret History, op.cit. pp66-67

17 ibid. p67

18 Carlisle Journal, 17 January 1873, p6

Kent Archives Department (Maidstone) CR 71, A52
Service Book SSC Carlisle Oratory, January 1873 - February 1875

19 Walsh, Secret History, op.cit. p69

20 SCC Minutes of Chapters and Synods, op.cit.
September 1873, October 1873

21 ibid. December 1873

22 ibid.

23 ibid. July 1875

24 ibid. July 1875

The last recorded service was Mattins taken by Rev.C.M. Preston in February 1875.
Service Book SSC Carlisle Oratory, op.cit.

25 Carlisle Journal, 31 May 1872, p5

H.D.Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin Bishop of Carlisle
(London 1896) p175

26 Carlisle Journal, 7 June 1872, p5

d) Holiness and the Keswick Convention

1 E.Stock, The history of the Church Missionary Society
(London 1899) Vol 2, p30

2 H.C.G.Moule, Memories of a Vicarage (London 1914) pp49-50

3 J.E.Orr, The second Evangelical Awakening in Britain
(London 1949) p147

4 ibid. p151

5 Carlisle Journal, 7 October 1859, p5

6 Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening, op.cit. p152

Cf the Welsh Methodist 'jumpings' -

'The whole congregation may be seen, drunk with excitement, leaping and shouting in concert, and profaning the most sacred names by frantic invocations'.
W.J.Conybeare, The Church of England in the Mountains, The Edinburgh Review, January to April 1853, Vol 97, p364

7 Carlisle Journal, 18 October 1859, p3, 21 October 1859, p5

8 Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening, op.cit. p152

9 Carlisle Journal, 10 February 1860, p5

10 Carlisle Journal, 27 March 1860, p3

11 Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening, op.cit. p152

12 Carlisle Journal, 25 May 1860, p6, 8 June 1860, p8

13 Carlisle Journal, 4 May 1860, p5, 11 May 1860, p7

14 Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening, op.cit. p153
In March 1868 Rev.J.Gilmoor held revivalist meetings in Penrith. Carlisle Journal, 13 March 1868, p5

15 Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening, op.cit. p153

16 ibid. p153

17 ibid. p187

18 Carlisle Journal, 24 October 1865, p2

19 Carlisle Journal, 26 February 1861, p2

20 Carlisle Journal, 5 March 1861, p4

21 [(.) Harford Battersby] Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby ... together with an account of the Keswick Convention by two of his sons (London 1890) pp60-61

22 DNB, Frederic Myers

23 Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, op.cit. p58

24 H.D.Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle (London 1896) pp54-55, 219

25 T.D.Harford Battersby and H.V.Elliott, Two sermons preached

in St.John's church, Keswick, 27 July 1851, on the death of its first minister, the Rev.Frederic Myers, who died at Clifton, 20 July 1851 (London 1851) p26

26 Carlisle Journal, 7 January 1859, 5, 8 January 1867, p2

27 Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin, op.cit. p228

28 Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, op.cit. p51

29 ibid. p76

30 Carlisle Journal, 14 June 1861, p5

31 T.D.H.Battersby, 'Regeneration and its connection with baptism'. A sermon preached in St.John's church, Keswick, on 11 September 1864, and containing a reply to the Rev. C.H.Spurgeon's strictures upon the Evangelical clergy (London 1864) pp6, 13, 19

32 Carlisle Journal, 8 August 1862, p6

33 The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer, 1 June 1871, Vol 5, p171

34 Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, op.cit. p136

35 F.Close, 'The Catholic Revival', Ritualism and Romanism in the Church of England: illustrated from 'the church and the world' (London 1866) p23

36 Carlisle Journal, 4 November 1862, p2

37 St.John's, Keswick, parish magazine 1873

38 S.Smiles, George Moore merchant and philanthropist (London 1886) p142

Bishop Villiers had drawn attention to the high illegitimacy figures in his charge.
H.M.Villiers, A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle 1858 (London 1858) p15

