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ANNE BENTLEY

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Thesis submitted for
the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
University of Durham.

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ABSTRACT.

"The Transformation of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England in the later Nineteenth Century" is a study of the party's reactions, during the period 1865-1892, to a situation of decline. The introduction and first three chapters examine this decline. The loss of initiative by the Evangelical party is compared to the increasing irrelevance of religion generally, as a social and political force of intellectual respectablity. The battles over disestablishment and education are traced, from an Evangelical viewpoint, to show the weakening of the Establishment and the assumption by the State of the Church's teaching function. Within the Church, the failure of Evangelicals to meet the challenge of Rationalism is discussed and the more disastrous failure of their attempts to suppress Ritualism.

Succeeding chapters deal with the various modes of reaction. The attempt to gain strength by organization and consolidation is studied first at the level of the Evangelical party itself, then in the Church of England in the development of representative institutions. The ecumenical movement is looked at in this same light, and the reluctance of Evangelicals to join it examined. Chapters six and seven deal with the adoption of new techniques of evangelism and revivalism, to reach the working classes on an individual, as opposed to an institutional level. The Keswick movement, aiming similarly to invigorate individuals, and its effects in reviving missionary fervour, form the subject of chapter eight.

All these developments caused divisions in the Evangelical party. Chapter nine looks at the conflicts in the C.M.S., and the final defeat of the Lincoln Case, and subsequent abandonment of litigation, in favour of the more spiritual weapons of evangelism and the like. The thesis concludes with an assessment of how far the period had seen a revolution in the attitudes and emphases of the Evangelical party.

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PREFACE.

The defensive position of religion in a secular society is a commonplace of today's religious jargon. In the later nineteenth century the weapons of defence were just being forged, against what seemed like new threats to a seemingly Christian society. This thesis attempts to trace the struggles of one religious group, in that period, to formulate its response to steadily worsening circumstances, and to dangers within as well as without the Christian Church. The theme dictates, to some extent, its own form and approach. If, in looking at the Evangelical party from this angle, I have tended to portray its policies and spiritual quests as tactical moves merely, in a game of strategy, then I owe it to many Evangelicals to say here that they did not themselves, on the whole, view it thus.

Many people have helped me, and I should like to thank them all. The secretaries and archivists of numerous societies have hunted out reports and other material; in particular I would mention Miss G.Jackson at the C.P.A.S., Miss K.Cam at the British and Foreign Bible Society, Miss R.A.Keen at the C.M.S. and Captain Woodhouse of the Church Army. Also the archivists of Hampshire and Durham County Record Offices, and at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. I am very grateful to the Trustees of the Broadlands Archives for permission to use Lord Shaftesbury's diaries, and to the staff at the National Register of Archives for assistance in reading them. To the Rev. A.W.H.Moule and his wife I owe thanks for their kind hospitality and permission to read and quote from the diaries of Bishop Moule, and to Mr. Pennefather at the Mildmay Trust Ltd., for showing me what records remained of the Mildmay Deaconesses. Most of all I should like to thank my supervisor, Professor W.R.Ward, for his endless help and advice.

INTRODUCTION.

THE DECLINE OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY.

The long-drawn out decline, and moribund condition, of the Evangelical party of the Church of England, provided one of the recurring themes of later nineteenth century journalism. Conybeare, in 1853, while denying that the school was "effete", maintained

> "that its strength and vigour is relatively, if not positively, diminished, and that its hold on the public is less than it was in the last generation"(1).

In the Contemporary Review of August, 1868, Anthony Thorold, himself an Evangelical, remarked that, of the three parties in the Church,

> "the Anglicans are the most numerous, the Liberals the most powerful, and the Evangelicals the most useful"(2);

though, according to Macmillan's Magazine, they had, in fact, outlived this usefulness by 1860(3). The Christian Observer decided in 1873 that increasing numbers, and the current popularity of evangelical principles, had led to a lukewarm evangelicalism, which had lost much of the force and effectiveness of earlier generations (4). And a Times leader, early in 1879, announced that

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1. W.J.Conybeare, Essays Ecclesiastical and Social, (London,1855), 73; first published in Edinburgh Review 1853.
2. Contemporary Review, August 1868, 571.
3. Macmillan's Magazine, December 1860, 113
4. Christian Observer, February, 1873.

> "the death of Dean McNEILE removes a striking figure from that fast dwindling band of men who still represent the old 'Evangelical' tradition of our Church in the midst of a generation which has sought other faiths than theirs. He belonged to a school whose disciples are now few and far between, to a party whose influence has almost ceased to count in current controversies. To men of the present generation, the old Evangelical party of the Church of England, once so triumphant, must wear somewhat the aspect of one of those old seaports of ancient fame, from which the sea, with all its storms and currents, all its busy burden of life and turmoil and contest, has long since ebbed away. Its mouldering buildings and forsaken quays still attest to its former importance and its lost place in the world; but the life and commerce of modern times now sweep past it to newer havens, and it remains a goodly but decaying monument of past activity and forgotten warfare"...(1).

This article called forth indignant protests from two Evangelical leaders. Francis Close, Dean of Carlisle, evinced a lively horror

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1. Times, 31 January, 1879. Hugh McNeile, perpetual curate of St.Judes Liverpool, 1834-1848, then incumbent of St. Paul's, Princes Park, Liverpool, until becoming Dean of Ripon in 1868, had been one of the outstanding leaders of the militant Evangelical party in the mid third of the century.

at being thus "buried alive". John Charles Ryle pointed to four "facts"; that the distinctive doctrines of Evangelicalism were preached in five times as many churches in England and Wales as had been the case fifty years previously; that at least ten times as many pulpits in the large towns were occupied by Evangelical clergy as fifty years before; that Evangelical religious societies were the wealthiest; and the growth of Evangelical conventions, in particular the Islington Conference, which now numbered some three hundred attendants each year (1).

A study of the comparative strength of the Evangelical party, on numerical lines such as these, must be doomed to failure, as much from the refusal of individuals to fit neatly into compartments, as from the difficulty of obtaining sufficiently detailed information. Conybeare guessed that the 18,000 English clergy of his day comprised 6,500 Low, 7,000 High, and 3,520 Broad Church, each with subdivisions, and a further 1,000 peasant clergy of no party (2). Subscriptions to the Evangelical C.M.S. and C.P.A.S. he estimated at £100,000 and £30,000 respectively, whilst the High Church S.P.G. received only £50,000, and the Curates Aid Society rather less than £13,000. By 1885, however, the Contemporary Review pointed out that, whereas the Additional Curates' Society had more than trebled its income since 1853, that of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society had not doubled; also that the Record's circulation was now only a fraction of that of the Guardian, which it had equalled in 1853 (3). The more sober

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1. Times, 6 February 1879.
2. Conybeare, Essays Ecclesiastical and Social, 156-8.
3. Contemporary Review, January 1885. The income of the C.P.A.S. for 1884-5 was £54,336. (C.P.A.S. Annual Report, 1885.)

Evangelical periodical, the Christian Observer, had earlier been driven by financial exigencies, first to amalgamate, in 1875, with the Christian Advocate, and eventually to fold up completely in 1878; though its place was soon filled when the Churchman began the following year. In the mid 1860's, however, both Record and Christian Observer were still going strong, and the arrival on the scene of a new and noisy penny newspaper, the Rock, ensured an ample provision of organs for all shades of Evangelical.

That the party commanded the allegiance of only a minority of Churchmen was undisputed. Speaking at the Islington Conference of 1877, Ryle generously allowed Evangelicals to be a majority among laymen, but a quarter only of the clergy of Southern England, and that the most unpopular section.

> "Whenever a question has to be settled by voting, all schools of thought combine in voting against the Evangelical"(1).

They had been from the start a minority group, however, and this in itself was not unduly alarming - was to be expected, in fact, in a theological system which divided "sinners" from "saved" by other than baptismal lines. John Cale Miller, at the same conference, put his finger more nearly on the cause of Evangelical disquiet.

> "In 1827 the Ritualistic party did not exist, neither did the Broad Church party. The majority were High Churchmen of the old type; many of them with a dash of the Slow. (Laughter). They are still

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1. Record, 19 January, 1877; later printed as an article in the Churchman October 1879.

> the majority - the great majority - with various shades of doctrine and various degrees of altitude, but far outnumbering, as they did, the Evangelicals. Only, that they are no longer slow, but, to a great extent, alive, awake , and active"...(1).

At the turn of the century, what life there was in the Church of England had been found almost exclusively in Evangelical circles. Cambridge and the Clapham Sect provided two great centres for religious and philanthropic activity. Though small, Evangelicals were a united and well organised body, ready, under the capable leadership of men like Wilberforce and Venn, to launch out into crusades against slavery, or the formation of missionary and evangelistic societies which gave an effective outlet for religious fervour, both at home and abroad, and which, through deputations and local associations, provided a network of agencies to link together Evangelicals all over England.

In few such movements, however, can the initial stages of intense religious zeal be long sustained. By the mid-third of the nineteenth century, sterility had clearly set in. To many contemporary writers, the Evangelical party by now had fulfilled its purpose, could cease to exist, and, to all intents and purposes, did.

This was a period of great religious activity, with Church issues prominent in politics as never for centuries, but it was an activity in which Anglican Evangelicals, in part owing to the ambiguity of their position, could play only a negative role.

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1. Record, 19 January 1877.

At a time of strong denominational antagonisms, Dissenting Evangelical fervour was directed, for the most part, against the Established Church, with a shattering outburst around 1829-34 in which Disestablishment seemed dangerously near. The alarmed and embarrassed Evangelical party, springing to defend their new-found concern for the Establishment, encountered a new revival, in the form of the Oxford Movement, arriving almost too promptly on cue to take over the religious initiative in the Church of England, and to bring another threat - of Romanism within as well as without the Church. Roman Catholicism itself burst into renewed life with such issues as Catholic Emancipation, Maynooth, and the "Papal aggression" of 1850. The Factory Movement, energetically taken up by Lord Shaftesbury, was too firmly attached to the Working Class banner to be taken over as an Evangelical crusade, even had the party been radical enough to adopt it. Baulked of a cause, and attacked on all fronts, they could only draw in their horns, and retreat to that rigid exclusiveness of which Evangelicals are so often accused.

There were a few encouraging signs. Disestablishment was not in fact achieved in the crisis of the early thirties, and reform of the Church was strengthening its hold on the nation. Tractarianism seemed defeated in 1845, and in 1850 the Gorham Judgement secured the validity of the Evangelical position within the Church. Palmerston's ministry of 1855-65 promised, through Shaftesbury's influence in ecclesiastical affairs, the opportunity to gain a firm foothold in the Anglican hierarchy.

But Tractarianism had only gone underground and Anglo-Catholic errors soon emerged in the parishes in a vigorous Ritualist movement.

The principle of doctrinal latitude established by the Gorham case proved a double-edged weapon, which could be turned against the Evangelicals. Dissent was as active as ever, ready to ride triumphantly on the crest of Irish Disestablishment. Palmerston's bishops were disappointing; extreme men of McNeile's stamp ignored, those appointed not on the whole outstanding Evangelical leaders (1). And in October 1865, Palmerston died, leaving the Evangelical party to face a period of almost certain Liberal ascendancy, without the restraining influence of the late premier.

More alarming, during the last third of the nineteenth century, were the new threats which were coming to the fore, more fundamental and more dangerous, not only to the Evangelical party, but to the Church of England as a whole and to the Nonconformist denominations as well. The publication of Darwin's Origins of the Species, which so inflamed popular imaginations in 1859, was part of a tidal wave of scientific theories and discoveries, evolutionary and geological, which seemed to many to attack the very basis of common Christian beliefs - the authority and infallibility of the Bible. More sophisticated methods of scholarship undermined the historical accuracy of the Old Testament from the standpoint of Biblical criticism. By contemporaries the movement was greeted with horror and dismay, as an attack on Christianity itself, whose truth and validity had become so bound up with the dogma of Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures. The press made these controversies

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1. See B.E.Hardman, "The Evangelical Party in the Church of England, 1855-65" (Ph.D.Thesis, Cambridge, 1963), on this subject.

all too soon a subject for popular debate, and meanwhile, Secularist forces were gaining in political strength. With the crisis of Bradlaugh's election to Parliament in 1880, the fact, acknowledged already in the educational conflicts, struck forcefully home, that England was a plural society, of which Christians made up only some of the membership.

But it was public indifference, rather than unbelief, which more effectively caused decay in this period. The battle of Dissent against the Church was reaching a stalemate, and these issues were declining in political importance in the face of other more urgent problems. The conduct of foreign policy was an election-turning issue. The Irish party under Parnell became a powerful obstructionist weapon to block unwanted or irrelevant ecclesiastical legislation. The growing force of Working Class aspirations provided another pressure group, which directed the attention of politicians more towards social and economic questions, and away from the religious controversies which were essentially a Middle Class preoccupation. The religious census of 1851 had given a tremendous jolt to all the denominations, the more so in a period of very rapid church progress. Of the 10,398,013 people (58% of the total population) at liberty to attend a religious service on Census Sunday, it was established that only 7,261,032 (40.5% of the population) actually did so (1). To a Church which claimed to be national, these figures were especially damning, and the fact that 52% of these, 3773,474, went to Anglican churches could be no consolation. As was readily acknowledged, the Working Classes had not merely become alienated; rather they had

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1. Parliamentary Papers, 1852-3, LXXXIX, cliii, clvi.

never belonged (1).With the extension of the franchise in 1867, and again in 1884, the apathy of the masses to religion threatened to make it a complete irrelevancy. The Church's hold on the nation through the secondary channel of education, never more than potential, was wholly lost with the establishment of school boards, and the growth of State responsibility for education. The Church of England, still by law established, but greatly weakened by the battering it had received, and pushed out, at least of the dominant position, of its usual spheres of influence, must begin the process of seeking a role and a purpose elsewhere.

It was, in fact, an early embryo of the situation which was to escalate in the twentieth century until the Church - meaning now institutional Christianity - was left quite outside ordinary social, political and intellectual life - in a position not dissimilar to that of Britain after the collapse of Empire and world power. Its influence had perhaps not been deep, but it had dominated everything, and the attitudes would remain when the reality had gone. Already, by the end of the period, there was growing a slow consciousness of all this, and the first fumblings towards what were to develop into set patterns of response; the search for a new "mission" - social, educational, or evangelical, for a means to up-date religion to fit new fashions in philosophy and pop-culture, for a new "cause", in Church Unity talks, and a more tolerant attitude towards differing opinions within the Christian body.

Marsh looks at the Victorian Church in decline (2); others, like Bowen, look only at the response, and see "a Golden Age of pastoral

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1. Christian Observer, July 1868, 518.

2. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, (London,1969),9.

work" for the Church (1). For if this period saw a political and intellectual retreat, it saw also an outburst of renewed energy and bustling activity in more practical religious and ecclesiastical fields. The Church of England, deprived of full State support, turned its energies to building up its own separate organization and means of self-expression. This was pre-eminently the time for councils and synods - Convocation, Church Congress, Diocesan Conferences - partly as a voice to influence Parliament, partly with an eye to the possibility of Disestablishment. Nonconformist churches were doing much the same, and for many of the denominations the movement was extended into world-wide institutions, like the Pan-Anglican and Pan-Methodist gatherings. As a corollary to the ineffectiveness of narrower loyalties as an attracting force, came the incipient stages of ecumenicalism, a new banner to rally the armies of Christ.

And alongside this institutional activity appeared an increasing attention to the importance of evangelization - the need to Christianize the country's masters as well as educate them (2). The last third of the century saw an upsurge of missionary fervour, both at home and also abroad, which, especially in the home field, was desperately eager to try new methods of outreach. In 1865 was founded the Salvation Army - a revolution in evangelism, and one which went

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1. Desmond Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church, (Montreal,1968),394.
2. The Reform Act of 1867 convinced Richard Lowe of the political necessity "to compel our future masters to learn their letters," to teach them to keep their place in society. (A.Briggs, The Age of Improvement, London, 1962, 521.)

straight to the core of the class problem in religion.

The Evangelical party in the Church of England were among the hardest hit by the intellectual attacks. For them more than any other party the inspiration of the Bible as sole and final anthority was an essential article of faith, without which their foundations crumbled. The Liberal school, and even the younger Anglo-Catholics, could accomodate their theology without too much inconsistency, if with internal divisions, to the new circumstances. Nonconformists too developed more radical theories, though again there were conflicts, such as the Baptist "Down-grade Controversy". For the Evangelical school to survive, it had to be all or nothing. The result was an ostrich reaction, which made no real attempt at a scholarly reply, but contented itself with dogmatic reassertions of the fundamentalist creed. The passing of State control over Church affairs, consequent on its loss of interest, was likewise regretted by a party which drew its support so largely from lay, rather than clerical, sources, and which had looked for reinforcement to the Protestants outside the Church.

In other ways, however, the Evangelicals might have come into their own at this time. As both Evangelicals and Churchmen, the school had occupied a difficult position in the strong denominational hostilities of the nineteenth century. With their gradual replacement by a growing ecumenical concern, they might have played an important role, providing a vital link between Church of England and Evangelical Dissent (1). In fact, with loud assertions of the true unity of the Church of God, they gave a grudging response to the Church Unity

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1. This was sometimes urged by Nonconformist organs, as by Fraser's Magazine, January 1878.

movement, which fell not far short of active opposition. In the parishes, as was generally acknowledged, lay Evangelical strength, and the party was active and enthusiastic in the renewed drive to take the Gospel to the Masses. Yet even here, they allowed others to seize the initiative, and followed where they might have led. One sphere in which they were in the van, was in the great devotional conventions which were a feature of religious life in the 1880's.- an attempt at indirect evangelism, to revitalize existing agencies by giving a new stimulous to the individuals who worked them. On the whole, however, they were slow to respond to the changing attitudes of the age.

In 1865, Evangelical attention, like that of most Churchmen, was concentrated, not on any of these new developments, but on what was the most pressing problem in view - Ritualism. In that year was founded the society which, it was hoped, would provide the much needed centre for Evangelical activity, and an effective engine to wage warfare on their most pernicious enemy; the society which was to gain for itself the title of "Persecution Society Ltd.", and for its party an unpopularity greater than at any other period. In the varying fortunes of the Church Association can be traced a revolution in Evangelical policy, as the party came to abandon its rigid and aggressively defensive formalism, and, with a renewed spurt of life, to turn afresh to those spiritual and missionary spheres of activity in which evangelicalism is strongest.

CHAPTER ONE

ESTABLISHMENT UNDER ATTACK.

> "Ministers of a church in which you only half believe, and ... members of an order which does not half believe in you"(1).

The charge of inconsistency, and even of insincerity, which was frequently brought against the Evangelical party by Nonconformists, served to highlight one of the inherent difficulties of their position. The Church of God, for Evangelicals, was a spiritual body of the saints, whose membership transcended the external boundaries of visible churches here on earth. It followed that the Evangelical school, unlike the Tractarian, was not concerned to prove the identity of the Church of England with the true Church, for this latter could not be discerned by man. No visible professing church, declared Ryle, can claim to be that Church out of which no man can be saved (2), All human creations are fallible, and William Goode, in The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice, denounced the system which looked to tradition and Church authority as depositor and final arbiter of the faith.

But still, Evangelicals must

> "never for a moment admit that, as a system, Dissent is as good as the Church of England, and that it is all the same whether a man is a Churchman or a Dissenter"(3).

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1. John Browne, Dissent and the Church (London, 1870), 14.
2. J.C.Ryle, Knots Untied (London, 1874), 268.
3. J.C.Ryle, Church and Dissent (London, 1870), 14.

Ryle preferred the Church's ministerial soundness, based on the Thirty-nine Articles, her episcopal form of government, ordered liturgy, and fixed, independent system of endowments. The parochial system, which assured, at any rate in theory, the spiritual supervision of every soul, was the chief advantage and justification of the Church of England for most Evangelicals. The question was one of effectiveness rather than theology. If not essential for its existence, establishment was very necessary to the wellbeing of the Church. And yet the deep attachment of Evangelicals to the principle of national righteousness was surely a little more than highminded expediency (1). The nation as an entity, they felt, distinct from the individuals of whom it was composed, must acknowledge and worship the Lord, must therefore keep the Sabbath, and must not adopt a policy of religious neutrality, as in India. Justice may not always be done, in a sinful world, but it must be seen to be done, and an established Church, whatever its faults, was a right expression of the nation's obedience to religious truth. It was also a means of fulfilling the State's obligation to provide for the spiritual, as well as the material, needs of the people.

All this is not to deny the presence of Christians outside the Establishment. The Christian ruler must "mete out praise and censure" impartially to every sect "in due proportion to the moral and spiritual characters which really exist", though his chief duty will be to increase the efficiency, and broaden the comprehensiveness,

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1. See G.F.A.Best, "The Evangelicals and the Established Church in the early Nineteenth Century" (Journal of Theological Studies, 1959), 65.

compatible with divine truth, of "that portion of the Church which is most closely linked with the State"(1).

The principle of Establishment then, rested on the State's duty towards God, to honour Him, and towards the population, to care for them. Both rested, in turn, on the assumption, not seriously challenged at the start of the period, that England was a Christian State.

In practical terms, the national defence of right religion against idolatry, and the doctrinal purity of the Thirty-nine Articles, meant that Evangelicals could claim the Establishment as the one great bulwark against infidelity and Popery, which Nonconformists would be well-advised to maintain for the sake of Protestantism. It was awkward, therefore, when Dissenters could point to the spread of popery and infidelity within the Church itself. Still, the Record urged, Nonconformity alone would be

> "as powerless to stay the flood of error as a barrier of straw to stay the progress of some swollen river. Because leaks have been found here and there in the dykes that keep out the sea, and through this crevice and that the waves have succeeded in finding an entrance, is this any reason for sweeping away the dykes altogether? This would be the act of suicide indeed"(2).

For Ryle the Articles and Formularies were the main criteria, and so long as these were preserved intact he would stick firmly to the union of Church and State (3). And in the control of a Protestant Parliament

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1. T.R.Birks, Church and State (London, 1869), 325-6.

2. Record, 18 February 1867.

3. Record, 13 October 1871

lay the chief hopes of a party which was strongest in its lay support. Yet Shaftesbury, confronted with heresy on all sides, was falling "deeper & deeper every hour into perplexity" on the subject (1), and Arthur Kinnaird, having earlier voted for Irish Disestablishment, declared himself by 1872 to be

> "fully prepared to sacrifice the [English] Establishment rather than truth" (2).

The Rock, on this occasion, disagreed with his analysis of the situation, but usually took the line, adopted by the party as a whole, that only a Protestant Church was the true National Church, and really worth defending, and, conversely, that in the suppression of ritualism and rationalism lay the Church's only sure defence (3).

So it was even more awkward when questions arose of uniting with the teachers of such pernicious errors, for the preservation of an Establishment which was not, of itself, vital to Christianity. Were they Evangelicals first, or Churchmen?

The Disestablishment forces were relatively well organised, with a centre for political activity in the Liberation Society, and a recognized Parliamentary leader in Edward Miall. Everyone admitted the need for a similar cohesive power in the Church of England, and it was to this end that the Church Institution was formed in 1860. The aim was

> "to combine, as far as possible, Churchmen of every shade of political and religious opinion in the

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 21 February 1871.

2. Rock, 30 August 1872.

3. Rock, 30 April 1880, and elsewhere.

maintenance and support of the Established Church, and its rights and privileges in relation to the State"(1),

and accordingly no questions of doctrine were to be raised at the meetings. The society was Henry Hoare's brainchild, and predominantly High Church, though in 1872 Evangelicals such as the Earl of Harrowby appear in the list of Vice-presidents, with Joseph Bardsley and Daniel Wilson joining Sir Joseph Napier on the executive committee. At this time the society was reorganized in an effort to increase support, the council extended to include the clergy, and representatives of local associations, and the name changed to Church Defence Institution.

Still smarting under the blow of Irish Disestablishment, the Rock, in 1869, while recognising the difficulties, had been strongly in favour of supporting the Institution, as the only one of its kind available (2). But as Ritualists increasingly numbered among its membership, and especially when the secretary, Mr. Jones, attacked the Church Association at an English Church Union meeting, the paper came to the conclusion that Evangelical supporters of such a society were in the wrong place (3). The Record, meanwhile, continued to urge all Churchmen to unite on the common platform of Church defence (4), whilst Ryle's call to High and Low to fight

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1. The Principles and Objects of the Church Defence Institution(1871),5.
2. Rock, 14 December 1869. There had in fact been a largely Evangelical Committee of Laymen, of which John Knott was secretary and J.C.Colquhoun a leading light, but this concentrated on the Church rates issue, and seems to have faded out after 1868.
3. Rock, 17 November 1876; see also 5 March 1875, 29 June 1877.
4. Record, 9 August 1876.

> "shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand, and foot to foot, as patriots, as philanthropists, and as Christians"(1),

was much the feeling of the party as a whole. Evangelicals, when it came to the crunch, turned out to be among the staunchest defenders of the Establishment; while High Churchmen yearned for spiritual independence, and in 1877 Mackonochie and a group of leading Ritualists formed the Church League for Promoting the Separation of Church and State. And basically, it seems to have been a strong vein of traditional loyalty, rather than principle or self-interest, which was the unexpressed motive behind it all.

The Times, in February, 1873, denounced the Church Defence Institution as too political, and mocked the notion that

> "the Church, or the Christian Faith, should really depend upon a number of gentlemen and ladies meeting in public rooms under noble presidency to hear Church and Dissent subjected to a series of comparisons neatly invidious and tenderly offensive to the latter of the two avowed rivals"(2).

And, fortunately for the Establishment, the Times was right. For it was certainly not the strength of the defence movement which saved the Church of England. The Record and other papers were continually trying to whip up a zeal for Establishment which was not only flagging, but pretty well flagged. In 1886, when Church

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1. J.C.Ryle, Yes or No! Is the Union of Church and State worth preserving? (London, 1871),3.

2. Times, 3 February 1873.

feeling was at a peak, after an important victory over Dissent, the annual meeting of the Church Defence Institution could muster an audience of less than two hundred(1). Many an Evangelical leader echoed Shaftesbury's diagnosis that

> "indifference is the most dangerous [threat] of all; and ... that if the Church of England shall fall, she will fall, not from the vigour of the attack, but from the weakness of the defence"(2).

In fact there was little danger of the English Establishment falling, and when crises did occur, Churchmen enough could be roused to prevent it. With Ireland, of course, it was a different matter.

On 28 March, 1865, Gladstone announced in the Commons his conversion to the principle of Disestablishment in Ireland, and gave warning of what lay in store should the occasion arise (3). Two years later the passing of the Reform Act marked a new period of political crisis, with radical changes in the air, and the forces of Dissent bursting into a frenzy of eagerly expectant activity. The first instalment came under a Conservative government, with the sweeping away of compulsory Church Rates.

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1. Record 6 August 1886. It must be allowed, of course, that August is not the best time of year for attracting large crowds to London meetings.
2. Record, 10 May 1869.
3. Hansard, 3rd series, CLXXVIII, 421-34.

The grievance had been a major one in the programme adopted by the Protestant Dissenting Deputies, and thirty years of abortive attempts at legislation, and innumerable court cases against defaulters, had continually exacerbated the bitter feelings on either side. The issue brought home to the parish level the Church-Dissent struggle, where its effects could be seem and felt by almost everyone. No one doubted that the Establishment itself was the real object of attack. The question was whether, therefore, to resist all demands, or to try the tack of gaining in overall strength by a discreet surrender of the outpost. In terms of money, the amount involved was small, and the Church's right by now was a shadow of what it had been. After the decision of the House of Lords in the Braintree case in 1853, a valid rate depended on the consent of a majority of parishioners in the vestry. Evangelical opinion was divided on the subject of further concessions. John Knott and his Committee of Laymen refused to budge an inch, but by 1861 Lord Ebury was urging that the rate remain but the power of enforcement be abolished (1). Bligh wanted Dissenters to be exempt on declaration of their Nonconformity (2), which solution had been the hope of moderate opinion since about 1840, and was the line later taken up by the Record. It was the one compromise which Nonconformists were by no means prepared to accept.

The new Parliament of 1865 saw the usual crop of bills for commutation or abolition of the rate, and with Palmerston's death the chances of an early settlement became much greater. Gladstone's

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1. The only compromise possible in regard to Church Rates, by a former member of the House of Commons, Lord Ebury (London, 1861).
2. Church Rates, Concession advocated, by a clergyman, E.V.Bligh (London, 1861).

change of heart included more than the Irish question, and in May 1866 he laid before the House of Commons a bill to abolish compulsion, while leaving the machinery and formal power for levying a voluntary rate (1). The Record greeted this solution as worthy of consideration, but later decided against it on the grounds that Church rates were essential in the rural parishes for the upkeep of the church, and on the plea that the rate was an integral part of the Establishment(2). A National Church, with the duty of providing for all, must be able to exact a contribution from all alike. The Times likewise, and High Churchmen such as Beresford Hope, after their early enthusiasm, eventually repudiated the bill. The Church Institution passed a unanimous resolution against it (3). In the Commons the second reading was assented to on 1 August, only on the understanding that no further steps would be taken (4). The three other bills before the House at the time were quietly withdrawn. Between them, the four proposals had covered the possible solutions. Neate's bill provided for the means of maintaining church fabric, by way of compensation; Boville's for the exemption of declared Dissenters, while Hardcastle's bill was for total abolition of Church rates.

A scheme along one of these lines must obviously be passed before long, but though the Record and others urged the need for a decisive policy, they were singularly unforthcoming as to what it should be.

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1. Hansard, 3rd series, CLXXXIII, 619-36.
2. Record, 21, 28 May 1866.
3. Record, 25 May 1866.
4. Hansard, 3rd series, CLXXXIV, 1847-83.

So they could hardly grumble when 1867 saw much the same discussion as the previous year, with Hardcastle's abolition bill this time sailing through the Commons and left for the Lords to reject at the second reading. Church support had collapsed from lack of agreement. The Times by now was sure that Nonconformists would accept almost any compromise if only Churchmen were united in proposing it (1).

By 1868, when Gladstone again introduced his bill, the principle of compulsory Church Rates had been almost universally surrendered, and all that remained was for the Church to get the best terms it could. Gladstone was backed by the Dissenting Deputies while the difficulties of the Conservative Government gave him a strong chance of success. The bill was carried through the House of Commons with little difficulty, and only minor alterations. And in spite of Conservative opposition, and denunciations from the Archbishops and the bench of Bishops, it emerged from the Lords with its main principle, the abolition of a compulsory rate, virtually untouched. Only the empty principle of Church rates remained, and in time, inevitably, the voluntary rate was to fade out of existence.

Though by no means satisfied with the result, the Evangelical party had made little attempt at an organized resistance. The Christian Observer felt that Gladstone's bill was in effect a complete surrender by the Church of England, but saw no point in active protest.

> "Church Rates abandoned by the House of Commons will not be preserved by representations from the Christian Observer"(2).

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1. Times, 25 July 1867.

2. Christian Observer, March 1868, 239.

While the Record was so disheartened that anything seemed better than total abolition, and Derby's opposition in the Lords was criticized as too strong (1). It was High Churchmen like Lord Lyttleton, in fact, who stuck out for the Church's rights to the bitter end. With Irish troubles in the air, the Church was going to need all the strength it could muster, and most Evangelicals felt the sooner this old grievance was out of the way the better.

> "We are inclined to yield much for the sake of peace and charity, and to think with the man in Proverbs, that better is "little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure and trouble therein'"(2).

For in March, 1868, the question had come sufficiently into the realm of practical politics for Gladstone to submit to the House of Commons his three resolutions; that the Irish church must cease to exist as an Establishment, that the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commission in Ireland be confined to immediate necessities, and that the Queen be beseeched to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities (3). He had found the one rallying cry which would unite behind him the Whig, Radical, Irish, Catholic and Nonconformist forces which made up the Liberal party. The defence was by no means so united. Gladstone was able, with comparative ease, to carry in the Commons both the resolutions and a Suspensory Bill to prevent new appointments until a settlement had been reached. The bill was rejected by the House of Lords, with small help from Lord Shaftesbury, who spoke against disestablishment but abstained from voting, and was sternly rebuked for his desertion by the Rock (4). The question was to be the primary issue in the coming General Election.

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1. Record, 27 April 1868.

2. Rock, 17 July 1868.

3. Hansard, 3rd series, CXCI, 32-5.

4. Rock, 3 July 1868. Hansard, 3rd series, CXCIII, 169-298.

Probably the stoutest opposition to Irish Disestablishment came from the Evangelical party in the Church of England. Many liberal Churchmen were prepared to accept it as a solution to the alarming situation in Ireland, while the High Church party was divided. Denison formed a Church and State Defence Society, while Lord Lyttleton presented to the House of Lords a petition against the Irish Church signed by 261 clergy of the High and Broad schools. The Church Congress,held that year in Dublin as a gesture of support, instead of presenting a united Church front against Disestablishment, excluded all discussion of the subject from the programme, thus confirming the Record in its opinion of the uselessness of Congresses (1).

A few Evangelicals, it is true, opted for Disestablishment in Ireland, notably Professor Payne Smith, Lord Ebury and Rev. J.C.Miller (2). They were lone individuals, however, denounced by the party organs, especially Miller, who was accused of angling for a bishopric, and was to be haunted by reminders from the Rock of his defection whenever he strayed from the narrow party line.

Most Evangelicals rushed into print in defence of Establishment, and the party was soon engulfed in a warfare of propaganda. A United Church and Protestant Defence Committee had been formed in January, on Irish initiative, to combine the Central Protestant Defence Association and the National Club in organizing mass meetings, pamphlets etc. (3). This seems to have united with the Church

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1. Record, 19 October 1868.

2. Record, 30 September 1868; see also Rock, 24,27 August 1869.

3. Rock, 24 January 1868.

Institution and others in a Central Board meeting daily in London, for which Hanham claims that Shaftesbury was partly responsible (1). I find this hard to believe, as in his diary he condemned the whole policy of demonstrations, as only advertising the hopelessness of the case (2). He refused to attend their most important Church and State meeting, held on 6 May in St. James's Hall because of its hasty arrangement.

> "No preparation, no securing of good lay names, of Merchants, Bankers, Lawyers, &c. And what was the issue, an immense host of Clergy & Prelates, a few Peers of little note, and a meek display to the world that a belief still remained that the Public could be be-Bishoped, and be-Duked, into a submissive line of thought" (3).

The Record too regretted this clericalism, while for the Times it rendered the meeting completely futile (4). Not everyone was so pessimistic,however. Lord Harrowby was one of the peers present, and the Rock rejoiced that at last the Church of England was coming to the defence of the Irish Church (5).

Other great meetings were held, with more of a lay character. Colquhoun had chaired one on 17 April at St.James's Hall, in June the Lord Mayor summoned a meeting in the Guildhall, and in August there was a Protestant demonstration in the Crystal Palace, poorly attended because of bad weather (6). These were backed by innumerable

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1. H.J.Hanham, "The General Election of 1868" (PH.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1953), II, 23-4.
2. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 6 May, 8 September 1868.
3. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 8 September 1868. He did send a letter of sympathy to the meeting in May, however (Times, 7 May 1868).
4. Record, 8 May 1868, Times 7 May 1868.
5. Rock, 8 May 1868.
6. Times, 18 April 1868; Record, 24 June, 21 August 1868.

parish meetings; organized by the clergy, by local bodies, or by the National Protestant Union, which arranged for speakers and meetings all over the country. Evangelical Christendom, which maintained a careful neutrality throughout, reckoned that Church meetings outnumbered those on the other side, partly because of the greater organization which the clergy could command, but often showing a spirit and a spontaneity which must have some deeper cause(1). This agitation was almost entirely in Evangelical hands.

The main defence rested on the essential unity of the Church of England and its Irish branch, and the danger of allowing a precedent for Disestablishment.

> "To use a military phrase, the Irish Church is the key of the position, and if that be carried by storm the whole fortress must be evacuated sooner or later"(2).

Despite the assurances of Gladstone that the situation in Ireland was unique, it was clear that the case against the establishment of the religion of a wealthy and privileged minority might well be turned against the English Church at some future date. The only sure way of preserving the Established Church was to deny the whole validity of arguments based on number or utility, and to rest the defence on the plea of principle alone:- the Nation's duty to establish true religion. To the Record,

> "the maintenance of the Irish Church is equivalent to the maintenance of GOD'S Truth. It is on this

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1. Evangelical Christendom, July 1868, 280.

2. Record, 14 December 1868.

> that the controversy really turns. It is on this principle of a national religion and a national Protestantism that we must take our stand and be prepared to struggle for it to the last"(1).

To insist on a majority, the Rock considered, would be as absurd as

> "... to maintain that no man is to go under water unless he can swim. To be able to swim, we take it, a man must first apply himself to the water, and for the majority of a nation to be converted to Christian principles and practices, we take it, it is as well to establish religion amongst them on a permanent basis, with due provision for its teaching and maintenance"(2).

This gave the Evangelicals an emotive cry with which to appeal to Protestant Nonconformists, which was backed by the strong Protestant unity against Disestablishment in Ireland itself. Anti-Roman tracts were issued in large numbers, and most of the meetings were organized essentially as demonstrations of Protestantism, in an all-out attempt to stir up the anti-Catholic feeling always latent in nineteenth century England.

All in vain, however. The General Election gave the Liberals a majority of 110, and a clear mandate to disestablish the Irish Church.

Most Churchmen recognised this as the moment of defeat; and Archbishop Tait took the lead in political manoeuvrings to secure for the Church the most favourable terms available in such

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1. Record, 15 April 1868.

2. Rock, 31 July 1868.

unfavourable circumstances(1). The Evangelical party were among the exceptions, who felt that the elections had not reflected the true opinion of the country. McNeile argued that, as many of the electorate were voting for the first time, their decision was necessarily ill—advised, and therefore invalid(2). Then the measure introduced by Gladstone, and carried through the Commons, turned out to be so severe in its disendowment clauses that Church feeling generally was outraged. The Rock agreed with the Conservative leaders that

> "had Mr. GLADSTONE'S Bill been before the country at the time of the election, Liberal members that were then elected to support Mr. GLADSTONE and a policy which was then neither defined nor detailed, would not have been elected to support the particular policy that has been since defined and detailed"(3).

Consequently, the Evangelicals concentrated on holding a further series of meetings, in Ireland and in most of the larger towns in England, centring on a great Protestant demonstration in St. James's Hall on May 3, with Lord Harrowby in the chair. The main object was to pressure the House of Lords into rejecting Gladstone's Bill at the second reading, and so to force on another election, which they felt sure must reverse the verdict of the last one.

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1. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 28ff.
2. Record, 12 March 1869.
3. Rock, 25 March 1869.

It was acknowledged that the Lords were in a very tricky constitutional position here. They had rejected the Suspensory Bill the year before, to refer the question to the country, and now that the electorate had spoken, they could hardly ignore its voice(1). On the other hand, to give way at once would be to become a mere registry of the Commons' will(2). The Rock published a series of encouraging articles entitled "What could the Lords do?"

Tait, meanwhile, was hoping they would pass the second reading, so they could then negotiate for important amendments to the bill in Committee, and the Evangelicals' uncompromising attitude, which was shared by a number of bishops and peers, was proving an embarrassment. In the end, Lord Harrowby moved that the Bill be read that day six months (i.e. after another appeal to the country), and the Bishop of Peterborough defended the Irish Church in a powerful and cheer-raising speech (which the Record later criticized for abandoning the principle of Establishment)(3). But the balance lay with Tait and political sense, and the second reading was passed by 179 votes to 146. Lord Shaftesbury had been in a quandary about the whole thing, unable to make his mind up whether to speak, then kept away by the death of his sister, and finally having no opportunity to speak. His general opinion was that all the Lords could have done, in any case, would have been to register their protest(4). The Record now finally admitted, what everyone else had known for months, that

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1. Christian Advocate, July 1869, 478-88.
2. Rock, 15 June 1869; Record, 31 May 1869.
3. Record, 16, 18 June 1869.
4. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 25 May, 8,14,15,17,18,19, June 1869. Yet in a letter to the Record dated 19 June, he asserted that on no subject had he ever been more anxious to say what he felt, had it been possible to do so.

"the battle of disestablishment has been fought and lost"(1).

Yet even now, the Evangelicals obstructed Tait by their opposition to suggestions of concurrent endowment. These had been loudly denounced in the Evangelical press when proposed by Disraeli in the Commons as a denial of the principles on which they had opposed disestablishment, and worse than complete disendowment(2). So the party remained aloof, while Tait pursued his difficult course, to hammer out an agreement between the Conservative Lords and the anti-Church feeling in the Commons. And by taking up an extreme position throughout the conflict, Evangelicals excluded themselves from the possibility of any effective part in the sort of settlement which emerged. The Irish Church was to be disestablished as from 1871. And the principle of Establishment had received a shattering blow, of such force that the Church's defence could never again rest on quite the same lines.

The Dissenting forces were jubilant in their expectations of further victories. The Nonconformist ran a series of articles on "The Work Before Us", which claimed that,

"we have initiated a revolution which, whether we like it or no, we shall be compelled to carry to its completion, not violently, not with undue precipitation, not before the public mind is prepared to accept it - but with as much moral certainty as that the sun will rise tomorrow morning"(3).

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1. Record, 21 June 1869.
2. Record, 14 April, 25, 28 June 1869.
3. Nonconformist, 15 September 1869. The series ran till 27 October.

The only question was whether to go all out and strike at the roots of the Establishment, or to continue to fight on side issues - the Universities, Burials, Scottish Disestablishment.

The abolition of University Tests was, in fact, ripe for achievement. Legislation in 1854 and 1856 had opened to Dissenters the degree of B.A. at Oxford, and all degrees except those in Divinity at Cambridge. But a declaration of faith was necessary for the holding of office, and in both universities non-Anglicans were effectively excluded from any say in government. The demand for further reform was by no means confined to Nonconformists. In Oxford it was essentially a conflict between Liberal and Conservative Churchmen. The battle was wider in Cambridge, where the colleges were anxious to increase their academic weight by bringing in the Dissenters, who often headed the lists of wranglers.

To the Evangelical party, as to the conservative forces generally, the question was whether or not the Universities should remain Christian. In a sermon in 1862, E.H.Perowne had pointed out that the removal of tests for fellowships would leave no security against the admission of "Socinians or Romanists or avowed unbelievers"(1). The Record insisted that,

> "to say that Churchmen fear the admission to University privileges of Dissenters in the ordinary acceptance of that term, is to miss the very point of the objection, which is, that when once the boundary line is removed, no distinction can be drawn between one Dissenter and another"(2).

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1. D.A.Winstanley, Later Victorian Cambridge (Cambridge, 1947), 44-5
2. Record, 28 March 1866.

The paper's solution to the problem, however, was not to substitute a general declaration of Christianity for that of Anglicanism, but the assimilation of Oxford status to the practice of Cambridge, to admit Nonconformists to the degree of M.A., while preserving intact the Anglicanism of the governing body.

Coleridge's bill of 1869, with the approval of Gladstone, passed easily through the House of Commons, to be rejected at the second reading in the Lords. Both sides were active in agitation. Charles Clayton conducted an active campaign in support of the tests in the Cambridge Chronicle, while Rev. E.H.Perowne and others got up a petition of members of the Cambridge Senate against the bill(1). Meetings in Oxford and Cambridge in December, however, were unanimous in favour of complete abolition of the tests, and deputations to that effect were sent to Gladstone(2). The latter in reply committed the Government to the introduction of a compulsory measure at some date in the future. With such evident support from both within and without the universities there was little real doubt that the Tests would be abolished - though in Cambridge Perowne and company maintained their opposition to the end.

The bill of 1870 passed through the Commons, and again the issue was shelved in the Lords, this time by the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry. By the next year, Liberals were urging far more drastic measures, backed by Miall and the Dissenting Deputies, and it was with difficulty that radical amendments to the bill were defeated in the Commons. Shaftesbury, gloomy as ever, felt the time had come for the Lords to give way.

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1. D.A.Winstanley, op. cit., 68; Record, 19 March 1869.

2. Times, 7 December 1869; Record, 10, 20 December 1869.

> "Confiscation, indifference to Religion, or even a hostile attitude to it, must now be endured, both as the right of the nation, accompanied by power, and as the only means of escaping additional calamities"(1).

Salisbury's amendments, he felt, "would not, except as a protest, be worth the paper on which they were written", and he did not attend when the bill was being discussed in Committee. All the important amendments were, in fact rejected by the Commons, and the bill, as finally passed, was much the same as it had started out. Religious declarations were not to be required in Oxford, Cambridge, or Durham, from the holders of lay degrees or of lay College or University offices. Headships of Colleges, Divinity Professorships and certain other offices remained closed to Dissenters. But from the point of view of Establishment, the significance of the contest went deeper than the admission of a larger number of Nonconformists, to strike at the conception of the Church as educator of the nation, and the universities as training centres for the clergy.

The Education Act of 1870 had struck a similar blow, at the level of elementary education, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. At the time, however, this was regarded rather as a betrayal of the Nonconformists by Gladstone and more particularly by Forster. Following too closely in its provisions the lines suggested by the National Education Union, and with generous concessions to the Church schools, the establishment of the dual system seemed to show the weakness of Nonconformist influence, and to abate Dissenting confidence in their Liberal allies.

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 9 May 1871.

Nonconformist disillusionment grew when in 1871 Miall's motion for extending the policy of disestablishment to the other churches of the United Kingdom was defeated by 376 votes to 91(1). Putting forward a milder resolution the following year, to be defeated in a smaller House by a majority of 201, Miall virtually admitted that there was no popular enthusiasm for his cause (2), and Gladstone showed his realization of this by repudiating the whole idea of disestablishment.

In October, the Liberation Society's Conference at Birmingham inaugurated an energetic campaign of tracts and meetings, and pledged its firmest support to Miall's motion of the coming session, which was to be a direct attack on the principle of Establishment. The Nonconformist felt certain that "whither these men lead, the whole Liberalism of the nation will follow"(3). But in 1873 a still larger majority defeated Miall's resolution, and Gladstone's eloquent defence of the Established Church squashed the disestablishment forces more firmly than ever.

It was clear that Dissenters were not going to achieve their aims this way. R.W.Dale, the leading light of Birmingham Congregationalism, was already convinced that the Government's retrograde educational policy

> "relieves Nonconformists from their old allegiance to the Liberal party ...and... requires us so to organise our political power as to prevent the

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1. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 138
2. Hansard, 3rd series, CCXII, 527-540.
3. Nonconformist, 2 October 1872.

Liberal party from ever inflicting a similar injury again on the principles of religious equality" (1).

The great education conference in Manchester in January 1872 had resolved to make the amendment of the Act a test question in every Liberal constituency (2), and Miall's defeat in 1873 strengthened their determination to make this the issue for a trial of strength between Nonconformists and the Liberal party. The "Nonconformist Revolt" began at the Bath bye-election, when a rival candidate, Mr. Cox, was introduced after pledges were refused by the committee of the Liberal Captain Hayter. On this occasion the required pledge was eventually given by Hayter, and confusion resulted when political commitments made it impossible to withdraw Cox's candidature. In a number of other bye-elections up and down the country, Nonconformist pressure, led by Chamberlain, was able to secure the defeat of sitting Liberals (3).

The revolt reached its climax in the General Election of 1874, when Dissenters en masse either adopted a hostile attitude to the Liberal party or, following advice from the Liberation Society, abstained from voting. This was less a deliberate policy, suggests Hanham, than a case of being caught unawares in the middle of an anti-Liberal campaign (4). Partly as a result of their defection - though there were other important factors, notably the Catholic vote - the Liberals were defeated at the polls, and Disraeli came into power

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1. R.W.Dale, The Politics of Nonconformity (Manchester 1871), 22.
2. See next chapter.
3. Spectator, 5 July 1873; Fortnightly Review, September 1873, 287- 302.
4. H.J.Hanham, Elections and Party Management (London 1959),121 - 2.

with a majority of 50.

This action of the Nonconformists has been generally considered political suicide (1). They stood no chance of gain from the Conservative party, and had forfeited their powerful position in the Liberal ranks, of which they were supposedly the backbone. In fact, the election was less a death-blow to Dissenting influence, than a most striking illustration of how weak their effectiveness really was. Their elation at the successes of the later sixties had masked the fact that they were only riding the crest of a much larger wave. Irish Disestablishment had provided a much needed rallying point, uniting Irish, Roman Catholics, Radicals, Nonconformists behind the Liberal flag. Another such was not to be found; and in any case, Gladstone was seeking it in the Irish, not in the Dissenting prong, of the earlier alliance; partly from personal choice, but also because of the greater pressure from Ireland. The Parnellites were an organised party, who were soon to become a strong obstructionist group in Parliament, and they were backed by an unruly Irish tail at home which was causing a real problem. This the Nonconformists lacked, and the gradual removal of their grievances, which was one main part of their activity, took away even that which they had, by lessening the force of their arguments against Establishment, and the interest of the ordinary 'pious Nonconformist' in politics. The Irish problem was to split Nonconformity in two, while the extension of the franchise meant that social and economic issues were coming increasingly to the fore. The Church-Dissent conflict was essentially a Middle Class affair. Chamberlain, at first eager to unite the two, in a powerful dissenting and socially radical party, came to neglect the Dissenting

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1. H.F.Lovell Cocks, The Nonconformist Conscience (London, 1943), 45.

prong, and to concentrate on Working Class politics as the rising power of the moment.

The events of 1874 showed that Nonconformity was an important element in Liberalism, but that it was not strong enough to dictate party policy. At the election of 1880 they abandoned narrow front tactics. Dale refused to raise the question of Disestablishment, and the Liberation Society threw its weight unreservedly on the side of the Liberal party(1).

The Dissenters still had one more victory to win. Their burials grievances remained to be settled, and had been the subject of agitation and bitterness for over a century. Every (baptised) parishioner had the right to burial in the Churchyard, but the service had to be conducted by the incumbent, and according to the Prayer Book. Legislation in the 1840's and 1850's had allowed the creation of partly unconsecrated grounds for Nonconformists, but these existed, on the whole, only in the towns, and in country parishes tension was great. After the failure of Sir Morton Peto's bills in the 1860's, the Liberation Society and Dissenting Deputies prepared a bill together, which was introduced by Osborne Morgan in 1870. This obtained a large majority at the second reading in the Commons, and again each year until 1873, but could make no further headway without Gladstone's support. Lord Beauchamp's bill, meanwhile, had been passed in 1871, granting the right of silent burial to those who wished for it.

On this issue, the Evangelical party, like other Churchmen, held that the grievance was greatly exaggerated, and after the abolition of compulsory Church rates it seemed to many that the Nonconformists were trying to have their cake and eat it - or rather to eat it without paying for it (2). And every surrender on the part of the Church would be another milestone on the road to Disestablishment.

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1. H.J.Hanham, Elections and Party Management, 124; A.W.W.Dale, Life of R.W.Dale of Birmingham (London, 1905), 428.

2. Record, 28 March 1873.

By 1875, however, the feeling was growing that concessions over burials might prove the one thing needful to strengthen the security of the Establishment. Morgan's bill of this year was defeated by only fourteen votes, and conciliation was very much in the air, with Archbishop Tait earnestly trying to promote it (1). Lord Shaftesbury warned that what the Church refused to give up now might later be torn away (2). A London committee of Evangelical clergymen, including Daniel Wilson, Auriol, Garbett and Joseph Bardsley, arranged meetings with a few leading Nonconformist ministers, one at the end of May, and a later one on August 4, in an effort to reach some sort of compromise.

Evangelicals, however, were sharply divided on policy, the rift in this case being a clear one between town and country. During the winter of 1875 - 6 a long and bitter controversy was waged in the pages of the Record. Joseph Bardsley and his supporters urged the justice and fairness of allowing silent burials, or a Christian service (3), while John Charles Ryle denounced Morgan's bill as

> "utterly subversive of the first principles of a National or Established Church"(4).

Ryle insisted that to allow non-episcopal services in the graveyards was to dethrone the clergyman from his position, and was half-way to allowing them inside the church on the first rainy day. He also attacked the London clergy for failing to understand the far greater problems of the country parishes. He urged that Nonconformists be given facilities to provide separate burial grounds, that the parochial cemetery be part consecrated and part unconsecrated, or that an

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1. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 245, 251ff.
2. Record, 10 May 1875.
3. Record, 13 December 1875.
4. J.C.Ryle, Shall we Surrender ? (London, 1876), 5.

authorized alternative service be drawn up (1).

In 1877, the Duke of Richmond introduced in the Lords a Government Burials Bill, disguised as a sanitary measure, with the hidden concessions to Nonconformists of silent burial and provision for the procuring of additional burial grounds. The Dissenting Deputies would have no truck with this, and a meeting of the United Nonconformist Committees in Crewe, led by Dale, condemned any such half-hearted solution (2). The second reading passed, however, with the support of Tait, who, as ever, hoped to amend the bill in committee. Lord Shaftesbury was busy negotiating with Morley to arrange a compromise giving freedom for the reading of Scripture, prayer, and singing at the graveside. This had the backing of the Record, and Shaftesbury introduced it as an amendment, only to withdraw it for lack of support (3). His eirenicon substantially reappeared in Lord Harrowby's amendment, allowing any Christian and orderly religious service or silent burial in the churchyard, which thus conceded virtually all the Nonconformist demands. The voting was even, 102 to 102, and only the Earl of Redesdale's casting vote saved the Government from defeat. In effect, if not technically, Harrowby had won, and on June 18 the Lords adopted his clause by 127 to 111 (4). The Government reacted by withdrawing the whole bill.

The Christian Observer, and a number of diehards like Ryle, had

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1. Record, 24 April 1876.
2. Record, 6 April 1877.
3. Record, 18 April 1877, 30 April 1877, 16 May 1877.
4. Hansard, 3rd series, CCXXXIV, 1928-33.

stolidly opposed the amendment (1), but most Evangelicals joined the Record in regretting the mischief involved in its defeat (2). Outside the Evangelical party, Church opinion was strongly against any such concessions. A conference of the Church Defence Society, mostly of ultra-High Churchmen, declared their support of the Government at such a dangerous hour for the union of Church and State(3). Their protest was signed by 15,000 clergy. At the Church Congress in October, Harrowby's amendment was loudly denounced.

> "The Clergy, as represented at the Congress, seem to have entrenched themselves in the graveyards as obstinately as the Turks at Plevna, and to be resolved that they will only be dislodged by force"(4).

So commented the Times.

In 1880, the Liberal party swept back into power with an overall majority of 54, and proceeded to introduce a new Burials Bill, which embodied the principle of Harrowby's amendment, but gave further safeguards against disorderliness. The Record welcomed the measure as a desirable termination of the controversy, which would tend to the support of the Establishment; but in view of the very mixed feelings which Churchmen still held on the subject, the paper came to adopt the less enthusiastic attitude of accepting with a good grace the inevitable(5). Though some amendments were added in the Commons, the Act, as passed, was largely based on Harrowby's compromise of 1877.

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1. Christian Observer, June 1877, 492-3; July 1877, 574-5; Record, 23 May 1877.
2. Record, 22 June 1877.
3. Times, 28 June 1877.
4. Times, 13 October 1877.
5. Record, 28 May, 21 June 1880.

The Dissenters were to some extent dissatisfied by the restriction to Christian services, while in the Church of England indignation ran high in some quarters. It came chiefly from High Churchmen, however, and especially from Denison. In spite of opposition from a number of correspondents, the Record maintained a conciliatory tone, and even Ryle urged in the Northern Convocation that the bill be not resisted(1). It did not, after all, seriously endanger the Establishment.

The final all-out attempt of the Dissenters to push forward their aims was at the General Election of 1885. The Reform Act of the previous year had extended the franchise by about two million, bringing the possibility of new political alignments and influences; and the Liberationists remembered their successes in jumping on to the bandwagon of earlier reform. In December 1884 the executive committee of the Liberation Society adopted and published three resolutions asserting that the time had come for energetic measures to secure the return of candidates favourable to Disestablishment, and to urge the question

> "upon Parliament, upon the constituencies, and upon the country at large, as one which demands early legislative settlement"(2).

A conference in January reaffirmed the Society's support of a bold electoral policy(3).

No one really knew how the agricultual labourers would vote.The Times felt the Nonconformists were being unduly optimistic, and even the Record assured Churchmen that they might "go on eating and sleeping

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1. Record, 9 July 1880.
2. Liberator, January 1885.
3. Nonconformist, 15 January 1885.

as usual"(1). The Liberation Society continued its campaign, however, in a slightly lower key; not to achieve Disestablishment at the next election, but to establish it as a definite plank in the Liberal platform, and to make, at the least, Disestablishment in Scotland and Wales, a test question for all Liberal candidates. The preliminary arrangements were completed with a large conference on 24 March (2).

Evangelical Churchmen, too, remembered the events which had followed the 1867 Reform Act, and their own belief that an earlier and stronger defence might have saved the Irish Church. They were determined not to allow any repetition of 1868, and were spurred on by hopes that victory now might secure the Establishment for good.

> "If we can dispose of the Liberationist agitation at the next General Election, we shall, in all probability, have settled its fate permanently. There are many signs that Dissent, as a religious power in the land, is declining - we believe somewhat rapidly declining. If they cannot score a victory at the ensuing elections, they will never win one at all, at least in our generation"(3).

A meeting of the Central Council of Diocesan Conferences in March adopted unanimously Sydney Gedge's motion that Church Defence be suggested for discussion in the dioceses, and be made a test question at all future elections(4).

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1. Times, 19 December 1884, Record, 2 January 1885.
2. Liberator, April 1885.
3. Churchman, May 1885; see also Record, 26 June 1885.
4. Rock, 20 March 1885.

The fluid situation of the political parties in 1885, and the absence of a strong election issue, made such heckling of candidates a matter of potentially great importance. In July, therefore, the Record began its own witch-hunt, by seeking information from readers on the policy towards Disestablishment of every prospective candidate. The returns were published on 11 September. All the 482 Conservatives seeking election opposed Disestablishment. Of the 579 Liberal candidates, 403 favoured it, to some degree, 37 opposed it, 33 refused to comment, and no information had been obtained from the remaining 106(1).

Backed by a strong appeal for Church defence, and reinforced by statistics published by the Liberation Society which gave much the same result (2), these figures produced an uproar in the press. The Nonconformist rejoiced at such support, while the Liberator was confident that the tail of the Liberal party would presently drag its leaders into line(3). The Pall Mall pointed out that if the Irish party agreed to further the cause, a Liberal victory would give a majority for Disestablishment in the Commons(4). Yet others asserted

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1. Record, 11 September 1885. An amended table was published on 25 September, giving 485 Conservative candidates, all Establishment men; 406 Liberals who supported Disestablishment, 50 who opposed it, 39 refused information and 100 from whom no information had been obtained. See Appendix A.
2. The Liberator, October 1885, gave 492 Liberal candidates, out of a total of 599, in favour of Disestablishment, 43 against it, 26 doubtful. No information had been obtained regarding 38 candidates.
3. Liberator, September 1885; Nonconformist, 17 September 1885; see also Morning Advertiser, 12 September 1885, Times 29 September 1885, Guardian, 16 September 1885.
4. Pall Mall Gazette, 11 September 1885.

that Disestablishment was already, as regards the coming election, "as dead as Her Gracious Majesty Queen Anne"(1). It all turned on the party leadership.

> "If Mr. Gladstone were only to lift his little finger in favour of the enterprise, the next Liberal Government would clear the British Empire of all ecclesiastical establishments. But Mr. Gladstone will not do so"(2).

Gladstone, in fact, had troubles enough on his plate. The Liberal party was in danger of imminent disruption, with growing rifts between Hartington and the radical caucus led by Chamberlain, who by now had also broken with Parnell. Chamberlain made Disestablishment an important part of his Radical Programme, which he was hoping to press upon the party with the help of combined Nonconformist and Working Class forces. But Mr. Gladstone could not afford to lose the support of the Liberal (in the political sense) Churchmen, and these were being roused from their habitual apathy by the Record returns. The Spectator had given warning of a vote against Disestablishment if it was made a party issue(3). The Record and Guardian, neither of them anxious for the Church to become identified with the Conservatives, used their influence rather to counterbalance the Liberationists, and to swing the Liberal candidates over to the support of the Church(4). Hanging over everything was the spectre of Parnell and the Irish, with the threat of further rifts over Ireland.

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1. Peterhead Sentinel, 16 September 1885.
2. Methodist Times, 17 September 1885.
3. Spectator, 22 August 1885.
4. Record, 11 September 1885; Guardian, 9, 16 September 1885.

At all costs, Gladstone was determined to keep Liberal unity, at least for long enough to win the election.

In the end, he resolved his party's difficulties over Disestablishment by postponing them. From Hawarden he issued a vague 'umbrella' of a manifesto, under which all sections of Liberalism might shelter, which relegated Disestablishment to "the dim and distant courses of the future". In November he began his Midlothian campaign, in the centre of one major part of the fighting. The Dissenting body, led by Cameron and Rainy, had put forward extreme candidates in opposition to sitting Liberals in several Scottish constituencies, and bitter conflict was raging. Gladstone called for Liberal solidarity to secure a Government strong enough to resist Parnellite pressures, and pledged himself against any attack on the Scottish or English Establishments in the next Parliament (1).

The battle was over before even the election had begun. Chamberlain, straight after the Hawarden Manifesto, changed his stand to an ultimatum on three less dangerous points(2), and soon 480 Liberationists were "scuttling like rats from the sinking vessel"(3).

The Dissenters followed Gladstone's lead in declaring that the whole thing had been a bogey dreamed up by the Record and Lord Salisbury as party manoeuvre. The Times would not allow this. The affair had begun with the resolutions of the Liberation Society, and after all,

> "it might surely occur to a candid Liberal to ask himself why at this election more than at previous

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1. Record, 13 November 1885; Times, 10 November 1885.

2. Pall Mall Gazette, 25 September 1885.

3, Times, 20 November 1885.

ones it is necessary to be continually protesting that there is no question of disestablishment"(1).

The Liberationist decision to tackle each candidate on the subject was certainly not an unusual one. A similar questioning had been planned before the 1880 election(2). The Record had forced the issue to a point it would probably not otherwise have reached, in a determined effort to turn the screw of Church support; and the Conservative party, it is true, had been quick to exploit the situation. But the "now or never" feeling seems to have been shared by both sides, and Ryle stoutly repudiated the idea that they were "crying 'Wolf, wolf' when there [was] nothing to fear and no cause for alarm"(3). At all events, the agitation had shown decisively the strength of the Establishment in the country. It was clear that Disestablishment could come only if Churchmen themselves desired it.

The Election itself was fought on no dominant issue, with Ireland, free trade and radicalism each influencing votes. The English Churchman, in fact, had all along been waging its own little campaign on a Protestant versus Ritualist front, and the Rock afterwards regretted the lost opportunity for creating an Evangelical party in Parliament(4). Disestablishment was a key issue in some localities, though, especially in the rural areas, where it brought Conservative successes in Shropshire and Cheshire, and Liberal ones in Wales(5). The result was a stalemate, with 334 Liberals, 250 Conservatives, 86 Irish Nationalists, in a parliamentary situation which could not last very long.

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1. Times, 12 November, 14 November 1885.
2. Pall Mall Gazette, 11 Decmber 1879.
3. J.C.Ryle, Our position and our dangers (London, 1885), 18-20.
4. Rock, 5 February 1886.
5. Henry Pelling, Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910 (London,1967),199,284.

The Executive Committee of the Liberation Society adopted a special minute denouncing the action of the Church supporters in forcing on the subject of Disestablishment, accusing them of "misrepresentation, calumny, undue influence and other illegitimate weapons", but rejoicing in the return of "a much larger number of members pledged to the principle of Religious Equality than sat in any previous Parliament", and looking forward to greater successes in the next General Election(1). By 1886, however, Gladstone had adopted Home Rule for Ireland, and all other issues faded into comparative insignificance. The Conservative victory of that year secured a period of respite for the Church of England which made Disestablishment seem unlikely for some time to come.

The Dissenters by now were fighting on local fronts once more. Motions for Welsh and Scottish Disestablishment were defeated in March 1886, but once the Liberals were in opposition Nonconformist influence was able to grow. The break up of the party over Home Rule, whilst it split the Liberationists in two, gave Disestablishment a strategic importance as a possible re-unifying force. In July 1887, addressing the National Liberal Club in Scotland, Gladstone declared the armistice of 1885 to have been broken by Finlay's Scotch Church Reform Bill, and asserted the right of the Scots and the Welsh to decide for themselves those things pertaining to "their distinct national history and aspirations"(2); Hartington's principle of local option, in effect. In May 1889, Gladstone abstained from voting on Dillwyn's motion for Welsh Disestablishment, which was defeated by a majority of 53, but by 1890 he was ready to give his full support

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1. Nonconformist, 17 December 1885.

2. Record, 22 July 1887.

to Disestablishment in Scotland, and to claim that the burden of proof lay with the defenders of Establishment(1). Cameron's motion was defeated, but by only 38 votes, the smallest majority so far. The next year Gladstone supported Mr. Pritchard-Morgan's resolution against the Welsh Church, which was rejected by 32 votes. The Church in Wales was further weakened by the growing organized resistance to tithes, which erupted around 1887. This was primarily an economic agitation, directed against the amount, not against the destination of the tithes to the Established Church; and the Record was quick to point out the weakness of Liberation Society support in Wales(2). Churchmen's fears were great enough, however, for the Church Congress at Rhyl to be made the scene of an important demonstration of Establishmentarianism(3).

In 1892, however, the motions for Welsh and Scottish Disestablishment were defeated by larger majorities than before. And in his election campaign of that year, Gladstone assiduously sought to keep the question in the background and to make the election a crusade for Home Rule in Ireland. Stalemate had been reached. The Church had suffered grave losses, but Establishment still stood secure. Though the twentieth century would see the Welsh Church disestablished, this was a nationalist affair, and no longer part of the old Church-Dissent war.

The conflict between Dissent and the Church, in fact, had become increasingly irrelevant to the mainstream of politics, and

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1. Times, 3 May 1890

2. Record, 18 September, 9 October 1891.

3. Record, 9 October 1891.

it was loss of interest, more than anything else, which had saved the Establishment. It was a Pyrrhic victory. The growing preoccupation with other matters led to a policy of non-interference by Parliament in Church affairs, and a consequent difficulty in obtaining needed legislation for Church reforms. The Rock complained of this as early as 1871.

> "It is not a little inconsistent on the part of political Dissenters in Parliament to decline to legislate for the Church, and yet to be so eager to legislate against her. When attempts are made in Parliament to improve the services or the discipline of the Church by beneficial legislation, the political Dissenter indignantly protests against being called upon to legislate for a Church of which he is only a nominal member; but when the measure before the House is one for confiscating Church property, the noli episcopari is no longer heard" (1).

By the 1880's ecclesiastical bills were almost invariably postponed until near the close of the session, and often failed to secure a hearing (2). Meanwhile the controversy over the election to Parliament of the notorious atheist Bradlaugh highlighted what had been from the start one aspect of the education struggle, and knocked on the head the notion that England was, officially at least, a Christian State. In a leader on the University Tests Bill of 1869, the Times had pointed to the significance of all these developments for the concept of an Established Church.

> "At the opening of modern life, the Church was the dominant power in society, and politics,like everything else, were

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1. Rock, 16 June 1871.

2. See P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, for an account of the difficulties of obtaining legislation.

> regulated in accordance with religious conceptions. In the present day the Church is only admitted as one element among many in the national life, and Government is more and more confined to civil functions. ... Lord RUSSELL, in introducing the Bill last night, said it was founded on the principle that the Universities belong to the nation, and that they ought to be administered for the benefit of the nation at large. ... In former days, [this] would have been regarded as the very justification of the restrictions now attacked. ... By tacit consent, religion has ceased to be regarded as of necessity a matter of public concern, and public men have in practice adopted the principle laid down by Lord MACAULAY, that Governments should in the first instance be guided by temporal objects and civil maxims"(1).

It was, in fact, a different Establishment which stood so firm in 1892 from that which had been under attack a quarter century before. And its justification must be gradually adopted to fit the changing circumstances. At the height of the 1885 crisis, the Spectator put forward the "lower argument for Establishment", abandoning the plea that the duty of the State was to recognise and obey God's law, and basing the defence instead on the necessity of a national creed in the drawing up of laws, and on the service a Church provided for the population(2). The campaign of that year was directed, on both sides, to a great extent, at the pockets of

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1. Times, 20 July 1869.

2. Spectator, 19 September 1885.

the electorate. The Bishop of Durham told the Church Defence Institution that expediency must be the keynote, and the Times agreed that

> "if the Church of England cannot justify itself by works, it will never justify itself on more abstract grounds"(1).

Ryle republished some earlier tracts as a series of Disestablishment Papers, asking what good it would do the poor, Dissenters, the tithepayers, to disestablish the Church. In 1868 the Record had been determined to fight on principle and truth alone. By 1891, the paper was convinced that the best weapon of Church defence must always be the utility of the Church to the nation - though historical arguments should not be ignored(2).

Consequently, each serious attack on the Church was followed by a cry for Church Reform. This had been the reaction, in fact, to the crises of the early 1830's. And now, the fears aroused in Gladstone's first ministry led in 1872 to a meeting in St. James's Hall, intended to combine Churchmen of all schools in a movement for Church Reform as Church Defence(3). This was attended by men as widely representative as Stanley, Lord Lyttelton, Ryle and J.C.Miller. Lord Shaftesbury was to have taken the chair, but after tantrums from Alexander Haldane, editor of the Record, he got cold feet and sent an apology instead, thus pleasing the Guardian, which had feared to attend a meeting led by "so well-known and inveterate

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1. Times, 20 June 1885.
2. Record, 23 October 1891.
3. Record, 19 February 1872.

a partisan"(1). A small conference at Shaftesbury's house in May led to the publication of a Church Reform Declaration, announcing the conditions on which Evangelicals would unite with other Churchmen to secure reforms; of the prayer book, convocation, patronage, dioceses, cathedrals, and the position of the laity(2). Widely signed by Evangelicals, this seems to have achieved no practical result, and by December 1874 Shaftesbury was decrying schemes of united Church reform as a"bag of pretences"(3). Nevertheless, the Conservative victory of that year was followed by a serious attempt, under the leadership of Archbishop Tait, at reform by ecclesiastical legislation, after the example of the thirties(4).

Similarly, after the 1885 election, it was generally felt that the period of grace won for the Church must be used to achieve urgent reforms. A memorial was sent to the Archbishops and Bishops in December, signed by Cambridge Professors and Heads of Colleges, urging reforms in lay-participation, patronage and Church discipline, and this was followed by a clerical address on much the same lines, signed by men as different in shades of Churchmanship as the Rev.R.B. Girdlestone, principal of Wycliffe Hall, and the Rev. J.Llewelyn Davies of Christ Church, Marylebone. Again the Evangelical party published a statement of the reforms which it would unite with other Churchmen to obtain, this time under the auspices of the Clerical and Lay Union, which by then effectively represented Evangelicals of almost every diocese of England and Wales(5). Reforms were suggested in Church patronage, the

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 1 February 1872; Guardian, 7 February 1871.
2. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 4 May 1872; Record, 31 May 1872.
3. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 18 December 1874.
4. See P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, Chapter Eight.
5. Record, 17, 24 September 1886.

powers of parishioners in the appointment of ministers (an attempt to secure the exclusion of ritualists),endowments, the election of bishops, and Sunday services (to allow for mission services). Once more the direct result of all this was small. But again a period of Conservative rule was used by an enterprising archbishop - by now it was Benson - to achieve substantial ecclesiastical legislation(1).

The real significance of these attempts at reform, for the purposes of this argument, lies in their implicit recognition of a need to justify the continued existence of the Establishment. The Church of England remained, but the principle of National Religion had been disestablished. And to all intents and purposes, the legislation on burials and Church rates had disestablished and disendowed the Church at the parish level, as effectively as the education measures had removed one of its major functions. The Church of England, by the end of this period, was seeking a new role, and a new appraisal of its own identity, to accord with its changed position in a changing society.

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1. See A.C.Benson, The Life of Edward White Benson (London 1899), Vol.II, Chapter II.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION: THE CHURCH'S OUTPOST(1).

The control of Education was in a sense crucial to the Establishment. Influence secured in childhood meant a potential influence in adulthood; could be extended also through children to their parents. From its earliest years, the National Society had used its premises to enforce a rigid Church adherence, not only on the pupils themselves, but often on whole families. And if the Church of England must seek justification for her establishment, where more natural than in the mission to teach? Education was intimately bound up, in most minds, with religion, and with the spiritual ethos of the nation(2). The National Church was surely the obvious body to impart it. But if the Church's hold on education was growing increasingly important, it was becoming ever more tenuous. Dissenters too realised the strategic significance of the schoolroom, and their opposition to Church schools and Catechisms bore marks of the bitter experience of such means of proselytism. Though it was failure to fulfil the function, as much as Nonconformist attacks, which in the 1860's threatened the Church's claim to be teacher of the nation.

It was a claim which contradicted, in some respects, the Evangelical view of what Establishment meant. In their concern for the voluntary schools, Churchmen seemed to be seeking, in effect, a sort of concordat with the State. Education was a national responsibility,

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1. Thorold called Church schools "the Church's outposts" in 1892 (C.H.Simpkinson, The Life and Work of Bishop Thorold, London, 1896, 350).

2. See G.F.A.Best, "Religious Difficulties in National Education in England 1850-1870" (Cambridge Historical Journal,Vol.XII no.2, 1956).

but one to be administered quite separately and independently by the Church. And the Church in most instances was firm in resistance to any encroachment by the State on her prerogatives as schoolmistress. At a special National Society meeting in 1839, the Earl of Chichester moved a resolution asserting the indivisibility of education, and the inalienable rights of the Established Church to provide it(1). Church opposition in that year prevented the passing of a bill to make Bible reading without note or comment the sum total of religious teaching in aided schools. It failed to close the newly formed Committee of Council on Education, which in effect committed the State to the partial support - and to some control - of education.

Churchmen were, in fact, divided on the extent to which this was allowable. The National Society was in the middle of the century the scene of acute controversy between High Churchmen and Evangelicals. The question of a conscience clause had caused divisions from the beginning, but it was not until the early fifties that the Committee of Council seriously pressed this, and a management clause to relax the terms of union, on the society. Edward Girdlestone had in 1850 defended the Government's attitude in a pamphlet, The Committee of Council an imaginary enemy, a real friend, and most Evangelicals favoured compliance. The High Church caucus, however, were determined to maintain the rigid clerical control of the schools, and Denison, who dominated the society, pressurised the committee into an uncompromising stand. The result was a stormy annual meeting in May, 1853, and a mass walk-out of three hundred Evangelicals to form a rival body, the Church of England Education Society, on Protestant principles(2).

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1. H.J.Burgess, Enterprise in Education (London, 1958), 78.
2. G.Berwick, "Close of Cheltenham: Parish Pope" (Theology, XXXIX, July-December 1939), 277.

Once started, the new society was content to go "hand-in-hand" with the National Society, concentrating on grants to maintain, rather than build, schools, and on the recruitment and training of teachers (1). In 1865 the chairman, Colquhoun, announced the possibiity of closure due to insufficient support (2); and though the society did in fact continue for many years it was never very large. The whole affair was significant chiefly in bringing to a head the essential difference in attitude between the Evangelicals and the High Church party, which was to affect their policies throughout the period. In schools receiving aid from the Church Education Society,

> .."the Holy Scriptures are the basis of education and form the subject of instruction daily, and ... the religious teaching is in accordance with the Articles and formularies of the Church of England ; the extent to which these formularies are taught being left to the discretion of the local managers"(3).

For Evangelicals Biblical instruction was the one essential. They never felt the same necessity as Tractarians to insist on the unpopular catechism,or to view the schools as "nets to catch children of Dissenters" (4). In 1874, Charles Clayton explained that in the National Schools in Stanhope, "We have deemed it best not to teach the Church Catechism", but to use the Bible alone, with Watt's Hymns for Children, and Curwen's Hymns (5). Evangelicals had practical experience, too, of co-operation with Dissenters in nondenominational education; in the Ragged Schools Union, for example, and the Home and

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1. H.G.Burgess, op.cit.,142-3.
2. Record,5 July 1865
3. Church of England Education Society, Annual Report,1854,7.
4. Record,8 October 1869.
5. Durham County Record Office, Pastoral letter of the Rev.C.Clayton, January 1874, EP/St40.

Colonial Schools Society. Consequently, a greater pliability was open to them, and a possibility of compromise which was denied to the High Church party. It was the latter who controlled the National Society, however. Though names such as Harrowby and Ebury appear among the vice-presidents, Evangelical influence on policy was virtually non-existent. And it was the National Society which, to a great extent, dictated the educational policy of the Church of England.

The controversy flared up again in the 1860's, when the Revised Code of 1862 made the conscience clause a necessary condition of the Parliamentary grant. This code brought great hardship to the voluntary schools in other ways, too, by initiating the system of payment by examination results. It was the Church of England, nevertheless, which received the lion's share of the grant, for the Church was by far the largest provider of elementary education. The National Society claimed in 1869 that, of the 14,709 ecclesiastical districts in England and Wales, only 338 were completely destitute of Anglican day schools, in the near vicinity, if not in the parish itself (1). Many of these schools, presumably, were receiving no government grant. In the Blue Book of that year were recorded 8,000 State aided and inspected schools, of which 6,000 were National (2).

But this covered only half the parishes of England and Wales, and only a third of all children between the ages of six and twelve attended these schools regularly. Though voluntary agencies had done much - too much to be now ignored - they had barely scratched the surface. The Reform Act of 1867 brought home with a jolt the urgent necessity for some drastic new breakthrough in education, such as

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1. National Society, Annual Report,1869,8.
2. Marjorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education; 1870 to the present day (London, 1963),18.

only the State could finance.

> "The fact evidently is that the State cannot now repudiate the aid of the Church, while the Church cannot retain its hold on Education, still less increase it, without the aid of the State. The two must work together, unless there is to be a wanton waste of resources, and the problem of the hour is to find the method for their full co-operation"(1).

But in 1869 the National Education League was founded in Birmingham, to secure a system of universal, compulsory, free and unsectarian education, financed by local rates and government grants, and under public management. And at the first general meeting Chamberlain affirmed that

> "Our choice is between the education of the people and the interests of the Church. Education to be national must be unsectarian"(2).

Voluntaryists sprang to the defence, and a meeting in Manchester Town Hall in November, presided over by Lord Harrowby, inaugurated the National Education Union, to secure the primary education of every child on principles of morality and religion. It was by no means a Church society; the committee included such prominent Nonconformists as Edward Baines and James Rigg. It might be fitting at this stage, to remark that the educational conflicts of this period provided valuable experience, to the various religious parties, of the possibilities and the limitations of co-operation with men of differing views in defence of a common object. The Record urged the necessity of a wide-minded, generous policy to ensure the adhesion of the Dissenters(3). The battle-cry must be religion, and not the Church of England.

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1. Times, 28 May 1869.

2. J.L.Garvin, The Life of Joseph Chamberlain (London, 1932), I, 98.

3. Record, 12 November 1869.

> "The fundamental point to which we must adhere is this, that education without Christian instruction would be worse than useless. Let this be kept as a foundation principle in all the discussions which may be coming upon us. Other points are minor, but this is essential. Secular education is a misnomer; and the day in which any such policy shall be adopted will be a bad day for our country"(1).

In other words, the Evangelical party wanted to fight on a question which they knew would divide the League, and not on the straight question of denominational versus national provision of education, on which their opponents were united, and which was the point more obviously at issue.

The Elementary Education Bill which Forster introduced in the House of Commons on 17 February 1870 ignored, to some extent, the demands of both League and Union. The country was to be divided into districts; the educational deficiencies in each assessed; and a year's grace given to voluntary agencies to supply the needs. Where they failed, local boards would be elected, with power to make full provision of education by levying rates, to establish new schools or to subsidise voluntary ones. Questions of compulsion, and of religious instruction, were to be left to the local authorities. The allocation of government grants was to take no account of religious teaching(2).

The bill was, at first, cautiously but well received in the Commons and by the press. The Rock gave it a modified approval; the

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1. Record, 6 September 1869.
2. See Marjorie Cruickshank, op.cit.,22-34; J.W.Adamson, English Education 1789-1902 (Cambridge, 1930),353-360; for full accounts of the progress of the bill.

Record felt that it was "better than our fears if not as good as our hopes"; the Times praised its comprehensive spirit; while Dixon, though with reservations, welcomed the measure on behalf of the League(1). But Evangelicals still felt some misgivings about the ability of the Church schools to hold their own. The Record urged that the Revised Code be cut back to what it had been in 1860, aid granted towards the expense of sites, and the power given of enforcing compulsory attendance. Crippled as they were at present, the voluntary schools could not face competition with the proposed boards(2). While, on the other side, the Dissenters soon decided that the measure, as it stood, was much too favourable to the Church of England. A Central Nonconformist Committee was formed, with headquarters in Birmingham, to put forward their objections. A major one was the Government's evasion of the religious controversy. At the second reading on March 14, Dixon moved

> "that no Bill afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious Education in schools supported by public funds to be determined by local authorities".

He had small support, however, and withdrew the resolution after three nights, on Gladstone's assurance that the religious clauses would be amended.

Both sides conducted an active propaganda campaign, with pamphlets,

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1. Rock, 22February 1870; Record, 21 February 1870; Times, 18 February 1870; Henry Foreman, "Nonconformity and Education in England and Wales,1870-1902"(M.A.thesis, London,1967),42.
2. Record, 7 March 1870.

demonstrations, deputations to the Prime Minister. A League meeting in St. James's Hall on March 25 declared open war on the 'dominant creed' and the denominational system(1). The Union replied with a meeting in the same place on April 8, chaired by Lord Shaftesbury, and representing a wide variety of religious interests, from the ultra-High Church Beresford Hope, to former League member Thomas Hughes. Shaftesbury placed the defence squarely on the Bible, not the interests of the Church of England or any denomination. He denied the reality of the religious difficulty as a practical experience in Christian service; it was only

> "in the fury of debate charity is overthrown, people who approximated closely are all at once wide as the poles assunder, and then arise discord, confusion, suspicion, and fear, and an apparently irreconcilable enmity between different forms of the Protestant religion"(2).

Nonconformists, in fact, were bitterly divided on the subject. The Baptist Magazine wanted the Bible in schools, but no sectarian teaching; Edward Miall led a section of Congregationalists who sought to exclude religious instruction completely(3). The latter view was a mihority one, however, comparable in extent of support to the High Church insistence on the full Anglican formularies. Cowper-Temple's amendment, which the Government adopted in June, proposed to conciliate the more moderate majority on both sides. The clause permitted religious teaching in Board schools, but prohibited the use of any

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1. Times, 26 March 1870.

2. Record, 11 April 1870.

3. Baptist Magazine, April 1870; Nonconformist, 13 April 1870;

creed, catechism or tenet peculiar to any sect. A number of other important concessions were made to Dissenters. The provision for aiding denominational schools from the rates, and the proposed building grant, were withdrawn, though an attempt was made to compensate for these losses by an increase in the Government capitation grant, to cover half the maintenance costs (this latter secured largely through Roman Catholic pressure). The period of grace allowed to the voluntary agencies was reduced to six months. A time-table conscience clause stipulated that religious instruction, in all types of state-aided school, could be given only at the beginning or end of the school day.

The Rock, though strongly disapproving of these changes, was ready to accept the bill even in this form, rather than lose a measure calculated to do so much for the 'uneducated poor' (1), and the vast majority of Churchmen shared this attitude. Indeed, the Church of England was not in much of a position to resist - was ready to accept almost anything after the shock of Irish Disestablishment. From a Liberal Government, the very continuance of the voluntary system of education was a welcome settlement.

The bill was, in fact, carried by Conservative votes against the protests of Liberal members. The Nonconformists had opposed the measure all along the line, with Richard, Miall and Bright, leading the attack, and the battle marked the start of an angry feud between Forster and the Dissenters. The Times shared the general view that the Church of England had come out best.

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1. Rock, 28 June 1870.

> "When two systems run side by side, one must have the pull. Can it be doubted which of these two will outbid the other in the struggle for existence ? The denominational school will appear under a double advantage, Half the cost of maintenance being refunded by the State, in addition to subscriptions, it can offer Education at a cheaper rate, and it will be freed from the apparent odium of adding to the local Rates .... It is to be remembered, moreover, that rate-aided schools are not to be established until it is proved that a deficiency exists, or, in other words, denominationalism is encouraged to maintain the start it has already received. We are landed, therefore, in this wonderful conclusion :- The agitation of the last two or three months has been one continued protest against the spread of Denominational Education, and the Bill as amended and re-amended promises to assist what the voice of the nation rejects" (1)

And yet, in retrospect, it seems inevitable that the Education Act of 1870 should have proved the death-knell of Church Education. Although the new board system was in theory supplementary, the very magnitude of the work ahead, and the acknowledged insufficiency of voluntary agencies, foretold that education for all must be based on public finance. The Church of England, relying for the most part on subscriptions to keep the schools going, could not compete with a system drawing on unlimited resources from the rates, however unpopular rates might be.

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1. Times, 18 June 1870.

With the passing of the Act, the struggle was immediately transferred from Parliament to the country. The first task of the Church was to make the best possible use of the six months allowed for school-building. A special appeal was issued by the National Society, and by April 1871, 1,411 grants had been promised, amounting to £63,000, with a contribution of £10,000 from the S.P.C.K. towards the building and enlarging of schools(1). Government assistance was promised for those applying before the close of 1870, though this was not always easy to obtain. The Department of Education at first refused a grant towards enlarging Stanhope School, on the grounds that the accommodation was already sufficient for the Anglican population, and the enlargement could only be required for Dissenters. After much negotiation, however, the necessary aid was eventually given(2).

Many were unwilling to build new schools, fearing that they would not be able to maintain them in the face of rising standards; and the stringent Code of 1871 seemed to add to the difficulties of voluntary schools. In July of that year, the Rock complained of the backwardness of some parishes in availing themselves of this last opportunity (3). Nevertheless, there was a strong feeling that the establishment of School Boards must be prevented wherever possible. Bishop Pelham earnestly entreated the diocese of Norwich to consider well before allowing boards to be set up there. The State was no

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1. Marjorie Cruickshank, op.cit.,39.
2. Durham County Record Office, MSS. Correspondence between Department of Education and Rev.C.Clayton, 1870-1, EP/St.40.
3. Rock, 14 July 1871.

real substitute for the duty of the parents and the Church in regard to education(1).

Where School Boards were found to be necessary, the obvious aim of the Church was to secure a dominant influence. In London, Churchmen and Dissenters combined together on the platform of religious instruction in Board schools. The National Education Union initiated the formation of Ratepayers' School Board Electoral Associations in most London boroughs, and a number of united meetings were held(2). Samuel Morley and the High Church Rev. William Rogers stood together for the City, while the staunchly Evangelical vicar of St.Pancras, Anthony Thorold, joined other Churchmen to act with Dr.Joseph Angus, President of Regents Park Baptist College, in Marylebone. Evangelical Christendom pronounced it

> "one of the best specimens of Christian union in action that has appeared in our time"(3).

Other prominent Evangelical Churchmen to stand were Dr.Miller at Greenwich, Lord Sandon for Westminster, and Sir T.F.Buxton. Lord Shaftesbury was deeply hurt, because no-one invited him to join in.

> "Next, this Election for the School-Board is active energetic, and very demonstrative of desire 'to choose the best men'! Not a Deputation, not a request, not an expression of sympathy have I had. One hundred & fifty candidates all of them boast that

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1. J.T.Pelham, A charge delivered.....at his visitation in 1872 (London, 1872), 20.
2. National Education Union, First Annual Report, 1870, 24; Times, 1 November 1870.
3. Evangelical Christendom, December 1870, 361.

they appear in obedience to entreaties! I ask one 'Tho every Lass has her spark, there is nobody coming to me'!

Tho I could not have accepted the post, pressed as I am, by business & age, I should have liked the tribute to my long services!

But no - the Public think that I have rendered none. And, perhaps, they are right"(1).

The election was an outstanding victory for the supporters of religion in schools, who secured 36 of the 49 seats. Twenty-six of the returned members were Churchmen, 20 were Nonconformists, while the Roman Catholics made skilful use of the system of cumulative voting to gain 3 seats. Miller, Thorold, Buxton and Lord Sandon were all elected.

In Manchester, as in London, the polls were a scramble, with 44 candidates standing for 15 seats. Here too, a Ratepayers' School Board Electoral Association was instituted(2). A last minute attempt was made to organise a Church party: five 'Protestant Episcopalians' were put together under one ticket, a figure 3 after each name, on placards proclaiming "Vote for Bible Education and save your rates". These candidates, and two Wesleyans, had the backing of the National Education Union. All were elected, and together with the two successful Roman Catholics, they formed an essentially denominational majority, which acted in unison on matters of sectarian importance(3).

