

'Bells and Smells': London, Brighton and South Coast Religion Reconsidered

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When Charles Ryder first went up to Oxford in 1922 he was warned by his cousin Jasper to 'beware of the Anglo-Catholics — they're all sodomites with unpleasant accents'.¹ Apart from the ancient universities their principal strongholds were thought to be London and the fashionable watering places along the south coast, especially Brighton. The period between roughly 1890 and 1930 marked the high point of extreme Anglo-Catholicism, a subject largely neglected by ecclesiastical historians on the grounds of its supposed irrelevance to contemporary events, and left to the sentimental pens belonging to the admirers of the more distinguished or eccentric Anglo-Catholic clergy. Most of the literature is pure hagiography, yet anybody who has bothered to read any local newspapers, or even some national ones, during this period will be well aware that extreme Anglo-Catholicism was a subject that produced violent public reaction, both for and against, even to the extent of being a major issue in some parliamentary constituencies at election time. It was public indignation against extreme Anglo-Catholicism, and the demonstrations of Kensitites, which resulted in the setting up of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, and led indirectly to the abortive attempts to revise the Anglican Prayer Book in the 1920s. The purpose of this paper is to look at the manifestation and geographical distribution of extreme Anglo-Catholicism in the southern counties of England in the first decade of the present century, using the vast resources of primary evidence available, and to show that, far from confining itself to London, Brighton and the south coast, extreme Anglo-Catholicism was widely distributed throughout the region, though sometimes particularly concentrated in a small area for various historical or political reasons.²

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The best starting point for this study, in terms of contemporary

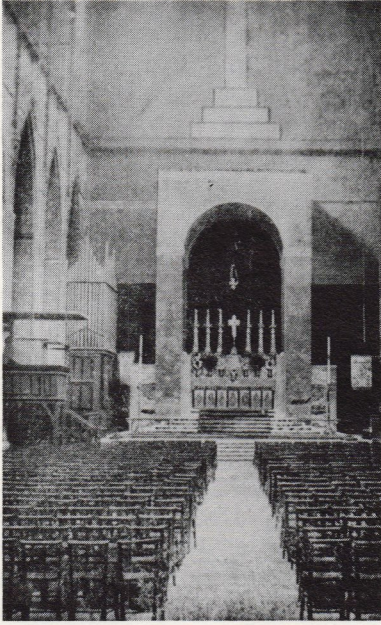
evidence, is the *Ritualist Clergy List*, containing the names of those clergymen with alleged 'Romanist' leanings, first published by the Church Association in 1903, and subsequently re-issued on several later occasions with additions and deletions. The Church Association had been founded in 1865, specifically to counteract the spread of ritualism within the Church of England, and had been responsible for initiating most of the attempted prosecutions of ritualist clergy under the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874.³ Since 1890, however, it had found itself rather outmanoeuvred by the direct action tactics of the Protestant Truth Society, founded by John Kensit. The publication of the *Ritualist Clergy List* was an attempt by the Church Association to re-assert its leadership of the anti-ritualist movement. The *List* gave the names of those bishops who wore mitres, those clergymen who were members of the main Anglo-Catholic Societies (English Church Union, Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, Society of the Holy Cross, Guild of All Souls, Associates of the Society of St. John the Evangelist), those clergymen who practised what were known as the 'six points' of ritual observance (eastward position, wafer bread, mixed chalice, lighted candles, vestments and incense), and those clergymen who had seceded to Rome with details of their Anglican preferment. The *List* is arranged alphabetically by clergymen, rather than by parishes, so is less easy to use than the contemporary *Tourists' Church Guide*, published by the English Church Union, 'which showed with asterisks and paragraph marks and sections and daggers what churches throughout the United Kingdom possessed the six points'.⁴ But it does give more information, such as the membership of certain Anglo-Catholic societies, which is otherwise not easily obtainable.

The *List* also gives a useful summary of ritual statistics for each Anglican diocese. By comparing these with the number of benefices in a contemporary *Clergy List* or *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, one can express ritual observance in percentage terms (Table 1). This reveals that in about two out of five churches in the provinces of Canterbury and York, the celebrant took the eastward position at the Eucharist; that in about one out of four churches candles were lighted and water mixed with wine in the chalice; and that in about one out of ten churches the eucharistic vestments were in use. Although all practices were innovations introduced by extreme 'high churchmen' in the 1830s and 1840s, the first three had become fairly widely accepted by more moderate churchmen. Only the use of vestments was still restricted to the extreme 'high churchmen': 'the wearing of vestments always meant Catholic