40 C.Hole, The life of the Rev. and Ven. William Whitmarsh Phelps MA (London 1873) Vol 2, pp244-245, 282

41 F.Close, Prayer: a fragment; written for the annual conference of the Evangelical Union for the diocese of Carlisle, held at Carlisle, September 1875 (Carlisle 1875)

42 F.Close, Insipid sermons. A paper read at the annual conference held at Carlisle, on Tuesday, 24 September 1867 (Carlisle 1867) pp3, 11

43 T.D.H.Battersby, Higher attainments in Christian holiness, and how to promote them. An address delivered to the members of the Evangelical Union for the diocese of Carlisle at their annual conference held at Kendal, 29 September 1874 (London 1875)

44 Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, op.cit. pp165, 167

45 J.S.Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St.Aldate's, Oxford (Abingdon 1967) p180ff

46 A.Smellie, Evan Hopkins a memoir (London 1920) p52ff

47 Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, op.cit. pp227-228, 167

48 ibid. p156 footnote

49 Battersby, Higher attainments in Christian holiness, op.cit. p14

50 J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story (London 1964) p28

51 Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, op.cit. pp170-171

52 Pollock, Keswick Story, op.cit. pp34-37

53 For Webb-Peploe's 'personal testimony', see The Fundamentals a testimony to the truth (Los Angeles, USA, 1917) Vol 4, pp328-332

54 D.D.Sceats, 'Perfectionism and the Keswick Convention 1875-1900' (Bristol University MA thesis 1970) pp10-11 note 12

55 DNB, Frederic William Henry Myers

56 Smellie, Evan Hopkins, op.cit. p77

57 R.Braithwaite, The life and letters of Rev.William Pennefather BA (London 1878) pp201, 430, 491

58 ibid. p431

59 Pollock, Keswick Story, op.cit. p33

60 Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, op.cit pp173-174

61 ibid. pp175-176

62 ibid. pp176-177

63 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 3, p30

64 J.C.Ryle, Holiness its nature, hindrances, difficulties and roots (London 1877, reprinted London 1956) ppx, xi

65 Smellie, Evan Hopkins, op.cit. p105

66 ibid. p87

67 ibid. p14

68 Sceats, 'Perfectionism and the Keswick Convention 1875-1900' op.cit. p52

69 J.B.Harford and F.C.Macdonald, Handley Carr Glyn Moule Bishop of Durham (London 1922) p131

70 Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, op.cit. pp207-208

71 Stock, History of CMS, op.cit. Vol 3, p288

72 Harford and Macdonald, Handley Carr Glyn Moule op.cit. p193 footnote 1

73 Sceats, 'Perfectionism and the Keswick Convention 1875-1900' op.cit. pp5-6

74 Pollock, Keswick Story, op.cit. p62

75 Reynolds, Canon Christopher, op.cit. p184

PART FIVE

CONCLUSION

1 J.C.Ryle, Old paths being plain statements on some weightier matters of Christianity, from the standpoint of an Evangelical churchman (London 1878) pvi footnote

2 J.C.Ryle, Coming events and present duties. Being miscellaneous sermons on practical subjects (London 1867) ppvi-vii

3 Ryle, Old paths, op.cit. pv

4 J.C.Ryle, Unity among churchmen, The Churchman, November 1879, p84

5 ibid. pp84, 85

6 E.Stock, The history of the Church Missionary Society (London 1899) Vol 2, p337

7 ibid. Vol 3, pp9, 659

E.Stock, Some lessons from past times, Church Missionary Review, 1922, p103

8 B.E.Hardman, 'The Evangelical party in the Church of England 1855-1865' (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis 1963) pi

9 A.Bentley, 'The transformation of the Evangelical party in the Church of England in the late nineteenth century' (Durham University Ph.D. thesis 1970)

10 The 'old paths' were referred to by Charles Bridges and J.C.Ryle -

C.Bridges, Vain philosophy the spoiler of the church. A sermon preached in the Minster, York, 11 November 1860 at the consecration of the Hon. and Rt.Rev.Samuel Waldegrave DD, Lord Bishop of Carlisle (London 1860) p18