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 18 November 1870.
2. National Education Union, First Annual Report, 1870, 23.
3. C.B.Dolton, "The Manchester School Board"(M.Ed. thesis, Durham, 1959), 45, Appendix X.

Even in radical Birmingham, the League suffered defeats at the first board election, owing to insufficient organisation. The Liberals secured a majority of votes, but wasted thousands by putting forward 15 candidates. Only 6 were elected, whereas the Conservatives gained seats for all their 8 nominees, and the one Roman Catholic, Canon O'Sullivan, headed the poll(1). Probably at least one of the Church candidates was an Evangelical: Dr. Wilkinson was Vicar of the Evangelical parish of St.Martin's. The Nonconformists were successful in Leeds, but on the whole demominationalist victories were the pattern throughout the provinces. Churchmen rested well content with their first efforts.

The new Boards faced a situation of great educational destitution, and most of them set to work conscientiously to tackle the problem. But the religious controversy, however it might have been dismissed as a 'platform difficulty', obtruded only too readily.

Clause 74 of the Education Act gave the Boards authority to make education compulsory, and a number of them enacted bye-laws to this effect. This invariably led on to the question of remitting or of paying the fees of those whose parents could not afford the school pence. Provision was made for this in Section 25 of the Act. Until the Boards had built schools of their own, assistance could be given only by the payment of paupers' fees to denominational schools, and this in turn involved the burning issue of aiding voluntary schools from the rates.

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1. Henry Foreman, op.cit., 113-4.

The Manchester Board immediately authorised the payment of paupers' fees, and under the chairmanship of Herbert Birley, Manchester and Salford between them paid more for paupers at denominational schools than the rest of England and Wales put together(1). In London, many months were spent hotly debating the question. John Rodger's motion against any funds being given to denominational schools was defeated on April 19, by the amendment of Canon Cromwell, that the Board should pay the whole or part of the fees of paupers' children to any public Elementary School. This in turn was lost when the previous question was carried by 24 votes to 1(2). A committee of 18 (later 19), including Miller, Thorold and Sandon, had been appointed in February 1871 to consider Clause 74, and their report was presented on June 28(3). The Committee recommended gentle compulsion, and, by a small majority, some provision for the remission and payment of fees, with the proviso that in non-board schools these should not exceed 2d for infants, 3d for older children. Seven members objected to this proviso, including Lord Sandon and Mr. W.H.Smith, who joined Dr.Miller in a reservation insisting on a free choice of school for the parents. On the other side, a reservation against fees being paid to denominational schools was signed by 9 of the committee. It was only after a number of adjournments that compulsory attendance was adopted, and a compromise reached, on November 2, whereby the Board resolved that for the next

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1. C.B.Dolton, op.cit, 27.

2. London School Board, Minutes of Proceedings, I,109-11.

3. Ibid, I,61,172-83.

twelve months each case would be dealt with on its own merits, "without prejudice to the principles involved on either side"(1). The following year this arrangement was made permanent, and the religious controversy thus evaded (2).

The great centre of the conflict was Birmingham, where each year saw clashes between the Conservative majority on the Board, who sanctioned payments under the clause, and the Radical Town Council which refused to levy the necessary rate. In 1873 the Board applied for, and obtained, a mandamus at the Queen's Bench, but this could not be enforced (3). Insignificant in itself - in its six years of operation, only £18,000 was spent under it (4) - the clause soon became the rallying cry for Nonconformist attacks on the Education Act.

Dissenting opposition came to a head with the great Nonconformist Conference held at Manchester in January 1872, to consider the Government's Education policy and the relations of Nonconformity with the Liberal party. Here was inaugurated the Nonconformist Revolt, some effects of which have been discussed in the previous chapter(5). Here 1900 delegates accepted the new policy statement prepared by the League's executive committee, demanding universal school boards and secular education. Here resolutions were passed protesting against the payment of public money to denominational schools, and

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1. Ibid, I,305,324.
2. Ibid, II, 655-7.
3. Marjorie Cruickshank, op.cit.,42-3.
4. Henry Foreman, op.cit.,116.
5. Supra, 34-6.

urging the repeal of Clause 25(1). John Candlish introduced a bill to repeal the clause, but was defeated in the Commons by an alliance of Liberals and Conservatives. Dixon's motion of censure on the Education Act was also defeated. Forster's proposal, in the Education Act Amendment Bill of 1873, to transfer the responsibility for payment of the fees to the Boards of Guardians, was vigorously opposed, both by the Nonconformists and also by such denominational supporters as the Manchester School Board(2) and was eventually dropped. Richard's bill to repeal Clause 25, in 1874, was equally unsuccessful.

The Record did have some sympathy with objections to the clause, which, in Liverpool at least, involved Protestant feeling against Roman Catholicism, as well as the Church-Dissent issue(3). But on the whole the Evangelical party, and the denominationalists generally, insisted that the Unsectarians were, in the name of conscience, depriving parents of the right to choose schools according to their own religious convictions.

> "The very men who have declaimed the loudest on the rights of conscience are the foremost to ignore all consciences and inconveniences but their own"(4).

Whilst the Times had few illusions as to the cause of Nonconformist discontent.

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1. Henry Foreman, op.cit., 120; Nonconformist, 31 January 1872.
2. See R.W.Dale, The Elementary Education Act (1870) Amendment Bill and the Political Policy of Nonconformists (Birmingham,1873); C.B.Dolton, op.cit.,72-3.
3. Record, 16 June 1873.
4. Record, 20 October 1871.

> "...Their movement is nothing more or less than a jealous assault on the existing preponderance of the Church of England as an educational agency"(1)

The reply of the National Education Union to the Manchester Conference was a meeting in St. James's Hall on 1 March 1872, presided over by Lord Shaftesbury, who claimed that Clause 25 was "the charter of the poor man's right", and appealed to "the religious Nonconformists in this realm" to come forward in defence of the Bible(2). He had placed his finger accurately on the League's weak spot. United the Dissenters might be, on more straightforwardly denominational issues, such as Clause 25; the question of religious instruction would always prove divisive. In May 1872, a declaration appeared, signed by nearly 600 Nonconformists, including Spurgeon, Stoughton and Samuel Morley, protesting against the exclusion of the Bible from public elementary schools. Evangelical Churchmen rejoiced, and Dean Close, at a Bible Society meeting, urged a closer union with such men.

> "...Whatever views they took of Church doctrine or of the union between Church and State, for God's sake let them be one on this great question. It was life and death in the struggle against infidelity or Popery, therefore let them unite together, and let the Bible have free course everywhere and always, and never allow it to be a muzzled book and put into the corner for the sake of anything. (Cheers.)"(3).

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1. Times, 25 January 1872.
2. Record, 4 March 1872.
3. Record, 13 May 1872.

In 1873 came two important demonstrations in favour of religious education; in Manchester on Easter Monday, and in St.James's Hall, London, on November 6. The latter saw a coalition of Evangelicals and Ritualists; Lords Shaftesbury and Beauchamp, Canons Miller and Gregory, for once on the same platform(1).

The battle over the Bible, transferred by the Education Act to the School Boards, was, in fact, a major issue of their early years. The Record was confident that most of the Boards were pledged to introduce it in the schools(2), but mere Bible reading was not enough. While not as concerned as High Churchmen to press Anglican formularies, the Evangelical party were very anxious to ensure definite Scriptural teaching.

In March 1871, after some opposition and amendment, the London School Board passed, by 38 votes to 3, W.H.Smith's resolution

> "That in the schools provided by the Board the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion, as are suited to the capacities of the children"...(3).

Provision was made at the meeting of July 26, on Lord Sandon's motion, for prayers and hymns(4). Thorold had earlier suggested that the Committee on the Scheme for Education select a course of Bible readings, but this had been defeated in March by a large majority(5).
Sandon now moved

> "that the arrangements for such 'Religious observances'

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1. Record, 7,10 November 1873.
2. Record, 27 January 1871.
3. London School Board, Minutes of Proceedings, I,81.
4. Ibid,224.
5. Ibid.,96.

> be left to the discretion of the Managers of each School, with the right of appeal to the Board by Teacher, Managers, Parents, or Ratepayers of the District",

and this was carried by 24 votes to 5(1). It is worth noting here that the Evangelical party men on the first Board made no attempt at a united policy. They often appear on different sides on the division lists, and on this occasion neither Miller nor Thorold was present.

On the second Board, High Churchmen pressed for further regulations on religion. Prebendary Irons moved, on 27 September 1876, that it was lawful under the 1870 Act, and held by the Board to be desirable, that the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments be taught in Board schools(2), to be defeated by an overwhelming majority. In the absence of State inspection of religious instruction, Dr. Barry and the Church party urged that the Board provide its own. This was strongly opposed by the secularists, however, who were backed by the Central Nonconformist Committee. Eventually, in January 1873, a compromise was reached whereby the Quarterly School Returns should include reports from the Board's Inspectors on "the Subjects taught in each School"(3). The following year it was decided that the teachers should every month present to the Board their syllabus of religious instruction, and a record of the previous month's lessons(4).

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1. Ibid.,224-5.
2. Ibid., VI,1226.
3. Ibid.,III, 146.
4. Ibid,,IV,440.

As a further boost to the cause of religion, Francis Peek, a member of the Board, offered £500 to provide examinations and prizes for pupil teachers and scholars(1). This caused an uproar, with memorials from a number of Nonconformist bodies protesting against such blatant endowment of religious belief, and a prolonged argument on the Board itself. Finally, after much ill-feeling, the matter was referred to the School Management Committee, who drew up a scheme for carrying out Peek's proposal(2). The following year Peek renewed the gift, and in 1876 he joined with the Religious Tract Society to establish a permanent fund to provide annual prizes for religious knowledge(3). The R.T.S. gave similar prizes of Bibles to other Boards, including Bristol, and most of the Devon boards(4).

The School Boards of Birmingham and Manchester represented the two extremes at this time. For Manchester, an elaborate syllabus of graded religious teaching was prepared in 1874 by the Evangelical Joseph Nunn(5). A special Inspector was appointed by the Board, and examinations held annually(6). In Birmingham, the Liberals gained control at the election of 1873, and introduced a set of regulations divorcing religious from secular education, but allowing voluntary agencies to give religious instruction two mornings a week, on the

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1. Ibid., IV, 401-2.
2. Ibid., IV, 748-9, 351.
3. Ibid., VI, 631-2, 672.
4. Religious Tract Society, Annual Report, 1878, 3.
5. Marjorie Cruickshank, op.cit.,44.
6. Parliamentary Papers, 1888, XXXVI, 138 (852).

payment of rent to the Board. Dale established a Religious Education Society to do this work, which began hopefully, Churchmen and Wesleyans would have nothing to do with it, however, and lack of support made it difficult to supply teachers. By the end of 1876, the Board was providing education for 15,690 children, only 9,354 of whom were reached by the society(1). To the Evangelical party, secular education was not education. Dean Close attacked the Birmingham scheme in letters to the Times, and the Record, surprisingly enough, asserted the inadequancy of voluntary agencies(2). The experiment did not last long. At the 1879 election a compromise was arranged, whereby the Conservatives withdrew three candidates, to avoid a contest and give the 'Liberal Six Hundred' a majority of one, on condition that daily Scripture reading was restored, without note or comment(3).

By July 1875, 829 School Boards had been elected in England and Wales. A Parliamentary Return of that year showed that 585 had made no provision for religious instruction; but only 41 of these had any schools as yet, 29 of which were in Wales. A purely secular policy was clearly unpopular, but Boards were equally wary of anything approaching Churchism. Of the 244 providing for religious observance, only 169 added any actual teaching to the Bible reading and prayers, and very many stressed that no attempt must be made to detach children from any particular denomination(4).

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1. Henry Foreman, op.cit., 132-3.
2. Times, 19,21,25,28,31 January 1876, for the controversy between Close, Dale and Chamberlain; Record, 29 January 1877.
3. Record, 17 November, 15 December 1879.
4. Parliamentary Papers, 1875, LVIII.

In 1874, Lord Sandon was appointed vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education. On 18 May, 1876, he introduced in the House of Commons the government bill to amend the Education Act of 1870. Its chief feature was the gradual introduction of indirect compulsion.

All parties by now agreed that measures for the provision of education were of relatively small value without some means of enforcing attendance. As early as 1869, the Rock had declared its unanimity with the League on this point(1). Many Boards, like London and Manchester, had taken advantage of their compulsory powers. To Nonconformists, the obvious means of securing compulsion was by the universal establishment of School Boards, and Dixon introduced bills to that effect in 1874 and 1875, but without success. Churchmen feared the threat this would bring to the voluntary schools. The Record urged that the friends of religious education press for compulsory powers to be given to the denominational, as well as the Board, schools, as being a recognised part of the national system of education(2).

Lord Sandon in 1874 had given his unreserved sanction to the princpile of compulsion, though his ministerial office forced him to vote against Dixon's bill. He now affirmed his conviction that

> "if the Government were to propose the universal establishment of School Boards in order to secure the regular attendance of children, they would sound the death knell of every voluntary school in the kingdom, and lead to that which I think the whole

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1. Rock, 3 August 1869.

2. Record, 16 October 1874.

country abhors and detests - a general system of secular education. I put aside, therefore, at once and forever, the proposition of universal School Boards for meeting the difficulty"(1).

The bill empowered town councils and Boards of Guardians, in areas where there was no School Board, to pass bye-laws for enforcing school attendance, and repealed the Agricultural Children Act. No person would be allowed to employ any child under ten years old, and no child between the ages of ten and fourteen was to be employed without a certificate of proficiency in the three R's, or of 250 attendances in each of the five preceeding years, in not more than two elementary schools. Other provisions were made for strengthening the voluntary schools by increased grants to those in poorer districts, raising the limit from 15/- to 17/6.

Nonconformists strongly objected to the denominational flavour of the bill. On the other hand, the Record, while praising Sandon's cautious, steady advance, was disappointed in the amount of aid given to the Church. So were the paper's correspondents - Canon Clayton in particular(2). Two meetings of the National Education Union, on 15 and 22 June, passed a series of resolutions to be moved as amendments to the bill. They included an interpretation of the 1870 Act to allow the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments to be taught in Board schools(3). Cowper Temple

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1. Hansard, 3rd series,CCXX, 839-43; CCXXIX,929-52.
2. Record, 22 May, 2 June, 1876.
3. The 1876 Elementary Education Act. A copy of Resolutions passed at a National Education Meeting 15th and 22nd June 1876 and Amendments placed on the Notice Paper of the House of Commons (London, 1876).

pressed this in the Commons, and in the Lords the Archbishop of Canterbury induced the Government to agree(1). The Record had long urged this as a basis, and the paper seized the opportunity to bemoan the earlier shortsightedness of High Churchmen in rejecting what they now so eagerly grasped(2). Under pressure from Lord Montagu and the Roman Catholics, backed by Beresford Hope's High Church party, Clause 25 was repealed, and the Board of Guardians obliged to pay fees to denominational schools.

> "And thus we have another instance of the power of the Ultramontane party to shape English legislation to Roman ends!"(3).

So commented the Rock, which felt that Catholics would gain most from the arrangement. A further amendment made provision for the dissolution of School Boards on the wishes of two thirds of the ratepayers.

The Act, as passed, was almost wholly designed to aid the Church, and as such could not fail to exasperate Dissenters. But the help given was small. The Record, glad of what had been achieved, yet felt that more might have been done.

> "Looking back on the long-continued debates on the Bill, we must repeat our regret that the Government declined to touch the question of additional security to religious education in Board schools. A great opportunity has been lost"(4).

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1. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline,79.
2. Record, 28 June 1876.
3. Rock, 11 August 1876.
4. Record, 14 August 1876.

Evangelical Christendom, expressing its disappointment with the Act, took occasion to make an appeal to the Evangelical party.

> "It would be a serious mistake were any dislike or suspicion of the School Board system to induce Evangelical Churchmen, instead of bringing their influence to bear on its improvement, to ally themselves with those who oppose it with undisguised hostility, mainly because it cannot be made the vehicle of imparting to the children of the poor in this country that kind of training which is both designed and adapted to bring them into subjection to priestly influence, and thus prepare them in due time for the recognition of the authority of that Church which styles itself infallible, and makes religion to consist, not in submission of the heart to God, but in the slavish prostration of the intellect to the ecclesiastical tyranny and supremacy of men"(1).

The main concern of Churchmen, it was true, was with their own schools, and their policy on the School Boards was often aimed more at lessening the competition than at improving standards. Elections were fought on a platform of keeping the school-rate down; and the extravagence of the Boards, threatening as it did the Church schools, which had no such resources to draw upon, was a constant source of criticism. The Record and Christian Observer blamed the attitude

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1. Evangelical Christendom, September 1876.

of the 'advanced' Church party for the increasing identification of the Church with opposition to the Boards(1). But in Manchester it was the Evangelical Joseph Nunn, Rector of St.Thomas's, who led the policy of obstruction.

He was elected to the second Board in 1873, and devoted most of his time, in alliance with the Roman Catholic party, to hindering the Board's activities. In 1876 they opposed a proposal to establish some free schools, and though this was passed by the Board itself, strong pressure from outside led the Education Department to give an unfavourable decision(2). Nunn withdrew from the election of that year, and he was defeated in 1879. While out of office he conducted an active campaign in the press against the Board's expenditure. On his re-election in 1882, he began a series of personal attacks on Herbert Birley and Thomas Dale, who he felt were not giving sufficient support to the Church. In May 1883, Nunn alleged that Dale had disqualified himself for membership by letting rooms to the Board. He attacked the Interest Fund and the Stores Committee, which bought books etc. cheaply and sold them at a profit to the schools, with a view to raising money for school prizes. Nunn opposed every proposal to build a new school, and sent letters and memorials to the Education Department and the local press.

His actions caused considerable ill-feeling on the Board, which in October 1884 replied with a vote of confidence in Birley and

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1. Record, 24,27 November 1876; Christian Observer, January 1877,86-7.
2. C.B.Dolton, op.cit.,93. All the information on Joseph Nunn's activities on the Manchester School Board was taken from this thesis.

Dale. Nunn's publicity campaign succeeded in ensuring Dale's defeat at the 1885 election, however. Nunn headed the poll, and was elected Chairman of the Board, with a majority of two. In this position he tried to restrain the hitherto progressive education policies of the Manchester School Board. He became increasingly unpopular, however, and often had to resort to double-voting to achieve his objects. In October 1887 he voted in isolation in an attempt to rescind an earlier motion to establish three night schools. In November 1888, Birley came top of the poll, and resumed his place as chairman. Nunn, though second, was over 11,000 votes behind. His policies had had little more than nuisance value, and had been of no real help to the Church. The Board pressed on unhindered now with the work ahead.

Canon Charles Clayton, Rector of Stanhope, Co. Durham, and Chairman of the Barrington Church of England Schools in that district, conducted an equally active campaign from outside the Stanhope Board. He had opposed its establishment in 1874, on the grounds that the ecclesiastical parish had sufficient school accommodation, and that a Board for the civil parish would mean paying rates for schools in another area. In subsequent years he bombarded the Department of Education with letters of protest against the Board's activities, which threatened the Anglican schools(1). In 1875 his objection to the proposal of a new school in Stanhope led the Department to pronounce such a school to be unnecessary, and to refuse permission. He had not saved the Church from competition though. The Wesleyans,

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1. Durham County Record Office. MS. Correspondence, chiefly between the Education Department and Rev. C.Clayton, concerning the Barrington schools, EP/St40.

who were predominant on the Board, built a school there instead. Clayton complained that the attendance officer was trying to make children leave Heathery Clough Church School in favour of the Board School, and as a result some alteration was made in the minutes of the Board. His attacks had little effect in bettering the position of the National Schools, however. In 1875 the managers had been driven to the expedient of charging an extra penny a week in the boys' and girls' schools, to be paid back to scholars who put in 250 attendances and passed the June examination, as an incentive to attend. Difficulties increased, here as elsewhere, as the Board system developed and expanded.

In London the main fears of Lord Shaftesbury were for the future of the Ragged Schools. These came under attack for their inefficiency as early as 1872(1). In December 1875, parents summoned before the magistrate claimed that their children were in attendance at Ogle Street Ragged School. The Board denied that this was an efficient school, and the case led to a controversy in the columns of the Times between Shaftesbury and Sir Charles Reed, Chairman of the Board (2). The Ragged Schools had certainly suffered. In 1870 they had had 32,309 children on the rolls. Now there were 9,347(3). Reed denied that 30,000 children had been cut adrift, however. Some 12,000-13,000 had been transferred to the School Board; other schools

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1. Record, 1 November 1872.

2. Times, 23, 28 December 1875; Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 31 December 1875.

3. London School Board, Minutes of Proceedings, VI, 253-4.

had left the Union and now charged fees. Only 8,500 children were unaccounted for.

On the London School Board itself, it was the Ritualist party which took the lead in obstruction, with Canons Gregory and Cromwell following much the same policies as Nunn in Manchester. They were backed in this by the Evangelical Churchmen on the Board. On 25 October 1876, the Statistical Committee presented a report, and proposals for new schools. Joseph Bardsley supported a number of unsuccessful amendments to reduce the amount of accommodation suggested (1). At the next meeting he put forward a motion, seconded by Cromwell, to rescind the resolution to apply for authority to erect a school in the Tower Hamlets division. This was defeated by 22 votes to 14(2). On 8 November a protest was entered on the minutes, signed by sixteen members who objected to the Board's decision to provide 4716 additional school places. They included Bardsley, Gregory, Cromwell and the Wesleyan James Rigg(3). In February 1877, Canon Money led a similar protest, against the acquisition of a site in Greenwich, on the grounds that new schools there could be filled only at the expense of existing ones(4).

As time went on, the Board's expenditure became a general cause of complaint, and a regular subject of Times leaders. By 1879 it had attracted the attention of the House of Commons. At the election of that year, the one cry on all sides was for economy. In 1884 the

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1. Ibid., VI, 1410-14.

2. Ibid., 1440.

3. Ibid., 1603-4.

4. Ibid., VII, 327-331.

Board again came under fire from Gregory, at a grand meeting at the Mansion House. The Record had by this stage assumed a position of neutrality. The past actions of the Board might not accord fully with its professions of friendship towards voluntary schools, but it would be rash to deny the good results achieved.

> "Those who are encouraging discontent at the payment of School Board rates and agitating for retrograde legislation, are encouraging, although no doubt quite unconsciously, a disposition of class narrowness and selfish restriction, fatal to any real national progress and ennoblement, and likely, sooner or later, to involve our social system in irremediable disaster and revolution"(1).

A large section of the Evangelical party had long urged a more constructive co-operation with the school boards. At the Church Congress of 1875, Cadman advised Churchmen against taking up an antagonistic attitude; though neither must they give up their schools unless forced to it(2). The Rock felt that, by 1882,

> "it is too late to discuss the advisability of the system: the nation is committed to it: and will not recede from the position, nor do we see any reason to desire it to do so"(3).

The Record argued that,

> "The necessity of the School Board system being acknowledged, it follows that the Church, as the

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1. Record, 21 March 1884.
2. Record, 8 October 1875.
3. Rock, 20 October 1882.

greatest educational power in the country, should work cordially with the new agency, and that Churchmen should take their share of the work as members of School Boards"(1).

Evangelical members of the London Board were active on administrative committees, and a number of Evangelicals held influential positions as managers of Board schools. Joseph Bardsley, Thorold, Canon Money, the Rev. J.F.Kitto and Eugene Stock, were all on management committees of schools in various parts of London. For some, the elections were fought more against Ritualists than against secularists. The Rock regretted any alliance with High Churchmen, and was more encouraged at the latters' defeat in 1876 than disappointed at the overall failure for the Church(2). Of the eight Anglican clergy returned on that occasion, five were decided Evangelicals. As time went on, however, and the work of the boards became more time consuming and more routine, it became harder to find candidates. The electorate had never, after 1870, given the Boards their full attention. In 1888, the Record complained that Churchmen were regarding the contest ahead with "the philosophical nonchalance of mere spectators"(3).

It was becoming equally difficult to keep up support for the Church schools, in the face of such growing competition. In 1878 the position was still hopeful. In the year ending 31 August 1877, the Church had provided additional school accommodation for 65,790,

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1. Record, 19 October 1881.

2. Rock, 8 December 1876.

3. Record, 19 October 1888.

spending £23,686, whilst Nonconformity had spent only £2,312 on school extension(1). In 1881, the Record felt confident that Forster's Education Act would not, after all be fatal to the voluntary schools. Their numbers had risen from 8,281 to 14,181, and transfers to the Boards had proved the exception not the rule(2). But by 1885, the Churchman was complaining that no fewer than 750 Church schools had been abandoned, and appealing to Churchmen to continue to support them as a missionary trust(3). The more stringent demands of the new Education Code, introduced by Mundella in 1881, to take effect from the following spring, made it essential for voluntary schools to raise their standards in order to receive the government grant.

The Rock in June 1883 urged the wisdom of organising the Church schools in large centres, as at Huddersfield, under the direction of a school inspector paid by the schools jointly, in an effort to increase efficiency and cut down costs(4). From the 1880's the National Schools began to merge into district societies. The Record, though unwilling to see Protestant Churchmen subscribing to schools which were "Romish in all but name", felt that some sort of combination was necessary. Though, in October, 1890, the paper pointed out that all the proposals for reorganisation started at the wrong end. What the Church schools most needed was money(5). Bishop Thorold blamed the apathy of the clergy,(6), but the Church's supporters

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1. Record, 5 June 1878 (quoting the National Church).
2. Record, 5 September 1881.
3. Churchman, July 1885, 250-6.
4. Rock, 29 June 1883.
5. Rock, 31 October 1890.
6. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit.,349-50.

were having difficulties all along the line. Mundella's Act of 1880 had established direct compulsion throughout the country, and there followed increasing demands that education should be free. In 1885 this was made a main part of Chamberlain's programme. The loss of the school pence would be disastrous to the voluntary schools. Evangelicals denied, too, the implications that compulsory schooling should necessarily be free. Clothing and food were compulsory, after all, but must be paid for(1).

Cardinal Manning's agitation at the General Election of that year was largely responsible for Salisbury's appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Education Acts. The Cross Commission was intended to make recommendations favourable to the voluntary schools, and its membership was weighted accordingly. It included Manning,Beauchamp, Gregory, James Rigg and Sandon, now third Earl of Harrowby, who was to succeed Shaftesbury as president of the Bible Society. Nevertheless, dissensions were so strong that the final report was presented, in June 1888, followed by an opposing minority report signed by eight of the twenty-three members(2). The majority believed that the voluntary system should be maintained and that this could only be done by raising the 17/6 limit on the Parliamentary Grant, and by aiding the voluntary schools from the rates. These suggestions were strongly repudiated by the minority. Both reports condemned the system of payment by results. The majority felt that the payment of school fees by parents should continue, and the minority affirmed that

"Whether free education be or be not desirable,

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1. J.W.Diggle, Gratuitous Education (London, 1885); Rock, 30 October 1885.

2. Parliamentary Papers 1888, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII.

> no practical scheme for universal free schools, consistent with the continuance of the voluntary school system, has been presented to us".

The recommendations of the majority report so alarmed the Nonconformists, that they sank their differences in a united Conference at Exeter Hall in November (1). Many Anglicans, however, feared that rate-aid would inevitably lead to demands for the public management of voluntary schools. The National Society Conference decisively rejected the proposals for assistance from the rates. The Record wholeheartedly supported the decision.

> "If the demand were successful it would, we are persuaded, lead to endless confusion, bickering, recrimination and disappointment. If it were refused the Church would incur scarcely less odium, combined in that case with the dejection that comes with defeat. Instead of grasping at this shadow, let Churchmen set themselves vigorously to increase their influence upon the School Boards of the Country, and make the best terms possible for their principles there, whilst working harder than ever to keep up their own schools in their integrity, their efficiency, and their independence"(2).

In 1890 the Education Code was modified to relax the system of payment by results, giving more weight to the average attendance. By 1891, both political parties had accepted the principle of free education. The Bishop of Rochester had, the previous April,

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1. Henry Foreman, op.cit.,139.

2. Record, 9 November 1888.

urged the Church to concede this (1), and the Record now felt it was too late to oppose(2). The best chance for the Church, if some such legislation was to be inevitable, was to receive it under a Conservative Ministry. The Education Act of 1891 allowed a fee grant of 10/- per child in lieu of fees, which worked out at 3d a week. The schools were not compelled to accept the grant, but in areas where a free school was not provided, a school board was to be established. To the Nonconformists the Act seemed like an outright endowment of denominational schools. But for those Anglican schools, almost a third of the total, which charged 4d or more a week in fees, the prospect was one of financial loss which they could ill afford. Fresh appeals were made in the Church press for more new expedients, more federation of local schools, more money.

In spite of the gloomy outlook, the Church of England was still, at this time, the major educator of the population. Church schools accounted for 11,922 of the 14,784 voluntary schools receiving government grants in 1890, whilst there were as yet only 4,714 Board schools (3). On the other hand, the average attendance was only 1,682,167 in the Anglican schools, as opposed to 1,468,892 in Board schools. The Anglicans were spending £1.16.10½d. for each child; of which 17.5¼d. came from the annual grant, 10.8d from fees and 6.11½d. from voluntary contributions: the Boards spent £2.5.11½d: 18.5¾d. from the annual grant, 9.1d. from fees, and 18.0½d. from the rates.

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1. Record, 25 April 1890.

2. Record, 13 February 1891.

3. Marjorie Cruickshank, op.cit.,190.

Church schools were increasing - in 1870 they had numbered only 6,382- but the Boards' rate of advance was much quicker, and the Church was too hard pressed maintaining the existing schools to allow any expansion.

On the Boards, at any rate, Churchmen had succeeded in making the best terms possible for their principles. The Cross Commission returns showed that 1823 of the 2170 School Boards in England and Wales had some form of religious observance or instruction(1). A slightly larger number -1861 - claimed to have Bible readings, 1387 of which allowed some note or comment. A more or less detailed syllabus had been drawn up in 1087 of the Boards, many of which followed the London or Manchester pattern. In some cases, however, the diocesan or even the National Society syllabus was used. In only 407 Boards was an examination held in religious knowledge, but in 260 of these it was taken by the diocesan inspector, and the local clergy were frequently mentioned as taking some part. Clearly the suspicion between Church and Board had not prevented Churchmen from securing a certain amount of influence over the policies of the School Boards.

Evangelicals had grown weary of the struggle, however, and so had most Churchmen. It was idle for the Church of England to hope for any real significance in the field of primary education: had been so, really, since 1870. The State had taken over any claims to the function, and the Church had been relegated to providing a part only of the education of the nation. The following years merely saw the situation developing to its logical conclusion. If the Church was seeking a role, it would have to look elsewhere.

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1. Parliamentary Papers, 1888, XXXVI, Appendix.

> "The Middle Classes are the core (so to speak) of the nation's life. Whatever their moral and spiritual condition, such in the main will be the moral and spiritual state of the nation"(1).

If education was important as a potential means of reaching the masses, it was equally important in securing influence with the middle classes, who in the nineteenth century had become similarly estranged from the Church. Here it was High and Broad Churchmen who took the lead. Evangelicals, unwilling to join with men of differing views, were relatively slow to branch out on their own.

Woodard's pamphlet, A plea for the Middle Classes, in 1848, launched a scheme for establishing schools in three grades, to suit the various needs and pockets of the middle classes. In 1848 the College of St. Nicholas was founded at Lancing; this was followed by St. Saviour's, New Shoreham, in 1849; and later by St. John's Hurstpierpoint (2). There was a possibility, at one stage, that the Evangelical party would support the schools. At the end of 1861, Woodard organised a successful meeting in Oxford, at which Francis Jeune, who was then Vice-Chancellor, took the chair, and Bishop Wigram of Rochester played a prominent part. But charges of Popish doctrine and practices led Jeune to withdraw his support, and caused a spate of bitter controversy in the press(3). Woodard himself was a very High Churchman, but not extreme; he was backed, however, by a very extreme English Church Union. Evangelicals left the scheme, in disgust, to the Ritualist party.

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1. Church Association Paper, The Woodard Schools (London 1868), 33.
2. J.A.Adamson, English Education, 1789-1902 (Cambridge, 1930), 275-6.
3. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 171-2.

In 1866, proposals for an 'unsectarian' Middle school in London drew favourable comment, until the Record realised that this meant 'non-religious'(1). The start of negotiations, in 1867, for a new Woodard school at Denstone, drove Evangelicals to take more positive action. At the Church Association Conference on 13 May 1868, one of the main topics was the objectionable character of the Woodard schools. The result was a central committee, organised in London, to consider the best means of establishing evangelical schools on a similar pattern. It included Edward Auriol, J.C.Colquhoun (chairman of the Church Association) and Rev. J.C.Ryle. Appeals were issued immediately for financial support, to prevent Middle Class Education becoming a Tractarian monopoly(2). But the Endowed Schools Commission, set up by Forster's Act of 1869, made the position of such schools very doubtful, and the committee was soon disbanded through lack of interest.

When the subject next came up it had been taken in hand by the local Evangelical associations. A first grade school already existed, in Trent College. In 1879 a second grade school was begun at Ramsgate, in connection with the South Eastern Clerical and Lay Alliance; financed largely through the generosity of the Dean of Canterbury, Robert Payne Smith (3). The college began with 5 boys; in 1880 there were 28, and by 1886 there were 210(4). New buildings were erected in 1884 and 1885. It was necessary to make constant appeals for funds,but by now the idea had caught on. An article in

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1. Record, 15 June 1866.

2. Church Association Papers, The Woodard Schools (London, 1868).

3. Record, 22 October 1879.

4. Rock, 19 March, 2 April, 1886.

the Churchman, in September 1882, urged the setting up of a central fund(1). The Central Committee of the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations was already pressing for more schools. One at Matlock Bath was under consideration; and a resolution was passed in support of the movement at a meeting in Cambridge on 19 April(2). In 1883 a fund was started to raise money for a school in the West of England, and as late as 1890 a proposal was made to build one in Yorkshire(3).

Little more was heard of these later schemes, however. Attempts to whip up Evangelical interest in the movement were relatively unsuccessful. The Dean Close Memorial Fund attracted attention because of Close's personal reputation as an evangelical and an educationalist, and a school was erected at Cheltenham with little difficulty. A grandly titled company formed in 1891 - the Church of England Evangelical College and School Company - with directors including the banker Sydney Gedge and Rev. W.H.Webb Peploe, now an acknowledged party leader, and shares at £1 each - succeeded in buying Trent College in 1893, and so secured an evangelical succession there. But at the close of the period, the Evangelical party was not really very much better represented, in the education of the Middle Classes, than it had been in 1865.

The gradual abolition of tests made the universities less and less a stronghold of the Church of England. They had never really been Evangelical preserves; though Cambridge was acknowledged, from the turn of the century, as a nerve-centre and nursery of Evangelicalism.

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1. Churchman, September 1882, 442-56.

2. Record. 28 April 1882.

3. Rock, 16 March 1883; Record, 13 June 1890.

Hardman suggests that the Evangelical party's hold on Cambridge was waning in the decade 1855-65, after the death of Simeon in 1836, and the removal of Carus to Winchester in 1851(1). There was a sad lack of rapport, too, between Charles Clayton, Vicar of Holy Trinity, and Perowne, Dean of Corpus, leaders of the school, and evangelical undergraduate life, which centred round the newly formed Daily Prayer Meeting(2). A High Church description, in the Guardian of 17 May 1865, of Church life in Cambridge, gives the impression that the Evangelicals were an impregnable but a declining force.

In the 1870's, however, a new spirit was stirring in Cambridge, and a growing concern among Evangelicals as a whole for the security of Protestantism in the universities.

This coincided with an increasing anxiety to improve the calibre of Evangelicals as individuals in the field. Church attention had for some time been turning to the deficient supply and quality of candidates for the ministry, and a discussion of the subject usually occupied some place on the agenda of the annual Church Congress. This led to a gradual stiffening of the requirements for ordination. In 1874, Westcott's Preliminary Theological Examination was instituted at Cambridge, and by autumn 1884 this was accepted by 31 of the 33 bishops in England and Wales(3).

A number of diocesan theological colleges had been founded, but

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1. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 373-421.
2. J.C.Pollock, A Cambridge Movement (London, 1953),22-5.
3. F.W.B.Bullock, The History of Ridley Hall, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1941), I,70-1, 224.

their High Churchism was greatly distrusted by Evangelicals. Cuddesdon in particular, especially under Bishop Wilberforce, was the centre of much controversy. As late as 1878, Edmund Knox of Merton was urging the Oxford Diocesan Conference to institute an inquiry into the notorious ritualism of the college(1). The Evangelical party felt, nevertheless, that some such institution was very necessary. In 1863 an Evangelical college was established at Highbury, which became the London College of Divinity. This provided for the training of non-graduates; there remained a need for something for university men.

Alongside the demand for better training, was one for some sort of Evangelical College in the Universities. An earlier attempt at this, the undenominational Litton Hall, had been founded in Oxford in 1855, under the auspices of Lord Shaftesbury, but collapsed in 1860 from lack of support(2). The opening of Keble College by the High Church party in 1870 made the lack of institutional Evangelical representation more glaring. Whilst the need for a bulwark against Rationalism was emphasized by the controversy triggered off by the publication, in 1872, of a work entitled Supernatural Religion; an Inquiry into the reality of the Divine Revelation. In 1876 Keble College Chapel was opened, and the Record was moved to protest against Evangelical negligence in the matter of higher education.

> "How [Evangelical men] are to expect a supply of Evangelical clergy recruited from institutions in which Ritualism and Rationalism run riot, it seems hard to comprehend. Yet these are the sources to which apparently they are looking.

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1. Record, 14 October 1878.
2. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 158-62; W.R.Ward, Victorian Oxford (London, 1965),203.

> But there is a larger view of the question. All young men who go to our Universities are not intended for Holy Orders. But still Christian training is an important element in their education which needs to be supplied. As our middle classes are rising in wealth and influence, they should be taken into account..."(1).

A scheme for an Evangelical institution in the universities was already on foot, initiated by Rev. E.H.Carr in two articles in the Christian Observer, in July and August 1875. He blamed the professional ignorance of the clergy for the crisis of Ritualism and Infidelity in the Church, and proposed as a remedy the establishment of an Evangelical hall for ordinands. In March 1876, a meeting was held at the Church Missionary House in Salisbury Square, at which Carr urged the foundation of a hall at Cambridge. No such theological institution existed, as yet, at either university. It would mean great prestige if the Evangelical party for once should lead the way(2). Henry Wright, secretary of the C.M.S., insisted that Oxford too should have a hall; and the meeting agreed that the project should be confined to graduates. A Committee was appointed to confer with the Divinity Professors Westcott and Lightfoot, and after a further general meeting the committee was instructed to prepare a scheme(3). It included Charles Perry, former Bishop of Melbourne, who soon assumed leadership of the movement.

The Record was immediately deluged with correspondence in support of the proposal; but the Rock dismissed it as a "visionary scheme",

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1. Record, 28 April, 29 May, 1876.
2. F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit.,I,88-91,101-2; Christian Observer and Advocate, June 1876, 469-76.
3. F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit., I, 102-4.

too costly to be practicable, and which would only serve to isolate evangelical students from their fellows(1).By the end of April 1877, however, a trust deed had been drawn up for two theological halls, and the names 'Wycliffe Hall' for that at Oxford, 'Ridley Hall' for that at Cambridge, selected by the committee(2). The councils included such well-known Evangelical leaders as Edward Auriol, J.C.Ryle, Professor T.R.Birks and Charles Clayton. In June a meeting to promote the halls was held at the London home of Lord Harrowby.

The Rock had by now come round sufficiently to declare that

> "the promoters of this admirable scheme seem to have attentatively studied the signs of the times, and we have every hope that a rich blessing from on high will rest upon their labours"(3).

But already the movement had run into trouble. The deed of settlement included a statement of the principles on which the halls were to be based, setting forth orthodox evangelical doctrine on the subjects of the atonement, justification by faith, the sacraments, the ministry, and the inspiration of the Scriptures. A declaration of agreement with these, adopted chiefly at the insistence, as it later appeared, of Bishop Perry and Sydney Gedge, was to be signed by every trustee and council member, though not by the principals or tutors(4). The Guardian immediately protested against the narrow party aspect thus given to the whole undertaking(5), and there followed

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1. Rock, 16 June 1876.
2. F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit.,I,111-2. 119-23.
3. Rock, 29 June 1877.
4. Guardian, 11 July 1877; F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit.,I,137.
5. Guardian, 27 June 1877.

a heated debate in the pages of that newspaper. Professors Lightfoot and Westcott dissociated themselves from the policy of doctrinal tests, which had been adopted after their interview with the committee, and of which they strongly disapproved(1). Perry published a long defence in the Christian Observer, and at the same time announced the acquisition of a suitable house in Oxford and some land in Cambridge, and the launching of a Capital and a Guarantee Fund. The former stood at £12,000, and £2,000-£3,000 had been promised for the latter(2).

The Divinity Professors were so perturbed at the limitations imposed on the two halls, that they initiated a broader Clergy Training School, which was established at Cambridge at much the same time as Ridley Hall, and later became Westcott House. In other quarters, the safeguard of an evangelical succession was an advantage. The Church Association Conference, in November 1877, announced its approval of the proposed halls, which now had the backing of all sections of the Evangelical party(3).

On May 28, 1880, the Archbishop of Canterbury so far sanctioned the movement as to preside over a meeting in Lambeth Palace Library in aid of the halls. Bishop Perry, in a brief statement of the object, made no attempt to deny their controversial nature.

> "The projectors of the scheme cannot conceal - on the contrary they distinctly avow - their chief desire to be that, by God's blessing upon these halls, students

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1. Guardian, 4 July 1877.
2. Christian Observer, August 1877, 577-84.
3. Record, 12 November 1877.

for the ministry of the Church of England at our Universities may be preserved from the two prevalent dangers of the age, Sacerdotalism and scepticism, and become imbued with an accurate knowledge of, and sincere love for, the principles of the Reformation"(1).

In 1877 Wycliffe Hall opened, under the principalship of Rev. R.B.Girdlestone, with one student. Progress was slow at first, with far greater opposition here than in Cambridge. In 1878 there were four Oxford men resident at Wycliffe, four in 1879, ten in 1880, three in 1881, and twelve in 1882(2). In 1884 a letter was issued appealing for funds for the hall, which was in financial difficulties(3). But by 1889, when Girdlestone resigned, nearly 150 graduates had passed through Wycliffe Hall, and the Record reported that the new principal, Chavasse, already had the confidence of the junior members of the university(4).

The saintly Handley Moule was appointed principal of Ridley Hall, after much hesitation and diffidence on his part(5). The soil was more fertile here, and by 13 December 1880 Moule was able to record in his diary the prospect of full numbers the following term(6). The opening ceremony was held on 28 January 1881, and three

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1. Record, 31 May 1880; F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit.,I,153, describes this meeting as taking place on 4 June.
2. F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit., I, 170-1.
3. Rock, 23 May 1884.
4. Record, 24 May 1889.
5. F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit., I,141-2. 161-3; Moule's MS. Diary, 19 February, 26,27 July, 1880.
6. Moule's MS. Diary, 13 December 1880.

days later the first eight students came into residence, half of them from Corpus Christi College (1). In October 1882, a new building was opened. By this time, 32 students had been resident in the hall, 17 of whom were already ordained and working in the parishes(2). The following year the new Archbishop of Canterbury agreed to become the first Visitor(3). The October term of 1883 saw a new record, with 22 resident students (4). In a statement of January 1891, Moule reported that some 230 men had passed through Ridley Hall. The great majority of these were in English curacies; nineteen were incumbents in England; one a rector in Ireland. Five had been engaged in theological college work in England; one was master in a Scottish public school. Two were working in Europe, two in Australia, one in Jamaica; while 33 were engaged in missionary work (5).

The halls provided reasonably inexpensive accommodation and some lecture courses for graduate ordinands, who remained attached to their old colleges, and who also attended university lectures. The length of residence varied at first, and few stayed longer than a year (6).

Besides improving the quantity and the quality, though as yet in a relatively small way, of the Evangelical ministry, the

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1. F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit., I, 174-5.
2. Ibid.,197.
3. Ibid.,205
4. Ibid., 206.
5. J.Battersby Harford and F.C.Macdonald, Handley Carr Glyn Moule (London, 1922), 108.
6. F.W.B.Bullock, op.cit., I, 181-2.

theological Halls acted as something of a focal point for Evangelicalism within the universities. Their influence was largely a personal one, due to the high standing and respected character of their principals. In Cambridge especially, where Evangelical life was already strong, Handley Moule was able to provide a needed guiding and restraining hand in the new religious developments of the period.

CHAPTER THREE

THE 'IMMORAL PERIOD' OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY, DOWN TO 1885.

I. RATIONALISM

Within the Church of England, the Evangelical party in 1865 was as much on the defensive against the High and Broad Church Schools, as was the Church itself against Nonconformist attack. The Gorham Judgement of 1851 had established the validity of the Evangelical position; but Evangelicals believed that theirs was the only true interpretation of the Church's doctrine - and in the Protestantism of the Church of England, claimed the Rock and others, lay the chief justification for its establishment(1). But Ritualism was showing a vivacity and a popularity in the urban parishes which somewhat belied Evangelical claims to be the layman's party, and a visible similarity to Rome which horrified good Protestant souls. And the acceptance by progressive Churchmen of the criteria of historical and scientific criticism threatened to shake the basis of Evangelical belief - the supreme authority and inspiration of the Scriptures - and so Christianity itself.

The latter threat was perhaps the more fundamental; scepticism was blamed then and later for the decline in Church allegiance, and Shaftesbury, among others, thought it the most dangerous to the Christian Church(2). But in practice the Evangelical party tended to

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1. Rock, 30 April 1880.
2. E.Hodder, The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (London, 1886), III, 164.

concentrate on the conflict with Ritualism, in essentials it may be a more familiar foe, and to leave the initiative in the Rationalist struggle to High Churchmen.

Unwilling to surrender one iota of their fundamentalism, Evangelicals were equally unwilling to exalt too far the authority of the Church - were anxious too that the Established Church be acceptable always, doctrinally, to Protestant Nonconformity. Very often, in ideological terms and on the level of ecclesiastical politics, they seemed to be caught between frying pan and fire, and knew not which to choose,

It was just such a dilemma which was embarrassing the Evangelical party at the start of our period. The prosecution of two contributors to Essays and Reviews, which conceded to its critics the existence of parable, myth, legend in the Bible, and set aside the validity of miracles and prophecy as a proof of revelation truth, had led to a privy council judgement in February 1864 that William's and Wilson's teaching was not inconsistent with the formularies of the Church. Upsetting as this was, attempts to set it aside might shake the Gorham Judgement and even, possibly, the Crown's supremacy, by casting doubts on the authority of its highest court. The immediate reaction was a temporary alliance between Pusey and Shaftesbury, and a declaration condemning the book, instigated by Pusey and Denison, and signed by clergymen of both High and Low Church parties - though by less than half the clergy in England and Ireland. But the Evangelical party were bitterly divided on the subject; Goode, Wilson and Auriol opposed the declaration, McNeile and others supported it(1).

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1. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 106-16.

On the Colenso affair, Evangelicals were at least of one mind. They had strongly opposed his appointment as Bishop of Natal in 1853, and throughout the controversy in the sixties they protested their dislike of his views(1). In his book on the Pentateuch he used arithmetical calculations to prove that it was unhistorical, and compiled from different sources. But his metropolitan, Bishop Gray of Capetown, tried and condemned him, in 1863, in a synod of South African bishops. Colenso appealed to the Privy Council, which gave judgement on 20 March 1865 that Gray was not legally competent to exercise jurisdiction over Colenso. The see of Capetown had been technically vacant when Colenso was consecrated, and also the Crown, it was decided, could not by a prerogative act confer coercive jurisdiction on a bishop in a colony where there was already a separate legislature. The proceedings of the synod were therefore null and void. The question of doctrine was not considered - the point at issue was purely one of jurisdiction(2).

The Record greeted the judgement as a victory for the Crown against a subtle sacerdotalist plot to establish in the colonies a "spiritual supremacy fashioned after the model of Hildebrand". Evangelicals had wanted Colenso's demotion, but not by such methods(3). To High Churchmen the obvious solution seemed to be to accept the ecclesiastical synod rather than the secular Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Gray pronounced sentence of excommunication against

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1. Record, 3 February, 1868.
2. P.Hinchcliff, John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal (London, 1964), 153-4.
3. Record, 22 March 1865.

Colenso in January 1866, and at the end of June, Wilberforce tried to secure an acknowledgement of this in Canterbury Convocation. He was unsuccessful in his chief aim, but Convocation did declare itself in communion with Gray, and that the acceptance of a new bishop would not sever the relations between Natal and England.

In October the elective assembly chose William Butler of Wantage, but he hesitated for a year and finally declined, on the advice of Archbishop Longley (1). The Rev. W.K.Macrorie was then nominated by Gray, and a long controversy ensued. The Record had all along opposed any attempt to appoint a rival bishop until Colenso had been lawfully tried, lawfully condemned and lawfully deprived; and the paper felt that to issue a royal mandate for the consecration of Macrorie would bring both Crown and Church into public contempt. Besides,

> "If a vote of Convocation or the vote of an unlawfully constituted Court can depose a Bishop, let our own Evangelical Bishops look to themselves"(2).

Dean Goode of Ripon, speaking in York Convocation, repudiated all sympathy with Colenso, but could not agree to the violent remedy proposed. A rival bishop would mean a colonial schism(3). Nevertheless,, after much debate as to whether he could be consecrated in England, Macrorie was eventually consecrated, as 'Bishop of Maritzburg', in Capetown, in January 1869(4).

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1. P.Hinchcliff, op.cit., 179-81, 185-6.
2. Record, 17 August 1868.
3. Record, 21 February 1868.
4. P.Hinchcliff, op.cit., 186-7.

Whether the fear of High Churchmen was strong enough to prevent any support of litigation against Rationalists is a debatable point. G. Bayfield Roberts claimed that the English Church Union offered £500 towards the Archbishop of York's prosecution of Voysey in 1869, and asked the Church Association to do the same, but that the Church Association refused to associate with its rival. Both he and Tait's biographers agreed that the Archbishop (Thomson) declined the offer(1). But the Church Association report announced that a special fund had been established that year for cases against Rationalists, and that £709 had been received, of which a grant of £500 had already (by early 1870) been made towards the prosecution of Voysey(2). The society's conference in May 1869 had resolved, though with some disagreement, to extend its activities to the Rationalist field(3). The Record strongly denounced Voysey for lifting his 'puny arm' against Jesus in his book The Sling and the Stone, which denied the Fall and the need for Atonement(4). The paper followed the trial with interest and rejoiced, with the rest of the Church press, at Voysey's condemnation early in 1871(5).

In August 1869, Gladstone nominated Temple, author of the introductory article in Essays and Reviews, to succeed Phillpotts as

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1. G.Bayfield Roberts, The History of the English Church Union 1859-1894 (London, 1895),112; R.T.Davidson, & W.Benham, Life of Archibald Campbell Tait (London, 1891), II, 88-9.
2. Church Association, Annual Report, 1869, p.18.
3. Record, 14 May 1869.
4. Record, 18 August 1869.
5. Record, 13 February 1871.

Bishop of Exeter. An immediate outcry arose on all sides. Pusey pressed for a High Church-Evangelical alliance in protest, and the Record, which regarded the appointment as a worse blow than Irish Disestablishment, seemed to favour such a step(1). But Shaftesbury had learnt the lesson of his earlier association with Pusey, and he feared that the Evangelical party would oppose the union; felt too that mutual divisions would weaken the movement, and that in any case public opinion was now indifferent to the struggle. In the end he refused to chair a united committee of protest, but announced his willingness to head a separate, Evangelical remonstrance(2). Other Evangelicals followed Shaftesbury's lead. Daniel Wilson, the Deans of Ripon and Carlisle, Daniel Moore and Mr.R.C.L.Bevan, all nominated to the committee, alongside leading High Churchmen, at a meeting in Cockspur Street, all publicly declined to take part(3). The Church Association prepared a memorial, which was forwarded to Gladstone by Shaftesbury. But many had already signed the Cockspur Street protest , and others were reluctant to sign either. The Evangelicals, and Churchmen as a whole, had shown themselves to be weak and divided, and Gladstone found no difficulty in refusing to withdraw(4).

The Rock by now felt that it was for the Dean and Chapter of Exeter to refuse to elect Temple, or to ask for an explanation of his opinions - a surprising call for ecclesiasticism from a paper so devoted to the Establishment(5). This move was now strongly urged by

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1. Record, 11, 15 October 1869.
2. Shaftesbury's MS.Diary, 15,21,23 October 1869; Record, 20 October 1869.
3. Record, 22, 25 October 1869.
4. Record, 27, 29 October 1869; Rock, 9 November 1869.
5. Rock, 2 November 1869.

the opposition, and especially by High Churchmen; but in spite of pressure the Chapter elected Temple on November 11 by 13 votes to 6 with 4 abstentions. The moderately Evangelical Dean voted for Temple. The controversy was reaching a white heat - the more so because Temple refused to dissociate himself from the other papers in Essays and Reviews, or to elucidate his views in any way. Nine bishops refused to consecrate him, five unofficially and four formally, but the consecration service at last took place on December 21.

After this the protest soon died down, Denison led a small minority who tried to transfer the fighting to Convocation, but the announcement, in February 1870, that Temple's essay would be withdrawn from future editions of the book satisfied most of these dissidents(1). The violence of the whole campaign - and possibly political considerations also - had already won round many, including the Guardian and R.W. Church, to a modified support for Temple(2). Shaftesbury too regretted the rash appeals to the Chapter of Exeter. He felt very disillusioned, in fact, by the whole affair.

> "The late movement in re Temple has revealed the feebleness, the passion, the party-spirit, the want of confidence in each other with the abundant supply of it in themselves, the utter ignorance of their power & present position, and their ready impatience of guidance and control. Five Deans have come forward as samples of the sections they lead. Their letters speak for themselves.

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1. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 148-52.
2. Rock, 23 November 1869; M.C.Church, editor, Life and Letters of Dean Church (London, 1894), 182.

> Dean Law is the only true and honest man among them.* No two take the same view. Dean Boyd announced a just decision to vote for Temple, and founded it on reasons the most pushing, mean, & self-seeking a Candidate for preferment could devise. Dean McNeile declared that he would rather have two Temples, than one Pusey!!
>
> We now see why Protestantism has so declined in England; and why so little progress is made by those who endeavour to restore it. It is political Protestantism; it is Party-Protestantism. It is or was against Men, as divided] men, and not against principles; it is Ecclesiastical and not Spiritual - but this is equally true of both Nonconformists & of Churchmen..."(1).

In the controversy over the Athanasian Creed, the Evangelical party actually joined forces on the side of the Liberals, with Lord Shaftesbury himself in the lead. The creed, to be recited at thirteen special services in the Church's year, gave detailed definitions of the nature of the Trinity, and was especially criticised on account of its damnatory clauses, warning that

> "Whosoever will be saved; before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.
>
> Which Faith except one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly..."

Broad Churchmen disputed, too, the whole question of its historical validity. In 1870 the fourth report of the Ritual Commission recommended that a note be added to the relevant rubric in the Prayer

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*. I.e. he spoke out against Temple.

1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 12 November 1869.

Book, explaining that the condemnation was merely "a solemn warning of the peril of those who wilfully reject the Catholic Faith"(1). The solution had barely secured a majority, and the report was accompanied by numerous protests. Some urged a more thorough reform; Napier, on the other hand, felt that they had exceeded their commission by suggesting

> "any alterations in this or any other part of the services set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, and least of all by the imposition of a meaning of which the words are not susceptible"(2).

In the debate which raged over the next few years, Broad Churchmen firmly opposed any solution which left the use of the Creed compulsory, while the High Church party launched an equally strong campaign in opposition to any relaxation. In autumn 1871, Pusey and Liddon threatened to retire from the Church if the Creed were mutilated or abandoned (3). The battle was waged essentially between these two schools, with the Evangelicals playing a subsidiary role; most of them anxious to preserve the Creed, which they respected, but to relegate it to the back of the Prayer Book. Dean Howson urged the disuse of the Creed in York Convocation and was backed by the Bishop of Manchester, but failed to carry his motion (4). Shaftesbury wrote to Pusey that he

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1. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline,47.
2. A.C.Ewald, The Life of Sir Joseph Napier, Bart. (London,1887),351-2.
3. H.P.Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey (London,1893-7),IV,233-4; J.O.Johnston, Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon (London,1904),166.
4. T.Hughes,James Fraser, Second Bishop of Manchester.A Memoir (London, 1887),II, 202.

regarded the Creed as almost divine, believed every word of it, but would not thrust it on an unwilling congregation, many of whom, rejecting it in a service, would accept it in their study (1). Evangelicals, in fact, seem to have been less concerned about the merits of the Creed itself, than about what the man in the pew was prepared to swallow. They were anxious also to preserve an opening, wherever possible, for Nonconformists to return to the Church.

The Athanasian Creed was in the forefront of discussions on Church Reform at this time. On 15 February, 1872, representatives of all parties united in a meeting in St. James's Hall to urge Reform as a preventative of Disestablishment. Lord Lyttelton, as Chairman, spoke out against any change in the Athanasian Creed; but Miller's resolution that it should no longer be recited in public services of the Church, seconded by William Cowper-Temple, was adopted by the meeting (2). In May Shaftesbury initiated a conference of leading Evangelicals, which resulted in a Church Reform Declaration, stating the reforms which they would be prepared to unite with other schools to achieve. The second was,

> "As regards the Athanasian Creed, to provide that the recital of the Creed in the public services of the Church be not compulsory, but at the same time to retain the Creed in its place in the Prayer-book, as an invaluable embodiment of the Catholic faith, which may be 'proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture'".

This was widely supported by Evangelical clergy, though a few added

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1. H.P.Liddon, op.cit., IV,241-2.

2. Record, 19 February 1872.

their preference for the alteration of the Creed(1). Shaftesbury also launched a much broader lay petition against the compulsory use of the Creed, claiming to champion the cause of the layman, as opposed to the sacerdotalism of Convocation, whose Lower House had just spoken out against any alteration - though allowing the possibility of a synodical explanation(2). This secured 7,000 signatures, and was forwarded to the Archbishops at the end of June(3). Poor Pusey, still hoping for an Evangelical-High Church Alliance against unbelief, confessed, "I don't understand Shaftesbury now"(4).

Again Evangelical opinion was divided, though the Record followed Shaftesbury's lead, the Rock, after some changes of opinion, now preferred the compromise of an explanatory note. The substitution of "may be" for "shall be" was dismissed as too clumsy and facile a solution to be effective. And leaving the matter open to the option of the local clergyman was hardly a blow for lay freedom from clericalism(5). Hoare, on the other hand, felt that the damnatory clauses might be expunged from the Creed(6). And a small minority of Evangelicals supported the High Church party. Dean McNeile, for instance, joined a committee, mostly of High Churchmen, formed during the Church Congress at Leeds in 1872, to defend the Athanasian Creed from attack. He was unable to attend the great meetings arranged by this committee in St. James's Hall and the Hanover Square Rooms, in

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 1 February, 4 May 1872; Record, 31 May 1872.
2. Times, 6,25 May 1872; Record, 27 May 1872.
3. J.J.S.Perowne, The Athanasian Creed (London, 1872), Appendix.
4. H.P.Liddon, op.cit., IV, 226.
5. Rock, 12 July 1872.
6. Record, 10 February 1871.

January 1873; but sent two letters to the Times pleading for the preservation of the Creed as not infallible but giving a Scriptural description of Christ's flesh and of righteous judgement(1).

In the end, the controversy reached a stalemate and quietly died down. The Convocation of Canterbury in May 1873 adopted a long explanatory note, which was not in fact accepted by the Upper House of York, and was never presented to Parliament for approval(2). No school was satisfied, but it was the most that could be achieved, and other disputes were beginning to assume the centre of the stage.

Though anxious to mitigate the sternness of the Athanasian Creed, the Evangelical party, and in particular that bulwark of orthodoxy Lord Shaftesbury, were quick to protest against any seeming concession to the critics of Christianity. For Shaftesbury the whole Bible must be accepted, and in a literal sense, or its whole authority would be shaken. He told the C.P.A.S. in 1862 that

> "... there is no security whatever except in standing upon the faith of our fathers, and saying with them that the blessed old Book is 'God's Word written', from the very first syllable down to the very last, and from the last back to the first"(3).

In 1866 he denounced Ecce Homo, which depicted Christ primarily as the founder of a morality which changed history, as "the most

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1. Authorized Report of the Meetings in Defence of the Athanasian Creed which were held in St. James's Hall and the Hanover Square Rooms on January 31, 1873 (London, 1873): H.McNeile, Letters on the Athanasian Creed (London, 1873).
2. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 50-1.
3. E.Hodder, op.cit., III, 7.

pestilential book ... ever vomited from the jaws of Hell" - an expression which caused an uproar in the press, and made the book a best-seller (1).

Ten years later the S.P.C.K. came under attack for publishing a book by T.G.Bonney, A Manual of Geology, which accepted many of the theories currently held by scientists, even acknowledging that the first appearance of man was probably even more remote than had been supposed. The Evangelical party objected to this, and to a High Church tract, Mary a Tale of Humble Life. Early in 1877 they launched an attempt to unseat two members of the Tract Committee, the Revs. W.H.Burrows and Berdmore Compton, and to secure instead the election of William Cadman and Canon Reeve. The Church Association circulated a paper complaining that the society's books and tracts were 'un-Protestant'; and the Record urged its friends to support this protest against the questioning of Biblical authority.

> "The question is, Has a great Church of England Society, with all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other dignitaries at its head, a right to send forth broadcast over the country, under such Most Reverend, Right Reverend, Very Reverend, and Venerable patronage, books which adopt as if proved to be infallible the stammering and even blundering babblings of undeveloped science; and to strengthen the hands of infidelity by countenancing Theists, Pantheists, and Atheists in their taunts against those books of which our Lord and Master has said, 'If they believe not MOSES and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, although

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 12 May 1866; O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London, 1966-70), II, 65.

one rose from the dead'" (1).

The High and Broad schools, however, had been united by the width of the attack, and at the meeting on February 6 all the old committee were re-elected by a very large majority. The decision of the Standing Committee that Mary be withdrawn, but that Bonney's work remain on the list was accepted; and the motion of Smith and Girdlestone, that the statement of objections be read to the meeting, defeated (2). Evangelicals were loud in their complaints; some like Fox urging a mass walk-out from the society, Kennion and others suggesting instead that more of the party go to the meetings and use their votes (3).

That same year the Christian Evidence Committee, set up in 1870 to produce books in refutation of infidelity, published The Argument from Prophecy by Brownlow Maitland. He conceded that the proofs of prophecy could convince only those who already believed in an active God; and implicitly denied the validity of a literal interpretation of the detailed Old Testament prophecies, basing his case rather on the broad outlines. The book was strongly criticised by the Record, and Lord Shaftesbury sent a letter of protest to the Archbishop of Canterbury, withdrawing his name from the society. He had small hopes of receiving much support, however.

> "I foresee the issue. I shall [be] nearly alone, and be condemned, censured, privately, & publicly hated; and be left to myself like an Owl in the desert, a Sparrow in

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1. Record, 2 February 1877.
2. Record, 7 February 1877; Guardian, 31 January 1877; Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, Annual Report, 1877, pp.64-6.
3. Record, 14, 16 February 1877.

the house-top, or a Pelican in the wilderness" (1).

And indeed, the weight of opinion was against him. Three Evangelicals, including Miller and Garbett, whom Shaftesbury had held responsible for the issue of the 'vile work', and Bishop Jackson, resigned from the Christian Evidence Committee (2). But the bishops whose advice was sought agreed that the book should not be suppressed. Instead Maitland revised it; and a panel of bishops was set up to act as final arbiter in any future disputes over the society's publications. Few Evangelicals had spoken out in Shaftesbury's support, and the non-evangelical press repudiated his stand. The Daily Telegraph got in a dig at his lack of learning.

> "Under any circumstances, when men of exalted ability and profound learning, animated by a sincere desire to find out the truth, are brought by long and careful investigation to conclusions foreign to their early convictions, modesty in controversy with them surely becomes those laymen who are incapable of pursuing critically the study of theological topics" (3).

This refusal to concede anything to historical and scientific criticism weakened their ability to provide an intellectual defence of Christianity, and encouraged that never far distant tendency of Evangelicalism to despise the claims of reason. Lord Shaftesbury recorded in his diary, in January 1871, that

> "Revelation is addressed to the heart, and not to the

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1. Record, 16, 28 November 1877; Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 8 December 1877.
2. Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, Annual Report, 1878; P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 56.
3. Daily Telegraph, 28 December 1877.

> intellect. God cares little, comparatively, for man's intellect; He cares greatly for man's heart. 'Two mites' of faith and love, are of infinitely higher value to Him than a 'whole treasury' of thought and knowledge. Satan reigns in the intellect; God in the heart of man. Try the Scriptures intellectually merely, and you will encounter no end of difficulties, and these difficulties will agitate and darken your moral and spiritual perception of the truth. Try them by the heart, and you will find such a flood of comfort, conviction, and assurance, that all difficulties will vanish, and even those stated by science, will fade away; for faith and gratitude will set them down to ignorance and incapacity, and revel in the whole force of the discovery that knowledge, material and philosophical, is for time, but love, for eternity.."(1).

Scholars were comparatively few in Evangelical circles. Birks, elected professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge in 1872, wrote a number of works in defence of the evangelical, or perhaps the liberal evangelical, position; on the limits of religious thought, the human element in Scripture, the relations of Genesis and geology. Probably the most important was The Bible and Modern Thought, published in 1861. That same year Edward Garbett gave the Boyle Lectures, on 'The Bible and its Critics', in which he asserted the objective reality of revelation, admitting of neither addition nor

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1. E.Hodder, op.cit., III, 19.

diminution(1). In the Bampton Lectures of 1867, he urged the absolute necessity of a dogmatic faith; and the supremacy of revealed Christian truth over subjective human reasoning(2). Payne Smith, primarily a Syriac scholar, also took some part in the theological debate with scepticism. At the start of the period the Christian Observer and other such periodicals were full of articles on the battle with infidelity. But by far the greater part of Evangelical apologetics was at the level of popular polemics. And very soon the attentions of the polemicists were almost entirely diverted to the conflict with Ritualism.

Towards the end of the period, however, the dangers of radical theology came once more to the forefront of public attention. In the later 'eighties periodicals like the Churchman increasingly included articles on Biblical Criticism. At the Manchester Church Congress in October 1888, questions of the Inspiration of the Bible, the doctrine of eternal punishment etc., took a leading place; with the audience, according to the Record, far more orthodox than the speakers(3). The Congress triggered off a long controversy in the Record; the paper's editorials taking the line that the Church had been given no 'magic test of inspiration', and could make no judgements on the relative merits of the Books of the Bible(4).

The following year came the publication of Lux Mundi by Charles Gore and his friends, 'as a thunderbolt out of a clear sky' to Liddon and those of the older generation who had been unaware of

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1. E.Garbett, The Bible and its Critics (London, 1861).
2. E.Garbett, The Dogmatic Faith (London, 1867).
3. Record, 5, 12 October 1888.
4. Record, 26 October 1888

the direction liberal Anglo-Catholicism was taking(1). The series of essays took up contemporary trends of thought as shedding new light on Christian truth. Gore's essay, perhaps the most startling, agreed that the Bible included inspired idealization, dramatic composition and myths, as well as straightforward historical fact. Christ, in his citations of the Old Testament, was participating in the limited state of men's knowledge at that time. These ideas were by no means new. They were disturbing largely as coming from Pusey House, from what had seemed the heart of orthodox High Churchmanship. And, like Essays and Reviews, they provided an appropriate centre for a controversy over Biblical Criticism which was already underway. (Though the extent of the interest felt in this conflict can be overrated; the Church Congress of 1890 had turned its attention to social questions, and the session on inspiration drew a scanty audience(2).)

In the Record, the Lux Mundi controversy recurred at regular intervals throughout 1890. The Islington Conference in January 1891 discussed the testimony of Christ to Holy Scripture(3); and in the Churchman Stanley Leathes and others denounced the consequences of extreme criticism, and loudly defended Christ's infallibility(4). The main difficulty for Evangelicals lay in the form the controversy had taken, springing into the news from the Ritualist camp, and inevitably provoking a horrified reaction from the older High Church School. Denison turned to his favourite tactic of a Declaration; and after failing to secure a condemnation of the book

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1. J.O.Johnston, Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon, 367-8.
2. Record, 3 October 1890.
3. Record, 16 January 1891
4. Churchman, September, October 1891, January 1892.

by the English Church Union(1), he appealed to Evangelical leaders for their support. The Evangelical party was thereby caught in much the same dilemma as in the early years of this period; and Evangelical divisions on the subject showed them to be little nearer a solution of the problem.

On 18 December 1891, the Times printed a 'Declaration on the Truth of Holy Scripture', protesting against current impressions that the Bible had been discovered unworthy of unquestioning belief, and solemnly professing,

> "... our unfeigned belief in all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as handed down to us by the undivided Church in the original languages. We believe that they are inspired by the Holy Ghost; that they are what they profess to be; that they mean what they say; and that they declare incontrovertibly the actual historical truth in all records, both of past events and of the delivery of predictions to be thereafter fulfilled.
>
> 8. We believe these Scriptures because they have the authority of Divine revelation; and wholly independently of our own or of any human approval of the probability or the possibility of their subject matter; and wholly independently of our own or of any human and finite comprehension thereof. ...
>
> 10. And we believe the Holy Scripture to have this

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1. G.L.Prestige, The Life of Charles Gore, A Great Englishman (London, 1935), 116-7.

> Divine authority, on the testimony of the universal Church, the spouse and body of Christ, the witness and keeper of Holy Writ. So that no opinion of the fact or form of Divine revelation, grounded on literary criticism of the Scriptures themselves, can be admitted to interfere with the traditionary testimony of the Church when that has been once ascertained and verified by appeal to antiquity..."

The Declaration especially abhorred all suggestions of fallibility in Christ's own use of the Old Testament. The thirty-eight signatures included clergymen of both High Church and Evangelical schools; Denison and prominent Ritualists together with Payne Smith, Webb-Peploe and the Rev. J.W.Marshall, secretary of the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance(1).

This declaration was quite unacceptable to many Evangelicals, as making the Bible dependent on the higher authority of Church tradition. Lord Grimethorpe, as President of the P.C.A., wrote to the Times to disclaim any responsibility for the document, and to urge that the sacerdotalists be left to fight out their own differences(2). Canon Bell agreed; and so did the English Churchman(3). Samuel Garratt pointed out, in an article in the Christian, that the Bible was its own witness, the truth of the Old Testament vouched for by Christ in the New, which was not as yet attacked by the critics. He denounced as 'utter weakness' the attempt to set aside the powers of human reason(4). The pages of the Record were

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1. Times, 18 December 1891.
2. Times, 31 December 1891.
3. Times, 2 January 1892; English Churchman, 7 January 1892.
4. Christian, 31 December 1891.

full of correspondence on the question of Biblical criticism; and here, as in the Churchman, a few liberal Evangelicals actually sided with the Lux Mundi school. Hay Aitken, whose orthodoxy had been doubted before this(1), declared his belief in the doctrine of kenosis - that Christ, as man, was not infallible(2).

Though printing letters from Marshall and Webb-Peploe, explaining their object to affirm the inspiration and integrity of Scripture, and their unity, in this, with High Churchmen(3), the Record passed no opinion on the Declaration itself. The paper's reaction was rather to launch an independent, Evangelical reply to Lux Mundi and modern criticism, in a series on "The Authority and Accuracy of Christ's Teaching". The Rev. R.B.Girdlestone of Wycliffe Hall provided the first few articles.

Denying that the faith was in any way narrowed or jeopardised by being tied to traditional belief in the Old Testament, the Record took what was becoming the Evangelical party-line; that Christ's attitude to the Old Testament was indisputable, and that to question the reliableness of the latter was to compromise our Lord's authority, and to make Christian belief impossible for many(4). William Lefroy, at the Islington Conference that January, stressed the organic unity of the Old and New Testaments; the surrender of parts would discredit the whole.

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1. See Chapter Six, p. 328.
2. Record, 22 January 1892.
3. Record, 15 January 1892.
4. Record, 8 January 1892.

> "...Many of these newly designated myths are treated as history by the Holy Spirit, were cited as history by Jesus Christ, and are regarded as history by those who were educated by the Holy Ghost for the office of evangelist and apostles... It is not too much to say that the constructive theology of St.Paul reposes upon the historic reality of the fall of man. If the third of Genesis is a myth, the fifth of Romans is an apostolic hallucination"(1).

Ryle put the matter clearly and concisely in his charge the following year:

> "Stand firm on the grand old text, 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God' (2 Tim. iii, 16)".

Once one part of the Bible, or of Christ's teaching, was acknowledged to be fallible, where then could the line be drawn(2) ?

The determination of the Evangelical party to surrender not one jot of their belief in Biblical Inspiration was unchanged. More clearly defined than before was the conviction that their defence must rest on the Bible itself, and on Christ's witness alone. A few might look to the support of Church authority; and Evangelicals differed in their attitudes towards the validity of rational inquiry. But almost all agreed that the final proof could come only from the word of God, as supreme authority. And though a few disagreed, the vast majority felt in 1892 that to doubt the literal, historical truth of one part of the Scripture, was to place in jeopardy - not God's truth, which remained whatever men said - but the faith of millions.

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1. W.Lefroy, Certain Pressing Claims of the Present Day upon the Ministry (London, 1892), 42-4.
2. J.C.Ryle, Stand Firm ! (London, 1893), 13-20.

II. RITUALISM.

In November, 1865, the Church Association was founded,

> "...to counteract the efforts now being made to pervert the teaching of the Church of England on essential points of the Christian faith or assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome"(1).

For the Rev. W.H.B.Proby it marked the end of the 'Polemic Period' and the beginning of the 'Immoral Period' of the Evangelical party(2). During the next quarter-century, Evangelicals were to try every means at their disposal for using the legal machinery of Church and State to suppress what they regarded as most pernicious errors.

The vestments and ornaments, the high ceremonial, introduced increasingly into parish churches up and down the country, were dangerous, not in themselves, but as signifying the sacrificial and sacerdotal doctrine of Christ's Real Presence in the consecrated elements, offered anew by the priest in Holy Communion for the sins of the communicants. Dangerous too, in some more general, undefined sense, as being openly borrowed from the Church of Rome. Anti-Catholicism was strong in Victorian England, and Protestants within and without the Established Church could be roused to passionate opposition of Romanism, and of anything which smacked of subversion of the Reformation. Moderates thought - and their numbers grew as the period progressed - that the Church Association

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1. G.R.Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London, 1908), 229-30.
2. W.H.B.Proby, Annals of the 'Low Church' Party in England, down to the Death of Archbishop Tait (London, 1888), II, 193.

was being narrow and bigoted over nothing; to them Ritualism was simply a way of brightening the services of the Church, of making them beautiful and reverent, attractive to God and to the poor. But in the 'sixties and early 'seventies the alarm of Evangelicals was very generally echoed in the nation as a whole. And whatever the rights and wrongs of their policy, extreme Ritualists agreed with them in interpreting their ritual as symbol merely of a deeper doctrine.

By 1870 the Church Association had over 8,000 members, and 138 branch associations(1). Part of its work was polemical; tracts and pamphlets were published against Ritualism, lectures and other meetings arranged. But at the conference in November 1867, a Guarantee Fund of £50,000 was launched, apparently under pressure from the Manchester Evangelicals, with the doubtful assent of Ryle, to assist parishioners in appeals to the law courts(2).

Litigation was pre-eminently the mid-nineteenth century method of defining what was taught by the Church of England, and the natural one for Evangelicals to turn to. They had some experience already of legal action against High Churchmen. Archdeacon Denison of Taunton had sought prosecution for three sermons preached in 1853-4, and Shaftesbury and illiam Goode supplied the driving force behind the law-suit instigated by Ditcher, vicar of a neighbouring parish. The case was dismissed by the Privy Council on technical grounds in 1858, after Denison had gained, and the Evangelical party lost, much popularity. Nor had the party been at all united. After first encouraging the proceedings, Archbishop Sumner then did his best to delay them, and he was backed in this by the more conservative Evangelicals(3).

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1. Church Association, Annual Report, 1869.
2. Church Association, Annual Report, 1867; E.R.Garratt, Life and Personal Recollections of Samuel Garratt (London, 1908), 298-9.
3. O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church, I, 491-5; B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 126-142.

The first of the ritual cases, at St. Paul's Knightsbridge and the Chapel of St. Barnabas, secured a more wholehearted support on either side, for the question of ornaments could easily appear sensational. By 1857 a cross behind the altar or on the chancel screen, a credence table in the sanctuary and candlesticks on the altar, if used for giving light, had been pronounced legal(1). Then in 1859 was formed what became the English Church Union; and the following year an attempt was made to prosecute Evangelicals holding mission services in theatres. In 1862 the E.C.U. tried to bring charges of heresy against Bishop Waldegrave of Carlisle(2). The Church Association was formed in reaction to these latter events, and was later to stress its essentially defensive nature.

Litigation might sometimes result in unwelcome conclusions - as had happened in the Essays and Reviews case. But Evangelicals were confident that the laws of the Church were, in the main, on their side. And at this stage the matter was merely one of proving the illegality of Ritualist doctrines and practices within the Church of England. It was not foreseen that the law, once ascertained, would not be obeyed.

In March 1867 the Bishop of London (Tait) issued 'Letters of Request' referring the case of Martin v. Mackonochie to the Court of Arches, the Archbishop of Canterbury's court. The churchwardens at St. Alban's, Holborn, had, in fact, complained against the changes introduced by Mackonochie, but the nominal promoter eventually found for the suit, after some negotiation and the death of an earlier

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1. Ibid.,193-7.
2. G.R.Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, 229.

nominee, was a parishioner only by virtue of being secretary of a school in the district. Mackonochie was charged with elevating the elements at Holy Communion; using lighted candles on the Communion table (when they were not needed to give light); using incense; and mixing water with the wine. A similar case, against Simpson of East Teignmouth, undertaken quite separately from the Church Association, was being heard at the same time. The Dean of Arches, Phillimore, who had originally been Mackonochie's defence counsel, gave judgement in both cases on 28 March 1868, declaring the first and the last two points to be illegal. Both sides claimed the victory, but the Church Association appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal in ecclesiastical cases since 1832, which condemned Mackonochie on all the points raised and ordered him to pay costs. These latter when presented included the payment of hired informers(1).

In 1869 proceedings began against the Rev. John Purchas, of the proprietory chapel of St. James's, Brighton, for a long list of over thirty ritual offences, some of them trivial, the more important including the use of wafer bread, Eucharistic vestments, and standing in front of the Holy Table, with his back to the people, during the Prayer of Consecration (i.e. the Eastward position). The E.C.U. felt that it would be hopeless to defend the case, and Purchas, pleading poverty and ill-health, did not appear. The Dean of Arches, in February 1870, condemned him on most, but not all, points; on the three above-mentioned, in particular, he decided against the promoter. The Church Association immediately entered an appeal, and the following February the Judicial Committee gave judgement against Purchas on all points, except the wearing of a biretta, which was declared unproven. The Eastward position, which had been implicitly upheld

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1. M.Reynolds, Martyr of Ritualism (London, 1965), 127-149, 156; Church Association, Annual Report, 1868, pp.47-8.

in the Mackonochie Judgement, was thus pronounced illegal(1).

With the prosecution of Bennett, vicar of Frome, the Evangelical party moved from symbols to the doctrines symbolised. In A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England, published in 1867, Bennett spoke of "the real, actual and visible Presence of the Lord upon the altars of our churches", and of teaching prople to adore "the consecrated elements, believing Christ to be in them"; and he described the Eucharist as a sacrifice. The Church Association complained first to Bishop Tait, and then to the Court of Queen's Bench, which issued a writ of mandamus to the Bishop. There followed a great deal of toing and froing between the various courts; and Bennett brought out a revised edition of his book, changing the crucial phrases to "the real, actual Presence of Our Lord, under form of bread and wine, upon the altars of our churches" and "Christ present in the elements under the form of bread and wine." Eventually, in July 1870, the Dean of Arches gave judgement that Bennett had not transgressed the liberty allowed by law. An appeal was made, and on 8 June, 1872, the judgement of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council was delivered.

The judges declared that the Church of England taught a presence of Christ in the ordinance and the soul of the worthy recipient, but affirmed nothing as to the mode of presence, except that the Body of Christ is received by faith, after a heavenly and spiritual manner only. It was illegal to teach that Christ's sacrifice on the Cross could be repeated in an offering of Christ by the priest at the Lord's Supper. All acts of adoration to the sacrament were likewise illegal. However, it was not clear to them that Bennett

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1. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 125-7;
W.H.B.Proby, op.cit., II, 262-70; G.B.Roberts, op.cit., 118-9, 132.

had so described the Real Presence, or so used the word 'sacrifice', as to contradict the language of the Articles of Religion, and "not without doubts and divisions of opinions", their Lordships decided to give Bennett the benefit of the doubt on the question of adoration(1).

The judgement was a great blow to the Evangelical party, seeming to condone doctrinal teaching the outward symbols of which had been declared illegal. On the other hand, the Protestant basis of the Church of England had been distinctly affirmed. The Record considered it a verdict of "not proven", after the manner of Scottish juries(2). A meeting of the Church Association was summoned for July 24, and a declaration against Romish teaching in the Church was proposed by Archdeacon Prest on behalf of the Council. Daniel Wilson moved an amendment against committing the society to a public protest, and the resulting discussion showed up the disunity and confusion which the crisis had wrought. Ryle spoke out against the judgement; Blakeney was anxious to look on the bright side. In the end, the protest was adopted, along with a memorial to the Archbishops and Bishops. The two received 59,300 and 60,000 signatures respectively.

The Rock was firm in support of a strong line, and denunciation of Wilson's wilful attitude(3). But the stand taken by Capel Molyneux, incumbent of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, went too far in the opposite direction. In a sermon on July 14, Molyneux urged that,

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1. W.H.B.Proby, op.cit., II, 278-81; Church Association, Annual Reports, 1868-1872.
2. Record, 10, 12 June 1872.
3. Rock, 26 July 1872; Church Association, Annual Report, 1872.

Bennett's doctrines being legally recognised, the only way to avoid complicity with Romanism was by a large-scale secession of Evangelical ministers from the Church of England(1). He expanded his argument in a short booklet on The Bennett Judgement. Our Duty: What is it? The result was an uproar in the press. Bennett taunted Evangelicals with being prevented by self-interest from seceding. The Rock replied that it was their duty to "hold their ground, and to drive out intruders - not to run away themselves"(2). Francis Close rebuked Molyneux for doing great injury to the Church, and the Record pointed to the latter's own long service as proof that ministry in the Church of England did not mean complicity with error. The situation had not changed with a fresh declaration of the law(3). At the Church ssociation Conference on October 29 the general feeling seemed to be against secession; and Molyneux left the Church, towards the end of the year, almost alone.

But even where the law courts had proved the Evangelicals right, their victory had turned out to be a hollow one. The Church Association had tested the law, and established that it upheld the Evangelical position on 44 points of ritual(4). But the result was not, as they had expected, the suppression of the illegal practices. The E.C.U. had in February 1869 resolved not to defend at law the practices from which Mackonochie was admonished to abstain, and to be cautious of litigation on any other points(5). But Mackonochie evaded the spirit

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1. C.Molyneux, Reformation or Secession (London, 1872).
2. Rock, 4 October 1872.
3. Record, 20 November, 6 December 1872.
4. Listed in C.A.Bury, The Church Association (London, 1873), 20-24.
5. G.B.Roberts, op.cit., 110.

of the monition by a strictly literal compliance; lighting candles before the Communion service, elevating the elements, but not above his head, and genuflecting instead of kneeling. Application was made to the Judicial Committee, and he was forbidden to genuflect, and later, after further proceedings, to bow. In November 1870 he was suspended from his clerical office for three months. When he returned he restored the earlier ceremonial of the church(1).

Purchas completely ignored the judgement against him, and when the Church Association procured an order of suspension from the Judicial Committee the Bishop of Chicester declined to enforce it. The E.C.U. declared in February 1872 that his suspension, by a temporal court, was an invasion of episcopal jurisdiction, and spiritually null and void(2). Purchas continued his services as before until his death that October(3). To the Ritualists, their doctrines and ritual were purely spiritual matters, over which the temporal agencies of the Royal Supremacy could have no authority.

Not only did litigation fail to suppress the Ritualists; it seemed likely to increase their popularity.

One section at least of the Evangelical party had tried at first to make the struggle a broadly based one - though their methods of achieving this were so tactless as to threaten, in 1867, to split the party in two. Stock recalled that Lord Shaftesbury had not been made president of the Church Association because its founders wished to prevent its being too partizan an organization(4). Instead he had

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1. M.Reynolds, Martyr of Ritualism, 160-2, 168-73.

2. G.B.Roberts, op.cit., 141.

3. Church Association, Annual Report, 1872, p.27.

4. E.Stock, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1910), 75.

presided over the Dorsetshire branch: Colquhoun was made first chairman of the society. In 1866 feelings were strong against Ritualism - exacerbated, to some extent, by the controversy over the confessional between Pusey and 'S.G.O.' (Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne)in the Times. Numerous meetings were held, and Evangelicals clamoured for a lay movement in protest. But Colqhoun and Hanbury, anxious to secure the support of orthodox High Churchmen, were reluctant to accept Shaftesbury at its head, on account of his well-known extreme views, and a committee was formed without him. Shaftesbury was deeply hurt at being thus "deposed from the leadership of the Protestant Party"(1). His friend Haldane's paper, the Record, rebuked those who feared to follow outspoken leaders, preferring

> "...the syren voice of the enemy, inculcating union between those with whom there can be no communion"(2).

Many Evangelicals were alarmed at the thought of presenting a disunited front, and consequently Hanbury's conference in February met under a cloud and achieved little. At the Church Association annual meeting shortly afterwards, the speakers reaffirmed the essential unity of the party against Ritualism. And their anxiety to prove this meant a repudiation of any desire for a coaltion with other schools, and an assertion of their intentions to fight on the narrow front of Evangelical principles alone(3).

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 31 December 1866.
2. Record, 31 December 1866, 4 February 1867.
3. Record, 11, 15 February 1867.

They need not have worried. The Purchas case created a widespread alarm, and rallied round the Ritualists a considerable measure of High Church support; for the Eastward position had been very generally adopted by the party during the nineteenth century. A remonstrance against the judgement in 1871 secured over 5,000 clerical signatures - not all of them, in fact, those of High Churchmen. Pusey, not at first in favour of extreme Ritualism, had joined the E.C.U. in 1866; and at the annual meeting in June 1869 he moved a resolution announcing the Union's determination, whatever the differences of its members over ritual, to resist at all hazards any attempt to prohibit the teaching of the catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. He now supported Liddon and Gregory, who wrote to the Bishop of London declaring their intention to continue in the Eastward position, and inviting prosecution. The Bishop urged them to obey the Purchas Judgement, but would take no legal action(1). The Church Association was discovering that the law, having been ascertained, could not be made practically binding without recourse, in every instance, to the law courts. And already, by 1870, the Rock was having to defend the association against the charge of being a persecuting society(2).

Nor had the policy of prosecutions ever received a unanimous support from the party as a whole. In 1870 Edward Garbett felt it necessary, in the Christian Advocate, to point out the defensive nature of Evangelical policy, and appeal to those who disapproved

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1. G.B.Roberts, op.cit., 116, 132; J.O.Johnston, Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon, 144-51; H.P.Liddon, op.cit., IV, 212, 223.
2. Rock, 5 July 1870.

of the prosecutions to set aside their objections for the sake of uniting in support of a common object(1). By the end of 1872 the difficulties of enforcing obedience, and the ambiguities of the Bennett Judgement, had brought the controversy to the centre of attention. And by now the stage of clarifying the law had largely passed; the emphasis in a prosecuting policy had subtly changed.

Joseph Hoare resigned his position as Chairman of the Church Association Council in November 1872, partly because of disagreements over the Bennett case, and Mr. T.R.Andrews was elected to replace him in February(2). The Rock was pressing for further action to establish the Protestantism of the Church, and condemned "the 'quiescent' attitude - or, in other words... the timidity"- of so many Evangelicals who refused to back the society(3). In January a sub-committee on future policy pointed out the distinction between litigation to obtain a decision - the original aim of the association - and to enforce obedience; recommending that the question of further prosecutions be left to the members to decide(4).

A conference on the subject in Willis's Rooms in April virtually gave the Council a free hand to go ahead if the need arose. Ryle claimed that the Church Association was, in fact, "a society for the relief of perplexed bishops", who had pleaded the uncertainty of the law to excuse their laxity towards ritualism, but could do so no longer. He was not disturbed by the disapproval of some Evangelicals; that was to be expected:

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1. Christian Advocate, December 1870.
2. Rock, 29 November 1872.
3. Rock, 15 November 1872, 7 March 1873.
4. Record, 6 January 1873.