J.C.Ryle, Old paths being plain statements on some weightier matters of Christianity, from the standpoint of an Evangelical churchman (London 1878)

11 Ryle, Old paths, op.cit. pvii

12 H.H.Henson, Retrospect of an unimportant life (Oxford 1942) Vol 1, p157

13 G.K.A.Bell, Randall Davidson Archbishop of Canterbury (Oxford 1935) Vol 1, p178

Appendix 1

The patronage of the Bishop of Carlisle in 1860

In the diocese of Carlisle

Two archdeaconries	
Four cathedral canonries	
Allhallows	£80
St. Michael, Appleby	£175
Applethwaite	£120
Arlecdon (1)	
Aspatria	£249
Bromfield	£270
Caldbeck	£436
Clifton	£150
Clilburn	£188
Crosby on Eden	£90 (2)
Crosthwaite	£430
Dalston	£283
Gilcrux	£100
Great Musgrave	£149
Great Salkeld	£345
Lazonby	£551
Mount Pleasant, Whitehaven	£160
Nether Denton	£196
Newton Reigny	£80
Ormside	£166
Ousby	£353
St. Andrew, Penrith, with Christ Church	£200
Scaleby	£107
Stanwix	£264
Torpenhow	£305
Wigton	£150

(The patronage of the Bishop of Carlisle increased from 26 parishes in 1860 to 43 in 1870 and 53 in 1890)

In the diocese of Durham (Newcastle after 1882)

*Newburn	£230
*St. Nicholas, Newcastle upon Tyne	£474
Rothbury	£1106
Warkworth	£528

In the diocese of Lichfield

*Chellaston, Burton on Trent	£80
*Melbourne, Derby	£179

In the diocese of Lincoln

West Ashby, Horncastle	£54
Horncastle	£612
*Mareham le Fen	£355
*Mareham on the Hill	£80
*High Toynton, Horncastle	£80
*Moorby with Wood Enderby, Boston	£56

Adapted from W.Whellan, The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, (Pontefract 1860) p115

1 Not listed by Whellan, but recorded in the London Gazette, 5 August 1859, when parishes marked * were transferred from Bishop of Carlisle to Bishop of Durham, Lichfield and Lincoln

2 Carlisle Journal, 23 October 1857, 8, has £120

Appendix 2

The patronage of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle in 1860

In the diocese of Carlisle	1849	1860
Addingham	£250	£253
St. Lawrence, Appleby	£300	£306
Bassenthwaite	£125	£150
Bewcastle	£109	(£120)
Camerton	£93	(£100)
Carlisle - St. Mary		£79
St. Cuthbert		£150
Christ Church		£150
Upperby		(£60)
Wreay		£80
Castle Carrock	£140	£98
Castle Sowerby	£90	£98
Cross Canonby	£150	£150
Cumrew	£99	£81
Cumwhitton	£104	£102
Edenhall	£178	£178
Hayton	£150	£123
Hesket in the Forest	£164	£150
Hutton in the Forest	£122	£123
Ireby	£63	£64
Kirkland	£200	£221
Morland	£153	£177
Rockcliffe	£94	£100
Sebergham	£139	£139
Thursby	£258	£160
Westward	£98	£120
Wetheral with Warwick	£156	£140
In the diocese of Durham (Newcastle after 1882)		
Corbridge	£556	£482
Whittingham	£666	£540

Adopted from W.Whellan, The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland (Pontefract 1860), p118; and from Reports from the Commissioners. Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. Session 31 January to 12 August 1854, Vol. XXV 1854, 122; and figures in brackets are from the Carlisle Journal, 23 October 1857, p8

Appendix 3

The value of livings in the Carlisle diocese in 1857

Old part of the Carlisle diocese		New part of the Carlisle diocese	
£50 and under		**£50 and under**	
Gilsland	30	Satterthwaite	40
Holme Eden	40	Troutbeck	43
Houghton	40	Mosser	44
Martindale	43	Applethwaite	45
Over Denton	46	Setmurthy	48
Threlkeld	47	Ulpha	49
Plumpton Wall	49	Loweswater	49
Armathwaite	50	Rusland	50
£51-100		**£51-100**	
Swindale	56	Wythrop	51
Mungrisdale	57	Haverthwaite	52
Patterdale	57	Embleton	54
Upperby	60	Buttermere	56
St. John's in the Vale	63	St. John, Beckermet	59
Ireby	64	Torver	59
Mallerstang	64	Seathwaite	60
Shap	73	Blawith	63
Scotby	75	Eskdale	66
Mardale	76	Nether Wasdale	66
Soulby	78	Cartmel Fell	67
Carlisle, St. Mary	79	Field Broughton	67
Borrowdale	80	Preston Patrick	67
Bolton	80	Woodland	68
Culgaith	80	Longsleddale	69
High Head	80	Casterton	70
Newlands	80	Kentmere	70
Matterdale	80	Lindale	71
Newton Reigny	80	Lowick	75
Thrimby	80	Rampside	75
Cumrew	81	Finsthwaite	76
Flimby	82	Lorton	76
Wythburn	82	Whitbeck	76
Dearham	85	Cleator	77
Milburn	85	Crook	77
Wreay	86	Ambleside	80
Castle Sowerby	90	Barbon	80
Renwick	92	Dendron	80
Lanercost	93	Hutton Roof	80
Allonby	94	New Jutton	80
Kirklinton	94	Killington	80
Temple Sowerby	96	Mansergh	80
Farlam	98	Walney	80
Castle Carrock	98	Wasdale Head	80
Stapleton	98	Haile	82
Camerton	100	Firbank	83
Gilcrux	100	Colton	84
Kirkbampton	100	Gosforth	85
Raughton Head	100	St. Bridget, Beckermet	87
Rockcliffe	100	Drigg	88

Old part of the Carlisle diocese	
£51-100 (Continued)	
Newton Arlosh	100
Watermillock	100
Westnewton	100
£101-150	
Bampton	101
Cumwhitton	102
Crosby Garrett	107
Scaleby	107
Grinsdale	108
Ravenstonedale	110
Newbiggin	113
Stainmore	119
Applethwaite	120
Bewcastle	120
Burgh by Sands	120
Crosby on Eden	120
Dacre	120
Westward	120
Hutton in the Forest	123
Walton	124
Christ Church, Carlisle	128
Barton	130
Nicholforest	132
Hayton	133
Sebergham	139
Holy Trinity, Carlisle	140
Holm Cultram	140
Thornthwaite	140
Wetheral and Warwick	140
Great Musgrave	149
Cross Canonby	150
Clifton	150
Crosby Ravensworth	150
Bassenthwaite	150
St. Cuthbert, Carlisle	150
Hesket in the Forest	150

New part of the Carlisle diocese	
£51-100 (Continued)	
Crosscrake	89
Egton cum Newland	92
Underbarrow	92
Hugill	93
Selside	94
Irton	96
Natland	96
Winster	96
Muncaster	97
Old Hutton	98
Arlecdon	100
Bardsea	100
Brathay	100
Clifton	100
Grayrigg	100
Langdale	100
Middleton	100
Rydal	100
£101-150	
St. Bees	103
Moresby	105
Broughton in Furness	108
Staveley	108
Burneside	109
Grasmere	109
Cartmel	113
Crosthwaite	113
Ponsonby	113
Thwaites	115
Coniston	117
Holme	120
Milnthorpe	120
Staveley	120
Flookburgh	121
Helsington	125
Kirkby Ireleth	125
Hensingham	126
Waberthwaite	131
Cockermouth	132
Corney	140
Witherslack	140
Dalton in Furness	150
Hawkshead	150