> "We are bound, as Mr. Johnson said, to supply people with arguments, but we are not bound to supply them with brains for their reception. I am sorry for such people, and I can only hope that God will give them more wisdom so that they may see better in future"(1).

The Church Association report for 1872 declared that,

> "As to legal proceedings, while the Council feel the inexpediency of adopting a position of prosecutors in general of all Ritualists, they at the same time reserve to themselves the power of again appealing to the legal tribunal, should any case arise which in their judgement might render such a course expedient"(2).

One obvious remedy for the failures of litigation, favoured by Lord Ebury, was the revision of the rubrics in a more Protestant direction. The Prayer Book Revision Society, founded in 1854, of which he was president, was active in pamphlets, petitions and deputations on the subject, and Ebury himself constantly pressed for revision in Parliament. In 1860 he had moved for a Royal Commission to revise the Book of Common Prayer; his Prayer Book Amendment Bill of 1880 put forward specific changes. In 1874 the society produced a revised edition of the Prayer Book. But though Ebury was instrumental in securing a number of minor reforms, mostly in the direction of flexibility, in his attempts against ritualism he was unsuccessful, and his society was never very widely supported. After Ebury's retirement in 1889 it gradually faded away. The vast majority of Evengelicals felt it imperative to take their

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1. Record, 4, 10 April 1873.

2. Church Association, Annual Report,1872, p.19.

stand on the Prayer Book as it stood. In 1873, expecting to be nominated to the Council of the Church Association, Ebury's staunch lieutenant Bligh stated that he would press for the promotion of rubrical revision before any further prosecutions were undertaken. Consequently his name was not, after all, proposed(1).

Lord Shaftesbury sought rather to reform the courts themselves and to strengthen the legal position against ritualism. His first aim was to settle the question of vestments, and in March 1867 he introduced in the Lords a Clerical Vestments Bill, to give statutory authority to the 58th of the Canons of 1604, enjoining the use of "a decent and comely surplice" while administering the sacraments. Such sweeping declaratory legislation was opposed by many moderate Churchmen, however, as well as by Ritualists. Archbishop Longley and many of the Bishops had earlier seemed disposed to support the measure; then proposed a separate bill, which was eventually abandoned in favour of the appointment of a Royal Commission - largely as a foil to Shaftesbury(2). The Church Association formed a special committee to organize support for Shaftesbury's bill; petitions were circulated, and a great meeting held in St. James's Hall in June(3). On May 14, Shaftesbury moved the second reading, in a speech asserting the rights of the laity in determining the

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1. E.V.Bligh, Lord Ebury as a Church Reformer (London, 1891); Auricular Confession and Priestly Absolution. Lord Ebury's Prayer Book Amendment Bill... (London, 1880).
2. A.R.Ashwell & R.G.Wilberforce, Life of the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce,D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford and afterwards of Winchester (London, 1880), III, 205-11; Record, 13,22, 29 March 1867.
3. Church Association, Annual Report, 1867, p.17.

ritual of the Church. But Longley's motion for an adjournment pending the Royal Commission on Ritualism was carried by 61 votes to 46; and later no opportunity was allowed to proceed with the measure(1).

The Ritual Commission was very generally recognised as a delaying tactic. Shaftesbury was invited to join, but declined on account of his extreme views, and strongly criticised Wilberforce for being less nice in his scruples. The 29 commissioners did include some Evangelicals, such as Lords Harrowby and Ebury, Sir Joseph Napier and Canon Payne Smith, alongside famous Ritualists, Mr. Beresford Hope, Canon Gregory and others. The Record felt that the balance was heavily weighted against Protestantism, with Henry Venn, now old and ill, an afterthought, included to secure the semblance, at least, of Evangelical representation(2).

The first report, issued in August, was concerned almost exclusively with vestments, which it pronounced non-essential. It stated that,

> "We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland all variations in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said United Church, and we think that this may best be secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress"(3).

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1. E.Hodder, op.cit., III, 226-9; Record, 15 May, 10 July, 14 August 1867.
2. Record, 10,21,June 1867.
3. A.C.Ewald, The Life of Sir Joseph Napier, Bart., 346.

The Times welcomed the report as a decisive declaration against ritualism; Shaftesbury was much dissatisfied, for the Commission neither praised nor blamed the Ritualists(1). The Record too deplored the evasion of the great question at issue(2).

In April the second report condemned incense and lighted candles, and recommended that the power of enforcement be lodged with the Bishop, with appeal to the Archbishop, and then to the Queen in Council(3). The Commissioners themselves were by no means unanimous, and memorials were drawn up against the report by Lord Nelson and Denison on the one side and the Church Association on the other. The third and fourth reports, issued in January and August 1870, were significant chiefly in illustrating the extreme difficulty of securing a compromise between the parties. The practical results of the Commission were few.

As soon as the second report was out, Shaftesbury brought forward his Uniformity of Public Worship Bill, based on the Commission's recommendations. This was defeated at the second reading in July. The next year, still backed by the Church Association, he introduced another bill to cheapen litigation by the reform of the courts. The second reading was carried on April 15, and the bill sent to a Select Committee, where, Shaftesbury gloomily predicted,

> "...I shall not have a friend - Harrowby, Chichester, & such men as they, are less to be trusted than

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1. Times, 20 August 1867; Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 30 August 1867.
2. Record, 2 September 1867.
3. F.Warre Cornish, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1910), II, 156.

> even Salisbury and the Bishop of Oxford. It is, of course, according to the modern system, 'a private execution'"(1).

The bill did, in fact, emerge from the Committee with only trifling alterations, but too late in the session to be proceeded with(2). Nevertheless, Shaftesbury continued to press bills on Parliament, and in 1872 succeeded in carrying his measure in the House of Lords, though it was rejected by the Commons. The Church Association was confident that by this time some such reform was universally desired(3).

Evangelicals had repeatedly sought the support of Protestant Nonconformity(4); and some continued to hanker after an alliance with High Churchmen. The Christian Advocate, in April 1871, stressed the importance of conciliating the moderates of that school(5). In 1873, the Ritualists themselves supplied the battle cry needed to reunite the weight of popular opinion behind the Evangelical banner. On May 9, a petition was presented to Convocation, signed by 483 clergymen, asking

> "That in view of the wide-spreading and increasing use of sacramental confession, your Venerable House may consider the advisability of providing for the education, selection, and licensing of duly qualified confessors,

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 15 April 1869.
2. Church Association, Annual Report, 1869, p.24.
3. Church Association, Annual Report, 1872, pp.23-5.
4. Record, 8 November 1867, 10 January 1868.
5. Christian Advocate, April 1871.

in accordance with the provisions of canon law."
The question was referred to a committee(1).

There followed a public outcry; for the confessional, with its undertones of young ladies under the secret influence of priests, and its sacerdotal pretentiousness, was for many Englishmen the most alarming of High Church practices. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, replying to a memorial issued by the Church Association after the Bennett Judgement, referred to the petition, and said the confessional had wrought "great evil" in the Church of Rome(2). Tracts and pamphlets on the subject were brought out by Close, Garbett and other Evangelicals. On June 30, Lord Shaftesbury presided over a crowded and enthusiastic anti-confessional meeting in Exeter Hall. In July Lord Oranmore and Brown extended the debate to the House of Lords with a motion for a Committee of Inquiry into the practice of confession. This was later withdrawn, and would have been impracticable so late in the session, but it succeeded in drawing forth condemnations of the confessional from the two Archbishops, and even Lord Salisbury said that 'habitual confession' would be ruinous to 'social and family life'(3).

Meanwhile a conference of Churchmen and Nonconformists had met at the National Club, on the invitation of the Hon. and Rev. E.V.Bligh and the Rev. Donald Fraser, with Shaftesbury in the chair. Three resolutions were adopted, asserting the rights of Nonconformists to insist that the Established Church be a Protestant institution, and the need for common action to bring pressure to bear on Parliament.

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1. E.Hodder, op.cit., III, 336.
2. H.P.Liddon, op.cit., IV, 262.
3. Record, 16 July 1873.

A united Vigilance Committee was appointed, composed mainly of Anglicans and Presbyterians, and in August an address was issued urging Evangelicals to rise above party considerations and make the defence of the Gospel the paramount issue in the next general election(1). The Wesleyan Conference announced its willingness to co-operate with all who were like-minded for the repression of Romish principles and practices(2).

The Declaration on Confession and Absolution, signed by 29 leading High Churchmen, including Pusey, Denison, Mackonochie, and affirming the rightness, if not the necessity, of private confession, which appeared in the Times of December 6, did nothing to allay the very general Protestant storm which had been aroused. In January Queen Victoria told the Archbishop of Canterbury that something must be done to check the defiance of the Ritualist clergy(3).

On 20 April 1874, Tait introduced in the House of Lords his Bill for the Regulation of Public Worship. Growing initially out of a meeting of the English Bishops in January, it had for some weeks been the subject of earnest debate in the press, and had already undergone much revision, influenced by the Evangelical Lord Chancellor, Cairns, as well as by the fears of the High Churchmen in Disraeli's Cabinet, since the first report of its provisions in the Times of March 10. As now presented, it provided that the local archdeacon, rural dean, or any parishioner who was a member of the Church of England, could lay a complaint about the illegal conduct of worship

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1. Record, 11,16 July 25 August 1873.
2. Evangelical Christendom, September 1873.
3. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 159-60.

in a parish. This would go before the Bishop, who, if he allowed it to proceed, would be advised by a board of three whether or not to issue a monition. A clergyman who disobeyed the monition would be inhibited indefinitely from ministering in his parish; but he could appeal against it to the Queen in Council, with possibly, if the Archbishop required it, an intermediate hearing in the provincial court. After some discussion in Convocation, further alterations were made, raising the number of parishioners making a charge to three, and replacing the bishop's board by the diocesan chancellor. The bill was read a second time, with these changes, on May 11(1).

Both sides were voluble in their criticism of the measure. Tait's avowed purpose to suppress Ritualism could not but alarm the High Church party. But for Evangelicals the bill did not go far enough. To the Record it seemed merely

> "...designed to do, in fact, although not so effectually, what was proposed in Lord SHAFTESBURY'S skilfully prepared Bills for reforming the Ecclesiastical Courts"(2).

Lord Shaftesbury soon pointed out the powerful position given to bishops by the proposals, while the Record denounced it as "a Bishops' Bill from first to last", and one that might easily be turned against Evangelicals(3).

In June the Lords went into Committee. Cairns had persuaded Shaftesbury to move as amendments a large part of his earlier ecclesiastical courts bills, promising him the support of the Government, though Cabinet divisions prevented an official backing.

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1. Ibid., 158-75.
2. Record, 22 April 1874.
3. Record, 27 April 1874.

Shaftesbury's proposals were largely designed to cheapen and simplify the process of litigation, but his main amendment was aimed at the bishops, substituting for the diocesan tribunals a single judge for the two provinces of York and Canterbury, to whom all complaints would automatically be sent. Archbishop Tait gave his reluctant support to the motion, fearing a more drastic alternative, and it was carried by 112 votes to 13. It was agreed, on the Archbishop of York's insistence, that the new judge should be given the reversion to the offices of Dean of Arches, principal of the Chancery Court of York, and Master of the Faculties. Lord Selborne, who had hoped to reduce the possibility of litigation by increasing the powers of the bishops, had already withdrawn his amendment. Shaftesbury now agreed to a compromise, retaining the episcopal veto, but requiring the bishop to give his reasons for exercising it. Magee had proposed a further amendment to exempt certain practices, including the Eastward position, from the bill's provisions, but the alarm this excited was so great that, partly on Shaftesbury's advice, he withdrew his motion(1).

The Bill left the House of Lords with the support of almost all the peers, but still without government backing. On July 9 it was presented to the Commons by Russell Gurney. Gladstone denounced the measure in a stirring speech, which concluded with six resolutions against it. But a strong Protestant feeling was very evident in the debate which followed, and, combined with pressure from the Queen, succeeded in uniting the Cabinet behind the bill. Disraeli first allowed it a second day, and then pledged his personal support,

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 26 May, 13, 17 June 1874;
P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 177-80.

describing it as a bill 'to put down ritualism', a phrase which was to become famous, and later infamous. The second reading was carried without a division, Gladstone, apparently, having "slunk out of the House"(1).

A number of amendments were made in the Commons. The operation of the bill was deferred for twelve months to allow Convocation to recommend any alterations in the rubrics which they thought fit. The arrangements for the judge's salary were withdrawn, and no others put in their place. Mr.J.Maden Holt, as a member of the Church Association Council, carried an amendment allowing an appeal against the Bishop's veto to the Archbishop. This clause, which was most strongly insisted on by the Commons, was defeated in the Lords by 44 votes to 32, nine bishops voting against it. The bill itself was placed in jeopardy; and it was a very stormy and vitriolic House of Commons which passed the third reading on August 5. Two days later the Royal Assent was given(2).

The Church Association thought that further legislation was still necessary; but Evangelicals were on the whole well satisfied with their achievements(3). The Act did not change the law, but it greatly facilitated the processes of litigation. The most encouraging feature was the almost unanimous expression of Protestant feeling in the Commons. To the Christian Observer it seemed

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1. Ibid., 183-6; E.Hodder, op.cit., III, 347-8.
2. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 3, 5 August 1874; P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 187-91.
3. Church Association, Annual Report, 1874, p.24.

to prove that there must be "no peace with Rome, and no compromise with semi-Romanism"(1). As it happened, however, the episcopal veto was to prevent many law-suits reaching the courts; and technical objections prevented others from proceeding very far. Nor could the new court command the obedience of the Ritualists, who would recognise no 'secular' authority in matters spiritual, any more than the old. And unfortunately for the Evangelical party, public opinion is inconstant. The efforts of the Church Association to enforce the law were to make the society itself increasingly unpopular, and the Ritualist 'martyrs', and the Ritualism they used, ever more attractive.

The first case under the Public Worship Regulation Act was that of the Rev. J.C.Ridsdale, incumbent of St. Peter's, Folkestone. He had been the subject of earlier complaints in Tait's Diocesan Court. Twelve charges were now brought against him, including the Eastward position and Eucharistic vestments. Penzance, judge of the new court, condemned him on all twelve, on the grounds that he was bound by the previous decisions of the Privy Council. Ridsdale had acknowledged the court's validity as a civil court, while denying that it had any spiritual jurisdiction. He now appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on four points(2).

The supreme court had itself undergone an important change, under two acts in 1873 and 1876, and it was now a lay court in which bishops could sit as assessors only. Pusey and the E.C.U. had at first been well disposed towards it, hoping for a reversal of the Purchas Judgement;

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1. Christian Observer, October 1874.

2. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 220-1.

but with the appointment of Tait, who they felt had already committed himself publicly against the points in question, as an assessor, the E.C.U. backed out of the case(1). In January the union passed a series of resolutions denying any spiritual authority to the secular power, or to any court which was bound by the judgements of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council(2).

On 12 May 1877 the judgement of the Judicial Committee was delivered. Eucharistic vestments and the crucifix on the screen were declared illegal; the use of wafer bread was illegal but not proven; the Eastward position was allowable if the manual acts were performed in the sight of the congregation. The Church Association felt that, on the whole, the Protestant character of the Church of England had been maintained(3). Ridsdale at first disregarded the judgement, and then accepted from Tait a so-called dispensation from the obligation to act on what he believed was the true meaning of the Ornaments Rubric - i.e. he obeyed the judgement while declaring his refusal to acknowledge its validity. Shortly afterwards the whole case was discredited by the disclosure that at one stage two of the nominal prosecutors had offered to withdraw for £200 each, and the publication of a pamphlet announcing that three of the judges had dissented from the verdict(4).

The prosecution of Arthur Tooth, Vicar of St. James's, Hatcham, marked the first turning of the tide. The case was heard by Lord Penzance, as Dean of Arches, in Lambeth Palace Library, in July 1876.

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1. Ibid., 222-3; H.P.Liddon, op.cit., IV, 272-3, 282-4; G.B.Roberts, op.cit., 177.
2. H.P.Liddon, op.cit., IV, 285-8.
3. Church Association, Annual Report, 1876, pp. 25-31.
4. G.B.Roberts, op.cit., 191-2; W.H.B.Proby, op.cit., II, 326-7.

Excluding those points still under consideration in the Ridsdale appeal, he condemned Tooth in respect of the other charges, and issued a monition. Tooth had refused to appear, or to recognise in the court any authority whatsoever, and he ignored the judgement. On December 16 a writ of inhibition was served, suspending him from conducting divine service in the church for three months. This too Tooth disregarded. The Bishop sent a curate to take charge, and he was refused entrance.

The situation had all the makings of a repetition of the St. George's-in-the-East riots of fifteen years before, but with greater organization on both sides. A Hatcham Defence Committee had existed since 1875, and now a rival Hatcham and Protestant Defence Committee was formed. Anti-Ritualist mobs disturbed the services. The press was in an uproar on the subject. On 13 January, 1877, the Dean of Arches pronounced Tooth contumacious. The penalty for contempt of an ecclesiastical court had been changed in 1813 from deprivation to imprisonment. On January 22, therefore, Tooth was arrested and placed in Horsemonger Lane Jail. He was thus no longer a defiant law-breaker but a martyr for his faith. Spy's cartoon, The Christian Martyr, depicting a tall and slender Tooth languishing behind bars, accurately summed up the reactions of popular opinion.

Tooth and his churchwardens refused to surrender the keys, and so the church was closed for two Sundays. The following week the Bishop's nominee, Benjamin Dale, forced an entrance, and conducted divine worship, amid much disturbance, according to the law. The complainants applied to Penzance for the liberation of Tooth, and he was released on February 17, after one month's imprisonment. The inhibition remained in force.

At St. James's the Church Association candidate, Fry, was elected churchwarden. In May Tooth broke in and celebrated Holy

Communion, complete with vestments and ceremonials; Fry reacted by hacking away with an axe at the Confessional box, and destroying the cross in the centre of the church. The disorders continued through the summer. Archbishop Tait tried in vain to come to some agreement with Tooth. The latter was paraded as a hero of the English Church Union, which had gained 3,500 new members during the twelve months of his persecution. The society's lawyers, meanwhile, had discovered an irregularity in the case. Tooth had been tried at Lambeth Palace, neither in the City of London, Westminster, nor the defendant's diocese, according to the act. An application was therefore made to the Queen's Bench to squash the proceedings, and this appeal was granted in November. The judges declared that Penzance's court was an entirely new jurisdiction - although he had acted as Dean of Arches in this case. Tooth resigned his benefice to prevent a fresh prosecution(1).

Though his imprisonment had discredited the Church Association and won the sympathy of the High Church press, not everyone supported Tooth's stand. The Times condemned his lack of respect for the law; but was equally harsh against the carelessness which could enforce the Public Worship Regulation Act so inefficiently as to render it in important cases null and void. This was not the way to deal with the "deliberate fanaticism" of Ritualism(2). The case against the Rev. T.P. Dale, of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, had collapsed on a similar technicality. Besides the irregular place of the hearing, the Bishop of London, who allowed the prosecution, and the Archbishop of Canterbury both had an

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1. Church Association, Annual Reports, 1876, 1877; Joyce Coombs, Judgement on Hatcham (London, 1969).

2. Times, 14 July 1877.

interest in the patronage of the benefice, and were thus disqualified from taking part in the matter. On 29 June, 1877, the Court of Queen's Bench granted Dale's appeal that the proceedings be set aside(1).

In fact, the policy of litigation to suppress Ritualism was very rapidly becoming an evident fiasco. Of the many prosecutions which were instigated against Ritualists, the bishop's power of veto prevented a large proportion from ever leaving the ground. Others were stopped at a later stage over technical flaws. Nor did this apply only to cases under the Public Worship Regulation Act. In 1878 Bishop Mackarness refused to allow proceedings under the Church Discipline Act of 1840 against Canon Carter of Clewer. Queen's Bench issued a mandamus, but on appeal to the House of Lords this decision was reversed, and the validity of the episcopal veto affirmed(2).

The refusal of Ritualists to obey adverse decisions made a mockery of those cases which did proceed. Machonochie continually ignored or evaded the judgements against him, including a three year suspension pronounced by Penzance in November 1879. The only possible method of enforcement was by imprisonment for contempt of court, and many Church Association members urged this step. The promoter of the suit, John Martin, refused to sanction such a move, however, and the Council decided instead to instigate fresh proceedings to secure Mackonochie's deprivation. Penzance at first refused to decree this, on the grounds that no attempt had been made to enforce the earlier sentence; to pass a further sentence, ignoring Mackonochie's disregard of the first, would bring the law into disrepute. It was

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1. Church Association, Annual Report, 1877, p.39.

2. Church Association, Annual Reports, 1878, 1879, 1880.

while this long drawn out case was still unsolved that Archbishop Tait pleaded from his deathbed, in November 1882, for Mackonochie to resign his benefice in the interests of peace. Mackonochie, against the advice of his supporters, agreed. His resignation took the form of an exchange with Suckling, of St. Peter's, London Docks, however, and so the prosecution continued. The sentence of deprivation was delivered on 21 July, 1883, to be followed by the sequestration of the benefice.

Mackonochie himself had been obstinate and often inconsistent, appealing to courts but not obeying their decisions. He had also been renowned as one of the saints of slum ritualism, and he had been hounded for his convictions until his health was broken. His mind began to fail him in his semi-retirement; he finally died alone in a snow-storm near Ballachulish in 1887(1).

The perseverance of the Church Association in its efforts to suppress Ritualism was making the Evangelical party exceedingly unpopular, But in 1877 any waning of popular Protestantism was skilfully, if temporarily, revived by the outcry over The Priest in Absolution. The book had been written at the request of the Society of the Holy Cross as a manuel for English priests hearing confessions; the first part published in 1866, and the second part, which was circulated privately, completed in 1870. In 1877 a copy of part two came into the hands of a layman, Robert Fleming, a member of the Church Association, and he passed it on to the Earl of Redesdale. On June 14, Redesdale brought the matter before the House of Lords. He read out a series of extracts, including detailed questions for confessors to

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1. M. Reynolds, Martyr of Ritualism, 228-31, 236-54, 259-61.

ask child or adult penitents, some of tham on sexual morality and well calculated to horrify Victorian notions of propriety. The work was roundly denounced in the Lords, and questions were asked also in the Commons about it. The Church Association called a public meeting against the confessional in Exeter Hall in July, and other meetings were held up and down the country. The Upper House of Convocation condemned any doctrine or practice of confession which could be thought to make such a book necessary(1).

This brief furor could scarcely compensate, however, for their complete ineffectiveness against Ritualism; and by turning to more desperate remedies the Evangelical party soon lost its newly regained popular support. In 1880, goaded by Penzance's refusal to deprive Mackonochie of his benefice, the Church Association decided to demand the imprisonment of three Ritualists who continued to disobey the courts.

A new case had been begun against the Rev. T.P.Dale in 1878, and in February 1879 he had been condemned and a monition issued. For several months he had ceased to administer Holy Communion in his church; then resumed both the service and his illegal practices. An order for a three months' inhibition, given in March 1880, was also disobeyed. Applied to by the Church Association, Lord Penzance pronounced Dale in contempt on October 28, and sentenced him to imprisonment in Holloway Jail, Enraght, vicar of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, had been charged in 1879 with thirteen ritual offences, some of which he did in fact agree to give up at the request of the Bishop of Worcester,; but too late for the latter to veto the case.

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1. Ibid., 211-23.

It had already caused a great scandal, when a consecrated wafer, obtained on the pretence of communicating, was produced as evidence in court. Protest meetings were held all over the country, and after much controversy the wafer was given to Tait, who reverently consumed 'IT' in his private chapel. Penzance had issued a monition in August 1879, and a three months' inhibition the following February. Neither sentence was obeyed. On November 20 Penzance ordered Enraght's contempt to be signified to the Chancery Court, and on 27 November he was arrested and placed in Warwick Jail.

The Green case had begun with a petition to the Bishop of Manchester in 1878 from 320 parishioners of Miles Platting. The Church Association had then taken the matter up, and brought a formal complaint under the P. .R.Act. As in the other cases, Green was condemned by Penzance, and a monition, disregarded, was followed by an inhibition. Green was pronounced contumacious on 28 October, 1880, the same day as Dale, but because he lived in the County Palatine of Lancaster his imprisonment was delayed until March 1881(1).

Dale and Enraght were released very shortly, their imprisonment invalidated in January 1881 in a technical objection. Green remained in prison for nearly twenty months. The Church Association insisted that he was there for contempt, not for violating the Church's laws, and had only to agree to obey Penzance's court; pointed too to Green's inconsistency in not acknowledging the authority of Parliament, and yet basing his claims on the Parliament of the second year of Edward VI's reign. The Council therefore made no move to secure his release; and by pressing for the auction of his household goods to recover their

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1. Church Association, Annual Reports, 1879, 1880; G.B.Roberts, op.cit., 226-7, 231; P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 231-2, 264-6, 275-6.

costs, they further alienated public opinion. Pusey and Wood worked to free Green unconditionally; and when their efforts failed a bill was presented in the Lords by Beauchamp to provide for the automatic release after six months of anyone imprisoned for contempt of an ecclesiastical court. This passed the Lords, after modifications in committee, but was never read in the Commons owing to the lack of a quorum when it was introduced. A further bill, with a similar object, introduced by the Archbishop of York, also failed in the Commons for the same reason. The difficulties of securing ecclesiastical legislation were making themselves felt. In August 1882, Green was automatically deprived of his benefice, under the Public Worship Regulation Act, for disobeying the suspension of three years before. The E.C.U. declared that his deprivation would be treated with the same contempt, but in the end Green agreed to resign. Bishop Fraser applied for his release, and he left prison in November(1).

Antlony Thorold, in his first pastoral letter as Bishop of Rochester, had warned that

> ".. if you want to rally the masses to the side of the Ritualists, make martyrs of them"(2).

And in the uproar over these imprisonments the Church Association reached a new peak of unpopularity. In December 1880 Archbishop Tait, at a ruridecanal conference, pointed to the deplorable state of affairs in the Church, and asked Churchmen to tell him frankly what they wanted. The result was a memorial presented by Dean Church, signed by nearly 4,000 High Church clergymen, and claiming toleration of

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1. Ibid., 277, 279, 283-4.
2. A.W.Thorold, A Pastoral Letter to the Diocese of Rochester (London, 1878), 53.

diversity in ritual. An Evangelical counter-memorial eventually secured a like number of signatures, and a lay memorial, headed by Shaftesbury, Harrowby and others, was also circulated(1). Pusey published a letter to Liddon on Unlaw in Judgements of the Judicial Committee and its Remedies, denouncing the prosecutions and affirming his party's consistency in protesting against the supreme court and the Purchas and Ridsdale Judgements. He urged that the court be made truly ecclesiastical, and that moderate ritual be allowed(2).

In 1881 the Dean of York proposed a resolution in York Convocation blaming the bishops for the prosecutions under the Public Worship Regulation Act. This was defeated by a majority of one. The following February the Lower House passed his gravamen

> "That the continued imprisonment of the Rev. S.F. Green a clergyman of this province, is a perplexity and scandal to this House and to the Church at large".

The bishops were requested to take united action to secure Green's release, but replied that such a course was legally impossible. The Convocation of Canterbury passed a similar resolution at the same time, however, and the Archbishop of York's bill was partly a response to these expressions of opinion(3). At the Oxford Diocesan Conference, in October 1882, Mr. Henry Wilson moved a resolution in favour of the dissolution of both the Church Association and the E.C.U. Christopher's amendment in defence of the former was rejected, as

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1. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 267-8; Record, 2, 21 February, 9, 23 March 1881.
2. E.B.Pusey, Unlaw in Judgements of the Judicial Committee and its Remedies (London, 1881).
3. T. Hughes, James Fraser, Second Bishop of Manchester, II, 286-92; Times, 20 February 1882.

was the previous question, and Wilson's motion was carried(1). In July the Evangelical Lords Mount-Temple and . Midleton had joined in the condemnation of both societies at the Winchester Diocesan Conference(2).

For the Evangelical party itself was by now bitterly divided over the policy of litigation. As early as 1875, Titcomb had held out an olive branch to the Ritualists in a series of letters to the Guardian, putting forth an Evangelical view of sacerdotalism such as might be acceptable to High Churchmen, and pleading in return for a like concession on vestments from the other side. Littledale and other Ritualists, however, though enthusiastic about the former, could not compromise on the latter. And the Rock decried the eirenicon as "quack medicine"; while as for an Evangelical sacerdotalism,

> "He might as well have attempted to secure a midnight photograph of the transit of Venus across the sun"(3).

any who had supported the attempts to define the law were unwilling to press its enforcement. In 1877 Charles Holland suggested that further proceedings by the Church Association would seem to be persecution; to which George Fox replied that there was still work to be done(4).

It was in 1880, the year of the three imprisonments, that the crisis came. James Bateman, a member of the Church Association Council, published a letter to the Chairman ascribing its failure to the uncertain and entangled state of the law, the timidity and unfaithfulness

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1. Record, 13 October 1882.
2. Record, 28 July 1882.
3. Guardian, 20, 27 January, 3, 10, 17 February 1875; Rock, 5 February 1875.
4. Record, 11, 18 June 1877.

of bishops, and the half-heartedness of the 'Neo-Evangelical Party', corrupted by attendance at Church Congresses(1). Samuel Garratt, who had all along opposed the prosecutions, retorted that on the contrary, failure proved the folly and wrongfulness of fighting God's battles with 'carnal weapons'(2). He expanded his argument in a pamphlet on Evangelical policy, What shall we do ?, published in March 1881.

> "...How can men who have consciences hope to compel other men having consciences, and believing as they believe, to act otherwise than they act ? ... The battle must be fought, and fought out; but...the weapons must be spiritual not carnal - sound doctrine, fair reasoning, the comparison of fruits, the appeal to Scripture; and ...He must give the victory who can, by His Holy Ghost, turn men's darkness into light, and bring into subjection every thought to the obedience of Christ..."(3).

During November and December 1880 the Record was full of correspondence on the Church Association; some of the letters urging a more vigorous policy, more of them approving of earlier prosecutions, but deprecating the idea of further litigation.

It was difficult to proceed with law-suits in the face of the bishops' vetoes, and of charges of persecution. One solution, very generally favoured at the Church Association Conference in November, was to change the law(4). The Council prepared a bill to enable the

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1. J.Bateman, The Church Association: its policy and prospects considered in a letter to the Chairman (London, 1880).
2. E.R.Garratt, Life and Personal Recollections of Samuel Garratt, 94-6.
3. S.Garratt, What shall we do ? or True Evangelical Policy (London, 1881), 23.
4. Record, 5 November 1880.

Dean of Arches to pass a sentence of deprivation for contumacy - and also to remove the episcopal veto in cases where a Queen's Counsel certified that the matters complained of had been judicially declared unlawful(1). By 1882 the society could report that a Contumacious Clerks' Bill on those lines was before the House of Commons(2). Alas, it went the way of most ecclesiastical bills at that time.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had meanwhile secured the appointment, in 1881, of a Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts. The Record was suspicious from the first of the High Church bias of its composition(3); its report, presented in 1883, pleased neither side. The Commission recommended the revival of ecclesiastical diocesan courts, with greater power for the bishops, and the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical character of the provincial judge. The final court of appeal would be a lay court, representing the royal supremacy. Imprisonment was to be replaced by suspension, followed by deprivation.

The Commissioners themselves were greatly divided, and many signed the report with qualifications(4). The E.C.U. rejoiced in the assertion of spiritual authority, but could not accept the proposed supreme court(5). Evangelicals could not even here present a united front. The Dean of Canterbury put forward a moderate, broadly-based memorial of objections to the report; the Church Association, which felt that the Commission was seeking to set up the unchecked, 'personal'

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1. Church Association, Annual Report, 1880, p.32.
2. Church Association, Annual Report, 1881, pp. 34-5.
3. Record, 13 May 1881.
4. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, 287-8.
5. G.B.Roberts, op.cit., 271.

rule of bishops, issued a more extreme counter-memorial. The Record supported the former; Ryle and Joseph Hoare were inclined to favour the latter(1). In the event, no real steps were taken to put into effect any of the Commission's suggestions. The situation remained at an impasse.

The crises of the past few years had greatly depleted the ranks of the Church Association. The society's funds, rising steadily until 1877, had after that peak year begun steadily to decline. In 1877 the branch associations sent in £3,372; and £1,138 was given in general subscriptions, with £2,007 in donations. The General Fund stood at £7,519; Guarantee and Special Funds at £4,185 and £3,620 respectively. in 1880 the General Fund was £5,054 and the Guarantee Fund £3,733; by 1883 the figures were £4,528 and £1,320 respectively. That year £2,052 was received from the branches, £737 in subscriptions and £208 in donations. In 1887 the General Fund was £2,725, the Guarantee Fund £673; only £1,253 had been sent in by the branches, with £474 subscriptions and £258 donations. Webb-Peploe and the Rev. G.W.Weldon left the Council of the Church Association in 1882, and seem to have stopped paying a subscription shortly after. Ryle withdrew his name from the society on his consecration as Bishop of Liverpool in 1880 - to avoid appearing too partisan. The Revs. E.H.Bickersteth and Joseph Nunn of Manchester were also among those who left in the early 'eighties. Some later rejoined; Tristram of Durham missed only one year's subscription, in 1880, and in 1883 the annual report announced the return of a number of old friends(2). Times were certainly difficult

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1. Record, 10 October 1884; Church Assocation, Annual Report, 1883, 1884.

2. Church Association, Annual Reports.

though. In 1879 an attempt to open a new branch at Portsmouth failed miserably(1). At Cambridge a meeting on 1 December 1881 voted that the question of a branch of the Church Assocation there be 'in abeyance' until further counsel could be taken. The general feeling was that the presence of the Association would divide the Evangelical party in the university. Handley Moule abstained from voting(2).

The Rock maintained its defence of the Church Association, and its contempt for those who called for a negative policy of "masterly inaction"(3). But for the Record these years marked the gradual adoption of a more moderate tone; symbolised in March 1882 by the change from a 2½d. triweekly to a 4d. weekly form concentrating on purely religious matters. Alexander Haldane, its earlier proprietor and ruling spirit, died in July, having retired from his dominant position some time previously. Whilst acknowledging the value of the Church Assocation's achievements in ascertaining the law, and regretting that the battle had been fought out too much alone, the Record felt that the policy of imprisonments was a great mistake - not in principle, but in its results in alienating a majority of Evangelical clergymen. By 1883 the Record reckoned that the society was predominantly a lay one(4).

The annual report for 1884 placed Evangelical disintegration in the forefront of the Church Association's difficulties.

"It is not from the trenchant obloquy, and the incessant

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1. W.H.B.Proby, op.cit., II, 476.

2. Record, 5 December 1881.

3. Rock, 22 August 1884.

4. Record, 4 November 1881, 13 March 1882, 18 May 1883.

misrepresentation of an unscrupulous foe, but from the waning love, the dubious attitude, and the declining firmness of 'once familiar friends', that the Church Association suffers.....

In the name of charity and peace, we are counselled to let the Ritualists alone, and to consider them, instead of 'Ritualistic foes', as 'Ritualistic brethren' erring in excess - of what?

Charity is not only made to cover a multitude of sins in these days, but to cover an interested expediency also - a dereliction of principle would be a better term. Present convenience dictates a present peace. Truth which is absolute is being made relative, and the pulse of public opinion records the fluctuations of its vibrations.."(1).

One trouble was that the rot was spreading even within the ranks of the Evangelical party itself. As the law was gradually clarified, a number of Evangelicals felt that they should revise their own practice in accordance with it. The Purchas Judgement of 1871, in condemning Eucharistic vestments, stated that the surplice should be worn by the minister in all his ministrations. The removal of the surplice before entering the pulpit had hitherto been a significant badge of Evangelicalism, symbolising that the Church was not responsible for the utterances of the preacher. Now the Record and other papers were flooded with correspondence wondering

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1. Church Association, Annual Report, 1884, pp. 63-4.

if this was to be considered illegal in the light of the recent decision. The general anxiety was increased when the Bishops of London and Winchester formally recommended their clergy in future to wear the surplice in the pulpit.

In January 1872 the newly formed Clerical and Lay Union held a conference on the subject in Exeter Hall. A circular letter had been sent to 1,250 Evangelical Churchmen, seemingly members of the Church Association, of whom 406 had replied. The majority of these, representing 13 associations and 248 members, including Shaftesbury and Ebury, objected to the surplice; 54 urged its immediate adoption as a gesture of conciliation; while 92 members and 20 branches recommended that a legal opinion be taken. Garbett reported that the committee were strongly in favour of sticking to the black gown; and Ryle pressed for the adoption of a series of resolutions asserting the inexpediency of adopting the surplice as a preaching-dress, contrary to customary usage and the wishes of the laity, before its legality was duly established by law. His motion that the question was in itself indifferent was withdrawn after discussion, but the others were carried with only three dissidents(1). The conference had no power to bind the party as a whole, however, and the question was by no means settled. The Rock continued to receive letters on both sides - whilst itself asserting that the recent judgement had had no connection with the question of the legality of the black gown in the pulpit(2).

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1. Record, 2 February 1872.

2. Rock, 16 February 1872.

With the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874, a fresh controversy arose as to whether Evangelical ritual and vestments should be raised in conformity with the rubrics. The Record felt that any change would amount to a confession that the existing practices were wrong; and the Rock reminded its readers that the act was intended to put down Ritualism not Evangelicalism.

> "To argue that if we extirpate the Ritualists on the one hand we are bound to hack away at the Evangelicals on the other, is not one whit more foolish than to maintain that because we are about to cut off a left leg which shows signs of mortification we must also - in order to maintain the equilibrium of the system - amputate a right arm which is perfectly healthy - excepting perhaps, a little nettle-rash!"(1).

In 1876 that fiery Evangelical John Charles Ryle himself came under fire for preaching in a surplice in Crosthwaite Church while on holiday in the Lake District. 'Three Protestant Tourists' who attended the service, wrote in protest to the Rock, whose editor declared that the surplice, in itself innocent, was detestable as a first step on the road to Rome. Ryle wrote to explain that he had had no gown with him, and that it would have been churlish to have refused to preach in a surplice - the customary dress in the church. Most of the correspondence in the Rock condemned Ryle's action, but Francis Close wrote an angry letter to the Record denouncing such suspicion of a staunch Evangelical leader, and such quibbling over trivialities.

> "Not content with the true bread of life, they

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1. Record, 3 September 1875; Rock, 27 August 1875.

> quarrel with it because it is served up in a white dish with black edges instead of a black dish with white edges."

Close himself had preached in a surplice, which he much preferred, for the last twenty years(1). Both Close and Ryle, it should be noted, were among the firmest supporters of a strong line against Ritualism; so that the adoption of moderate ritual and toleration of Romanism were by no means an inevitable cause and effect.

Over the next few years the surplice became increasingly common as a preaching vestment. By 1883 the Record estimated that it was worn in the pulpit of more than two thirds of the churches in the diocese of London(2). In June 1887, Barton introduced it in Trinity Church, Cambridge, greatly upsetting his friend Handley Moule, no bigotted party-man, but one who, like many Evangelicals, regarded such matters with a seriousness not readily understood today. The following Sunday, however, Moule himself appeared in a surplice, "a trial, but God kept me in peace"(3).

Many Evangelicals, concerned to reach out to the unevangelized, and to deepen their own spiritual life, did not hesitate to borrow ideas from other schools. The use of missions will be discussed in a later chapter; in 1874 the Rev. E.H.Bickersteth gave an account in the Record of a retreat held in Christ Church, Hampstead, that October, which he felt was an important corollary of the mission movement. He urged Evangelicals not to stand aloof from retreats on

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1. Rock, 15, 22 September 1876; Record, 18, 27 September 1876.
2. Record, 18 May 1883.
3. Record, 10 June 1887; Moule's MS. Diary, 4, 5, 12 June 1887.

account of their Romish name(1). His letter was followed by a mixed correspondence in the Record; some warning of the dangers of Ritualist practices; Canon C.F.S.Money regretting the use of the word, but confirming that the gathering, which he had himself attended, had been much blessed(2). Lord Shaftesbury had been horrified - but mostly by the title.

> "Regard for the consciences of weak brethren should have led them to give their seclusion another name"(3).

In August 1878 an Evangelical retreat was announced at Clifton. The Rock protested against this idea of going to the Ritualists for an example of spiritual strengthening(4); but already the practice was becoming widely used, though largely under the name of 'Quiet Days'. Thorold had conducted some half a dozen of these by 1877, and he made it his practice, as Bishop of Rochester, frequently to invite his clergy to 'come apart and rest awhile'; with a special gathering each year for their wives(5). In 1879 the Bishops of London and Rochester joined together in a great Quiet Day for the clergy of both dioceses in St.Paul's. The Record objected to the size and publicity on this occasion, but not to the institution as such(6). Moule was much in demand on such occasions, and often found himself addressing gatherings of High Churchmen, as at Hardingham, near Norwich, in September 1887(7).

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1. Record, 2 December 1874.
2. Record, 16, 21 December 1874.
3. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 24 October 1874.
4. Rock, 30 August 1878.
5. A.W.Thorold, A Pastoral Letter to the Diocese of Rochester (London, 1878), 19; C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 207.
6. Record, 17 February 1879.
7. Moule's MS. Diary, 14 September 1887.

At the Southport Evangelical Conference in 1880, the Rev. E.H. Bickersteth read a paper on "How may Evangelical Churchmen best refute the evil and choose the good in other schools of thought", in which he pleaded for an open mind to learn from others, while cleaving steadfastly to Protestant Evangelical principles. The question of Quiet Days for the clergy was discussed, with expressions of approval from some, and warnings against 'unhealthy excitement' from others. William Lefroy was warmly applauded when he declared, in a paper advocating the practice, that

> "... the wisdom of the Church of England was not to measure the morality or the executive value of anything by its nearness or distance from Rome, but by its own intrinsic and effluential worth"(1).

These developments were firmly opposed by the more dogmatic of the Evangelical party. In 1876 the Rock declared that there must be no compromise with Ritualism, even on minor points(2). And in April 1882, the increasing use of surplices called forth a solemn warning of their dangerous tendencies. A surpliced choir led to a procession, becoming gradually more elaborate, with in time the adoption of "a peculiar mediaeval nomenclature"; of "altar", "matins", "sanctuary", "priest".

> "In short a career of transformation has begun which will have ample room to grow, and which may be certainly relied upon to advance only in one direction. Every clergyman and every congregation tempted to break loose from the sure-holding ground

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1. Record, 31 May 1880.

2. Rock, 24 March 1876.

> of primitive rites and simplicity of worship should realise that from the smallest beginnings some portions more or less of the rising scale of sensuous worship must be faced and grappled with..."(1).

Two weeks later the Rock produced a 'Centigrade Ritualometer', to measure in detail the progress Romewards of such devients from a rigid orthodoxy(2).

In 1874 the Record had uttered a note of disapproval of the adoption of Ritualistic dress, of Hymns Ancient and Modern etc.(3). But by 1883 this paper was itself included among those attacked as "New Departure Evangelicals" at the Church Association and Evangelical Protestant Union Conferences. The Record pleaded for greater tolerance in matters not essential, and denounced those who

> "... lament the lapse of Evangelical Churchmen from some pet shiboleth of their own as if it involved the sacrifice of all truth."

Though the writer was quick to repudiate any charge that

> "... the Record had ... become the 'authorized organ' of this policy of yielding in matters of fashion. We should as soon regard ourselves as the organ of blue china teapots and aesthetic dadoes as of surpliced choirs and Church decorations. We look on them in very much the same light..."(4).

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1. Rock, 28 April 1882.
2. See Appendix B.
3. Record, 20 March 1874.
4. Record, 18 May 1883.

The question of ritual, in fact, had succeeded in creating a wide rift in the Evangelical party. At the Church Association Conference in 1879, Edward Garbett drew a distinction between the Evangelical party and the Evangelical school, asserting that a perceptible change had come over the latter which brought it into closer conformity with the early Evangelical Revival. Instead of the rigidities of the middle period of their history, Evangelicals were beginning to recover an appreciation of the Church, of sacraments and worship.

Though some other speakers agreed with him, general opinion at the meeting deplored the adoption of non-evangelical practices(1). And the heated controversy which his paper aroused showed how bitterly divided were Evangelicals on the subject. The Record deprecated Garbett's 'couleur de rose' view of the falling away of so many from their first love(2). At Southport, the Rev. J.W.Bardsley spoke out against the narrowness of older Evangelicals, which threatened, he said, to disrupt the body, and led many true Evangelicals to dissociate themselves from the party. A host of letters in the Record retorted that "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way..."(3).

After four highly critical years, the Islington Clerical Meeting of January 1883 brought out very clearly the existence of two distinct sections of the Evangelical party - so much so that the Record could talk of the wisdom of securing representatives of both as speakers, and urge the importance of acknowledging the varieties of Evangelical opinion, while acting together in union. In actual fact, it was the more liberal Evangelicals who were best represented at Islington.

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1. Record, 23 May 1879.

2. Record, 26, 28 May 1879.

3. Record, 6, 13, 16, 18, 25 June 1879.

Elliott and Goe were heartily cheered when they criticised any condemnation of harmless aesthetic fashions, and urged the power of a holy life as the best defence against Ritualism. Lefroy, who strongly denounced the Ritualists, and the inaction of the bishops, yet pointed out that

> "There is narrowness and narrowness. Narrowness for the purity of everlasting doctrine we must glory in, and we must go forth in the world rejoicing that we are accounted worthy to suffer for such a cause. But may we not justly be considered narrow if we refuse to bring our services more into harmony with the ideas of the age?"(1).

The Record was immediately deluged with correspondence; some applauding, as did the paper's editorials, the new liberal evangelicalism; others, including Joseph Hoare and Canon Bell, as strongly opposing it(2). In May the Rock itself inserted, directly after the leading articles, a communicated article pleading for a recognition that the Church of England was wider than the Church Association, and that whilst "all Evangelicals are Protestants... all Protestants are not Evangelicals"(3). At the Western Clerical and Lay Conference, the following year, Canon Money put forward the opposite point of view. He loudly criticised the current insensitivity to error of so many Evangelicals, and added sorrowfully that

> "The fact is (and we cannot ignore it) that the division which exists in the Church at large

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1. Record, 19 January 1883.
2. Record, 19, 26 January, 9, 16, 23 February 1883.
3. Rock, 25 May 1883.

> reappears, though with fainter shades of difference, in the Evangelical body. There are amongst us the high, and broad, and low"(1).

When in 1885 Bishop Ryle allowed the case against the Rev. J. Bell-Cox, vicar of St. Margaret's, Liverpool, to proceed, the policy of prosecutions had become so unpopular that even the Church Association dissociated itself from the suit, on the grounds that there was nothing new to be ascertained in the points raised(2). Ryle had earlier, apparently, been instrumental in preventing litigation in his diocese, and Archbishop Benson recorded that Ryle "seems to have tried honestly his best to avoid it" in this instance(3). But he had been prominent in his denunciations of the episcopal veto, and declined to use it now(4).

The Record agreed that he could not, without abuse, have exercised his power of veto; but the paper spoke out against the case itself, pointing out the distinction between completing litigation which it had not been known would result in imprisonment, and initiating a fresh prosecution in the knowledge that it would do so.

> "At any rate, it should be clearly understood that the great body of Evangelical Churchmen look with neither favour nor acquiescence on the recommencement of ritual litigation at the present time"(5).

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1. Record, 13 June 1884.
2. Church Association, Annual Report, 1886, pp. 34-5
3. A.C.Benson, Edward White Benson, II, 243.
4. M.L.Loane, Makers of our Heritage (London, 1967), 48.
5. Record, 20, 27 February 1885.

The Record felt that

> "...our friends who think prosecutions will, in the present state of things, tend to rid the Church of Romanizing treachery, are like Englishmen who, overflowing with patriotism and eager to serve their country, should at this juncture busy themselves in preparing battering-rams to fight the Russians. e venture to tell them, and it is only the sad certainty of the truth of our advice that reconciles us to the unenviable task of giving it, that their desire to withstand Ritualism is good, but that their method of doing so is disastrously bad"(1).

Cadman, Bayley and Goe endorsed the Record's line, but most of the paper's correspondents took the opposite view. The English Churchman, which had replaced the Rock as organ of the extreme Evangelicals, was very outspoken in support of the Bell-Cox case(2).

The Church Association was caught between two stools; criticised for its hesitations as well as for its aggressions. At the annual meeting in May 1885, a sparse gathering of less than two hundred, a disturbance broke out when a member of the audience rose to object to the adoption of the report. A number of extreme Evangelicals pressed for a motion committing the Council to a more active policy in future; and it was only after much angry debate that this rider was rejected by a large majority and the report carried(3). The society's next report announced that, after that meeting,

> "...it was not possible for the Council to call the public in, and to proclaim from a public platform

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1. Record, 24 April 1885.

2. Record, 13, 20, 27 March 1885; English Churchman, 5, 19 March 1885.

3. Record, 15 May 1885.

> confidentially many details of work beset with difficulties. It was sufficiently demonstrated that the prudent course for the Association is to select for its government a Council in which it can trust and then to repose in its Council a generous confidence"(1).

After twenty years of litigation, the Ritualist star was in the ascendant in the Church, and the Evangelical cause, as it seemed to many, at its nadir. The attempts to enforce the law had not only failed to achieve their object, but had aggravated the spread of Ritualism, which now even, in externals, reached within the Evangelical party itself. Dissension and distrust were rife in both Church Association and Evangelical party as a whole. One major problem was the attitude of the bishops; their tolerance, even sometimes, encouragement, of Ritualism. Ignoring the evident failure of the whole policy of prosecutions, the Council of the Church Association decided to concentrate their attention on this problem. Perhaps it was inevitable that, once set in motion, the process had to be followed step by step to its final, logical conclusion. At the November Conference of 1884 Mr. J.Maden Holt, as chairman of the Church Association, asked for a "'mandate' from the Evangelical members of the Church of England","to ascertain how far the law can be brought to bear upon an offending bishop"(2).

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1. Church Association, Annual Report, 1885, p.31.

2. Record, 14 November 1884.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSOLIDATION.

I. THE EVANGELICAL PARTY.

On all sides in the later 1860's, and inevitably infecting the Evangelical party, came the cry for organization as the panacea for all ills. The Record noted the effectiveness of a compact parliamentary party in securing Irish Roman Catholic aims, and urged its imitation by Evangelicals.

> "Surely we are not too blind to learn the lesson. The old Reform cry was, Register, Register. The present cry of our religious Conservatism should be Organise, Organise. With Parliamentary Organisation, successful resistance to revolutionary scepticism is in the highest degree probable, but without it failure and defeat are inevitable"(1).

The Christian Observer called for a closer bond of union; the Rev. C.F.Childe argued that as individuals Protestant Churchmen could do nothing - organization was essential(2). To John Charles Ryle, Evangelical divisions were the main reason for the diminished influence of the party(3). At the Islington Conference of January 1868, in a paper published later that year, he insisted that "We must unite!"

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1. Record, 5 June 1867.
2. Christian Observer, January 1868; C.F.Childe, "Organized Union of Protestant Churchmen: Is it Desirable?", Truths for the Times (London, 1867).
3. Christian Advocate, March 1870.

> "... I see on all sides the principle of association carried out to an enormous extent in these latter days. I see chambers of commerce and agriculture established for commercial purposes. I see anti-corn law leagues and reform leagues established for political ends. I see trades unions established for the promotion and defence of class interests. I see the Jesuit body overspreading the world for ecclesiastical ends, - a sword whose hilt is at Rome, and whose point is at every man's heart. I see even the English Church Union (for the Propagation of Romish Views in the Church of England) numbering its thousands and exerting no small influence and power. And shall I believe that Evangelical Churchmen cannot be combined, organized, and united, for the defence of Christ's truth? Shall I lazily sit down and say, 'There is a lion in the way,' there is'a hedge of thorns across the path'; the thing cannot be done? I will not say it yet"(1).

In the early years of the century, the Evangelical party, under the able leadership of Wilberforce and his fellows, had been a reasonably homogenous body, linked together by the network of religious societies - Church Missionary, Bible, Jews', Church Pastoral-Aid Societies and others - created during that period. The Islington Clerical Conference gradually became an important centre for the discussion and proclamation of the party line, and the great May Meetings provided a special social centre. Still in 1870 the

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1. Christian Observer, November 1868.



Ex. 85: *Pause Ininterrompue* III, b. 5

As Ex. 86 illustrates, Takemitsu was still doing more or less precisely the same thing twenty-three years later, in 1982. The bar quoted here is constructed in almost exactly the same fashion as that in the previous example, except that the interval of transposition is a minor rather than a major third – an interval which, as Koozin points out, maintains the transposition of the octatonic mode employed intact. The whole bar, in other words, remains in 'mode II^2', excepting the A♮ and F♯ in the left hand, which are pitches foreign to the prevailing mode, and whose placing fulfills the condition laid down by Koozin for the introduction of such alien elements, in that they form semitone relationships with the 'bass'. (This bar is in itself a transposed repetition, down a perfect fifth, of b. 41 of the work.)

In its minimum form, the material repeated in transposition may consist of no more than a single harmony; in this instance, the result is a kind of harmonic parallelism, in which a whole harmony is simply transposed globally by a given intervallic factor. Miyoshi, in the article already referred to, draws attention to one such global transposition of harmonic materials, occurring between bars 4 and 5 of *Dream/Window*, where the essential harmony of the latter is simply the harmony of the preceding bar transposed down a major second.[270] Such progressions invite comparison with the so-called 'side-slippings (steppings)' popular during the lat-

[270] Miyoshi, op. cit., p. 131

Christian Observer held that in these gatherings lay the strength and true union of Evangelicals(1). But Ryle, among others, felt that these religious societies, with their own work to do, could not provide the party organization which vastly increased numbers, and the pressures of the times, demanded(2).

And great leadership, of the stature of earlier days, seemed to be lacking. The Record, commenting on the death of Stowell in 1865, remarked that, whilst the general standard was more elevated, no single prominent men were coming forward to take the place of the passing generation as illustrious champions of the faith(3). Lord Shaftesbury, who called himself "an Evangelical of the Evangelicals", emphatically denied that he was a leader of the party(4); and though very generally hailed as just that, he was always, in fact, more of an aristocratic patron, coming forward in person to head particular causes, than guide and director of the movement as a whole. And in the years after 1865, with increasing age, Shaftesbury was increasingly aware of his isolation from the mainstream of the party - of being pushed aside as a "worn-out tool" (though it must be noted that his sense of standing alone, unappreciated, had been present long before)(5). The decade of Palmerston's ascendancy, though with Shaftesbury's help it had raised a number of Evangelicals to the episcopate, had created no outstanding episcopal leaders of the party. The clerical leadership tended to come from the lower ranks, the McNeiles and Millers. At the start of our period Ryle was beginning to emerge as a prominent figure,

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1. Christian Observer, May 1870
2. Christian Observer, November 1868.
3. Record, 25 October 1865.
4. E.Hodder, op.cit., III, 3-4.
5. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 14 January 1875.

but his position as a country rector gave him no intrinsic claim to attention and as yet many Evangelicals disagreed with him on the issues on which he spoke loudest.

Not that this was an unusual situation. Evangelicals were very fond of describing themselves as a "rope of sand", an epithet first applied to them, apparently, by John Wesley; and Henry Venn, brushing aside all talk of a split between old and young in 1870, asserted that there had always been differences within the body on secondary matters.

> "Those who know them [the Evangelical party] best regard the term 'party' as a misnomer. There is very little disposition to adopt common plans, each follows his own convictions. There is little deference to leaders, they rely upon an internal guidance; accessions to the body are not made by joining a party, but by embracing principles..."(1).

Statements like that of Shaftesbury to the C.P.A.S. in 1869, that there never was, in fact, an Evangelical party(2), can be misleading, or lead off into abstract discussions on the meaning of the term. The Evangelicals within the Church of England were as much of a party in 1865 as was any other religious group (as opposed to denomination). What was significant was the conviction of a few determined men that in the circumstances of the times this was no longer enough.

The issues which were arising in this period; of disestablishment, education, ritualism and infidelity, the problem of reaching the masses, and developments in Church government; all demanded a coherent policy if the Evangelical party was to be strong in its reaction.

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1. Christian Observer, September 1870.

2. Record, 10 May 1869.

And coherence was just what the party lacked. Almost all these issues, as I hope this thesis indicates, produced internal conflicts between different sections of the Evangelical school. The attempt, in these years, to build up an organized party machinery was, in essence, an attempt to settle these conflicts by establishing a final authority which would decide them. Ironically enough, it became itself a source of division; a struggle, which had been and was echoed in other denominations, and in the development of the Church of England as a whole, between the centrifugal and the centripetal forces in Evangelicalism; between local autonomy and a centralised, if democratic, authority. And in the case of the Evangelical party, the burden of action was on the centralisers, and apathy, as well as Evangelical individualism, against them.

Francis Close, pleading for combined action against Ritualistic combination at the Carlisle Evangelical Union in 1866, declared that there could be no better agency for this end than the Church Association(1). The Record felt that the Church Association's successful conference in November 1867 proved that if the Evangelical party had once been a rope of sand it was so no longer(2). Ryle argued that in the Association lay the potential centre of unity which the party needed - though he admitted that the society had begun too much as a negative, anti-ritualist, rather than a positive, evangelical organization(3). In fact, it was weakened as a rallying point by the narrowness of its aims, concentrating on the legal battle with the Ritualists as much as did the C.M.S., for example,

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1. F.Close, The Catholic Revival (London, 1866), 27.

2. Record, 2 December 1867.

3. J.C.Ryle, We must Unite! (London, 1868), 24-5.

on missionary activity. And we have seen how the policy of prosecutions, never fully approved by all Evangelicals, gradually alienated the support of increasing numbers, until the Record could discuss the party and the association as two entirely different entities. As early as January 1867, commenting on a project for Evangelical union broached at the Islington Conference, the Record warned that it must be spiritual in its aims as well as defensive, for "men do not care to band together merely for standing on guard"(1). In November 1869 the paper said,

> "We shall not be suspected, we trust, of any lukewarmness in the cause of the Association or any lack of appreciation of the great service it has already done to the cause of the Church of England; but nevertheless the Association, from its very character and object, is mainly supported by the bolder and more resolute spirits of the party, and many stood aloof from it whom we cannot afford to lose, and who are true brothers in mind and heart. An Evangelical Union should include all these, and constitute a body alike formidable by its numbers, and equally influential by its character".

What the Record's leader writer had in mind was a union of the local Evangelical societies which already existed in various parts of the country(2). Clerical and Lay Associations had been springing up from the late 'fifties, the first apparently being that formed at Gloucester for the West of England in 1858, which

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1. Record, 23 January 1867.

2. Record, 3 November 1869.

by 1860 had 320 members, The association for the Midland District, founded at Derby a year later, had 105 members in 1860, and 233 by 1863, 139 of them clergymen, 94 laymen(1). In 1859 Harford Battersby began an Evangelical Union for the Diocese of Carlisle, and there followed similar associations for the Northern Home Counties, Eastern Counties, East Lincolnshire and elsewhere.

The Clerical ard Lay Associations were primarily for personal fellowship, and held annual conferences which were largely devotional or concerned with the practical outworkings of faith, though current issues were by no means ignored. The objects of the Western District Association were,

> "first and principally, for general conference with a view to mutual recognition, counsel and communion, at stated periods. Next, as an important adjunct, to afford opportunities for general consultation on all questions affecting the interests of Religion and of the Established Church; and lastly to establish and maintain such organization as may tend, as far as possible, to promote unity in action in every case wherein such action may seem desirable"(2).

The Derby Conference in June 1866 began with a devotional subject, Ephesians iii 14-21, and then a discussion on the Holy Ghost, followed by papers on the subdiaconate, the "Scriptural signs of the times" and Christian missions, the latter by John Venn on

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1. Clerical and Lay Association, Midland District, Report of the Fourth Annual Conference (London, n.d. [1863]); Western District, Report of the Third Annual Conference (London, n.d. [1860]).
2. Ibid.

behalf of the C.M.S. On the second day Henry Linton introduced the devotional subject, and a paper on modern theories of the life of Jesus (Ecce Homo) was followed by very brief discussions on the questions of Ritualism and Christian Unity(1). At Ipswich on May 30 and 31, two hundred Evangelicals of East Anglia had gathered to hear papers on foreign missions, parochial organisations, the Lord's Supper, the Sabbath, irreligion and the evidences of Christianity(2).

The clerical and lay conferences attracted many who shrank from anti-ritualist litigation, and were thus more comprehensive than the Church Association. They provided local nerve centres which might, if linked together, unite the whole Evangelical school party into one coherent party body.

It was Edward Garbett, Vicar of Christ Church, Surbiton, who supplied the driving force behind the movement for union, and largely on his initiative, a conference was held on the subject at the Cannon Street Hotel in January 1870. Joseph Hoare took the chair, and the meeting was apparently well attended. Canon Christopher, Cadman, Auriol, Garratt and the lawyer Sydney Gedge were among the speakers, and a provisional committee was appointed to work out a scheme of union(3). Ryle does not seem to have given an address, though at the Islington Clerical Meeting the day before he had stressed the need for organisation, and advocated a warm support

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1. Record, 29 June 1866.

2. Record, 11 June 1866.

3. Record, 26 January 1870.

for the Conference. Daniel Wilson, on the other hand, had been sceptical, and Joseph Bardsley had firmly deprecated the formation of any association which would be antagonistic to the Church Association(1). The editor of the Record forbore, at this stage, from comment. Shaftesbury grumbled in his diary at the prospect of one more being added to the surfeit of unions with which they were faced(2). The Rock, whilst expressing the view that the multiplication of societies would weaken rather than strengthen the party, was loud in praise of Garbett, and earnestly recommended the remodelling of the Church Association, mistakenly believing this to be Garbett's object(3).

The Church Association in fact, if not strong enough to secure the support of the Evangelicals, was strong enough to prevent the formation of a rival body. Garbett and others were anxious for a union which would be wholly independent of the older association, but they were overruled by the majority at the Cannon Street Conference, and the provisional committee was given a positive instruction to confer with the Council of Church Association(4). The latter, as was declared in the next annual report, were

> "... unanimous in the opinion that the formation of a separate organisation would be fruitful in the elements of misconception and opposition, and would tend in its results rather to create divisions in the

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1. Record, 21 January 1870.
2. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 25 January 1870.
3. Rock, 25 January 1870.
4. Christian Advocate, June 1871.

Evangelical body, than to produce either union of sentiment or community of action"(1).

A draft plan was submitted to Shaftesbury for his approval in August, and at the annual meeting of the Church Association in March 1871, the Council put forward proposals for a Clerical and Lay Union which was to be, in effect, a branch of the Association(2). The inaugural conference was held on the morning of May 11, at the Cannon Street Hotel, with Lord Shaftesbury in the chair. (A time of day, incidentally, significant of the social background to which the Evangelical party felt its effective membership restricted - but this is to state the obvious).

Mr. Valpy read out the scheme submitted by the committee. The Clerical and Lay Union was to provide a centre of unity for Evangelical Churchmen; its special work,

"a. To act as a consultative body to advise on questions affecting the interests of Protestant and Evangelical truth within the Church of England;

b. To establish communications with clerical and lay associations, constituted on like principles, and to encourage the formation of them where they do not at present exist;

c. To suggest to local associations subjects for consideration on which it may be thought important to ascertain the opinion of Evangelical Churchmen, and to take measures to give effect to the prevalent opinion of the body, by an annual aggregate meeting or otherwise;

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1. Church Association, Annual Report, 1870, p.17

2. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 2 August 1870; Church Association, Annual Report, 1870, p.18; Record, 3 March 1871.

d. To encourage concerted action for the advancement and progress of spiritual religion."

The Church Association would in future consist of two branches, the old Council and the Union Committees. The latter would consist of a chairman and vice-chairman, who would be ex officio members of the Council, and at least 24 members, to include, ex officio, the chairman and vice-chairman of the Church Association Council. Provision was made for Clerical and Lay Associations, and Church Association branches holding conferences at least once a year, to elect representatives to the Committee. The new Union, therefore, was to be firmly under the control of the Church Association. Thus were alienated the very men it was intended to bring in.

Almost all those present, including representatives of the Clerical and Lay Associations for the Midlands, York and the Western District, assented to the form of organisation adopted. Canon Battersby objected, on behalf of Carlisle Evangelical Union, that it was too ambitious and would compromise local freedom, but he later sent an optimistic letter to the Record in its favour, though stressing the importance of spirituality above organisation(1). The Record was very encouraged by the meeting, while the Rock in its enthusiasm brought out that well-worn cliché, that the Evangelical party, at last, was no longer a 'rope of sand'(2).

Garbett, in his periodical The Christian Advocate, admitted that the union was not what he himself had wanted, but urged that it be given a fair trial(3). Over the next few months he was hard at work visiting local associations and rounding them up into the central body. In June the Clerical Society for Devon and Cornwall was expanded

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1. Record, 15, 29 May 1871.

2. Rock, 19 May 1871.

3. Christian Advocate, June 1871.

to include laymen and affiliated with the Clerical and Lay Union(1). By October Garbett could report to the Church Association Conference at Cheltenham that eleven societies had already been affiliated(2). Quite a number of new Clerical and Lay Associations were begun; one of them at Liverpool in April 1872, with the ubiquitous Garbett there to expound the virtues of union(3). But the first report of the Clerical and Lay Union, (which by then had a Chairman, the Honorable William Ashley, nearly seventy years old, and included Ryle and Haldane on the committee), announced that the well-established Carlisle Evangelical Union and the Clerical and Lay Association for the Western District had both declined to join. The Committee assured Evangelicals that the federation was loose enough to allow unfettered local freedom and that the word "association", with its litigationist connotations, was used

> "in its widest sense of bodies within the Church of England, united by mutual membership, and possessing an organization for devotion and conference"(4).

The very nature of the Union was to be at least as big a problem as its relations with the Church Association. Intended to supply the need for a policy-making body, that the party might gain strength from acting in unison on particular issues, it yet had no means of binding its members, let alone the party as a whole, by its decisions. And the provincial societies, as Battersby had intimated, preferred independence and local differences to government from

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1. Record, 30 June 1871.
2. Record, 27 October 1871.
3. Record, 17 April 1872.
4. Church Association, Annual Report, 1871, Clerical and Lay Union Branch.

above by a London clique. The first test of strength came with the surplice question, arising out of the Purchas Judgement. This seemed an excellent opportunity for putting into practice the new unity. As we have seen, an important conference was held on the subject on 13 January, 1872, which was very well attended, including representatives from 33 provincial bodies (whether Clerical and Lay Associations or branches of the Church ssociation is not clear), and resolutions were passed in favour of retaining the black gown(1). The Record rejoiced at this great proof,

> "that Evangelical men can meet together in mutual confidence, consult together with mutual frankness, and act together with practical unanimity"(2).

But the Conference decision seems to have had a minimal influence on whether Evangelical clergymen actually wore the gown or the surplice. In July, Francis Close wrote to the Record protesting that such a trivial matter should be left to the individual and not made into a party issue(3). And if men must act independently in non-essentials how much more should they be free to obey individual consciences on matter of principle.

The same year, the Clerical and Lay Union issued a paper pointing out the disadvantages of the Burials Bill. In November the committee turned to a question which could arouse few conflicting passions - and little interest, either - the woes of Church of England congregations in Scotland and their relations with the Scottish Episcopal Church(4).

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1. See Chapter Three, p. 161.
2. Record, 19 January 1872.
3. Record, 19 July 1872.
4. Record, 29 November 1872.

Garbett had been quietly agitating for a greater independence from the Church Association, and early in 1873 a resolution was put forward proposing to the Council an amicable separation. The Church Association Council would have nothing to do with such a step, but 'the fragment' of the Union Committee, together with a few of the provisional committee, met at C.M.S. House and resolved to form a completely independent society.

> "So we shall soon have the pretty spectacle of two associations seeking to unite the Evangelical party, and making at once manifest and permanent the elements of division which have all along been its bane and weakness".

Thus commented the Rock, asserting that no blame attached to the Church Association, which had, after all, been first in the field. The paper despised the achievements of 'the opposition society', which had brought to the Church Association none of the many Evangelical leaders whose names were on its lists, and would carry none out.

> "To many of our readers the circumstances will recall the case of the sturdy ox who, when a little fidgety fly apologized to him for having popped on and off his back, replied, with a dignified composure, that he 'really had not felt it!"(1).

The Church Association turned to the task of unifying the party alone. At the next Conference, Ryle opened a major topic of discussion; "In what manner can greater unity of action between the Council and the branches of the Association be secured, in order to carry out the original objects of the Association as a centre of unity?"(2).

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1. Rock, 21 February, 7 March 1873.

2. Rock, 10, 18 April 1873.

Looking round for a cause to rally supporters and avoid the appearance of being in opposition to the Church Association, Garbett decided on Church Reform. On July 2, a conference at the Cannon Street Hotel, including Lord Ebury, the Dean of Canterbury, Auriol, and representatives of fourteen Clerical and Lay Associations, with Ashley in the chair, resolved that the Clerical and Lay Associations should unite with all Protestant Churchmen in an 'Evangelical Union of the Church of England', for the promotion of Church Reform. Shaftesbury, absent through ill-health, was nominated as president(1). It was decided to concentrate first on the reform of Convocation. At the beginning of February a letter was issued calling attention to the coming elections of proctors and the need to press reform on the candidates. Ryle wrote to the Record putting forward the Evangelical Union's programme(2). On April 28 a meeting was held in the Lower Room of Exeter Hall, under the chairmanship of Lord Shaftesbury, and attended by about sixty - of whom, crowed the Rock, not more than a dozen would be known to our readers. They included representatives from the Prayer Book Revision Society, Church Reform Society, (Cowper-Temple, the liberal clergyman Llewellyn Davies etc.), and Church Association. The latter apparently led the opposition, and it required all the tact and skill of the chairman to obtain, after over two hours of heated discussion, a unanimous resolution to present a memorial on Church Reform to the Prime Minister(3).

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1. Record, 11, 13 August 1873.
2. Record, 2, 11 February 1874.
3. Rock, 1 May 1874; Record, 29 April 1874; Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 30 April 1874.

In August the secretaries (Garbett, Money, Fremantle) reported that several letters had been received on the question of rubrical revision. In the crucial months before the Public Worship Regulation Act was to come into operation, the activities of the Committee of Convocation on Rubrics were a matter of great moment. The Evangelical Committee announced in December its decision, in these circumstances, to concentrate on the rubrics issue, and to leave the question of Church Reform in abeyance(1).

Thereafter, the Evangelical Union for Church Reform faded quietly out of sight, and, probably, of existence. Local clerical and lay associations continued to be formed, however, many of them with encouragement from Edward Garbett or Canon Hoare.

In 1879, when the ritual prosecutions had opened a deep rift in the Evangelical party, an attempt was made at a party organization of a different kind; not to include as many Evangelicals as possible, but to unite the old-style orthodox Evangelicals in opposition to the growing tendency to compromise and toleration. The Evangelical Protestant Union, formed that March, aimed at uniting 'decided Protestant and Evangelical congregations and members of the national Churches of England and Ireland' in defence of the 'distinctive Evangelical Protestant doctrines and practices of the Reformation', which included, not only the basic Evangelical beliefs, but also the use of black gown as opposed to surplice, and a protest against surpliced choirs(2). The Rev. J.B. Waddington of Clitheroe and James Inskip were the chief organizers; and Fox of Durham and the Rev. S.A. 'alker, convener of the Clifton Conferences, were among

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1. Record, 14 August, 28 December 1874.

2. Rock, 23 May 1879.

the members. The Rock was firm in its support of the new union, but most of the correspondents in the Record objected to the emphasis on non-essentials and the implied condemnation of men like Close and McNeile. At the Southport Evangelical Conference the Rev. J.C.Bardsley, in his attack on the narrower Evangelicals, denounced its exclusiveness.

> "Its promoters have perfect freedom to hold all these convictions, but I protest that they have no right to form an Association and to claim subscription to all these tenets and make this membership equivalent to Evangelical Protestantism"(1).

The Evangelical Protestant Union soon became an established, if small, institution, however; its annual October conferences, held very often in or around Manchester, the occasion for angry protests against neo-Evangelicalism. By October 1884 the Union claimed 1,000 members(2). It never became more than a fringe organization, though, attracting none of the more outstanding Evangelical leaders.

Partly in reaction to the Evangelical Protestant Union, partly in response to pressures from local associations, a scheme was gradually evolved, by Hoare, Bishop Perry, Ryle and others, for a second Union of Clerical and Lay Associations. This coincided, too, with one of the peaks of Church Association unpopularity. After a number of private, preliminary gatherings, the first meeting of the new body was held in the Cannon Street Hotel in January 1881,

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1. Record, 6 June 1879.
2. Record, 24 October, 7 November 1884; Salford Chronicle, 18 October 1884.

with Lord Midleton, chairman of the South Eastern Clerical and Lay Alliance, in the chair. A small committee was appointed, and it was decided to present a memorial against Ritualism to counter that on toleration by Dean Church.

> "Thus, without any great flourish of trumpets, there has been quietly launched an organization which, under the blessing of God, may command untold influence in the future for the Evangelical body"(1).

The Record was clearly optimistic about the union's prospects.

The Rev. J.W.Marshall, vicar of St.John the Evangelist, Blackheath, and Miller's son-in-law, soon became secretary of the central committee, together with the Rev. J.Solway of Broxbourne, and was largely responsible for deputations to local associations, encouraging them to join the federation, and for the formation of new societies. In 1884 it was reported that when the proposed associations for Ely, Hereford and South Wales were put into operation the Union would include 19 associations, with the two kindred societies at Tunbridge Wells and Carlisle, and would be represented in 27 dioceses out of 32(2). Webb-Peploe gradually became a dominant influence on the representative council, which generally held its annual meeting in his Church House, St. Paul's, Onslow Square, as did the London Union. The latter had 290 members by 1890; and in 1891 boldly agreed to allow ladies to join(3). Oxford had admitted lady members that June, and other associations soon followed.

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1. Record, 17 January 1881.
2. Rock, 22 February 1884.
3. Record, 14 February 1890; Rock, 24 December 1891.

The Union of Clerical and Lay Associations played an important part in the attempts being made to stir up an Evangelical interest in Middle Class education. Taking up the South Eastern Alliance project for Ramsgate School, the central council encouraged other local associations to discuss the question, and stimulated the formation of other schools. In May 1884 an important meeting on education launched an appeal for funds. The Record rejoiced that the Evangelical party should undertake this work, 'through its responsible organ the Lay and Clerical Union'(1). The Church of England Evangelical College and School Company (Ltd.), begun in 1891, was formed under the auspices of the Union(2).

In other issues affecting the Evangelical cause, the Central Committee was quick to take a stand as a party representative. When the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts reported in 1883, the committee issued a memorandum recommending Evangelicals to accept the leading principles, whilst objecting to some details, such as the retention of the episcopal veto, and the abrogation of earlier Privy Council judgements(3). When Church Reform came to the fore in the 1885 election crisis, they again took charge; submitting draft proposals to the associations, whose replies were considered by a sub-committee, and finally issuing a statement of those reforms which the Evangelical party would unite with other churchmen to achieve. Commenting on the declaration, the Record remarked that the Central Committee represented by direct selection Evangelical Churchmen almost throughout the country, and had already acquired a considerable

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1. Record, 2, 16 June 1882; see Chapter Two, pp. 92-3.

2. Rock, 13 February 1891.

3. Record, 5 October 1883.

influence(1). When Denison drew up a declaration against ritual prosecutions, late in 1888, it was the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations which circulated an anti-ritualist declaration in reply(2).

Against this must be set Balleine's statement that the union was "never able to accomplish much"; and the fact that it is mentioned only briefly by Stock, who was actually on the committee in its early days, and not at all by many narrators of Evangelical history(3). It was not in the nature of the Evangelical party to be governed by a central body, and in any case many of the staunchest Church Association members repudiated the Union. But insofar as a party equivalent of a representative convocation was possible, then I think that the Clerical and Lay Associations Union was such an organization.

The Union could bind its members no more than its predecessor, however, and the local associations, by their constitutions, excluded the working classes. Towards the end of the eighties the crisis of the Lincoln case (to be discussed in a later chapter) created a need for a more definite organization, to unite all classes, and a wider range of churchmanship, in positive action - but not in unpopular litigation - against ritualism. In effect, what was wanted was a replacement for the Church Association, which could have no pretensions, by this time, to speak for the Evangelical body. The Record in 1888 disclaimed all responsibility for the prosecution of Bishop King by the Church Association, as having been

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1. Record, 17, 24 September 1886; see Chapter One, pp. 52-3.
2. Record, 15 November 1888.
3. G.R.Balleine, op.cit., 293; E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society (London, 1899), III, 280; My Recollections (London, 1909), 180-1.

> "...launched without consultation, so far as we can ascertain, with any single Evangelical leader. Whatever else it is, it is not the work of the Evangelical party"(1).

In June 1889, an important Conference of Protestant Churchmen was summoned to discuss the question of organization. Two committees, one for the northern and one for the southern province, had charge of the arrangements; the former elected at a meeting summoned by Archdeacons Blakeney, Lefroy, Martin, Hugh-Games, Straton, and Canon Stowell, the latter appointed by the Central Committee of the Clerical and Lay Union(2). Lord Grimthorpe took the chair, representing the 'high and dry' section of those present. James Inskip and Sir Arthur Blackwood were among the Church Assocation phalanx; the majority there were Evangelicals who felt unable fully to support the Church Association. Grimthorpe, in an excessively long speech, moved a series of resolutions instituting a 'Protestant Churchmen's Alliance' to unite

> "all Churchmen who desire to maintain the principles of the Reformation, the present Prayer-book and Articles, and the Acts of Uniformity, as their standards of doctrine and ritual, and especially, the non-sacerdotal character of the ministry of the Church of England",

in educational (i.e. polemical) and Parliamentary action - in particular to secure the abolition of the episcopal veto and the substitution of deprivation for imprisonment. Bishop Perry put forward a motion,

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1. Record, 16 November 1888.

2. English Churchman, 13 June 1889.

seconded by Dean Payne Smith, insisting on the paramount importance of union in prayer for God's grace.

It was past five when the main speeches were finished, and Grimthorpe rose to declare that there would be an attempt to 'foist the Church Association' on the meeting and that he would therefore close at 5.30p.m. The result was an uproar. Canon Christopher, as a member of the Church Association, appealed to its friends not to injure the new Alliance. Inskip protested that the new scheme had been prepared without the knowledge of some whose names were down as supporters. Mr. P.V.Smith moved three amendments to the main resolution; to omit 'and the Acts of Uniformity', change the title to 'National Church Alliance', and include as an object the promotion of home reunion. These were rejected, and the original resolution carried, after further confusion, with only 30 dissidents. The second day's meetings were more peaceful, and dealt with less contentious matters.

The Record had hoped for a "Home Reunion Alliance", not a duplication of the Church Association; the English Churchman was very doubtful; but the Rock wished the new society well, though regretting the choice of name(1). Grimthorpe's resolution had gratefully acknowledged the past efforts of Protestant societies and disclaimed any desire to interfere with their work; but Blackwood complained that this was just what the Alliance would do.

> "If I am building a large house, and at the most critical stage of its construction, seek the assistance of another architect and a fresh builder, I may tell the old ones that I am

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1. Record, 21 June 1889; Rock, 21, 28 June 1889; English Churchman, 27 June 1889.

grateful to them, and do not wish to interfere with their work, but they will not credit me with much sincerity".

The new society was virtually a condemnation of the Church Association and Protestant Alliance(1).

Smith refused to join the new alliance, as did Eugene Stock; but 'An Old Soldier' (presumably Ryle) wrote to the Record in its support, provided it turned to positive action and not just talk(2). At the first general meeting in February 1890 it was reported that 522 clergy, 496 laity and 4-5,000 working men had given their allegiance to the society. By the following April a diocesan organization had been formed in 25 dioceses(3).

The Protestant Churchmen's Alliance was intended as a much wider organization than the Clerical and Lay Union, to include non-Evangelical Churchmen who opposed the excesses of Ritualism. It was not the strictly Evangelical party machine which the Union claimed to be, though it was recognised that its membership, as was in fact the case, would come almost entirely from the Evangelical school(4). Nor was it a representative, consultative body in the sense that the Clerical and Lay Union was. The P.C.A. had been formed largely under the auspices of the Clerical and Lay Union, and the personal links were close. The Rev. J.W.Marshall was secretary of both organizations. But the new body did not supersede the old, and the two continued a separate existence until they were merged, after the Lincoln Judgement, in the National Protestant Church Union.

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1. Record, 28 June 1889.
2. Record, 5 July 1889.
3. Record, 28 February 1890, 24 April 1891.
4. N.D.J.Straton, Why We Should Join the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance. (London, 1889).

II. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The Church of England, meanwhile, was pursuing a policy of consolidation very similar to that of its Evangelical section. One reaction to external attack, the loss of influence in Parliament and in the sphere of education, and to internal divisions, was a movement to build up the Church as a coherent force with an established independent machinery for self-government and self-expression - partly with a view to the possibility of disestablishment, partly because of difficulties in securing state support. It was also, suggests K.A.Thompson, an attempt to enlist the support of middle-class laymen; essential if the Church was to retain a hold on the nation(1).

The initiative came largely from High Churchmen. Evangelicals clung to the idea of Parliament's role in an Established Church, and distrusted anything which smacked of separation from the state. They were conscious of being a lay rather than a clerical party, and of occupying a minority position in the Church itself. In Parliament the weight of Evangelical Nonconformity provided a ballast to secure the Protestantism of the faith. The new developments made it necessary to sort out their relations to the Church as an institution, and to other Churchmen, however; and the exclusive, isolationist attitudes of the mid-century were challenged by a growing body of opinion which urged a more active participation. Surprisingly enough, the leaders of the latter section were also among the foremost advocates of a separate, Evangelical organization. a/ Perhaps the two were complimentary, rather than opposing, policies,

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1. K.A.Thompson, Bureaucracy and Church Reform (Oxford, 1970), 91.

and the issue one of organization versus individualism as much as of isolation versus Churchmanship. It represented also the underside of the collapse of establishment; in that church machinery, rather than state machinery, must now be worked.

Evangelicals opposed the new institutions in principle, as being not the representatives of Church opinion which they claimed to be. The Christian Observer warned in 1869 that the schemes on foot were doomed to failure by their clerical character.

> "... Of this the bisops and clergy may be assured - all sacerdotal projects,lacquered over by a thin cover of lay element, will be detected and resented. Better, a thousandfold, come at once to what they must come to soon, a frank representation of the lay members of the Church, in their due proportion and with full powers. Widen the basis, and you may yet uphold the fabric. There is no other way"(1).

There was the fear, too, expressed by the Record in 1874, of compromising their principles.

> "We would fain desire that Evangelical men should see that union is strength, but this must be union amongst themselves, not union with Ritualism, not union with Rome, not union with Greece, not union with error in any shape or form. It must be union which is not dependent upon compromise for its integrity; which admits, nay, which requires definiteness of thought upon

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1. Christian Observer, December, 1869.

> the most important subjects which can engage
> the human intellect"(1).

Coexistence with error in the Church itself does not seem to have presented the same problems.

In practice the dispute was fought out in terms of expediency. The Christian Observer explained in 1875 that Evangelicals could form only a small minority in mixed gatherings - their weaknesses were best concealed by a policy of boycott(2). But an increasingly important group, led by Ryle, Garbett and Hoare, realized that this would virtually amount to opting out of Church life. In 1868 Garbett urged the necessity for Evangelicals to gain a foothold in Convocation, which would play no small part in a disestablished Church. Diocesan synods should, for the time, be avoided, as giving too much power to the Bishops, but Congresses gave a welcome opportunity for witness.

> "The purely voluntary character of the Congress
> is our safety. We have all the advantages of
> publicity, without limiting in the slightest
> degree our own freedom of action".

The essential thing was to act together as a party(3).

In the event, the Evangelical party tried to use both tactics at once; gaining what influence they could in Church institutions, yet nullifying any losses by refusing to recognise their validity.

Evangelicals had at first sought the revival of Convocation;

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1. Record, 23 December 1874.
2. Christian Observer, March 1875.
3. Christian Advocate, August 1868.

then changed their minds when it became evident that High Churchmen were agitating for it for their own purposes. By the mid 'sixties Evangelicals were ready to decry the institution as a hollow sham; "the creature of circumstances: of circumstances which have passed away", the Christian Observer called it(1).

Nevertheless, Evangelicals kept an anxious eye on any attempts to increase its power. In 1865 the Clerical Subscriptions Bill was made the occasion, strongly disapproved by the Record, for an assertion of Convocation's claims to a say in ecclesiastical legislation. Convocation, it was rumoured, would be given licence to amend the canons, so as to bring them into line with the proposed legal changes. After much public indignation, however, about the exclusion of the Irish Convocation, and the assertiveness of the English ones, Sir George Grey announced that no such licence could be granted before the decision of the Imperial Parliament was known. Convocation would be given permission, in effect, to ratify after the event the repeal by Parliament of the 36th Canon. To Titcomb this seemed to open a new era of usefulness; McNeile thought the whole affair proved that Convocation could act only when everything was settled and no further action required. Hitherto a proctor in the Northern Convocation, he consequently refused to stand for re-election(2).

Early in 1872 Tait secured Letters of Business from the Crown, referring the fourth report of the Ritual Commission to both

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1. Christian Observer, April 1866.
2. Record, 12, 24, 26, 29, 31 May, 2, 9, 23 June 1865; Christian Advocate, July 1865; Times, 16 August 1865.

Convocations for their consideration. The resulting Act of Uniformity Amendment Bill, to relax certain rules governing the conduct of services, mentioned the approval of Convocation in its preamble. In 1874 Letters of Business were again issued, to the great annoyance of Ryle and the Rock(1), entrusting the task of revising the rubrics - of vital importance in view of the Public Worship Regulation Act - to Convocation. Evangelical fears were groundless, however, for no controversial changes were proposed before the new act came into operation. In fact, it was not until 1879 that Canterbury Convocation finally presented its proposals; and even then its northern partner was still undecided and could not endorse them. The crucial Ornaments Rubric the Southern Convocation decided to leave in its integrity, with an addition stipulating the use of surplice and stole or scarf plus hood, or a black gown, scarf and hood for preaching; the other vestments specified in the first prayer book of Edward VI were not to be worn contrary to the monition of the bishop(2). The Rock united with other Evangelical leaders in condemnation of these recommendations(3). Not that it mattered, for there was no possibility of legislation to put them into effect.

To some ecclesiastics the best remedy for the difficulties of securing legislation for the Church in Parliament seemed to be to leave the job to Convocation. In 1874 the Bishop of London introduced a bill to allow the two Convocations, under royal licence, to submit rubrical amendments to the Queen in Council. These would be laid

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1. Record, 26 June 1874; Rock, 7 August, 4 September 1874.
2. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline 209-217.
3. Rock, 1 August 1879.

before Parliament, and if within forty days neither House had signified its objection, and the Privy Council approved, the proposals would become law. The bill was soon withdrawn, to the relief of the Record, who had no wish to see more power given to 'that effete body'(1). But in February 1878 the Record published a scheme which the Bishop of Carlisle proposed to submit to York Convocation, whereby the two Convocations might revise the canons and constitutions of the Church by much the same procedure as had been suggested in 1874. One big difference was that Convocation, not Parliament, would effect the change in the method of legislation. The Record thought it

> "an ingenious but too transparent device for the virtual repeal of one of the great bulwarks of the English Protestant Reformation, and one tampering with the existing relations of Church and State"(2).

The Lower House of Canterbury Convocation, meanwhile, passed a similar resolution, which was brought before the Upper House on February 15. The bishops gave a guarded approval, but advised that the matter be brought before Parliament. In February 19-20 the Northern Convocation discussed the Bishop of Carlisle's motion. After much debate, the first paragraph, on the need for reviewing the modes of ecclesiastical legislation, was substantially carried. He withdrew the second and the third in favour of an amendment by the Evangelical Archdeacon Prest of Durham, seconded by Fremantle, that a bill be drafted to give the Church some means of internal

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1. Record, 26 June 1874.

2. Record, 8 February 1878.

reform(1).

The Guardian would have preferred something more revolutionary; the Record was astonished that High Churchmen should so separate Church and State, and confident that any bill drawn up would not be passed(2). And indeed, the draft bill was eventually abandoned by Tait at the end of 1880, without even being brought before Parliament, in view of the almost certain opposition it would encounter there, and, more immediately, of the tremendous pressures from Ireland and elsewhere which faced Gladstone's Government. This in itself, one would think, was enough to show the need for such a measure. Evangelicals, as has been said, were closely dependent upon Parliament; and they were bound to resist a purely clerical body such as Convocation. But Prest's feeling that the Church needed some means of independent self-government was perhaps more realistic than the Record's determination to stick to the Establishment as it stood. Towards the end of the period, with the formation of Houses of Laymen, the scheme for independent Church legislation was revived, but again without much success.