Old part of the Carlisle diocese

£151-£1,000

Uldale	151
Isel	157
Thursby	160
Maryport	162
Ormside	166
Dufton	172
Melmerby	172
St. Michael, Appleby	175
Morland	177
Edenhall	178
St. Mary, Carlisle	179
Askham	180
Cliburn	188
Orton	192
Warcop	194
Nether Denton	196
Penrith, with Christ Church	200
Asby	205
Keswick	220
Kirkland	221
Croglin	223
Ainstable	225
Kirkbride	230
Bridekirk	240
Aspatria	249
Kirkandrews on Eden	249
Addingham	253
Stanwix	264
Bromfield	270
Dalston	283
Lowther	283
Brougham	290
Skelton	294
Irthington	300
Torpenhow	305
St.Lawrence, Appleby	306
Great Salkeld	345
Ousby	353
Kirkby Stephen	356
Orton	370
Plumbland	371
Bowness	393
Crosthwaite	430
Caldbeck	436
Brampton	466
Brough	492
Bolton	512
Greystoke	540
Aikton	546
Lazonby	551
Long Marton	673
Arthuret	847
Kirkandrews	854
Kirkby Thore	959

New part of the Carlisle diocese

£151-£1,000

Ulverston	156
Beetham	159
Christ Church, Whitehaven	160
St.Nicholas, Whitehaven	188
Holy Trinity, Millom	189
Brigham	190
Burton in Kendal	199
Levens	200
St. James, Whitehaven	200
Pennington	204
Whicham	243
Egremont	249
Harrington	250
Holy Trinity, Whitehaven	250
Urswick	250
Windermere	253
Lamplugh	256
Distington	301
Dean	318
Heversham	516
Holy Trinity, Kendal	521
Bootle	525
Kirkby Lonsdale	550
St.Michael, Workington	966
Aldingham	1093

Adapted from Carlisle Journal, 23 October 1857, p8

Appendix 4

Early Anglo-Catholic clergy of the diocese of Carlisle

John Aldersey Petition
Queen's College, Oxford, BA 1834, MA 1842, d1836, p1839.
Curate of Kirkland, Penrith 1845-77, Vicar of Murton, Appleby 1877-81

John Allen ECU Petition
University College, London, BA 1859, d1862, p1863.
Curate of St.George, Barrow in Furness 1866-73, Curate of St.John's, Barrow Island 1872-75, Vicar of Hawkshead, Ambleside 1875-(82)

Charles Angell SSC
d1853, p1856.
Curate of Addingham, Penrith 1871-73, Perpetual Curate of Firbank 1873-(82)

Francis Gerald Edwardes Ashworth SSC
Christ Church, Oxford BA 1869, MA 1872, d1870, p1871.
Curate of St.George, Barrow in Furness 1873-76, Curate of Staveley-in-Cartmel 1876-

George Wilkinson Atkinson ECU Petition
Queen's College, Oxford, BA 1848, MA 1851, d1849, p1850.
Perpetual Curate of Culgaith, Penrith 1852-(82)

Charles Henry Corydon Baker SSC Petition
St. Aidan's College, St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, BA and MA 1878, BD 1882, DD 1886, d1868, p1869.
Vicar of Askham 1872-78, chaplain to the Earl of Lonsdale 1872

Tuffnell Samuel Barrett ECU SSC Petition CBS (warden)
Christ Church, Oxford, BA 1856, MA 1859, d1857, p1858.
Perpetual Curate of Rusland, Ulverston 1858-60, Vicar of St.George, Barrow in Furness 1861-78

William Blake Petition
Trinity College, Cambridge, BA 1845, MA 1848, d1846, p1847.
Headmaster of Penrith Grammar School 1857-59, Curate of Dalston 1859-61, Rector of Wetheral with Warwick 1861-1904

John Brown Petition
Trinity College, Cambridge, BA 1828, d1828, p1829.
Curate of Bowness 1828-51, Rector of Beaumont with Kirkandrews on Eden 1852-86

Joseph Brunskill ECU BG Petition
St. Bees 1848, d1850, p1851.
Curate of Mallerstang 1854-56, Curate of All Hallows, Aspatria 1856-57, Curate of Askham 1857-70, Perpetual Curate of Swindale 1870-72, Vicar of Plumpton, Penrith 1872-79, Vicar of Threlkeld 1879-(82)