Its more ambitious bids for power might fail, but it could not be denied that Convocation was becoming increasingly a body to be reckoned with. By the mid 'seventies, therefore, the Record was anxious that Evangelicals should press for adequate representation of their views, instead of adopting an attitude of indifference or despair, as so many of them did(3). Those Evangelicals who did have

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1. Record, 20 February 1878; Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. MS. Convocation Books, 19-20 February 1878, p.233, R II MB 12.
2. Guardian, 27 February 1878; Record, 25 February 1878.
3. Record, 20 February 1874.

a place in Convocation were very largely ex officio members. Evangelical bishops, of course, after Palmerston, were few. The Upper House of Canterbury in 1865 included Sumner of Winchester, Pelham of Norwich and Jeune at Peterborough; in the Northern Province the Bishops of Durham (Baring), Carlisle (Waldegrave) and Ripon (Bickersteth) were Evangelicals. Of these, Jeune died in 1868, Waldegrave the following year and Sumner resigned in 1869 after a paralytic stroke. Baring lived on till 1879, Bickersteth till 1884; only Pelham lasted the whole of the period, resigning in 1893. Not until 1877 was Thorold appointed to the see of Rochester. In 1880 Ryle was made Bishop of Liverpool; Edward Bickersteth was appointed to Exeter in 1885; John Wareing Bardsley to the see of Sodor and Man in 1887, and later to Carlisle. In 1891 J.J.S.Perowne became Bishop of Worcester and Straton Bishop of Sodor and Man.

In the Lower House, Dean Law of Gloucester was the only Evangelical official member of the Southern Convocation elected in 1865, though just before its dissolution in 1868 Champneys was appointed to the Deanery of Lichfield, where he remained till his death in 1875. Payne Smith was made Dean of Canterbury in 1870, and T.T.Perowne Archdeacon of Norwich in 1874. His brother was Dean of Peterborough from 1878 to 1891. The Convocation of York, where the Evangelical party was always stronger than at Canterbury, numbered three well-known Evangelicals among its ex officio members in 1865: Close, Dean of Carlisle, Goode, Dean of Ripon, and Archdeacon Prest of Durham. The more moderate Rev. J.S.Howson became Dean of Chester in 1867. Goode died in 1868, but was succeeded by the fiery McNeile, and on his resignation in 1875 another Evangelical, the Rev. W.R. Fremantle, was appointed. John Wareing Bardsley was Archdeacon of

Warrington from 1880 till 1887, when he was succeeded by William Lefroy, who in turn was promoted to the Deanery of Norwich, and so to Canterbury Convocation, in 1889. Prest died in 1880, Close resigned in 1881, Howson died in 1885; so that by 1892 only Fremantle remained to represent the Evangelical party among the official members at York.

Of the elected members of the Convocation, many are hard to place theologically in the absence of specific information; and it is difficult, too, to say how far the small Evangelical representation was due to failure to secure election or to complete lack of interest. Well-known party names are certainly few. In 1865 Ashton Oxenden, a 'non-party' Evangelical, was elected a proctor for Canterbury - a position he held for ten years in all before going to Montreal in 1869. Champneys was a proctor for the Chapter of St. Paul's until his appointment as Dean of Lichfield in 1868. William Carus was proctor for the Chapter, the Rev. G.H.Sumner for the Archdeaconry of Winchester; both were re-elected in 1868. Sumner was the son of the Bishop of Winchester, and a proctor in Convocation until becoming an ex officio member as Archdeacon of Winchester. In 1892 he was made Prolocutor. He was not a party man, however, and often acted in opposition to Evangelical policies. In 1868 James Bardsley was elected proctor in the Northern Convocation, for the clergy of Manchester.

In the 1874 elections, the Rock reported that Evangelical candidates in the Southern Province had been almost everywhere unsuccessful(1). Even in Winchester, where a large number of

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1. Rock, 6 March 1874.

Bishop Sumner's appointments were still bearing good fruit, Edward Garbett was defeated by 86 votes to 107. He had had 105 promises apparently; so many Evangelical voters must have failed to appear(1). The only leading Evangelical elected was Canon Miller for the Chapter of Rochester, of which he had become a Canon only the year before; though Canon Bernard later became proctor for the Chapter of Bath. In the Northern Province the Evangelical party fared slightly better, though Tristram's is the only outstanding Evangelical name in the list. His election, in fact, was the subject of a stormy controversy. In 1869 an election had been held to return a proctor for Durham Chapter, and Tristram and John Gray, a Ritualist, had received an equal number of votes. After a second mandate was issued in the March, Gray was declared elected. In 1874 Gray again stood, with the Evangelical Canons Eden and Tristram against him. At a rowdy election meeting the voting was Eden 56, Gray 54, Tristram 51. But the poll was adjourned till the following Monday, and eventually Tristram was declared elected. An appeal was made against this result, but on July 30th, the Archbishop announced his decision that the election was valid(2).

In 1880 Tristram was again elected, this time for the Archdeaconry of Durham; and the Rev. N.D.J.Straton was elected by the Craven Archdeaconry. Bernard and Miller were again returned to the Southern Convocation - the latter died shortly after. A determined effort was made to secure an Evangelical representative for London - though not until the nomination of two advanced Ritualists had been

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1. Record, 2 March 1874.

2. Record, 23 February 1874; Borthwick. MS. Convocation Books, 10March, 30 July 1874, R II MB 11, R II MB 12.

announced in Middlesex Archdeaconry. William Cadman and James Fleming were then brought forward, backed by Samuel Bardsley, Goe, Webb-Peploe, the Rev. E.H.Bickersteth, Carr-Glyn etc. The two candidates with the largest poll were to be presented to the Bishop, who would select one; the Bishop had announced that he would select the one with the most votes. A circular was therefore issued by the Evangelicals urging those with two votes to vote for both Evangelicals; otherwise to vote for Cadman. The Record supported the attempt, stressing that while Convocation was unreformed it should contain as many witnesses for truth as possible. But Canon Wilkinson of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, with the strength of the High Church party behind him, was returned with 105 votes to Cadman's 100. It was a near miss, however, and when the Rev. M.Gibb's death caused a vacancy in 1882, Cadman stood again. As before, he was narrowly defeated by a Ritualist candidate. In 1883 Canon Wilkinson was elevated to the see of Truro, and again a proctorship became vacant. Yet again Cadman was Evangelical candidate and this time he was successful(1).

Two Convocations followed in quick succession in 1886. Cadman and Barnard were elected both times, as was Canon C.W.Bardsley in the Northern Province. Lefroy narrowly secured election in the July, on the question of Church Reform(2), just before being appointed Archdeacon of Warrington. Canon Tristram was returned at the first election, and was, in fact, re-elected in the summer of 1886. But his election was disallowed, on the grounds that he was a Canon Residentiary, who held no preferment in the Archdeaconry. The dispute

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1. Record, 19 April 1880, 27 February, 1 March 1882, 2 February 1883.

2. H.Leeds, Life of Dean Lefroy (Norwich, 1909), 14.

led to a law-suit in 1887, but it would seem that Tristram lost his case(1). He reappeared in the new Convocation of August 1892, however, this time as proctor for the Chapter, not the Archdeaconry, of Durham.

In 1889, Brook's resignation created a vacancy in London. The Rev. W.H.Barlow was nominated Evangelical candidate, but the High Churchman Ingram headed the poll - thanks, felt the Rock, to splendid organisation which Evangelicals would do well to imitate(2). On Cadman's death in 1891 the Hon. and Rev. E.Carr Glyn was elected a proctor for London, and in the 1892 elections he and Barlow stood together. Only Glyn was elected though, joining Bernard and five ex officio members as a small Evangelical phalanx in the Southern Convocation(3).

In 1865 the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation included 23 deans, 56 archdeacons, 24 proctors for chapters and 42 proctors for clergy. At York, where both Houses sat together, there were 7 bishops, 6 deans, 15 archdeacons, 9 proctors for chapters and 29 for clergy. The Evangelical section, therefore, was a small one, in Canterbury especially, and though some were very active members - Miller and later Cadman were often on Committees - they tended to be in a minority on party issues. Miller had a stormy time in the ritual controversies. Appointed to the committee on rubrics in 1874,

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1. Borthwick. MS. Correspondence between the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham, R II 1887 6; MS. Documents concerning the Case of Henry Baker Tristram v. the Lord Archbishop of York, R II 1887 7.
2. Rock, 26 July 1889.
3. Most of this information is taken from the Chronicle of Convocation and the MS. Convocation Books at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.

he confessed in April 1875 that he had "never sat on a Committee with so much difficulty and unhappiness"(1). He completely dissociated himself from the first report, and during the debates maintained a consistent opposition to any concessions to ritualism. He was practically the only dissentient, according to the Rock, from Jeffrey's motion for non-interference with diversity in ritual, provided any change or dispute be referred to the ordinary(2). Later he spoke against Canon Gregory's motion that the Synodical Declaration of 1873 on the Athanasian Creed be inserted in the Prayer Book as a rubrical note. Fewer than sixty members were present, and Miller protested against a division in these circumstances, but Gregory's motion was carried by 34 votes to 25(3). In 1881 Gregory's gravamen against ritual prosecutions was carried with only one dissentient - though Bernard and Dean Perowne had spoken in favour of the Dean of Llandaff's amendment asserting the importance of lawful obedience(4). In the debates on brotherhoods and sisterhoods, towards the end of the period, Evangelicals opposed the provisions for 'dispensable vows' or 'lifelong engagements', but with little effect(5).

At York the Evangelicals were strong enough to attempt, in 1880, to secure the election of Dean Howson, nominated by the Dean of Ripon and Archdeacon of Cleveland, as Prolocutor. He was defeated by Dean

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1. Chronicle of Convocation, 15 April 1875, pp. 101-4.
2. Rock, 23 April 1875.
3. Chronicle of Convocation, 18 July 1876, pp. 346-61.
4. Chronicle of Convocation, 10 February 1881, pp. 115-36.
5. Chronicle of Convocation, 12-13 February, 7, 9 May 1890, pp. 41-6, 50-64, 113-21, 170-80; 4 February 1891, pp. 34-56.

Cowie of Manchester, however, by 34 votes to 21(1). Again, though well represented on committees and in less controversial debates, on party issues the Evangelicals were a minority group, though a stronger one than in the Southern Province. In 1874 Close's resolution approving the Public Worship Regulation Bill was defeated by 21 votes to 15(2). The Dean of Chester succeeded in carrying his motion, in February, 1875, after much discussion, that it was inexpedient to alter the rubrics determining the ornaments and position of the minister during the Prayer of Consecration. But the following day the Bishop of Carlisle's resolution that a note be added to the Black Rubric denying any doctrinal significance in the priest's position, was passed by a large majority against the solid opposition of the Evangelical caucus(3). By 1878, the attention of Convocation was turning to the Ornaments Rubric, and here the balance of parties was too close to allow any decisive settlement. The Bishop of Carlisle was pressing for the same solution as Canterbury Convocation; Dean Howson wanted the same vestments, but without the fatal provision that none other be worn 'contrary to a monition of the Bishop formally pronounced'; others had different ideas. In 1881 the question was still unsettled, and Howson seconded the Bishop of Manchester's proposal that the Ornaments Rubric itself be expunged and a clear ruling given. Backed by the Evangelicals, this motion was carried unanimously in the Upper House but narrowly defeated in the Lower by 28 votes to 26(4).

Convocation, it was clear, could not be ignored, and neither

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1. Borthwick. MS. Convocation Books, 6 July 1880, R II MB 12.
2. Ibid., 22 May 1874, R II MB 11.
3. Ibid., 23, 24, 25 February 1875, R II MB 12.
4. Ibid., 26 April 1881, R II MB 13.

could the Evangelical party hope to dominate it, in its present form. One alternative was to seek its reform; though there lurked always the suspicion that a more representative assembly would further expose their minority position; that reform, too, would remove their grounds for disregarding Convocation. The Church Association discussed Convocational reform at its annual conference in May 1872, with papers by Canon Bardsley and Ryle. The latter asserted that Convocation had "fairly talked itself into a position of importance and made itself felt as a kind of power in the land". It could not be suppressed, must therefore be reformed. Ryle urged the fusion of the Houses of Canterbury and York, a fuller representation of the parochial clergy, the entire exclusion of ex-officio members, election of proctors on the cumulative vote system to enable minorities to be represented, and the admission of the laity(1). He repeated his proposals, substantially, at the Church Congress at Leeds in October. Not all Evangelicals agreed. Hobart Seymour led a section opposing reform. But the Church Reform Declaration issued under Shaftesbury's auspices in May included the reform of Convocation, "by an adequate representation of the parochial clergy, and the admission of the laity", in its aims(2).

Within Convocation itself there were similar demands for reform. A committee on lay co-operation reported in 1872 in favour of lay representation, and in 1877 the Lower House of Canterbury sanctioned proposals for a greater representation of the parochial clergy, and provision for "consultation with some recognised representative body of the laity". Canon Miller, during the debate, expressed the view that to admit laymen to Convocation itself would be, not reform,

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1. Record, 10 May 1872.

2. Record, 31 May 1872.

but revolution(1). To the Rock, though, the suggestion of a separate house of laity, with limited powers, was a mockery(2). The Christian Observer was apprehensive about any increase in the proctors at the expense of the official members - at the most there were perhaps twenty three Evangelicals in the Lower House, of whom only six were proctors for the clergy(3).

Archbishop Tait believed that the laity were represented in Parliament, and, indirectly, in the appointment of the ex-officio members, and his concern for Church government through the mechanisms of Establishment delayed, to some extent, the development of Convocation. But pressure for reform was mounting on all sides. The Record confessed in 1880, that, though preferring to pass by the subject

> "... seeing that Convocation is already active, and that the whole tendency of things is to give additional importance to its deliberations.... Evangelical men ought to consider and to unite in regard to the best scheme of true convocation reform, unless we wish to find the matter settled for us, and in a manner we should least of all desire"(4).

The Record favoured the suggestions for a House of Laymen, but objected to any substantial increase in the proportion of parochial

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1. Chronicle of Convocation, 26 April 1877, pp. 117-23.
2. Rock, 4 May 1877.
3. Christian Observer, October 1877.
4. Record, 19 July 1880.

clergy(1). In 1885, however, Canterbury Convocation accepted two new canons to increase the number of clergy proctors, and widen the electorate. The Record's objection by this time was that

> "... it is absolutely essential, if Convocation is ever to be accepted as a body fairly representative of the clergy, that it should be relieved from its plethora of official members"(2).

The seeming self-contradictions of the Evangelical party on this point were caused by a theoretical dislike for ex officio members and a practical acknowledgement that in these alone lay Evangelical strength.

More important, in 1885, was the adoption of the scheme for a provincial House of Laymen to sit simultaneously with Convocation; to be elected by the Diocesan Conferences, with up to ten official members appointed by the Archbishop.

To many of the clergy in the Lower House, including Dean Payne Smith, the chief function of the new assembly would be to influence Parliament. After much debate, and against the wishes of the bishops, it was decided that the House of Laymen should not be consulted on matters of faith and doctrine(3). It was therefore a much weaker body than the reformers had wanted. The English Churchman considered it an 'ecclesiastical sham'(4). Bishop Ryle thought it a step in

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1. Record, 6 August 1880.
2. Record, 4 December 1885.
3. Chronicle of Convocation, 28,29 April, 1 May, 7, 8 July 1885, pp.149-50, 170-2, 221-2, 249, 265.
4. English Churchman, 21 January 1886.

the right direction, but announced that so long as it had no legal status, or power to initiate discussion, and so long as it was elected by the diocesan conferences, it would not attract the chief laymen, or achieve anything of importance(1).

The first elections were held early in 1886. London Diocese was allowed ten representatives, and 22 candidates were proposed, 8 of them Evangelicals. Of these only two were elected, Eugene Stock and the Hon. T.H.W.Pelham, though they were third and fourth on the list, and three other Evangelicals, Messrs. F.Bevan, P.V.Smith and L.T.Dibdin were very narrowly defeated. Some Evangelicals were chosen in other dioceses, including Earl Harrowby and Sydney Gedge, but High Church influences predominated in the assembly(2). At the next election a few months later the Ritualists of London were again highly organized, issuing a party 'ticket'. The Record scorned such tactics. "It is not for us to suggest a list of names", said a leading article, advising readers to vote not for ten but for five candidates, Messrs. F.A.Bevan, Lewis. T.Dibdin, T.Pelham, P.V.Smith and E.Stock(3). Consequently the party secured half the seats, all five being elected(4).

The House of Laymen spent most of its time debating questions before Parliament, or due to be brought before Parliament, without any apparent affect on legislation, in spite of the Record's optimistic assertion in 1887 that already the new assembly was making its

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1. J.C.Ryle, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Liverpool, at his third triennial visitation (London, 1887), 40-1.
2. English Churchman, 21 January, 18 February 1886.
3. Record, 22 October 1886.
4. E.Stock, My Recollections 214-5.

presence felt(1). On the discussions of Convocation its influence was equally small. And though proposals for a lay assembly were being discussed at York in 1886, the Northern Province had no House of Laymen until 1892.

The last third of the century saw a great outburst of diocesan activity and organization. Bishop Phillpotts had called a diocesan synod at Exeter in 1851 during the Gorham controversy, but it was not until the late 'sixties that the movement really began. Browne, appointed Bishop of Ely in 1864, began at once to plan for a diocesan conference of clergy and laity. Selwyn introduced in Lichfield diocese a synodical system such as he had known in New Zealand, though Evangelical agitation forced him to include the laity. Evangelicals were highly suspicious, but as usual divided in their counsels. The Christian Observer denounced synods as illegal, and tending to destroy the independence of individual clergymen(2). The Record too feared an increase in episcopal power. The Rochester Conference could carry resolutions only with the Bishop's assent, its committees were to report to him, and he was not bound by its decisions. The Council could give an appearance of popular control, but it would have no real power(3).

In 1871, however, Ryle urged Evangelicals to take an active part in the life of the Church, regardless of their minority position.

> "To shut ourselves up in a corner - to avoid the company of everyone who disagrees with us, to

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1. Record, 13 May 1887.
2. Christian Observer, December 1868.
3. Record, 18 July 1870.

> allow the affairs of the Church to be managed by unsound men, and the helm to be left in untrustworthy hands, - all this may seem to some very spiritual and very right. I cannot agree with them. If we want Diocesan Conferences to be really useful to the Church of England, we must come forward and labour incessantly to make them what they ought to be"(1).

Most of the conferences so far established were elective bodies, each rural deanery sending a number of representatives who, with certain ex officio members, made up the body. In Ryle's own diocese of Norwich, the collective system was first attempted; each parish sending all its clergy, the church wardens and lay representatives. The Conference was to meet in five sections, to evade the problem of unwieldiness. Ryle felt that this system was preferable, as it ensured the representation of Evangelical parishes. But it soon proved too clumsy to achieve anything, and when after the lapse of a few years an elective conference was formed in 1879, Ryle gave to that his earnest support(2).

The Rock complained that

> "Mr. Ryle's leanings are evidently becoming more decidedly 'churchy'. The haze of Church idolatry is gathering more densely around him"(3).

At the Church Association Conference the following year Bateman denounced

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1. J.C.Ryle, A Churchman's Duty about Diocesan Conferences (London, 1871).
2. J.C.Ryle, Our Diocesan Conference (London, 1879).
3. Rock, 25 April 1879.

diocesan synods as

> "... an essential part of the scaffolding by means of which the votaries of priestcraft hope to rear a temple to their own pride"(1).

The Record felt that diocesan conferences were more harmless than synods such as Selwyn had wanted (the difference was largely one of terminology, though synods could claim a medieval ancestry, and were ideally composed only of clergy), but they were still eminently clerical affairs(2). But when Ryle called his first diocesan conference for the new diocese of Liverpool in November 1881, the Record asked,

> "Where is the man who could undertake to prove that there is anything unreasonable in a Diocesan Conference? ... To affect to despise ecclesiastical machinery because it is only machinery is wild work, and unworthy of any but a fanatic"(3).

Quite a change since the paper had condemned the Salisbury synod, ten years before, for being nothing more than an elaborate machine(4).

By this time there were diocesan conferences in all but three dioceses, Worcester, Llandaff and London; and one was about to be formed in the latter. Their constitutions and size varied greatly, and though most met every year, others were held only every two or three years. There was no doubt, however, that they were an established institution. Some Evangelicals took an active part in them; Canon Hoare

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1. Record, 14 May 1880.
2. Record, 22 July 1881.
3. Record, 18 November 1881.
4. Record, 23 August 1871.

at Canterbury; Garbett, Titcomb, Cowper-Temple (who became Chancellor of the Diocese) at Winchester; Sir John Kennaway at Exeter. Archdeacon Perowne, Samuel Garrett and Sir T.F.Buxton made a solid little phalanx at Norwich. Liverpool, which Ryle considered small enough to allow all the clergy of the diocese to be summoned to the conference, saw Bell-Cox attending alongside his prosecutor Mr. Hakes. Archdeacon Bardsley, Ryle's right-hand man, secured the Protestant tone of the meetings.

At Oxford, a debate on ritualism in October 1877 showed, perhaps, the comparative strength of the parties. Mr.Acton Tindall's attempt to add a rider against lawlessness to a resolution against disestablishment was defeated by 127 votes to 89(1). The next year it was decided to use the conference for an attack on the Anglo-Catholic theological college of Cuddesdon. Golightly had circulated a pamphlet condemning the Romanism of the college, and Knox, Dean of Merton, was to put forward a motion of censure. Christopher, apparently, was itching to second it. He was given no opportunity, however, for although the subject had been allowed a place on the agenda, Phillimore rose before Knox could begin his speech, to declare that the motion was out of order, being irrelevant and improperly personal. On a division being taken, the majority of the conference (252 to 75) agreed. Knox's demand for a vote by orders was ruled out of order by the Bishop, who then spoke in defence of his own activities as Visitor of the college. No opportunity was given, therefore, for the charges against Cuddesdon to be publicly made and discussed. To the Record the whole affair proved the conference to be a mockery, allowed

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1. Record, 8 October 1877.

to discuss only matters of no particular relevance to the diocese; and the paper advised laymen to think twice before bothering to attend in future(1).

In the summer of 1882 elections were held for the first London Diocesan Conference, with very satisfactory results for the Evangelical party. At the first Conference meeting in February 1883 the Record claimed that the Evangelicals present were all but equal in numbers to the other schools put together(2). Outstanding names included Daniel Wilson, Cadman, the Rev. E.H.Bickersteth and Webb-Peploe. Mr.T.R. Andrews, Church Association Chairman, Eugene Stock, and Sir Harry Verney, member also of Oxford Diocesan Conference, were among the lay representatives.

The first session was a dull one, spent largely in the appointment of committees on various subjects; on the welfare of young women employed in business in London, on scepticism, lay agency, diocesan organization, education. The names had already, in most cases, been chosen by the General Purposes Committee - nearly half of them Evangelicals - and the discussion, felt the Record's correspondent, was largely a formality.

> "... Mr. Spottiswoode proposed a Committee on the 'Evangelization of the Masses'. Many speakers followed, although no one thought that the masses ought not to be evangelized, and there was nothing whatever to discuss...

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1. Record, 11, 14, 16 October 1878; J.S.Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St. Aldate's, Oxford (Abingdon, 1967), 213-5.
2. Record, 4, 25 August 1882, 16 February 1883.

> However, at last, after spending much time in saying how entirely we all agreed with one another, a Committee was appointed, and we rose for lunch....."(1).

The proceedings of later years followed much the same pattern. Burning questions were few and far between. There was an uproar in 1891, though, when Spottiswoode moved that Holy Communion should be celebrated in every church at some time each Sunday morning, and spoke against evening communion. He declared in the course of the debate that his resolution was expansive not restrictive, but it came out that a circular had been sent round calling for a large attendance of High Churchmen to resist any motion in favour of evening communion; and the sole subject of discussion was, in fact, that famous badge of Evangelicalism. Webb-Peploe's attempt to move the previous question was defeated by 87 votes to 49; an amendment to omit 'in the forenoon of', by 87 votes to 62. Spottiswoode's resolution was carried by 102 votes to 33. After lunch the Rev. A.J.Robinson put forward a motion protesting against the use of party whips. Webb-Peploe had reached an agreement with the other side, however, that there should be no canvassing for votes at the conference - though Whips might be used at elections. The Dean of St. Paul's, who was evidently the culprit, promised not to do it again, and the protest was withdrawn(2).

A Church-wide equivalent of the Clerical and Lay Union, the Central Council of Diocesan Conferences and Synods, was established in 1881 to co-ordinate the discussions and activities of the diocesan assemblies - and, in part, to compensate for the lack of representation in Convocation. Evangelicals distrusted it for this reason, however much they might now favour diocesan conferences, and they feared an

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1. Record, 16 February 1883.

2. Record, 24 April 1891.

attempt to oust Parliament from its position in the Church. The Record felt, too, that the executive of twenty, with a quorum of only five, augured of a narrow clerical domination(1).

Ryle pointed out that only fourteen dioceses had been directly represented at the initial meeting in July, and advised the Liverpool Conference not to act hastily. The question was duly referred to the Standing Committee, and the next year, after a heated discussion, the resolution to elect six representatives was defeated by 90 votes to 70(2). At Norwich, Garratt moved an amendment, supported by Archdeacon Perowne, declining to recognise the Central Council by sending representatives. Bishop Pelham spoke in favour of a central committee for communications between the conferences, but opposed the establishment of a new representative body on these particular lines, though adding that he was prepared to go along with the majority. In the end it was decided to send representatives pro tem; with the proviso that the Council should not claim to be a representative council of the Church(3). By 1884, it was reported at York, 26 dioceses were sending delegates, two had not been asked, and two continued to refuse(4).

Some of the members were Evangelicals. Bernard represented Bath and Wells, Money Rochester, Tristram was sent by Durham diocese. Sydney Gedge was very active on the Council, and in 1885 was elected on to the committee. Cadman was nominated by the Bishop of London in 1883, and in 1884 he stood for re-election. The new candidates for

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1. Record, 22 July, 12 September 1881.
2. Record, 18 November 1881.
3. Record, 14 November 1881.
4. Record, 7 November 1884.

London included Bayley, Sir John Kennaway, Eugene Stock, and the Hon.C. L.Wood, President of the E.C.U. Cadman headed the poll, with 114 votes; Stock was also elected; Kennaway and Bayley were defeated, and Wood came last with 75 votes. Two years later four of the six London members were Evangelicals; Cadman, Bayley, Stock and the Hon.T.H.W.Pelham. In 1887 the Rev. E.Carr-Glyn and Mr. P.V.Smith replaced Bayley and Pelham(1).

The Central Council debated issues which were currently before the diocesan conferences, and acted as a communications centre, eliciting the opinions of the diocesan conferences. It had no authority, and its views were never accepted, by Parliament for instance, as statements of the views of the Church of England. And for many, its significance was lost with the formation of a lay assembly. In April 1886 only about 70 of the 160 odd members attended the Central Council. Sydney Gedge withdrew his nomination for re-election to the committee on the grounds that he was now a member of the House of Laymen(2). The diocesan conferences themselves continued to be important organs for the expression of Church opinion in the dioceses; and the Evangelical party was by now committed to an active participation in them.

Church Congresses, which began in 1861, though part of the same general movement, involved rather different principles. They were purely voluntary, with no claims to authority as representing the Church or Churchmen; held essentially for discussion not decision - no votes were taken - and non-elective, so that any who wished could attend for the

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1. Record, 7 March 1884, 4, 11 March 1887.

2. Record, 16 April 1886; Rock, 16 April 1886.

price of a ticket (7s 6d). Association in such assemblies, and therefore identification, with ritualistic errors, could not be conceived as a duty to the Church in the sense of Convocation or diocesan conferences, and seemed to older Evangelicals to involve a despicable compromise of their principles. But the opportunities for Evangelical witness might here be greater. It was in this field that one of the bitterest battles between narrow and 'neo-' Evangelicals was fought out.

The Christian Observer felt that Evangelicals should not attend the Congresses, and was confirmed in this opinion by the mounting of ritualist exhibitions at the Norwich Congress of 1865 and at York in 1866(1). Close attended the latter, his first Congress, and was determined that it should be his last(2). But Ryle, who that year read a paper for the first time, joined Garbett, Edward Hoare and other pioneers in the field, who soon became accepted Congress speakers. The Record took the line that Church Congresses existed, whatever one might think of them, and to withdraw now would be to lose any hope of influence. The paper was well pleased with the Norwich Congress, headed by an Evangelical Bishop, but protested against Ritualist activities at York, and the meagre Evangelical representation in the 1867 programme(3).

When Mackonochie, condemned by the courts for ritualism, was billed to appear at the Liverpool Congress, in 1869, a great storm of protest was aroused. The Evangelical members of the committee, who included Blakeney, Lefroy, Viscount Sandon, had allowed the selection to pass

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1. Christian Observer, March 1865, March, December 1866.

2. O,Chadwick, op.cit., II, 363.

3. Record, 16 October 1865, 15 October 1866, 7 October 1867.

entirely unchallenged, but later tried to rescind it. They were defeated by a large majority(1). McNeile and Ryle withdrew their names, and many Evangelicals, encouraged by the Rock, boycotted the Congress(2). Garbett and James Bardsley led another group, who attended the Congress but not the section in which Mackonochie was taking part, and who presented a protest to the secretaries against his appointment. Men of all shades of opinion, said the Record's report, condemned such a tactless choice of speaker(3). Though the paper's own correspondent later claimed that

> "... the Evangelical party, as a party, had no share in this opposition, for they have fully admitted from the beginning that any man who maintains his legal membership in the Church could demand to be heard at the Church Congress, and that the demand could not justly be refused"(4).

Which makes one wonder just who the Evangelical party were.

One result was a conference at the National Club on November 16, convened by the Church Association, to consider the question of Evangelical attendance at Church Congresses(5). By a very slight majority a resolution was adopted in favour of attending, and a committee was formed to secure an adequate representation at the next Congress

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1. Guardian, 8 September 1869; Record, 8 October 1869.
2. Rock, 7 September, 1, 12 October 1869; Record, 22 September 1869.
3. Record, 8 October 1869.
4. Record, 11 October 1869.
5. Record, 15 November 1869.

at Southampton(1). The question was by no means settled though, and 1870 saw a violent controversy on the subject; Francis Close, backed by Fox and others, firmly opposed the Congress, whilst Titcomb denounced an isolationist policy - and prophesied a serious rift between older and younger Evangelicals(2). Shaftesbury first agreed to speak at the Working Men's Meeting, then refused to take part in the Southampton Congress; but the Rock urged its readers to attend in large numbers(3). The paper later pleased both sides by describing the Congress as a "decided success" one week, and pointing out that "all is not gold that glitters" the next(4).

Thereafter Evangelical attendance steadily increased, and the Church Congress became in many ways a mere backcloth for rowdy scenes between Ritualists and Evangelicals, who found some cause of disagreement almost every year. At Bath, in 1873, Denison made the discussion on lay help the opportunity for an attack on the Bishop for refusing to licence him a curate.

> "It appeared impossible consistently with their self-respect and with faithfulness to their principles that the Protestant party should admit of this in silence. However anxious to maintain the propriety and decorum of the proceedings, a higher duty lay upon them to defend the true character of their Church, they were therefore compelled to answer clamour

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1. Record, 4 October 1872.
2. Record, 18, 27 July, 3, 10,12 August 1870.
3. Record, 7 September 1870; Rock, 27 September 1870.
4. Rock, 18, 25 October 1870.

with clamour"(1).

There was a similar scuffle at a private protest meeting called by Denison during the Congress(2). In 1874 the rival hosts of E.C.U. and Church Association had each their own headquarters at Brighton, where party men met daily to discuss burning questions. Fremantle's protest against Romanism caused an uproar on the Wednesday afternoon, but the main complaint of Evangelicals was not that they were shouted down but that they were not given the chance to speak, In the section on Church services, though many Evangelicals sent up their cards, only Canon Hoare was called upon to take part in the open discussion(3).

The Church Congress at Croydon in 1877, by reason of its proximity to London, and as the first to be attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, excited a great deal of interest and concern. The Christian Observer, which in view of decreasing numbers at Stoke-on-Trent in 1875 had hoped that the institution was dying out, asserted in February 1877 that the Croydon Congress would be of great import for the Church's future(4). The Record, of course, was eager for Evangelicals to attend - though one grave feature marred the prospect; the choice of four prominent members of the Society of the Holy Cross as speakers(5). At the height of the controversy over The Priest in Absolution, this was a powerful, and to the Rock conclusive, reason for boycotting the

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1. Record, 10 October 1873.
2. Record, 13, 15 October 1873.
3. Rock, 16 October 1874; Record, 9, 14 October 1874; J.H.Townsend, Canon Hoare, M.A. (London, 1876), 200-1.
4. Christian Observer, February 1877.
5. Record, 25 July 1877.

Congress(1). For months beforehand, the Record was flooded with correspondence on both sides of the question. Towards the end of September the North Western Union of Evangelical Churchmen passed a series of resolutions condemning Church Congresses(2). In spite of this, the Record reported "that at no other of the annual gatherings had so many Evangelical leaders been present as at Croydon"(3). The party was certainly well represented on the list of speakers; more than a quarter of the names being those of avowed Evangelicals, while a further quarter were "on the right side" on controversial questions(4).

On the Thursday a meeting of Evangelical Churchmen at Croydon, chaired by Auriol, unanimously agreed to Ryle's resolution, seconded by Hoare, that Evangelicals should continue to attend the Congresses. Perry, Tristram, Mr. Andrews were among those present, and Garratt and Christopher wrote to signify their concurrence(5). The Rock pointed out, with some justice, that only those Evangelicals who favoured attendance at Congresses were to be found at Croydon that week(6). But though Close held to his earlier opinion, Fox bowed to the judgement of the meeting for the sake of Evangelical unity(7).

In 1878, Ryle published a pamphlet entitles Shall We Go? to which the Rev. S.A.Walker replied with another pamphlet, No! Though as the Church Review pointed out, the Sheffield Congress of that year was pretty much in Evangelical hands(8). Canon Blakeney, Vicar of Sheffield,

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1. Rock, 7 September 1877.
2. Rock, 5 October 1877.
3. Record, 10 October 1877.
4. Record, 29 August 1877.
5. Record, 15 October 1877.
6. Rock, 19 October 1877.
7. Record, 26, 31 October 1877.
8. Church Review, 21 September 1878.

was vice-chairman of both General and Subjects Committees, and Carr-Glyn, Straton and others were members of the latter.(1). They were able to secure a very fair representation of their party on the official list of speakers; 38 of the 86 names were claimed by the Record as Evangelical(2). In 1880 they were much less fortunate, and made up only a sixth of the whole. Nor did the Ritualists fare much better, according to the Rock: "latitudinarianism was rampant"(3). Nevertheless, felt the Record's correspondent, the question of Evangelical attendance was by now "a question of fact. Evangelicals do come"(4).

Pragmatic in this as in so many things, their attitude varied with their influence on the programme. In 1883, in spite of the presence on the Subjects Committee of Chavasse, Girdlestone and Knox, the exclusion of Evangelicals was so marked that even the Guardian and Church Times protested against it(5). Canon Hoare, staunch Congress attender from the start, urged a boycott on this occasion; then changed his mind after the secretary, Archdeacon Emery, assured him of fair treatment for Evangelicals(6). Ryle stayed away, but in the event Evangelicals attended in greater numbers than ever, and secured a good hearing. By 1885 the Rock, now a more moderate paper, rejoiced that the day was long past when a large section of the Church looked askance at such gatherings(7). Some would disagree; especially the

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1. Sheffield Church Congress, 1878.
2. Record, 30 August 1878.
3. Rock, 17 September, 8 October 1880.
4. Record, 6 October 1880.
5. Guardian, 23 August 1883; Church Times, 17 August 1883.
6. Record, 21, 28 September 1883.
7. Rock, 26 June 1885.

English Churchman, which supported the rival Protestant Church Congress at Portsmouth, attended by about 4,000, but dismissed by the Rock as

> "... a small knot of noisy malcontents [who] thought fit to hold a sort of indignation meeting, all to themselves, to protest against the inequity of Church Congresses. That was a matter of no importance in itself, and indeed it would not have been worth noticing if the little clique had not arrogated to themselves the name of Evangelicals. Happily, the presence of many leaders of Evangelicalism in the Congress itself, and the entire absence of any man of weight or recognised standing among the indignationists, is a sufficient answer to any claim of representative dignity on the part of the latter"(1).

The 1890 Congress at Hull, "a black gown town"(2) had a decidedly Evangelical character; at Folkestone in 1892 Evangelical speakers were few but good, and well received. The English Churchman, banned from the latter Congress, might continue an unyielding opposition, but most Evangelicals agreed by now with the Record's view that attendance at Church Congresses was less a matter of personal inclination than of loyalty to the Church(3).

On a rather wider plane, the Lambeth Conferences marked an attempt

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1. English Churchman, 8, 15, 22 October 1885; Rock, 16 October 1885.
2. Record, 15 August 1890.
3. Record, 14 October 1892.

to build up the corporate identity of the Anglican Communion as a whole. Evangelical attitudes towards them developed in much the same way as towards other Church institutions. The Record dismissed the proposals for the first conference, in 1867, as impractical and insubstantial;

> "Of all the follies which have lately disturbed our distracted Church, 'THE PAN-ANGLICAN SYNOD' will probably shine most conspicuously in the history of abortive efforts to elevate the pretensions of Anglican Episcopal power".

A mere gathering of prelates could make no claim to represent the Church(1). William Goode denounced the Conference as illegal in a bitterly hostile pamphlet(2). Jeune, Bickersteth, Baring and Waldegrave declined to attend. But Bishop McIlvaine of Illinois, backed by Sumner of Winchester, led a strong Evangelical ginger group to secure a more definitely Protestant statement of faith on the first day; and those Evangelical bishops who were present were on the whole satisfied with the Conference(3). The Record, on the other hand, bemoaned the absence of any reference to the Thirty-nine Articles, and thought the results discreditable to the bishops(4).

The Record was quite prepared to welcome the second Lambeth Conference, in 1878, as a pleasant gathering of eminent men for an informal discussion of their work, but protested against any attempt to claim for its conclusions a binding authority(5). Commenting on the

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1. Record, 15 February, 6 September 1867.
2. W.Goode, Remarks on the Approaching Lambeth Conference and its proposed 'Amendments' (London, 1867).
3. A.M.G.Stephenson, The First Lambeth Conference, 1867 (London, 1967), 234, 249-54, 301-2.
4. Record, 7, 9 October 1867.
5. Record, 28 June 1878.

proceedings later, the paper felt that they had been harmless but uninspiring.

> "In point of fact, there has never been so vast an assemblage of Bishops in London since the Reformation; or, it may be added, one which excited so little of the anticipated public attention"(1).

The sympathies of the Conference were rather with the Evangelical than with the Ritualist school. The bishops unanimously adopted the principal sentences of the Declaration of 1873, against sacramental confession, and on a number of points endorsed the line taken by the C.M.S. in the Ceylon controversies. But the advantage thus gained was small, for the C.M.S. was not prepared to recognise the utterances and decisions of the Conference(2).

With the third Lambeth Conference, ten years later, the gatherings were established as a permanent institution, the importance of which the Record "hardly [thought] it possible to overrate". Though of small practical force in dioceses subject to settled ecclesiastical law, its resolutions might have a far-reaching influence in missionary dioceses, where the bishops' power was greater. It was essential, therefore, to ensure that the deliberations were in full accordance with the will of God(3). The Record was thankful for the generally Protestant character of the Lambeth Encyclical; though Ryle, absent from the final sessions when it was being discussed, protested against the lack of any formal protest against Ritualism, and the implied assertion that

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1. Record, 5 August 1878.

2. E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 5, 211-2.

3. Record, 9 December 1887.

the Encyclical represented the unanimous opinion of the 145 bishops at the Conference(1). There could be no doubt, by now, of the importance of the document, however, and no question of boycotting or ignoring the Conference.

At the other end of the scale, the movement to establish parochial church councils, which never really came to anything until after this period, was in its earlier stages well supported by Evangelicals. Lord Sandon was responsible for a number of bills on the subject in the 'seventies - all unsuccessful because of their anti-ritualist flavour. The Councils were seen, in fact, largely as a means of controlling the incumbent, though also as a necessary corollary to the abolition of Church Rates, and, by the Record, as a possible check on the synodical organization at diocesan level(2). There was always the fear, though, expressed in the Christian Observer as early as 1870, that the councils might prove an incumbrance to Evangelical clergymen also; the Churchman felt that the Church Boards Bill of 1882, handing over the government to parishioners regardless of Church membership, was an insult to the clergy(3). Ryle's first diocesan conference, in 1881, carried an amendment against allowing parochial councils any legal status(4). Voluntary councils had been growing up in an increasing number of parishes since the late 'sixties, however, and the Record's opinion, in 1886, that these should continue to be established with a view to instituting statutory bodies in the future, probably expressed the attitude of the party as a whole(5).

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1. Record, 10, 17, 24 August 1888.
2. Rock, 21 July 1871; Record, 4 September 1871.
3. Christian Observer, December 1870; Churchman, July 1882.
4. Record, 21 November 1881.
5. Record, 21 May 1886.

This increasing acceptance of Church institutions should not be taken as implying a corresponding decline in associational activity. One constant fear of the Evangelical party was lest the new organizations - in particular proposals for diocesan boards or committees, might encroach upon their own independent societies. The Rock in 1873 stressed the importance of combatting absorption.

> "This can only be done by an opposite process - that is by insulation. We must support nothing, that we cannot control. We must hold aloof from all so-called 'colourless societies', as certain to fall sooner or later into the enemy's hands. We must have nothing to do - except to denounce - either with missionary organizations that strengthen the hands of Ritualistic bishops, or with church-building societies that are willing to help on the most conflicting creeds"(1).

In April, 1879, the Record made almost exactly the same point(2).

Though Evangelical bishops might throw themselves into the movement to extend diocesan organizations - boards of education, home missions etc. - Evangelicals in the parishes watched with wary eyes, jealous for their Protestant principles. In 1881, for instance, both the Liverpool diocesan institutions and Thorold's Rochester Diocesan Society were under fire for their supposed support of Ritualism. The latter had indirectly rejected, by a large majority, a resolution deprecating grants to Ritualist parishes. Archdeacon Bardsley pointed to the

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1. Rock, 31 January 1873.

2. Record, 4 April 1879.

safeguards, in the Liverpool Institutions, for loyalty to Protestant truth; Marshall told the Surrey and Kent Clerical and Lay Association that in Rochester, Evangelicals were well-represented on the Temperance and Lay Workers' Societies, with councils nominated by the Bishop, but not on the elected Diocesan Society because of their own apathy. For the time being the storm was calmed(1).

Similarly with regard to proposals for an official Board of Missions, increasingly urged in the 'seventies, Evangelicals feared that the independence of their own missionary society might be threatened. When Miller agreed to take part in a Missionary Conference in London in 1875, organized by a group of High Churchmen, including Earl Nelson and Canons Lidden and Gregory, there was an uproar in the Record. Francis Close heartily endorsed the paper's objections to the scheme, and the C.M.S. declined to send representatives. Miller preached the opening sermon in St. Paul's, however, and a number of C.M.S. men did, in fact, take part(2). A second conference, held at Oxford in 1877, actually clashed with the C.M.S. May Meeting, and was felt by the Record to be a gauntlet flung down in that society's face. Attendance at one or the other would be a test of Evangelical orthodoxy. The conference was "a mild affair", in the event, according to the Record, but speakers included French and Titcomb, two Evangelicals soon to become bishops in India(3).

In 1870 a Committee of Convocation had been appointed on the subject of a Board of Missions, and its report was finally presented in 1881. The Record was highly suspicious.

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1. Record, 19, 23, 28 December 1881, 14 July 1882.
2. Record, 30 April, 3 May, 23 June 1875; E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 13.
3. Ibid., III, 14; Record, 19 April, 18 May 1877.

> "The beau-ideal aimed at is that Evangelical Churchmen should gather the money and that the Board should spend it".

Any scheme to allow the "various shades" of opinion in the Church an equal share in the control of either resources or policy of the voluntary missionary societies could only be regarded as most pernicious(1).

Objections from both C.M.S. and S.P.G., as well as disagreements between the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation over the Board's composition, postponed arrangements, and led to modifications in the proposals as brought forward in 1884. The Board by then was to consist of all the Bishops, 23 clergy appointed by Convocation, 23 laymen chosen by the Archbishop in the first instance, and later by the Board itself. Its duties were confined, very largely, to setting forth the Church's missionary duty, and to purveying information about missions. It could now, felt the Record, be accepted as harmless, and possibly useful(2). A Board of Missions for the Province of Canterbury was eventually formed on these lines in 1887; and one for York followed a few years later. The Rock objected that the voluntary system was the soul of missionary work(3). Both C.M.S. and S.P.G. declined any representation; the former ignored the Board's existence(4). And with no official recognition from the two major missionary societies, the Board of Missions could become little more than a nonentity.

Bishop Thorold, in his Charge of 1885, asserting that the

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1. Record, 18 February 1881, 24 February 1882.
2. Record, 11 July 1884.
3. Rock, 13 April 1888.
4. E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 275.

Evangelical School was still active with life, added,

> "But it is domestic life rather than public, and it needs widening; and, with all the other schools, it owes much to Congress debates. When Convocation was revived, it was unwise in its depreciation of the Church's inherent right to discuss her own affairs; and even now a few of its most capable and venerated men have no sense of conscience about the Church's corporate activity outside their own parishes..."(1).

On the question of participation in the synodical developments of the period, Evangelical opinion was no more unanimous than it had been twenty years before. But the weight of the majority, as Thorold implies, was now on the opposite side. The party had moved from an isolationist attitude to a growing conviction of the importance of securing representation and influence in these Church institutions; a policy vindicated to a certain extent by the results, and safeguarded from failure by a continued restraint in according full recognition to the assemblies. As William Lefroy told the Islington Conference of 1892, in a paper on "all the counsel of God",

> "With regard to organisation, as one of the most prominent features of ecclesiasticism in our day, I cannot refrain from saying that, devoted as I am by conviction and by experience to the systemisation which is now so prevalent, it is not without grave danger to parochial order, to ministerial independence, to the

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1. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 76-7.

expenditure of valuable time, and even to spiritual life. Diocesan life is important. But it is not necessarily spiritual life. But, whatever the dangers may be which now wait upon its ceaseless strivings after movement, uniformity, frequent meetings, and statistical returns, we should certainly increase them by pursuing a policy of abstention. This I regard as disloyal to the Church, and as the loss of many opportunities for hearing as well as for declaring the fulness of the Divine counsel"(1).

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1. W.Lefroy, Certain Pressing Claims of the Present Day upon the Ministry (London, 1892), 26.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMBINATION AND CHRISTIAN UNITY.

On a still wider front, the Christian Church in Britain was beginning to make similar moves towards consolidation, with a similar drawing together of component parts in a more unified and coherent whole. In the early nineteenth century, the chief means of tightening up church support had been by the development of narrow loyalties, and the enforcement of a rigid adherence to the party line. In 1865, denominational antagonisms still dominated the scene. By 1892, as we have seen, these issues were becoming increasingly irrelevant. A fresh cause was needed to rally the troops, and to give them a new sense of purpose. Faced with mass indifference and intellectual attacks, Christians were beginning to realise their own minority position, and the need for combination against common enemies. There was a growing tolerance of differing opinions and practices, a growing disposition for united action, a growing desire for Church Unity. The ecumenical movement, in its modern phase, was born.

In such circumstances, one might be pardoned for expecting the Evangelical party in the Church of England to come into its own. Their relatively low regard for church distinctions, and their oft-expressed high regard for their Nonconformist brethren, should surely place Evangelical Churchmen in a peculiarly advantageous position for the breaking down of denominational barriers. In the event, however, the complexity and seeming contradictions of their doctrine of the Church served rather to stiffen their resistance to the movement for Christian Unity.

Evangelicals maintained a firm distinction between the true,

invisible Church of God - the company of the elect, enjoying a special relationship with God in Christ, through the power of the Spirit - and the visible Church as seen on earth, which included many purely nominal Christians. In 1867, Hugh McNeile brought out a revised edition of The Church and the Churches to emphasize the point.

> "Under the Old Testament, 'all were not Israel who were of Israel.' There were two Israels. The one - national and visible, including subdivisions of Pharisees and Sadducees, who differed in many things one from another, but were identical in this, that they were all separated openly and avowedly from the Gentiles by the ordinance of circumcision.
>
> The other - personal and spiritual, not certainly distinguishable by men, but seen and known by God, who had in special grace circumcised their hearts, as well as their flesh.
>
> Under the New Testament, all are not Christ's who are of Christendom. There are two Churches.
>
> The one - collective and visible, including many subdivisions, who differ in many things one from another, but are identical in this, that they are all separated openly and avowedly from all the rest of mankind by the ordinance of baptism. These are the churches of Christ visible and militant here on earth, and the aggregate of them all at any one time, is the visible Church catholic.
>
> The other - personal and spiritual, scattered among the baptized communities, not certainly distinguishable by men, but seen and known of God, who has, in spiritual grace

> baptized their hearts, making them 'new creatures' in Christ Jesus. This is the Church of God in Christ; and the true ideal of its catholicity ranges not only throughout the aggregate of visible churches at any time, but also throughout the history of them all, at all times; from the distinction between Abel and Cain, till the separation between believer and unbeliever, at the second coming of the Son of Man"(1).

All true believers are one, in the power of the Spirit, members of this one true Church which transcends denominational barriers, and which - most significant for the formulating of policies - already exists; quite apart from men's efforts.

> "Christian unity, in this its first and highest sense, does not present itself in the aspect of a duty for us to perform, or endeavour to perform; it is a revealed fact for us to believe"(2).

Nevertheless, this essential unity must be made manifest. Canon Christopher stressed the importance of God's commandment to love one another; the heart-union which should be felt between Churchmen and Nonconformists(3). Pennefather had earlier pleaded for this same brotherly love(4), and founded the Mildmay Conferences to give expression to it. But for both, the unity thus enjoined by Christ is purely spiritual - a personal relationship between individual Christians

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1. Hugh McNeile, The Church and the Churches (London, 1867), 56-7.
2. Ibid., 104.
3. A.M.W.Christopher, Saving Gospel Truth; and Uniting Christian Love (London, 1890).
4. W.Pennefather, The Church of the First-Born (London, 1865).

which ignored denominational distinction as being unimportant, and so in effect condoned the continuance of such differences. Their low Churchmanship led Evangelicals to undervalue the attempts to unite the denominations, whilst their belief in two churches made them sceptical of the possibilities of success. The Record maintained, in 1875, that

> "The man who can really conceive, and publicly describe, the constitution of a Universal Church to be within the bounds of possibility, must be about the wildest of dreamers, and the blindest of enthusiasts"(1).

The Christian Advocate felt the union of Christendom to be a sure reality of the Divine promise, but neither an object at present obtainable, nor one which it should be their immediate effort to obtain(2).

By confining Christian unity to the sphere of the invisible Church they had virtually excluded it from taking practical form in the visible Church. More than this; it seemed right and proper that the latter should include both 'saved' and 'unsaved', whereas true union was possible only between those truly united in the Spirit. Consequently, a distinction was drawn between uniformity, outward and mechanical, and unity. Dean Goode, while urging personal intercommunion, felt that any attempt at a formal union of the Protestant Churches, 'under the present dispensation' was unwise and would probably fail(3). To the Christian Observer, a technical, external unity such as Newman hoped for with Rome would be quite wrong. The spirit of schism was contrary to the first principles of Christianity; but truth must come first, peace and unity afterwards(4).

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1. Record, 8 October 1875.
2. Christian Advocate, January 1868.
3. W.Goode, Brotherly Communion (Cambridge, 1859), 37-8.
4. Christian Observer, November 1874.

Evangelical Churchmen, therefore, were placed in a peculiar position in regard to ecumenicalism. Belittling church divisions, loud in their praise of Christian unity, but also in their assertions of its present reality, in so far as was possible on earth, they were apt to distrust all movements directed towards its practical achievement. Perhaps McNeile best expressed their attitude:

> "... We may talk together in unity, because we can confine our talk, pro tempore, to those great truths on which we are agreed; but we cannot act together in uniformity, because our acts invariably involve matters in which we are conscientiously at issue. Attempts at such co-operation engender jealousies, lest unfair advantage may be taken on either side of opportunities arising in the course of the proceedings. And therefore our best hope of maintaining 'the unity of the Spirit', which it is the duty of us all to 'endeavour to keep' in the bond of peace, lies in refraining from all attempts at such outward co-operation"(1).

The Evangelical Alliance to a great extent mirrored this attitude of the Evangelical party in the Church of England towards Christian Unity. The first resolution of the inaugural conference, in August 1846, declared

> "...that the church of the living God, while it admits of growth, is one church, never having lost, and being incapable of losing, its essential unity. Not, therefore, to create that unity, but to confess it, is the design of their assembling together..."

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1. H.McNeile, The Church and the Churches, 141-2.

The second deplored the Church's divisions, and urged the necessity of working for true unity of the spirit; but the Rev. James Begg's expressions of the need to remove the divisions themselves received little support from the majority(1).

In its initial stages the Alliance had evoked much opposition from both Church and Dissent; the Christian Observer had very strongly denounced the new "Anti-Church League and Covenant"(2). But by 1865 it had become much more respectable, and if the proportion of active membership was relatively small, it received a general approbation from the Evangelical party as a whole. Those at the centre, predictably, were men well-known for work in other inter-denominational fields, though prominent in strictly Church affairs too. The Hon. Arthur Kinnaird was among the vice-presidents, and in 1866 the Earl of Chichester, president of the C.M.S., was added to the executive council, becoming a vice-president in 1868. Leading revivalists such as Lord Radstock, were well represented, and in 1867 Canon Battersby, later so important in the history of the Keswick Convention, joined the council.

Inevitably, the society was affected by the ups and downs of relations between Church and Dissent. In 1864, Spurgeon's attack on Anglican Evangelicals, in a sermon on baptismal regeneration, led to a stormy controversy, and to Spurgeon's resignation from the Alliance; though he rejoined some years later(3). By 1867, however, the situation was much calmer, and the Record rejoiced at the exclusion from the

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1. J.B.A.Kessler, A Study of the Evangelical Alliance in Great Britain (Goes, Netherlands, 1968), 36-9.
2. Christian Observer, December 1845.
3. C.Ray, The Life of Charles Haddon Spurgeon (London, 1903), 301-12.

united prayer meetings, in January, of "the great troublers of our Israel"(1). At the annual conference in 1877, Canon Christopher criticised those who held aloof from the Alliance on account of the disestablishment conflict.

> "He had been eighteen years in Oxford, but yet he did not know Mr. Martin's opinion of the Establishment, because he had not once spoken to him of it; they had enough to speak of the work of Christianity. (Applause.) The more danger there was of a political conflict the more need was there of spiritual union"(2).

Again the emphasis is on ignoring the divisions, rather than on a constructive discussion of and attempt to lessen them.

The same tendency characterised the great international conferences of the Alliance. The Record was well pleased with the spiritual blessings obtained at the New York Conference in 1873; and the advancement of "national friendship, individual affection, and Christian fellowship"(3). But the only attempt to introduce a controversial topic, on Church and State, had led to a strong expression of ill-feeling; one speaker indignantly leaving the room, and hymns being used to cover the sounds of discord. The Times complained of the generalities which must inevitably abound at such widely-drawn gatherings; a practical discussion of the work in hand, which would have been their only value, was made quite impossible(4).

Although a general desire for unity, on the Continent and more

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1. Record, 14 January 1867.
2. Record, 1 October 1877.
3. Record, 31 October 1873.
4. Times, 24 October 1873.

especially in Scotland, as well as in England, had been important factors, the Evangelical Alliance had grown immediately out of the circumstances of Newman's secession to Rome, and the furor over the Maynooth grant. And in spite of the emphasis, at the preparatory Liverpool Conference in 1845, on unity rather than controversy, this oppositionist aspect clung to the Alliance for many years(1). In 1868 the Council decided that combined action against Ritualism was not as yet possible, but the addresses at the Annual Service on May 7 stressed the importance of unity against Romanism and Rationalism(2). A Christian Evidence Committee was appointed to counteract secularism; a manifesto issued denouncing the Ecumenical Council held at Rome in 1870(3).

This controversial side to the Alliance underlined the exclusive nature of the unity which it sought to express. It was an Evangelical, not a general Christian, union, based on loyalty to the same essential truths. The inaugural conference, largely at the insistence of Edward Bickersteth, had adopted a doctrinal statement limiting membership to those holding 'evangelical views' on nine points of doctrine, including the Trinity, inspiration of the Scriptures, justification by faith(4). Dr. Kessler argues that this formal basis had not been intended as a test of admission by the provisional committee(5), and supplementary clauses repudiated the notion that it was a confession of faith, or that any compromise of the views of any member was required or expected(6).

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1. J.B.A.Kessler, op.cit., 13-18, 24-5.
2. Evangelical Alliance, Annual Report, 1868, p.9.
3. Record, 29 November 1869.
4. J.E.Ewing, Goodly Fellowship (London, 1946), 17-18.
5. J.B.A.Kessler, op.cit., 39-42.
6. J.E.Ewing, op.cit., 18.

It effectively excluded non-evangelicals, however, and early in our period caused problems within the Evangelical world as well.

In 1867, the Rev. T.R.Birks, incumbent of Trinity Church, Cambridge, published The Victory of Divine Goodness, in which he argued that the Atonement abolished for all men the first death, the complete separation of the soul from God. The unrepentant suffer a second death; a state of eternal punishment, but in which they are blessed by the contemplation of God's glory;

> "when the depth of their unchangeable shame and sorrow finds beneath it a still lower depth of Divine compassion, and the creature, in its most forlorn state, is shut in by the vision of surpassing and infinite love"(1).

These views were held to contravene the eighth article of the doctrinal basis, which maintained 'the Eternal Blessedness of the Righteous, and the Eternal Punishment of the Wicked'. Mr. R.Baxter led a strong minority on the Council who in January 1870 pressed for an official condemnation of the book. A resolution was put forward to expel Birks from the Alliance, though this was later withdrawn, and Birks himself cut the Gordian Knot by resigning(2). In a letter to Dr.Blackwood, who reluctantly replaced him as secretary, Birks declared that, had he foreseen the controversy, he would have renounced office before publishing the book. The objects of the Alliance were dear to him, but Christian liberty was dearer still(3).

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1. T.R.Birks, The Victory of Divine Goodness (London, 1867), 191-2.
2. J.B.A.Kessler, op.cit., 66-8; Record, 21, 24 January 1870; Evangelical Christendom, February 1870; T.R.Birks, The Atonement and the Judgement ... with a brief statement of facts on the Evangelical Alliance (London, 1870).
3. Evangelical Christendom, April 1870.

The whole affair caused quite an uproar, made greater by the fact that Birks was a founding member of the Alliance, son-in-law of Edward Bickersteth, and had been honorary secretary of the British Organization for nineteen years. Many, like Blackwood, disagreed with his theories, but denied the right of the Council to interfere. Even the narrow-minded Rock rejoiced when a committee appointed to look into the subject reported in Birks' favour(1). But fifteen council members resigned in protest against the refusal to condemn his ideas, including Kinnaird and the treasurer, Mr.R.C.L.Bevan; and the Weekly Review declared that the Alliance was on the point of being broken up(2). Dr.Steane wrote a stirring defence, in Evangelical Christendom, of the liberty of conscience allowed to members of the Evangelical Alliance(3), but it was clear that both sides wanted that liberty to be limited to orthodoxy. The question was how far essential orthodoxy should be defined, to include still the wide range of evangelical belief.

In later years the Alliance could not but be influenced by the general trend towards a minimum of tests, but it maintained a firm stand against radicalism. The new basis of 1912 admitted to membership all who believed in the Trinity and the inspiration of the Scriptures(4).

The Evangelical Alliance was limited then in its aim, seeking union only between Evangelicals; limited also, in the extent to which it sought to give this unity an organizational form. Dr. Blackwood, at the annual British conference in September 1865, urged the Alliance to take the lead in the ecumenical movement.

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1. Rock, 3 June 1870.
2. Record, 30 May 1870; J.B.A.Kessler, op.cit., 68.
3. Evangelical Christendom, April 1870.
4. J.B.A.Kessler, op.cit., 73.

> "Is it possible to get the branches of the Church visible, or at least many of them, to confer together in one, and to act unitedly for the promotion of objects in which they are all agreed? If this proved practicable, as he ventured to hope it might, would not such united action be more powerful by far than that of individuals united in the Alliance? And must not such a Catholic manifestation of visible fellowship directly promote their main object, and tend to further the experience and diffusion of Christian love? Might not also the Alliance be well the centre of such catholic united effort? He threw out this suggestion with diffidence, yet not without hope. He was indeed aware that whatever degree of visible union was attained, it would be 'rather the effect than the fruit of love'. Still, the effect was worthy of the cause, and he desired to see both advancing in due order".

But in Evangelical Christendom the suggestion was declared impossible of achievement, the product of a 'devout imagination'(1).

Committed thus to an exclusive and inorganic form of Christian unity, Evangelicals left the initiative in the ecumenical movement to other Churchmen, and so lost a valuable opportunity for making an influential contribution. It was the High Church party which first looked outside the Church of England, in the nineteenth century, with a view to positive institutional reunion. And the bias of that school lay in the direction least acceptable to Evangelicalism.

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1. Evangelical Christendom, November 1865.

The Tractarian movement had early looked towards Rome, regarding the English Church as the branch, in England, of the Church Catholic, and hoping for a restoration of intercommunion. Since the 1840's there had been a group of men who were also interested in a rapprochement with the Eastern Churches. In 1857 the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom was formed, to unite in intercessory prayer Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Anglican; and Neale was largely responsible for the foundation of the Eastern Church Association in 1864. The response was small. the latter folded up within a few years, and the former, unpopular with Manning and his party, was condemned by the Pope in 1864, and so lost its Roman Catholic members.

In 1865 Pusey published his first Eirenicon; a defence of his alliance with Evangelicals against rationalism, and an earnest plea for reunion with Rome. In it, he tried to show that it was perversions of true Catholicism, 'things which are taught with a quasi-authority in the Roman Church', rather than the Tridentine Decrees, which separated the two Churches(1). The work was resented by many Roman Catholics, who viewed it as part of the Protestant polemic: in the Church of England too it caused an outcry of opposition. The Record was deluged with correspondence on the subject, and in leading articles affirmed the fundamental nature of the errors of faith dividing the Church of England from Rome(2). The Christian Observer expressed the disillusionment felt by some Evangelicals, whose hearts had warmed to

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1. E.B.Pusey, The Church of England a Portion of Christ's One Holy Catholic Church, and a means of restoring Visible Unity. An Eirenicon, in a letter to the Author of 'The Christian Year' (London, 1865), 98.
2. Record, 18, 20 December 1865.

Pusey in the struggle against neology, but who now realised that his beliefs now were the same as thirty years before(1). Hugh McNeile, at a meeting of the Irish Society in Liverpool, derided the "childish absurdity" of proposals for reunion with Rome.

> ".... The time has come for making the gulf visible instead of attempting to smooth it over. (Loud applause.) All the engineering of this advanced age - and it is a great age for engineering - all the moral and spiritual and theological engineering that can be found in Oxford and Cambridge put together will never make a footway over that gulf. (Applause.) It is impossible; it cannot be done"(2).

In a published letter to Pusey, restating the Evangelical distinction between the visible and the invisible churches, he asserted that truth must come first, then peace; and repeated and expanded the charge of manipulating and ambiguously interpreting the doctrines of both Roman and English Church(3).

In January 1866, the Rev. E.A.Litton began a series of review articles in the Christian Advocate and Review, on "The Truth and Office of the English Church", in which he made similar criticisms of the ambiguities in Pusey's theological system. Litton dismissed the project of reconciliation as chimerical - in England especially, Protestantism was identified with a national repugnance to Rome - and he brought out what was to become a stock evangelical slogan: that the work of reunion at home must precede that abroad(4). Hobart Seymour put forward much

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1. Christian Observer, January 1866.
2. Record, 15 December 1865.
3. H.McNeile, Fidelity and Unity. A Letter to the Rev.E.B.Pusey, D.D. (London, 1866).
4. Christian Advocate and Review, January, February, April, June, October 1866.

the same argument in his review for the Record(1).

It was evident that any scheme for reunion could not include the Evangelical party; and Pusey himself calmly faced the possibility of breaking up the Church of England. Writing later to Newman, he explained that his propositions

> "... might add to the Protestant uproar, and might end in a split, to which things look very much as if they are going: those represented by the Church Association would drive it to this if they could. But then the Bishops won't let it come if they can help it"(2).

In the event, the lack of response in both Churches made Pusey's advances completely abortive. In 1869 and 1870 he published a second and third part to his Eirenicon, but with decreasing confidence. And the declaration of Papal Infallibility, at the Roman Council of 1870, made him despair of reunion(3). In later editions of the third part, the title was changed to Healthful Reunion, as conceived possible before the Vatican Council.

One reaction, though not of Pusey, to the rebuffs from Rome and to the shock of the infallibility decree, was to look more earnestly towards the Eastern Churches. The Bishop of Oxford was largely responsible for a meeting between Anglicans and Greek Orthodox in the London S.P.G. rooms in November 1865. The Record was quick to note the lack of enthusiasm on the Greek side(4). For here too, the Evangelical party

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1. Record, 22 January 1866.
2. H.P.Liddon, op.cit., IV, 157.
3. See E.B.Pusey, Is Healthful Reunion Impossible? A Second Letter to the Rev. J.H.Newman, D.D. (London, 1870), 294.
4. Record, 5 January 1866.

was loud in its opposition. In 1869 the Archbishop of Canterbury sent a copy of the Prayer Book to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Record used the occasion of the Patriarch's reply to underline the impossibilities of 'union between truth and falsehood'.

> "To see the Eastern Churches rescuscitated and brought close to ourselves in the bonds of one Lord and one faith, knit together in the unity of the same pure and Scriptural belief, would be indeed a source of indescribable joy and satisfaction. There is no effort, no sacrifice, which true and loyal Churchmen would not welcome for this purpose. But so long as the Eastern Church retains her doctrinal corruptions, union is equally unattainable and undesirable. To effect it between a pure and an impure Church would be like uniting the living to the dead(1).

Towards the Old Catholic movement, however, the Evangelical party was more sympathetic. The immediate crisis out of which this grew was the promulgation of Papal Infallibility at the first Vatican Council, in July 1870. Opposition to the decrees was particularly strong in Switzerland and in Germany, where it centred at Munich under the leadership of Ignaz von Döllinger. He and other prominent rebels were excommunicated early in 1871. In September of that year, the first Old Catholic Congress was held, at Munich, attended by oppositionist Catholics from Switzerland and other European countries, as well as from Germany, in an attempt to build up some consolidated church organization.

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1. Record, 24 November 1869.

The Record was at first dubious about the movement, which was certainly not Protestant, and seemed too preoccupied with the outward form of the Church(1). But by 1873, though still not enthusiastic, the Record felt that Döllinger was moving in the right direction, and was hopeful that he would gradually be guided to the complete truth. Evangelicals could be thankful, at any rate, that Catholics were being brought to study the Bible(2). High Churchmen, of course, were far more positive in their support of the Old Catholics, in whom they saw close affinities with their own movement, than was the Evangelical party. The Broad Church School also took a keen interest. Dean Stanley was present at the Munich Conference, and again at Cologne in 1872, though he took no part in the proceedings(3).

Döllinger very soon turned his attention to the possibilities of Christian Unity; and in 1872 he published his lectures on The Reunion of the Churches. The first Old Catholic Congress declared its hopes for reunion with the Greek-Oriental and Russian Churches, from whom it was separated by no irreconcilable doctrinal differences, and for "a gradual rapprochement" with the Protestant and Episcopal Churches(4). The Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, Christopher Wordsworth and Harold Browne, were invited to the second Congress, held at Cologne in September 1872, and Wordsworth played an active part in the meetings. They were accompanied there by a small group of Anglican clergy, but not, apparently,

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1. Record, 2 October 1871.
2. Record, 2 May 1873.
3. R.E.Prothero, The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penryn Stanley (London, 1894), II, 406-410.
4. A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948, ed. R.Rouse and S.C.Neill (London, 1954), 292.

by any notable Evangelicals - though the Rock had been very anxious for Wordsworth himself to attend(1). The Congress established a Committee on Reunion, and in 1873 at Constance, two corresponding committees were appointed to negotiate, one with the Eastern Churches, the other with those of the West.

All these preparations led up to two conferences at Bonn, in 1874 and 1875, to which members of the Anglican and Eastern Churches were invited. The moderate Evangelical, Dean Howson of Chester, was among them on this occasion. The discussions were aimed at framing a general confession of faith, in which Old Catholic, Orthodox and Anglican Churches could concur. Döllinger, president of the Conference, announced at the start that the Old Catholics considered themselves in no way bound by the Tridentine Decrees. This repudiation had been urged by the Rock in 1873(2), and, from a Protestant viewpoint, seemed a hopeful beginning. After much debate, a series of doctrinal articles was adopted by the Conference. The fifth of these was a great cause of disagreement. Originally phrased as

> "We agree that faith, working by love, and not faith alone, is the means and condition of man's justification before God",

the word 'alone' was eventually replaced by 'without love', to appease the firm opposers of good works(3). The ninth article affirmed Holy Scripture to be the primary rule of faith, but that,

> "genuine tradition, i.e., the unbroken transmission, partly oral and partly by writing, of the doctrine

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1. Rock, 23 August 1872.
2. Rock, 10 October 1873.
3. Record, 18 September 1874.

delivered by Jesus Christ and the Apostles is an authoritative source of teaching for all successive generations"(1).

The new Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was rejected, in spite of Liddon's amendment in its favour, but Confession was retained. The most heated discussions were over the 'filioque' clause in the Nicene Creed. In the end it was agreed that the clause had been inserted in the Creed irregularly, and that it was desirable to consider the possibility of its removal(2).

To the Rock, the Bonn Conference seemed to have laid an axe to the root of Protestant principles(3). But not all Evangelicals felt the same way. William Lefroy published a pamphlet entitled A Plea for the Old Catholic Movement, defending the articles of faith, and pointing out the distinctions between Old Catholic beliefs and those of Rome. The Record too saw hopeful signs of a doctrinal position far in advance of Rome, if still far short of the Reformation - though the conference was of no significance, of course, for Christian Unity, which was impossible before the Second Coming, and anyway depended on a more insubstantial approach(4). Bishop Perry, describing the movement later at the Church Congress of 1876, affirmed that the articles may have been a sign of progress in the Old Catholics, but they would have been a retrograde step for Anglicans to accept(5). And the Rock remained totally unconvinced by Lefroy's pamphlet.

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1. W. Lefroy, A Plea for the Old Catholic Movement (London, 1874), 17-19.
2. C.B.Moss, The Old Catholic Movement, its origins and history (London, 1948), 257-266.
3. Rock, 25 September 1874.
4. Record, 21 September 1874.
5. Record, 4 October 1876.

> "As long as the movement was vague and general, we hoped for the best, and we are not yet altogether hopeless; but now that the principles of the new church are formulated, it is the duty of every true Protestant to seek by prayer, and by the use of all lawful means, to rescue its adherents from palpable and dangerous error. It is not enough to say that on many subordinate points the Old Catholics differ from Romanists. This is true; but it is equally true that on the vital matters, the questions which most directly concern salvation, they still cling to the most deadly delusions of the Roman Antichrist. It is quite intelligible that Ritualists should rejoice in this. But it ought to be a matter of deep regret and earnest concern to all the true followers of the Lamb in Great Britain and the world"(1).

The second Bonn Conference, in 1875, was almost exclusively concerned with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and with the problem of formulating a common statement to which the Orthodox could agree. It was to the Eastern Church, in fact, that the Old Catholics were primarily looking, rather than to England.

The following year, spurred on by the talks at Bonn, the Bishop of Winchester led a debate in the Upper House of Convocation on the possibilities of intercommunion with the Greek Church; only to be firmly defeated(2). In 1879, the question was again before Convocation, which the Record scornfully considered the best place for such a vague

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1. Rock, 6 November 1874.

2. Record, 18 February 1876.

and unpractical dream(1). Little of a positive nature was achieved; and from the Old Catholic Church itself, the impetus towards unity slackened.

Individuals in England retained an interest in the movement, however, including Evangelicals. In 1882, the Record ran a series of articles on the Old Catholics, and asserted that in many ways they came close to Evangelicalism; on the supremacy they assigned to Holy Scripture; the paramount importance of Christ - though indefinite as to justification by faith; the work of the Holy Spirit in "the general awakening which is claimed to have accompanied the movement" and in sanctification. Evangelical Churchmen, therefore, should be sympathetic to the young Church(2). By 1886, the Rock had sufficiently recovered from Bonn to urge the Evangelical Alliance to extend its support to the movement(3). But by now the main attention of most Churchmen was directed rather towards the prospects of Christian unity in England.

As schemes for a wider union turned sour, High Churchmen looked increasingly to the English Nonconformists, in the hopes of establishing a united Christendom at home. In 1873 the Home Reunion Society was formed,

> "... to present the Church of England in a conciliatory attitude towards those who regard themselves as outside her pale, so as to lead to the corporate reunion of all Christians holding the doctrines of the Ever-Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation and Atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ"(4).

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1. Record, 24 March 1879.
2. Record, 1 September 1882.
3. Rock, 10 September 1886.
4. A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948, ed. R.Rouse and S.C.Neill, 282.

The Bishop of Winchester became President in 1875, and Earl Nelson, as Chairman, devoted most of his life to the work of publishing papers and arranging meetings with Nonconformists, in connection with the society. A meeting was held during the Plymouth Church Congress in 1876, to which over two hundred representatives of all parties in the Church came to hear the objects of the society.

Evangelicals had been loud in their criticism of attempts to seek union abroad, to the neglect of Protestant Nonconformity in England. They were scarcely more enthusiastic over the new movement. The Christian Observer felt that its proceedings would carry no weight: the society could speak for only a section of the Church, whilst the Methodists, with whom they were chiefly concerned, were divided into numerous sects. Nor was there any demand for reunion.

> "There is needed, both on the side of the Church of England and on the side of Wesleyanism, a desire for unity"(1).

The Record declared in 1879 that,

> "The intention is so good that we can only regret the absence of practical wisdom which is likely to make its efforts abortive....It is idle, we might say impertinent, to expect that Nonconformity will pass through the Caudine Forks"(2).

The Evangelical party were, however, as eager to include the Nonconformists in the Church as were High Churchmen. This seemed to many the only defence against Dissenting attack. A letter to the Christian Observer of January 1871 urged that they were drifting towards either

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1. Christian Observer, January 1877.

2. Record, 24 October 1879.

Disestablishment or Comprehension, and the Churchmen must choose their platform and unite on it(1). Ten years later, the Churchman declared that neither sovereign nor House of Lords could save the Church of England, but that nothing was more likely to prevent disestablishment than the 'judicious comprehension' of orthodox Dissenters(2). Such incorporation might also serve, as an article in the Churchman of June, 1881, pointed out, to stamp out Ritualism(3).

And if the comprehension of Dissenters was viewed as a weapon against Ritualism, the conflict with Ritualism and Rationalism itself was seen, to some extent, as part of a movement to make the Church of England more acceptable to Nonconformists. Attempts to relax clerical subscriptions, and to remove the Athanasian Creed, were directed towards the same end. Viscount Sandon in 1867 asserted the necessity of affirming and upholding Protestant truth if they were to attract Nonconformists into the Church(4). At the Church Congress of 1870, Ryle urged the reform of the Act of Uniformity, a more liberal use of the liturgy, and greater participation of the laity, and increased facilities for ministers to become clergy.

> "The clue to reunion is to be found in one word - that word is concession".

Most important was the need for the Church to put herself in order. They must establish a united and distinctly Protestant Establishment if they expected Nonconformists to return to the Church of England(5).

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1. Christian Observer, January 1871.
2. Churchman, February 1881.
3. Churchman, June 1881.
4. Record, 4 October 1867.
5. Record, 17 October 1870.

In spite of assertions to the contrary, the Evangelical party seemed to assume that Nonconformists would be only too willing to be reabsorbed in large numbers, once doctrinal and technical obstacles were removed. And it was in terms of the reabsorption of individuals, if en masse, not as a reunion of denominations as such, that they viewed the possibilities of Christian unity in England. Robert Kennion's contribution to the ecumenical movement, Unity and Order the Handmaids of Truth, published in 1866, was practically a plea for everyone to rejoin the Church of England.

Evangelicals have been criticised, in fact, for a lack of respect towards Nonconformity, and compared unfavourably in this with High Churchmen, who at least had some foundation for their attitude. Nonconformists objected that

> "the charitable and patronising way in which Evangelicals sometimes speak of Dissenters is most offensive"(1);

and with some reason. John Charles Ryle, for one, was fond of telling his followers to 'deal gently with them', and remember that ignorance and a biased upbringing were a major cause of their Dissent(2).

The fault lay partly in the party's view of Church order as being largely a matter of human organization and expediency. Lidden wrote to the Rev. R.W.Dale, in August 1885, that, however High Churchmen and Congregationalists might differ over the Scriptural warrant for episcopacy,

> "we neither of us have much heart for a Church policy which professes itself to be a matter of indifference, and does not claim the authority of our Lord; and this is

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1. J.Browne, Dissent and the Church (London, 1870), 13.

2. J.C.Ryle, Churchmen and Dissenters (London, 1880), 12.

> my quarrel with that estimate of the Episcopate among ourselves which would keep it up, for historical or social reasons, without feeling or professing any serious belief in its relation to the Divine Will"(1).

But a possibility of compromise was thereby opened to Evangelicals which was denied to High Churchmen. The Home Reunion Society was bound to "the episcopal constitution of the Church"(2); and the doctrine of apostolic succession, as held by Tractarians, was in effect a denial of the validity of Nonconformity. Evangelicals, even Ryle, were ready to "honour the grace of God" wherever they saw it, and Ryle realised that this question of orders was one of the biggest obstacles to reunion, for no trained Dissenting minister would be willing to seek reordination in the Anglican Church(3). In Knots Untied he argued that, while schism was certainly not unimportant, the Thirty-nine Articles declared that ministers of the Church of England were scripturally ordained, but not that no others were(4). Joseph Bardsley held that not until the Restoration was ordination to the Anglican ministry made necessary(5).

The Evangelical party, if condescending towards individual Nonconformists, was very much aware that for the Dissenting denominations it would be no simple matter to forget their separate history and organization, and reunite with the Church of England. Ryle dismissed

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1. J.O.Johnston, Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon, 334-5.
2. Christian Observer, January 1877.
3. J.C.Ryle, Churchmen and Dissenters.
4. J.C.Ryle, Knots Untied (London, 1874), 278-84.
5. Joseph Bardsley, Church of England Principles Viewed in relation to the Ministry of Non-Episcopal Communions (London, 1872).

"... the pleasant but quixotic idea that we can ever bring about a wholesale reunion of Church and Dissent"

as a waste of time(1). It was Wesleyanism which was chiefly under consideration, and the Record felt that reunion would be an act of suicide for that body. In numbers and completeness of organization the institution was second only to the Church of England, and the dislocation which would result might prove fatal, on both sides(2).

Nonconformists were, in fact, extremely reluctant to re-enter the Establishment on the terms offered them. The London Quarterly Review in July 1868 strongly repudiated the notion that Methodists were barely separated from the Church of England, and might be reunited without difficulty. Wesley had been firmly attached to the Church, but not more than to souls and the cause of God. The Christian unity talked of at Church Congresses etc. was merely the reabsorption of the denominations into the Established Church. Wesleyanism would lose its own particular ethos and organization, and would become isolated, as the Church of England was isolated, from other Christian Churches and communities(3).

In February 1868, a motion was brought before the Convocation of York to appoint a committee to confer with Wesleyan representatives on the possibilities of reconciliation. Robert Bickersteth, Bishop of Ripon, whilst fully supporting the spirit of the motion, felt that the scheme was doomed to failure; and after much discussion a general resolution was adopted instead, at Bickersteth's suggestion, affirming merely that the Convocation of York would welcome any attempt to affect

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1. J.C.Ryle, Churchmen and Dissenters, 12.
2. Record, 10 February 1868.
3. London Quarterly Review, July 1868.

a reconciliation between the Wesleyan body and the Church of England(1). To the Record this seemed the most sensible solution(2).

When the Wesleyan Conference assembled in August, a letter was read out from Dr.Jackson, a past president of Conference, on the relations of Methodism with the Church of England. Jackson absolutely denied that the Methodist Church was departing from Wesley's principles.

> "Mr. Wesley was a Protestant to the backbone, and he regarded the Church of England as a Protestant Establishment";

but now the Church was not what it had been; Romanism and scepticism were rampant, and receiving no effectual resistance. Methodists must therefore proclaim the truths of the Reformation more strenuously than ever. Amalgamation with the Established Church, in its present state, was "legally, morally, and religiously impossible"(3). A letter from Pusey, appealing to the Conference for aid against the abolition of university tests, with a suggestion for separate Dissenting colleges, was granted an acknowledgement and nothing more(4).

The Rev. W.R.Fremantle wrote to the Record, protesting that the Church was still the same, despite some erring members, and that Protestantism in England should not be divided against itself. A leading article backed up this argument, and for once supported the actions of Pusey(5). In September, however, the Record published another letter from Jackson, explaining that his earlier letter had not been intended

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1. Record, 10 February 1868; Borthwick. MS. Convocation Books, 6 February 1868, R II MB 10.
2. Record, 10 February 1868.
3. Times, 12 August 1868.
4. Times, 15 August 1868.
5. Record, 26 August 1868.

for publication, and was therefore couched in stronger terms than he might have used; and that it was not meant as an attack upon the Church; but rather as a decisive negative to any expectations of union. And to this last point, the Record gave a hearty assent(1).

In July 1870, the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation recommended some communication with Nonconformists on the subject of reunion, and the insertion of the Prayer for Unity on the blank leaf of the S.P.C.K. edition of the Prayer Book. Christian Unity was a common theme at Church Congresses. The relations of the Church and the Nonconformists were discussed in 1867, 1870, 1877, 1879, 1880; and again in 1889, 1890, and 1891; with much the same points being raised by much the same speakers on each occasion. In 1879 they all agreed that the Anglican system was too stiff and inelastic, but that the Church must not concede any principle. Ryle, as usual, stressed the responsibility of past mistakes in causing Dissent. Bishop Perry aroused great disapproval from the High Churchmen present by saying that Episcopacy was not an essential part of Christianity; Prebendary Clarke, on the other hand, urged that it should be made the basis for reunion(2).

Apart from making known the prevailing views among the more politically active Churchmen, the Church Congress debates had little practical effect. Any further moves towards a closer understanding were made by individuals, who could claim even less to speak for the Church. In 1873, the Bishop of Lincoln issued a pastoral proposing a conference with the Wesleyans, in tones which the Record felt could not but cause offence(3). His advances were moderately but conclusively rejected.

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1. Record, 25 September 1868.

2. Record, 10 October 1879.

3. Record, 11 August 1873.

Ex-president Rev. Luke Wiseman pointed out that the current trend of Wesleyanism was away from the Establishment, and he saw no reason to interfere(1). The Record declared in July 1876 that,

> "It is as likely that the skies will fall as that the Wesleyans will consent to un-church themselves, to admit the invalidity of their own orders, and the graceless sterility of their sacraments, and to come cap in hand to receive the spiritual crumbs which lordly priests may condescend to measure out to them. It makes us indignant to see the Church of England humiliated by such language, and gratuitous insults offered under the guise of condescending charity to a great body, raised far beyond the reach of petty contumely, which neither receive political benefit nor injury from the Church of England, but which has the power to throw a prepondering weight in the scales against her, in that critical contest for life which the Church is called to wage"(2).

Such actions as the Evangelical party felt inclined to take, in the cause of Christian Unity, were directed rather towards the affirmation of the validity of Nonconformist ministrations, and the legality of a personal interchange between the denominations. In this they were joined, and in some cases outdistanced, by other Churchmen. In September 1871, the Bishop of Winchester and the Archbishop of York caused a great outcry in the press, by officiating, on consecutive Sundays, in Glengarry parish kirk, after the Presbyterian manner - though

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1. Record, 15 August 1873.

2. Record, 21 July, 1876.

Wilberforce tried to wriggle out of the controversy on the plea that his was a mission service. The Daily Telegraph sarcastically suggested that Denison prosecute the Archbishop under the Act of Uniformity; the Record too was inclined to sarcasm, but on the whole viewed the affair in a favourable light, as calculated to break down those exclusive pretensions which were the bane of the Church of England(1).

Evangelicals themselves were divided over the propriety of exchanging pulpits. The Bishop of Ripon admonished Blackwood for inviting the Baptist Dr. Steane to preach in his church in Middleton Tyas in 1870; to draw wry comments from Evangelical Christendom on

> "the monition of an Evangelical Vicar by an Evangelical Bishop for what we and tens of thousands will regard as only an act of Evangelical courtesy and brotherhood"(2).

Most Evangelicals seemed to favour freedom of movement between Church and Chapel, to this extent at least. In August 1871 Cowper-Temple introduced in the Commons a bill to enable incumbents, with permission from their bishop, to admit to their pulpits persons not in Anglican orders. As yet, the legal position of the question was open to discussion. The Christian Observer gave its support to the main object, though with the reservation that the congregation should have some say in the matter(3). The pressure of other business meant that the bill was postponed until the next session, and in June 1872 it was rejected by a majority of 61. The Record thought that the dependence on episcopal licence had been fatal, and advised that any further measure make

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1. Record, 18, 27 September, 2 October 1871; Daily Telegraph, 16 September 1871.
2. Evangelical Christendom, November 1870.
3. Christian Observer, October 1871.

provision for safeguarding the rights of the laity(1).

Meanwhile the Evangelical Alliance had in November 1871 appointed a committee to look into the issue. A conference was held in Willis's Rooms, on June 24, to discuss the interchange of pulpits, and the steps necessary to remove difficulties in the way of a mutual recognition of the ministerial office by British and foreign, Established and Non-Established Churches. Lord Ebury presided, and Cowper-Temple, Stoughton, and Gordon Calthrop read papers. The general feeling at the meeting was that Churchmen might be admitted to preach in Nonconformist churches, and vice versa, without a change in the law. All would depend on the attitude of the diocesan(2). Several clergymen expressed a willingness to put the matter to the test, and in September the Rev. S.Minton, of Eaton Chapel, Pimlico, preached at the re-opening of Kingsland Congregational Chapel(3).

In 1873, Cowper-Temple's Occasional Sermons Bill was again defeated in the Commons; by 53 votes to 190 at the second reading. The English Independent asserted that, even if passed, it would have been almost inoperative. Few Dissenting ministers would be willing to preach in a church where they were forbidden to pray.

> "At the bottom there is a large element of sacerdotalism, even among Low Churchmen, and therefore, they would be dreadfully shocked to think of a Dissenting minister being allowed to read the prayers, or to administer the Holy Communion. Yet, until this perfect freedom and equality are the basis of any proposal for fellowship

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1. Record, 28 June 1872,
2. Evangelical Christendom, July, August 1872.
3. Evangelical Christendom, October 1872.

> and union, we shall not look with any particular favour upon such propositions as that of Mr.Cowper-Temple's, which condescends to confer a privilege where it should concede a Christian right"(1).

In June 1875, a conference was held at City Temple, under the chairmanship of Samuel Morley, attended chiefly by Congregationalists and Broad Churchmen. A recent opinion of counsel had declared it illegal for ministers of the Church of England to take part in services not prescribed by the Act of Uniformity. On the motion of Dean Stanley, this opinion was pronounced to be injurious to the fraternal intercourse of Protestant Churches in this country(2).

Individual Evangelicals continued to preach in Nonconformist chapels. In 1876, for instance, Gordon Calthrop offered to take part in the foundation ceremony of the Independent meeting house in Islington, and when the bishop prevented this he spoke at the luncheon afterwards instead(3). Scotland continued to hold a great attraction for those eager to demonstrate their free-thinking; possibly because the Presbyterian Church was at least established, if not episcopal. In 1883, John Charles Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool, caused a great stir by taking a service in the Presbyterian parish kirk of Moulin in Perthshire, wearing the walking dress of a bishop, and using the Presbyterian form of service. The Guardian exploded in horror; and was scarcely appeased by Ryle's explanation that the Scotch Episcopal Church had offended by issuing, in 1850, a synodical declaration against the application of the Gorham Judgement in that Church. This seemed to be straining at a gnat indeed,

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1. Quoted in the Record, 30 May 1873.