Samuel Johnson Butler ECU BG
New College, Oxford BA 1844, MA 1850, d1846, p1847, Hon. Canon 1872.
Curate of Penrith 1846-53, Vicar of Penrith 1853-79, Rector of Great Salkeld 1879-(82)

William Chaplin (senior) SSC
St.Bees 1850, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, BD 1853, d1850, p1851.
Curate of Kendal 1850-58, Vicar of Staveley 1858-96.
His son, William Staveley, who was curate of All Souls, Margaret Street, London 1890-92, succeeded his father as Vicar of Staveley 1896-98 and 1902-20, Vicar of Hugil (or Ings) 1929-32

Edward Hasell Curwen ECU SSC Petition
University College, Durham LTh 1869, d1870, p1871.
Curate of Grasmere 1870-72, Curate of Harrington 1872-74, Rector of Plumbland, Aspatria 1875-(82), Chaplain of St. Mary's Home for Penitents, Carlisle 1877-

Albert Henry Deeley ECU SSC Petition
Emmanuel College, Cambridge, BA 1868, d1871, p1874
Curate of St.George, Barrow in Furness 1870-77

Robert Valentine Blake Evanson SSC
Worcester College, Oxford (no degree), St.Aidan's College 1867, d1867, p1868.
Curate of St.George, Barrow in Furness 1869-70

Thomas Fenton ECU Petition
Trinity College, Dublin, BA 1850, Ma 1859, d1849, p1850.
Vicar of Hugil (or Ings) 1854-(82)

Frederick Walter Field Petition
University College, Durham, LTh 1872, d1873, p1874.
Curate of Wetheral 1873-77

Charles Henry Gem ECU Petition BG CBS
New Inn Hall, Oxford, BA 1862, d1862, p1864.
Chaplain to Queen's Hospital and Professor of Classics, Queen's College, Birmingham 1862-64, Curate of Penrith 1868-74, Vicar of Torpenhow 1874-(82)

Richard William Gleadowe (Junior) Petition
Peter House, Cambridge, BA 1871, d1872, p1873.
Curate of Kirkandrews on Eden with Beaumont 1872-74

Samuel Golding ECU
Peter House, Cambridge, BA 1845, MA 1848
Perpetual Curate of Martindale 1858-76, Rector of Ousby, Penrith 1876-92

James Harrison ECU Petition
St.Bees 1863, d1865, p1867.
Curate of Barbon 1871-72, Vicar of Barbon 1872-

W. S. Helps Petition
Chaplain of Carlisle Oratory, 1873

John Herdman Carlisle ECU Petition
Wadham College, Oxford, BA 1853, MA 1857, d1853, p1854.
Howe Fort, Windermere

Thomas Lees ECU Petition SSC BG
Emmanuel College, Cambridge, BA 1852, MA 1855, d1854, p1855.
Curate of Kirkby Thore 1854-55, Curate of Greystoke 1855-65, Perpetual Curate of Wreay 1865-93 'An able ecclesiastical antiquary' (J.A.Venn)

Thomas Gott Livingstone ECU Petition
Hertford College, Oxford, BA 1852, MA 1854, d1853, p1854.
Minor Canon of Carlisle Cathedral 1855-73, Precentor of Carlisle Cathedral 1855-58, Vicar of Addingham with Gamblesby 1873-

Richard Palgrave Manclarke ECU
Wadham College, Oxford, BA 1849, MA 1852, d1851, p1852.
Perpetual Curate of Woodland 1861-67, Vicar of St. James, Barrow in Furness 1867-78

John Scott Mulcaster ECU BG
Trinity College, Dublin, BA 1834, MA 1837, d1834, p1835.
Curate of Greystoke 1836-55, Rector of Great Salkeld 1855-79

Arthur Evanson O'Brien ECU Petition SSC
Curate of St.George, Barrow in Furness (in 1873)

Charles Henry Vincent Pixell ECU Petition SSC BG
Trinity College, Cambridge, BA 1863, MA 1867, d1863, p1864.
Vicar of Skirwith 1866-74