2. Record, 18 June 1875.

3. W.H.B.Proby, op.cit., II, 448.

while he swallowed the camel of Presbyterian declarations against episcopacy(1).

Evangelicals, as a party, remained as uncertain on the subject as they had been in the 1860's. The Rev. Brooke Lambert preached in Dr.Clifford's chapel in Paddington in February 1885, but he did so against the injunction of Bishop Thorold(2). In 1887, Convocation debated the subject, and, avoiding commitment on the legality or otherwise, affirmed the inexpediency of preaching in Dissenting chapels. The Record agreed

> "... that it is not wise, or right, or likely to promote real union that clergymen should mix themselves up with Dissenting services... A clergyman who preaches in a Nonconformist chapel, if he does it intending to recognize the system of worship to which the building is dedicated, betrays, however unconsciously, his trust as an officer of the National Church; but if, on the other hand, he does it because he inwardly repudiates the dedication of the place to public worship as invalid and utterly ineffectual, he gravely offends against the elementary laws of Christian courtesy"(3).

This dilemma of whether they were Churchmen or Evangelicals; of whether or not to recognize the validity of the Nonconformist denominations as Churches; and the difficulty of trying to get the best of both worlds, was a constant theme running through the history of the Evangelical party.

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1. Guardian, 19 September 1883.
2. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 254-5.
3. Record, 20 May 1887.

Closely connected with the question of pulpit exchange, though with far deeper implications, was that of intercommunion. In 1870, a tremendous row blew up over a service of Holy Communion in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster, attended by the committee engaged in the revision of the Authorised Version, which included a Unitarian. The English Church Union sent a protest to Convocation against the incident, and for once was supported by the Record(1). The result was a long debate in Convocation, and a motion in the Upper House against the invitation to any person who denied the Godhead of Christ to assist in revising the English Bible. At the suggestion of the Lower House, however, it was agreed that nothing be done until the committee reported. The Record rejoiced in the zeal High Churchmen had shown, but was disappointed in the final decision(2).

The objection of the Evangelicals had been to the presence of a Unitarian, however, not to the general principle of admitting Nonconformists to the Communion table. Evangelical clergymen took part in the joint communion services at the international conferences of the Evangelical Alliance, as at Berlin in 1857 or the New York Conference of 1873. A union communion was held on the last afternoon of the Mildmay Conference every year. In 1874 Horatius Bonar, of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, presided, and about 1250 people, of all denominations, joined together in the large hall to partake of the bread and wine: the following year the congregation at this service was over 2500(3). At Keswick too, the United Communion was an important feature of the Convention. These undenominational gatherings, it must be said, were the province of one

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1. Record, 6, 11 July 1870.

2. Record, 17, 20 February 1871.

3. Mildmay Park Conference, 1874, 875.

particular section of the Evangelical party, but it was a section which was growing in importance and influence in this period.

By the 1880's, the praise of Christian unity was heard in every quarter, and most of the great denominational assemblies devoted one day to the reception of friendly delegates from other Churches. Equally strong was the fear of any loss of identity. On all sides it was acknowledged that actual reunion was impossible.

> "Indeed, the speakers on these occasions are generally careful to explain that they do not expect or desire any practical union in Christian work. 'Union', said a distinguished speaker at one of these meetings not long ago, 'union is chimerical; union is impossible; it is useless to talk of union at present; but we may have unity - the unity of the Spirit; that we ought to pray for and promote in every possible way! Precisely. Union is concrete; unity is abstract; what the average 'fraternal delegate' wants is an abstract or sentimental unity that will call for the sacrifice of no sectarian advantages".

The Christian, like some others, was beginning to look at the economics of the situation, and to feel the wastage of four weak churches struggling in a city where one strong one might have provided an effective witness for Christ(1). The first positive moves, once again, came from the Established Church.

The Lambeth Conference of 1888 was very largely concerned with ecumenicalism, and appointed committees on Anglican relations with

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1. Christian, 16 November 1882.

the various Churches at home and abroad. A resolution was passed expressing a hope for fuller communion, "in the course of time", with the Eastern Church, though

> "it would be difficult for us to enter into more intimate relations with that Church so long as it retains the use of icons, the invocation of the saints, and the cultus of the Blessed Virgin"(1).

On the question of Home Reunion, a basis was found in a report adopted in 1886 by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The Conference issued an Encyclical Letter which affirmed the readiness of the Anglican Communion to enter into brotherly communion with any of the religious bodies which might desire it. Four conditions were laid down on which this would be possible:

> "(a) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation', and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.
>
> (b) The Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal symbol: and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.
>
> (c) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself - Baptism and the Supper of the Lord - ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.
>
> (d) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and the peoples called of God into the unity of His Church"(2).

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1. A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948, ed. R.Rouse and S.C.Neill, 210.

2. Record, 10 August 1888.

Ryle, as Bishop of Liverpool, wrote to the Times and the Record to deny the supposition that the encyclical was the deliberate and unanimous opinion of all the 145 bishops at the Conference - he himself had had no voice in it, being absent on diocesan business from the relevant sessions - and to register a solemn protest against the lack of any reference to the Ritual controversy(1). But the Rock was thankful for the Protestant tone, and more especially for the caution, of the encyclical(2). The Record rejoiced at the return to first principles, but felt that the insistence on episcopacy, if allowed to stand in its entirety, would render any hopes of reunion abortive(3). Evangelical Christendom also regretted the fourth article(4).

The Archbishop of Canterbury forwarded the overtures of the Lambeth Conference to every denomination in England; but the response from the Nonconformists was unenthusiastic. The proposals were discussed at most of the annual assemblies, and the general feeling was that the article on the historic episcopate presented an insuperable obstacle. The Congregational Union replied in terms welcoming the spirit of the proposals, and expressing a desire for prayerful conference and mutual recognition; but not for organic reunion. On the basis proposed, this would mean, not union, but incorporation; with all the sacrifices from the side of the Nonconformists, who least desired union. The Baptist Union felt much the same way. To both the recognition of episcopacy was impossible; and both declared a willingness to confer with a free -

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1. Record, 17, 24 August 1888.
2. Rock, 9 August 1888.
3. Record, 17 August 1888.
4. Evangelical Christendom, October 1888.

or disestablished - Church(1). Earlier that year, Dr. Parker had issued a circular putting forward seven points as the basis for a possible conference; in which the emphasis was on conduct rather than doctrine, and which made disestablishment a necessary preliminary(2).

At the discussions on Home Reunion at the Church Congress that October, the Dean of Peterborough, Perowne, while disclaiming any desire to treat episcopacy as a matter of indifference, urged that a concession be made, for this express occasion. Without some acknowledgement by the Church of the ministerial character of non-episcopal bodies, Home Reunion was "the flitting of a dream, lost ere it has assumed a tangible shape". But the relations of Church and State - though disestablishment might be a sine qua non for Baptists and Congregationalists - he was not prepared to sacrifice(3).

So the Church rested, rebuffed - apart from the activities of Convocation, which in 1890 gave further offence to Dissenting sensibilities by preparing a new form for receiving Dissenters into the Church, as lost sheep(4).

The Rock was on the whole relieved.

> "For our own part, we should strongly oppose any attempts to bring about complete uniformity, which would be most undesirable under the existing state of affairs. We do not want to unite with the Nonconformists, for we are convinced that such a step would be as bad for us as it

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1. Christian World, 3 October 1889; Times, 12 October 1889; Evangelical Christendom, November 1889.
2. Record, 1 March 1889.
3. Record, 4 October 1889.
4. Evangelical Christendom, April 1890

would be for them"(1).

Many Evangelicals, however, thought by now that Church union was essential. To the Record, the only way to preserve the Protestantism of the Church seemed to be by a huge influx of Protestants to submerge sacerdotalism(2). At the conference held in June 1889, to form the Protestant Churchman's Alliance, P.V.Smith tried to establish the promotion of reunion as one of the objects of the society, but his amendments were defeated by a large majority(3). Speaking at the Church Congress the following year, he argued that the divisions of the Churches were hampering the work of Christ in the world, and pointed out that the chief obstacles to reunion were neither political, ecclesiastical, nor yet theological differences.

> "What, then, is the chief hindrance to Home Reunion? It is the low and imperfect estimate which has been formed, and which still prevails, of the importance and duty of organic unity, as contrasted with the exaggerated estimate which is attached to unity of ceremonial on the one hand, and to unity of doctrine on the other"(4).

The English Churchman complained that the Evangelicals at this Congress were all at sea.

> "Fire and water might sooner coalesce together than Ritualist, Evangelical and Nonconformist lie down in peace together in the same sheep-fold"(5).

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1. Rock, 1 November 1889.
2. Record, 14 June 1889.
3. Record, 21 June 1889.
4. Record, 3 October 1890.
5. English Churchman, 16 October 1890.

At the beginning of March, 1892, Archdeacon Sinclair appealed for Home Reunion in a sermon at St. Paul's. The Rock sent out a questionaire on the subject, and printed the results. Bishop Perowne of Worcester agreed with every word of the sermon. Ryle of Liverpool and Bickersteth of Exeter favoured spiritual unity, but felt that any closer, practical union was impossible. For the Nonconformists, the Chairman of the London Congregational Union said much the same; whilst the High Church Earl Nelson maintained that there could be no compromise on the ministry and the sacraments(1).

The Nonconformists were at this stage beginning to feel the need for a closer unity among themselves. In May 1886 the Congregational and Baptist Unions had held a combined meeting in the City Temple, which Evangelical Christemdom welcomed as a token of broader religious sympathies, and a hopeful sign for future union(2). The Record, on the other hand, was quick to note the prominence given in the speeches to disestablishment, and denounced the movement as "a new Liberationist League" in disguise(3). The first Free Church Congress met in 1892, largely on the initiative of Hugh Price Hughes and the Rev. J. Guinness Rogers, and formed a National Council of Evangelical Free Churches(4). The same emphasis on the struggle between Church and Dissent was evident here. Clifford's address, at the annual meeting of 1895, was largely a call for unity against the sacerdotalism of the Roman and the English Churches; and the

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1. Rock, 4, 11, 18 March 1892.
2. Evangelical Christendom, June 1886.
3. Record, 28 May 1886.
4. J.W.Grant, Free Churchmanship in England, 1870 - 1940 (London, n.d.), 196 - 7; The Life of Hugh Price Hughes, by his daughter (London 1907), 441 - 7.

Council played an important part in the Nonconformist opposition to the 1902 Education Act(1). And the Council was primarily for combined action, not for church union. "We know and feel that we are one" asserted Clifford; but without the surrender of any denominational distinctiveness.

The growing interest in Church Unity was undeniable, however. It was fostered in the 1890's by a new periodical, the Review of the Churches, begun in 1891 by Henry Lunn, a Methodist missionary, to give the opinions of the various Churches on the points at issue. And the summer of 1892 saw the first of a series of six conferences at Grindelwald on Home Reunion, arranged chiefly on the initiative of Lunn.

A letter announcing the conference was circulated to the press at the beginning of May, signed by prominent representatives of the Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Methodist, and Irish Churches, as well as the Church of England. Every shade of theological belief was included. The nine Anglicans who signed were of all schools; Bishop Perowne of Worcester, William Hay Aitken and the Rev. A.R. Buckland, editor of the Record, provided the Evangelical contingent(2). The Christian complained that the Baptist signatories at least, Clifford and Aked, were too representative of the new liberalism which was spreading in that Church; and Evangelical Christendom was also doubtful of the prospects of Christian union without a strictly evangelical basis(3). The discussions at Grindelwald, on Biblical Inspiration and higher criticism, were to show the wide diversity of the views represented there, and the breaches the new thinking was making within the denominations. But after the first month of the conference, the Record was confident

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1. J.Clifford, The Free Churches of London, (London, 1895).

2. Christian, 5 May 1892; Rock, 13 May 1892.

3. Christian, 12 May 1892; Evangelical Christendom, May 1892.

that the majority lay with the conservative side(1).

The meetings began in late June, and continued until September, with the time being divided between a mountaineering holiday and serious discussion. Hay Aitken sounded the Evangelical keynote in a sermon in the Zwinglian church on July 10, in which he stressed that the unity they sought was one of spirit, heart, power, work and sympathy, not of uniformity. The discussion on Ecclesiastical Barriers to Union, on Wednesday 13 July, brought out clearly the great divergence of opinion between Churchmen of different schools, and between Nonconformists. Hughes was prepared to accept the Lambeth proposals, but could not carry the Methodists with him. For the Congregationalist Mackennal, the question of episcopacy presented a real stumbling block. Hay Aitken put forward a conciliatory interpretation of the proposals, offering concessions over the episcopate which could hardly have been allowed by High Churchmen. Horton, on the other hand, questioned the whole purpose of the conference - the need for unity - and asserted the importance of preserving the denominations intact(2).

The Times felt inclined to dismiss the whole gathering as a "big ecclesiastical picnic"(3). To Evangelical Christendom and the English Churchman the emphasis of the conference seemed to be too much on an outward, artificial union; a compensation for the lack of spiritual union in Christ.

> "Our friends at Grindelwald seem to be looking for unity to commence at the circumference; but we would

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1. Record, 22 July 1892.
2. Record, 22 July 1892; Rock, 22 July 1892; Christian, 21 July 1892.
3. Times, 25 July 1892.

advise them to seek it at the centre of the circle"(1).

A number of leading Evangelicals, including Chavasse, Webb-Peploe, Handley Moule and the Baptist F.B.Meyer, had declined invitations to Grindelwald. The last three were prominent Keswick speakers, and this school seems to have been represented at the conference only by the Rev. J.Harford Battersby; unless the French Monod could be claimed in some sort as a 'Keswick' man. The Christian deeply regretted the inadequacy of the Evangelical attendance.

> "... Perhaps there had been a misapprehension, to the effect that their presence would imply adhesion to the purpose and method of the conveners. This certainly ought not to be the case; for as the object is the reunion of the churches, all representative members of the churches have a right to the expression of their views; perhaps, also, duty demands such expression....
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> Jesus went everywhere. He attended the feasts of the Jews at Jerusalem, and feasted multitudes in desert places....He received sinners and welcomed them.... If Christians are the light of the world, including one another, they must let their light shine before men; if they are the salt of the earth, they must come into actual and intimate contact with it....
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> It would have been sad if, at that Conference, the voices had not been heard of men who testified Jesus as the Head of the body, the Church, the members of which, and they alone, can be united with the union for which his intercessory prayer (John xvii) was prayed"(2).

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1. English Churchman, 28 July 1892; Evangelical Christendom, August 1892.
2. Christian, 15 September 1892.

In September, in fact, Evangelicalism took the centre of the stage. This session of the Conference was presided over by the Bishop of Worcester, who caused a great furor at the close - and, incidently, revived the interest of the press in the gathering - by administering Holy Communion to a mixed congregation of Churchmen and Nonconformists.

The Rock greeted his action as "the forward billow of a steadily advancing tide", and rejoiced that party spirit was so clearly decaying(1). The Guardian, as was to be expected, deplored Perowne's escapade; but the Record too, added a mild rebuke, to the effect that Dissenters were in a state of schism, and could not expect to be treated as on a par with foreign non-Episcopal Reformed Churches(2). The paper's editorial on the subject called forth a strong protest from Aitken, who was backed up by Robert Kennion and the Hon.Rev.E.V. Bligh in his support of the Bishop(3). Perowne himself wrote to the Times to explain his position. He denied having said that one Church was as good as another, but affirmed that episcopacy was necessary only to the 'bene esse', not to the 'esse' of the Church. The real crux of the matter was: if Nonconformists were prepared to accept episcopacy for the future, what would be the status of existing ministers; and he felt that their orders should be recognised(4).

The events of the Conference had uncovered real stumbling blocks in the way of reunion, and had led to a clearer definition of opinion on all sides. The problem of ministerial orders was undoubtedly crucial, and was most strongly felt by both Churchmen and Nonconformists,

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1. Rock, 16 September 1892.
2. Guardian, 21 September 1892; Record, 30 September 1892.
3. Record, 21, 28 October 1892.
4. Times, 19 September 1892.

as being intimately bound up with the very essence of their Churches. As far as the Evangelical party was concerned, it was evident that, whatever they might claim in the abstract for the validity of the Dissenting ministry, when it came to the crunch, one section at least - and that not quite the narrowest - was reluctant to admit Nonconformists to full communion with the Church of England: evident too that this was one of the issues on which the party was deeply divided.

The series of Grindelwald Conferences were to form an important landmark in the history of the ecumenical movement; but to the Rock in 1892 it seemed that a formal reunion of the Churches was as far off as ever - owing largely to a love of power and official position in their members(1). And the Christian maintained that Grindelwald, with its emphasis on the hopeless task of uniting institutions, could not equal in importance the Keswick Convention, where the true unity of the Church of Christ was already realised(2).

It was, in fact, in the undenominational gatherings which became such a feature of late nineteenth century evangelical life, that the Evangelical party looked, for the purely spiritual, non-institutional, and exclusively evangelical unity which was its ideal.

Though they might be inclined to drag their feet in ecumenical movements, Evangelicals were much more eager than were other Churchmen to combine with Nonconformists in active Christian Work. There was always a large section of the party which, while denying the possibility of church union, urged a far closer personal relationship with Dissenting

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1. Rock, 16 September 1892.

2. Christian, 4 August 1892.

Evangelicals, to whom in many ways they felt nearer than to their fellow Churchmen.

> "Stronger than the bond of external Church organization, or of political or social fellowship, is the brotherhood of faith, of knowledge, of love, which true Christians have amongst themselves"(1).

From the beginning, some of the chief organs of the movement had been nondenominational. The Bible Society, founded in 1804, maintained an equal proportion of 15 Churchmen and 15 Nonconformists on the executive committee (together with 6 resident foreigners and any minister who cared to attend) to save the Evangelical party from the charge of disloyalty to the Church. The Rev.R.B.Girdlestone was influential as translating editor from 1867 to 1877, and the Evangelical party was well represented on the local committees. Lord Shaftesbury, president from 1851 till his death in 1885, rejoiced in the catholic character of the society;

> "... that it shows how, suppressing all minor differences, or treating them as secondary, members of the Church of England and Nonconformists may blend together in one great effort"(2).

But the Church-Dissent conflict was not without its effect. The annual report in 1866 complained that

> "The frequent agitation of ecclesiastical, educational, and political questions, leading sometimes to strife and separation",

were among the hindrances to the work(3). In 1873 a further appeal was

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1. Christian Observer, July 1873.
2. E.Hodder, op.cit., II, 346.
3. British and Foreign Bible Society, Annual Report, 1866, p.278.

made to lift the objects of the society "far above the arena of passing conflicts and acrimonious controversy"; and the following year the district secretaries reported a growing unwillingness of Churchmen and Nonconformists to be associated together on the same platform(1). No further mention appears of these difficulties, however, and the dying out of denominational antagonisms brought increasing support for the society. Dean Close, at the anniversary meeting in 1883, rejoiced that they had weathered the storm and emerged laden with the Word of God in all languages and tongues(2).

Both this society and the Religious Tract Society were subject to doctrinal controversies. Throughout this period, the Bible Society was under continual attack from the Trinitarian Bible Society, on account of the Romish versions of the Scriptures which it found necessary to circulate occasionally in some countries where Protestant versions proved unacceptable; and also because of the absence of a Trinitarian test for membership. The Record, and most of the Evangelical party, gave a firm, if sometimes cautious, support to the committee of the Bible Society, but a noisy minority kept up the opposition, and by 1890 had gained the English Churchman for a spokesman(3). The R.T.S. was sometimes suspected of a too great liberalism in its publications. In 1880, some of the popular tracts were criticised, and so also was the editor of the Girls' Own Paper. The Record was sufficiently concerned to administer a gentle warning against the sin of becoming "men-pleasers"

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1. British and Foreign Bible Society, Annual Report, 1873, p.370; 1874, p.245.
2. British and Foreign Bible Society, Annual Report, 1883, p.245.
3. British and Foreign Bible Society, pamphlet boxes: Version Question Pro 2; Version Question Contra 2; Record, 28 May 1869, 6 May 1881; English Churchman, 24 April 1890.

instead of striving first and foremost to please God(1). But by the next May Meeting, the Record was rejoicing that the R.T.S. had been so little affected by infidelity, and gave a warm encouragement to the committee to stand firm(2). These issues cut across denominational lines, like the Birks affair in the Evangelical Alliance, and were rather products of the theological developments and conflicts which were beginning to divide most of the churches.

The London City Mission was well supported by Anglican Evangelicals in the London parishes. This committee too, kept an equal proportion of Churchmen and Dissenters. Girdlestone was one of the examiners until 1876, and Joseph Hoare was treasurer till 1885(3). But unity in the mission field abroad was not so easy, largely owing to the growth of strong denominational societies. By 1866, the London Missionary Society was driven to acknowledge that its support was almost entirely restricted to Congregationalists: though some Churchmen retained their interest - Arthur Kinnaird was treasurer from 1864-1875(4).

The spirit of conference and co-operation was in the air, however, and affected missionary societies as much as denominations. Conferences between missionaries in the field, especially in India, became popular in the middle of the century; and in 1860 Lord Shaftesbury chaired the first general (Protestant) missionary conference in England, in Liverpool. In October 1878, a much more important one was held at Mildmay, in London. Representatives came from most of the societies, though the

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1. Record, 12 May 1880.
2. Record, 11 May 1881.
3. London City Mission, Annual Reports, 1865-90.
4. R.Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 (London, 1899), 688.

S.P.G. stood aloof. The C.M.S. sent no official delegates, but Edward Hutchinson, one of the secretaries, and Bishop Perry, the Rev.R.C. Billing and others spoke for the Church of England. The average attendance at the meetings was smaller than would be expected at the anniversary meeting of any of the individual societies, and this was true of the next general conference, held in 1888. But as gatherings of the different branches of missionary enterprise, both were voted a huge success. The object was more an account of the work being done, with a view to stirring up Protestants to fresh missionary effort, than a discussion of problems and methods of work. And at both, though a general feeling of unity and co-operation, between separate bodies, was encouraged, there was no suggestion of any attempt to embody it in an institutional structure(1).

The later nineteenth century saw a growing number of smaller, undenominational ventures, usually concentrating on one section of the mission field. One of the most important, the China Inland Mission, was founded in 1865, by Hudson Taylor. It grew partly out of his difficulties as a medical missionary with the China Evangelization Society (also undenominational), and was based on the principle of no restriction as to denomination, "no guarantee of income" and "no collections or personal solicitations of money". The scheme drew forth criticisms from the C.M.S. and other bodies, but their expeditions into the interior of China were the forerunners to regular missions by larger societies, and the work made an important impact on the missionary

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1. T.Richey Hogg, Ecumenical Foundations (New York, 1952), 39-48; E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 14; Record, 23, 30 October 1878; Rock, 15, 22 June, 1888.

world, and on the sympathies of home supporters(1).

Unlike some of the older and larger societies, the C.I.M. made no provision regarding the representation of Church and Dissent. On the contrary, the question of denomination was virtually ignored. Candidates approached the society as individual Evangelicals, with small reference to their denominational background. In this the Mission was very similar to the gatherings at Keswick and Mildmay, with which we shall be dealing in a later chapter, and with which it was, in fact, very closely connected.

For in this period, as the stirring denominational issues grew stale, and the threat of scepticism and indifference outside, and liberal theology inside, the denominations became evident; spurred on, too, by the influence of revivalism; a new feeling of evangelical solidarity was growing, fostered by conventions, and by undenominational activities, which, as in the early days of the evangelical movement, not only cut across the denominational barriers, but existed as something apart from, and considering itself superior to, church distinctions. And whilst achieving thereby the only form of Christian Unity which it considered valid, the Evangelical party was able to find in these things a convenient hiding place from the main current, and the difficulties of the ecumenical movement,

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1. E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, II, 293, 581-9, III, 224-5.

CHAPTER SIX

THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE MASSES.

> "When the history of the Evangelical Party is written it will be told of them that with narrow-mindedness and mistaken traditions, with little intellectual acquirements and ill-directed zeal against their brothers in the Church, they yet worked manfully in the pestilent and heathen byways of our cities, and preached the Gospel to the poor"(1).

At his second visitation, in 1876, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that neither the revival of old religious practices, nor a more exact formulation of Christian doctrines, would prevail against the 'materialistic atheism' with which they were faced; nor an assertion of their own position as ministers of the living God, nor merely pious horror. A more excellent way was to fall back on

> "the pure and simple Gospel, and its access to the heart and conscience of man"(2).

The later nineteenth century saw a change in emphasis, from doctrinal and denominational battles to a more practical Christianity; to the revival of religious life in the parishes and to direct evangelism. In Anglo-Catholicism this can be seen clearly and early epitomised in the movement from the universities to the parishes, from Tractarianism to Ritualism. For Evangelicals the development was less obvious, slower,

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1. Macmillan's Magazine, December 1860.
2. Some Thoughts on the Duties of the Established Church of England as a National Church, Seven addresses delivered at his second visitation by Archibald Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1876), 29-30.

and yet possibly more complete, for Evangelicalism had never really flourished in the academic and ecclesiastical fields. It was, in part, a retreat; from declining political influence and from the attacks of scientific and higher criticism; a reaction of Evangelicals also to the failures of litigation against ritualism. It was also a purely spiritual reaction; dissatisfaction with the rigidities and dogmatism of the mid-century leading to new efforts to revitalize the Church, and a new missionary fervour.

Attention focused, to a great extent, on the working classes. The religious census of 1851 had increased the already growing concern of both Churchmen and Nonconformists over the alienation of the masses from organized religion. The problem was discussed at all levels, and all agreed, with the Christian Observer of July, 1868, that they had not lost, so much as never held, the affections of the British workmen(1). This became more serious as the century progressed. The relationship between the increasing political influence of the working classes, and the decline of religious issues, did not pass unnoticed. In 1882, Lord Shaftesbury warned the C.P.A.S. of the effects of the next Reform Bill.

> "... Between this time and the period when the Prime Minister introduces that measure do everything that you can amongst the working people to bring them to a right sense, a right feeling, and a right judgement, because you may be quite sure of this - that whenever that Bill may be passed and universal suffrage be extended to the counties as it has been to the towns, the general election that takes place under that bill will produce a House of

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1. Christian Observer, July 1868.

> Commons of a totally different character even from this one, and one which you may rest assured will be prepared to go much further than this one would go. And then will come a final conflict and a great struggle between the institutions of the country and the advancing powers of democracy. God only, my friends, can give you victory in your struggle, and He will not give you victory unless you are engaged, heart and soul, in doing all you can by every legitimate means in your power, to advance his kingdom and secure the temporal and spiritual welfare of these seething populations"(1).

This period saw a desperate attempt to reach these masses, conservative in its social and theological basis, but often radical in its approach, and in its willingness to try new methods. It involved Evangelicals in the old problem of Church order, and of how far they could unite with Nonconformists or Ritualists; and led, on the whole, to a greater spirit of co-operation between men of differing views. It developed into a concern for the social mission of the Church. The Times remarked on the practical bias of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, and the absorption of Churchmen in questions of social evil rather than theology(2). For the Evangelical party, however, it remained very largely the abandonment of an institutional approach, and a return to individualism; aiming directly at the hearts and souls of the working classes, as individuals, though often by methods of mass-production, rather than

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1. Record, 5 May 1882.

2. Times, 2 July 1888.

seeking to infiltrate society from above, through political, ecclesiastical and educational influences. For all Churchmen, it involved a basic assumption that the people of England - in particular the masses, at this stage - were not Christian, and thus marked a radical change from arguments and policies based on theories of the national righteousness of a Christian nation.

In the parishes, Evangelicals had, by this time, developed a comprehensive machinery for meeting the spiritual and temporal needs of the working classes. At Holy Trinity, Tunbridge Wells, Canon Hoare held a mission service every Sunday evening in the Parish Room, with hymn-singing beforehand to attract a congregation, and a group of workers who went into bar-rooms and lodging-houses to drag along any who would come. For the parish as a whole there were three or four services in the church, five Sunday schools, and many other Bible classes; not to mention the four elementary schools, night schools in the winter months for men, Church of England Temperance Society, clothings clubs etc.(1). The Rev. F.F.Goe at St.George's, Bloomsbury had by 1882 amassed,

> "...besides a boys' school accommodating 146, a girl's school for 139, and an infants' school 26; Sunday schools largely attended, young women's night schools, already referred to: ragged schools, needlework classes, night schools for elder boys, a savings bank, a coal club, a clothing club, a work society, a soup kitchen, and a depôt for left-off wearing apparel. These are but a trifle compared with the sum total of the work done"(2).

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1. J.H.Townsend, Edward Hoare, M.A. (London, 1896), 173-86; Christian, 5 August, 1886.
2. Rock, 6 April 1882.

The most effective clergy, in areas of large populations, were those who could inspire and direct an efficient team of helpers, At Trinity Church, Marylebone, with a population of about 14,000, both rich and poor, William Cadman assigned five or six curates to different districts, each with a mission hall of some sort. Services were held at the parish church every evening, and there were lectures, open-air services, Bible classes. By 1882, Cadman had 120 regular lay-helpers, and a busy work-programme.

> "The parish is a home of work. Preaching twice and sometimes taking the late services... as well, the rector is at ten o' clock the next morning surrounded by his clergy, his lay agents, and his 'mission women', engaged in arranging the parochial work of the week; and should it be the first Monday of the month, at noon again meeting the district visitors. There is a mothers' meeting the same afternoon, at which the rector will be present; and then away he goes visiting the sick, the poor, the helpless, lending generous aid to the needy, and comforting the sorrowful. The week is spent in the same fashion as the Monday, the list of engagements filling up every hour"(1).

By the middle of the century, the potentialities of trained orders of women, in social and evangelistic work, were generally recognized. The first Tractarian Sisterhood was founded by Pusey at Devonport in 1845. It was followed within a few years by communities at Clewer, Wantage and East Grinstead. These aroused strong opposition from the start; and the work of sisters in the Crimean War - which the Record

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1. R.E.L.Shelford, A Memorial of the Rev.William Cadman,M.A. (London, 1899), 55-60; Rock, 31 March 1882.

hardly knew whether to praise or denounce(1) - brought home afresh the dangers and the importance of such bodies.

For Evangelicals, the inspiration came largely from Germany, where Pastor Fliedner had established a Lutheran Deaconesses' Home at Kaiserswerth. In 1856 a German Jew, Dr.Leseron, and his wife, began a home for destitute children in Tottenham, which gradually expanded until in 1868 a Deaconesses' Institution and Training Hospital was opened. This followed closely the Kaiserswerth model, concentrating on nursing - with a missionary objective.

> "The distinguished feature of their work is that it is undertaken, not for pecuniary gain, nor even from the mere desire to relieve suffering, but as affording a peculiarly favourable opportunity for reaching the hearts of those who would not voluntarily place themselves under the influence of Christian teaching"(2).

After two years' probation, the deaconesses were sent as nurses, often far from London. In 1873-4, four sisters were working in hospitals in Cork, eight in Perth, and eight in Sunderland. At that time there were 32 deaconesses altogether; by 1878 there were 36. The institution was nondenominational; Shaftesbury and Samuel Morley seem to have been the chief patrons, and the deaconesses were of various denominations. Several worked under Anglican clergy; and in 1891 it was reported that one had gone to lead a Baptist 'Forward' Mission. No vows were taken. After early successes, the institution ran into financial difficulties. In 1891, a letter of appeal in the Christian announced a deficit of

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1. Record, 11, 18 January, 1, 12 February 1855.

2. Record, 27 September 1880.

£4,500; and at the turn of the century the hospital passed into other hands(1).

More famous were Mrs.Pennefather's Deaconesses, probably because of their connection with the complex of Mildmay Institutions. In 1860 a home was opened in Barnet to train female missionaries, and when the Pennefathers moved to St.Judes, Mildmay Park, the work was transferred there. In 1871 a Deaconesses' House was opened adjoining the Conference Hall. There was not here the same emphasis on nursing, though a Medical Mission was set up at the time of the cholera epidemic of 1866, and this and the Mission to the Jews, alone of Mildmay, survive today. During this same epidemic, a mission was established at Bethnal Green, at the invitation of the rector of St.Philip's. It was the first of a number of outlying missions; by 1876 there were twelve, and by 1892 twenty, scattered in 'the darkest districts of London', each planted at the request of the local incumbent.

Control was centralised. The deaconesses lived at Mildmay, or at a home in Brixton, and travelled each day to the missions, where they ran mothers' meetings, boys' and girls' clubs, night schools, medical work. Much of their time was spent in house-to-house visitation. Some worked in the affiliated Mildmay institutions, and others were sent to distant parishes. Their numbers were small; there were never more than 200 working at any one time; but the Mildmay Deaconesses were important in setting a pattern which was copied by other institutions, and in their position at the hub of one of the main centres of evangelical

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1. Rock, 19 June 1874. 31 May 1878; Record, 27 September 1880; Christian, 28 May 1891; Kathleen Heasman, Evangelicals in Action (London, 1962), 38, 234.

life in the later nineteenth century(1).

When the work began, Mrs Pennefather claimed,

> "... the only qualifications were consistent Christian character, earnest love for souls, and a fair amount of intelligence and education"(2).

In practice all the deaconesses were Anglican, with a few exceptions around 1890; and the home was always run on more definite Church lines than the Conference centre. The sanction of the Bishop of London had been obtained before the home at Barnet was opened, and a full-time chaplain, licensed by the Bishop, was employed for many years. From 1894 the vicar of Islington acted as chaplain or clerical visitor(3). And as we have seen, the deaconesses worked in close conjunction with the parish clergy.

After the initial month, the candidate would be accepted as a regular probationer, and two years were spent in training before she became a qualified deaconess. To avoid the taint of Romanism, no uniform was worn, as such, and no vows were taken, although the women were not expected to marry. The institution did not thereby escape suspicion, however, for Evangelicals were as divided on the subject of religious orders as on most things in this period. Dean Howson, in an article in the Quarterly Review, published just after the home in Barnet opened,

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1. R.Braithwaite, The Life and Letters of Rev.William Pennefather,B.A. (London, 1878), 336; Harriette J.Cooke, Mildmay, the Story of the First Deaconess Institution (London, 1892); Kathleen Heasman, Evangelicals in Action, 38-40; Mildmay Park Conference, 1876, 207-8.
2. Harriette J.Cooke, op.cit., 44.
3. Mildmay Trust Ltd. The Mildmay Institutions. Case and Opinion as to the powers of the Trustees. 1914.

urged the importance of Protestant deaconesses, working preferably on a parochial basis; and he again put forward his views at the Church Congresses of 1862 and 1866(1). At a conference on deaconesses in May 1872, he described the work of the Deaconess Institution which had been established in the diocese of Chester(2). But the Evangelical party were reluctant. Henry Venn wrote to Birks in 1867 that a Deaconess Institution involved risks of the conventual system. He preferred lady district visitors living in their own homes(3). And at the Church Association Conference in May 1878, Mr.Rowe was cheered when he expressed grave doubts about the Mildmay deaconesses as having already the germ of a development towards Rome(4). Many, however, whilst attacking the 'pernicious' sisterhoods,gave a strong support to their evangelical counterpart. The Record in 1872 quoted with approval Mrs.Meredith's new tract, Wanted, Deaconesses for the Service of the Church, which drew a clear distinction between the two(5).

In 1875, the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation appointed a committee on sisterhoods and deaconesses. Miller was a member, but apparently took no part in the deliberations. The report, presented in 1878, expressed thankfulness for the work done, but an awareness of the dangers, and the need to lay down general principles for the regulation of such communities. A joint committee was to be appointed, but never met. The Upper House appointed a committee in 1883, which reported two years later, also sympathetic towards religious orders, but condemning

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1. Quarterly Review, October 1860; A.M.Allchin, The Silent Rebellion (London, 1958), 140.
2. Record, 24 May 1872.
3. E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society,II, 356.
4. Rock, 17 May 1878.
5. Record, 11 November 1872.

the acceptance of vows(1).

In 1884, Bishop Ryle denied a charge that he had prohibited the Clewer Sisters of Mercy from coming to Liverpool, but said that he had refused to give them his official sanction and permission. This he would have refused equally to the Protestant Mildmay sisters, as he licensed only presbyters and deacons of his own diocese(2). Shortly afterwards another evangelical bishop, Thorold of Rochester, took an almost entirely opposite stand. At the diocesan conference, it was proposed to establish both a sisterhood and a deaconess institution. An amendment was put forward by the Rev. J.W.Marshall and Sydney Gedge, two influential Evangelicals, to omit the sisterhood, and a heated argument broke out. The Bishop claimed responsibility for both reports, and promised that the Deaconesses' Home would be established first.

> "'But when,' he said, 'we are invited by an Amendment to forbid the establishment of a Sisterhood, I feel it to be a very different question. Does not that amount to forbidding a number of Christ's servants to work for Him because they wish to work in a particular way?... Oh I do feel that we must be very careful how we permit party words to hinder us doing heartily and wisely Christ's work. Why shouldn't women give their lives to Christ? Do we not trust women?' (Loud cries of 'No, no.') The Bishop concluded by saying that the Conference had expressed their opinions, and he was entitled to express his".

Marshall's amendment was defeated by 85 votes to 41, and the original

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1. A.M.Allchin, op.cit., 161-6; Record, 8 March 1878.

2. Evangelical Christendom, March 1884.

resolution carried, much to the Record's disgust(1). Thorold pressed on with his scheme, with the help of Deaconess Gilmore, and a Deaconesses' Home was opened in April 1887; but his biographer makes no mention of a sisterhood, beyond claiming that Thorold had little sympathy with the customs of such institutions(2).

The principle of deaconesses was spreading, however. Hugh Price Hughes and his wife organized a band of 'sisters of the people' as part of the Methodist 'Forward Movement'; and these set a precedent for the use of deaconesses by Congregationalists and Baptists(3). The Rock avowed in 1888 that

> "... Protestants object to the abuse, and not the proper use, of such a body of lady workers"(4).

That year, a committee was appointed by Canterbury Convocation to consider new organizations to reach the masses. Thorold suggested a Church mission brotherhood, taking no vows, but living and working among the people; and the report which he presented to the Upper House, in July 1889, recommended the use of clerical and lay brotherhoods. Archdeacon Farrar had long been pressing for something of the sort, and it was he who moved this resolution in the Lower House, which accepted it unanimously.

The Rock urged leading Evangelicals and Broad Churchmen to throw themselves into the movement and so guide it along the right lines(5). But the Record was dubious of the committee's advocacy of some modified vow of celibacy, and felt that the orders would clash with the parochial system, the mainstay of the Church's machinery(6). And gradually, the

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1. Record, 25 April, 16 May 1884.
2. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 171-4, 266, 358.
3. Kathleen Heasman, Evangelicals in Action, 55-6.
4. Rock, 18 May 1888.
5. Rock, 19 July 1889.
6. Record, 27 April 1888, 12, 26 July 1889.

leading organs of the party came out on the same side. The C.P.A.S. published objections to the scheme by Lord Kinnaird, Sir Arthur Blackwood, Canon Christopher and others(1). The Council of the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance passed a resolution opposing the formation of brotherhoods on the plan proposed by Convocation; and a similar resolution against monastic institutions, moved by Inskip, was carried at the autumn conference of the Church Association(2). In January, the Council of the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations resolved unanimously

> "That, however valuable may be the co-operation of Christian brethren for Evangelistic work, whether at home or abroad, this Union deprecates any proposal to establish brotherhoods, with vows of celibacy, obedience, and poverty, as undesirable for many reasons, contrary to the whole genius of the Gospel, as well as condemned by the experience of history"(3).

In February Convocation passed a resolution allowing 'dispensable vows'; and in May a report on sisterhoods and deaconesses was presented and approved. The committee recommended lifelong vows, though deaconesses were to be allowed to marry; in both cases a dispensing power was to be reserved to the bishop(4). Evangelical opposition to vows now centred on this aspect. The Rock and the Record questioned the power of bishops to dispense with a vow made to God, and condemned the elevation of episcopal authority as a threat to the parochial system(5).

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1. English Churchman, 26 September 1889.
2. Record, 8, 15 November 1889.
3. Rock, 24 January 1890.
4. Record, 14 February 1890; Rock, 9 May 1890.
5. Rock, 16 May 1890; Record, 21 February 1890.

The defence of the parish against monasticism, in fact, became something of an Evangelical rallying cry. At the Church Congress in October 1890, Ryle insisted that where the existing machinery of the Church was rightly worked, by a powerful, spiritual clergyman, nothing more was wanted - an argument stronger in polemics than in consistency from a party for whom the search for new evangelistic machinery was almost a raison d'être(1). But much of the emphasis of the Evangelical party in this period, as we shall see, was on invigorating the old machinery, and the individuals who worked it, rather than replacing it with new.

In the event, little came of the schemes for mission orders. The Bishop of Marlborough proposed a lay brotherhood of St. Paul, to which the Rock gave its best wishes, though the Record and the English Churchman objected to its High Church bias(2). In February, 1891, the Upper House of Convocation finally accepted the report on brotherhoods, substituting the word 'engagement' for 'vow'. The Record professed itself highly satisfied with the result; but by the turn of the century the only body to appear corresponding closely to Farrar's suggestions was the Anglo-Catholic Community of the Resurrection, established at Mirfield in 1892(3). Thorold, now at Winchester, was old and ill, though he retained his interest in the movement, and in 1894 dedicated a Deaconess Home at Southsea, which had been begun by Bishop Bourne(4). And most Evangelical interests lay elsewhere.

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1. Record, 3 October 1890.
2. Rock, 9 January 1891; Record, 2 January 1891; English Churchman, 22 January 1891.
3. Record, 13 February 1891; K.S.Inglis, The Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London, 1963), 36.
4. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 358.

As Bishop of Rochester, Thorold also established mission districts in large parishes, in which young clergymen were planted, to build up a parochial life, with first a mission hall, and eventually a church. By 1878 his diocesan society was well launched, paying stipends to 17 mission clergy and 11 mission women(1). But Thorold was rarely typical of Evangelicals. On the whole, the more spectacular work in mission parishes was done by High Churchmen. It was the efforts of Ritualist priests such as Lowder and Stanton, in fact, which won such popular esteem for their party. And the movement to establish settlements of university men in the London slums, which began with Toynbee Hall in 1883, and became an important feature of the social concern of the 1880's, while embracing men of varied Churchmanship, was led essentially by those of the High Church school with leanings towards Christian Socialism.

Thus far we have dealt with movements to reach the working classes by the day-to-day contact of Christians - largely of the upper classes - living and working among them, providing a form of charity or social work with an evangelistic bias. For Evangelicals, however, the later nineteenth century was more especially an age of revivalism, and of the direct evangelism of special services and missions aimed at the unconverted; with hopes of a more immediate impact, in a desperate situation, than the gradual influence of deaconesses and soup-kitchens. Lord Shaftesbury said of the theatre services in 1872,

> "The object is to save London from the issues of Paris, social, moral, political and religious. Many improvements

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1. Ibid., 106-10; S.C.Carpenter, Church and People, 1789-1889 (London, 1933), 284-5.

may be introduced, and many beneficial changes
affected in the condition of the working people;
but the beginning, the course, and the end of them
must rest on the foundation of the gospel"(1).

One major problem was that of making church services attractive to the working classes. Shaftesbury had secured a Religious Worship Act in 1855 which allowed the holding of services in unconsecrated buildings, and in 1857 a series of services began in Exeter Hall, conducted by Cadman, Miller, McNeile and others. The movement incurred much opposition from High Churchmen, but in 1858 special services were started in the cathedrals, chiefly St. Paul's and Westminster, largely on High Church initiative, though with the active participation of Evangelicals. Nonconformists had lent their aid throughout, and with the Revival of 1859-61 they were more definitely brought into the movement, which was extended to the London theatres, seven of which had been opened for special services by the end of 1859(2).

The theatre services continued way beyond 1865, organized chiefly by a United Committee of Churchmen and Dissenters under the chairmanship of Lord Shaftesbury. During the session of 1866-7, 124 services were held in theatres and halls in different parts of London; in the winter of 1870-1, 187 were held, attended by an estimated number of 200,000 persons(3). In 1872, the committee was pressing for mission rooms to be opened in areas where the use of theatres could not be obtained(4).

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1. Christian, 28 March 1872.
2. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 235-90; J.E.Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain (London, 1953), 97.
3. Record, 29 May 1867; Christian, 2 February 1871.
4. Christian, 28 March 1872.

But by 1877, only two years after Moody's visit, the movement seemed in danger of complete collapse; and appeals were issued, and urgent meetings held to revive interest - evidently with some success, for services were still being held well into the 1880's(1). Their effectiveness in reaching the people aimed at was open to some question. The congregations in the cathedrals, after the early stages, were apparently regular worshippers; in 1870 the Christian reported that the Agricultural Hall services were attended by clerks, shopgirls and the like, but not by the lowest or roughest of the population(2).

A discussion of Moody and Sankey's campaigns, and the techniques of their revivalism, must be reserved for the next chapter. They were, essentially, those of the parochial missions writ large. During the last third of the nineteenth century these latter became a recognised instrument for reaching out to the unevangelised, and reviving the day-to-day machinery of church life. The term "mission" which was universally applied to them is significant both of their origin and of the suspicion still felt in England of the sensational and purely mechanical connotations of revivalism. It was probably Samuel Wilberforce who introduced the idea of Lenten missions, in the diocese of Oxford(3). A few years later, Evangelicals began to hold series of special services, at which the seats were free and open, with a different preacher each evening. The first was at Miller's parish in Birmingham in 1856; and in 1857 a week of such services was held in Ipswich, and another in Islington parish church, at which McNeile and Stowell were among the speakers(4).

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1. Record, 8 June, 3 October 1877, 22 June 1883.
2. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 278; Christian, 3 February 1870.
3. A.R.Ashwell and R.G.Wilberforce, Life of the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce,D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford and afterwards of Winchester (London, 1880), II, 30-1.
4. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 248-9.

The Ritualist Twelve Days Mission of November 1869 marked a distinct break from these earlier efforts, in the notion that one missioner should take the whole series of services over a period of ten days or so in one parish. It was not the first of its kind to be held by the party, influenced largely by the Roman Catholic Church on the Continent. The Mission was held simultaneously in several London parishes, with Ritualist preachers like Benson and Wilkinson taking part. It had not been intended, initially, as a party move, and William Hay Aitken also joined in the work, stirring a storm of criticism, and letters to Pennefather denouncing his Ritualistic curate(1). The preaching at the mission was typically revivalist. George Body, it seems,

> "... was habited simply in a cassock, and occupied a chair in the middle of the chancel - that is, there was a chair there for him, but he ran about, fell on his knees, etc. - in fact, was everywhere but in the chair, and poured forth such a torrent of fervid words, with the voice of a Stentor. He was thoroughly in earnest, thoroughly practical and certainly very striking. There was nothing to offend the most sensitive; yet still there was no doubt that his sermon came under the popular denomination of 'rant'"(2).

But there was enough of ritualism, with exhortations to the confessional, and candle-lit ceremonies for the renewal of baptismal vows, to send the Roman Tablet's heart a-flutter with hopes of conversions(3).

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1. C.E.Woods, Memoirs and Letters of Canon Hay Aitken (London, 1928), 100-1; Record, 7 June 1889.
2. Daily News, 22 November 1869.
3. Tablet, 27 November 1869.

The Record maintained that there was nothing new in missions; Evangelicals had been preaching in this fashion for nearly a century - whereupon the Saturday Review neatly replied that they might as well admit they had been doing it to no purpose, and allow someone else to take a turn(1). The Rock roundly denounced the whole as a crusade against Protestantism; and the Church Association began an angry but inconclusive correspondence with the Bishops of London, Rochester and Winchester, who had given their sanction to the mission(2). But it marked the beginning of a movement of which the Evangelical party was very unwilling to be left out.

Aitken's first independent mission was at Stroud in Gloucestershire in 1869, where the work was so encouraging that it was prolonged until the Bishop sent sudden notice to close it down. By 1871 he was engaged in frequent missions in different parts of the country, often joining his father and brother(3). In March 1872, the Rev. E.H.Bickersteth held a mission in his parish in Hampstead, inviting a number of Evangelical preachers, including Cadman and Thorold(4). The latter had organised a united advent mission the previous autumn in the deanery of St. Pancras London. At his own church the mission preacher was the Rev. C.D.Marston, and the services were simple and low; William Hay Aitken preached at Fitzroy Square; and his father at Camden Town parish church, the latter with elaborate, intoned services. The Christian was perplexed at such apparent harmony between evangelical and ritualist(5).

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1. Record, 24, 29 November 1869; Saturday Review, 27 November 1869.
2. Rock, 3 December 1869; Record, 5, 7, 10 January 1870.
3. C.E.Woods, op.cit., 101-13.
4. Record, 12 April 1872.
5. Christian, 7 December 1871; C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 58-61.

But it was often felt that a greater effect could be achieved by several churches uniting together, as at Doncaster in December 1871, where services were held in all the Anglican churches of the town, as well as in the Guildhall(1). Canon Christopher and William Haslam were among the nine missioners on that occasion. A similar Church mission was held in Derby in November 1873, with party divisions for the time ignored, and preachers in the different churches varying from the Rev. G.Nugee, 'Missionary priest, of the Order of St.Augustine', to the staunchly Evangelical Evan Hopkins and Reginald Radcliffe(2).

The question of uniting with Ritualists in Church missions assumed a heightened importance with the London Mission of 1874. A letter from the Bishops of London, Winchester* and Rochester, in the summer of 1873, announced a special mission to be held throughout the whole metropolis the following February, and inviting the support and co-operation of all Churchmen. A heated controversy broke out immediately among Evangelicals as to what attitude they should adopt. The Record pointed out that the mission would be held whatever they did, and a refusal to join would lose them any hope of influence(3). Later the paper urged the formation of a central committee of Evangelicals to direct the party's operations, and Money seems to have been largely responsible for organizing conferences on the subject. In a series of letters to the Record he put forward the case for joining the mission(4). The Rev. G.T.Fox and others were strongly opposed to the idea of uniting with 'traitors', and an article communicated to the Record of July 30 denounced Evangelicals for merely imitating their enemies(5). The Rock

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* Wilberforce, who died before the mission took place.

1. Christian, 21 December 1871.
2. Derby Mercury, 19, 26 November 1873.
3. Record, 23 June 1873.
4. Record, 2, 4, 14 July, 1 September 1873.
5. Record, 9, 30 July, 13 August 1873.

feared the movement as a threat to the independence of Church societies, and felt that united action was impossible where not all walked by the same rule. Evangelicals could only compromise themselves by taking part alongside extreme Ritualists(1). Yet at a conference of Christian workers at Mildmay, early in December, Blackwood explained that there was always error where there was truth, and urged none to hold aloof from the London mission on that account(2).

Evangelicals were, in fact, very closely involved in the work of organization. Titcomb was secretary for South London, together with Robert Gregory; whilst Anthony Thorold was joint secretary with Berdmore Compton for the diocese of London. The whole affair brought out in strong relief the divisions which existed within the Evangelical party. For Titcomb,

> "... granting that our differences are great and grievous, how can they possibly stand in comparison by the side of our differences with infidelity and criminality, and with that antagonism to all practical piety which at present confronts us in society? Has it come to this, that in the bitterness of our theological strife we would rather see souls lying dead in sin and unbelief, and a shame and curse to our streets, rather than they should be raised to newness of life, and be purified by the Spirit of God, because along with that moral purification they might contract opinions upon certain aspects of religion which we consider unscriptural? When I read the teachings of Thy life in the gospels I see all Thy denunciations of judgement directed against moral turpitude, none against conscientious

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1. Rock, 14 November, 19 December 1873.

2. Christian, 4 December 1873.

> difference in religious opinions. Let me be guided then by that principle, and join even with those from whom I differ, if by any means I may save some souls from moral pollution and from eternal ruin. I only pray, dear Lord, that this great movement may after all be a means of bringing love to the front above all theological rancour, that the world may see and know more than it has yet done; how in spite of errors of judgement Thy children nevertheless are all one in Thee"(1).

The Rock of January 16 argued that

> "There is but one thing which will make the Bishops generally understand the feeling of the country, and that is a distinct and unanimous decision by the Evangelical clergy to have nothing whatever to do with this combined mission"(2).

On the eve of important litigation against ritualism, one can see that the position was delicate.

Each parish taking part in the mission made its own arrangements, though the central committee acted as co-ordinator, and undertook to help in supplying missioners. The secretaries issued a list of suggested services and arrangements, and a list of publications on mission work, including two entirely opposite works on Parochial Missions, one by Thorold and one by a member of the High Church Cowley Fathers. A great preparatory conference was held on November 4, and another on December 23 which devoted itself to the discussion of after-meetings(3). An

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1. A.T.Edwards, A Consecrated Life (London, 1887), 52-3.

2. Rock, 16 January 1874.

3. Record, 5 November 1873, 2 February 1874.

Evangelical memorial against the introduction of the confessional, with nearly 600 signatures, was presented to the three bishops early in February. They replied that it would be very difficult to take effective action at that stage, but expressed a disapproval of the use of sacramental confession - and also of the introduction of laymen or Nonconformists into Anglican pulpits(1).

The mission began with a day's devotional meeting for clergy only in St.Paul's, on Friday 6 February; and special services were held in most London churches throughout the following week, and in some cases longer. Evangelicals taking part included William Hay Aitken, Sholto Douglas and the Rev. F.F.Goe. Nonconformists also gave their support; Dr.Cummings and others gave addresses in some Presbyterian churches.

The Times felt that the services in high and low churches were much the same, though with possibly less drama in the latter; all seemed pernicious, and injurious to the cause of religion.

> "The 'Mission' must needs be regarded as, to a great extent, a confession of failure. Parishes are pagan and congregations dead; some new device must be invented for converting the one and rousing the other; and the Clergy are encouraged to seek it in external sensations and artificial aids"(2).

But the Record felt that a real and abiding work had been done. The masses had been brought in in large numbers, houses visited, the lukewarm revived - though London was too vast an area for any very deep effect on city life to be achieved(3). The Christian by now linked the mission with Moody's revival in Scotland as "part of a great work which

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1. Record, 2, 9, 11, 13 February 1874.
2. Times, 16 February 1874.
3. Record, 16, 18 February 1874.

God is doing throughout the land"(1). Nevertheless, at the Islington Conference the following January Daniel Wilson remarked that, whilst there had been individual blessings, in terms of great and permanent results the Mission of 1874 must be acknowledged to have failed(2).

The booklet published by Thorold in preparation for the London mission set forth principles for the conduct of such missions which had by this stage become very much the standard evangelical practice. A balance was carefully maintained in the attitude of Evangelicals between a keen attention to organization and a dependence, in the final instance, on God. Thorold stressed that an incumbent must be clear that he is obeying the call of God, and not just taking up mission services as a new kind of spiritual excitement(3). Aitken, in a later work on missions, stressed that the missioner should be really 'sent'(4). Edward Garbett, preaching at a mission week in November 1874, insisted that conversion was the work of God alone.

> "Can anyone doubt for a moment that souls are saved through human instrumentality? It is the commonest and most palpable fact of all Christian experience, whether at home or abroad, that men are converted by means of other men's preaching of the Word. But who converts those souls? It is the preacher, or the pastor, or the voice from whose loving accent it drops? Do they convert the soul? No, it is God the Holy Ghost who does it, and He alone.

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1. Christian, 5, 19 February 1874.
2. Record, 22 January 1875.
3. A.W.Thorold, Parochial Missions (London, 1874), 9-10.
4. C.E.Woods, op.cit., 106.

> The power is all his own from beginning to end. Paul may plant and Apollos water, but it is God that giveth the increase"(1).

Thorold, too, warned against putting too great a reliance on plans and machinery, and too little on God. But,

> "Nevertheless it is quite possible to combine prayer with diligence, and complete arrangements with profound humility"(2).

He advised that preparations should begin a full six months before the mission, with a public announcement by the incumbent, and prayer meetings of communicants. A meeting between the missioner and the Christian workers was useful; and six weeks before the mission a house-to-house visitation should begin, with tracts and handbills distributed to every family. The responsibility of the mission was the incumbent's from first to last.

The missions often started with an evening gathering of layhelpers with the parochial clergy and the missioner. Special features, such as mid-day services, and special meetings for particular people, varied with the locality. Central to all Church missions were the weekday evening services, aftermeetings, and celebrations of Holy Communion. The aftermeetings took different forms, but generally combined a prayer meeting with personal conference and intercession. At Trinity Church, Nottingham, in February 1872, the incumbent gave a short address and prayer, after which Canon Hoare, the missioner, did the same, and then all who wished were invited to remain, and the two moved around speaking to each individually(3). Especially useful was the time set aside each

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1. Record, 25 November 1874.

2. A.W.Thorold, Parochial Missions, 13.

3. J.H.Townsend, Edward Hoare, M.A. (London, 1896), 164.

day for individuals to speak with the missioner in private. Though this sometimes brought surprises, as when Chavasse, missioner at St.John the Baptist, Oxford, sitting in the vestry to receive the anxious, was visited by a little man who silently held out a paper - a bill which remained unpaid from his undergraduate days, and which Chavasse promptly paid(1).

Bayley saw the main aim of missions as conversion, with the quickening of church life as an important secondary object(2). The class problem was perennial. Aitken's Swansea mission of 1874 was conspicuous for the large number of influential merchants and shipowners affected(3). At the St.Pancras mission in 1871, the great majority of the congregations were working class; but this was because of Thorold's extensive organization. Eighty district visitors and others had been sent out to bring in the poor(4).

Another problem was the impermanence of the results. Though Thorold felt that

> "The shallow objection to missions, that they tend to produce a transient excitement, speedily to be followed by a fatal callousness, is perhaps best met by the reply that if the great bulk of people are actually fast asleep in sin or worldliness, the only chance of rousing them <u>is</u> by exciting them; and that if a man's house is on fire, it is not a sufficient reason against

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1. A.C.Downer, <u>A Century of Evangelical Religion in Oxford</u> (London, 1938), 22-3.
2. E.Bayley, <u>Times of Refreshing</u> (London, 1874).
3. C.E.Woods, <u>op.cit.</u>, 132.
4. C.H.Simpkinson, <u>op.cit.</u>, 58

ringing his bell, or breaking his windows, that
he may possibly fall asleep again and perish"(1).

The follow-up to the mission was nevertheless of crucial importance. William Hay Aitken used to distribute memorial cards on the second Saturday of every mission. The name of each applicant was entered in a book, and if he had received a distinct blessing the name was marked to help the clergy to follow up the case(2). After his mission at All Saints, Derby, in November 1873, the vicar established 29 weekly gatherings, and in 1879 he was able to tell Aitken that they were all still going strong(3). Late in August 1873, Ryle enquired of the Christian for any reliable statistics of permanent results, and advice on keeping up interest after a mission. William Hay Chapman advised Bible classes, prayer meetings, and the provision of work for young Christians. The first mission at Lowestoft had been held in March 1870, and in June 1872 he had presented 23 men and 22 women over twenty for confirmation, most of whom had been fruits of that mission. After his second mission, in March 1873, he had been given a list of 80 new converts, and most of these remained steadfast as yet(4).

The pattern of parochial missions thus established, and very generally adopted, by 1874, though less ambitious, was in many ways very similar to that of Moody's revivalism. That it was already so established, before Moody's impact was really felt in England, and that missions remained essentially the same for the rest of the century,

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1. A.W.Thorold, Parochial Missions, 43-4.
2. C.E.Woods, op.cit., 106-7.
3. Ibid., 131-2.
4. Christian, 21 August, 4 September 1873.

are significant factors in considering the importance of Moody and Sankey in the mission movement.

It was the stimulus from Moody's revival, as we shall see, which led Aitken to make the break into full-time evangelism. With the support of Lord Kinnaird, F.A.Bevan and others, he instituted a fund, as a memorial to Robert Aitken, to employ a regular staff of mission clergy, and by 1878 a band of twelve evangelists was at work. In 1881 the body was incorporated as the Church Parochial Missions Society(1). During the year 1881-2, the society provided preachers for 95 missions, and in the following year 123 missions were held(2).

The Church Pastoral-Aid Society also took up the work, though the inspiration in this case came rather from the London mission of 1874. A number of requests for names of missioners led to a conference with the committee of the Church Home Mission in January 1874, and a decision that the larger society should take responsibility for special mission work; two members of the Church Home Mission being opted on to a C.P.A.S. sub-committee for the purpose. In March regulations were drawn up for incumbents to apply in advance for grants, not exceeding £5, towards the expenses of special missions. A list was gradually drawn up of clergy who were willing to conduct missions. It included Thorold, E.H.Bickersteth, and J.F.Kitto. Numerous missions were held in the next few years, evidently with much success. But the annual report for 1878 announced that in future no grants of this kind could be voted - there had been far too many applications to deal with in the current state of the society's finances. The work was resumed in 1885, however, as we shall

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1. C.E.Woods, op.cit., 149; Rock, 8 November 1878.

2. Record, 25 May 1881, 5 May 1882.

see in a later chapter. Meanwhile, the conclusion after the 1874 London Mission had been that the ordinary work of the C.P.A.S., in providing an increase of parochial agency, was now more than ever needed, to sustain and nourish the fruits of special missions(1).

An article in the Christian Observer in 1874 described a mission as 'only an intensification of ordinary parochial agencies'(2). The C.P.A.S., in the nature of the case, and the C.P.M.S. on principle, worked closely in conjunction with the parochial system, and entered a parish, as a rule, only on the invitation of the incumbent. This was not always the case, however: Aitken's mission at Scarborough in 1883 was apparently supported by none of the clergy of the town, but only by Dissenting ministers(3). Much less with the nondenominational Evangelization Society, whose mission at Blackheath in London, in 1879, brought a strong protest from the Rev. J.W.Marshall. He complained that the six evangelical clergy of the neighbourhood had been consulted only when the arrangements had been made, and the services in the mission tent, pitched 200 yards from St.John's, had drawn the poorer congregation away from the church. The secretary of the society replied that the mission had been organised by a committee of fifty, which included the local Wesleyan and Baptist ministers(4).

The question of Church order was always present. At the annual meeting of the South Eastern Clerical and Lay Alliance, in May 1878,

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1. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, Annual Reports, 1874, 1875, 1878; MS. Committee Minutes, 6, 20, 27 January, 17, 24 March, 14 July 1874.
2. Christian Observer, February 1874.
3. C.E.Woods, op.cit., 165-6.
4. Record, 25 August, 3, 15, 19 September 1879.

it was felt that it would be a mistake to unite with Dissenters in missions(1). Though united missions were sometimes held; as at York early in 1876, when the committee of clergy, ministers and laymen had followed up a mission led by Hay Aitken with a series of meetings for the promotion of the spiritual life(2).

More heat-provoking was the question of uniting with Churchmen of other schools. At the Church Association Conference in October 1876 there was an animated discussion on the mission which was planned at Bristol. John Richardson read a paper on special missions, later published as a Church Association Tract, in which he argued that there could be no compromise with the truth, and no uniting with men from whom they differed on fundamentals,

> "... The internal danger is more conspicuous still. Men are not saved by error; and after you have started sinners out of their slumber, and terrified them into an attempted escape from the wrath to come, what is the profit if you open a false way and urge them to flee in a direction where neither pardon nor peace can be found?"(3).

Some of the speakers were firmly against all union; others felt the advantages of Church missions outweighed the disadvantages. Ryle would never co-operate directly with a Ritualist, or allow him in his pulpit, but said that if a mission was got up in his district he would

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1. Record, 20 May 1878.
2. Christian, 3 February 1876.
3. J.Richardson, Special Missions and Services; their advantages and dangers (Church Association Tract no.LII, 1876), 6.

throw himself heart and soul into it(1). Reports from local branches showed a similar diversity of opinion, and an earnest controversy broke out in the pages of the Record. The Rev. S.A.Walker refused to have anything to do with the Bristol mission, and he was backed by the Rev. G.T.Fox and others. Robert Kennion led a section which opposed party strife. The Record in February 1877, whilst feeling that even mixed missions could prove valuable, pointed out the great dangers involved, and urged that this was a time for the loud assertion of Protestantism. In March the paper was anxious to remain neutral on a question which so divided the party. In the summer, however, the controversy over the Priest in Absolution had brought a fresh outcry against the Society of the Holy Cross - which avowed missions to be one of its main objects. By December the Record was viewing mixed missions as part of a deliberate ritualist scheme to unprotestantize the Church, and warning Evangelicals against naïvely handing over their pulpits.

> "The sting of the scorpion is in its tail, and such apparently is the case with these Missions"(2).

General Church missions were becoming increasingly common, however, and to many Evangelicals it seemed suicidal to remain aloof. At Liverpool, some Evangelical clergymen declined to join the Ritualists in a Church of England mission in December 1878, but agreed to hold a separate mission at the same time, in which they invited the Nonconformists to join them. Two sets of placards announced the Liverpool Church Mission and the Advent Mission; and about 60 churches took part altogether, the

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1. Record, 30 October 1876.

2. Record, 14 February, 12 March, 10 December 1877.

number of Nonconformist churches being comparatively small. Evangelical missioners included Hay Aitken, William Haslam and Sholto Douglas(1). At the Birmingham Church Mission in February 1888, thirty of the ninety churches took part, and here it was largely the moderate High Church clergy who held aloof. Ritualists and Evangelicals both joined in(2). The initiative in organising combined missions seems to have come from individual clergymen of either party who were particularly active in the town. Like the arrangements for Moody's campaigns, or on another level for the school board elections, the town missions were symptomatic of growth in interparochial co-operation in the towns at this time.

At the London Diocesan Conference in February 1883, the Evangelical Daniel Moore suggested a second general mission for 1884 like that of 1874. The Rock felt that London was too vast for such a project, but the Record was very much in favour(3). It was decided, in the end, to hold a mission in the East End in Advent 1884, and one in the West End the following Lent. At the May Meeting of the Church Parochial Missions Society, the Bishop of Rochester urged all to take part(4). The Rock was beginning to see the mission as an important part of the Church's reply to The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, a sensational pamphlet published in October 1883(5). It began in the East End on November 15, and followed the usual pattern. A day's work at Spitalfields included Holy Communion at 8.30 a.m.; shortened Morning Prayer at 9.30, followed

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1. Christian, 12 December 1878.
2. Christian, 17 February 1888.
3. Rock, 16 February, 9 March 1883; Record, 16 March 1883.
4. Record, 9 May 1884.
5. Rock, 4 July 1884.

by brief instruction; an address by the Bishop of Bedford to the clergy and missioners of the deanery: a children's service; service for women; visits by Christian workers to lodging houses etc., to bring along the poor to the evening service, which was followed by an after-meeting. Outside the church there were gatherings for 'young girls who had lost their character', services in hospitals, homes,workshops(1).

Evangelicals were enthusiastic in their participation, and were well represented on the organizing committee. They were active, too, in the West London Mission the following February. Missioners included Canon Bullock, Evan Hopkins and Eugene Stock. The Rock felt that there was much to deplore there, but more to be thankful for, and praised the almost universal use of the S.P.C.K. Mission Hymn-book: the English Churchman denounced the way in which Ritualists were utilising the occasion(2). The Evangelical party were evidently still not of one mind on the subject. But the Record had remarked, in November 1884, that,

> "It would have been disastrous to the cause of truth for the Evangelical body to have refused to join in the Mission, and to have left it to be conducted, as it would have been throughout London, by High Churchmen and Ritualists.By entering heartily into the movement, however, their counsel has been sought and their advice taken on many of the general arrangements; and, above all, the pure Evangelical teaching of the Church has been proclaimed in every district of London; and the opportunity has been given for a comparison between

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1. Rock, 28 November 1884.

2. Record, 6, 20 February 1885; Rock, 13 February 1885; English Churchman, 12 Feburary 1885.

the modus operandi of a Mission conducted according to Evangelical and Ritualistic views, a comparison from which Evangelical Churchmen have nothing to fear, if the Bible is taken as the test of doctrine, and the Prayer-book as the guide of ritual"(1).

Missions were by this stage an accepted part of the Church's machinery; and in the 1880's missioners began to be appointed on a diocesan basis. In 1881, the Rev.J.H.Lester was appointed diocesan missioner for Lichfield. In 1883 Archbishop Benson urged the establishment of canon missioners attached to the cathedral of every diocese, as a means of both strengthening the cathedral system and providing a ready supply of mission preachers. The Churchman for once welcomed the prospect of an organization wider than the parochial system(2). The Tait Memorial Fund in 1884 raised £300 a year for a missioner for the dioceses of Canterbury and London; the Rev. Joseph Cullen, of the C.P.M.S., was appointed. At the same time, Thorold made another of the society's preachers, the Rev. J.H.Haslam, Wilberforce Missioner for the diocese of Rochester(3). Not all the new breed were Evangelicals. The English Churchman announced in 1890 that the new diocesan missioner for Chichester, John Wakefield, had gone over entirely to the Ritualist camp, and was due to conduct a retreat for Women Associates of the C.B.S.(4). And still by 1891 they were established in only a small proportion of the dioceses of England.

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1. Record, 28 November 1884.
2. Record, 25 May 1881; Churchman, August 1883.
3. A.C.Benson, The Life of Edward White Benson, II, 34; Rock, 9 July 1886; C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 165-6.
4. English Churchman, 31 July 1890.

Ironically enough, as missions became increasingly respectable, they were also becoming less effective. In number they were steadily growing. The Church Parochial Missions Society held or assisted in 200 missions during the year 1886-7, and between 350 and 400 in 1890-1. November to February was by this time widely recognised as the 'mission season'. But public interest showed a marked decline. In 1890 the C.P.M.S. was drastically short of money, and driven to considering whether or not to curtail its operations(1). The Christian pointed out that, whilst the society had certainly popularized special missions in the Church of England, it had failed to popularize itself - for at this annual meeting only about 300 were present, and very few of these were gentlemen(2). William Hay Aitken wondered in 1886,

> "... Are we losing hold on the mind of the people? I begin to fear that missions are ceasing to draw as they once did. Here I am in a half-empty church once more, and this is the more trying as it is such a very small one".

At Oxford in 1887, he "simply failed to get the ear of the University". His mission in Belfast in May and June 1888 was an outstanding success; but in the 1890's the places he visited were increasingly difficult to arouse. His return to Belfast, in 1895, was unsuccessful(3).

Perhaps the novelty had faded, as with Moody's revivalism. Perhaps both were victims of the secularization of society; of the growing irrelevance of the Christian Church - in which case they could hardly

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1. Record, 6 May 1887, 25 April 1890, 7 August 1891.
2. Christian, 25 April 1890.
3. C.E.Woods, op.cit., 197, 205.

be the solution to the problem. The Times had said of the London Mission in 1874,

> "If the Bishops had looked more boldly at realities, they would have told their clergy that, if they could not reach the people by the means ordinarily at their disposal, they would not really do it by an extraordinary but temporary agitation. The mischief lies in the fact that the truths preached by the Clergy fail to lay hold of their audiences and their parishioners; and if these truths fail to obtain a hearing by their intrinsic merits, they will not gain it by means of midnight services"(1).

Another extraordinary, but less temporary, agency which sprang into prominence in the 1880's was the Salvation Army. This had grown out of the Christian Mission established by William Booth in 1865 to work in East London, using the methods of professional revivalism he had developed during the recent awakening, and employing primarily working class evangelists. In the later 1870's the movement advanced by leaps and bounds; and around 1878 the name Salvation Army appeared, and military uniforms and banners, with a military form of government, were adopted(2).

It was shortly after this that the Army's successes, here and in America, began to attract widespread attention. The first reaction of Evangelicals was disapproval of its rowdiness. The Rock declared in

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1. Times, 16 February 1874.
2. R.Sandall, The History of the Salvation Army (London, 1947), I, 229, II, 31-53.

April 1880 that

> "The Gospel has not lost its power, neither has it ceased to be attractive when earnestly and faithfully set forth. There is happily no need for piecing out the message of salvation with tricks and geegaws, and true zeal can generally find plenty of outlets for its energy without resorting to vulgarisms and claptrap, whether in the Church or out of it..."(1).

Blackwood, who had earlier been identified with the Army, protested against the proceedings at the opening of a new Congress Hall in May 1882.

> "I can stand a good deal of noise, and am not too much disturbed by loud amens and hallelujahs, but I defy anyone to have retained an atom of devotional feeling during that intolerable row"(2).

The perfectionist teaching of the movement was also suspect. The Record complained that many of Peersall Smith's old followers were now rallying round Booth, and in July1882, a leading article stressed, in opposition to the Army, that all fell short of the standard of Christ(3).

In November 1881, Lord Shaftesbury was invited by Admiral Fishbourne to join the Salvation Army, and so give it his sanction. He firmly refused, and the following June, at a meeting at Blackheath, spoke out against the irreverence and 'gymnastics' of the Army. He was backed in this stand by Close, in letters to the Record from his

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1. Rock, 9 April 1880.
2. Christian, 25 May 1882.
3. Record, 16 November 1881, 14 July 1882.

sick bed. But a number of prominent men supported the movement, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, at about the same time, donated £5 towards its acquisition of the Eagle Tavern. Shaftesbury feared that,

> "... were they (the Booths) to declare themselves allies of the Church of England, they would be welcomed & received, with all their abominations"(1).

Many, indeed, were anxious to learn from the Army's successes. To the Churchman they supplied another proof that in order to reach the masses, the Church must show a far greater elasticity(2). The Record argued that

> "The national Church of England cannot permit this ground to slip from under her feet, nor to be wrested from her by an organization for the future conduct of which we have no reliable guarantee or assurance. What is good in this new departure we may adopt. What is defective we may supply. What is wrong we may correct..."(3).

In May 1882, chiefly on the initiative of Canon Wilkinson and Benson, then Bishop of Truro, Canterbury Convocation appointed a committee to consider the possibilities of incorporating the movement in the Church of England. Most Diocesan Conferences discussed the subject. At Winchester Lord Mount-Temple pointed out the lessons that could be learnt, and a resolution that the Salvation Army deserved consideration was carried with a rider against its doctrines and practices(4). At Oxford a favourable resolution was passed, seconded

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 18,26 November 1881, 25, 27, 30 June, 1 July 1882; E.Hodder, op.cit., III, 433-40.
2. Churchman, June 1882.
3. Record, 26 May 1882.
4. Record, 28 July 1882.

by Chavasse(1). The Bath and Wells Diocesan Conference agreed that an increased effort on the part of the Church was necessary, but Bernard pointed out that the main agency was the clergyman in his parish(2). This was much the feeling in the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol. Archdeacon Norris moved that in the parochial system the Church had all it needed for the extension of Christ's kingdom in this land. Neither this nor Girdlestone's amendment, approving the zeal but deploring the irreverence of the Salvation Army, could be put to the vote for lack of time; and the discussion showed a strong divergence of opinion between those who urged the formation of similar bodies and men like Canon Bell, who refused to imitate Booth's false doctrine and practices(3).

In the event, Convocation's negotiations broke down over the question of baptism and communion, which Booth considered inessential to salvation; and the growing notoriety of the Army, especially in its assaults on India and Europe, increased its unpopularity in Church circles. In April 1883 the committee was dissolved(4). Wooed in vain by both Anglicans and Methodists, and in spite of Booth's assertions to the contrary(5), the Salvation Army was fast developing into a rival sect in its own right. The Christian expressed anxiety at this tendency in September 1881; by 1886 the Record felt that it would be idle to regard it as other than one more added to the many denominations(6).

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1. Record, 13 October 1882.
2. Record, 20 October 1882.
3. Record, 13 October 1882.
4. K.S.Inglis, The Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London, 1963), 189; R.Sandall, The History of the Salvation Army, II, 146-8; Times, 11 April 1883.
5. Contemporary Review, August 1882.
6. Christian, 29 September 1881; Record, 4 June 1886.

Meanwhile Churchmen were forming an army of their own; and for once the Evangelical party was in the lead. Evan Hopkins, dissatisfied with his own home mission work, visited Booth in Whitechapel, and at Easter 1881 he took a group of parishioners to a Salvationist meeting in Exeter Hall. In his own parish of Holy Trinity, Richmond, he began a similar work, with a band he called the Church Gospel Army. This had military rules, membership cards, and the men wore a red cord in their button-holes. Sundays began with 'knee-drill' at seven, then an open-air meeting at ten, followed by the Church service at eleven. An afternoon Bible Class was held, and in the evening a band and army banner would lead the procession to the Mission Hall, where a gospel meeting of testimony, short prayers and chorus was followed by the now familiar after-meeting. Smaller meetings were held in the Mission Hall on week nights, culminating in a Holiness Meeting every Friday might. After a brief address on consecration, any who had fallen during the week might come to kneel at the front to confess their fault and claim afresh the healing virtue of the Holy Spirit. Like the Salvation Army, Hopkin's band was pelted by the crowds; and there were occasional protests too from his regular congregation. The army was very successful, though, in bringing in men who were otherwise quite untouched by the Church's activities(1).

Similar bands were being started independently in other parishes. By October 1882 there were already two Church armies in Bristol(2). But it was from Hopkins that the main lines of development flowed. Frank Webster, a Salvation Army preacher as an Oxford undergraduate,

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1. A.Smellie, Evan Henry Hopkins: A Memoir (London, 1920), 40-44.

2. Record, 13 October 1882.

had been a member of the congregation at Richmond, and was one of the first to work in the army there. He organized a band of mission laymen at St.Aldate's, Oxford, and when he became the curate there in 1882, Canon Christopher encouraged him to start up a Church Salvation Army in the parish(1).

Wilson Carlile, converted after the collapse of his Cheapside business in 1873, had worked initially with the Brethren at Blackfriars, but under his father's influence he turned towards the Church of England and began to spend his spare time among the poorer classes at Holy Trinity, Richmond. From Moody's visit of 1875, Carlile gained experience in the techniques of professional evangelism. He deputised for Sankey at the harmonium in the Agricultural Hall, and worked with Drummond at the smaller meetings. He trained the choir for Moody's South London Mission, which was kept on afterwards as the London Evangelistic Choir. After further experience, with the Evangelization Society, Carlile entered London College of Divinity in 1878, and in Lent 1880 he was ordained deacon. He worked first under Dr.Carr Glyn in Kensington, where he learnt to mix with clergymen of different schools; but his large outdoor meetings brought complaints, and he resigned his curacy to work in the slum missions.

In 1882 local parish armies of working men were being formed by a number of clergymen. Carlile was anxious to unite these efforts into one large Church Army, and discussed his plans with Canon Wilkinson and Hay Aitken. And already the movement began to slip away from the Evangelical party. Carlile wanted the work to be established as a branch of the Church Parochial Missions Society - he needed its support - but this was entirely in the hands of Evangelicals, and he

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1. J.S.Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St. Aldate's Oxford, 227-30.

feared that it was too partizan. It was agreed eventually that representatives of all schools, including Canon Body and Prebendary Shelford, should be admitted to the C.P.M.S. committee. A sub-committee was formed to direct the Church Army, consisting of Reginald Braithwaite, Edward Clifford, Dr.Armitage, Mr. W.J.Armitage, Mr. J.Bowker, with Carlile as leader and chief secretary(1).

In September Carlile wrote to the Church Times and the Christian that the C.P.M.S. hoped shortly to provide trained working men to do 'army' work in the parishes. All were to be "Church of England communicants, and of no party spirit"(2). A month later the Record published detail of a Church Army mission held at Walworth(3). In January 1883, the C.P.M.S. held a conference on home missions in Exeter Hall. The chief topic was the Church Army, and Hopkins urged that the work be made permanent. Nearly twenty men had been brought in at his last monthly enrolment at Richmond(4). At the annual meeting in May it was announced that the Army had 20 corps on the register, nine of which were working under the direction of clergymen. Aitken made a stirring speech in its favour, and a resolution of support for the Church Army was passed(5).

The banners and lively music in the processions; and the brief, emotional open-air meetings of the Church Army stirred much the same hostility on the part of the mob as did the Salvation Army. At Westminster Carlile was attacked day after day, and narrowly escaped with his life(6). At Oxford, one 'soldier' recalled,

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1. E.Rowan, Wilson Carlile and the Church Army (London, 1905), 136-8.
2. Church Times, 15 September 1882; Christian, 14 September 1882.
3. Record, 13 October 1882.
4. Record, 5 January 1883; Christian, 11 January 1883.
5. Record, 25 May 1883.
6. Kathleen Heasman, The Army of the Church (London, 1968), 18.

"One afternoon we went to the fair for an open-air meeting. The principal's [Webster's] coat was torn, our tunics were soon in pieces, and our caps were treated like footballs. They spat in our faces, bad eggs were thrown and all kinds of refuse hurled at us, but by God's grace we were enabled to hold on; and here I learnt that I must have courage, endurance, and grit. It did us much good, and we enjoyed evensong at the Cathedral so much better that evening (we used to attend daily)"(1).

Members of the Church Army had to serve a month's probation before being enrolled. Conditions of membership, set forth by Hopkins, included total abstinence, a spirit of obedience, endurance, consecration to God, and an earnest zeal for the salvation of souls. Members must be Church communicants(2). In 1884 a training home for the evangelists was set up at St. Aldate's, with Webster as honorary warden.

The objects of the Church Army, as stated in the report of 1887-8, were,

"To win souls for Christ by:-

1. Providing the Parochial Clergy with trained working-men evangelists, termed officers, who shall assist them in developing the evangelizing powers of the laity, and who shall not remain more than six to twelve months in one place.
2. Preaching the need of (A) the real conversion of those living without God, (B) Holiness of heart and life.

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1. J.S.Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St.Aldate's, Oxford, 231.
2. E.H.H., Conditions of Membership, Church Army Series no.1.

3. Enfolding converts into the Church. The officers shall work entirely free from party spirit, solely on Church lines, and, where possible, under diocesan supervision"(1).

No mission work was undertaken in any parish without the approval and direction of the incumbent. At the Training Home Anniversary in 1888, Carlile expressed his conviction of the necessity for both extraordinary and ordinary Church machinery.

> "Great numbers of the working classes appear to have drunk away their intellects, and nothing but the feelings are left to be operated on. We therefore have first to deal with the emotional side of their nature to arrest them in their sinful course. When thus arrested and brought to a saving knowledge of Christ, it is of all importance that they should be led to value the teaching of the Moral Law. Hence we maintain that Evangelistic Zeal in the first instance is necessary to the Church, and that Church Order is also absolutely necessary to successful and permanent Evangelistic Zeal. We see it distinctly portrayed in the early Church, where earnest mission work was perfectly coupled with apostolic discipline"(2).

The Church Army had begun, in a sense, as an evangelical institution, under the control of an evangelical society, and it might have become an important part of the party's machinery. But both society and army fretted under the restrictions imposed by party ties. Aitken was worried by constant frictions between the narrower Evangelicals on the Council

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1. Church Army, Annual Report, 1887-8, p.57.

2. Church Army, Annual Report, 1888-9, p.30.

of the C.P.M.S. and their Higher Church colleagues. He himself had come under criticism from the Record for his perfectionist leanings, and his denial that faith was the gift of God alone, unattainable by man of himself(1). Aitken gradually developed views on conditional immortality similar to those of Birks; and a strong controversy broke out in 1883 when he criticised the C.M.S. for dismissing a man who held this theory. In the end, the Council dissociated the C.P.M.S. from the doctrine, but refrained from condemning the holders of it(2).

Not all Evangelicals favoured the work of the Church Army. Shaftesbury rashly agreed to speak at a meeting in May 1884, then reflected that the Army bore too strong a resemblance to that of Booth, and tried to back out(3). More important, however, was Carlile's own determination to secure a Church-wide support. He described the work of the Church Army to the Church Congress in 1883, and in 1884 he began an intensive campaign of addresses, meetings, conferences, to arouse public interest. The Bishop of Oxford had encouraged Webster's efforts from the start, and in February 1885 Mackarness moved a resolution in the Upper House of Convocation welcoming and recognising the Church Army, which was carried unanimously(4). An evangelical association was likely now to prove a hindrance. At the annual meeting of the C.P.M.S. in May, it was reported that the Church Army's connection with the parent body had been severed; and the firm announcement that the C.P.M.S. was not the organ of a party but the servant of the Church suggests that

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1. Record, 13 July 1881.

2. C.E.Woods, op.cit., 170-82.

3. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 28 May 1884.

4. E.Rowan, Wilson Carlile and the Church Army, 199.

here lay the grounds for the separation(1). At about the same time Webster left St. Aldate's to become a lecturer at Brunswick Chapel, where the Rev. E.W.Moore was the incumbent. The Training Home moved with its principal to London, where Hyde Park provided an ideal training ground in public speaking(2).

Evangelicals continued to be influential supporters of the movement. Evan Hopkins led the evening consecration meeting at the anniversary in June 1885. Lord Mount Temple was a vice-president, and then president, until the Army was incorporated in 1892. Patrons included the Bishops of Exeter, Liverpool, and, more actively, Rochester. But equally influential were the evangelistic Ritualists of the younger High Church School; especially Canon Body, who became diocesan missioner for Durham, and had been one of the earliest friends of the Church Army(3). It was essentially a Church institution in which Evangelicals played an active part, rather than an Evangelical institution which they could control. Its government, in fact, was very firmly in the autocratic hands of Carlile himself, and of his able lieutenants Webster and Clifford; all Evangelicals, but men who were determined to keep the Army as comprehensive as possible. Carlile appealed for workers in both evangelical and ritualist press, and Church Army officers were sent to any parish whose incumbent would receive them. Clifford told the Church Congress in 1891,

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1. Record, 22 May 1885.
2. E.Rowan, Wilson Carlile and the Church Army, 200; Kathleen Heasman, The Army of the Church, 27.
3. Church Army, Annual Reports, 1885-95; Memorandum of Association of the Church Army, 10 September 1892.

> "Our ideal Vicar may be High, Low, or Broad, but he must be in earnest about the conversion and godliness of his people..."(1).

Needless to say, this attitude sowed doubts in many minds of both High and Low Churchmen. In June 1885, Carlile wrote to ask if the C.P.A.S. would give grants towards lay agents of the Church Army working under an incumbent and removable at his request. The committee agreed, then in March 1886 decided against passing resolutions to that effect, on the grounds that Rules VII and VIII of the society covered the subject, with the thought (crossed out of the minutes) that they were thus shielded from responsibility for the employment of Church Army Officers by incumbents. The minutes continued,

> "The Committee however desire to place on record their opinion as an instruction to the Clerical Committee, that special care should be taken that such men are loyal members of the Evangelical position of the Church of England in doctrine and practice"(2).

It seems clear, from a later dispute over an officer in 1891, that any such men employed as lay-readers, under a C.P.A.S. grant, were entirely severed, while working under the grant, from the control of the Church Army(3).

In May 1891, Carlile addressed the Southport Evangelical Conference. Some of those present testified to the good work done by the Church Army; others asked if it was truly an evangelical society. Canon

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1. Record, 9 October 1891.
2. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, MS. Committee Minute Books, 9 June 1885, 4 March 1886.
3. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, MS. Committee Minute Books, 1, 15 October 1891.

Rycroft wondered if its officers would distribute Ritualist tracts in a Ritualist parish. Carlile

> "would rather not say the training of the Army was distinctly Evangelical. The proof of the pudding was in the eating, and could anyone say he had ever met an officer of the Army who was not truly Evangelical in the highest and best sense. (Applause.) He implored them as Evangelical men not to allow the Army to be swallowed up by the other two great parties in the Church. (Applause.) If the Evangelicals gave them the cold shoulder and would not take the trouble to help them, they might depend upon it the other sections would take the trouble"(1).

The following February saw Clifford and Carlile explaining their principles to the annual conference of the Church Guilds Union. The Rev. T.Outram Marshall, secretary of the E.C.U., declared that he had no objection to the term 'conversion' as explained by Carlile, and a resolution of hearty support to the Church Army was carried nem.com.(2). The Guardian, meanwhile, complained that the Army's comprehensiveness must make the officers too uncritically receptive to be really fitted for their task(3).

No sooner had the Church Army asserted its independence of party, than it became involved in controversy on account of its perfectionism. The Church Army celebrations on Easter Monday 1886 began with a holiness meeting at Brunswick Chapel in the morning. The keynote was the new life,

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1. Record, 29 May 1891.
2. Church Times, 12 February 1892.
3. Guardian, 4 February 1891.

of 'complete deliverance from conscious sin". The Record was quick to denounce this fatal error; and Carlile and Clifford immediately disowned the proceedings and denied that sinless perfection was part of the Army's teaching. Webster evaded the question, asserting that no instruction was given in the Training Home contrary to the General Confession, and pointing out the dangers of a low standard of Christian practice(1). The annual meeting in May was reverent and orthodox; but 'consecration conventions' became a usual way of closing Church Army gatherings.

The institution continued to grow and prosper, however. By 1888 there were 160 officers and evangelists at work, and men had been sent out to Canada, America, Australia and India. About £13,000 had been contributed to the movement locally by the working classes during the previous year. By 1891 there were 166 officer-evangelists, 44 mission-nurses, and about 40,000 meetings were being held annually(2).