Beilby Porteus ECU Petition BG (Warden)
Christ Church, Oxford, BA 1833, d1836, p1837.
Vicar of Edenhall with Langwathby 1840-75

Charles Moyes Preston ECU Petition SSC CBS
Queen's College, Oxford, BA 1848, d1848, p1849.
Vicar of Warcop 1855- (82)

Henry William Reynolds
Christ Church, Oxford, BA 1870, d1872, p1873.
Curate of Brampton 1872-74, Curate of St. James', Barrow in Furness 1874-79

J.Robinson Petition
Queen's College, Oxford, BA 1847, MA 1862
Rector of Bowness in Solway 1855-77

George Mercer Tandy ECU Petition
St. John's College, Cambridge, BA 1842, d1843, p1844.
Curate of Lanercost 1844-45, Curate of Aikton 1853-54, Curate of Newlands, Keswick 1861-66, Vicar of Loweswater 1866-83

James Tasker ECU Petition
Lampeter BD 1867, d1845, p1846.
Vicar of Holy Trinity, Carlisle 1855-79

Edward Taylor Petition
Queen's College, Birmingham,
Vicar of Temple Sowerby 1863-(82)

James Thwaites ECU Petition
Rector of Caldbeck 1855-77

Thomas Thwaites ECU Petition
Queen's College, Oxford, BA 1863, d1865, p1866.
Rector of Hayton 1868-(82)

Robert Townson ECU SSC Petition
Queen's College, Oxford, BA 1856, MA 1857, d1855, p1856.
Perpetual Curate of Grayrigg, Kendal 1860-66, Perpetual Curate of Allithwaite 1866-82

William Senior Salman
St. John's College, Cambridge, BA 1836, MA 1839, d1837, p1838.
Rector of Brougham, Penrith 1864-1900

Edwin Charles Shufflebotham (Name changed to Shawfield) ECU
St. Mark's College, Chelsea, d1865, p1866.
Rector of Woodland 1868-93

Stephen Whiteside ECU
Queen's College, Oxford, BA 1854, MA 1857, d1856, p1858
Curate of Lindale-in-Cartmel 1858-59, Perpetual Curate of Thrimby 1859-63, Vicar of Shap 1863-(82)

Henry Whitmore Petition
Caius College, Cambridge, BA 1859, MA 1866, d1859, p1861.
Curate of Dalton in Furness 1859-63, Minor Canon and precentor of Carlisle Cathedral 1863-77, Sacrist of Carlisle Cathedral 1864-77, Curate of Holy Trinity, Carlisle 1875-77, Chaplain of St.Mary's Home for Penitents 1872-77, Rector of Sedbergham 1877-97, Vicar of Westward 1897-98

Figures in brackets (82) indicate that the clergy were still at that benefice in 1882 and are so listed in the Carlisle Diocesan Calendar and clergy list for 1882.

BG	Member of the Carlisle Burial Guild
CBS	Member of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament
ECU	Member of English Church Union

Petition	One of the 483 clergy who signed the 1873 petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury requesting changes to the Book of Common Prayer.
SSC	Member of the Society of the Holy Cross

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i) Manuscript material

1 Bishop Waldegrave papers

WEL Waldegrave Episcopal Letter books

Four volumes of the Episcopal Letter Books of Samuel Waldegrave, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, Carlisle. Transcribed and published in three volumes in typescript by John Burgess of Carlisle, as 'Bishop of the Lake Counties. The Letters of Samuel Waldegrave, Bishop of Carlisle, 1860-69'.

Vol. 1 -	5 November	1860	to	26 May	1864	Burgess Vol. 1
Vol. 2 -	23 August	1867	to	15 January	1868	Burgess Vol. 2
Vol. 3 -	16 January	1868	to	5 December	1868)	Burgess Vol. 3
Vol. 4 -	21 May	1868	to	30 December	1868)	Burgess Vol. 3

WPL Waldegrave Private Letters

The private letters of Samuel Waldegrave from childhood to adulthood, in the possession of Lord and Lady Waldegrave.

2 Dean Close papers

Family Tree 'Pedigree of Close of Suffolk', compiled by H.D.Fisher, August 1917.