Towards the end of the period came a new departure. In 1890 Carlile published Our Tramps, to be followed few months later by Booth's In Darkest England and the Way Out. Both, anxious about the difficulties of penetrating in any depth in the slums, set forward schemes for relieving social distress. Their ideas were very similar. Both envisaged communities providing food, shelter and employment for the poorest in the cities, with agricultural colonies in the countryside and organised emigration. Booth's was a much larger book, and his hopes more ambitious, for he felt that the full adoption of his methods would deal with the social problems throughout the country. His scheme received

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1. Record, 30 April, 7, 14 May 1886.

2. Record, 4 May 1888, 8 May 1891.

much greater publicity, and was acclaimed by a number of prominent Churchmen. Evangelicals were welcoming but cautious. The Record and Rock could not entirely follow Booth into "his fairyland of opulent expectations"(1). The Churchman published an article against the scheme; and Webb Peploe and others pressed, unsuccessfully, for pledges that the money would be used independently for social relief, and not for the advancement of the Salvation Army. Dissatisfaction over this aspect grew. The Record complained in June 1892 that Booth was appealing for money for his own personal control(2). Public interest was already waning by this time, but although Booth never fully realised his ambitions, the Salvation Army was able to provide a very extensive programme of social work.

The Church Army meanwhile began to put Carlile's ideas into practice. The first Labour Home had already been established in Marylebone, in November 1889, and by the end of the century there were seven in London and twenty in different provincial cities. The Church Army was more selective than were the Salvationists: men who wished to stay were given a three days' test and then a fortnight's steady work before being signed on for four months, doing wood-chopping work mostly, after which the Army tried to find them jobs. By 1895 a farm had been acquired in Surrey, to which the most promising men were sent for agricultural training, and an emigration scheme was in operation. Lodgings houses were also opened for men who had eventually found jobs, but needed somewhere to live.

Church Army Sisters were first recruited in 1887, and worked

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1. Record, 24 October, 14 November 1890; Rock, 24 October 1890.

2. Churchman, January 1891; Rock, 2 January 1891; Record, 3 June 1892.

largely with destitute girls. In 1891 a Labour Home was opened for them in Marylebone Road, where they were given laundry work, and after six months placed in employment. This method of dealing with women proved unsuccessful, however, and the home was later closed. It was not until 1913 that the provision of hostels for women began again. The Church Army also established market gardens and coffee houses; a salesroom was opened in 1889 to sell clothing, furniture etc. at nominal prices to poor families who could show chits from their vicar. Officers helped discharged prisoners, often sending them to the labour homes(1). Social work thus rapidly grew into an important branch of the Church Army's evangelistic activities.

And so, with revivalist techniques, a new emphasis on the use of working men to reach the working classes, and perhaps a more organised programme of relief, there had developed a new institution for providing a day-to-day evangelism and social work such, essentially, as was given in a quieter and more conservative manner by the deaconesses.

Evangelicalism in the nineteenth century was, in its practical outworkings, a religion which functioned largely through an extensive network of societies. There is no space here to give a full assessment of the many branches of missionary and charitable activities in which Evangelicals were, through these many organizations, engaged. The part played by Anglicans in evangelical social work can be gathered from Kathleen Heasman's book on Evangelicals in Action (London, 1962). The groundwork was well established by 1865, and voluntary charity at a peak; further extension followed lines, for the most part, already

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1. Kathleen Heasman, The Army of the Church (London, 1968), 27, 57-62, 77-8, 92.

laid down. The provision of relief for the destitute and downtrodden, the crippled, deaf, blind, was comprehensive and, in its way, thorough; with interwoven and interacting agencies; ragged schools and children's homes; training ships, the Chichester and the Indefatigible, and Industrial Schools; Sailors' Rests and workmen's lodgings houses.

Behind it all was a basic concern to reach and win the souls of the poorer classes - and to win them as individuals. Too great or impersonal an organization was distrusted. Lord Shaftesbury found the Charity Organization Society, formed in 1869 to co-ordinate voluntary social work, uncongenial after a time; and the Christian in 1877 denounced its machinery as costly and mischievous(1). Inevitably, in a personal approach, Evangelicals tended to deal with symptoms, with the victims of social distress, rather than with its root causes.

The temperance movement had gained official acceptance by this stage, and in 1872 earlier organizations were amalgamated in the Church of England Temperance Society. Though some Evangelicals, like Canon Christopher, remained moderate drinkers, all gave a hearty support to the movement, and many became strict teetotalers - Close fanatically so. Stevenson Blackwood signed the pledge in 1878, and in time was made a vice president of the National Temperance Union and the Band of Hope Union, and president of the Young Abstainers' Union and the West Kent Band of Hope Union(2). Coffee houses were provided up and down the country. Cowper Temple presided over the Coffee Tavern Company, established in 1876, which opened 27 houses(3). The C.E.T.S. sent coffee vans to

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1. G.F.A.Best, Shaftesbury (London, 1964), 117-8; Christian, 22 November 1877.
2. Some Records of the Life of Sir Arthur Stevenson Blackwood, edited by his widow (London, 1896), 365-6.
3. Kathleen Heasman, Evangelicals in Action, 141.

factory areas. But the Evangelical attitude to the problem remained essentially that of the Church Army, whose periodical showed 'before' and 'after' pictures of drunks being forcibly dragged from public houses, converted to Christ, and becoming healthy and prosperous, with clean, happy homes and families. The party showed comparatively small interest in securing prohibitive legislation. The Rock claimed in 1884 that the Gospel was the only sufficient antidote to drink, as to all forms of evil(1). Though it must be noted here that Thorold pressed for the suppression of public houses on property owned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Between 1881 and 1883 nine out of 21 licenses were suspended as they expired.

Thorold also looked into the living conditions on ecclesiastical property in London, and in December 1883 moved for a special committee to consider the dwellings on the 'Winchester Estate' in Southwark, with the result that a programme of rebuilding was adopted. The Bishop came to devote a great deal of time and attention to the housing problem.

In 1883, his first session in Parliament, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, to prevent the procuring of young girls for prostitution, was before the Lords. Thorold felt it was the duty of the bishops to assert their position as leaders of public opinion on this question. Backed by Shaftesbury, he put forward two amendments, to allow corporal punishment, and to raise the age at which girls were sent to industrial schools from sixteen to eighteen. The Bill was stifled in the Commons, but Thorold's representations were partly responsible for its reintroduction in 1884, when the bishops attended in force and carried many important

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1. Rock, 19 September 1884.

amendments. It was not until 1885, however, after a blaze of publicity in the Pall Mall Gazette, and monster petitions, that the act finally passed(1).

Thorold had felt it important to take his part when urgent social questions were at stake, but he had small desire for the general hurly-burly of politics, and began to doubt whether it was possible for a bishop to form the necessary political alliances. After his second session he rarely attended the House of Lords, but busied himself in the work of his diocese. This attitude is significant in an Evangelical who was so active and so broadminded in every kind of social and evangelistic activity.

The Evangelical party has been criticised for not adopting a constructive policy of social reform, but working within the framework of the prevailing order. Socially they were conservative; anxious to Christianize, and to better the conditions, of the working classes, but to keep them in their place. Great was Shaftesbury's concern for the plight of the poor. His comment after a thieves' gathering in 1869;

> "What a spectacle! What misery! What degradation! And yet I question whether we, fine, easy, comfortable folks, are not greater sinners in the sight of God than are these poor wretches"(2).

Yet, running through all his philanthropic activities was the thought quoted near the beginning of this chapter, that in them lay the best defence of the establishment - Church, State, Property.

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1. Kathleen Heasman, Evangelicals in Action, 164-5; C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 227-36.

2. G.F.A.Best, Shaftesbury, 114.

In their paternalist condescension Evangelicals showed the attitudes prevalent in their class and time. In industrial disputes they tended to rebuke the trades unions or to remain neutral. Commenting on the Lancashire strikes in 1878, the Rock blamed millowners as much as factory hands, for showing 'not a spark of mutual consideration or kindness'. But,

> "... With few exceptions, strikes are silly expedients which recoil upon those who have recourse to them, and rioting is far worse for the rioters than for those whom they are meant to injure. Were the minds of the labouring classes raised a little above their ordinary level they would perceive this, and act on more rational principles. Nothing to our apprehension will give them that elevation but the Word of GOD. Communism and infidelity are generally allied. Christians recognise GOD's institutions and await the development of His plan..."(1).

Thorold consistently refused to interfere; in December 1888 he declined to arbitrate in the troubles at the South London Gasworks(2).

The Christian Socialist movement was the most radical attempt to bridge the gap between the Church and the Working Classes in this period, beginning a new and important phase in the 1880's. Centring on the Guild of St.Matthew and Stewart Headlam, and the Christian Social Union under Charles Gore and Henry Scott Holland, it grew out of the experiences of the slum priests and university settlements, and was essentially a liberal High Church preserve. But though they gained little support in

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1. Rock, 24 May 1878.

2. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 290.

the Church as a whole, Gore and his party took a lead in formulating a social ethic for the Church, and their principles were recognised at the Lambeth Conference of 1888(1).

At the Church Congress that year, as increasingly in the following years, social and economic issues were a primary concern. The Record agreed that,

> "The most utterly fatal and disastrous policy for the English clergy at the present moment would be to hold themselves aloof from, and to take no interest in, social questions. But the next worse thing is that they should meddle in such questions without understanding them".

The paper deprecated the growing tendency to "coquet" with any revolutionary or absurd notions which the poor might be thought to favour, at the risk of losing influence among educated people(2). John Kitto, on the other hand, declared in the Churchman that the condition of the poorest classes in England was a peril and a disgrace to "our civilization".

> "To let things alone, and rely upon the inevitable working of inexorable laws, is easy, no doubt, but it is not right or wise, and in these days it is not safe. Population is increasing, trade shows hardly any signs of recovery, agriculture seems almost to be given up as past revival, the strain increases on every side,

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1. F.W.Jones, "Social Concern in the Church of England, as revealed in its pronouncements on social and economic matters, especially during the years 1880-1940" (Ph.D. thesis, London, 1968), 74, 86-7.
2. Record, 5 October 1888.

discontent is growing, and if no kind of remedy is forthcoming the prospect is by no means cheerful".

Kitto urged the earnest support of every effort under whatever name, which sought to lessen the inequalities of society and to ease the burden of the poor(1).

It was the Record's more moderate view, however, which prevailed in Evangelical circles. The Times in 1890 praised the growth of a social concern in the Church of England, especially as manifested in Church Congress meetings(2). Evangelicals might take part in these discussions, but for them the real solution to the problem underlying this new concern, the apathy of the working classes to the Church, lay not in any remedy of the 'defects' of society. The Evangelical party in the Church of England was a conservative body, theologically and socially. It was also essentially a body which believed in a personal and individual religion. Consistent in this at least, Evangelicals concentrated on people rather than institutions; and their energies, in this period of heightened missionary fervour, were directed primarily towards finding means of converting the working classes, as individuals, to Christianity. The Times in 1872 warned that the only way to reach the masses was to stick wholeheartedly to the simple message(3). Lord Shaftesbury, speaking at Mildmay in 1870 of the masses in London, summed up the theme for the evangelistic activities of the last third of the century.

"Of this I am sure, from long observation, that if we wish to save the present and future generation

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1. Churchman, November, December 1888.

2. Times, 30 September 1890.

3. Times, 27 January 1872.

from all those horrors that are breaking out, for instance, in the city of Paris, we must determine ourselves, by a bold and vigorous effort to carry the Gospel by all legitimate means - means that may be extrinsic to our present form of operation; means that may be novel according to our existing system of organization; but the only means, I am satisfied, whereby we shall be able to carry the Gospel of God - to the ears of every soul existing in this mighty multitude"(1).

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1. Mildmay Park Conference, 1870, 95-6.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

REVIVALISM.

The Autumn of 1857 saw the beginning of a Great Awakening in America, which by 1859 had spread across the Atlantic to Ulster and was extending into Scotland. In April 1860, the Revival published a hymn of hope and thanksgiving for the "showers of blessings... scattering full and free", which gained immediate popularity as expressing the expectations of Evangelicals in England(1).

Revivalism was by this time a characteristic feature of American popular religion, adopted in one form or another by important sections of all denominations. In England its influence had been felt in the visits of individuals such as Phoebe Palmer; and an independent tradition of revival had developed here also, more spontaneous than that of America, which since Finney's time had been a professional mechanism, a 'purely philosophical result of the right use of the constituted means'(2). Such methods were suspect in England in the early nineteenth century; but by the 1850's the revived use of open-air preaching and special services had trained a number of evangelistic preachers like Reginald Radcliffe, a Liverpool solicitor, who were working in different parts of the country. And local outbursts of religious fervour were not unknown. In the Cornish parish of the revivalist Robert Aitken they seem to have been almost perennial. In 1854 he recorded 'a bit of a shower', and the following October wrote that

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1. J.E.Orr, op.cit., 95.
2. W.G.McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism; Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham (New York, 1959), 11.

> "We are in a state of wild religious excitement. Blessed be God, it is better than religious death. Last week I was sent for to the east of Cornwall, some fifty-five miles distant. The vicar has found God... On my return I found the parish in a flame under Knott and Fenton. There had been some eight or ten conversions before I left, which made me most unwilling to leave, but they now number upwards of one hundred. You see it never rains in Cornwall but it pours. In short we had a downright Cornish revival at old Pendeen. Penitents are praying and rejoicing around me in different rooms. My voice is quite gone, and I have been praying with penitents almost since I returned. I mean, night and day we have work"(1)..

The extent to which the 'Second Great Awakening' was a reality in England is now doubted. Radcliffe, Brownlow North and other evangelists intensified their campaigns, and gained a new respectability from the interest aroused by events in Ireland. Prayer meetings were held for the spread of revival in England, and deputations gave news of developments elsewhere in Britain. 'Here and there' in England, there were spontaneous outpourings. Handley Moule recalled that at Fordington, in Dorsetshire, no artificial means were thought of, or famous evangelists employed, but as they went about their daily rounds they came across 'the anxious' up and down the village(2).Some of the aspects Orr mentions, in his book on the subject - the theatre services are a prime example - were really part of a separate development, but were able to gain from exploiting a situation of religious fervour. How

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1. C.E.Woods, Memoirs and Letters of Canon Hay Aitken (London, 1928) 68-9.

2. H.C.G.Moule, Memories of a Vicarage (London, 1913), 49.

far to include such cases in the 'awakening' is to some extent a matter of terminology. There was certainly nothing in England on the scale of the revival as it developed in America, or more particularly in the Celtic fringes of Great Britain, with its intense religious excitement and physical prostrations.

This was partly because of the lack of enthusiasm shown by the secular press, which in America had seized on the early stirrings and so spread the movement. The Times was on the whole opposed to revivalism, and even the Record was doubtful(1). Nor was there the same background of revivalism in England as existed both in America and in Scotland, Ireland and Wales, which would prepare the ground for spontaneous outbreaks. Where the tradition existed, as in Cornwall, revivalists such as William Booth were able to achieve great successes alongside local revivals(2). But on the whole, the revival was dependent on local official sponsorship, from clergy or lay leaders; and officialdom in the churches of England, unlike those of America and the Celtic fringes, was very undecided in its attitude.

Dr.Brian Hardman's account of the Evangelical party's participation in the Revival concludes that, like High Churchmen, they were largely chary of religious excitement(3). The physical manifestations which had resulted in Ireland made the movement not quite respectable; and its effects in causing or curing drunkenness, immorality etc., were a matter of earnest controversy(4). The Evangelical clergy mostly held aloof, or, like Hugh Stowell, praised the good from afar while regretting

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1. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 323-4.

2. J.E.Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, 112-7.

3. B.E.Hardman, op.cit., 298-341.

4. J.E.Orr, op.cit., 172-83.

the excesses(1). Those few who, like Anthony Thorold at St. Giles, threw themselves enthusiastically into the movement, found a ready response(2). Samuel Garratt, who had visited Ireland and prayed for revival, found it at ordinary services and meetings. His diary recorded in 1860,

> "January 8. -Prayer-meeting. Obliged to have a second meeting upstairs... A great many anxious inquirers - about 50"(3).

At Barnet., William Pennefather was in constant communication with the developments in America and Ireland, and added many more prayer meetings to those already established. In February 1861 he held a series of special services, with addresses from Reginald Radcliffe and others, to which crowds flocked from the surrounding villages and from London and which continued for ten weeks instead of the expected one(4).

These were isolated incidents, however. And looking back, the Evangelical party regretted their attitude. Stock felt that,

> "... if our clergy had more heartily welcomed the Revival, its effect within the Church of England would have been much greater"(5).

At the Evangelical Church Conference at Ipswich in June 1870, Ryle complained that full advantage was not taken of revivals, which might touch the hearts and consciences of those who could not otherwise be reached(6). Garratt wrote to the Record in 1873 that

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1. J.B.Marsden, Memoirs of the Life and Labours of the Rev. Hugh Stowell, M.A., (London, 1868), 337-43.
2. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 31-3.
3. E.R.Garratt, Life and Personal Recollections of Samuel Garratt, 47-9.
4. R.Braithwaite, The Life and Letters of Rev. William Pennefather,M.A., 343-47.
5. E,Stock, My Recollections, 83
6. Record, 20 June 1870.

> "By the great majority of Evangelical clergymen that Revival was rejected; and our venerated friend, Mr. Henry Venn, once said to me (and I fully agreed with him then, and agree with him still) that he feared that Ritualism was the permitted scourge upon us for the rejection of that blessing"(1).

This feeling that a great opportunity had been let slip was probably one of the biggest effects of the Awakening of 1859-61; for the Evangelical party in the Church of England, at any rate. They were not likely to make the same mistake twice.

There were, of course, other results. Orr estimated the gains in Anglican church membership at a minimum of 250,000(2). The revival provided an important training ground and precedent for interdenominational and evangelistic activity. Its impact upon societies and institutions, as on people, is difficult to assess without prior assumptions as to its importance. The special week of united prayer, which after 1860 was held every year under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance, was one obvious fruit, growing in immediate response to a call from missionaries in Ludhiana, India, where revival had also reached. But to trace the Mildmay Conference and Deaconesses from this Awakening merely on the strength of Pennefather's active interest in revival seems rather a stretch of the imagination; and the link between 1859 and the Keswick Movement seems similarly tenuous(3). Boardman's book, The Higher Christian Life, was published in America at the height

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1. Record, 8 August 1873.

2. J.E.Orr, op.cit., 269.

3. See J.E.Orr, op.cit., 218.

of the revival, and gained immediate popularity there, but I do not think its influence was really felt in England until about ten years later. On the other hand, there was a close personal link between revivalism and perfectionism both in America and in England. I think it would be truer to say that those Evangelicals who were active in the 1859 Revival were largely people who were open to any new means of evangelism, and also, in some cases, to the later influence of perfectionism. The extent to which the one led on to the other depended on the individual.

The advent of Moody and Sankey in 1873 brought revivalism to England on the scale of big business, and began a new era in the techniques of mass-evangelism both here and in the United States. Moody had visited England before, in 1867, 1870 and 1872; and so impressed William Pennefather on the last occasion as to lead him to write inviting Moody to return. Pennefather had died, however, by the time Moody and Sankey arrived at Liverpool on 17 June 1873; and a lack of communications meant that, instead of the organized tour Moody seems to have imagined, the two evangelists began work at York with almost no notice(1). Apart from George Bennett, secretary of the Y.M.C.A. at York, their chief supporter there was the Baptist minister Rev. F.B.Meyer, a later Keswick leader. Support from clergy and ministers was small.

After five weeks of meetings, in the Corn Exchange, Congregational, Baptist and Wesleyan chapels, to limited congregations, Moody and Sankey moved to Sunderland at the invitation of another Baptist minister, the

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1. J.Pollock, Moody without Sankey (London, 1966), 97-8.

Rev. A.R.Rees. Here Moody insisted on holding the meetings in the Victoria Hall to avoid sectarian divisions, though overflow meetings were arranged in some Nonconformist chapels. The results were still not encouraging; but in the campaign in Newcastle which followed Moody and Sankey gained the support of most Dissenting ministers. At a united service in one Methodist Church, the Chairman of the District officiated, two Presbyterian ministers distributed the elements, a Congregationalist minister led in prayer, and the congregation apparently included several Anglicans(1). The clergy of the Church of England still held aloof. But the Christian, which, itself a fruit of the earlier revival, had supported Moody from the start, pronounced a deep and lasting blessing to be at hand(2).

The real turning point came with the campaign in Scotland. On 22 November 1873, Moody and Sankey began work in Edinburgh, where they had been invited by a Free Church minister, the Rev. John Kelman. Here evangelical ministers of all denominations seized on the opportunity to unite in defence of ' the very essentials of the faith' against scepticism and indifference(3). During the eight weeks' campaign the leading clergy of Edinburgh gradually gave their support to the movement, and they were joined by prominent laymen such as Lord Polwarth (another Keswick man in later years) and Arthur Kinnaird. Meetings were held in the Assembly Hall and in churches, all highly publicized and drawing packed congregations. About 2,000 were reported every night(4). The

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1. P.B.Morgan, "A study of the work of American Revivalists in Britain from 1870-1914, and of the effects upon organized Christianity of their work there" (B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1961), 61.
2. Christian, 27 November 1873.
3. W.G.McLoughlin, op.cit., 190ff.
4. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland (New York, 1875), 12.

religious press caught up the tale and spread it to the rest of Britain. By January 1874, the Record was publishing reports of Moody's progress in Scotland. The enthusiasm and interest aroused brought in requests for Moody's services from all over the country; and a special week of prayer was held for revival in Scotland. In January Moody and Sankey moved to Berwick-on-Tweed, and in February to Glasgow, where they repeated their success. In May they began a tour of Scotland, and in September crossed to Ireland for a similar campaign. By the end of November they were back in England, where they visited Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham and Liverpool before beginning the great London mission, which was to be the climax of the revival, in March 1875.

Nothing succeeds like success, and the reports of large scale conversions and religious fervour which preceded Moody on his journeys played an important part in the welcome he received in England. The emphasis, in the Christian and other papers, on the absence of excitement and the orthodoxy of the movement, softened prejudice(1); and the ground was better prepared for revival than in 1859. Special services and missions had become increasingly common; the use of extraordinary evangelistic agencies had achieved a certain respectability; and the revivalist style of preaching was becoming well known, if not always admired(2). In London a Conference of Christian Workers met every quarter, including leading evangelists such as Lord Radstock, William Hay Aitken, Reginald Radcliffe, Stevenson Blackwood, who received financial aid from the same Evangelicals - Shaftesbury, Kinnaird and

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1. Christian, 29 January 1874.

2. E.Hodder, op.cit., III, 354.

others - who helped finance Moody's campaigns(1).

Times too had changed, and difficulties increased. The Reform Act of 1867 had highlighted the problem of the indifferent masses; and the legislation of the next few years increased the fears of the Establishment. With gestures like the Temple appointment the position of rationalism within the Church was affirmed. And 1874 was the year of the Public Worship Regulation Act, when feelings against ritualism were at their strongest and most widespread. It was a year of frenzied activity; of Church missions and perfectionist conferences, of a Nonconformist Revolt and 13 working class candidates at the general election. At a time like this, felt Lord Shaftesbury, "It looks amazingly like the 'right man in the right hour'"(2).

Moody would visit no town without an invitation and the assurance of support from the local ministerial and lay leadership in the churches, and he came to insist that the different denominations should unite in the work. The early campaigns in York, Sunderland and Newcastle had shown these things to be of crucial importance. Hence one main concern was to appeal to the conservative forces in the churches, and to avoid identifying himself with any one sect. He preached a traditional conservative theology which appealed to all orthodox evangelicals. Much of what Moody said was designed to sell revivalism, and to assert its respectability - as in one famous sermon on the shepherds.

> "Hark! hear those shepherds talking to one another after the angels had gone away. They believed the

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1. W.G.McLoughlin, op.cit., 183-4.

2. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 25 March 1875.

> message, and they were full of joy. They said 'Let us go and see what has taken place'. And what was the message that the angels brought to those shepherds? 'Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour.' Now, if those shepherds had been like a good many people at the present time, they would have said, 'We do not believe it is good news. Do not believe it. It is all excitement. Those angels want to get up a revival. Those angels are trying to excite us. Don't you believe them!..'"(1).

In his addresses, Moody often played down the professionalism of his work, and maintained the emphasis of English evangelicals on revival as, in the final instance, a gift of God.

> "I have received letters from a great many, and the thing that I have to fear most in coming to London is that many might be leaning upon man or upon the arm of flesh, or upon the great meetings, and get their eyes off from the Lord. Now if there is going to be a work in London, God must do the work. It is not any new Gospel that London wants; it is not any new power. It is the same old power, the power of the Holy Ghost, and it is the same old story - nothing new"(2).

But in practice revivalism, in these months, developed into a

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1. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, Supplementary Issue, 94.
2. Ibid., Supplementary Issue, 62.

highly organized machine. Long preparations were necessary before the actual arrival of Moody and Sankey in any place. This happened before the Edinburgh mission, and at the other centres in Scotland and Ireland. In Manchester the preparatory work started in April 1874, when united evangelistic services began in almost all the Nonconformist chapels. Though attempts were made to include them, Anglican clergy were reluctant to support the movement. On 4 December, however, five days after the start of the mission, Moody issued a circular to the clergy of Manchester and Salford, appealing for their aid; and after this they seem to have joined heartily in the work(1). In Sheffield, after early enthusiasm, the five Anglican clergy withdrew from the committee in a body over a disagreement over the organization for Moody's visit. The proposal to visit every house with leaflets seemed to interfere with the parochial system. But when Moody reacted by refusing to come to Sheffield, they returned to the committee and worked energetically with the Nonconformists - having won their point, for the scheme of an organized visitation was abandoned(2). Stock claims that the clergy of Liverpool, though mostly Evangelical, tended to stand aloof from the movement there(3). But the invitation to Liverpool had been issued in November 1874 by 86 clergymen and ministers, and the press reports suggest that the clergy were co-operating with the Dissenters. William Hay Aitken, who was at this time incumbent of Christ Church Everton, was active in the meetings both here and in the Manchester mission. So

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1. Ibid., 96-109; P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 76-9.
2. Narrative of Messrs, Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, 110-11; W.H.Daniels, D.L.Moody and his Work (London, 1875), 336.
3. E.Stock, My Recollections, 186.

was the lay evangelist Reginald Radcliffe.

It was the latter who was largely responsible for the house to house visitation which was an important part of the preparations in most places, and which continued during and after the missions. In Manchester this was conceived partly as a means of consolidating the gains of revivalism by setting early converts to work. At a meeting of 3,000 young men on December 6, Radcliffe proposed to divide Manchester into districts, with two or three to visit every house in each area; and by the time Moody and Sankey left the city, the scheme was reported to be working well(1). In Liverpool a similar effort was made to visit every house simultaneously with the revival meetings. Here the parochial difficulty was evaded by appointing only laymen as superintendants, to be recommended by the clergy and Nonconformist ministers(2). In North London, the Rev. R.C.Billing planned an intensive visitation scheme in preparation for Moody's visit; and this developed into an important follow-up at the end of the campaign, when, within a few months, 2,000 visits were made to those who had professed conversion. Radcliffe hoped to organize a mass visitation of the whole of London during the mission, and by March 25 he had found 300 superintendants. But 800 were needed, and some 16,000 visitors, to do the work properly; and at the end of April Moody was still appealing for volunteers. The visits never spread much further than the West End(3).

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1. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, 102-106.
2. Christian, 18 February, 18 March 1875.
3. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 140-1, 163, 185; Christian, 25 March 1875.

Prayer, the 'mightiest weapon of the Church militant'(1), was an important means of consolidating support, as well as of supplication to God. In a letter to the Christian, Moody appealed for noon prayer meetings to be established all over the country, and these were praying for an awakening in London for months before the campaign there began. In London itself, representatives of the chief meetings already in existence formed a united committee to begin a Central Noon Prayer Meeting in a building in Moorgate Street. They included Spurgeon, William Booth, and Anglicans like Mr. H.F.Bowker, who became a prominent Keswick man. It was this committee which issued the formal invitation to Moody and Sankey to come to London(2). The noon prayer meetings, like the visitations, continued throughout the mission in each place, and formed a strong backing to it. They were attended for the most part by businessmen; between two and three thousand in Manchester and the same number in Birmingham Town Hall. The Liverpool meetings secured congregations of four to five thousand. Though very popular in the West End of London, they never attracted more than 1,500 in the East End, where most people had no lunch hour(3).

On 1 December 1874, about three hundred ministers of London met in Cannon Street Hotel to hear of the revival in Scotland and Ireland. Edward Auriol opened the meeting with prayer. The Rev. C.D.Marston's resolution that existing prayer-meetings should be encouraged and new ones established was accepted unanimously, as was a motion welcoming Moody and Sankey to London. Donald Fraser moved the third resolution.

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1. John Macpherson, Revival and Revival Work (London, 1876), 117.
2. W.H.Daniels, op.cit., 353-4; Christian, 1 October 1874.
3. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 107, 195, 209; Narrative of Messrs.Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, 97-8, Supplementary Issue, 4.

> "Under a sense of the solemn responsibility devolving upon the Lord's people at this time of large realised and expected blessing, to unite with one heart in the great work entrusted to them, the ministers and other Christian friends now present feel that no minor differences should be allowed to hinder them, and therefore resolve harmoniously to help each other on all suitable occasions in the work of the Lord"(1).

The Revival, in London as elsewhere, was to be strictly nondenominational. In fact, its effectiveness as a stimulus to Christian union in action, all over the country, was for many its most important achievement. For large-scale success, co-operation was essential. Did this mean that denominationalism would no longer work?

The Evangelical party were, on the whole, active in their support. The Record held out a friendly, if cautious, welcome to Moody and Sankey, and at the Islington Clerical Conference in January, Daniel Wilson said he anticipated great results from their coming(2). A secretary was appointed for each of the four quarters of London, to take charge of the publicity and management. On January 25 a meeting of nearly a hundred ministers of various denominations in the East End appointed Joseph Bardsley, Rector of Stepney, as permanent chairman of the local committee(3). The Rev. R.C.Billing chaired the North London committee and threw himself tirelessly into the work of organization, though with little support from his fellow clergy(4). Lord Shaftesbury would readily

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1. Record, 2 December 1874; Christian, 10 December 1874.
2. Record, 11, 22 January, 10 February 1875.
3. Record, 29 January 1875.
4. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 161.

have helped, had he only been asked.

> "Sunday. Moody and Sankey begin today. May the blessing of God rest upon their efforts and awaken many Souls - for this is the needful point - to the sense of Sin!
>
> I have received no invitation to join them on their Committees - or to give any aid, or express any sympathy. Simply and solely, I have had from the Central Comm: a circular asking for money, which I gave - small, no doubt, but according to my means - furious proceedings are astir; but I hear of them, only by secondary, or tertiary, channels..."(1).

Moody had visited London before going to Manchester, and again in February, to make arrangements for the mission(2). On March 9, 1875, Moody and Sankey began work in the Agricultural Hall, in North London, with a crowded evening meeting. Their first noonday prayer meeting on the Wednesday, in Exeter Hall, was similarly packed. After the first month it was estimated that about 350,000 people had attended meetings in the Agricultural Hall, giving perhaps 200,000 separate individuals if allowance was made for frequent attenders. The original intention had been to spend one month in each of the four centres, but in the event simultaneous services were held daily in all. Moody and Sankey left North London after five weeks, and moved to a newly constructed Bow Road Hall in the East End. For most of April, their labours were divided almost equally between the East and West Ends, whilst still returning two evenings a week to St. Mary's Hall(3). Shaftesbury felt

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 28 February 1875.
2. Record, 30 November 1874, 12 February 1875.
3. Record, 10, 12 March, 26 May 1875; Narrative of Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, Supplementary Issue, 24, 36; W.G.McLoughlin, op.cit., 196.

Moody was reluctant to face the upper crust.

> "April 7 .... This morning at 10 o'c. to meet Moody in conference at Opera House. He protests against 'small audiences'. Five thousand are nothing. He must cleave to the 20,000 of the Agric: Hall, and give the scraps and leavings of his time and energy to the W. and W.C. districts of London. He was very determined, and down to the time of my quitting the room, had refused to abate his resolution.
>
> Misgivings, I confess, arose in my mind. He loves the excitement of multitudes; he fears the coldness, and, perhaps, sneering refinement of the classes at the W.End"(1).

At all events, such fears proved unfounded, and Moody gained an unexpected popularity among the upper classes. The 60 meetings held at the Opera House during the London mission drew an aggregate audience of 330,000 people; and in the end it was only by an injunction against the services there that Moody was driven away(2). In South London, Moody spoke first at the Victoria Hall and then at the specially constructed Camberwell Green Hall, with a total attendance of about 880,000 at 105 meetings(3).

The mission in London followed much the same pattern as had been established elsewhere. Early services for Christian workers were held at eight o'clock on Sunday mornings - about 16,000 were reported present at that on March 21(4). There were numerous special meetings for particular

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 7 April 1875.
2. Record, 23 April 1875; Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 3 June 1875.
3. W.R.Moody, The Life of Dwight L.Moody (London, n.d.), 225.
4. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, Supplementary Issue, 22.

classes of people; the most important being the evening meetings for young men. Henry Drummond had led these at Liverpool, and this special work among young men was perhaps the most outstanding aspect of the mission there. After staying on at Liverpool until April 4, he followed Moody and Sankey to London, where he took charge of the young men's meetings in St.Mary's Hall; though apparently drawing smaller numbers than was expected(1). Most important were the noon-day prayer meetings, already mentioned; the Bible lectures at 3p.m., consisting of the exposition of a series of texts relating to one central theme, which were especially popular in the West End; and the main evening meetings,

Much attention focused on the after-meetings, or inquiry meetings, Moody's gentler version of the 'anxious seat' which Finney had employed in his evangelism. Those who were anxious for their souls were exhorted to come to the inquiry room after the main service, where Moody generally read a Bible passage about salvation, and after a short exposition and prayer he and his co-workers moved round speaking individually to each person. In some ways this was a spiritual browbeating, with numerous texts produced to press home a truth until the sinner was forced to acknowledge it. At Newcastle it was reported that

> "Mr. Moody speaks to the inquirers with an open Bible in his hands, fixing them down to the Word of God, and anchoring their souls on the living rock of the Holy Scriptures. He also gets them to their knees in prayer; and I have seen them rising from his side by twos and threes, wiping their weeping eyes, and smiling through

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1. Ibid., Supplementary Issue, 37; P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 124, 176.

their tears, confessing Christ"(1).

The after-meeting was not unknown in England, being already in use in local missions, but as with other aspects of Moody's revivalism, the scale and publicity brought niggling doubts bubbling to the surface, and made it the centre of controversy. The Record gave a favourable report of such a meeting after a service for women only on March 21, 1875, where everything was done 'decently and in order', with 'a complete absence of excitement'(2). But the paper's correspondence showed that the Evangelical party were as divided on the subject as were other schools. The Rev. H.E.Fox supported them; others felt that there was not enough supervision. One difficulty was the enormous number of people to be dealt with. St. Mary's Hall was used for the inquiry meetings in North London, and on one occasion Moody had to address two hundred together, instead of speaking individually to each. After he had one night invited all the Christians present to come and advise enquirers, the committee began to insist that a letter of recommendation be required of those wishing to work in the inquiry room(3). Before Moody moved to the new hall in Camberwell Park, the South London Committee asked him to refrain from giving general invitations to Christians to aid in the after-meetings, and agreed that they themselves should take full charge of the inquiry room(4).

In May 1875, the Archbishop of Canterbury published a letter on Moody and Sankey, expressing the deep interest which all bishops and parochial clergy felt in the movement, and praying that it might be

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1. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, 14.
2. Record, 22 March 1875.
3. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 174.
4. Record, 7 June 1875.

blessed. At the same time he made it clear that no official sanction could be given, and explained that he was apprehensive about such aspects as the after-meetings, where souls were ministered to by persons not authorized by the Church(1). This was the nearest the Church of England came to expressing an official attitude; and the Congregational apostle, Dale, felt that it was a great piece of presumption(2). Both the Record and the Guardian, however, gave their ready approval to the cautious but favourable tone of the letter(3). Most religious groups by now agreed, with the Christian Observer, that God had "visibly owned and blessed" the work of Moody and Sankey(4), Though their attempt to invade the sanctum of Eton caused an uproar in High Church circles and a protest in the House of Lords from Lords Bath and Lyttelton(5).

On all sides the human element was played down, and revival claimed as a free and spontaneous work of God. Evangelical Christendom had been inclined at first to regard Moody's presence as little more than a coincidence, in an eagerness to assign the credit correctly.

> "Our American brethren from Chicago (Messrs. Moody and Sankey) have, as is known, taken the direction of this great movement, but their visit to the north was preceded by a spirit of prayer in almost all the churches, and the

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1. Record, 24 May 1875.
2. R.W.Dale, The Day of Salvation (London, 1875), 9.
3. Record, 28 May 1875; Guardian, 2 June 1875.
4. Christian Observer, June 1875.
5. Record, 23, 25 June 1875; Times, 22 June 1875; P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 144-6.

expectation of a special blessing from on high"(1).

This was rather to misread the nature of the preparations for Moody's visit to Scotland, however. As in 1859, independent local stirrings were reported in places like Cornwall; and the Church mission at Leeds in January 1875 was described as the greatest success of William Hay Aitken's career(2). But these were quite separate events.The main line of revivalist excitement centred unmistakeably on the movements of Moody and Sankey themselves.

Nor could the intensive organization of the revival, important as it was in their success, detract entirely from their personal achievement. Moody received increasing official support only as events seemed increasingly to prove him 'the right man'. It was Sankey's simple but effective songs and Moody's preaching which first broke the ice in the north of England. And Moody's personality and reputation - the latter increasingly as time went on -was a major attraction. In Edinburgh, in spite of publicity and preparation, Radcliffe proved unsuccessful, and had to be replaced as an assistant by more 'winsome' Scottish pastors(3). In London, when St. Mary's Hall was left in the charge of Mr. W.Taylor from California, attendances dropped from 12,000 to less than 2,000; rising the second week, with Aitken preaching, to between five and six thousand. Similarly at Bow Road Hall, Aitken could often secure no more than 2,000, and when Moody was succeeded by Howie, a Scottish minister, the congregations melted away. At the Haymarket, the meetings led by Stevenson Blackwood and the Presbyterian

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1. Evangelical Christendom, February 1874.

2. Christian, 12 March 1874; C.E.Woods, op.cit., 136.

3. W.G.McLoughlin, op.cit., 194-5.

Dr. Fraser drew about 1,500; until on May 1 Moody appealed to the audience to bring people in. From then on the hall was filled, under the supervision now of Hay Aitken(1). These figures in themselves, incidently, cast some doubt on the extensive claims made for the revival.

Evangelical leaders felt at a loss to account for the striking success of Moody's simple preaching. Shaftesbury recorded his impressions after first hearing him, on Good Friday 1875.

> "The Music was the voice of one Singer; the air, the simplest possible; the words adapted to the poorest, and least taught, mind - And yet it went to the inmost Soul, and seemed to empty it of everything, but the thought of the good, tender, and lowly, Shepherd. The instrument was no more than an Accordian; and the Singer and the Performer were the same.
>
> The Preacher was clad in ordinary Dress - his language was colloquial, free, easy, and like common talk. The voice is bad, and ill-managed - he abounds in illustrations - and most effective ones - in stories, anecdotes, very appropriate, oftentimes bordering on the 'humorous', almost to the extent of provoking a laugh!- There is volubility, but no eloquence. There is nothing, in short, to win - externally, at least, perhaps something to repel, even those who might not be unfavourably disposed.

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1. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, Supplementary Issue, 36; P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 191, 207.

> And yet, the result is striking, effective, touching, and leading to much thought. St.Paul said of himself as a speaker, 'his bodily presence is weak, & his speech contemptible'. It was the statement, at least, of his enemies. Nevertheless, the seventeenth, and the twentieth, of Acts, show what issues the Holy Spirit can work out of feeble materials. Is it not so here?....
>
> Of secondary causes, cannot but attribute a vast deal of his manifest conviction - it impresses the Auditory - & his intense earnestness - they go along with him- the simplicity of his message - Christ crucified - the evident fact that he has no special Church purposes, nor on the surface, at least, any interested considerations... Yet how account for the effect on every station & degree? Workpeople, Shopkeepers, Merchants, Lawyers, Clergy and Laity alike confess the power, and cannot explain it.
>
> I agree with Nicodemus; 'if this thing be of man, it will soon come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot fight against it'...."(1).

By focusing attention on the simplicity and lack of learning of the two revivalists, English Evangelicals were able to avoid admitting that revivalism had become a matter of big business. Ignoring the vast organization, the Record of 28 April 1875 reviewed the personal gifts of Moody and Sankey, and after concluding that these, of themselves, were inadequate to produce so great an effect, announced that,

> "Having thus exhausted the list of known human causes,

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 31 March 1875.

> we are thrown back of necessity on those which are not human. We believe that the success of the work is to be attributed to the special blessing of God. Speaking on such a subject with the deepest reverence as those who are only capable of looking to the outskirts of the Divine will, we ask whether it may not be the Divine purpose to vindicate in this matter his own sovereignty of operation, inasmuch as He works to save souls when and where and how He will, and by no means according to those methods or by those instruments which human wisdom would consider the best adapted to the end. It is no new thing in his work that He should place the treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of himself".

John Macpherson summed up the evangelical attitude to revival:

> "'The wind bloweth where it listeth'. The breath of the Eternal is gloriously sovereign and free. The work is His; His in its purpose, its beginning, its progress and its outcome"(1).

The London mission came to an end on Sunday 11 July, 1875; and on Monday afternoon a farewell meeting was held at Mildmay. Among the ministers present were 188 Anglican clergymen, 154 Congregationalists, 85 Baptists, 81 Wesleyans, 39 Presbyterians, 7 Primitive Methodists and 3 Plymouth Brethren(2). The figures were typical of the

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1. J.Macpherson, Revival and Revival Work (London, 1876), 58.
2. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, Supplementary Issue, 44.

interdenominational activity and co-operation which had characterised the revival as a whole, and which was claimed as one of its chief fruits. This had been partly at Moody's insistence; partly a spontaneous development. Dr.A.A.Bonar described what had happened in Glasgow.

> "If you want a man to believe, it is about one of the worst ways you could take to talk about faith. Speak about the object of faith. So we never talked about union; to talk about union is not the way to bring it about. We talked about Him who unites us all. We found ministers of all denominations that hold the Head, meeting together in union, and from that day to this we have worked in perfect harmony, asking no questions(1).

This statement is very significant in reflecting both the kind of Christian unity which was encouraged by revivalism, and the attitude, of Moody himself and of Evangelicals generally, to unity. No one showed any great desire to unite the churches: all rejoiced that the revival had cut through denominational barriers. Revival was one important way in which the Evangelical party in the Church of England opposed ecumenicalism with nondenominationalism.

Accounts were given of the results of the revival, insofar as they could as yet be ascertained. Billing rejoiced that hundreds had been added to the Church, and more were being added daily. Lord Shaftesbury read letters telling of the enormous appetite for religious tracts which had been created among the poorest and most wretched of Manchester and Sheffield. All endorsed his view that Moody and Sankey had "conferred an inestimable blessing on Great Britain"(2).

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1. Ibid., Supplementary Issue, 59.

2. Record, 14 July 1875.

The extent of this blessing, like that of 1859, has been questioned; notably by W.G.McLoughlin, who argues that the gains in church membership were minimal. In Scotland, where Moody achieved his greatest successes, the population increased by 11.2% between 1873 and 1883; the communicants of the United Presbyterian Church increased by 4.7%; of the Established Church of Scotland, the least favourable to Moody, by 18.1%; the Free Church by 9.3%(1). The estimated number of converts during the four months' campaign in London varied between 3,000 and 7,000(2). In Sheffield only 600 gave their names as having received Christ; in Birmingham 2,000 applied for tickets to a special converts' meeting, of whom 1,400 claimed to have been converted and 600 were still seeking. A Methodist minister of Sunderland wrote to the Christian in 1881 that the returns of the Methodist bodies showed a large increase in 1876-7; of 24,227 in the Wesleyan Church, 11,298 in the Primitive Methodist, 4,345 in the United Methodist, and 9,595 in the Welsh Calvinist Methodist Churches. In the absence of full information any attempt at a statistical assessment of results is impossible. P.B.Morgan, in his thesis on the subject, concludes that they are known only to God(3).

One important feature which does emerge is that the revival affected primarily people who were already churchgoers, rather than the great mass of the alienated working classes at whom it was aimed. Viewing the matter optimistically,

"Mr. Moody, after an extensive experience in this country,

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1. W.G.McLoughlin, op.cit., 200-1.

2. Ibid., 263

3. P.B.Morgan, op. cit., 100, 108, 492, 497-8.

> declared that by far the most abundant and satisfactory fruits were gathered in connection with the ministry of faithful pastors. The hard, anxious toil of winter, spring and summer was past, and when the harvest with its whitened fields was come, the two trusty reapers appeared"(1).

(It should be noted at this point that the distinction between upper and lower classes and that between churchgoing and nonchurchgoing were very generally regarded as synonymous.) In Edinburgh, while some pointed to a considerable number of sceptics, and a great variety of class, in the inquiry rooms, others judged from their well-marked Bibles that most inquirers were probably Christians who did not like to commit themselves by claiming to be saved(2). The Christian had already noticed that in Newcastle the working men and the upper classes had hardly been reached, though wealthy merchants flocked to the afternoon services in the Assembly Rooms. Here the Tyne Theatre was engaged two Sunday evenings for working men only, in an attempt to reach them(3). In Glasgow, tickets to the meetings were distributed by the ministers in each district, and a preference given, in some cases, to the nonchurchgoing, but still a fair proportion of the young men at the converts' meeting, according to the Daily Mail, were middle class(4). Special services for nonchurchgoers were held in connection with the Liverpool mission, but apparently without much success(5).

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1. J.Macpherson, op.cit., 57-8.
2. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, 17-18.
3. Christian, 6 November 1873.
4. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, 48-9.
5. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 120.

One paper blamed the Christians.

> "Our great hinderers in this are the Christian lookers-on and curiously inclined; they feel an interest in the fight with the powers of darkness, but, from various motives, do not help. Such will persist in filling up the benches, to the exclusion of the hundreds who ought to be brought in....Mr. Moody and others have spoken from the platform about it, and tried to stir up the conscience, but in vain. They are almost worse than Meroz; for they not only do not help, but they hinder.
>
> The house-to-house visitors report that the very poor, those to whom every hour is daily bread, say that it is no use going to the hall; they cannot get in; and they cannot afford to leave work at five o'clock, and wait two or three hours for the meeting, which those who have no employment do, to get the seats with backs. Christians had much better be holding prayer-meetings elsewhere, for the Spirit's power on the work, than keeping out those who do not know the truth, but would come to hear it"(1).

It was not always lack of opportunity however. The attendance of the working classes in the East End of London was comparatively low - extremely so, as we have seen, when Moody and Sankey were absent - though Thomas Richardson, Rector of St. Benet's Stepney, claimed that two out of three in his parish had attended the Bow Road

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1. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, Supplementary Issue, 7.

Hall services(1). The Record confessed, towards the end of April 1875, that Moody and Sankey had not touched the deep mass of practical heathenism of the lower classes; the movement had begun with the church and chapel goers of the lower middle classes, and spread to the upper ranks(2).

This was so generally true, in fact, that Evangelicals forgot the exact nature of their original missionary intentions. W.R.Moody, with the wisdom of hindsight, wrote that from the outset his father's mission had been directed towards Christians(3). In March 1875, Moody told his audience at the Agricultural Hall that he

> "..would rather wake up a slumbering church than a slumbering world. The man who does most good in the world is not he who works himself, but he who sets others to work"(4).

Towards the end of May, the Christian observed that

> "It has been chiefly a work amongst the Lord's own people, those who were longing for 'times of refreshing... from the presence of the Lord'. The Church as a whole has been quickened, revived, energized; the joy of her salvation has been restored to her, and in that fact lies, in my opinion, the chief hope for the irreligious masses of the East-end and elsewhere".

A noble army of revived Christians, working individually, each the

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1. Record, 14 July 1875.
2. Record, 28 April 1875.
3. W.R.Moody, The Life of Dwight L.Moody (London, n.d.), 207.
4. Christian, 1 April 1875.

living centre of a little band, could reach the masses far more effectively than could any great meetings(1). It was a kind of indirect evangelism. John Macpherson, chronicling the labours of Moody and Sankey for the Christian, saw this as the main function of revival.

> "We do not find fault with the blacksmith because, instead of going down into the mine, he spends his strength in sharpening the miner's tools. Nay, the blacksmith goes down into the mine and works in every tool he has sharpened"(2).

Andrew Bonar, speaking at the farewell meeting at Mildmay, said that it would have been a great mistake if Moody and Sankey had gone straight to the lowest classes in Glasgow. Once'God's people' had been 'greatly stirred up', then the work among the masses began. Breakfast was given, and the Word preached, to 2,000 'outcasts' on the Green every Sunday morning; and morning, afternoon and evening meetings were held, the latter drawing over 3,000 of the poorest classes. Then there were meetings during the week, and smaller works all over the city(3). In Edinburgh the Christian had reported the large number of fashionable ladies and gentlemen coming forward to work in cottage meetings, prison visiting etc., as a result of Moody's campaign(4).

This aspect of the revival was emphasised in the conventions for ministers and Christian workers, which became the usual way of rounding off Moody's visits to each town. At Dublin, Moody closed with a three

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1. Christian, 27 May 1875.
2. J.Macpherson, op.cit., 294.
3. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, Supplementary Issue, 60.
4. Christian, 29 January 1874.

day convention, attracting 800 ministers from all parts of Ireland, and thousands of others besides. The first day was devoted to praise and thanksgiving, and a discussion on how to reach the masses(1). A convention was held on the last day of the Liverpool mission, at which a British Working Men's Company was formed to provide a non-alcoholic alternative to public houses for the dock labourers. The fund was placed in the charge of the reluctant Charles Garrett, a Methodist minister who was due to leave Liverpool(2). At London a two-day convention, on May 5-6, discussed various aspects of revivalism. Richardson urged that young converts be set to work in Sunday Schools, district visiting etc., and on the subject of reaching the masses Radcliffe stressed the importance of caring for their bodily needs. Moody gave what was now his stock line on the question; that it was hardly time to speak of the masses until the Church had been reached and quickened(3).

Moody and Sankey left England in August 1875, and Evangelical Christendom reported that they had left behind them a hive of Christian activity. Organizations were being formed, services arranged, house-to-house visitations(4). In most places meetings had been carried on by others after Moody had left; those in the Victoria Hall, Liverpool continued for several months; and we have seen something of the way in which visiting became an important follow-up to revival. The extent to which the central committees continued the work varied with the area. In Sheffield, Moody had urged that a central building be built on

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1. Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, 95.
2. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 120-2.
3. Christian, 13 May 1875.
4. Evangelical Christendom, August 1875.

neutral ground, and a number of prominent laymen were nominated to take charge of the task. In Birmingham there was little in the way of a centrally organized follow-up; nor in North London, though Billing invited a hundred of those who had acted as stewards to supper for prayer and conference. But by 1881, the new Working Men's Company at Liverpool had established 40 refreshment rooms and 6 cafés; and the mission there seems to have stimulated a free breakfast movement for the poor, a number of Strangers' Rests for Seamen, and a new Y.M.C.A. building(1). Moody encouraged the extension of the Y.M.C.A. everywhere he went, in fact. His appeal in Manchester led to a collection of £1800 for a building fund(2). The Association had been launched in 1844, and received a certain impetus already in the 1859-61 Revival.

But apart from the Y.M.C.A., which he directly sponsored, one is faced with a similar difficulty in assessing Moody's influence on institutions as with the earlier revival. The much greater extent to which he was officially supported makes it more plausible to give him credit for a generally heightened religious activity. On the other hand, these few years saw a great outburst of energy in the religious world which cannot entirely be attributed to Moody's revival. These were the great years, for instance, of Pearsall Smithism and the perfectionist conventions, which, whilst embracing many of the same people, were almost entirely unconnected with Moody's movement. Local missions were already well-known, but it was Moody's encouragement, to a great extent, and the experience he had gained working with the Americans, which led William Hay Aitken to give up his parish to become a full-time evangelist - though he would never have done so had not domestic reasons made it

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1. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 99, 110, 129, 178.

2. W.R.Moody, op.cit., 193.

necessary to leave Liverpool(1).

It was in this experience which Evangelicals gained in organization, and in a professional type of revivalism, that much of the effect of Moody's visit is seen. Looking back in November 1878, the Rock felt that the revivalists had not brought any great additions to the churches, but they had had an important quickening effect, and they had revived the work of an evangelist as a prime feature in the Church's ministry(2). They had made respectable professional evangelism, of the kind which had already, to a degree, appeared in England, and which in America had long since become part of the regular church machinery.

In 1881, Moody and Sankey were back in Britain, beginning as before in the North of England, this time at Newcastle, and going on from there to Edinburgh and then to Glasgow. The winter of 1882 was spent in an extensive tour of southern England, a trip to Ireland, and missions in the large towns of the Midlands, and up as far as Leeds. After spending summer in America, the two evangelists visited Ireland again before beginning an eight months' campaign in London.

Revivalism, especially that of Moody and Sankey, was by now an accepted form of evangelism, and there were not the same difficulties to be faced in winning the support of church leaders. The Newcastle Daily Chronicle remarked that

"As a preacher, Mr.Moody may truly claim that the world

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1. C.E.Woods, Memoirs and Letters of Canon Hay Aitken (London, 1928), 145-6; Narrative of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Labors in Great Britain and Ireland, Supplementary Issue, 52.
2. Rock, 8 November 1878.

> is his parish. None of his hearers seem to discover any sectarian bias in his teaching, and he commends the Church Universal to the thousands who flock to his ministrations, without partiality and without offence to its component parts. The earlier evangelists of Wesley's era were often pelted by mobs, and persecuted by the clergy and their adherents; but Messrs. Moody and Sankey are, on the contrary, revered by the multitude and countenanced by the clergy. The Vicar of Newcastle has not disdained to attend the services, and on the platform at the Circus are to be found ministers of all Denominations"(1).

At Liverpool, Ryle gave them his hearty support, and at the Christian convention on 26 April he praised God for Moody's simple declaration of Gospel truth. The Record felt that

> "For his Lordship to have been absent on such an occasion... would... have been an official demonstration of apathy, on the part of the Church of England in Liverpool, in a department of work where her highest and her humblest efforts and even interests combine, by an imperative necessity, to arouse her most ardent sympathy"(2).

This was evidently not the feeling in London, however. A suggestion at the Diocesan Conference in February 1883, that the Bishop send a letter of welcome to Moody and Sankey, though receiving a hearty response, clearly 'could not be adopted'(3). Thorold, predictably, sent

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1. Quoted in the Christian, 10 November 1881.
2. Record, 4 May 1883.
3. Rock, 16 February 1883.

a warm letter to the Rev. J.W.Marshall before the London mission, commending Moody and his work(1).

As in the earlier visit, the arrangements for Moody's campaign drew together men of different denominations. At Birmingham Moody remarked that the spirit of co-operation seemed greater than before, for it was less self-conscious and condescending(2). Three hundred ministers signed the invitation to Moody and Sankey to come to London, of whom 68 were Church of England, 59 Congregationalist, 56 Baptist, 46 Wesleyan, 28 Presbyterian, 12 Primitive Methodist and 8 United Free Methodist(3). There were difficulties, as before. Brooke Lambert wanted to join the special follow-up planned at New Cross, but some of his colleagues objected, so he withdrew, leaving a united Nonconformist effort instead(4). At Addison Road, an attempt to secure a mission church for men's testimony meetings was squashed by the Bishop's insistence that a clergyman officiate and a Church service be held(5). Such incidents were the exception, however. The Christian was moved to comment on the divergence between sectarianism and religious fervour.

> "Denominationalism, as such, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. If it can be infused with new life, and be directed successfully against the powers of ignorance, vice, and unbelief which exist, we have no wish to withstand or hinder its progress; but, as it is,

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1. Record, 2 November 1883.
2. Christian, 15 February 1883.
3. Christian, 29 November 1883.
4. Christian, 13 March 1884.
5. Christian, 3 April 1884.

> it fails to do the work the Lord requires to be done. On all sides the spirit and action of modern evangelistic Missions, animated by pure and single-eyed devotion to Christ, as the Saviour of men, are essential, and must be increasingly developed"(1).

A large committee headed by Hugh Matheson took responsibility for the London campaign, and in April 1883 a much smaller committee of selection was appointed to form a band of trained workers for the after-meetings. House-to-house visitation, as usual, preceded the arrival of Moody and Sankey. Under the overall direction of Kitto, Rector of Stepney, 20,000 dwellings were reached in East London(2). Two temporary buildings were used on this occasion, and moved around London to allow for ten short missions in different centres. This was one possible way of securing the attendance of all classes.

For this visit saw a renewed effort on the part of Moody and his helpers to reach out to the unevangelized masses which somewhat belied their earlier stated aims of reviving first the Church, and through the Church the world. The Rock felt that

> "For this, their second visit, we should wish not so much noisy notoriety as sober and well-considered plans for reaching the unevangelized masses"(3).

In London, professing Christians were urged to come only to the afternoon Bible readings, where they were given tickets to distribute to nonchurchgoers for the evening meetings(4). Temperance work was increasingly important in Moody's second English mission. Temperance meetings were held

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1. Christian, 23 October 1884.

2. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 199.

3. Rock, 14 October 1881.

4. Rock, 30 November 1883; Christian, 6 December 1883.

every Saturday in the hall at Wandsworth, and at Southampton a Blue Ribbon Mission accompanied the work of Moody and Sankey(1). At the latter place many outsiders were reached, apparently, though churchgoers were predominant in Moody's meetings. At Newcastle 460, or rather more than a third, of the 1,238 who professed conversion, had no previous church connection. The Mission Committee appointed two paid missionaries to visit these, and three months later it was reported that 363 had joined a local church(2). In Glasgow 4000 had professed conversion by 18 May 1882, and the greatest number of these, according to the Christian, had no church connection(3).

At the other end of the scale, Moody and Sankey visited the universities for the first time in 1882. At Cambridge the meetings were disturbed by rowdy students early in the week, but after a mothers' meeting on the Thursday afternoon the tide turned, and the mission was completed on a note of great success. About 1800 were present at the final service in the Corn Exchange, and the committee of C.I.C,C.U. received the names of 200 who had professed conversion or expressed anxiety(4). There were complaints of irregularities, of course, notably that of a High Churchman of St. John's who objected to a brief extempore prayer made by a Wesleyan minister at an after-meeting in Trinity Church. Moule and Barton felt that the rumours circulated about it were 'mainly due to deliberate and extraneous espionage'(5). At Oxford, the strength

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1. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 226; Christian, 7 December 1882.
2. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 67; Christian, 24 November 1881.
3. Christian, 18 May 1882.
4. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 249; W.R.Moody, op.cit., 306-9.
5. Guardian, 15 November 1882; Record, 24 November 1882.

of High and Broad Church influences meant that Moody's work was restricted, though he was supported by Girdlestone at Wycliffe Hall and by Chavasse. Christopher chaired the interdenominational committee which had promoted the mission. The Record reported that only undergraduates were interested, Here again the first meetings were rowdy, but after a stern rebuke by Moody on the Wednesday his audiences became much more responsive.

It is a matter of dispute whether the revivalism of Moody's second visit to Britain was, as a whole, more or less successful than the earlier campaign. McLoughlin records his failure to arouse interest and enthusiam in the 1880's(1). The press certainly seem to have been less impressed. The Christian faithfully reported Moody's every move, but the Record, though friendly, gave comparatively few notices to the revivalists. Yet the Newcastle mission secured attendances at least three times as large as in 1873(2). At Liverpool the average attendance at the Bible Readings had been 2,000 in 1874; in 1883 it was 5,000; and at Manchester too the Record reported a great increase in the numbers present(3). The evening meetings at Birmingham attracted between 9,000 and 11,000, which seems much the same as in 1875(4). In London the division into smaller districts was partly responsible for a decrease in numbers. Here, as before, the interest varied with the locality, with the prevailing apathy to be conquered in the East End. At the first meeting, on the afternoon of 6 December 1883, the hall was only three quarters full; but the mission in West Ham Lane drew dense crowds from the start(5).

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1. W.G.McLoughlin, op.cit., 215.
2. Christian, 24 November 1881.
3. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 90; Record, 9 March 1883.
4. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 101-110; Christian, 8 February 1883.
5. P.B.Morgan, op.cit., 199-201.

As in the 1870's, an attempt was made to give permanence to the work by the establishment of institutions. The mission at Bristol led to the building of an interdenominational hall for evangelistic meetings. In London, a new branch of the Y.W.C.A. was established at West Ham; and Miss Kinnaird and others made energetic efforts to extend the Y.W.C.A. at New Cross. Large mission halls were erected under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. at Stratford and Wandsworth(1). When he next visited London, in 1892, Moody urged the formation of a permanent Evangelistic Committee on the lines of that established in Edinburgh as a result of his earlier work there. The nucleus of such a committee was formed on the spot, and arrangements set on foot to acquire a neutral building for a mission(2).

The third revivalist campaign of Moody and Sankey in Great Britain attracted far less attention than the first two. They arrived in London for a brief visit in November 1891, and then began a tour of Scotland, England and Ireland which lasted till the close of 1892, with short missions of never more than a few weeks in each town. The press took very little notice, with the exception of the faithful Christian. The work in each place was organized by a united committee of clergy and ministers, as on the previous occasions, and the number of places visited indicates a reasonably widespread desire, on the part of local church leadership, to obtain Moody's services. A roll of 25,000 signatures from the cities and towns of Scotland had invited him to make the campaign there(3). It was Canon Christopher's persistency which brought about the mission in Oxford, and secured crowded meetings

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1. Ibid., 201, 240; Christian, 21 February, 6 March 1884.

2. Christian, 20 October 1892.

3. W.R.Moody, op.cit., 342.

each evening in both the Corn Exchange and the Town Hall. By the last evening 300 had given in their names as seekers, though it seems probable that less than half were undergraduates(1). At Newcastle the chief open-air service on the Sunday evening drew between five and six thousand; the attendance throughout the closing day at Manchester was estimated at over 20,000(2). Moody could evidently still attract a large audience.

One reason for the comparative lack of publicity was the absence of a long London campaign. A week's mission was held in the Metropolitan Tabernacle in October 1892, and the newly formed Evangelistic Committee was collecting signatures for a requisition to Moody to conduct a series of services at the end of the year. But in the end he refused, partly owing to ill-health - the whole tour had proved very exhausting, and he had recently learned of his dangerous heart condition(3). Sankey had already left England for similar reasons. So Moody sailed from Southampton in November, comparatively unsung.

Revivalism was no longer the sensational news in the 1890's that it had been almost twenty years before. In his influence on nondenominational organizations and activity, and in setting an example of method to be followed by other evangelistic agencies, the work of Moody was already, to all intents and purposes, done. In terms of individual conversions it is difficult to measure how far his effectiveness remained. Revivalism was certainly not a completely exhausted mechanism: Torrey in 1905 achieved results in the British cities

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1, Christian, 24 November 1892.

2. Christian, 18 August, 13 October 1892.

3. Christian, 13, 20 October, 17 November 1892; W.R.Moody, op.cit., 345.

statistically greater than Moody's(1). It is certainly true that the churches were beginning to look elsewhere, however, in their efforts to make an impact. Important sections of most denominations were turning towards a more liberal theology, and an interest in social reform and a social gospel. Moody and Sankey's revivalism, with its emphasis on individual conversion and an old, traditional, simple faith, was becoming too old-fashioned for many. In America the funeral oration was pronounced in an article in Arena in 1899, on "The passing of the Revivalist"(2).

The Evangelical party in the Church of England, however, was still basically fundamentalist and individualistic. If there was a tendency for their interest to wane somewhat - and it is only a slight one - this was less because revivalism was becoming out-dated than because of features which had been inherent from the start. Moody's successes had been chiefly, though unintentionally, in reviving the churchgoing - in invigorating the machine, as it were, from the outside. By the late 1880's another agency, the holiness movement, which was geared to achieve this precise result, and that more effectively, had become a leading centre of evangelical life. And in reaching out to the unevangelized masses, the avowed aim of revivalism, its effects had always been comparatively small.

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1. W.G.McLoughlin, op.cit., 367.

2. Arena, January 1899, pp. 107-13.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SANCTIFICATION AND SERVICE.

I. HOLINESS.

If the last third of the nineteenth century saw a new urgency, a more fervent activity, in the drive to evangelise their 'home heathen', it was also characterized, for the Evangelical party, by a growing concern for internal renewal. As early as 1851, Daniel Wilson had bewailed the controversial aspect given to all religious matters at that time(1). Speaking at the Church Association Conference in October 1871, James Bardsley urged the necessity for a real revival of spiritual religion in the Evangelical body.

> "In this world the brightest metals contract rust, and the best institutions carry within them the seeds of decay. The sap that permeates the branch for a season retires into the root, and the tide ebbs as well as flows. It may well be doubted, even by the best friends of the body, whether that large flow of spiritual influence which covered the land forty or fifty years ago, has not reached its utmost limit, and begun to subside. Many of the children brought up in Evangelical families are not like their parents, many of the ministers who outwardly belong to the body, do so rather from association than because they have embraced these principles from personal necessity, many of those who

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1. D.Wilson, A Revival of Spiritual Religion the only Effectual Remedy for the Dangers which now threaten the Church of England (London, 1851), 16-17.

> threw in their lot with us when Evangelical doctrine was popular, and was the only thing which influenced the masses, are not proof against adverse influences, and therefore hold loosely to the party, and are not prepared to take up their cross on its behalf. While, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that there are some amongst us who have embraced these doctrines as mere notions, and whose religion mainly consists in uttering harsh judgements upon others, and are not always abundant in labours. Moreover, the great difficulty there is to raise money to carry on agencies which have for their object the conversion of souls at home and abroad, shows that the spiritual pulse of the body beats feebly; the multitudes of those amongst us, who have the form of godliness but are destitute of its power; the faint line of demarcation between them and the world, these and many other things, which might be enumerated if time permitted, proclaim trumpet tongued, the imperative necessity of a real revival of spiritual religion in the Evangelical body"(1).

In the Church as a whole, one reaction to institutional and political decline was a turning away from these areas to a heightened emphasis on personal religion. This was typified in the Church Congresses by the devotional meetings on purely spiritual topics, which gradually became respected as the climax of the Congress. Essentially individualistic,

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1. James Bardsley, The Necessity of a Real Revival of Spiritual Religion in the Evangelical Body (Church Association Tract no.XII), 2.

the Evangelical school could expect to benefit from such a development. At the Congress of 1883, three of the five speakers on personal religion were Evangelicals, and the Record commented that,

> "This meeting shows Evangelicals where their true strength lies - viz., in their firm grasp and clear teaching of the elements of spiritual life. Party organization is no doubt very important, and should vigorously be carried on; but it is in spiritual life and spiritual teaching that our true strength lies, even as it is here that Ritualism so notably fails".

It was here that Evangelicals might hope to regain any lost initiative(1).

The revival looked for, felt Bardsley, need not be spectacular, nor accompanied by new and irregular agencies:

> "... if God does not send down a Pentecostal shower, the immediate effect of which can presently be seen; yet if He verify in our experience that sweet promise, 'I will be as the dew unto Israel',it is encouraging to reflect that dew will produce in time the same effect as rain"(2).

And like the dew were the local gatherings of Evangelicals, for prayer and fellowship, which had been typical of evangelicalism from the start. Handley Moule, as his father's curate at Fordington, was one of a circle of Dorsetshire clergymen who met in each other's homes, about once a month, for Bible study. Between ten and twenty were usually present in the late 'seventies, a rare group of "Israelites indeed", Moule remembered(3). The Birmingham Clerical Society, which celebrated its

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1. Record, 12 October 1883.
2. James Bardsley, op.cit., 4.
3. H.C.G.Moule, Memories of a Vicarage (London, 1913), 43-4; Moule's MS. Diary, 9 April, 4 June, 30 July, 10 September 1878.

fiftieth year in 1875, held similar monthly meetings, and had given birth also to weekly prayer meetings, a Birmingham Protestant Association, a Lord's Day Defence Association, and other societies(1). In the 'fifties Edward Hoare had brought together seven local societies in an Aggregate Clerical Meeting at Tunbridge Wells, which drew well over a hundred each June. Topics discussed in 1882 included conversion, secularism and the Jews(2).

The lay and clerical associations which grew up at this time, as we have seen, were begun primarily as devotional gatherings. But as they grew in size, and especially with the efforts to co-ordinate them into a workable party machine, their discussions centred increasingly on current crises and controversies. At the Southport Combined Clerical Meeting, for the dioceses of Chester and Manchester, in April 1869, the papers dealt with disestablishment, the defence of Reformation principles against Romanism and infidelity, and the supply of candidates to the ministry. The 1880 Conference, now Lay and Clerical, discussed Quiet Days, Sabbath Observance, and the relations of Evangelicals with other schools of thought. The Devon and Cornwall Society was debating much the same topics at much the same time. By 1886, the Record felt that devotional subjects were still foremost, but that the conferences were valuable chiefly in registering the conclusions to which Evangelical Churchmen were tending(3).

This was especially true of the Islington Clerical Meeting, described by the Record as "the most important gathering, probably, of its kind, in the Kingdom"(4), which had gained all the prestige, by this

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1. Record, 21 July 1875.

2. Record, 16 June 1882.

3. Record, 16 April 1869, 31 May, 2 June 1880, 2 July 1886.

4. Record, 21 January 1870.

time, of an Evangelical parliament. Begun as a prayer meeting by the elder Daniel Wilson in 1827, it had been continued and expanded by his son until the latter's death in 1886; and Barlow, the succeeding vicar, kept on the tradition. Between three and four hundred clergymen, with, despite the name, a fair sprinkling of laity, assembled each January in the Wilson Memorial Hall.

Inevitably, in becoming practically a policy making body, the Islington Meeting assumed a controversial tone, especially evident in the 'sixties and 'seventies. Speaking at the Jubilee in 1877, Wilson admitted that

> "The addresses delivered have recently assumed a more public and argumentative character than they once did; but I trust and believe that they have been characterized throughout the whole of this half century by the same spirit of Christian simplicity and prayerful devotion as they were at first"(1).

In 1869 the topic for debate was the advantages and perils of the Church-State connection. In 1871 the four papers dealt with "charity in controversy" (by Miller), the relations between older and younger Evangelical clergy (Rev. J.Richardson of Bury St.Edmunds), the "present crisis viewed in connection with the doctrine of national judgements, and its bearing on the progress of Christ's kingdom" (Rev. E.Bayley), and the growth of spiritual life (Daniel Moore). Two subjects in 1873 dealt with Ritualism, and two with personal religion. The papers in 1879, on the bearing of the Word of Truth on Man's origin, destiny, redemption and sanctification, giving positive teaching rather than a

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1. Record, 19 January 1877.

direct refutation of error, were felt by the Record to be "more instructive if less exciting" than usual. In the 1880's the controversial element faded, to some extent, and themes like that of 1885, on the spiritual life of the Church, became more popular. The Record seized on this phrase as crucial to the place of Evangelicals in the Church.

> "The key to that position is spirituality as opposed to formality in religion; a religion that is of the spirit rather than of the mind and the body"(1).

Essentially spiritual were the Mildmay Conferences, which grew out of William Pennefather's consciousness of the real unity of true Christians, and his desire to bring them together into a closer social communion. In 1856 he issued invitations to the first conference, on 26-29 August, "to promote personal holiness, brotherly love, and increased interest in the work of the Lord"(2). Meetings were held in the mornings for prayer, intercession and Bible readings, and in the evenings addresses were given on home and foreign missions, personal holiness, and the Second Coming. A good number attended; about 120 joined in the united Holy Communion which formed a fitting close to the conference. His success encouraged Pennefather to convene a second conference in 1858, and after this they became an annual event, being transferred to Mildmay with the Pennefathers in 1864.

The religious press was doubtful at first, and criticism ran high in the early 'sixties. As late as 1871 the Record, whilst protesting

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1. Record, 15 January 1869, 18, 20 January 1871, 17 January 1873, 17, 20 January 1879, 16 January 1885.
2. W.Pennefather, The Church of the First-Born (London, 1865), 97.

good intentions towards Pennefather's "interesting and important work", objected to the irreverence of some of the prayers, and the familiarity of Lord Radstock's addresses - warned too against the schismatical teaching and practices of the Plymouth Brethren in some of the smaller rooms of the Hall(1). But in spite of the fears of Evangelical authority, the Conference became increasingly popular. In October 1869, over 900 were present in the Iron Room for a preliminary prayer meeting on the eve of the Conference. At least 2,500 attended each day in June 1872, suggesting a larger number of individuals, as the proximity to central London allowed many to come for a day only. In 1870 a new hall had been opened, seating perhaps 3,000 (estimates varied), and by 1876 this was felt to be too small, large numbers being refused tickets each year. By the mid-eighties, however, the average attendance seems to have settled at a steady 3,000(2).

The Conference was very much an embodiment of the Evangelical view of Christian unity. In his introductory address in 1867, Pennefather asked,

> "...what is the primary object of this meeting? Is it not to declare before the world, and before the Church of God, that union with the Lord Jesus Christ is the bond that really binds the followers of the Lamb of God?"(3).

Defending himself against possible attacks on his Churchmanship, he had explained in 1865 that the

> "...original character [of the Conferences] was pre-eminently <u>social</u>. <u>Personal friends</u> were invited; and for several years <u>all</u> who attended from a distance were the friends

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1. <u>Record</u>, 26, 31 July, 7 August, 1, 27 December 1871.
2. <u>The Mildmay Conference</u>, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1876; <u>Rock</u>, 18 June 1886.
3. <u>The Mildmay Conference</u>, 1867, 15.

of the convener, or those of the members of his flock. It was never contemplated that the interest in these annual gatherings would extend beyond the small circle that originally composed them; but from time to time Christian brethren and sisters (though personally unknown to myself) desired to join the company: and thus the Conference expanded..."(1).

This individual emphasis remained throughout, and the conferences were nondenominational rather in disregarding denominational labels than in purposely combining representatives of Church and Dissent, as did the Bible and Religious Tract Societies. Speakers were invited for their individual prowess as spiritual teachers. Their names were never announced beforehand - possibly the only exception being the year of Pennefather's death, 1873 - in order to safeguard the purely devotional nature of the conferences. The most regular speakers were men like Lord Radstock, the Scotsmen Horatius and Andrew Bonar, Reginald Radcliffe and Hay Aitken - all very favourably inclined towards revivalism, by all of whom denominational ties were but loosely felt. In later years Hopkins and Webb-Peploe were welcome speakers. Stevenson Blackwood, gentleman evangelist and financial secretary, later secretary, of the G.P.O., played an important part from the early years, and on Pennefather's death became Chairman of the Conference and a joint-trustee of Mildmay Hall. Pennefather's links with Europe are seen in the presence of noted Continental Evangelicals; the French pastor Monod was a frequent visitor. Not all were of this precise mould. Daniel Wilson, presumably as Vicar of Islington, generally offered the introductory prayer; and Canon Christopher was a frequent attender from 1862 onwards, either on the platform

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1. W.Pennefather, The Church of the First-Born, 115-6.

itself as a speaker, or stationed on a step with his ear-trumpet raised to catch every word(1). Lord Shaftesbury could occasionally be seen, and presided at afternoon meetings in 1870 and 1871(2). But the more famous controversial champions of Evangelicalism were most of them notably absent from Mildmay.

The Rock felt that a fair balance was maintained between Churchmen and Dissenters, but to the Record it seemed that

> "...the great majority of the habitual frequenters of the Conference are Church people; while the ministry mainly consists of the 'unattached Christians' connected with unsectarian 'missions', with a good sprinkling of Scotch and English Presbyterians - among whose ranks will be found those who are the excellent of the earth indeed. Certain it is that the ordinary Dissenting minister is conspicuous by his absence. White ties are numerous; but nine out of ten are obviously adorning the throats of clergymen. One would be almost as much surprised to see Dr. Parker at Mildmay as Canon Liddon"(3).

Controversial topics were studiously avoided, though on one or two occasions the lines laid down were transgressed, and the Rock recalled a Nonconformist attacking the Church at one meeting in the 'eighties, to be tactfully rebuked by the next speaker (a Churchman)(4). The spirit of union was symbolised by the united Communion service, held usually on the Friday afternoon of the Conference, in which most,

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1. J.S.Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St.Aldates, Oxford, 131-2.
2. Record, 31 October 1870, 5 July 1871.
3. Rock, 18 June 1886; Record, 27 June 1884.
4. Rock, 18 June 1886.

but not all, of the members joined. In 1862, when Bicentenary Celebrations had greatly embittered relations between Church and Dissent, Pennefather was pained by a move to divide the communicants by inviting some elsewhere(1). And in 1878, though the hall was filled, and people were standing outside, Captain Moreton felt moved to pray for the removal of the remaining difficulties and prejudices which still prevented some from partaking of the united communion(2).

The Conference lasted three days, usually Wednesday to Friday of a week in June, with very often a preliminary meeting on the Tuesday evening, and one for thanksgiving on Saturday morning. Each year followed the same pattern of morning prayer meetings, a main meeting each morning and evening, and smaller, sectional meetings for Bible reading or discussion in the afternoons. At the main meetings the addresses were interspersed with hymns and prayers, intercession being one of the most solemn features of the Conference, according to the Record, on account of the number of personal requests(3).

A major aim of the Conference was to strengthen and confirm those who were already Christians - to further their individual growth, as Christians, not to secure conversions. This is reflected to some extent in their composition. Though the seats in the body of the hall were reserved, admission to the galleries was free; but whilst the Record noticed representatives of all classes, the vast majority were of the upper or middle classes - inevitably so, of course, at the morning and afternoon meetings. It was more evident in the addresses:

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1. R.Braithwaite, The Life and Letters of the Rev.William Pennefather (London, 1878), 360-1.
2. The Mildmay Conference, 1878, 164-5.
3. Record, 23 June 1882.

not evangelistic but primarily instructive, giving doctrinal teaching in conservative evangelical theology. The theme of the Conference was announced beforehand - often a progressive one, with a different aspect being dealt with each day. The theme in 1876 was the knowledge of Christ, "That I may Know Him; and the Power of His Resurrection: and the Fellowship of His Sufferings"; in 1883 it was "Union with Christ, the Ground of Security, the Secret of Power, the Source of Fruitfulness".

As the intention was "to promote personal holiness", much attention was given to the power of the Holy Ghost to achieve this. In 1869, Pennefather and the Rev. C.D.Marston each spoke of God's promise to give the necessary strength, by filling His people with the Holy Spirit, to live a consistent life to the glory of His name(1). In 1871 the Rev. J.G.Gregory (not one of the leading speakers) asked,

> "But what is holiness? 'Oh,' say some, 'it is just a gradual work which follows upon our justified estate; be not alarmed if it grow not rapidly; you must not expect it to increase quickly; perhaps hardly at all will it display itself in ordinary Christians while in this world'. This is erroneous. In union with Christ you have holiness as truly and perfectly as you have righteousness. Christ, who is in His own person your righteousness, is your sanctification or holiness also. Let us not be deceived. Holiness or sanctification (call it which you will) is a very different matter from that which people generally take it to be. It is no less than separation, dedication, consecration, and that unto the Lord"(2).

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1. The Mildmay Conference, 1869, 90-1, 185-9.

2. The Mildmay Conference, 1871, 115-6.

Hugh Price Hughes, leading Methodist minister, urged in 1883 that,

> "We ought to give up the expectation of sinning, because we can do all things in Christ who strengthens us, and not only so, but we ought also to realise the riches of the glory of His inheritance in His saints; that it is the utter destruction to all sin and all works of the devil. We must be satisfied with nothing less than this, and we must look for this, and that speedily"(1).

By this time the insistence on a higher Christian standard was more pronounced generally. But it is important to note that the doctrine of sanctification by union with Christ, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, was present in Mildmay teaching from the start.

This building up of individual Christians was not to be an end in itself. Pennefather stressed from the start that the conference was not merely a spiritual picnic. The convening circular for 1869 announced,

> "May I not say that our principle object in gathering together in the Name of Jesus is to receive of His Royal Bounty, and then to go forth and break among the perishing, the bread that He has blessed and put into our hands..."(2).

In an address the following year, he repeated the theme of the bread, urging the importance of going home to work in the cities and country parishes among the unconverted(3). In 1872, Hay Aitken spoke of fruitfulness, of ministering to others the gift received(4); and

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1. The Mildmay Conference, 1883, 84-5.
2. The Mildmay Conference, 1869, 2.
3. The Mildmay Conference, 1870, 65-6.
4. The Mildmay Conference, 1872, 83-103.

fruitfulness was one of the main subjects in 1883. For Pasteur Monod, the seed was all-important.

> "Thus a converted man must be, in his turn, a man converting others through the Holy Ghost. If we are in fellowship with the Holy Ghost, how can we but have that power, when the Holy Ghost's purpose and mission is to awaken sinners and bring them to the Saviour? If we have fellowship with the Good Shepherd, how can we but seek for the lost sheep?"(1).

The importance of showing forth fruitfulness in service was illustrated in a very practical way by the network of active agencies growing out of Mildmay itself: the deaconesses, whose work was discussed in an earlier chapter; hospitals, invalid ladies' home, orphanage, Bible Flower Mission, Mission to the Jews, and many more. An Association of Female Workers had developed out of the ladies' meetings in 1862, and by 1876 it had over 900 members in different parts of the world(2). At the first Barnet Conference, two evenings were devoted to missions. As the conferences became established, the afternoons were occupied, besides Bible readings, in smaller meetings setting forth the work of the Mildmay and other social and evangelistic organizations. Among those represented at the conference in June, 1878, were the China Inland Mission, Dr. Barnardo's Homes, the South American Missionary Society, and the Irish Church Mission. Some of the meetings were more general. In 1870, for instance, the main afternoon meetings on the Wednesday and Friday were on reaching the masses of London; on Thursday it was Christian work on the Continent. In 1879 a general missionary meeting was held on the Wednesday afternoon, and one on Christian giving and Christian workers on the Thursday.

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1. The Mildmay Conference, 1883, 96-105.

2. The Mildmay Conference, 1876, 211.

In all, the main aim was to invigorate the machine, as it were, by stirring up individuals to renewed effort in Christian work - an indirect evangelism of the type which was one of the unintentional effects of Moody's revivalism. As Aitken put it in October 1869;

> "If we ministers could only succeed in stirring up the individual members of our flocks to feel that they all have a work to do, and, if we could only lead them to aim, for the most part, not at great things, but to aim at some practical and definite result - if it be but to fix their attention upon the salvation of a single soul, or, if their charity takes a different direction, then upon the relief of one single family- I say if we could only get individuals to take an individual interest in personal work of this kind, we should see a mightier revolution effected in this city than all the preaching and all the efforts which ministers, even were they ten thousand times more earnest and devoted, could succeed in making"(1).

His address exemplifies the essentially individualistic approach which Evangelicals brought to so many problems. In 1879, the Christian suggested that it might be time for the Conference to consider burning practical questions on which a united judgement and action might enable the Christian Church to exercise a greatly increased influence on the world(2). The circular of invitation to the next Conference acknowledged the suggestion, but pointed out that the object

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1. The Mildmay Conference, 1869, 67-8.

2. Christian, 3 July 1879.

of the meetings from the beginning had been the worship of God and growth in grace. Discussion of social questions was inexpedient, and might cause divisions. There was ample room for such subjects at the smaller meetings, while the morning and evening addresses "will provide us with instruction from on high, and fit us for dealing rightly with them"(1).

Of the far-reaching effects of their personal quickening of individuals, the conveners of the Conference were quite confident. In 1879 they had claimed;

> "In proportion as the Conferences are holy, they will be eminently practical; in proportion as the 'King is held in the galleries', His servants will go forth nerved to do His work, and strong to fight His battles. If holy solemnities are kept by the children of God, with a present Lord in their midst, a wide and telling influence must be the result; our home villages and our teeming cities will feel it. Far-off India will feel it;China with her millions, and Africa with her whitening fields, will know that we have not met in vain..."(2).

A few years before this, the holiness movement had begun to hit the headlines of the religious press. Holiness teaching had swept through American Evangelicalism in the middle third of the century, and its influence was already felt, to some extent, in England, especially after the publication of Boardman's The Higher Christian Life. Evan Hopkins and Canon Harford-Battersby were among those who puzzled over this book, and

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1. The Mildmay Conference, 1880, x.

2. The Mildmay Conference, 1879, x.

then laid it aside(1). In 1869, on a visit to Europe, Boardman spoke at several halls and drawing-room meetings in this country; and in February 1870 a new edition of his book was announced in the Christian(2). A number of articles on holiness began to appear in this paper, many of them by Boardman, or by Robert Pearsall Smith, a Quaker glass-manufacturer from Philadelphia.

That year, Pearsall Smith published Holiness through Faith, describing his agony, after conversion, in consciousnesss of sin and temptation, and claiming through the words 'purifying their hearts by faith' to have been converted anew, and, trusting in Christ, to have achieved complete victory over all conscious sin. The 'second conversion' theory had been one branch of the Oberlin holiness teaching - partly suggests Timothy Smith, because of the embarrassment of suggesting to professing Christians that they had never really been converted(3). But to George Fox, of St. Nicholas, Durham, whose review appeared in the Record of November 7, it seemed that Pearsall Smith's earlier experience must have been very defective to have left him ignorant of the possibilities of power over sin through faith in Christ. Whilst his present claims of perfection were clearly unscriptural(4).

In the spring of 1873, Pearsall Smith came to Europe, mainly for the sake of his health, which had never been good since a head injury in 1861. He was immediately in demand as a speaker at informal breakfast meetings for ministers and influential laymen in London. On May 1st, Evan Hopkins was among a group of sixteen invited to hear him at

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1. A.Smellie, Evan Henry Hopkins: A Memoir (London, 1920), 52; J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story (London, 1964), 24.
2. Christian, 3 February 1870.
3. T.L.Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform (New York, 1965), 112.
4. Record, 7 November 1870.

Curzon Street Chapel in Mayfair, and there experienced a spiritual crisis which he felt changed his life(1). Saturday afternoon meetings were held each week at the rooms of the Y.M.C.A. Pearsall Smith began a tour of Southern England and the Continent, speaking at conferences and consecration meetings. In June he attended the Mildmay Park Conference(2).

Boardman had been in Germany since the spring, and in September he crossed over to England, where he joined Smith at the first Dover Conference, the latest of the 'Mildmay' conferences. Holiness formed the subject of the morning and evening meetings, with 'consecration' meetings alongside those on Christian work in the afternoons. Also taking part were Hopkins, the Rev. E.W.Moore and Sholto Douglas(3). In November, Smith gave three addresses on holiness at Douglas's church in Derby, during the Church Mission there(4). A conference was held at Mildmay on January 21 and 22; and one in the Hanover Square Rooms on the 'Scriptural Possibilities of Faith' at the end of February. Stevenson Blackwood, Lord Farnham and Sir Thomas Beauchamp signed the circular for the latter, addressed to ministers and those engaged in Christian work, with the aims of filling them with a new power for service(5). That month a new journal, The Christian's Pathway of Power, began, to set forward the new views, with Hopkins as a leading contributor.

The movement, meanwhile, had aroused the opposition of the

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1. A.Smellie, op.cit., 52.
2. The Mildmay Conference, 1873.
3. Christian, 18 September 1873; Rock, 12, 19 September 1873.
4. Christian, 4 December 1873.
5. Christian, 12 February 1874; W.B.Sloan, These Sixty Years (London, 1935), 10-11.

Evangelical party leadership. Fox had published a book on Perfectionism in the spring of 1873, repudiating the teaching of Boardman and Smith. In October the Record printed a lengthy review of a revised edition of Holiness through Faith, agreeing that Christian perfection was a practicable state, a gift of the Holy Ghost which all converted men may attain and should earnestly desire. But the doctrine of an immediate, absolute deliverance from all known sin was unacceptable, and made holiness no more than "that state in which a man has no ideal of anything higher than what he has already attained". The paper criticised Smith for confounding justification and sanctification;; following Rome in regarding sanctification as a thing imputed not imparted; and deprecating the distinctive office of the Holy Ghost(1). Canon Harford Battersby, among others, wrote to defend Smith from these charges - though Battersby himself was as yet unsure on the subject(2).

In February the Record announced that Pearsall Smith had renounced the error of perfectionism in his new work, Prove All Things, in which he admitted having used unguarded and possibly misleading expressions. The paper was immediately deluged with letters; some, like Fox, regretting that Holiness Through Faith was still in circulation; others, including one from Smith himself, denying any such recantation, and affirming that he had never taught perfectionism(3).Sanctification was discussed at a number of the regular Evangelical gatherings. Edward Garbett set forward the orthodox view at a Clerical and Lay Conference at Blackheath in November 1873; and in June, 1874, Canon Money did the same at the Clerical Meeting at Tunbridge Wells(4). Canon Hoare published a series of sermons

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1. Record, 3, 6 October 1873.
2. Record, 24 October, 3 November 1873; Memoir of T.D.Harford-Battersby by two of his sons (London, 1890), 150-1.
3. Record, 18 February, 9, 23 March, 1, 24, 29 April 1874.
4. Record, 26 November 1873; 24 June 1874.

on Sanctification, urging Christians to trust to Christ for personal holiness in daily life, as much as for justification, but stressing that sanctification was a progressive work, achieved by the unceasing leading of the Holy Spirit within the soul.

William Cowper-Temple, Lord Shaftesbury's brother-in-law, was among those impressed by the new movement, and his wife became very friendly with Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, who by now had joined her husband in England. In the summer of 1874 the Cowper-Temples offered their home, Broadlands Park, for a conference on the lines of the American camp meetings. They had in mind a small gathering of some Cambridge undergraduates and a few others, but the Smiths had larger ideas, and in the end about a hundred came to stay the week. They included representatives of most schools of thought; Evan Hopkins, Blackwood, Chichester, Canon Wilberforce, William Arthur, Samuel Morley.

The Conference began on July 17, and lasted six days. After early morning prayer meetings at seven, the time was filled with informal conversational gatherings and larger gatherings with more formal addresses. Probably the most popular were Hannah Pearsall Smith's Bible Readings, in the early evenings, and her ladies' meetings held straight after lunch. Beginning with the renunciation of all known evil, the guests were led on, during the week, to consider and apply to themselves the possibilities, through faith and complete consecration, of a closer union with Christ, and of 'life more abundantly'(1). Many were deeply moved by their experience - one to the extent of offering £500 towards the cost of holding a large public convention. Stevenson

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1. Christian, 13 August 1874; Edna V.Jackson, The Life that is Life Indeed: Reminiscences of the Broadlands Conferences (London, 1910), 122-33.

Blackwood suggested Oxford as the most suitable site.

There was a general reluctance to do anything against the wishes of Canon Christopher at St. Aldate's, who had met and heard Smith when staying with the Dean of Canterbury, but who was very unsure of the scriptural orthodoxy of his teaching, and had twice refused to invite Smith to Oxford. A visit from Smith after the Broadlands Conference, however, convinced Christopher that he should give the proposal his sanction(1). Invitations were sent out to a "Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness", to be held on August 29 to September 7. The convening circular claimed that similar conferences in America had given thousands of ministers a new spiritual energy, which had resulted in tens of thousands of conversions. It was signed by Smith alone, but an appended list of prominent supporters included Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, the Earl of Chichester, Cowper-Temple, Samuel Morley and Arthur Kinnaird(2).

It was estimated that over a thousand people flocked to Oxford to attend the conference. The proceedings began with a meeting in St.Aldate's Rectory Room on the Saturday morning, Canon Christopher offering the opening prayer and reading Psalm 113(3). Thereafter, meetings were held in the Corn Exchange or the Town Hall, During the week they followed a regular pattern; prayer-meetings 7a.m. to 8a.m.;smaller conversational meetings 9.30 to 11a.m., including ladies' meetings conducted by Mrs. Pearsall Smith. A general meeting was held from 11.45a.m. to 1.30p.m.; smaller prayer meetings and Mrs. Pearsall Smith's Bible Readings for ladies,

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1. Record, 25 September 1874; J.S.Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St. Aldate's, Oxford, 179-80.
2. Account of the Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness, held at Oxford, August 29 to September 7, 1874 (London, 1874),29-32.
3. J.S.Reynolds, Canon Christopher of St. Aldate's, Oxford, 181.

from 3p.m. to 4p.m.; another general meeting till 5.30; a ministerial conference from 6p.m. to 7.30p.m., followed by a last general meeting until 9.15p.m. Evangelistic meetings were also held in the evenings. The speakers included Boardman, Asa Mahan, Theodore Monod, Hopkins, the Rev. G.R. Thornton and Lord Radstock.

As at Broadlands an ordered scheme of teaching was followed, beginning with prayers for the searching light of God to reveal the evil of their condition. From the renunciation of every known disobedience, the speakers urged their audiences to put complete trust in Christ, and to yield themselves fully to God; finally, to believe and accept God's promises of sanctification. The doctrine of perfectionism was constantly denied, by Smith himself and by the others. On the first Monday morning, Smith listed three definitions of 'sin'; that which in its moral quality is short of the infinite holiness of God; the outbreaking of moral evil; and those actual, known sins intended in the prayer "vouchsafe to keep us this day without sin". The promise he proclaimed was of deliverance from sin in the last two senses only(1).

On the Wednesday morning, about 140 people, of all schools of thought, met for breakfast at the Clarendon Hotel, on the invitation of Canon Christopher. All incumbents of the Oxford churches had been invited, but "some were not in Oxford that day"(2). The next evening, Harford-Battersby was among those who rose to give testimony, at the ministerial conference, to 'blessings' received during the convention. Hopkins' address on the Tuesday evening, on the centurion, had moved him to make the transition from a 'seeking' to a'resting' faith(3).

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1. Account of the Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness held at Oxford, August 29 to September 7, 1874, 78-9.
2. Ibid., 119.
3. Ibid., 174; Memoir of T.D.Harford-Battersby, by two of his sons, 157-8.

The Convention closed officially with a prayer meeting on the morning of Tuesday 8 September, but meetings continued throughout the week under the leadership of Lord Radstock. Canon Christopher wrote two articles for the Christian, rejoicing at the success of the Conference, and stressing its orthodoxy.

> "Nothing has been taught beyond the old truth of the Scripture, but the old truth has, by the grace of the Spirit been realized"(1).

The Record printed one letter, out of courtesy to Christopher, but whilst admitting that many had received a true blessing warned of the dangers of making 'so unstable and illogical, or at the best so unintelligible', a theological writer as Pearsall Smith the central object of admiration. Besides,

> "At both of the late Conferences at Broadlands and Oxford, there was, no doubt, an obvious and overwhelming majority of men of approved faith, but at both there were Universalists, Spiritualists, and those who doubt or reject the grand doctrine of CHRIST's sacrificial atonement, and some of them took a leading part in the proceedings. 'My brethren', said the apostle JAMES, 'these things ought not so to be. Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?'"(2).

The Cowper-Temples,incidentally,were earnest dabblers in spiritualism, and later in faith-healing. And the presence of Ritualists amongst the new school convinced Shaftesbury that they were all Jesuits in disguise(3)!

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1. Christian, 10 September 1874.

2. Record, 25 September 1874.

3. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 30 September 1874.

The next few months saw a heated correspondence in the Record, with attacks on Pearsall Smith and his followers from Canon Bell, Fox, Dean Close and others. Christopher led the defence, though he admitted that Smith had erred in publishing a collection of the hymns of Faber, a Roman Catholic convert, and that his books needed rewriting. In November Boardman wrote to thank Fox for his criticisms of Gladness in Jesus, and said that he would revise this work. The Record observed that it must be very unsatisfactory to the friends of the movement to find that both their leading writers needed to revise their teaching(1).

The very widespread interest in a higher Christian life could not be denied, however. At the suggestion of Ryle, some of the leaders of the Evangelical party met at Auriol's house in London, to consider another way of meeting the problem. They decided to hold a conference on Scriptural holiness themselves, at the Cannon Street Hotel in February 1875, to 'guide into a right channel' the fervour kindled at Oxford(2). The invitation was addressed to members of the Church of England, and the Record welcomed this sign that Churchmen were not dependent on external help for their spiritual edification(3). Ryle himself was recovering from a dangerous illness by the time of the conference, and so was unable to be present, but Auriol chaired the meetings, and addresses were given by such pillars of orthodoxy as Canon Hoare and the Rev. Sir Emilius Bayley. The new doctrine was represented by Hopkins, Blackwood and Mr. H.F.Bowker. The conference was apparently crowded(4).

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1. Record, 30 September, 5,12, 19, 21, 23, 28, 30 October, 2, 4, 9, 11 November 1874.
2. Record, 18 November 1874.
3. Record, 4, 28 December 1874.
4. Record, 19, 22 February 1875.

Meanwhile a holiness conference had been held in Cheltenham in December, chaired by Charles Bell, staunch opponent of perfectionism, with Hoare speaking alongside Hopkins, Thornton and a new apostle of holiness, Webb-Peploe. A 'Wayfarer' wrote to the Record to protest against the youth of the last three, and though others wrote to testify to the scriptural tone of the conference, Bell confessed that he had never spent three more anxious days, and criticised the unhealthy excitement of the consecration meetings, held without his sanction as chairman(1).

Pearsall Smith had left for America shortly after the Oxford Convention, but meetings continued in London and elsewhere, many of them led by Boardman. Smith returned in the spring, and in April details were published of a Convention to be held at Brighton in June, on a much larger scale than that at Oxford(2). The arrangements were in the hands of a committee; Blackwood, Admiral Fishbourne, Messrs. Donald Matheson, a retired merchant, of the Presbyterian Free Church, and T.B.Smithies, a Wesleyan identified with the British Workman, with Pearsall Smith as chairman(3). Brighton Corporation allowed the use of the Dome, Pavilion, Corn Exchange and Town Hall, free of charge, and it was estimated that about 8,000 visitors attended. Over two hundred came from the Continent, mostly from Germany, France and Switzerland - representing, the Rock felt, the whole Evangelical party throughout Europe. A large proportion of those present were Nonconformists(4).

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1. Record, 30 December 1874, 6, 11, 13 January 1875.
2. Record, 7 April 1875.
3. Record of the Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness held at Brighton May 29th to June 7th, 1875 (Brighton, 1875), 7.
4. Christian, 17 June 1875; Rock, 4 June 1875.

The meetings began on May 29, and followed much the same pattern as at Oxford. Mr. and Mrs. Pearsall Smith were plainly the main speakers, but the French pastor Monod played an important part, and often took charge of evening meetings in the Dome while Smith was speaking in the Corn Exchange. Other speakers included Boardman, Blackwood, Hopkins, Webb-Peploe. Canon Christopher spoke once. Moody, at the height of his London mission, though he had carefully dissociated himself from the holiness movement - and as recently as May 21 rebuked those who flattered themselves they had passed from Romans 7 and were now basking in Chapter 8 (1) - nevertheless sent a message from the Opera House that they had prayed for the Convention - and thus gave it his implied sanction(2). The Record, however, had been loud in its warnings against the Convention, and Ryle wrote that the difference between Moody and Smith was that between sunshine and a fog(3). This letter was reprinted and distributed at the doors at several Convention meetings, though apparently without Ryle's knowledge or authority(4).

In its teaching the Brighton Convention was little different from the earlier one. Blackwood stressed its orthodoxy; the deep awareness of the need of Christ's atoning blood, and of constant reviving in the power of the Spirit; the growth in Christian life beyond this starting point of faith(5). United Communion Services were held in the Dome and the Corn Exchange on the last evening, presided over by foreign

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1. Record, 24 May 1875.
2. Record of the Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness held at Brighton, May 29th to June 7th, 1875, 47.
3. Record, 24, 28 May 1875.
4. Sussex Daily News, 10 June 1875.
5. Record of the Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness held at Brighton, May 29th to June 7th, 1875, 202-3.

pastors to avoid denominational difficulties. Even so, the Quakers held a simultaneous Lord's Supper in their own meeting place(1). The official account of the Convention claimed as its chief effect a special oiling of the machinery of church life.

> "...It is hard to say whether without this - this Christ-life in Christians - the worker or the work suffered most, for both suffered irreparably. The machinery was prepared and adjusted, and kept, too, in a perpetual whirl; but for spiritual results spiritual power was essential, and thousands in Sunday Schools and Societies craved this spirit within the wheels. Where they were true men the tension was terrible, and hence the message that there was some less constrained mode of working was hailed as glad tidings of great joy, both for their exhausted energies and for the task to which they had so earnestly devoted themselves. Yes; it was like flushing a choked and muddy channel with a full, fresh stream, when to the stimulus of Christian working was added the secret of Christian living. Truly, Jesus 'knew what was in man when he called his disciples away even from soul-saving work, 'into the desert to rest awhile'..."(2).

In July, the Rock put forth a plea for a patient and fair judgement of the movement, and a protest against the war of letters on such matters(3). The Christian, which had by now adopted an attitude

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1. Ibid., 332-5.

2. Ibid., 412-3.

3. Rock, 2 July 1875.

much more critical of Smith, also hoped that the controversy would not be fanned into flame to replace older quarrels which had lost their heat(1). But the correspondence continued unabated in the Record, the arguments on both sides becoming rather stereo-typed by this stage. The chief combatants were Horatius Bonar, who feared Erskinism and the substitution of personal holiness for Christ's atoning sacrifice; and Christopher, who pointed to quotations from Bonar's own writings which seemed to teach a similar doctrine of holiness(2).

Sinister new developments, meanwhile, were beginning to come to light. A sensation was caused at the Mildmay Conference by an appeal from Blackwood for prayer in connection with a scandal he was trying to avert(3). Arrangements had been made for holiness conventions in Rome and Madrid,as well as for several smaller gatherings in England; and Smith had intended spending the winter in Germany. Suddenly it was announced that a breakdown in his health necessitated the cancellation of these plans. On July 14 the Smiths sailed for America(4).

On November 19, the Freeman, Spurgeon's organ, asked 'A Question for the Perfectionists.' The time had come to examine their secret teachings: had they led to antinonianism - the heresy that what was sinful in the unbeliever was sinless in the believer?(5). The Christian World echoed the charge; and the Banner of Holiness replied with a brief history of the perfectionist sect in the United States, and an assertion that this had no connection with the Oberlin school of thought, whose doctrine of the 'higher life' was now generally recognised as

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1. Christian, 22 July 1875.
2. Record, 18, 25 June, 16, 28, 30 July, 13 August 1875.
3. Record, 24 December 1875.
4. Record, 12 July 1875; Christian, 15 July 1875.
5. Freeman, 19 November 1875.

respectable. The paper concluded with a statement about the 'Painful Rumour' mentioned in the Christian World, affirming that

> "we have been assured, that at the basis of this rumour, no charge of real immorality lies against any individual"(1).

The Freeman was dissatisfied, and extended the question to individuals; Blackwood, Radstock, Varley, Smithies(2).

What followed was an undignified and rather jumbled attempt on the part of the chief promoters of the movement to save its reputation and their own. The Banner of Holiness now stated that Smith's letters and addresses during this last visit to Europe had been painfully contradictory - a result of the impaired condition of his brain. Dr. Asa Mahan had been horrified by an address at Brighton, in which he

> "gave utterance to some of the wildest and most absurd apprehensions conceivable. 'Horrible!' exclaimed Dr. Mahan. 'What are we coming to?' responded Mr. Rogers, both, of course, speaking in a whisper"(3).

An official statement was issued by the 'Council of Eight'; Blackwood, Hopkins, Marcus Martin, Donald Matheson, R.C.Morgan, Lord Radstock, Smithies and Varley; who had taken charge of the situation. They announced that some weeks after the Brighton Convention they had discovered that'the individual referred to''had, in private conversation, inculcated 'most unscriptural and dangerous doctrines'. There had also been conduct which, though 'free from evil intention', necessitated action on their part. They had therefore requested him to abstain from

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1. Banner of Holiness, 2 December 1875.
2. Freeman, 10 December 1875.
3. Banner of Holiness, 16 December 1875.

all public work; and a return of his nervous illness had in any case made this imperative(1).

Morgan, editor of the Christian, accepted the blame for inserting a notice giving Smith's illness as the only reason for his departure - in a short article which at the same time dissociated the paper from having been fully in sympathy with the movement(2). Blackwood published a long letter in the Record, declining to give fuller details but affirming the harmlessness of Smith's public teaching; and adding that he had thrown himself heartily into the movement because he recognized the main truths, but that he had seen that there were erroneous statements, which he had warned Smith about, and had taken a prominent part at Brighton as much to prevent error as to witness for truth(3).

The Record, in a series of articles on 'The Collapse of Pearsall-Smithism', virtually said 'I told you so' - and pointed, too, to the discrepancy between the reports of the Brighton Convention and the facts which now emerged(4). The silence and mystery, the overriding concern with reputations, were very generally criticised. Bonar asked, "Is this an exhibition of the higher life?"(5). Though the Record and the Rock both announced their conviction that if it had been left up to Blackwood a public declaration would have been made much sooner(6). The Freeman asserted that the full facts were so indecent no newspaper would print them - if given as evidence in a trial the court would have

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1. Freeman, 17 December 1875.
2. Christian, 6 January 1876.
3. Record, 14 January 1876.
4. Record, 22, 24, 27 December 1875.
5. Record, 29 December 1875.
6. Record, 7 January 1876; Rock, 21 January 1876.

to be cleared of ladies(1).

The undisclosed root of it all, it seems, was that Smith had compromised himself with a young lady, whispering 'a foolish if ancient heresy or delusion' with his arm around her in his hotel room in Brighton(2). St.Paul had told the Romans to 'salute one another with a holy kiss'; Logan Pearsall Smith wrote later that this 'secret doctrine' was prevalent in America at the time, and that his father used to expound it to select gatherings, mostly of spinsters of 'a certain age'(3).

On February 10 and 11 the Evangelical party held its own holiness conference, on the lines of the Cannon Street one, but this time in St. James's Hall. Auriol assured his 'younger brethren' that he was equally anxious for the advancement of the spiritual life, and for full consecration, but that self-consecration was a continued and repeated act, and that a deep sense of one's own sinfulness was essential. The Conference was primarily a doctrinal one, with a strong emphasis on sin - the subject of Ryle's and Garbett's addresses on the Thursday morning(4). The Rock found it disappointing, and complained that Evangelicals were too complacent: staunch and true to the foundation truth of the sinner's acceptance in Christ, but dead to the pressing question of the day - the need for fresh appraisals to satisfy the widespread strivings of Christians for holiness(5).

For, in spite of the scandal now surrounding Pearsall Smith, and the opposition from the start of Evangelical leaders, these conventions

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1. Freeman, 21 January 1876.
2. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 35.
3. A Religious Rebel - The Letters of 'H.W.S.' edited by her son Logan Pearsall Smith (London, 1949), 61-2.
4. Record, 11, 14, 16, 18 February 1876.
5. Rock, 25 February 1876.

seemed to meet a need which, at a local level, was strongly felt, and they continued to be held in the absence of their former star. The Nottingham Convention, postponed indefinitely, had been called by Thornton of St. Nicholas and the Congregational minister Robert Dawson in September 1875, with Hopkins, Webb-Peploe, Bowker, Varley and two Nonconformist ministers as speakers(1). Monod took the lead in a holiness conference in the Freemason's Hall in London the last week of February, which drew an audience of 250 for the first meeting - the Freeman and the Christian disagreed over whether this meant success or failure. Matheson was the only one of the 'eight' to be present, though Hopkins sent a telegram explaining that a dear child of his was dying. A printed letter from Aitken was distributed at the door, defending what he believed good in Smith's teaching. But Blackwood declined to take part, though he attended two meetings - and then wrote a letter to the Christian pointing out the 'most dangerous element' in Mahan's addresses, and urging his brethren,

> "to refrain from compromising the work, and inflicting grievous damage upon the souls of the unwary by co-operation with such teachers"(2)!

A convention was planned in Cambridge for July 1876, to follow the Mildmay Park Conference. Threats were made, in fact, for a perfectionist demonstration against Bonar and the Council of Eight at Mildmay, apparently by some Plymouth Brethren, but nothing came of this(3).

Some of the Conventions became annual events; and of these the Broadlands Conference, held every year until Lord Mount-Temple's death in 1888, was unique in the diversity of the views represented. Andrew

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1. Record, 22 September 1875.

2. Freeman, 25 February 1876; Christian, 2 March 1876.

3. Record, 26 June, 7 July 1876.

Jukes was possibly the most frequent speaker; Evan Hopkins often attended, and was active in committee work; George Body led the 1875 Conference, on the lines of a High Church retreat, and was present at many others. Canon Wilberforce too was a regular visitor; and in 1880 and 1881 conferences were held at Southampton on his invitation(1). The Swiss pastor Otto Stockmeyer was a welcome speaker, as was Mrs. Hannah Smith when she returned to England. The Baptist minister F.B.Meyer was the leading Nonconformist representative. A broad social front was attempted in the inclusion of Mr.Farquhar, 'a self-taught man'(2), and Mrs. Amanda Smith, the negress and former slave, who seems to have been paraded at many such gatherings. The basic aim of the conference was a truer relationship with God and with one another, and one of the chief achievements claimed was the mingling of Evangelical and Ritualist; the promotion of spiritual unity beneath outward divergence. A notebook on the last conference included the comment,

> "Conferences on Higher & Deeper Spiritual life - by confining our discussions to the subjects on wh. all Xns. are agreed we have been led to that sense of Unity & Concord & fellowship wh. belong to all that are united to Xt. & many have felt gt. blessing"(3).

Another example of Christian unity obtained by ignoring differences.

The Conferences were not large; the Christian reported in 1879 that meetings were held in the Orangery, which seated 250(4). And the most prominent of Cowper-Temple's own generation of Evangelicals were

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1. Christian, 28 July 1881.
2. Christian, 21 August 1879.
3. Broadlands Archives, MS. Notebooks relating to the Broadlands Conferences, no. 4.
4. Christian, 21 August 1879.

conspicuously absent. Lord Shaftesbury strongly disapproved; for though called to consider the 'Higher Life', the conference kept the Atonement out of sight(1). But with the 'Mildmay' and 'Keswick' type of Evangelical, they were very popular.

It was the Keswick Convention which became the most famous, however. In 1874 Harford Battersby had prepared a paper for the Carlisle Evangelical Union on the Oxford Convention, read for him by a friend in his absence through ill-health, recommending such united gatherings of believers as the best means of promoting Christian holiness(2). The following spring, in consultation with Robert Wilson, a Quaker gentleman of Broughton Grange, who had also been at Oxford in 1874, he began tentative arrangements for Pearsall Smith to visit Keswick. At Brighton it was announced that a Keswick Convention would be held from June 29 to July 1, and this went through in spite of the last-minute cancellation by Smith himself. Hopkins sent his apologies, but Bowker, Thornton and Webb-Peploe came, the last two giving most of the addresses. Battersby sent an account of the Convention to the local press, asserting that hundreds of all denominations had attended, and that, whilst some occasional remarks might be objected to, he felt that immense good would result. "For ourselves we cannot indulge in the expectation", commented the Record(3).

Battersby was very much aware, in fact, of the opposition of the Evangelical leadership. On December 30 he wrote,

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1. Shaftesbury's MS. Diary, 17 September 1879.
2. T.D.Harford-Battersby, Higher Attainments in Christian Holiness and how to promote them (London, 1875).
3. Record, 14 July 1875.

> "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 future influence in the Church and ministry will be compromised"(1).

Nevertheless, a second convention was called in 1876, and a third the following July.

Keswick was as yet only one of the smaller conventions, and received scarcely any notice in the press, even compared to some of the others. But the convention grew steadily over the next few years. In 1878 between four and five hundred were reported present at the early morning prayer meetings. Two years later, on the Sunday of Convention week, July 27, 883 were present at the three administrations of the Lord's Supper in St. John's Church, nearly 500 in the Congregational Church, and over 300 at the communion service for ministers of all denominations. Twelve hundred were reported to have attended the meetings in 1882, and two thousand in 1886. Many of these, of course, would be day visitors(2). After hiring the Diocesan Tent in the early years, Battersby and Wilson bought their own, to seat six hundred, in 1882. This was enlarged to hold 900 in 1886, and a larger one bought two years later to hold 2250(3). The Christian estimated in 1891 that 4,000 had come to one or other of the meetings, nearly three-quarters of whom had stayed for the whole Convention(4).

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1. Memoir of T.D.Harford-Battersby, by two of his sons (London, 1890), 176.
2. Christian, 8 August 1878, 12 August 1886; English Churchman, 7 August 1880; Record, 11 August 1882.
3. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 62-3.
4. Christian, 30 July 1891.

In its strong central emphasis on Christian unity, which had been more of an incidental feature at Oxford and Brighton, Keswick showed itself a child of Mildmay. The Keswick motto, chosen by Wilson, was "All one in Christ Jesus", and a united Communion Service, symbolizing this, was held in St. John's, usually on the last morning of the Convention. As at the other gatherings, it was primarily a unity of Evangelicals - and this was to cause difficulties later - and it was nondenominational rather than interdenominational. Battersby's son, Charles Harford (the sons dropped the Battersby part of their name) claimed that it was brought about as a result, not of a conference on reunion, or the purposeful labours of a select committee, but of the working of the Holy Spirit(1). As at Mildmay, speakers were invited essentially for their individual merit and reputation.

There seems to have been a strong preponderence of Churchmen, however, in the leadership and membership of the Keswick Convention, especially in the earlier years. Battersby took the chair until his death at the start of the 1883 Convention, and his place was taken by another Churchman, Mr. H.F.Bowker, a retired schoolmaster from London, who was apparently very autocratic in his rule(2). Robert Wilson was in charge of the business organization, until a Keswick Trust was formed, of Wilson, Bowker and John Battersby-Harford, in 1886. The actual arrangements of speakers etc. for the Convention remained informally in the hands of Bowker and Wilson; later of Wilson himself, who became chairman in 1890. The Trust was enlarged at that time to include his son George and Evan Hopkins. Though a Quaker, Robert Wilson regularly

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1. The Keswick Convention, edited by C.F.Harford (London, 1907), 17.

2. Rock, 20 September 1889.

attended his local parish church, as well as superintending the Baptist Sunday School, and was sufficiently free from denominational bigotry to be claimed as a Churchman in Moule's account of Keswick(1).

A small group of men provided a nucleus of speakers who came every year, if they could, to the Convention; Hanmer Webb-Peploe, incumbent of St. Paul's Onslow Square; Evan Hopkins of Holy Trinity Richmond; Charles Fox, another clergyman, who battled against almost constant pain and a speech impediment to provide a stirring final address to the conventions until 1899. John B.Figgis of Brighton, of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, was for some years the only Nonconformist in this group. In 1882 Dr. James Elder Cumming, minister of the Church of Scotland in Glasgow, visited the Convention, rather sceptically, for the first time, and he returned as a speaker every year until 1906. Occasional speakers included Evangelicals from the Continent; Monod and Stockmeyer in particular.

Towards the end of our period Nonconformists began to take a greater share. The Rev. F.B.Meyer, not fully convinced by the movement until Studd and Smith of the Cambridge Seven visited Leicester in November 1884, was first invited to Keswick in 1887, and became one of the leading teachers. But Anglicans held on to their dominant position - Webb-Peploe in particular was apparently very touchy where the prestige of the Church of England, and his own reputation as a Churchman, were concerned(2). The Christian felt that Anglicans predominated in 1889; and the Record noticed in 1890 that the great Nonconformist societies

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1. H.C.G.Moule, The Evangelical School in the Church of England (London, 1901), 82.

2. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 42-3, 111.

were very little represented among the missionary organizations at the convention - in fact, Nonconformists of any kind seemed to be in a small minority(1). Though this was due to lack of interest as well as to Anglican sensitivities. A correspondent from the British Weekly remarked in the early 'nineties that

> "My only regret as a Nonconformist is that a movement like this, so entirely scriptural and beneficial, is falling into the hands of the Church of England, simply because the leaders of Nonconformity are holding aloof from it"(2).

The meetings at Keswick followed much the same pattern as had been established at Oxford and Brighton. Early prayer meetings were followed by Bible readings at ten, and three general meetings were usually held each day, in the morning, afternoon and evening. Smaller, sectional gatherings met too, at odd hours during the day, and special evangelistic meetings were held in the Market Place in the evenings, often continuing after the end of the Convention. The main emphasis, however, was on the mission to Christians, and the people who came to Keswick were very largely men and women who were actively engaged in full or part time Christian work. It is difficult to find specific information on this point, actually, just because it was so widely assumed that they all were middle or upper class converted Evangelicals. It was not until the end of the period that Keswick extended its influence further down the social scale.

Although, in the earlier years especially, there was no organized programme or method, the teaching at Keswick was progressive, and

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1. Record, 25 July 1890.

2. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 102.

did develop over the years into a standard, though not rigid, pattern. The speakers on the first day concentrated on sin, and after dwelling on its depth, and the need for repentance, the convention moved on, over the following days, to consider the provision for reconciliation in Christ; consecration; and the promises of holiness through a Spirit-filled life. The object was to secure a crisis, similar to that aimed at in revival meetings, but in this case it was a 'second conversion' experience (though this term was not used); a full consecration of self to God, in the expectation, not of forgiveness, but of power, through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Often, therefore, the evening meeting was followed by an after-meeting, which played a similar role to the inquiry meetings in revivalism. Among Hopkins' papers his biographer found the outline of an address on after-meetings, warning against forcing them at the wrong time, but asserting their usefulness for fuller instruction and personal decision, "a perpetual starting-point for the continual henceforth'"(1). People were encouraged to stand at these, to give silent witness to their act of decision. Though in the atmosphere of Keswick many came to their spiritual crisis in private conversation, or, like Meyer in 1887, walking alone on the hillside(2).

Evan Hopkins very soon emerged as the leading theologian, and in many ways a power behind the throne, at Keswick. Thirty-eight years old in 1875, he took charge of the Pathway of Power on Pearsall Smith's collapse, and remained editor in chief until 1913, changing the title to Life of Faith in 1883. In a number of writings, perhaps the most important being The Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life, published in

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1. A.Smellie, Evan Henry Hopkins: A Memoir, 119-20.

2. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 103-4.

1884, Hopkins set forth the doctrine of sanctification by faith, as preached by the Keswick leaders. He himself was of the 'second blessing' school, asserting that the Christian life knew two stages; the outer circle or 'duty-life', and the inner circle or 'love-life'. Sanctification was the initial act of transition to, and also the progressive development and attitude of consecration within, the inner circle. It was in the fullest sense a gift of God, through Christ, but, like justification, depended also on the response of the individual; in a full surrender to God. In contradiction to the perfectionists, and self-defence against the charge of perfectionism, Hopkins insisted that never in this life can man claim to be without sin (1 John i 8): but union with Christ does give a conquering and sustaining power. Romans 7, the crux of the controversy, which perfectionists described as the state of the unconverted, he interpreted as

> "the experience of every converted soul whenever he forgets the secret of his strength - whenever he forgets that he is absolutely helpless against indwelling sin, and ceases to rely implicitly and entirely upon Christ as his Deliverer. He may vow and strive earnestly against the flesh within him; but unless there is this simple trust in Christ, with complete renunciation of all confidence in himself, failure is certain, for the evil that is present within him is stronger than all the powers of his renewed nature"(1).

Much of the literature which emanated from Keswick, like the series of pamphlets issued monthly in 1878, was apologetic in tone, and directed

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1. E.H.Hopkins, The Holy Life (London, 1875), 69-70.

largely towards proving the respectability of the movement. For, while the attendance of Evangelicals steadily increased, year by year, the Evangelical party itself, insofar as it was an entity, continued to disapprove of the Convention. In 1877, John Charles Ryle published a book on Holiness: its Nature, Hindrances, Difficulties and Roots, and an enlarged edition was brought out in 1879. Ryle pointed out that it was easier to be a Christian in the exciting mass-meeting, than to be "more holy, meek, unselfish, kind, good-tempered, self-denying, and Christ-like at home"; and he asserted that holiness conventions were often calculated to do more harm than good. He felt there was too little emphasis on the Scriptural view of sin, that too much was said of faith as the one essential, and too little of personal exertion.

> "The plain truth is, that men will persist in confounding two things that differ - that is, justification and sanctification. In justification the word to be addressed to man is believe - only believe; in sanctification the word must be, 'watch, pray, and fight'. What God has divided let us not mingle and confuse"(1).

Ryle objected to a distinction being made between conversion and consecration, and he insisted that there may be much weakness and infirmity, even in the true Christian, just as the Apostles were afraid in the storm(2).

Hopkins stressed that sanctification was the work of the Spirit; Ryle stressed the sinfulness of man; as in many doctrinal controversies of the nineteenth century, the difference is largely one of emphasis.

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1. J.C.Ryle, Holiness: its Nature, Hindrances, Difficulties and Roots (London, 1879), xxvii.
2. Ibid., 292-3.

In 1882, the excesses of the Salvation Army revived the issue, and called forth a series of leading articles in the Record on "Sin: Sanctification: Perfection". Canon Christopher was still the only leading Evangelical to support the Keswick movement, though Dean Close had softened towards Battersby as early as 1877(1). Christopher led the prayers at the Convention of 1884, and sent a favourable account of it to the Record afterwards. The speakers were not inspired, and therefore not infallible, he admitted, and he had not agreed with every sentence spoken. But the Convention should not be condemned on account of a few utterances, when the general tenor was so entirely Scriptural, and the one object the glory of God.

> "We shall oppose the error of Perfectionism best by contending with those who hold it, not by misunderstanding those who do not, though they press upon us what your Reviewer well describes as 'the possibilities of the life of grace' in accordance with 'the mighty words of Scripture'"(2).

The Reviewer referred to was presumably Handley Moule. And in a very personal sense, the turning point for the Evangelical party, as far as Keswick was concerned, came with the experiences of Moule himself later that year. He had met the Pearsall Smiths when they were staying in Cambridge in 1874, but had been unconvinced by them(3). Early in 1883, Bowker, Fox and Webb-Peploe were guests at Ridley Hall, while conducting a mission in Cambridge which Moule found very impressive(4). He was still

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1. Memoir of T.D.Harford-Battersby, by two of his sons (London, 1890), 207-8.
2. Record, 1 August 1884.
3. J.C.Pollock, A Cambridge Movement (London, 1953), 34-5.
4. Moule's MS. Diary, 27, 28, 30, 31 January, 1, 2 February 1883.

suspicious of their teaching, however, and his anxiety was increased by the visit of Pigott and Oliphant, preaching sinless perfection, in March 1884(1). Asked to review Hopkins' book on The Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life, Moule wrote four articles on holiness, published in the Record in June and July, in which he denounced the 'extreme left' of the doctrine of holiness which was springing up among the Salvationists and elsewhere. The kernel of the book, and of Hopkins' school of thought, that the indwelling Christ was the power over sin, received by faith and complete surrender of the will, Moule felt was a doctrine "weighty with celestial treasure". But it was taught out of proportion, with a defective exposition of sin, and a dangerous tendency to leave the justification of the guilty too much in the background(2).

In spite of doubts, Moule was much engrossed in the subject of holiness; introspective and always self-critical, his diary for 1884 is full of heart-searchings. In March, after the holiness mission, he felt "some true realization of the Lord's sanctifying power"; during the summer his constant prayer is "Lord, sanctify me"(3). Towards the end of August, the Moules went to stay with Mrs. Moule's cousins at Park Hall, Polmont, in Scotland, and found Bowker there as a fellow guest. Mr. Learmouth had lately begun an annual convention on Keswick lines on his estate, and the third such gathering was due to be held September 17-19. Bowker, Hopkins, Major Edmonds of the Salvationists, and William Sloan, a Glasgow ship-owner, were the chief speakers. The reluctant Moule was persuaded to attend, and there experienced a spiritual crisis

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1. J.B.Harford and F.C.Macdonald, Handley Carr Glyn Moule (London, 1922), 117.
2. Record, 27 June, 4, 11, 18 July 1884.
3. Moule's MS. Diary, 24 March, 1 July 1884.

which seemed second only to his conversion seventeen years before. The first day's meetings he found useful, but not entirely satisfactory; the after-meeting in the evening was particularly trying. On the Thursday morning, walking alone towards Rumford, he felt "able to realize the Saviour's personal reality and divine influence as Keeper". The climax came that evening, with Sloan's powerful address on sin, and Hopkins' exposition of the all-sufficiency of Christ for sanctification.

> "At after meeting I stood up - & so, I found, did my Mary. May it be a gracious helpful act of definition, dear Lord... Delightful prayers in drawing room aftds. when I confessed blessing, in prayer...."(1).

Moule retained a deep awareness of his own sinfulness, and in many ways this convention was but one stage in a gentle and holy life. He himself, however, as he told a group of Scottish students at Keswick in 1892, would always date from September, 1884, a new era of liberty and unreserved surrender - so far as he knew - to the will of Christ and the power of the Spirit(2). His first reaction, at the beginning of the next term, was to give a special address to the University men (about 400 of them) on 'Christ our victory over temptation'(3). In November he wrote to the Record that since writing his criticism of The Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life he had met and been greatly helped by its author(4).

That Autumn he delivered a series of lectures to the Church Society, published in 1885 as Thoughts on Christian Sanctity. The supreme aim of

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1. Moule's MS. Diary, 17, 18, 19 September 1884.
2. Christian, 11 August 1892.
3. Moule's MS. Diary, 12 October 1884.
4. Ibid., 18 November 1884; Record, 21 November 1884.

the Gospels, he said, and the earnest desire of Christians, was to be holy; nothing less than a continuous walk with God in Christ by the grace of the Holy Spirit. There were limits in attainment - "to the last it will be a sinner that walks with God" - but it was possible to cast every care on Christ, and to grow daily in His likeness, so that every act of sin was a contradiction, which need not have taken place if we had been drawing, in that moment, on the sanctifying power of the Spirit. The two great factors were, on this side, self-surrender, and on that, the power and influence of Christ in vital, spiritual union with the servant and friend whom He has redeemed and saved. From this starting point such a life may be realized in the sense of climbing a ladder; cultivated by the discipline of prayer, study of the Scriptures, worship and the Breaking of Bread(1). These ideas were developed and expanded in a series of devotional works published by Moule over the next few years.

In the accession of Handley Moule, the Keswick movement had gained a scholarly theologian as exponent and guide - much needed, for Hopkins, hitherto its 'teacher', had been a civil engineer before training for ordination, and was no scholar. Moule also provided a steadying influence on the movement as it was emerging in Cambridge, where 'a pervading energy from above could not but be recognized' in the period after 1875(2).

Algernon Coote, honorary representative of the Bible Society in Cambridge, had been largely responsible for an invitation to Stevenson Blackwood to conduct a mission in the Guildhall in November 1873. Carefully

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1. H.C.G.Moule, Thoughts on Christian Sanctity (London, 1885).
2. H.C.G.Moule, The Evangelical School in the Church of England (London, 1901), 64.

organized, with a personal invitation to every undergraduate, and earnest prayer-meetings in preparation, the visit was an outstanding success; and Blackwood returned in February 1874 and again in November 1875. Pearsall Smith held several meetings in May 1874, and Moody was invited the following year, but refused to come. The climax to the series was the mission of Sholto Douglas, who had been a founder of the Daily Prayer Meeting, in November 1876. On the last morning an informal conference met to discuss spiritual work among undergraduates, and Douglas suggested that this be made a permanent institution to co-ordinate the activities of the colleges. After several meetings of college representatives, an inaugural conference was held on 9 March 1877, attended by about 250, including Douglas himself and seven Oxford undergraduates. Six days later a constitution was drawn up and the title of Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Union adopted(1). It had grown out of a general atmosphere of revivalist and perfectionist activity in the country as a whole; its way prepared in Cambridge, to some extent, by the closer union in the seventies of the D.P.M. and the Church Missionary Union.

In the early 'sixties, the beginnings of the Daily Prayer Meeting, and the general influence of Cambridge Evangelicalism, had been hampered by the lack of a close understanding between senior Evangelicals and undergraduates(2).The return of John Barton and Handley Moule, the former as Vicar of Holy Trinity in 1877, the latter to Ridley Hall in 1880, provided a firm but sympathetic leadership of senior men to give

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1. J.C.Pollock, A Cambridge Movement, 32-43; F.W.B.Bullock, History of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, I, 108-10.

2. See Chapter Two, p.94.

the party a respectable position in the university, and to prevent the dangers of excess which were to arise in the 1880's. Both had played an important part in the early years of the Church Missionary Union -Barton especially as secretary from 1858-9. Moule had often taken the Sunday meetings of the D.P.M., retaining a close contact with the student societies while Dean of Trinity. The two men were close friends; and Moule married Mrs. Barton's sister in 1881. Together they provided just that sympathetic handling which was needed in the spiritual developments of the period.

Moody's visit to Cambridge in the Michaelmas term of 1882 has already been discussed. Moule was among those working in the inquiry room, and he was deeply moved by Moody's preaching(1). The following week he began a University Bible Reading in the Trinity vestry; 11 came the first Sunday, 40 the next, and by the Lent and May terms the average attendance ranged between 50 and 75(2). The success of the mission encouraged C.I.C.C.U. to invite a number of Keswick speakers to conduct some meetings the following term, and as we have seen, Moule gave hospitality to some of these, and attended a few of the meetings. The mission of Pigott and Oliphant, two Anglican deacons whose teaching went far beyond that of Keswick, in March 1884, was much more worrying. After hearing very unsatisfactory accounts of the meetings, Moule, Barton and Ireland Jones, Vice-principal of Ridley, joined in a conference on sanctification in Ridley Hall on the Friday afternoon. Moule stressed that one can please God as Father, but not, in this life, as Judge. On the Sunday he spoke at the evening service at Trinity Church of the

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1. Moule's MS. Diary, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 November 1882.

2. J.B.Harford and F.C.Macdonald, Handley Carr Glyn Moule, 116.

good he had received that week, but warned against the errors(1). The Record's correspondent (who might possibly have been Moule himself) felt that the conference had done much to correct the dangerous tendency to sinless perfection(2).

After Moule's conversion to Keswick teaching, his position as moderator of the holiness movement in Cambridge was strengthened. Pigott, now a Salvationist, returned during the Michaelmas term, and again in February 1885; but the visit of Hopkins, Fox and Bowker, in March, to conduct a mission in close conjunction with Moule and Barton, guided the movement on to more sober lines. The Record report remarked that

> "Anyone who mixes at all with University men who are spiritually in earnest, will say with me, that the whole circle of such men is profoundly stirred at this time on the question of sanctification. It is the possessing theme. Thank God the movement is characterized by an increasing recognition, so it seems to me, of scriptural warnings, side by side with the mighty promises. For this special time of help many of us are deeply thankful to God"(3).

The following year Moule arranged another Keswick mission in Cambridge. But Pigott was back now as a student at his old college, having renounced the Salvation Army, and his influence was growing. The crisis came with a holiness convention organized by C.I.C.C.U. in

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1. Moule's MS. Diary, 10,11, 13, 14, 15, 16 March 1884. Pigott was Hankin's curate at Mildmay, Oliphant Webb-Peploe's curate - both had offered to the C.M.S. while at Islington, but were told to come back after spending a short while in curacies.
2. Record, 21, 28 March 1884.
3. Record, 13 March 1885.

June 1886. Bowker took the chair and Moore, Moule and others spoke, but Pigott was the dominant figure, and many in the audience rose and declared themselves entirely free from sin. Some of them later had nervous breakdowns or departed into strange excesses; Douglas Hamilton, president of C.I.C.C.U., joined the Agapemonites, a weird and sexually perverted sect, in their Abode of Love at Spaxton - to be joined many years later by Pigott, who became 'God' of the movement in 1902(1). Most, however, including Battersby's son Charles Harford, were brought back into the fold. The C.I.C.C.U. executive, with Klein now as president, agreed that perfectionism should no longer have their sanction. In January 1887 Hopkins and Bowker, carefully instructed by Moule and Barton, led a very successful mission, which included a special meeting on the Tuesday afternoon to warn against the dangers of Agapemone(2). The circular of announcement laid down five important principles to be understood as fundamental to the question: the supreme authority of Holy Scripture; the acceptance of the believer only through the atonement of Christ, not for any holy presence of Christ within him; the existence to the last of the 'flesh'; the need to confess himself always a sinner; and the need for growth to the last in tenderness of conscience(3). The English Churchman, rejoicing in the results of the mission, said,

> "All praise is due to God that in His providence we have a leader like Mr. Moule at a time when the possibility of sinless perfection has been advanced and somewhat rash statements have been made, tending to impel in an opposite direction those who felt unable to

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1. J.C.Pollock, A Cambridge Movement, 102-3.

2. Moule's MS. Diary, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 January 1887.

3. Record, 28 January 1887

agree with such a doctrine"(1).

These years forged a strong link between Keswick and Cambridge. Further missions were held at regular intervals, and a strong contingent of University men became a regular feature of the Convention. The influence on the Evangelical school in Cambridge, Moule later felt, was 'nobly good', in spite of the excesses, inaugurating a wonderful decade, from 1884 to 1894, of a spirit of surrender, holiness, and missionary fervour(2).

Moule's new adherence to the Keswick movement was important also, in bringing the backing of a man rapidly emerging as one of the leading young Evangelicals (forty-three years old, but Ryle was sixty-eight). In June 1885, Moule spoke for the first time at Mildmay. The Record commented that

> "If this rather thorny 'holiness question' comes now into the hands of a skilled theologian and well-balanced 'old despised evangelical' like Mr. Moule, we shall have less controversy and more true life"(3).

The next year he appeared on the platform at Keswick, where he was to be a frequent and regular speaker until his death in 1920.

In a sense, Moule's coming both symbolized and made possible the gradual recognition by the Evangelical party, as such, of a movement which had already assumed an important place in Evangelical life. In 1888 the Rock, always more favourable than the Record, admitted that

> "Conferences of this kind are more popular - especially with Evangelicals - than any other form of religious gathering".

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1. English Churchman, 3 February 1887.
2. J.B.Harford and F.C.Macdonald, Handley Carr Glyn Moule, 118-9.
3. Record, 26 June 1885.

Welcoming the first such convention held in Bradford, the paper remarked that,

> "There certainly does seem to be a remarkable awakening throughout the country on this subject. We are not all bound to accept the same views, and there is, of course, much with which we cannot agree in movements of this kind, but the large and earnest gatherings, and the manifest blessings obtained, by many who attend, show that God is putting His seal to the movement..."(1).

The attendance figures mentioned earlier give some indication of the increasing popularity of Keswick. By the mid-eighties it was the most famous of a growing number of conventions - held even more widely perhaps in Scotland than in England. Many of them were copies of Mildmay already well established by the 1870's in Dundee, Aberdeen, Bath, Leicester and elsewhere. As early as October 1871 the Rock had rejoiced at a movement so effective in "uniting the true Church of God in manifest oneness" and developing Christian zeal in active service(2). Among the most prominent was the Clifton Convention, begun in 1863 by the Rev. S.A.Walker, which in 1870 drew several hundred to the morning meetings, and more than a thousand in the evenings. His successor at St. Mary le Port, Bristol, the Rev. James Ormiston, took over the conference in 1880(3). The Perth Conference had been started at the same time, largely with the help of Pennefather himself, and by the 'eighties was a famous Evangelical centre for Scotland. In 1889, 500 joined in the Lord's Supper on the Thursday evening(4).

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1. Rock, 27 July, 15 November 1888.
2. Rock, 10 October 1873.
3. Christian, 13 October 1870; Record, 11 October 1880.
4. Christian, 20 September 1889.

Other conventions were held for the definite purpose of the deepening of the spiritual life; some of them growing directly from Pearsall Smithism, many more, as the period continued, the offshoots of Keswick itself. At Liverpool, where a Christian Convention on Mildmay lines was already held each October, a 'Keswick' Convention was established in the eighties - the fourth in March 1892 drew over five hundred to the opening prayer meeting(1). At Dublin too, an annual Christian Convention was begun in 1873, and in 1889 another convention, emanating entirely from Keswick, was convened by Wilson and Bowker. A similar one had begun at Belfast in 1887. James Elder Cumming began a series of conventions in Glasgow for the deepening of the spiritual life, in November 1882, with Bowker, Hopkins, Figgis and Harford-Battersby as speakers at the first gathering(2). In 1881 the first such convention had been held in Edinburgh. Others were started at Aberdeen in 1891, Dundee in 1890 and Bridge-of-Allen in 1892. In England they were established at numerous centres, including Southport (1884), Manchester (1889), Birmingham (1890), Sheffield (1892).

Most of these were small, local conventions, but in 1890 an attempt was made to provide a 'Keswick of the South' at Guildford, drawing people from all over southern England who might not be able to get to the Lakes. The chief organizers were Paynter, Rector of Stoke-next-Guildford, and Houghton, a Congregationalist minister. The usual Keswick speakers attended, and the large tent, holding 2,000 was well filled. The Record took the opportunity to give its full mark of approval to the convention movement, as developing "all the noblest qualities of those who surrendered themselves to the prevailing influences of the

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1. Christian, 3 March 1892.

2. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 61.

occasion". Among the advantages were the opportunity to emphasize, in the midst of ecclesiastic controversies, the essential union of Christians; the direction of each hearer to the necessity of personal effort, on the mission field or at home; and the improvement of the quality of Christian life generally(1).

Keswick was still not entirely free from controversy. A further storm of criticism arose in correspondence to the English Churchman in 1889, and the Record in 1890; heightened in the latter year by divisions in the convention itself. Some of those present expressed extreme views on the question of a special baptism of the Spirit; to be rebuked by Webb-Peploe in his Bible Reading on the Friday morning(2). A slight tendency to excess was exploited by the Salvation Army, who used to hold holiness meetings from ten till midnight during Convention week. In 1891 an attempt was made to prevent this by putting on a convention prayer meeting at 9.30p.m., but the Army put back its meeting, and some went to both - though the vast majority went to neither. The Record in 1891 complained of the testimony meetings at Keswick, while the English Churchman issued a series of articles criticising the teaching of a second conversion. The latter paper attacked the Keswick preachers, too, for not contending strongly enough for the faith. A true 'higher life'

> "is not satisfied merely to contend with a low type of religion, or with self-righteousness, or with worldliness, but it fights, just because it is the Higher Life, against covert and avowed Romanism and every species of scepticism. But some - thank God not all- of those who talk most about the Higher Life avowedly sheath

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1. Record, 20 June 1890.

2. Christian, 1 August 1890.

the sword of controversy and go in for the quiet, short, and easy method of preaching 'a simple gospel'..."(1).

The Keswick Convention could never really become a party centre or a party machine, for it was unconcerned with party politics (in the ecclesiastical sense); was in any case wider than the Evangelical party in the Church of England, and was never supported by all Evangelicals. In 1909 Stock denied the assertion of the Church Times that the Convention had restored the lost spirituality of the Evangelical party. The supposed 'loss' was open to question, and besides, the Convention attracted only a section, and not a large section, relatively, of Evangelical Churchmen(2). But it had certainly gained an immense influence as a centre of Evangelicalism. Its leaders were in key positions. Webb-Peploe was on the committees of most prominent Evangelical societies, and was recognized by the Rock in 1889 as one of the chief Evangelical leaders in the Church(3). Moule has been described as wearing the mantle of Simeon at Cambridge; in 1901 he became Bishop of Durham(4). Meyer was President of the Baptist Union in 1906-7 and of the National Free Church Council for 1904-5 and 1920-1. And in 1892 John Charles Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool and leader of the 'old school' Evangelicals, appeared on the Keswick platform, for the first and only time, to lead in prayer on the Sunday following the Convention. His presence was largely due to Moody, who was giving the address, but it symbolized, in a sense, the final acceptance of Keswick by the Evangelical party(5).

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1. Record, 31 July 1891; English Churchman, 6, 13, 20, 27 August, 3 September 1891.
2. E.Stock, My Recollections, 207.
3. Rock, 13 December 1889.
4. M.L.Loane, Makers of our Heritage (London, 1967), 85.
5. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 77-8.

II MISSION.

As the attitude of Evangelicals towards conventions changed, so also did the emphasis of the conventions themselves. The strengthening and invigorating of individuals had as an important corollary an increased earnestness in Christian service; and a feeling of dissatisfaction grew, in certain quarters, that the conference should concentrate only on the first stage, of personal holiness. Commenting on the Perth Christian Conference in 1877, the Christian urged that less time be spent on refurbishing weapons, and more on devising plans for their use. The conferences should be used to incite Christians to leave the first principles of regeneration and sanctification, and pass on to a sustained attack on the burning questions of the day(1). Battersby wrote in his journal in 1880,

> "In regard to the teaching at this Convention, I think, after a time spent in humiliation, in searching out hindrances to blessing, in confession and consecration, we should seek to go on to enquire how God's work should be done: how the church can be brought to take up a more aggressive attitude towards the world, and make more progress against all the various obstacles that oppose the speed and victory of God's Word"(2).

The only aspect of the Perth Conference to win the Christian's approval in 1877 had been Radcliffe's appeal for evangelization at home and abroad; and this feeling of the need to develop coincided with a new interest in the missionary cause. An article in 1878 asked,

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1. Christian, 13 September 1877.

2. Memoir of T.D.Harford Battersby, by two of his sons, 211.

"Shall we have a Missionary Revival?". Nothing else would save the Church from worldliness(1).

Missionary fervour had for some years now been on the wane. Henry Venn complained to the Islington Clerical Meeting in 1865 that whereas the number of Evangelicals in the metropolis had increased tenfold over the previous decade, C.M.S. funds had scarcely increased fourfold(2). The number of candidates, too, was falling off, and in particular the supply from the universities. Between 1849 and 1861, 246 names were added to the roll of new missionaries, including 62 from the universities, 35 of whom were Cambridge men, 12 Oxford, 14 Dublin and 1 from London. The Missionary College at Islington sent 72 men. Between 1862 and 1872, however, only 23 university men went out - though Islington sent 88 in this period(3). The report for 1871-2 announced that no university graduate had offered for missionary work that year, and appealed for prayer for the deficiency of funds and candidates. The society then had 199 ordained, 16 lay and 10 female European missionaries in the field, with a total of 153 mission stations. By 1876-7 the number of stations had increased to 177; the European missionaries to 201 ordained, 40 lay and 13 female workers(4). Missions in Bengal and North West India were much crippled in the decade between 1872 and 1882 by the inadequacy of staff: C.M.S. missionaries in India had fallen from 109 to 104 by 1884. In China too, inadequate reinforcements hampered the work. Nor was the situation confined to the C.M.S. Between 1861 and 1871 the number of missionaries of the five leading societies working in India had fallen from 262 to 234(5).

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1. Christian, 30 May 1878.
2. Record, 13 January 1865.
3. E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, II, 46, 391.
4. Church Missionary Society, Annual Reports, 1871-2, pp.3, 236; 1876-7, p. 238.
5. E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, II, 357; III, 130, 143, 230.

The C.M.S. was facing grave financial difficulties; the rise in income failing to keep pace with its expanding activities. The extent of this problem is difficult to gauge, actually, from a straightforward study of the accounts in the annual reports. The Committee's opinion of the financial situation seemed to depend more on its expectations, and a general feeling that times were hard because of the economic depression, than on any significant fluctuation in the figures given. In April 1876 a decision to abandon entirely Constantinople and Smyrna, and reduce activities elsewhere was saved by a donation(1). In August 1877 the committee was driven to resolve on a policy of retrenchment(2). Henry Wright announced a day of special prayer on October 8 for the difficulties of the C.M.S.(3).

Special contributions amounting to £16,000 were received that year, presumably in response to the crisis. George Fox sent a donation of £5,000, and urged that an appeal be made at the next May Meeting so that student numbers would not have to be cut. The following year, 1878-9, 14 candidates were accepted for training, and 15 to go out at once; 1 from Oxford, 4 from Cambridge, 1 from King's, 1 from Dublin, 1 from Highbury and 1 from Edinburgh. The next year, however, only 2 university men were accepted, though the report rejoiced at a great improvement in the funds(4). Special contributions were coming in fast, and these enabled a deficit of £25,000 to be wiped out. But the Special Joint Committee of Finance and Estimates decided to stick to the policy of

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1. Ibid., III, 119.
2. Record, 8 August 1877.
3. Record, 3 October 1877.
4. Church Missionary Society, Annual Reports, 1877-8, p.2; 1878-9; 1879-80, pp. 3, 160.

retrenchment - in spite of strong opposition from Wright. In 1880 seventeen Islington men, ready to take the field, were placed in curacies in England for a time instead.

A turning point came in 1880. Wright's brother-in-law, the Rev. F.E.Wigram of Southampton, undertook, if the committee would refrain from retrenchments which would seriously injure the work, to guarantee the society against any excess of expenditure above the fixed limit of £185,000, to the extent of £10,000. In August Wright was drowned, and in October Wigram was appointed his successor as honorary secretary. Stock mentions here a letter from the Rev. E.H.Bickersteth of Hampstead, appealing for enlarged subscriptions; though it seems possible that he is referring to a letter dated 5 May 1882, published as a pamphlet, urging all to give 'half as much again'. This was backed by a leader in the Rock and became an Evangelical watchword for 1882. At all events, by May 1881, the balance sheet was clear, with the working capital intact and £18,000 in hand. All the men kept back in 1879 and 1880 had either sailed or were due to sail in a few months. Several of the plans for retrenchment were reversed, and new missions were being planned(1). In 1881-2, 19 candidates were accepted to go out at once, including 3 Oxford men, 4 Cambridge, 2 Dublin men and 4 Edinburgh medics - the highest number of university men for some years(2).

A number of factors combined together to bring about a fresh upsurge of missionary enthusiasm in the last quarter of the century. A period of strident imperialism - itself a compound of diplomatic,

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1. E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 254-65; Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1881-2; Rock, 16 June 1882.
2. Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1881-2, p.6.

economic and social forces, - provided the atmosphere, part cause, part effect, for a growing concern for world-wide evangelization. In June 1884, the Rock proclaimed that a crisis had been reached in the history of foreign missions: the door to Japan was ajar as never before; China and India lay open; the Church must be up and doing now or the opportunity would pass(1). The outcry at the death of Gordon dominated a huge meeting arranged by the C.M.S. and Y.M.C.A. in 1885, and stimulated a Gordon Memorial Mission to the East Sudan(2). The news of Bishop Hannington's murder and the persecution of Christians in Uganda, in 1886, caused an uproar in the British press, and soaring sales for missionary literature. The C.M.S., Anti-Slavery Society and other religious organizations agitated over the next few years for the occupation of Uganda, and government support for the East Africa Company there - several newspapers, including the Record, beginning an intensive campaign for a protectorate in September 1892. Though Robinson and Gallagher maintain that it was essentially questions of strategy, and the safety of the Nile, which led to increasing British commitment, and eventually to the establishment of a protectorate in Uganda in 1894(3).

The extent to which the missionary cause suddenly came to life in the religious world as a whole can be seen, in England, in the new interest in creating Boards of Missions, and in the great interdenominational Missionary Conferences of 1878 and 1888; both of which have been discussed in earlier chapters. For the Evangelical party in the Church of England, the chief influence came from a mixture of revivalism, the Keswick movement, and the new vitality of Cambridge

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1. Rock, 6 June 1884.
2. E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 317-9.
3. Ibid., III, 402-448; R.Robinson, J.Gallagher & A.Denny, Africa and the Victorians (London, 1963), 198-201, 291-3, 307-30.

Evangelicalism - the latter in itself, to some extent, a product of the other two.

At Cambridge the mission of Moody and Sankey in 1882 gave the impetus to a growing interest in missionary work, which reached a peak in 1884 with the formation of the 'Cambridge Seven'. Cecil Polhill-Turner had been at Cambridge only a short while, before joining a cavalry regiment. Dixon Hoste was not, in fact, a Cambridge man at all, but he had been converted through the influence of his brother, a Trinity undergraduate, at Moody's Brighton Mission in December 1882. Stanley Smith had gone down in 1882, and was teaching in London; William Cassells was working in a Lambeth slum parish. Montagu Beauchamp and Arthur Polhill-Turner, Cecil's brother, were Ridley men. Charles Studd, famous cricketer, had worked with other Cambridge men at Moody's second London campaign; and in 1884 he was greatly influenced by Hannah Pearsall Smith's The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life. The offer and acceptance of these seven men, many of them prominent sportsmen, within a few months of each other in 1883-4, to go out with the China Inland Mission, caused great excitement in Cambridge and elsewhere.

In November 1884 some of them joined Hudson Taylor in a week of highly successful meetings in Cambridge(1). Smith and Studd went on, with Reginald Radcliffe, to visit Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester and several other towns, appealing for men and money - and testifying also to experiences of sanctification by faith, so spreading further the "Keswick message". Two crowded farewell meetings, at the

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1. J.C.Pollock, A Cambridge Movement, 73-85; F.W.B.Bullock, The History of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, I, 215.

Guildhall Cambridge on February 2, and at Exeter Hall two days later, marked a stirring climax to the enthusiasm aroused by the Seven. Fifty thousand copies were sold of the issue of China Millions which reported the meetings - compared to a normal circulation of twelve thousand(1).

At the beginning of December 1884, at a meeting of the Cambridge University Church Missionary Union, Wigram had met a number of students who desired to dedicate themselves to missionary work(2). The next C.M.S. report, praising God for the 'remarkable movement' in Cambridge, and the deepening interest aroused by the Seven, announced that a 'considerable number' of undergraduates were in communication with the committee with a view to going out with the C.M.S. on the completion of their university courses. That year 105 offers had been received - though only 45 accepted, 27 for training and 18 direct, 5 of them from Cambridge and 2 from Oxford(3). The report for 1886-7 announced that 34 offers had been accepted, of which 18 were from university graduates, 12 of them Cambridge men(4).

A high proportion of Ridley Hall men became foreign missionaries; 117 of the 514 who passed through the Hall during Moule's time as Principal, while a further 76 served abroad in other capacities. Moule was criticised for this in some quarters, though the Church Missionary Intelligencer leapt to his defence in February 1895, and he himself maintained that he had constantly pressed the claims of the home field. He was greatly interested in missionary work, however,

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1. J.C.Pollock, A Cambridge Movement, 86.
2. E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 315.
3. Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1884-5, pp. 4-5.
4. Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1886-7, p.4.

with relatives in the field - his brother George was a Bishop in China - and from December 1882 he was President of the Church Missionary Union in Cambridge. Many felt that his unconscious influence was exercised in that direction. In his Annual Letter for 1889, Moule suggested that

> "... our missionary statistics offer in themselves some indication of the spirit of devotion to our blessed Master granted to our brotherhood. I do not for a moment mean that the work of the home-pastor does not call for the same power of 'the Spirit of faith' as that of the missionary abroad, or that the life of the one may not be just as truly and fully to the glory of God as the life of the other. I only mean, what all Christian history witnesses to, that as a rule the community where the call to missionary labour is lovingly responded to is a community which in its whole life and work is indeed living in some true measure to the Lord"(1).

In the'eighties, the C.M.S. launched an all-out attempt to arouse a widespread missionary concern throughout the country. The local organization was reformed, and from 1882 lantern slides etc. were lent out to local associations. That year a Lay Workers' Union was formed in London, and in 1885 a Junior Clergy Union and a Ladies' Union. In 1882 a Missionary Exhibition was arranged by Barton in Cambridge, and the next year one was held in Norwich. Missionary missions were sent out to various towns, to press the claims of the C.M.S.(2). In 1886

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1. F.W.B.Bullock, The History of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, I, 215-6, 239, 249, 331-3.
2. E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 305-8; Irene H.Barnes, In Salisbury Square (London, 1906), 222-5.

came an extensive and highly organized campaign of February Simultaneous Meetings, when two hundred clergy and laymen were sent out as deputations, holding a total of 800 meetings in one week at over 150 different centres. In these it was the cause of missions generally, rather than the C.M.S. in particular, which was prominent, and the movement secured the sympathy of both High Churchmen and Nonconformists(1). It was followed up in 1887 by a week of F.S.M.'s in London - about 2,000 meetings being held between February 6 and 13, closing with a service of thanksgiving in St. Paul's. As in the previous year, the primary object was not to raise money but to draw attention to Christ's call to evangelize the world. The Rock felt that

> "The first and greatest result we want them to produce is a great cloud of witnesses for CHRIST ready to go out to the thirsty heathen lands"(2).

Though they did bring in special contributions of £4,000, as well as a deepened missionary interest. The London Lay Workers' Union already had 350 members, the Junior Clergy Union 260 and the Ladies' Union 967. A Gleaners' Union for prayer and work was started in 1886, through the Missionary Gleaner, to perpetuate the influence of the F.S.M.'s and by May 1887 this had 6,000 members(3).

Nor was the C.M.S. the only body promoting an active campaign of missionary meetings at this time. Hudson Taylor and Reginald Radcliffe had consistently pressed the claims of missionary work at Mildmay and similar conventions; and in the mid-eighties their enthusiasm triggered

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1. Rock, 22 January 1886; Christian, 18 February 1886; Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1885-6, p.11.
2. Rock, 4, 11, 18 February 1887; Record, 18 February 1887.
3. Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1886-7, pp. 277-82.

off a spate of conferences specifically on the subject of missions. In May 1886, the second of a series of conferences on the Evangelization of the World was held in London, with Radcliffe, Hudson Taylor, Messrs. R.C.Morgan and Henry Varley playing important parts(1). Pennefather had proposed an organization for communications for those interested in missionary work, and this idea was taken up at Mildmay Missionary Conference, arranged by Radcliffe, in October 1886, where plans for a Missionary Intelligence and Registration Office were carried unanimously(2). The next few months saw a host of local missionary conferences; at Clapham, Manchester, Newcastle, Sunderland, Leicester, Cambridge and elsewhere. They were held on similar nondenominational lines to the Mildmay Convention, and many echoed Keswick in their stress on holiness and consecration. Radcliffe, Hudson Taylor and the Rev. F.B.Meyer were among the chief speakers, and various missions, at home as well as abroad, were represented. Numbers were comparatively small; 40 offered for missionary service at the Manchester Conference; 15 undergraduates stood at the closing meeting in Cambridge - but only 20 were present altogether. The meetings aroused great excitement, however - in the Christian if nowhere else. The paper urged the Christian Churches of England and America to see to it that this rising tide of missionary enthusiasm be 'taken at the flood'(3).

Radcliffe and Hudson Taylor were anxious that the deepened spiritual life promoted at the Keswick Convention, and the growing desire to express this in service, be seized and directed into missionary channels.

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1. Christian, 27 May 1886.

2. Christian, 14 October 1886.

3. Christian, 4, 18, 25 November 1886, 6 January, 10 March, 17 June 1887.

But Bowker would not at first allow missionary meetings at the Convention: "Missions meant secretaries quarrelling for collections, and Keswick couldn't stoop to that". In 1885, however, a private missionary prayer meeting was held at Radcliffe's lodgings; Eugene Stock, lay secretary of the C.M.S., visiting the Convention for the first time, was among those present. At the testimony meeting that Friday morning two Cambridge students (one being Charles Harford) and three Cambridge clergymen stood up and announced their willingness to serve God abroad (though only two of the latter seem to have gone, one of them not until 1907). In 1886 and again in 1887, Bowker allowed Radcliffe to use the tent for a missionary meeting on the closing Saturday morning, though he himself refused to attend. On the latter occasion Stock and Webb-Peploe were among the speakers. The Record reported that over 60 had stood up resolved to go out - though Stock remembered the number as nearer 30; 24 people came to see him about missionary work over the week-end. The Record had hopes of a revolution in missionary advocacy if the advocates of personal holiness should take up also the cause of missions(1).

In May 1888, Bowker wrote to tell Stock that

> "... a new thought has been given me: Consecration and the Evangelization of the World ought to go together,"

That year the Saturday missionary meeting was included in the official programme, and another was added on the Wednesday, with daily prayer meetings for missions; all arranged by Stock as Radcliffe was away in America(2). Keswick had passed on to its third stage; from a keynote of purity, and then of power, to an emphasis on the missionary call of Christ. Henceforth the climax of the Convention was to be, not the

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1. Record, 12 August 1887; C.F.Harford, editor, The Keswick Convention, 135-6.
2. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 83-5.

crisis of personal consecration and sanctification, but the decision for active service - primarily for missionary service, though as Radcliffe had stressed in 1886, it was evangelization, rather than missionary work in the ordinary sense, which was being urged(1). This accorded so well with the current of missionary fervour that already by 1889 the Christian was complaining that only two general meetings were devoted to missions at Keswick, and urging that the

> "substantive purpose at all such conferences should be the accomplishment of our Lord's last command - 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature'"(2).

In 1890, about 300 held up their hands at the Saturday missionary meeting to show their willingness to go out if the way should open(3). In October 1891 it was claimed in the Record that in four seasons 80 candidates from Keswick had offered themselves to the C.M.S., of whom at least 50 had eventually gone to the mission field - and though some were sceptical of this, Stock wrote that many more than 80 had spoken to him at Keswick, and later offered themselves(4). Hudson Taylor later reckoned that two-thirds of the missionaries in the China Inland Mission had come through Keswick(5).

Besides stimulating individuals to dedicate themselves to missionary service, the Keswick Convention was able to make a more specific contribution to the field. At the Saturday meeting in 1888, a £10 note

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1. Christian, 19 August 1886.
2. Christian, 5 July 1889.
3. Christian, 1 August 1890.
4. Record, 23 October, 6 November 1891.
5. S.Barabas, So Great Salvation (London, 1952), 152.

had been passed up, with a slip of paper offering the money as the beginnings of a fund to send out a 'Keswick Missionary'. The stir created when Bowker read out the message resulted in £860 being sent up, in money and promisory notes, by the end of the meeting - in spite of Bowker's earlier insistence that there should be no collection. Before the end of the year the fund had risen to £1060. 1s. 8d.

After some discussion between the Keswick Trustees, together with Hopkins, Webb-Peploe, Charles Fox, Moore, Brooke and Stock, it was eventually decided that the money be used, in part, to send out missions on Keswick lines to the already evangelized areas of the mission field, with a view to revitalizing the native churches(1). This was not an altogether new idea. In West Africa a special mission had been arranged by the Bishop of Sierre Leone in 1885 - to be greeted with enthusiasm by the C.M.S. committee as suggesting "a work of the highest importance which the Society should be prepared to foster"(2). In 1887 the C.M.S. sent a special winter mission to India, where the committee felt that a hereditary and nominal Christianity was growing up, and this was apparently highly successful(3). The Keswick party, led by George Grubb, sailed for Ceylon in October 1889, and moved on from there to South India; working independently of the C.M.S. but welcomed by the society's missionaries, and apparently having great effect on the native Christians. Their visit stimulated a number of missionaries to hold similar gatherings for the deepening of the spiritual life - in the Krishnagar district, Santal, Faizabad, Mirat, Karachi, Trichur and Allahabad. On leaving India, Grubb and his party

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1. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 84-5, 88-9.

2. Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1885-6, p.10.

3. Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1886-7, p.9; 1887-8, p.11.

visited Australia and New Zealand, before returning to the Keswick Convention of 1890. Then Grubb and Millard set off for the Cape and South Africa, while Campbell returned to India for a six months' mission, this time taking with him the Rev. William Haslam(1). Thereafter, deputations from the Keswick Convention were sent out year by year to South America, China, Canada, India and elsewhere, so that fingers of the Keswick influence reached out to all parts of the mission field.

From 1890, free copies of the Life of Faith were sent out to missionaries, and in 1892 the first Convention report, The Story of Keswick. The fund had been intended, however, by the first donor, for missionaries, and it was originally thought that pioneer evangelists might be sent in twos, according to Biblical precedent, to open up new districts. But this seemed impracticable; and it was finally agreed that grants be made to support a number of 'Keswick Missionaries' who would go out as members of existing societies. In 1892 the first, and possibly the most famous, Amy Wilson Carmichael, was presented by Robert Wilson to the mission committee. She went out to Japan in 1893, and later worked in Ceylon and South India.

All these forces had played their part in stimulating a revival of missionary fervour which saw its effects in the vastly increased figures of the missionary societies. During the first half of the century the average recruitment of the C.M.S. had been less than eight a year; from the Jubilee to 1880 it was $16\frac{1}{2}$; from 1881 to 1894, 30 a year. The number of university men, too, was rising. From the society's foundation

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1. J.C.Pollock, The Keswick Story, 89-94; C.F.Harford, editor, The Keswick Convention, 147; Church Missionary Society, Annual Report, 1889-90, pp. 5-6.

to 1880, 156 graduates were accepted; 78 from Cambridge, 38 Oxford, 32 Dublin, 1 London, 3 German and 4 from Scottish universities. Between 1881 and 1894, 170 graduates joined; 100 from Cambridge, 24 from Oxford, 16 Dublin, 7 Durham, 6 London, 1 from Ireland, 1 from Leipzig and 5 from Scotland(1). Much of the increase came after 1887, when the Committee adopted a 'Policy of Faith'. It was estimated that funds were multiplying faster than the men, and consequently the decision was taken to refuse no candidate on financial grounds - a reversion to the old policy announced by the society in 1853(2). In 1871 the C.M.S. had 203 ordained and 16 unordained European missionaries in the field, with 10 women. By 1885, there were 223 ordained men, 38 unordained men, 18 women; and in 1892 there were 316 ordained, 71 laymen and 107 female missionaries, plus the 242 wives now added to the roll. The C.M.S. was, of course, just one of the societies in the field, but these figures give some indication of what was happening generally.

Whether these developments were entirely to the benefit of the native churches is, in fact, open to question. The Protestant missionary societies, and especially the C.M.S., of this period, have in recent years been strongly criticised for holding back the development of native leadership. Certainly the increase in native workers did not keep pace with that of the Europeans. In 1870-1 the C.M.S. had 121 native and 4 East Indian or countryborn clergymen, with 1690 native or Eurasian lay workers. In 1885 there were 241 native, 11 Eurasian clergymen, and 3535 lay workers; in 1892 there were 281 native, 16 Eurasian ordained workers, and 4207 lay teachers(3). In the 'eighties the society's reports

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1. E.Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 354.

2. Ibid., III, 333.

3. Church Missionary Society, Annual Reports, 1870-1. 1884-5, 1891-2.

constantly stress their hopes one day to appoint native bishops in India, but their conviction that current tendencies- to sacerdotalism, low Christian and social standards, such as allowing caste marks - made such a step too perilous(1). On the Niger the clash of commercial interests and the growth of antagonism between English and African led to a serious rift between the black Bishop Crowther and the C.M.S., the establishment of a separate Niger Delta Pastorate, the appointment of an English Bishop, Joseph Sidney Hill, to succeed Crowther in 1892, and a legacy of division for the Christian Churches in the region(2). Webster in particular blames the Keswick movement for producing an influx of missionaries willing to use moral and spiritual reasons to deny black leadership and supporting the imperialist attitude of the day(3). Though the new self-conscious superiority seems to have hit all the Protestant missions alike, not just those influenced by Keswick.

The connection between the C.M.S. and Keswick was undoubtedly a strong one; with Stock playing an important part in the Convention, and Webb-Peploe steadily gaining influence on the C.M.S. Committee. The link was brought out in 1890, when a group of leading C.M.S. supporters, gathered at the Convention, drew up the famous 'Keswick Letter', addressed to the Committee of the C.M.S., urging the society, in view of the marvellous openings being provided, to appeal for a thousand workers. The letter added a list of suggestions for sending evangelists out in small groups, for making greater use of lay workers- in particular of working men and women - and providing industrial

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1. Church Missionary Society, Annual Reports, 1886-7, 1887-8, 1888-90.
2. J.B.Webster, The African Churches among the Yoruba, 1888-1922 (Oxford, 1964).
3. Ibid., 43-4.

training. The signatures included Hubert Brooke, Moule, the Bishop of Sierra Leone, Webb-Peploe, and Barlow, Vicar of Islington(1). It was opposed by many on account of its connection with Keswick - though Stuart pointed out at the next Islington Meeting that only three of the names were really of the Keswick school - and also on the grounds that the work at home was more urgent(2). But the C.M.S. Committee drew up a form of appeal to be used at the F.S.M.'s in 1891, and a scheme was adopted for training and employing a larger number of lay evangelists. To the cry of home heathen first they replied that

> "... seeing that out of every 5,000 communicants in Protestant Christendom, 4,999 stop at home, it does not seem that Foreign Missions are too exacting yet"(3).

A fresh development at the very close of the period was to maintain for a little longer the links between Keswick, the universities and the mission field. The Student Volunteer Missionary Union had been formed in Massachusetts, at Moody's first college conference, in 1886; and in 1891, one of the leaders of the movement, Robert Wilder, came to England, where he delivered a striking address at the Keswick Convention. In January 1892 he began a tour of the British universities, visiting Cambridge in February, and initiating a Cambridge Student Volunteer Missionary Union. In April representatives from Oxford, Cambridge, London, Belfast and the Scottish universities met in Edinburgh to inaugurate the Student Volunteer Missionary Union of Great Britain and Ireland, its main aim to move students to offer themselves for missionary service.

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1. Record, 1 August 1890.
2. Record, 5 September, 17 October 1890, 16 January 1891.
3. Record, 24 December 1890; Church Missionary Society Annual Report, 1890-1, pp. 8-9.

Arthur Polhill-Turner, one of the Cambridge Seven, returned from China, was appointed travelling secretary in August, and by May 1893 the Union had 491 members, of whom 25 had sailed, 13 had been accepted for the mission field, and 46 belonged to missionary institutions. The first student conference was held at Keswick in 1893, the week before the Convention, and there the title of Inter-Universities Christian Union was adopted (it was later changed to British College Christian Union). In 1894, again at Keswick, the American watchword, 'the Evangelization of the World in this Generation' was adopted.

The Convention gave encouragement, prayers and money - in 1894 it provided £300 towards the appointment of an I.U.C.U. travelling secretary. But from the beginning the theological position of the movement was broader than Keswick, and its attitude towards unity was rather that of interdenominationalism than the nondenominationalism of Keswick. In 1897 the Conference moved from Keswick; partly because of difficulties of economy and accommodation, but partly because some of the leaders were anxious to avoid associating the movement too permanently with a particular school of thought. The influence of the Convention on student developments gradually faded thereafter(1).

It seems ironic that just as the Evangelical party were beginning to accept the Convention as orthodox, Protestant and Anglican enough, the student movement was beginning to find it too Evangelical and restricting. Yet it is significant of just how much of a party machine, in spite of everything, the Keswick Convention had become. And in many

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1. Tissington Tatlow, The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1933); J.C.Pollock, A Cambridge Movement, 126-31, 160.

ways the origin and development of Keswick epitomizes what was happening to the Evangelical party in this period: the change in emphasis from institutional activity, from defensive policies against Ritualism, Rationalism, Nonconformity, to a positive emphasis on individualistic and spiritual activity; the attempt to increase the party's effectiveness by increasing the spiritual vitality of individual Christians, to reach out and evangelize the souls of more individuals. It could be described as an escape - and not inaccurately - but it was also a return to the emphases of evangelicalism in its eighteenth- early nineteenth century heyday - on renewal and evangelism. And if, as Moule held, a concern for missionary activity was a sign of spiritual vitality, then the Evangelical party in 1892 was not completely defunct.

CHAPTER NINE

CONFLICT AND CRISIS.

The developments of the later nineteenth century had called for a reorganization and a reconsideration of their position in a number of fields, and had led to splits in the Evangelical party all along the line. On the questions of prosecuting or tolerating ritualism, of adopting High Church methods of worship and evangelism, co-operating with other schools in missions and in institutional Church life, it was recognised by the 'eighties that two distinct divisions existed within the party - though the distinction between narrow and broad was by no means so clear-cut as the Record and Rock, each from their different side, implied(1). The matter was further complicated by disagreements over their relations with Evangelical Dissent; in April 1880 the quarrel between narrow and liberal Evangelical in the Record was one between Bishop Oxenden, who stressed their differences from Dissenters, and Moule, who thought "the bonds of mere Church order" very different in quality from the transcendant "sympathies which unite soul to soul"(2). The Keswick and Mildmay men marked a further group, cutting across, to some extent, the other lines of division.

Generally speaking, however, the Evangelical party tended to move, in this period, towards a greater participation in Church affairs, a greater toleration of other Churchmen and an emphasis on evangelism and spiritual growth which overrode their differences from other Christians. It was a tendency resisted in every aspect by a hard core

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1. Rock, 27 June 1879; Record, 19 January 1883.

2. Record, 2, 9 April 1880.

of generally older, but not always the same, Evangelicals, who were convinced that any departure from the old paths involved the unforgivable, and ultimately disastrous, desertion of the strait and narrow way. In 1865 it was their fears which were dominant. As the period progressed the battle was worked out between these two sections for control of the Evangelical party. The conflict came to a head in the 1880's in one of the oldest Evangelical centres, the Church Missionary Society.

Besides the 24 elected laymen, every clerical subscriber (of 10s 6d) to the C.M.S. was a member of the General Committee and so, in theory, able to influence the society's policies. In practice, of course, only those residing in or near London were really in a position to attend the meetings. In 1882 the question was raised in the Record whether the London Committee was too out of touch with the local associations to be amenable to their wishes(1). The issue was the more important as some of the most active men in Salisbury Square, Hoare, Perry, Bickersteth, seemed to favour the liberal side in Evangelical divisions.

The greatest controversy was in the always difficult sphere of the society's relations with the episcopate. The troubles in Ceylon had begun in 1876 with the arrival of the new High Church Bishop Copleston of Colombo. He distrusted the Church character of the Tamil Coolie Mission, conducted by the C.M.S. but with an inter-denominational Committee formed by the English planters; and he was anxious also that the colonial chaplains, most of them High Churchmen, should undertake more missionary work. A conflict between these two groups was inevitable. In June 1876, in reaction to the introduction of ornaments in some of the chaplain's churches, and to their assumptions of authority, the senior C.M.S.

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1. Record, 12, 19, 26 May, 2 June 1882.

missionary of the Tamil Coolie Mission, the Rev. W. Clark, instructed his catechists to assemble their congregations only in buildings belonging to the Mission or the planters, not, as had sometimes been the case, in the churches. Copleston called this a breach of Church unity, and wrote to one of the catechists telling him to resume his services in a particular church. Clark sent a counter-order, protesting that the Bishop had no authority over the catechists except through the C.M.S. missionaries. The missionary conference at Cotta in July supported Clark; and Copleston reacted by withdrawing their licences, though he restored all except Clark's on the advice of the Bishop of Madras(1).

In Ceylon Protestant indignation ran high, and in England too there was great excitement. A special committee meeting on October 26 defended the Tamil Coolie Mission and asserted that the jurisdiction of bishops must be determined in conformity with the laws and established practices of the Church of England(2). The controversy became more general in March with the issue of a series of resolutions by the four Bishops of India and Ceylon, declaring the ultimate responsibility of the Bishop for all Church work done in his diocese. The C.M.S. adopted a memorandum in reply affirming that work carried on with a society's funds could not be controlled by a diocesan organization. In June the Committee agreed to withdraw the 'H.V.' document, hitherto printed in every annual report, which allowed the bishop power to withhold or suspend the licences of missionaries; and to alter the note to the 29th law of the society, so as to affirm that the application to the bishop for licences was made only on the understanding that these would not be

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1. E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 203-6.
2. Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 26 October 1876.

refused or revoked except for some assigned legal cause.

The Bishop of Colombo, meanwhile, had offered to recognise the Tamil Coolie Mission if a guarantee was given of its Church of England character. This the Committee reluctantly gave, though confining it to a statement that the T.C.M. was an integral part of the C.M.S. Ceylon Mission, and stood in the same relationship to the Bishop as did C.M.S. agents elsewhere. Copleston was prepared to accept this, and to restore Clark's licence. (His appeal to the Metropolitan against its withdrawal had been unsuccessful.) But Clark, who at one stage had threatened to secede, now refused to support the Mission on the terms of the guarantee, and was determined to dissolve it - with the full backing of the local committee. He was called home immediately, however; and by the time the Lambeth Conference came to report on the subject, in the summer of 1878(1), the controversy seemed to be settled(2).

It broke out again almost at once, when the Bishop summoned an informal diocesan synod, with a Communion Service in the cathedral beforehand. The missionaries declined to attend the latter on account of the high ritual practised in the cathedral, and they were strongly backed by the home committee. A compromise was reached eventually, by Copleston requesting Ireland Jones to officiate at one of the services in his own way. But hopes of peace were squashed when the Bishop, reviewing the missionaries' licences, redefined their districts in a way which committed some of their converts to the care of the chaplains, and declined to licence three new men or to ordain certain native agents(3).

1.see p. 229.

2. Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 1, 8 January, 19 February, 5 March 1878; MS. Minute Book of the Ceylon Sub-Committee 20 July, 30 October 1877; E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 208-11.

3. Ibid., III, 212-3.

All parties agreed to submit to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, acting in conjunction with the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London, Durham and Winchester. The opinion of the Five Bishops, delivered on 1 March 1880, fully supported the society's demands; agreeing that the arrangements for licences was analogous, not to curacies, but to institution to a benefice in England; deprecating the imposition of tests; and asserting that lay agents were to be controlled by the Bishop only through the ordained missionaries under whom they were working(1). On this basis an agreement was reached with Copleston in April to safeguard the rights of both Bishop and missionaries.

The missionaries in Ceylon had in some respects taken a more extreme line than the home committee desired; and in England too the cautious policies of Wright and Hoare were attacked by some who pressed for stronger action. Similar difficulties arose in 1881, when Bishop Copleston called a conference to arrange a new constitution for the Church in Ceylon, in view of approaching disestablishment. Hoare felt that the missionaries should attend and try to influence the decisions; Whiting on the other hand opposed any recognition of synodical government. In the event, the C.M.S. representatives withdrew from the conference in a body on this question, and there was even talk of the C.M.S. seceding from the disestablished Church, though this came to nothing(2).

C.M.S. divisions became more acute in 1883, when Canon Hoare put forward his cherished project for a Corresponding Committee, of laymen as well as clergymen, to administer the work in the diocese of Colombo,

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1. Church Missionary Society, The Opinion of the Five Bishops, G/Y/CE 1/1.
2. Church Missionary Society, MS. Correspondence concerning Ceylon, G/Y/CE 1/1; Guardian, 24 August 1881.

as did a similar committee in India. If Copleston was invited to join the C.M.S. he would automatically become a vice-president and chairman of this committee, and this might alleviate the friction between Bishop and missionary caucus. The Ceylon Sub-Committee agreed, and instructions were sent out to Ceylon accordingly. Copleston at once became a member of the society. But the local missionaries were not so happy. Oakley, the secretary in Ceylon, feared that the new committee would reduce the Missionary Conference to a nonentity. And at a time when Evangelicals were considering making a serious protest against the Bishop's ritualism neither laymen nor clergymen were at all willing to join a committee under Copleston's presidency. They felt much more inclined to question the motives of the home committee in making the proposal(1).

Nor was the latter at all united on the question. It was decided eventually that the Rev. C.C.Fenn, one of the secretaries, be sent out to Ceylon to reassure the Missionary Conference and to work out some agreement. This was opposed by a strong minority however, including Money and Webb-Peploe, both in the Correspondence Committee and in the General Committee Meeting, before being accepted by the latter in July 1884. And after further agitation in the Record and elsewhere, at an exceptionally crowded Committee meeting on October 13, with 104 members and 6 visitors, the Rev. Talbot Greaves proposed that the resolution to send Fenn out be rescinded. It was finally resolved, after a long and heated discussion, that the project of a local corresponding committee was impracticable, and that Fenn's deputation should try instead to find

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1. Church Missionary Society, MS. Minute Book of the Ceylon Sub-Committee, 22 October 1883, 25 February 1884.

some other means of settling the difficulties on the island(1).

Still in December the Church Association's organ was fulminating against the insidiuous campaign in Church Missionary House, but even the Rock was quick to take Hoare's part; and when Fenn and Barton returned in March with reports of successful arrangements the controversy- as far as Ceylon was concerned - died down(2).

The next dispute was over Edward King, the new Bishop of Lincoln, consecrated in April 1885. Bishops who were members of the C.M.S. automatically, if they accepted the office, became vice-presidents; and it was the custom for the secretaries to write to any new Bishop who was not already a member of the society, informing him of this rule. Wigram therefore wrote to King, but the letter apparently went astray, and meanwhile an uproar broke out in the society. The Rev. W.Allan had tried unsuccessfully to prevent the letter being sent to such a renowned High Churchman, and at the General Committee Meeting in May he moved that the practice of sending official communications of this kind be discontinued. Sydney Gedge put and carried the previous question, but only by a majority of two. At the next meeting, therefore, the secretaries submitted a series of resolutions yielding this main point to the dissentients, but adding that a Bishop who was at the time of his appointment a member, or who subsequently became a member, of the society, would be invited to accept the office of vice-president. These resolutions were carried, with slight amendments, by 40 votes to 14. The moderates were displeased; and so, later, were the more extreme Protestants, for

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1. Church Missionary Society, MS. Minute Book of the Ceylon Sub-Committee, 30 June 1884, G/Y/CE 1/1; MS. General Committee Minutes, 1 July (Corresponding Committee), 14 July, 13 October 1884.
2. Church Association Intelligencer, 1 December 1884; Rock, 19 December 1884; E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 339.

King presently subscribed to the C.M.S. of his own accord, and at once became a vice-president(1).