Two mss. sheets of notes by Anne Diana Close on her children.

Mss. typed paper being a copy of the entries in the Close family Bible, copied by F.Kentish, March 1894.

Autiography by Francis Close (nd)

Large Scrapbook of newspaper cuttings of letters, reviews and articles by Francis Close from the Cheltenham Journal, the Carlisle Journal, and The Record.

Small Scrapbook of miscellaneous material on the Close family, some of which relates to Francis Close.

Dean and Chapter, Carlisle, box of miscellaneous paper of Dean F. Close.

Other manuscript material of Francis Close, covering his Cheltenham ministry is listed in the biography of manuscript material in A.F.Munden, 'The Church of England in Cheltenham 1826-1856 with particular reference to Rev. Francis Close' (Birmingham University, M.Litt. Thesis, 1980)

3 Other papers

a) British Library. Add mss.

Add mss. 48580 Private letter book No. 2 of Henry John Temple, Third Viscount Palmerston.

b) CRO (Carlisle)

DRC 1/10 Bishops' Register Book 1850-1872
DRC 1/11 Bishops' Register Book 1872-1895
DSO 77 Carlisle West End Temperance Society

c) Dean and Chapter, Carlisle

Chapter Order Book 1855-74
Box of miscellaneous papers of Dean F.Close

d) Carlisle diocesan registry
Index of title deeds of parishes in the diocese of Carlisle

e) CRO (Barrow in Furness)

BPR /11	Churchwarden's Minute Book, St. George's, Barrow in Furness October 1861-1938
BPR /23/25	History of St. James', Barrow in Furness
BPR /22 12/5-12/9	St. Paul's, Newbarns and Hawcoat
M9/5-9	"
13/11-13/14	"
Z124	Ritualism controversy at St. George's, Barrow in Furness c1868-78. Cuttings and letters.

f) University of Durham, Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic
Diocese of Durham Act Book 1856-1875.

g) Kent Archives Department (Maidstone)

CR71 Society of the Holy Cross (SSC)
A3 Minutes of Chapters and Synods 1870-1876
A52 Service Book SSC Oratory, Carlisle, January 1873-February 1875
A55 Role of Members 1855-84

h) Lambeth Palace Papers

Selbourne Papers
Baroness Burdett-Coutts papers
English Church Union - Minutes of meetings of the Council

i) St. John's College, Nottingham

The Trust Deed of the Hugh M'Neile biblical professorship

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O.R.Ashton — 'Radicalism and Chartism in Gloucestershire 1832-1847' (Birmingham University Ph.D. thesis 1980)

J.C.F.Barnes — 'Popular protest and radical politics: Carlisle 1790-1850'. (Lancaster University Ph.D. thesis 1981)

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A.M.G.Stephenson — 'The formation of the see of Ripon and the episcopate of its first Bishop, Charles Thomas Longley' (Oxford University B.Litt. thesis 1960)

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H.V.Young — 'The Evangelical Clergy in the Church of England 1790-1850' (Brown University, USA Ph.D. thesis 1958)

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The Record

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The Carlisle Diocesan Calender and Clergy list

The Church Association Monthly Intelligencer

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Reports of the proceedings of the Church Congresses

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Census of Great Britain 1851. Religious worship in England and Wales, British Parliamentary Papers 1852-1853

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Anon — Specification of the work, and particulars of the materials to be used in the erection of the new chapel, in the parish of St. Cuthbert, in the city of Carlisle, according to the designs of Rickman and Hutchinson, architects, (Birmingham 1828)

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Anon — The Drummond and Dunbar schism. Being a reprint of an artricle in The Christian Remembrancer for July 1843, (Aberdeen 1843)

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Anon — Report of a deputation appointed at a meeting held in Aberdeen, May 1846, of ministers and lay members of the Church of England representing the congregations adhering to her forms and doctrines in Scotland, in order to visit England, and to communicate with the Bishops and other parties in the Established church, on the subject of their ecclesiastical position in Scotland, (Edinburgh 1847)

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