More important was the controversy over C.M.S. subsidies to bishoprics. This had arisen first in connection with the Bishopric of Japan. During the negotiations for its establishment Wright, and later Wigram, had wanted the C.M.S. to pay the whole stipend and to nominate the man, but eventually Archbishop Tait decided, in December 1881, that the C.M.S. and S.P.G. should each grant £500 a year for the support of a bishop appointed by himself. The Committee agreed to this, but there were strong protests in the Record, which were not entirely stifled when someone offered to provide the whole sum himself. As it happened though, Tait died before making an appointment, and Benson appointed a C.M.S. missionary from India, the Rev. A.W.Poole(2).

A few years later Benson was pressing for the revival of the Jerusalem Bishopric. Originally a joint Anglo-Prussian venture, founded largely through the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury and against High Church opposition, this had lapsed on the death of Bishop Barclay in 1881; and in 1886 the Germans formally withdrew from the alliance. The C.M.S., and the London Jews' Society, both of which had missions in Palestine, had repeatedly urged that the Bishopric be revived, and Benson suggested that they each vote £300 to supplement the stipend, in place of the withdrawn German subsidy. The rest of the money would come from the old endowment of 1841. The nomination, under Shaftesbury's trust deed, would rest with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London.

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1. Ibid., III, 339-40; Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 11 May, 8 June 1885.
2. E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 337-8, 590-2.

The Jews' Society immediately agreed. The C.M.S. was not too sure, But at two committee meetings, on 10 January and 14 February 1887, the question was thoroughly discussed, and it was decided to make the grant,

> "... relying on the wisdom of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London to select as Bishop in Jerusalem a clergyman of suitable qualifications who can cordially co-operate with the Church Missionary Society"(1).

A similar proviso had been made with reference to the Japan Bishopric.On February 17 Benson wrote to announce that the Ven. G.F.Popham Blyth, lately Titcomb's Archdeacon at Rangoon, had been selected, partly on the recommendation of Titcomb himself, who sent a letter from his sick-bed at St. Leonards (he died in April) expressing his confidence in Blyth as "one of the wisest and most loving men I know"(2). On February 22, the C.M.S. Committee passed two resolutions recording their thanks to God and the Archbishop, and their readiness to co-operate wholeheartedly with Blyth(3).

Pusey, Liddon and the Guardian had firmly resisted the revival of the Bishopric,.and in March the High Church party presented a memorial to the Archbishop, not against this in itself, but against the arrangement to provide part of the stipend through societies which were engaged in proselytizing from the Orthodox Church in Palestine. Benson replied

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1. Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 10 January, 14 February 1887.
2. Church Missionary Society, MS. Correspondence, the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Rev. C.C.Fenn, 17 February 1887, G/AC 4/4, from the Rt. Rev. J.H.Titcomb, 21 February 1887, G/AC 4/5, p.841.
3. Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 22 February 1887.

affirming his confidence in the C.M.S.(1). But many Evangelicals were equally opposed to the notion of supporting a Bishop over whose appointment they had no control. And Titcomb, it must be remembered, was one of the liberal Evangelicals. The alarm was increased as news filtered through of Blyth's ritualism - in particular his use of eucharistic vestments at an early communion service at St. Michael's and All Angels, Chiswick.

Church Missionary House was deluged with letters and memorials protesting against the Committee's action, Some accused the Committee of harbouring Romanisers in its ranks; others urged that the annual report include an acknowledgement of error in this matter, and that no similar grant be made in future(2). Prebendary Stephenson wrote to the Record defending the ecclesiastical principles of the C.M.S.; but Stevenson Blackwood felt that "if her Evangelical principles are to be exchanged for Church Principles, ... she will forfeit all claim to our affection and support." The Record staunchly defended the consistency of the C.M.S. as truly a Church, as well as an Evangelical, society(3). Barton felt that the society was bound to try to secure bishops, and was not thereby committed to approval of their individual doctrines; Dean Fremantle sent a donation to the Bishopric Fund(4). The English Churchman denounced a tendency to compromise for the sake of wealth and respectability, then current in the C.M.S. - to be accused by Lewis Dibdin

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1. E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 278.
2. Church Missionary Society, MS. Correspondence concerning the Jerusalem Bishopric, G/AC 4/4, G/AC 4/5.
3. Record, 13, 20, 27 May, 3 June 1887.
4. Church Missionary Society, MS. Correspondence, the Rev.J.Barton to the Rev. C.C.Fenn, 26 May 1887, G/AC 4/5, p.877, the Very Rev. W.R. Fremantle to the Rev. C.C.Fenn, 30 May 1887, G/AC 4/5, p. 883.

in the Rock of conspiring over the previous two and a half years to undermine confidence in the Committee(1).

Stock seems to have felt that it was only Blyth's ritualism which stirred up the controversy in this instance(2). But James Inskip, leader of the opposition, wrote on February 21 to protest against the principle of making the grant, with no suggestion in his letter that he knew who had been nominated; and he was pressing for a full discussion of the question from then on(3). After two stormy meetings in April, it was agreed that the subject be held over until after the May Meeting; and eventually June 13 was given as the date for a formal debate on the Bishopric.

Rallied by the Record and Rock on the one side, and by the English Churchman on the other, over three hundred attended the meeting, which was held in Sion College. Inskip put forward his motion against the grant; Webb-Peploe opposed it with one affirming the difficulties felt with regard to the Jerusalem Bishopric, but also the good faith of the Committee. He was seconded by Hoare. Five other resolutions were moved, expressing various shades of opposition, but the general tone of the meeting, according to the Record, was overwhelmingly behind the executive. After some discussion Sir J.H. Kennaway, newly appointed President of the C.M.S., presented four conciliatory resolutions, which were accepted unanimously, but for seven dissentients. It was resolved, therefore, that in view of the special circumstances of the Jerusalem Bishopric, and the grave differences of opinion, the meeting

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1. English Churchman, 3 March 1887; Rock, 27 May 1887.
2. E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 341.
3. Church Missionary Society, MS. Letter from the Rev. J.Inskip to the C.M.S. Secretaries, G/AC 4/4, p.795.

> "forbears from passing any resolution dealing with that question but humbly and prayerfully leaves the matter in the hands of Him who is the Great Head of the Church and all-wise Disposer of events."

A continued adhesion was affirmed to the principle of selecting the society's agents by the Committee, and "not by any outside authority whatsoever." In exceptional cases where the society might decide to support those who were not agents of the C.M.S., the utmost care would be taken to secure the appointment of men in full sympathy with Protestant principles. But

> "That every such case when it may arise shall be decided upon its own merits and in humble dependence on the leading of God's Holy Spirit; and that former grants shall not be held to constitute precedents"(1).

And so, once more, the storm was calmed. The Rock, in fact, regarded the giant meeting as significant, less of strife within the Evangelical party, than of the great wave of missionary fervour which was then beginning(2).

Early in 1888 the Committee was busy with arrangements for the February Simultaneous Meetings which were one aspect of that revival. The Dean and Chapter granted the use of St. Paul's Cathedral for the concluding service, which had been held there the year before. Then, towards the end of January, a new reredos in the cathedral was unveiled and dedicated; an erection with numerous sculptured figures, including the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus in her arms.

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1. Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 13 June 1887; Record, 17 June 1887; E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 342-3.
2. Rock, 17 June 1887.

The C.M.S. was caught on the horns of a dilemma. A special committee meeting, on February 7, was unwilling to cancel the service, but equally reluctant to ignore the reredos, and thus implicitly to sanction it(1). At a further meeting on February 13, the Committee resolved,

> "(1) That it is their duty to devote their whole attention to Foreign Missions and while upholding at all times the standard of Protestant and Evangelical truth to avoid as far as possible taking part in home controversies.
>
> (2) That it is not their province to lay down any general principle respecting the use of the National Cathedral, or of other churches, for the special worship of God, for the advocacy of Mission, or for the ordination of candidates for the ministry."

A rider repudiated the charge of having indicated approval of or indifference to the reredos, arrangements for the service having been made before anything was known of the figures, and expressed alarm at its erection(2). The service was held accordingly, with an immense congregation, and the Rev. E.A.Stuart, in an outspoken sermon, denounced the expense of thousands on church decorations whilst so little was given to the poor and the heathen - a reference to the reredos which satisfied the Rock, at any rate, of the Protestantism of the C.M.S.(3)

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1. Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 7 February 1888.
2. Ibid., 13 February 1888.
3. Rock, 17 February 1888.

Once more the columns of the Evangelical press were filled with letters condemning or supporting the action of Committee. But by now the opposition was much more serious. In March the Record announced that the agitation against the C.M.S. executive had developed into an attack on the society itself, and that a scheme was on foot for the formation of a rival body(1). That month a letter was circulated among members of the C.M.S., expressing the grief of many of its friends at a tendency to depart from the old paths, and from distinctively Protestant and Evangelical principles, on the questions of the Ceylon, Japan and Jerusalem Bishoprics, the overtures to Bishop King, and the service in St. Paul's.

> "... The true friends of the Society should unite in forming themselves into a compact body pledged to attend meetings of the General Committee, and to use their utmost influence in keeping the Society in the old paths."

The circular, as printed in the Record, was signed by Lord Lichfield, Sir Arthur Cotton, Major-General Haig, James Maden Holt (of the Church Association) and James Inskip; all holding, or having held, important positions in the society. In the English Churchman the signatures of Lord Ebury, J. Braithwaite and T.B.Dale were also included.

The Record saw it as part of the secession movement, and objected to the secrecy, and the use of "the machinery of Parnell" to sow dissension and division in the C.M.S.(2). But the English Churchman could not understand how any C.M.S. supporter who desired to see Evangelical principles faithfully maintained could protest against a movement to secure their effective representation in Salisbury Square(3).

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1. Record, 16 March 1888.
2. Record, 23 March 1888.
3. English Churchman, 29 March 1888.

And the Rock on this occasion agreed that this was not an underhand affair but a genuine effort, of men who honestly believed that the Committee was going astray, to right the situation. Though wishing that members might regularly attend committee meetings, and not just in times of controversy, the paper's biggest regret was that the Record should have published a letter marked 'private' (and thus stolen a march on the Rock)(1). Canon Christopher, on the other hand, wrote to the Record pleading for a spirit of charity towards the Committee(2). And the Lichfield circular was countered by a letter from Cambridge affirming an unshaken confidence in the loyalty to Reformation principles of those managing the C.M.S. and protesting against the introduction of partisan tactics. The signatures included the Rev. E.H.Perowne, Professor Babington, John Barton and Handley Moule(3).

About 150 attended the General Committee Meeting on April 9. Haig put forward two motions; to amend the resolutions of February 13 by a recognition of the society's duty to further Protestant truth and protest against error, and to instruct the secretaries to avoid arrangements for the advocacy of the society's claims in ritualist churches. After a long debate the first was rejected by an enormous majority of 117 to 19, in favour of the combined amendments of Gedge and the Hon. Clerical Secretary (I am not sure if this means Wigram or Fenn). These were carried as a substantive motion with only 13 dissentients; affirming the Evangelicalism of the Committee, and their commitment to "a bold avowal of Protestant doctrine, both at home and abroad;" but that

"... they do not consider it to be part of their duty as

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1. Rock, 6 April 1888.

2. Record, 29 March 1888.

3. Record, 6 April 1888.

> the Directors of a Missionary Society to take any corporate action at home with regard to any erroneous doctrines or practices which may trouble the Church, unless it should become absolutely necessary to do so in order to preserve their own proper work from interference. The Committee feel they have a right to ask for generous confidence on the part of their friends, and a reasonable liberty of action in their attempt, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to solve the many difficult and ever-varying problems which the rapid development of the work presents."

A second resolution regretted the circumstances which had caused dissatisfaction and misunderstanding, and stated that it had always been the Committee's practice to accept contributions from, and send deputations to, all clergy and congregations willing to give and to receive them, without binding themselves never to refuse a deputation should occasion require(1).

The Record rejoiced at such an overwhelming vote of confidence in the Committee, and though the English Churchman was by no means so sure that the question was settled, the next few years were very largely free from controversy(2). It was Bishop Blyth who reopened the divisions, by accusing the C.M.S. in his primary charge, at the end of 1890, of proselytism against the Eastern Church.

The Rock declared that it had seldom read anything more painful; the Guardian ran a series of articles challenging the whole position of the C.M.S. in Palestine; in February 1891 Convocation debated a motion of censure on the C.M.S., and resolved that the matter be left in the hands of the Archbishop. The Committee of the C.M.S. agreed to submit

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1. Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 9 April 1888.

2. Record, 13 April 1888; English Churchman, 26 April 1888.

to his arbitration, though "guarding themselves from the admission of any right on the part of Convocation to control their action in regard to the conduct of their missions"(1).

The controversy was made the occasion for a proposal that the C.M.S. grant towards Blyth's stipend be withdrawn; backed by the English Churchman, and opposed by the Record, which felt that it was impossible honourably to withdraw at this stage(2). The Rev. T.T.Gaster moved the suggestion, seconded by Inskip, at a General Committee Meeting on April 14. Sion College had been taken for the occasion, though the gathering this time was rather smaller, about two hundred being present. Not more than a dozen, according to the Record, were Gaster's supporters; though Talbot Greaves's proposal that Blyth be invited to decline the stipend received a good deal of support, before being rejected by about three to one. Canon Hoare, recovering from a serious illness, who had made a special journey to oppose the motion, was loudly cheered as he made his way to the platform. He avowed his deep disappointment at the results of the revival of the Jerusalem Bishopric, but beseeched the Committee not to break their agreement, which had laid down no conditions for the grant. His motion, that the Committee was bound by its undertaking of 1887 to contribute to the maintenance of the Bishop, was unanimously adopted(3). And in September the Five Prelates (the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester and Carlisle) issued their 'Advice', in terms that were almost a complete vindication of C.M.S. policies in

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1. Rock, 12 December 1890; E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 523-4.
2. English Churchman, 2 April 1891; Record, 10 April 1891.
3. Church Missionary Society, MS. General Committee Minutes, 14 April 1891; E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 343.

Palestine(1).

And so, with the exception of a minor dispute in 1894, the period of conflicts within the C.M.S. came to an end. In many ways it had marked a last, determined effort on the part of those who favoured a more outspoken and decided stand for Protestantism against the High Churchism of bishops and increasing ritualism at home and abroad, to assert their control over C.M.S. policies. The results had shown them to be a distinct minority, both in the society and in the Evangelical party as a whole - though a minority strong enough to secure some modifications in policy, and some affirmations of Protestantism which the Committee might not otherwise have made. The very nature of the chief confrontations, more than their outcome, was evidence of the narrower group's defeat. The status quo which C.M.S. supporters rallied to Salisbury Square to defend was the ascendancy of what was known as the 'moderate' or the 'broad', the 'younger' section of the Evangelical party. The war was over long before these battles were fought.

Meanwhile, the ritualist controversy was dragging its weary way to a climax. Made desperate by their failure so far to repress the movement and by growing unpopularity, and blaming their failures largely on episcopal tolerance and active support of ritualism, the Council of the Church Association had in November 1884 asked for a mandate to ascertain how far the law might be brought to bear on an offending bishop. With loud cheers the autumn conference marked its approval of the new departure, but the Record was quite sure that many prominent Evangelicals disapproved. In the circumstances of the times, the paper could

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1. Ibid., III, 525-6.

> "...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 directly calculated to deaden spiritual vitality and promote a harsh un-Christian spirit"(1).

The Law Committee pressed on with its investigations regardless; and in 1887 it was announced that the Council was preparing to enter on a definite trial(2). On 2 June, 1888, a petition was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Church Association, requesting him to cite and try the Bishop of Lincoln for his conduct in Lincoln Cathedral and in St. Peter-at-Gowts, Lincoln, in Advent 1887. Eight charges were made; of using lighted candles, the Eastward position during Ante-Communion, so standing during the Prayer of Consecration as to hide the manual acts, mixing water with the wine and administering it thus mixed to the communicants, allowing the 'Agnus Dei', making the sign of the cross over the people, cleansing the vessels during the service. Almost all had already been declared illegal in other suits.

Uncertain what to do, but anxious above all to preserve the prerogatives and liberties of the Church, Benson replied that he had 'failed to satisfy himself that he had jurisdiction in the case', and was unable to proceed without such satisfaction by a competent court. It was nearly two hundred years since the Archbishop's Court had last been used, for a simony case (Lucy v. the Bishop of St. David's, 1699). Appeal was therefore made to the Privy Council, who decided on August 3 that the Archbishop did have jurisdiction, deliberately expressing no

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1. Record, 14 November 1884.

2. Church Association, Annual Report, 1886, 35-6.

opinion as to his right to veto the case.

This he was urged by many to do. But the ritualists had refused to recognise temporal courts. Here was an ancient spiritual court, which they must surely obey, or else lose their claims to a sincere, spiritual anti-erastianism; a court before which they might prove their assertions of the historical and ecclesiastical soundness of their ritualism. Benson urged them to use the opportunity wisely, and not in a plea for toleration which would leave the position untouched. Besides,

> "It would be an ugly chapter of Church History if it should run thus in the heading - Abp declines to admit his own jurisdiction - Privy Council decides that Abp's jurisdiction is undoubted - Abp in exercise of his jurisdiction declines to hear the case - Privy Council again applied to, to compel Abp to hear the case - Privy Council decides that Abp should hear the case - Abp hears accordingly and decides in two particulars against the plaintiffs - Privy Council again applied to, to reverse judgement of Abp - Privy Council reverses it...
>
> Of course, nothing can stop <u>this</u> - they would apply"(1).

Nothing would be gained by an exercise of the veto but a loss of dignity for the Church. Bishop King was cited to appear before the Archbishop on 12 February 1889.

Evangelicals were very divided in their attitude to the case. The <u>Rock</u> at first expressed satisfaction that bishops too were subject to the law; and Sir Arthur Stevenson Blackwood, who in May 1888 had publicly

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1. A.C.Benson, <u>The Life of Edward White Benson</u>, II, 329-30.

shown his loyalty to the Church Association by appearing on its platform, wrote a strong letter to the Christian in July defending its actions(1). The Record disowned the prosecution, on behalf of the Evangelical party, with the assertion that no single Evangelical leader had been consulted(2). To this the English Churchman, staunch Church Association supporter, retorted, "who are the leaders?". They should be in the van of the fight: as it was, Evangelicals were like "Israel, scattered upon the hills as sheep that have not a shepherd"(3). Sydney Gedge, on the other hand, roundly denounced the prosecution as disastrous to the cause of Evangelical truth in the Church of England; to be attacked in his turn by Henry Miller, secretary of the Church Association, for consistently supporting compromise with error(4).

Ryle wrote to impress on the Record the extreme gravity of the case. A decision in King's favour would contradict earlier Privy Council decisions, and so cause great embarrassment. One against him might lead to ecclesiastical rebellion and disobedience; whilst a compromise decision would be even worse. Meanwhile Evangelicals were engrossed in home and foreign missions, higher life and revival meetings, forgetting that the ship of the Established Church might sink beneath their feet(5).

The vast majority of Evangelicals held aloof. Though strongly opposed to prosecutions, they could find no acceptable and practicable alternative. The Rev. J.W.Marshall summed up their dilemma, strongly disapproving of, and dissociating himself from the law-suit, yet avowing a decided opinion

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1. Rock, 8 June 1888; Christian, 27 July 1888.
2. Record, 16 November 1888.
3. English Churchman, 22 November 1888.
4. Churchman, May, June 1889.
5. Record, 11 January 1889.

> "... that lawlessness in a Bishop is a most grievous scandal, from which, in some way or other our Church ought to be delivered"(1).

Denison's High Church declaration against the prosecution received short shift from the Record, and was countered by a declaration against ritualism by the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations, signed by 6-7,000 people(2).

The Record felt that the Evangelical party had no power to influence the proceedings of the Church Association; and any resort to moral pressure would be miscontrued as condoning King's irregularities. There could be no modus vivendi with Ritualism.

> "The differences which separate us from the extreme High Church party are not matters of compromise. The Evangelical position always has been and always must be that the Mass is anti-Christian, that its doctrine and its ritual are subversive of a pure faith, that a system which finds in sacraments a substitute for conversion imperils the salvation of mankind, and that teaching which gives tradition a co-ordinate place with the Bible, or instals the Church as the authorized interpreter of the Bible without which it cannot be safely studied, wilfully clouds the light of Divine Revelation with the fog of human opinion. We fail to see in any of these subjects room for compromise or a basis for negotiation. And, if that be so, we confess it seems a mere waste of time to consider whether one

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1. Churchman, April 1889.

2. Record, 16 November 1888, 4 January 1889.

> or two trifling matters, minor incidents of the conflict, cannot be conceded"(1).

Not all Evangelicals agreed with this view of the matter, however. In February 1889 an informal conference of Churchmen of all shades, convened by the Dean of Peterborough, met in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster to discuss possible solutions to the situation. Carter, Littledale and Lord Halifax were among the High Churchmen present; Moule, Webb-Peploe, Gedge, Inskip and others represented the Evangelicals; a number of Broad Churchmen also attended(2). No practical agreement was reached, but growing out of this meeting was a rather secretive organization, Churchmen in Council, which seemed in July to be pressing for peace in the form of a definition and revision of the rubrics by Convocation, so as to make their meaning clear(3). Dean Perowne immediately took up and developed the idea, writing to the Guardian that,

> "I wish to see Convocation declare plainly that the Ornaments Rubric should be taken in its natural and obvious sense, without the insertion of a negative, as defining the maximum of allowable ritual. But then the rubric so taken must be permissive, not compulsory; and as regards vestments, let it be clearly understood that, while those in use in the second year of Edward VI are legalised, it shall be sufficient if at all times of his ministration a clergyman wear surplice, hood, and stole or scarf"(4).

The Guardian welcomed this as involving no sacrifice of principle

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1. Record, 1 February 1889.
2. Rock, 8 February 1889.
3. Guardian, 17 July 1889.
4. Guardian, 24 July 1889.

on either side; and the Church Times too was disposed to accept the proposal(1). The English Churchman was horrified, regarding the plan as wrong in principle and sure to have injurious results(2). The Record, at first doubtful, was by August 23 definitely opposed to the scheme, taking its tone from an 'Old Soldier' (Ryle), who denounced it as an abject surrender of the principles for which Evangelical Churchmen had fought for forty years. A double interpretation of the rubric would lead to endless embarrassments; far better ask for a Royal Commission to draw up a new Ornaments Rubric(3). The latter solution found little favour with the Rock, who feared Evangelical disintegration as the worst danger, and urged Evangelicals to join the P.C.A. instead. The paper firmly opposed both prosecutions and compromise(4). At the Leicester Conference in the autumn, the Church Association unanimously rejected the Dean of Peterborough's eirenicon(5). Most Evangelicals could accept no solution which legalized what they believed to be wicked and dangerous errors, sick of controversy though they might be. As a peace measure, Perowne's plan proved quite abortive.

The controversy was revived early in 1890. On February 6 a meeting of the Churchmen in Council was held at Westminster Hall, where resolutions were passed stating that Convocation should define the ritual allowed, and supporting, for that end, the bill already drafted (see Chapter 4) giving to Convocational measures the force of law. Kitto and the Rev. J.A. Robinson supported the proceedings; Webb-Peploe on the front row opposed the first resolution; the hall was only two-thirds full, and the Rock remarked that all parties regarded the deliberations with indifference(6).

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1. Guardian, 24, 31 July 1889; Church Times, 2 August 1889.
2. English Churchman, 1, 22 August 1889.
3. Record, 9, 23 August 1889.
4. Rock, 30 August 1889.
5. Church Association, Annual Report, 1889, pp. 32-3.
6. Rock, 14 February 1890.

"Thus the mountain has been in labour, and it has brought forth a mouse", commented the Record, strongly averse to any transference of power to Convocation as arbitrator(1).

Churchmen in Council did succeed in bringing their plan before a number of Diocesan Conferences; including London, where a motion in favour of the bill giving Convocation legislative powers, supported by Sir Harry Verney and opposed by Wace, was finally rejected by a large majority. At Rochester it was carried without discussion(2). But again, though the Record was grateful for the existence of a peace-party, the Evangelical party would accept no compromise. The Protestant Churchmen's Alliance, anti-Ritualist but opposed to excessive litigation, carried by a large majority Canon Money's resolution disapproving of the plan of Churchmen in Council(3). The former society, in fact, discussed in an earlier chapter, was an alternative to Church Association policies which middle-of-the-way Evangelicals found more attractive - though it had as yet produced no very promising solution to the situation.

Technical objections had, as usual, delayed the proceedings, and it was not until February 1890 that, the preliminaries at last disposed of, the Lincoln case proper could be heard by the Archbishop. Bishop Thorold of Rochester was one of the assessors, together with the Bishops of London, Oxford, Salisbury and Hereford. Judgement was delivered nine months later, on November 21. Unwilling to rest on previous Privy Council decisions, Benson had conducted extensive independent researches into the questions at issue, his main aim being to bring peace to the Church. He condemned the sign of the cross at blessing and absolution, mixing the wine with

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1. Record, 7, 14 February 1890.

2. Record, 25 April, 2 May 1890.

3. Record, 28 February 1890.

water during the service and so standing as to hide the manual acts. But the administration of a previously mixed chalice, the "Agnus Dei" and the ablution of paten and chalice after the service were allowed. So, more importantly, were the use of lighted candles and the Eastward position, provided the manual acts be visible. These were specifically declared to have no doctrinal significance or sacrificial meaning, however, which Thorold hoped would (for Protestants) take the sting out of the judgement(1). All but the ablutions had been pronounced illegal by the other courts; the candles and eastward position by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council.

Benson's judgement closed with a protest against the hiring of witnesses "to intrude on the worship of others for purposes of espial", and a reminder to the Ritualists that things ruled lawful were not necessarily expedient. He added,

> "... The Court has not only felt deeply the incongruity of minute questionings and disputations in great and sacred subjects, but desires to express its sense that time and attention are diverted thereby from the Church's real contest with evil and building up of good, both by those who give and by those who take offence unadvisedly in such matters....
>
> Public worship is one of the Divine Institutions, which are the heritage of the Church, for the fraternal union of mankind.
>
> The Church, therefore, has a right to ask that her congregations may not be divided either by needless pursuance or by exaggerated suspicion of practices not

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1. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 293.

> in themselves illegal. Either spirit is in painful contrast to the deep and wide desire which prevails for mutual understanding. The Clergy are the natural prompters and fosterers of the Divine instinct, "to follow after things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another"(1).

The Times welcomed the decision as a message of peace, which allowed to neither party "unholy exultation" or "bitter regret"(2). In December Bishop King announced his acceptance of the judgement, and his intention to obey it(3). Some Evangelicals, the Rock, and P.V.Smith in the Churchman, were satisfied, at least, with the distinct repudiation of Romish doctrines(4). But the English Churchman, predictably, could not accept the judgement, and the P.C.A. issued a statement regretting certain points - though not as strongly, it would seem, as Grimthorpe and Canon Money would have wished(5).

The Church Association disputed the accuracy of Benson's quotations and arguments and complained that false principles had been laid down as the ratio dicendi of the Judgement, by the Court's denial that the sacrifice of the Mass and the Adoration of the Host were involved in the suit. The Council immediately appealed against the Judgement as being at variance with the Privy Council's decisions in previous suits(6). And even the Record, which still denounced the Lincoln prosecution as injurious to the Church, and still excluded the Church Association from membership

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1. A.C.Benson, The Life of Edward White Benson, II, 357-64.
2. Times, 22, 25 November 1890.
3. A.C.Benson, The Life of Edward White Benson, II, 371.
4. Churchman, January 1891; Rock, 23 January 1891.
5. English Churchman, 27 November, 4 December 1890, 1, 15 January 1891.
6. Church Association, Annual Report, 1890, pp. 37-42.

of the Evangelical party, felt that the Archbishop's disagreement with earlier Privy Council judgements made inevitable an appeal to the Final Court.

> "... By the action of others, and through no fault of theirs [i.e. of Evangelical Churchmen], the crisis of a generation ago has returned. The legality of practices and ornaments which they do and must hold to be dangerous is once more an open question. The lawyers have decided one way. The Archbishop, who is not a lawyer, has decided the other way. It is of the highest consequence to the Church itself that this doubt should be as speedily and thoroughly removed by one or other of these antagonistic opinions being definitely adopted by authority. The only way to do this - a way not free from embarrassment or drawback - is that the appeal, which is inevitable whatever Evangelical Churchmen say or do, should be prosecuted and disposed of. Let the legal judges of the Privy Council review the work of the historical judges of Lambeth, so that the Church of England may have the assistance of both"(1).

It was indeed inconceivable that the Church should remain in the awkward and ambiguous position of allowing, in its highest spiritual court, ritual which the supreme lay court had declared illegal. But if the appeal was not to worsen the situation by bringing the Judicial Committee, representing the Royal Supremacy, and the Archbishop, as spiritual head of the Church, into direct conflict, then the decision reached must inevitably go against the Evangelicals. In any case, the

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1. Record, 28 November 1890.

legal condemnation of ritualism had been of no practical effect. In Benson's distinct repudiation of any sacrificial or sacerdotal interpretation of the controversial ceremonies lay the only hope of peace for the Church. None but the few hyper-optimistic Evangelicals, in these circumstances, could really have been surprised by the outcome of the appeal. On August 2nd 1892, the Judicial Committee of Privy Council confirmed the Archbishop's judgement, with the one exception that the lighted candles were declared to have been the incumbent's responsibility, so their legality was therefore not in question(1).

The national and religious press were full of the judgement, in spite of the Daily News' assertion that the points raised were of small interest to intelligent and educated men and women(2). All acknowledged it as a great victory for the Ritualists, who, as the Morning Post pointed out, could now claim the sanction of the highest ecclesiastical tribunal for their controversial 'six points', if not for all their ritual(3). Though the Saturday Review reminded Evangelicals that

> "Their own liberty is not in the least curtailed, and if the judgement deprives them of the power of forcing the consciences of others, it imposes no burden on their own"(4).

Most papers echoed the hopes of the Times and the Standard that the judgement would make for peace in the Church and a cessation of hostilities on both sides(5).

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1. Record, 5 August 1892; A.C.Benson, Life of Edward White Benson, II, 374-5.
2. Daily News, 3 August 1892.
3. Morning Post, 3 August 1892.
4. Saturday Review, 6 August 1892.
5. Times, 3 August 1892; Standard, 3 August 1892.

The Evangelical party, naturally, were not enthusiastic. At the Autumn conference of the Church Association at Folkestone resolutions were passed deploring the Lincoln Judgement,

> "... because it has contravened the principle of interpretation previously applied to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer through a long course of years and a series of decisions; [i.e. by introducing a more historical approach and the possibility of reaching new decisions in the light of fresh evidence;] because it has introduced confusion, contradiction, and uncertainties into the ecclesiastical law; because it has sanctioned the unconstitutional proceedings of an inferior Court overruling the decision of the superior Court; and because it has tolerated parts of the distinctive ritual of the Mass in the services of the Established Church"(1).

The Hon. and Rev. E.V. Bligh wondered if the time had come to secede; but Bishop Ryle, whilst denouncing the judgement as harmful, urged Evangelicals to stand firm. They were not, after all, compelled themselves to adopt ritualistic novelties(2). Mr. P.V.Smith in the Churchman actually hailed the result, as conducive to the peace and wellbeing of the Church(3). And although most of the Record's correspondents condemned the judgement, there was a general tendency to look ahead to the next step, rather than wasting time bemoaning the present defeat. The Record itself, relieved, at least, that Church and

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1. Record, 11 November 1892.

2. Record, 5, 12 August 1892.

3. Churchman, September 1892.

State were now in harmony, was inclined to say 'I told you so' to the Church Association, whose prosecutionist policies, opposed for the last ten years or so by 'the great mass of Evangelical Churchmen', had achieved a situation exactly the opposite of what they had desired(1). The Rock too, disturbed by the proved uncertainty of the law, echoed the conviction of many Evangelicals that there could be no hope in further litigation(2).

This feeling was expressed in its most liberal form by Thorold, by then Bishop of Winchester;

> "... We have in this day to reckon with what may not inexactly be described as the Church renaissance movement of the nineteenth century - a movement which, both in scientific research and biblical criticism, and artistic culture and study of music, is beautifying life, deepening theology, widening sympathy, stirring missionary zeal, also is influencing profoundly and visibly, and much to their advantage, all schools in the Church in turn, the Evangelical, thank God, as much as the rest. We can no more prevent the subtle but growing influence of the artistic and the objective elements in the public worship of the present time by denouncing it as Popish, than we can keep Erie from going down Niagara Falls by shaking a walking stick at it. If we cannot and will not accept any of it for ourselves, let us not be so unwise as to grudge it to our neighbours. Our

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1. Record, 5 August 1892.

2. Rock, 5 August 1892.

> grudging it, indeed, will make no difference to their taking what they please, and what the law of the Church gives them; but it puts us utterly in the wrong, and diminishes our influence for good.
>
> To me, indeed, it seems that there are far graver matters to think about than those portentous trifles on which so much needless acrimony and useful resources have been spent"(1).

But even the English Churchman, organ of the extreme Evangelical wing, agreed, though for rather different reasons, namely the state of perpetual uncertainty in which ecclesiastical law had now been placed, that the prosecutions must cease(2). This was very much the line taken by the Council of the Church Association in announcing, in the next annual report, its decision, in view of such an 'irrational' judgement, to abandon for the present all attempts at litigation.

> "It is due to themselves that the Council should explain that this determination is not owing to any change in the law or the formularies of the Church of England, still less to any doubt as to the perfectly righteous policy of enforcing the terms of the Reformation Settlement on all who share in the endowments of the Church, but solely to the abandonment by the Queen's Judges of the duty, hitherto filled by them, of seeing that the law is not violated with impunity"(3).

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1. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 296-7.
2. English Churchman, 4 August 1892.
3. Church Association, Annual Report, 1892, p.24

At a special conference on 25 October, 1892, the Council put forward a detailed scheme of future policy. This was in part an extension of existing aspects of the association's work, in part an attempt to adapt other evangelical machinery to the battle against Ritualism, in place of the unsuccessful prosecutions. It included demands for Church reform; chiefly of the ecclesiastical courts, the abolition of the episcopal veto and the substitution of deprivation for imprisonment. Evangelicals were urged to secure greater representation in Church Assemblies, though the right of these, as at present constituted, to speak as the "voice of the Church", was denied. The formation of a Protestant Parliamentary party was also urged, and the National Protestant League (the working men's branch of the Church Association) was to be strengthened as a political pressure group. Increased support was to be given to Protestant schools; and a programme of educational polemics - school prizes, lectures, meetings and anti-ritualist literature - was proposed. The Colportage and Van agency was to be developed in the countryside, and missions and other evangelistic work, were to be encouraged, especially in parishes where "the Protestant Religion established by law has been practically disestablished by the usurped occupation of the structures of the Church of England by Romanizing intruders"(1).

Heartily supported by Blackwood and others, the scheme was accepted, subject to some revision of the details, and by Christmas it was announced that about £2,500 had been raised for the new departure. By the end of 1893, twelve districts had been planned out, in ten of which vans were already touring, whilst Colporteurs were at work in twelve

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1. Church Association, Annual Report, 1892; Church Intelligencer, November 1892.

counties. A training scheme had been started for these workers. Prayer-meetings, lectures, house-to-house visitations had been organized, and tracts and other literature published on an extensive scale. The forward policy did much to revive the waning support for the Church Association. Its income, which had dropped from £6,711 in 1877 to £2,300 in 1887, was £4,957 in 1892 and £7,006 in 1893. During the latter year 1,945 new subscribers joined the Church Association or the National Protestant League(1).

The Rock had thought that the new scheme did not go far enough in changing Church Association policy however. Too much of the old cargo remained, and the note sounded was one of war not peace(2). In November 1892, the paper commissioned P.V.Smith to write an article on the subject, in which he said that many Evangelicals were fundamentally opposed to the principle underlying both past and future policies of the Church Association; namely that Ritualists ought not to be tolerated in the Church of England.

> "Some of us want to narrow the limits of the Church, reducing her practically to a sect, and are willing that she should be disestablished and disendowed - in short, denationalised - if they cannot otherwise effect that object. They would, if they could, make the Act of Uniformity and the Rubrics stricter than recent decisions have declared them to be. Others of us, on the contrary, desire that the doors of the Church should be widened, with a view, among other results, to Evangelical Nonconformists being able to enter her fold. We desire

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1. Rock, 23 December 1892; Church Association Annual Report,1892, 1893.

2. Rock, 4 November 1892.

> that she should be even more truly national than she is at present. We should like to see large relaxations introduced into the Act of Uniformity and the Rubrics ... In this state of things we cannot unite in any organization which does not profess neutrality with respect to the two opposing principles and ultimate objects above mentioned. Such a neutrality the Church Association would indignantly repudiate; and that body, therefore, can never become a rallying point for Evangelical Churchmen"(1).

This was the voice of the more extreme liberal wing, rather than the general feeling of the Evangelical party, of course, but it was evidently too late for a non-prosecuting Church Association to become an Evangelical centre.

In September the Rock had suggested that the Church Association, the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations and the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance amalgamate in one strong organization, which might keep always in sight the fact that "their true warfare was with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of GOD"(2). The Bishop of Liverpool had called a private meeting of local clergy that month, at which resolutions had been passed to the same effect(3). In the event though it was only the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations and the P.C.A. which united, at a meeting in May 1893, chaired by the Bishop of Sodor and Man, to form a National Protestant Church Union(4).

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1. Rock, 18 November 1892.
2. Rock, 30 September 1892.
3. Record, 28 October 1892.
4. Churchman, June 1893.

This was a more exclusively Evangelical organization than the P.C.A. had been; with Lord Midleton as president and Webb-Peploe, acknowledged as one of the leading Evangelicals, as Chairman. (Though I can find no evidence that Bishop Ryle, that venerated party leader, took any part.) It was devoted to the opposition of error and superstition, but by the 'spiritual weapon of the truth' alone, not by prosecutions. Its activities were similar to those of the two older bodies, and indeed to the Church Association's new scheme; protests and memorials, public meetings, publications. In 1894 a parliamentary sub-committee was nominated and in 1895 a board of patronage was formed. By October 1894 the membership had reached nearly 4,000 and the following year it was announced that all the larger Clerical and Lay Associations were by now affiliated to the Union(1). In 1899 a Ladies' League was instituted, and the two united in 1906 in the National Church League.

Balleine reckoned that the N.P.C.U. was much larger than the Clerical and Lay Union(2). But, like the P.C.A., it was more specifically anti-ritualist in its aims than the representative policy-making body which had been sought in 1880. And many who had earlier opposed party organizations felt even less inclined to join the new union. Eugene Stock, member of the Lay and Clerical Union but not of the P.C.A., remained active in the more private meetings of the London Clerical and Lay Union but would take no part in the central N.P.C.U., though generally sympathising with its work(3). The union was evidently no more suitable as

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1. Churchman, October 1894; National Protestant Churchmen's Union, Notes and News, January, May, June, July 1895.
2. G.R.Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, 294.
3. E.Stock, My Recollections, 181-2.

a rallying point for Evangelicals than the Church Association.

A number of Evangelicals were eager to make a more complete break with the mistakes of the past. On 12 August 1892, the Record printed a letter from the Rev. A.J.Robinson, Cadman's successor at Holy Trinity, Marylebone, urging Evangelicals to "cease fighting and to unite in work".

> "... Just consider what a force for good the C.P.A.S. would be if it had the same income as the C.M.S. We could then plant Evangelical Churchmen, laymen and clergy all over England. No one could afford to despise us then, for we should be a real power. Let me earnestly and with all respect urge the militant section amongst us to ask themselves whether the course I venture to recommend is not most in accordance with the mind of Christ. Let me as earnestly and with equal respect beg and implore wealthy laymen to consider (if they are really Churchmen) what far greater good they would do if they would support and only support their Evangelical clergy and the Society I have named above.
>
> Let us outpray and outwork those from whom we conscientiously differ. This is the best and most Christlike way of overcoming them.

The Record backed this up with a leading article arguing that the repression of illegalities was the responsibility of the authorities: Evangelicals should concentrate on their own work.

> "It is by doing good rather than by preventing evil that the Evangelical body exert a real influence in the Church of England"(1).

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1. Record, 12 August 1892.

In October the paper began a series of three articles on the work of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society in supplying grants for curates and lay agents to needy parishes. The series concluded with a statement that at that moment more than seventy cases fully approved by the Committee could not be responded to for lack of money. The increased zeal for foreign missions seemed to be matched by a decline of interest in home effort, and the Record felt that the policy of starving the C.P.A.S. was suicidal to the Evangelical party(1). The Rock was setting forward the claims of the C.P.A.S. at much the same time(2).

Before the Lincoln Judgement was delivered, the C.P.A.S. Committee had decided to organise special meetings to arouse interest in the society; and these were held in London towards the end of November, at the very time when certain Evangelicals were beginning to look to the C.P.A.S. as a new rallying point. The society's organ, Church and People, considered them a great success; the Record thought the final meeting in Exeter Hall was representative and useful, but with none of the enthusiasm which foreign missions aroused. The hall was only half full(3).

But on December 15, an important memorial was addressed to the Committee of the C.P.A.S., signed by the Revs. W.H.Barlow, F.E. Gigram and other influential figures. This pointed to the rapidly growing population of the towns, and the adoption "all around us" of new plans and new agencies to meet this situation. The income of the C.P.A.S. had not enabled it to keep pace with the increasing demands of the times; and there was an urgent need for"increased efforts, expanded operations,

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1. Record, 21 Ocrober, 4, 18 November 1892.

2. Rock, 18 November 1892.

3. Church and People, July 1892, January 1893; Record, 9 December 1892.

larger self-sacrifice, and more vigorous support of this Evangelical Home Missionary Society." Besides more effectively discharging the Church's duty to the masses, such efforts would result in a clearer witness that Evangelical principles were still a living force; and a justification of the C.P.A.S. as a very real bond of union and rallying point for the Evangelical party.

> "The position which the Church Pastoral-Aid Society holds is unique. It ought to be, and it might easily become, for work at home, the great central agency of the Evangelical members of our Church."

The memorialists requested a conference on the subject with the Committee of the C.P.A.S.(1).

The Record stressed that the first duty of the society was to provide clergy and lay agents to undermanned parishes - though it might be well to consider the possibility of new operations. The paper heartily approved of the attempt to make the C.P.A.S., and the work of the parishes, the centre of Evangelical activity.

> "If we are wise, we shall close our ranks and give our best energies to strengthening the hands of our incumbents and their parochial organizations. False doctrine, whether leaning towards Rome or to the very singular and pernicious developments of some independent agencies, does not flourish in parishes where there is a faithful, zealous Evangelical ministry and a complete organization. But where clergy are worked out by the unequal contest with overwhelming tasks; where they have to struggle from year to year against financial burdens which few will attempt to lighten; where they

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1. Church and People, February 1893; Record, 16 December 1892.

> are compelled to see others sowing tares without the power themselves to intervene - is it any wonder that they lose strength and heart, or that they learn to distrust the sincerity of their brethren who might, but do not, help them?"(1).

A conference was organised at Church Missionary House on 6 January 1893. Meanwhile the memorialists had formulated their suggestions: that the C.P.A.S. take the lead in undertaking the full provision of pastoral and evangelistic work in the parishes open to them; and that the society consider the advisability of increased grants for clergy and lay agents, the provision of homes and training institutions for lay agents, the furtherance of middle and upper class education, theological colleges and the training of the clergy, the acquiring of advowsons, augmentation of benefices, and orphanages for boys and girls. Wigram took the chair at the meeting, and Barlow, Robinson, Webb-Peploe and Gedge were among those present. It was agreed that the Committee should consider the proposals, in consultation with a sub-committee of the signatories of the memorial(2).

Thus was initiated what became known as the Forward Movement of the C.P.A.S.

It was a movement, actually, which had in many respects begun some years before. Like the C.M.S., the C.A.P.S. was feeling the pinch of financial depression in the late 'seventies; and the structural organisation of the society was under revision in the early 'eighties when the C.M.S. was being reorganised. In 1882 the Clerical Secretary, Speck, was politely retired to the specially created post of Consulting Secretary; and his successor James Cohen was relieved of the detailed work, office work and

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1. Record, 16 December 1892.

2. Church and People, February 1893.

financial accounts to concentrate on organisation and administration. A number of special committees appointed during the year, largely under the influence of Canon Hoare, to consider the working of the society, resulted in the tightening up and extension of the network of district associations. These proliferated steadily over the next few years. Later the development of diocesan conferences and the pressure of rivalry with the High Church party's Additional Curates' Society led to the replacement of county committees by a diocesan-based organisation(1). The society's income, if not greatly increased by a more efficient machinery, was certainly much less erratic during the 'eighties than it had been(2).

In 1885 the annual report announced a number of ventures to extend the society's usefulness beyond its ordinary operations, so that the C.P.A.S. might continue a centre and focus of Evangelical enterprise in the home field. A Curates' Registry had been opened, and a C.P.A.S. Parochial Prayer Union established. The work of special missions, begun in 1874 and later abandoned, had been revived with the appointment of a Special Missions Committee(3). This included Mr. P.V.Smith; and Major Lombard, Sholto Douglas and Webb-Peploe were the secretaries. The latter had been appointed to the Grants Sub-Committee, in effect the executive of the society, and his presence here, as in C.M.S. committee meetings from about this time, is indicative of the increasing influence of Keswick in Evangelical affairs. Smith, the London barrister who so earnestly advocated toleration of ritualism, was active on the C.P.A.S. Committee throughout the period.

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1. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, MS. Committee Minutes, 5, 12, 24 January, 2 February, 7 December 1882, 26 February, 7 May 1883, 19 November, 3 December 1885, 1,13 December 1887, 26 April 1888.
2. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, Annual Reports.
3. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, Annual Report, 1885.

The Missions Committee drew up a list of mission preachers; and began communications with the grantees of the society, and with other incumbents of populous parishes, with a view to arranging missions. Sholto Douglas and William Hay Chapman prepared a Special Mission Hymn Book, which became very popular. A second edition was brought out in 1887, and by the end of 1889 a fourth edition was in demand. The parish missions actually held under the auspices of the C.P.A.S. were relatively few, however. Only eleven had been arranged for 1889 by November 4, though others were in the course of arrangement for the 'mission season', which had, in fact, only just begun(1). The better known missioners seem to have worked independently or with the Church Parochial Missions Society, rather than with the C.P.A.S. But the Jubilee of the society, in February 1886, taking the form of a Conference on Home Missions, fully expressed the new enthusiasms on the Committee- as its title, "How best to adapt the Church's existing machinery to the needs of the day", expressed the Evangelical emphasis in this period of working within the parochial system and all its trappings as much as possible(2).

In 1888, a Ladies' Home Mission Union was begun, in an attempt to arouse a more widespread interest in the C.P.A.S.; and this prepared the way for a radical new departure two years later. In December 1890, the constitution of the society was amended to allow grants to be made for women workers, acting as lay agents under the control of the incumbent, and selected by a Candidates Committee formed by the Ladies' Union(3). The C.P.A.S. extended its activities still further in July 1892, by taking

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1. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, Annual Reports, 1885, 1886, 1887; MS. Committee Minutes, 11 May 1885, 4 November 1889.
2. Record, 26 February 1886.
3. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, Annual Report, 1891; MS. Committee Minutes, 11 December 1890, 15 January 1891; Record, 9 November 1888.

over the circuit work of the Church Home Mission(1).

Robinson's letter to the Record that August, and the Memorial in December, gave a fresh stimulus to all these changes, and focused the attention of the Evangelical party, for a while, on an institution which had been somewhat neglected as unexciting. On 23 January 1893, six sectional committees were appointed to consider the suggestions; on religious education and the training of the clergy, church patronage, orphanages, literature, kindred subjects, and penitentiaries. Kitto sat on them all, Robinson on five; Moule, Chavasse and Girdlestone were each on three committees, and Smith and Webb-Peploe were among the others nominated(2). Most of the committees reported in the summer; and as a result of their recommendations it was decided to establish training homes for the clergy, lay agents and women workers, and an education council, including representatives of Evangelical educational institutions, to see to the welfare of schools in Evangelical trust. A scheme was prepared whereby the C.P.A.S. might become a channel of communications in the matter of advowsons etc., drawing up a private register of trusts and encouraging the buying up of rights of patronage. Forms of enquiry were sent to Evangelical incumbents of populous parishes, asking what help they most needed. By February 1894 replies had been received from 76 of these, asking for 62 curates, 26 lay-helpers, 15 women workers.

To meet all these increased commitments, and a number of minor schemes, it was estimated that the society must treble its income. John Barton, who left Cambridge to become Clerical Secretary in October 1893, and whose name became closely associated with the Forward Movement,

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1. Record, 29 July 1892.

2. Church Pastoral-Aid Society, Special Subject Committee MS. Minute Book, 23 January 1893.

toured the country holding special meetings to appeal for funds. At the May Meeting in 1894 Lord Harrowby, newly appointed President of the C.P.A.S., formally launched the new movement with an appeal for an addition of £20,000 to the regular income and a block sum of £8,000(1).

The response to this in financial terms was small. The income of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society had shot up in the year of the Lincoln Judgement from £51,900 the previous year to nearly £70,000 - partly the result of a doubled income from legacies, partly a similar increase in donations and collections. Thereafter it slipped back, to fluctuate between £55,000 and £60,000 for the rest of the century. A steady, if modest, income was received for the Forward Movement Fund, however. A training home was soon established for women workers, and a patronage board formed to buy up advowsons (by 1909 it had secured twenty)(2). Much of the fund money was spent on increased grants to the poorer parishes, that is in supplementing the society's usual work - to which the Forward Movement remained strictly subsidiary - rather than in new activities. But in 1899 Stock was able to talk of the 'great advances' which the C.P.A.S. had made in recent years; and a decade later Balleine considered that the Forward Movement had done much to strengthen the work of many of the largest and poorest districts(3).

The Forward Movement, like the other developments of 1892-3, was significant less in itself than as an expression of the way in which the Evangelical party was reacting to the defeats and frustrations of the previous thirty years. The failure of their attempts to use the

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1. Church and People, July, August, November 1893, January, March, June 1894; C.E.Barton, John Barton, A Memoir (London, 1910), 136-40.
2. Ibid., 140.
3. E.Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, III, 282; G.R.Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, 298-9.

legal machinery of Church and State to suppress Ritualism; the Church's failures in the field of education; its declining influence in politics and with the people; all combined to provide a powerful reinforcement to the arguments of those within the party who sought to change its attitudes and policies, The period had seen an increasing acceptance of their position as just one school - and that a minority group - in the Church of England; with an abandonment of isolationist attitudes, and an active participation in Church life - with a view to exerting as strong an influence as possible in the existing situation, rather than excluding all others. But besides this the period had seen a growing determination to fight, not in institutional and legal spheres, but in fields where Evangelicalism was strongest; in the individual confrontations of pastoral work and evangelism, of conversion and spiritual growth. At Islington in January 1883 the Rev. P.F. Eliot, speaking for the liberal section of the party, had suggested as the best Evangelical policy against those from whom they differed,

> "Out-teach them, out-preach them, out-pray them, out-shine them in holiness of life and charity of spirit"(1).

That section, accorded for the first time at that conference a full recognition as part of the Evangelical school, had very soon, in the C.M.S. struggles as in the ritualist controversy, become its dominant force - for a while at least. The Lincoln Judgement, Robinson's letter to the Record, the Forward Movement of the C.P.A.S., marked a final defeat of Church Association tactics and a final, public acknowledgement of the growing conviction that in these other things lay the best hopes for the Evangelical party in the Church of England.

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1. Record, 19 January 1883.

CONCLUSION.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY.

If the situation facing the Evangelical party, and the Church of England as a whole, in 1865, had been one of declining influence, by 1892 the process of decline had been carried much further. The battle of Church and Dissent had reached a stalemate: the Establishment remained but the Established Church was greatly weakened, the principle of national righteousness virtually surrendered, the Church's role as teacher as well as preacher of the nation undermined. The intellectual challenge to Christian doctrine was stronger than ever, the nagging feeling that science and history somehow disproved religion more widespread in educated circles. Within the Church, that tendency to accept too readily the criteria of the critics had so far spread as to embrace the very bastions of orthodoxy in the younger High Church party. Ritualism too had spread, defying all the efforts of Evangelicals to suppress it, even - in externals at any rate - within the ranks of the Evangelical party itself. And the great mass of the working classes, to whose spiritual apathy and destitution the churches had awakened earlier in the century, were as far outside the reach of organised Christianity as ever, and were already becoming, potentially at least, a dominant force in the political and social life of the nation. Their interests were not with the religious disputes which had so dictated politics in the middle third of the century. Religion was being gradually pushed aside.

During this period the Evangelical party, like other religious groups in Britain, was beginning to formulate its response to the steadily worsening circumstances, the increasing, by now undeniable, secularization of society. In some ways it was a time of trial and error - though to view it thus is to schematise after the event, for the various modes of

action were very largely adopted simultaneously.

For most of the churches this was a time of turning inwards, for building up a coherent and a more representative organization. In part this was a reflection of political developments. In the Church of England, the refusal of Parliament to defend and to legislate for the Church made necessary the growth of independent governing bodies, and a separate means of securing the loyalty of the Anglican laity. The Evangelical party, though staunch defenders of Establishment and of the Royal Supremacy, were driven by this refusal of Parliament to use its powers, and by the failures of the Courts of the Supremacy to deal with Ritualism, to throw themselves increasingly into these developing Church institutions, in the hopes of finding here what the machinery of Establishment was failing to give them. This was part, too, of a change in their attitude towards Churchmen of other schools, of an acknowledgement that they were only one party in the Church, and a readiness to act as a pressure group to secure as much influence as possible. Evangelicals came to realise in this period that the policy of boycott and isolation, of refusing to recognise those with whom they disagreed, whilst preserving intact the purity of their principles, threatened to deny them any influence, and to reduce them to irrelevancy. Some felt also, as did moderates in other schools, that intestine conflicts over matters relatively trivial threatened fatally to weaken a Church which needed all its strength to face external dangers.

In that wider institutional consolidation in the face of secularism, the Church Unity movement, Evangelicals were less ready to act as one school in a broader Church. For them true unity could be attained only with true Christians, which for them meant Evangelical Christians. They feared, too, any action which might lend weight to the High Church interpretation of the Church and of Christian doctrine. And their

determined loyalty to the machinery they knew, in the Established Church, could not easily be extended to the untried notion of an ecumenical body. But the emphasis of Evangelicals on individual, spiritual union with Christians of different churches, whilst at the same time they shied away from any prospect of formal unification - a paradox which was one of the constant factors of Evangelical policy - was typical also of their preference for the individual rather than the institutional approach.

Legislation and litigation were patently unsuccessful in checking dangerous teaching and practice in the Church. In synodical forms of church government Evangelicals might gain some influence, but it could only be small - and they were rarely prepared fully to recognise the institutions they in practice acknowledged. The Church of England's day, as a national institution, seemed to be over. Evangelicals turned instead to direct action on the individual level.

The Evangelical response to working class apathy and antipathy to religion was to try by every means they could think of to win over to the faith those working classes, as individual people - if sometimes on the scale of mass-production. In their adoption of the techniques of revivalism, of parish missions, deaconesses, the Church Army, Evangelicals were concerned primarily to win souls - to change and influence as many individuals as possible. Here was the essence of the party's approach to the problems of the later nineteenth century, their positive contribution and perhaps also their limitation. Where others might aim first at social reform; to better the material conditions of the population, and through a better environment to raise the moral and spiritual standards; Evangelicals aimed first at the conversion of individuals, then, by Spirit-filled people, to change the environment.

This is very evident in their attitude to socialist movements. Men like Kitto, who hoped for great things from Christian Socialism, regarded

it nevertheless as a matter of personal relationships between rich and poor. In industrial disputes, Evangelicals called for mutual understanding and co-operation between employers and workers, rarely for any practical solution to the problem. This was partly a feeling that society cannot be changed except by changed individuals, and a realization also that they themselves were in no position to initiate important changes, partly a feeling that this world was of relative unimportance - the conversion of souls was the primary and often the sole concern. Thus revivalism was an alternative means of outreach to the working classes to that of social reform, not a first step towards the latter - though in stirring up a greater zeal in Christian service, and a greater concern for the poor, it might lead, in some cases, to the adoption of a progressive social policy.

And in their evangelism, the feeling prevailed that it was the personal relationship of preacher and people, the man not the methods, which counted for most - that perhaps, too, the greatest results were to be achieved in the slow, day-to-day work of the parish. In a parish well-run, pointed out the Record after the disasters of 1892, pernicious errors do not flourish(1). Ryle, opposing the proposals for a mission brotherhood at the Church Congress of 1890, summed up the party line.

> "I maintain that wherever the existing machinery of the Church of England is rightly worked we want nothing more... give me a clergyman who really knows Christ, and has the Holy Spirit, a thorough pastor as well as a preacher - a man who has decided, positive opinions ... a man who takes care to have plain, hearty, bright, simple meetings for worship in

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1. Record, 16 December 1892.

> Mission-rooms as well as Prayer-book services in church - a man who can preach in a street without a surplice as well as in a pulpit - a man who will go in and out of every alley in his district and talk simple Gospel to half-a-dozen ragged folks in a dirty cellar as heartily as to 500 well-dressed people in a church - a man of fire, and love, and sympathy, and tact, and patience, and sanctified common sense, if not a giant in intellect and book-learning. Give me a clergyman who has not only the regulation staff of curates, district visitors, Scripture-readers, Bible-women, and Sunday-school teachers who visit their classes at home, but also scores of communicants who voluntarily help in Christ's cause, and think it a privilege and a duty to be always carrying on a work of aggressive evangelism. Give me a clergyman of this style in a large working-class population (and there are such to be found) and I see no need of a Brotherhood. I see no place for the new machine, and I do not believe such a clergyman would care to have it. I believe he would tell you,'I want nothing new, Our old machinery is quite sufficient'"(1).

Ryle's speech was perhaps rather oratorical than strictly accurate, for the Evangelical party was nothing if not constantly on the look-out for new techniques of evangelism, new machinery. But his basic point, that it was the personal experience and spiritual influence of the pastor, working within the established Church order, which really mattered, was

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1. Record, 3 October 1890.

a fundamental of Evangelical belief and practice.

The Evangelical, like other schools at this time, was turning again to centre its activity on the parish. It was to this end that the efforts of the new theological halls, Ridley and Wycliffe, to provide a flow of better qualified and equipped clergymen, and of the C.P.A.S., to provide more curates and lay workers, were directed. There has been no room in this thesis for a discussion of the steady acquisition of patronage of bodies such as the Simeon Trustees, to secure an Evangelical inheritance in increasing numbers of parishes - whilst the Evangelical press protested, from time to time, against the sale of livings. In 1885 the living at Hatcham, rowdy parish of Tooth, the first imprisoned Ritualist martyr, was bought by the Church Patronage Trust, whose chairman was the Bishop of Norwich(1). Thus in one parish Evangelicals succeeded quite simply in suppressing Ritualism, where expensive and unpopular litigation had failed.

If the individual was all-important, one pre-condition of a revived influence for the Evangelical party was self-renewal. In terms of reviving the party itself, both the individual and the institutional approach was tried. Many Evangelicals in 1865 were dissatisfied with the state of affairs in general, and of the Evangelical party in particular. Garbett looked to a stronger organization to recover declining influence, to heal internal divisions. But the very nature of Evangelicalism defied organization. In spite of numerous attempts, the Evangelical school in the Church of England was no more a coherent entity, with a democratic, authoritative, policy-making party machinery, in 1892 than it had been in 1865.

Others concentrated on the spiritual strengthening of individual Evangelicals; the local devotional gatherings, the larger conventions

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1. Joyce Coombs, Judgement on Hatcham (London, 1969), 230.

such as Mildmay. Into their desire for spiritual growth and power there came, in the fulness of time, the infusion from America of a new emphasis on the doctrine of sanctification by faith. From the Holy Spirit could be drawn the strength which was sought. But on a personal basis. The main purpose of the Keswick Convention as it developed, as of Mildmay and the earlier holiness conventions, was to invigorate the machinery from without, by changing and reviving the individuals who worked it. Here too lay the opportunity for personal development beyond the 'adolescent Christianity' at which Evangelicals, in their concern for conversion and the beginnings of the Christian life, might too easily stick. Here an opportunity to apply some of the new techniques of revivalism to people who were practicing Christians. This so accorded with Evangelical needs and enthusiasms that by the close of the period July-September was a recognised "Convention Season", and the Christian could refer to such conventions as one of the special features of that gereration(1). Religious issues might be declining in Parliament, and in political interest, but gatherings of Christians for worship and renewal seemed to be thriving.

And what of results? The emphasis of Mildmay and Keswick was on strengthening for service. On the mission field these developments combined with other factors, as for instance the imperialist boom, to produce a period of extraordinary missionary fervour, nd a great increase of recruits to the C.M.S. and other societies. At home the effects of the conventions, and of the great evangelistic drives of this period, contemporaneous and interrelated, but not causally, with the holiness movement, are harder to assess. By the end of the period parish missions

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1. Christian, 21 June 1889, 13 June 1890, 23 June 1892.

had perhaps been overplayed; they were at any rate failing to achieve very much. Moody and Sankey in 1892 scarcely roused the passing interest of the press. The Church Army, like its Salvationist rival, was forced to take to social action to revive its support, as well as through a genuine concern for the plight of the poor, which conversion per se could not relieve. Most of the extraordinary methods of evangelism, it seems, were effective, on the whole, only in converting those already within the reach of Church influence. The great mass completely outside Christianity remained so. This is not to deny the value of revivalist techniques, which did certainly produce results in terms of reviving lapsed or apathetic churchgoers. But the ground had first to be prepared, as Evangelicals realised, in the everyday contacts of the parish.

Here results were likely to be slow, and in the absence of specific statistics enabling a comparison between Evangelical and other livings it is difficult to judge the effectiveness of Evangelicalism. The active party men on whom my research tends to have centred, were most of them the leaders of busy, thriving parishes; men like Hopkins, Christopher, the Rev. E.H. Bickersteth. About the ineffective apathetics, of whom the Evangelical, like other schools, must have boasted a good number, information is naturally less readily available. The Church of England as a whole seems to have increased its numbers of worshippers in this period, and there was a feeling of advance in the air. Chadwick suggests that the churches succeeded very well in keeping pace with the rising population until about 1886; thereafter came a relative decline(1). The earnest concentration of Evangelicals and Ritualists on evangelism in the parishes might slow the rate, but could not prevent, the steady secularization of society.

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1. O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, II, 232.

But the renewed emphasis on the individual confrontation of evangelism and spiritual growth, conversion and sanctification, in themselves surely the natural priorities of the heirs of the eighteenth century Evangelical Revival, did mark a revolution in attitude from the primarily political and ecclesiastical activity, and the narrow dogmatism, of the mid-nineteenth century. Not a revolution in the practice of individual Evangelicals, but a change in the prevailing atmosphere of th party leadership and the party organs.

The dominant names ir 1865, Shaftesbury, Stovell, Mc eile, were those of staunch, uncompromising men, determined to fight on a narrowly defined front, and to use the parliamentary and legal machinery of Church and State to ac ieve their aims. In an election speech of 1852, Sto ell asserted his conviction of the duty to bring religion into politics(1). Ryle, pre-emirent Evangelical leader in 1892, was a man of their stamp; his nergies to some extent transferred from the purely political sphere to that of ecclesi stical politics, in the newly developed Church institutions. But the names associated with him were rather different. Thorold, after an earnest attempt at Parliamentary action in the House of Lords, returned to the more congenial work of overseeing his diocese. His more famous labours ere in the sphere of evangelism; thou h active on the London School Board it had been rather as a quietly conscientious worker than as the educational campai ner McNeile had been. Webb-Peploe, his influence spreading in Evangelical and Church circles, had risen to prominence primarily as a spokesman of the Keswick School. Handley Moule, scholar of the movement, and personally influential among the Cambridge Evangelical students, was too unworldly to be in any real sense a party leader.

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1. J.B.Marsden, Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Hugh Stowell, M.A. (London, 1868), 237.

The organs of the Evangelical party had changed too. In 1882 the Record, intended originally as a political newspaper, very largely abandoned politics, to concentrate more exclusively on religious affairs as a sort of professional Evangelical paper. The more extreme Rock eventually followed suit, and like the Record adopted an increasingly tolerant attitude to men of other schools. Even the English Churchman began in the 'nineties to denote many of its leading articles to Scriptural exposition and the more generally devotional themes of journalistic sermonising.

This was one result of being pushed aside, politically. It was easy to decry political influence when there was small opportunity of exercising it. Not entirely. For one thing the Evangelical party was capable, on occasion, of creating a great stir in the political world, as in the campaign against the Liberation Society in 1885. And it must be noticed that Ryle was Bishop of Liverpool, Thorold had been promoted in 1890 to the important see of Winchester, Moule later became Bishop of Durham. Though Palmerston's death had dried up one useful fount of patronage, the number of Evangelicals in positions of influence in the Church in 1892 was very similar to that of 1865. But the growing sense of disillusionment with the machinery of Establishment, most obviously in the case of the Ritualist prosecutions, did certainly lend weight to the arguments of those who favoured other spheres of action. Interdenominational Keswick, for instance, can scarcely be seen as a reaction of the Evangelical party to the failures of anti-Ritualist litigation - but its growing popularity among the Evangelical party as a whole, in a qualified sense, can be.

Similarly with another revolution in Evangelical party attitudes. Bishop Thorold, discussing the anxieties of the times in a pastoral letter of 1878, said,

"... One thing, however, is consoling in it all -

> the fact that religion is still recognised as something worth contending about. Let poets simper as they will, Christ can hardly be said to be mouldering in his grave, when His claims are more vehemently discussed, His character more closely analysed, His life more critically studied, His person more ardently loved, than at any time since He disappeared among men. It is quite true that the Church is distracted with hot dissension, but it is only because men are so passionately in love with Truth as the supreme possession of their lives that they defend and proclaim it at any risk. Though her differences are serious, her activities are prodigious. If we must choose between fighting and sleeping, I, for one, say, 'Let us be awake'"(1).

Thorold, of course, was looking here only at the world of religion, at the people who mattered. But already in 1878, and undeniably by 1892, the apathetic majority outside this circle could not be ignored. It was they who mattered. By 1892 the 'hot dissension' had, to some extent cooled; the strong denominational antagonisms, the bitter religious bigotry, had for the most part given way to freer feelings of tolerance towards men of other views. And this was partly a symptom and a result of irrelevancy, a feeling of weakness, that these issues had been pushed into the back waters, and that only by united action could Christianity be brought back into the mainstream of English life.

Though to look at this aspect only would be to neglect that positive spirit of charity and mutual co-operation, springing simply from a zeal

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1. C.H.Simpkinson, op.cit., 119.

for the service of God, which so evidently animated men like Thorold himself. Those Evangelicals who were so concerned with sanctification and the inner life, men like Pennefather, Harford Battersby, Lord Mount Temple, were also in many cases those most in favour of united action with Nonconformists - on an individual, spiritual level. Mildmay, Keswick, and other such centres of Evangelicalism in this period, were by no means exclusively Evangelical party concerns, any more than they were specifically part of the ecumenical movement, but merely nondenominational gatherings where differences of Church order were for the time forgotten. And the foremost revivalists, missioners etc., Hay Aitken, Thorold and others, were often amongst those most ready to tolerate and work alongside Churchmen of other schools. The supreme importance of the task in hand overrode, in each case, lesser scruples of principle. And a self-confidence born of a sense of revival in these spheres gave a freedom to adopt new ideas and practices which broke through the rigid orthodoxies so necessary to an older generation conscious of a loss of initiative. To this extent the broader attitudes growing in Evangelical circles, the readiness to borrow from others, towards the end of this period, was a sign and a source of strength.

Not for long. I have chosen 1892 as the close of the period, primarily because the Lincoln Judgement marked a final defeat of Church Association methods, and a taking up, by leading party organs, of the call to out-preach, out-pray, out-work their opponents, in the fields they knew best, as a more effective way of achieving results. But the downswing had already begun. Points of friction were never far from the surface - nor could they be when men held earnest opinions on matters they considered vital.

In 1898 Kensit's campaign to interrupt ritualist services in London - denounced by most of the Evangelical party - triggered off a heated

controversy which in passion and bitterness came near to matching the anti-ritualism of the years before 1874. Popular opinion had swung round again to the Protestant side - for complex reasons, but significant to some extent of the effectiveness of Evangelical abstention from unpopular litigation after 1892. In 1899 the House of Commons deplored, by 198 votes to 16, the lawlessness of 'certain members of the Church of England'. The archbishops gave an opinion condemning incense and reservation. Bills were introduced, tempers ran high. In 1903 the debate was shelved with the appointment of a Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.

The ritual crisis coincided with battles over elsh disestablishment, and with the great furor over the 1902 Education Act, the violent opposition of Nonconformists to rate-support for Church schools and their attempts at a campaign of passive resistance, which embittered relations between Church and Dissent more, perhaps, than anything since Gladstone's ministry of 1868-74. (These things did, of course, bring religion zooming back into political importance, if only to be pushed aside again in the pressures of other matters.) Keswick, at first undefined, had already by the close of our period so narrowed and hardened its basis that the new Inter-Universities Christian Union very soon found it too restricting, and began to move away from the Convention. C.I.C.C.U. too, in its anxiety for a rigid adherence to the truth, resisted the attempts of some members to broaden its basis, and in 1910 formally broke its affiliation with the lively but more liberal S.C.M. By the 1920's, and the Prayer-Book controversy, the ghetto-like mentality of some Evangelicals was very much to the fore.

In fact, the Evangelical school in the Church of England, like most religious movements, tended to run in cycles, with the various different elements, which were always present in Evangelicalism, becoming more or

less dominant at a particular time. Concern for a strict adherence to saving truth, and a fear of allowing anything or anyone to stand between Christ and the sinner - a fear which might escalate on occasion to an almost hysterical refusal to budge one inch from the whole body of traditional Evangelical doctrine and practice - contrasted always with a desire among Evangelicals for growth and change, a need to go out and meet the individual in the contemporary situation by contemporary methods. Unwillingness to tolerate what they considered false doctrines lived alongside a pragmatic readiness to combine with 'false' teachers for the defence of a Church which they believed was not essential to Christianity, and an acceptance of a mixture of error, if by any means they might preach truth to some. A readiness to greet all Evangelical Christians as brothers and equals alongside a secret conviction that it was, after all, better to belong to the Church of England. These elements varied proportionally in individual Evangelicals; it is only by looking at the party as a whole that we can see changes in emphasis, or direct conflicts, as in the narrow-broad controversies of the 'eighties. In all of these contrasts, it was the more liberal aspect which dominated in 1892.

The Evangelical party was perhaps old-fashioned in its attitude to the working classes; reaching out to souls without really grappling with social questions. Nor did they grapple with the intellectual problems of the time, but rather burrowed their heads in the sand and refused to part with any hallowed traditional belief. Moule's scholarship was very largely employed in devotional literature; of great value in itself, but he was unable, Pollock says, to pass on his own assurance of the exact and detailed truth of Scripture to the honest doubters among Evangelical students towards the end of the century(1). Already by 1892

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1. J.C.Pollock, A Cambridge Movement, 146.

a few seeds had been sown for the later rifts over liberal evangelicalism. It may be questioned how far scepticism lay behind the problems of the period, but this is a small excuse for not facing the challenge. In their struggle with Ritualism the Evangelicals embarked on a disastrous - though, as it seemed at the time, natural - line of policy which, once begun, could only be followed relentlessly until the final and most unpopular humiliations of the early 'nineties. In their part in the defence of the Establishment, and of the Church's position in education, it was a case of holding their own where possible whilst the ground was cut away from under them. The failure of these methods and these spheres of activity, and the consequent need to find a purpose elsewhere; the influence of other schools and denominations in the growing interest in mysticism, the various 'forward movements' etc.; the determination of a number of Evangelicals dissatisfied all along with the spiritual state of the masses, and of the Evangelical party itself; all these things led up to a renewed emphasis in this period on evangelism and spiritual growth, on the work of parish and mission field.

Conversion and sanctification had been from the start the major objectives of Evangelicalism. The drive to win souls had lain behind their earliest organised policies. Evangelicalism was essentially an individual religion, which maintained the primary importance not of particular teaching or practice, or a particular social or ecclesiastical order, though these things were certainly important, but of the personal spiritual experience of Christ's saving power. It was thus that His Kingdom was to be extended on earth. The reaffirmation of their goal, the reconsideration of their chosen means of reaching it, at a time when the Church of England - even the Christian Church as a whole in this country - had been pushed on to the defensive, and was looking around in bewilderment for a 'role', was one bright light, amid all the encircling gloom, from which the Evangelical party might draw comfort and hope.

APPENDIX C.

THE C.P.A.S. FORWARD MOVEMENT.

1. Robinson's letter to the Record of 12 August 1892.

Sir,-Your article of August 5 has truly stated that the great mass of Evangelical Churchmen have deprecated litigation, and that deprecation has been now abundantly justified. This last Judgement of the Privy Council will, no doubt, produce a crop of hastily written letters advocating all sorts of ill-judged action.

Will you allow me earnestly to urge a course which is the most likely to produce good results? It is to cease fighting and to unite in work.

The one lesson we learn from all things around us is the necessity of organization. Let us all try to put aside the terrible reproach that we Evangelical Churchmen are like a bag of marbles, and let all our energies go into the work before us. That is sure to be well pleasing in God's sight. That will win respect from all men, and will best increase the glory of God.

One practical but simple suggestion let me give. It is just this. Look at our work in the Mission field abroad. Thankfully and gratefully we acknowledge God's blessing is resting upon the C.M.S. But why is this? Is it not because we are united? Every Evangelical clergyman and layman throughout the country supports this heart and soul. The result is abundantly manifest. Being united in this work, we are strong, we succeed. Whenever Mission work abroad is mentioned, High Churchmen, Broad Churchmen, and Nonconformists speak of the C.M.S. with respect, and some of them flatter us in the sincerest fashion by copying our methods.

Let us cease "biting and devouring one another" at home. Let every Evangelical clergyman and layman throughout England throw all his strength, and energy, and money into Evangelical Church Societies only. For instance, let all support the Church Pastoral-Aid Society and the Church of England Scripture Readers' Society. People speak as if the Evangelical Church party were dead. The C.M.S. abundantly

disproves that. But what is true is, that our want of cohesion, our suspicions of each other, our suicidal proceedings in supporting all sorts of Missions called "unsectarian," instead of acting with perfect loyalty in our own Church, divide us and make us a laughing-stock at home. In our work abroad we are united and succeed. In our work at home we divide our forces and are beaten in detail. As Evangelical Churchmen there is amongst us ample talent, wealth, and energy, but we fritter it about.

In conclusion, I would say to objectors, Just consider what a force for good the C.P.A.S. would be if it had the same income as the C.M.S. We could then plant Evangelical Churchmen, laymen, and clergy all over England. No one could afford to despise us then, for we should be a real power. Let me earnestly and with all respect urge the militant section amongst us to ask themselves whether the course I venture to recommend is not most in accordance with the mind of Christ. Let me as earnestly and with equal respect beg and implore wealthy laymen to consider (if they are really Churchmen) what far greater good they would do if they would support and only support their Evangelical clergy and the Societies I have named above.

Let us outpray and outwork those from whom we conscientiously differ. This is the best and most Christlike way of overcoming them.

..rthur J.Robinson.

Holy Trinity Rectory, St.Marylebone, August 6.

2. Letter to the Committee of the C.P.A.S., printed in the Record, 16 December, 1892.

We, the undersigned, clergy and laity of the Church of England, who are warmly attached to those Evangelical principles which the Church Pastoral-Aid Society has firmly and consistently maintained for more than half a century, are deeply impressed with the urgent necessity for immediate and increased effort in carrying on the pastoral and evangelistic work of the Church.

This necessity arises partly from the rapid increase in the population of our large towns, and partly from the adoption

all around us of new plans and new agencies intended to meet the religious needs of a growing population.

We greatly regret that the income of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society has not enabled it to keep pace with these increasing demands upon it, and is no larger at the present time than it was twenty or even thirty years ago. The result is that pressing calls cannot be answered or new departments of work be entertained by the Committee.

We therefore believe that it is fully time that the absolute need of increased efforts, expanded operations, larger self-sacrifice, and more vigorous support of this Evangelical Home Missionary Society should be earnestly pressed upon the Evangelical laity of the Church of England, so that the duty of the Church towards the great masses of the population may be more effectually discharged.

If this were done, and the crying needs of the day for fresh and improved organization were met, we believe that other important results, very urgently needed at the present crisis, would immediately follow.

In these we include:-

I. A closer union amongst those who hold the same great principles: the Church Pastoral-Aid Society becoming, like the Church Missionary Society, a very real bond of union and rallying-point for us all.

II. A clearer manifestation of the truth that Evangelical principles are still a living force in the work of the Church of England.

III. A full justification to our own friends and to the Church at large, of the existence of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society.

The position which the Church Pastoral-Aid Society holds is unique. It ought to be, and it might easily become, for work at home, the great central agency of the Evangelical members of our Church.

We therefore address ourselves to the Committee of that Society, confident that they are anxious to carry out the great evangelistic and pastoral work so urgently needed, if only the funds were forthcoming.

In conference with the Committee we shall be able to point

out more definitely the needs which require to be met; we shall be ready to do our utmost to strengthen their hands, and to secure such an increase of income as will enable them more effectually to grapple with the constantly increasing demands upon their funds.

W.H.BARLOW,B.D., Vicar of Islington and Rural Dean.
R.BASHFORD, Vicar of St. Thomas', Islington.
H.J.BERGUER, Vicar of St.Philip's,Islington.
F.A.BEVAN, 54, Lombard-street.
J.EUSTACE BRENAN, Vicar of Emmanuel, Clifton.
F.BILLETT, Vicar of Christ Church, Barton Hill, Bristol.
A.R.BUCKLAND, Morning Preacher at the Foundling Hospital.
T.FOWELL BUXTON, Warlies, Waltham Abbey.
J.H.BUXTON, Hunsdon Bury, Ware.
A.F.BUXTON, 5, Hyde-park-street.
T.FOWELL BUXTON, Easneye, Herts.
GORDON CALTHROP, Vicar of St.Augustine's, Highbury, and Prebendary of St. Paul's.
J.BAYFIELD CLARK, Vicar of St. Saviour's, Camberwell.
J.S.CUMBERLEGE, Rector of St. Paul's, Covent-garden.
J.DRAPER, Vicar of St. Paul's, Bethnal-green.
E.EARDLEY-WILMOT, Prebendary of Wells, and Vicar of St.Jude's, South Kensington.
J.D.FIGURES, Vicar of St.Lawrence, Bristol.
CHARLES R.FORD, Fairoaks, Bromley, Kent.
G.E.FORD, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bristol.
SYDNEY GEDGE,M.A., 34 Queen's-mansions,S.W.
C.GRIFFITHS, Vicar of St.Paul's, Bedminster.
A.G.GRISTOCK, Vicar of St.John's, Holloway.
E.S.HANBURY, Poles, Ware.
D.B.HANKIN, Vicar of St.Jude's, Mildmay-park.
W.J.HOCKING, Vicar of All Saints', Upper Holloway, N.
G.B.JAMES, Rector of St. Phillip's, Bristol.
JOHN H. KENNAWAY.
J.F.KITTO, Vicar of St.Martin's and Rural Dean.
E.A.KNOX, Aston Vicarage, Birmingham.
GEO.E.LANE, Vicar of St.Clement's, Bristol.
H.MARTIN, Vicar of Stockton-on-Tees.
HORACE MEYER, Vicar of Christ Church, Clifton.

A.P.NEILE, Vicar of St.Luke's, Bristol.
PHILIP S.O'BRIEN,D.D., Vicar of Camden, Camberwell.
W.OSTLE, Vicar of St.Bartholomew's the Less, and Hospitaller of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
JOHN PARRY, Vicar of St.Stephen's, Canonbury.
F.C.PAUL, Rector of St. Peter's, Bristol.
ALFRED PEACHE, The Firs, Hampstead.
J.G.PILKINGTON, Vicar of St.Mark's, Dalston.
JOSEPH STEPHEN PRATT, Vicar of St. Stephen's, South Lambeth.
ROBERT BOLTON RANSFORD, Vicar of St.Jude's, East Bixton.
ARTHUR T.ROBINSON, Rector of Holy Trinity, St. Marylebone.
E.L.ROXBY, Vicar of Tulse Hill.
H.D.RYDER, 59, Strand.
J.SALWEY, The Cedars, Broxbourne, Herts.
ERNEST A.B.SANDERS, Rector of Whitechapel.
J.H.SCOTT, Rector of Spitalfields.
WILLIAM JOSH.SMITH, Vicar of St.John's, Kilburn.
P.V.SMITH, 116 Westbourne-terrace.
G.A.SOWTER, Vicar of St.Silas, Bristol.
W.H.STONE, Vicar of St.James's, Hatcham.
E.A.STUART, Vicar of St. James's Holloway.
FILMER SULIVAN, Vicar of St.Matthew's, Bayswater.
JOHN TENNANT, 19 The Boltons.
J.THOMPSON, Vicar of St.Gabriel's, Bristol.
J.PULLEIN THOMPSON, Vicar of St.Stephen's, Old Ford.
G.R.THORNTON, Vicar of St. Barnabas's, Kensington.
MARMADUKE WASHINGTON, Incumbent of Portman Chapel.
H.W. WEBB PEPLOE, Vicar of St.Paul's, Onslow-square.
J.WHICHELOW, Vicar of St. Stephen's, Spitalfields and Rural Dean.
F.E.WIGRAM, Oak Hill House, Hampstead.
J.WILKINSON, Rector of St.Michael's, Bristol.
A.LUKYN WILLIAMS, Episcopal Jews' Chapel, Palestine-place.
W.WINDLE, Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

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APPENDIX B

The Contrade Ritualometer.

THE annexed diagram represents in a graphic form the stages of development of ritual practices, and the almost imperceptible advances on the unfortunate road beginning in the first simple departure from the safety of primitive rites, and closing in the ultimate baneful consummation. Though the precise mode of this development is not in all places, and at all times one and the same, yet the general order of gradation as here set forth, must carry conviction as to the truth to the minds of all who have [illegible] observing faculty in reference to this mighty subject. Beginning under the influence of taste, and a not altogether censurable craving for beauty in worship, the first loosing from the more sober principles of simple forms of worship is effected; and for a time it would be hard to say that any serious injury beyond the alarming element of laying a sure foundation for future innovations has been done. Limited in its earlier stages to surplices, tentative forms of elementary choral renderings, processions, and a desire for optical effects, no principles of doctrine need be violated nor condemnable practices introduced. The faith of the strong and the well-instructed may not necessarily be unsettled; and all this may, and in some cases does, exist side by side with sound orthodox teaching. With it, however, in the minds of the weaker brethren (and sisters) is not unfrequently developed a desire, and a promptly-revealed taste for greater advances—first personal, then public. The adoption of pectoral crosses by way of ornament, the relays of flowers, and the more frequent occasions sought for decoration of the edifice, are some of the outward signs of the inward feeling. Not until the absolutely false and pernicious teaching of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* is publicly avowed, and if not proclaimed from the pulpit carolled from the chancel, is a really serious well-marked advance of error made. That rubicon passed—and years may be employed in the apparently simple transition—the road is smoother and more rapidly traversed. From this first station on the Ritualistic course to the next, which is the erection of a material cross on the newly-described "altar," really little labour is demanded of the traveller, for the road has become less undulating, the obstacles fewer, and the track *more level. Encouragement in* association is soon found in adhesion to the English Church Union, and thenceforward progress in the journey of spiritual intoxication is accelerated, the success of that society in smoothing the difficulties, removing the obstacles, and levelling the conscientious hillocks ahead being unsurpassed. In due time the third principal station is arrived at, and the separation of the sexes in the House of God determined upon. Henceforth no concealment is or can be necessary, and with increased speed, further progress is made, till the customary prayer before the sermon is discarded. At this point some breathing time is usually necessary, for here is the very distinctly marked and rarely mistakeable advent of unconcealed false teaching. Sacramentalism undisguised, and departure from Scriptural, primitive, Evangelical truth are very marked; and the adoption of the elements of Romish error equally distinct. A halt is called on the road, for the strong food alone obtainable hereabouts needs care in delivery, time for assimilation, and repose for due effect. After this the case tends to become nearly hopeless, and the speedy adoption when the journey is resumed, of the Eucharistic vestments as the visible emblems of the new doctrines now in vogue, follows as naturally as the day fades into night. The rest of the course is now easy and clear. The goal is in view. Only one more stopping point *of first rank and importance* marks the remainder of the race. With the adoption of incense in defiance of authority, but essential for the full manifestation of the new doctrines, the development may be said to be practically complete. All the remaining tricks of travellers may not be in hand, but the hand is prepared to receive and hold them; and after coqueting in front of the portal for a longer or shorter time—always protesting loudly against entry—the threshold is shot with suddenness, and the full consummation of the adopted career is achieved. Not always singly, but sometimes in flocks, the shepherds accompanying or leading the sheep, the full subjection to the tyranny of Rome is accomplished. Thus the baneful work, commenced in such apparent simplicity, carried onward with many guileless intentions, guided and lured by consummate Jesuitry, concludes with abject submission. The journey is brought to its only logical and easily-predicted issue—reception into the Papal Communion and great jubilation thereat.

PAPAL.

"What agreement hath the Temple of God with idols?"—2 Cor. vi. 16.

"Transubstantiation . . . is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture."—Art. XXVIII.

ROMISH.

"They crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh."—Heb. vi. 6.

"The Romish doctrine of Purgatory, Pardons, . . . and Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented."—Art. XXII.

SACERDOTAL.

"Let no man deceive you with vain words."—Eph. v. 6.

"The sacrifices of Masses . . . are blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."—Art. XXXI.

RITUALISTIC.

"A strong delusion."—2 Thes. ii. 11.

"The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be carried about or to be gazed upon, but that we should duly use them."—Art. XXV.

FLORID.

"Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof."—2 Tim. iii. 5.

"Works done before the grace of Christ . . . have the nature of sin."—Art. XIII.

HIGH and DRY.

"Be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."—Gal. v. 1.

"Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved."—Art. XVIII.

CHURCHY.

"I marvel that ye are so soon removed."—Gal. i. 6.

"The Church . . . a witness and keeper of Holy Writ."—Art. XX.

ÆSTHETIC.

"A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."—Gal. v. 9.

"That we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine."—Art. XI.

EVANGELICAL.

"We know what we worship."—John iv. 22.

THRALDOM. LAWLESSNESS. DECAY. FORMALITY. DANGER. AGGRESSION. TEMPTATION. SAFETY.

100 Rome.
Communion in one kind.
Baldacchino.
Kneeling to "Altar."
Reserved Sacrament.
C
Purgatory.
Transubstantiation.
Daily Masses.
90 Order of Corporate Reunion.
Auricular Confession.
Masses for the Dead.
"Agnus Dei" after Consecration.
Perennial Lamps.
Entire Congregation Spectators at Mass.
INCENSE.
Elevation of Cup and Paten.
80 Seven Sacraments.
Mixed Chalice.
"Mass" instead of Eucharist.
Wafer Bread.
Kissing the Holy Gospels.
Sculptured Reredos.
Bowing to "Altar."
Sign of Cross in Administration.
70 Confraternity of Blessed Sacrament.
Name "Catholic" appropriated.
EUCHARISTIC VESTMENTS.
Tolling Bells at Consecration.
Eastward Position.
Eucharist at Weddings and Funerals.
Lights on "Altar."
60 Clergyman always "Priest."
Gregorian Tones.
Sisterhoods.
Coloured Altar-cloths.
Encouragement of Guilds.
NO PRAYER BEFORE SERMON.
Coloured Stoles.
50 Kneeling in Creeds.
Sacramentalism.
Processional Cross.
Excessive Music.
Candles on Altar, but unlighted.
Crossing at End of Creeds.
SEPARATION OF SEXES.
Fasting Communion.
40 Turning to East at Glorias and Creeds.
English Church Union.
Screen and Gates to Sanctuary.
Choral Celebrations.
Chancel called "Sanctuary."
Sombre Clothing in Lent.
CROSS ON "ALTAR."
30 Dating Letters from Festivals.
Special Sanctity of Chancel.
Substitution of "Altar" for Table.
Chanting Nicene Creed.
Weekly Offertory.
Early Communion Encouraged.
Dedication Festivals.
Offertory Bags.
20 Choral Services.
Churchy Sermons.
Processional Banners.
Flowers on Table.
"HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN."
Recessional Hymn.
Evening Communion Abandoned.
Floral Decorations.
10 *Crosses for Personal Ornament.*
Longer Route for Procession.
Services partly Choral.
Processional Hymn.
E Procession of Choir and Clergy.
Chanting Amens.
Surpliced Choir.
Surplice in Pulpit.
0 SCRIPTURAL TRUTH AND PRIMITIVE RITES.

NOTE.—The Ritualometer should be read upwards. The lines printed in CAPITALS indicate distinct epochs in the process of the pernicious development and departure from the Scriptural basis.