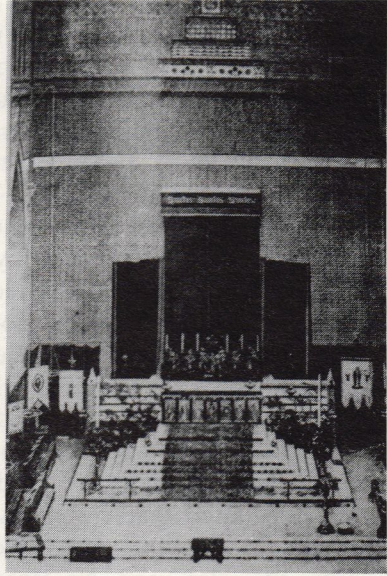
teaching about the Mass and the Confessional'.⁵ To a large extent the diocesan figures confirm the general belief that the Oxford Movement had more parochial impact in the south than the north of England. Only in half the northern dioceses were the figures for ritual observance above or near the national average, and in the Isle of Man ritual observance was restricted to the use of the eastward position in one church: St. Matthew's, Douglas. In the southern dioceses, however, only one diocese, Bath and Wells, had figures well below the national average, and two dioceses, London and Truro, were strongholds of Anglo-Catholic influence and practice. In the Midlands two out of seven dioceses had figures below the national average, but in Wales all four dioceses were in that category.

The low incidence of ritual observance in the diocese of Bath and Wells may have had something to do with the Evangelical episcopate of A.C. Hervey between 1869 and 1894, though no diocesan could ever impose his churchmanship completely on a diocese, since the patronage of benefices was not solely in his hands, but shared with many others. Of the other dioceses in southern England three — Chichester,⁶ Oxford⁷ and Salisbury⁸ — had had a succession of 'high church' bishops, and the diocese of Truro had had three 'high church' bishops since its creation in 1877: E.W. Benson (1877–83), G.H. Wilkinson (1883–91) and John Gott (1891–1906).⁹ John Gott is perhaps one of the most significant of the forgotten 'high churchmen' of the late nineteenth century, a distinguished vicar of Leeds and dean of Worcester, and the author of the frequently reprinted pastoral textbook, *The Parish Priest of the Town*. In other dioceses there was a more even balance between 'high church', moderate and Evangelical episcopal appointments, though at Exeter the 'high church' Henry Phillpotts (1831–69) left a tradition which none of his less 'high church' successors were entirely able to eradicate.

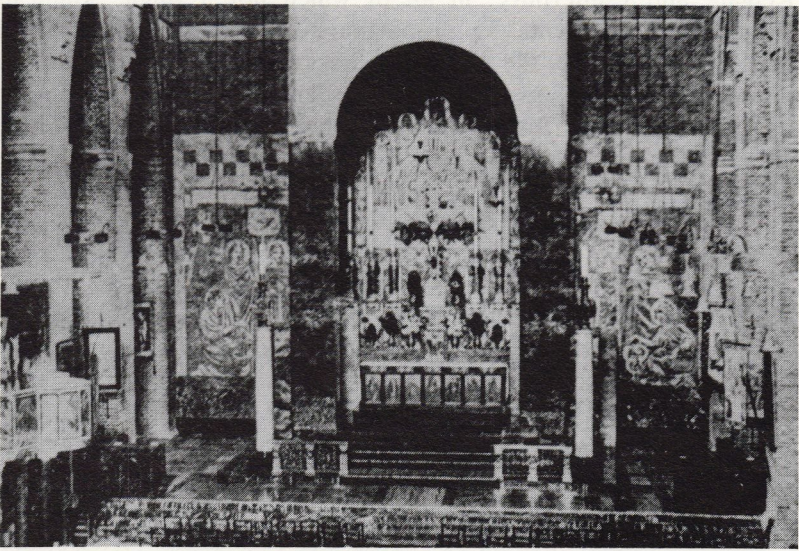
For the rest of this paper our attention will be confined to those parts of southern England south of the river Thames, excluding London and its Kentish and Surrey suburbs, and to those churches within the very definite Anglo-Catholic category, that is those churches in which the eucharistic vestments were worn in 1903, and in some of which incense was also used. There were 342 of the former and 56 of the latter, and they were widely spread throughout the area, though rather thin on the ground in Surrey. A summary list is given of these churches in the appendix to this paper. Table 2 endeavours to categorise them according to the type of community in which they were situated, and Table 3



1900



1876



1911

Ritual Elaboration — St. Bartholomew's, Brighton — the high altar.

analyses the comparative strength of Anglo-Catholicism in the major towns. The results are interesting in both cases. As one might expect, churches with both incense and vestments were mostly to be found in the major urban centres and in the resort towns. What is perhaps more surprising is the considerable strength of less extreme, though still committed, Anglo-Catholicism in the countryside, especially in Devon and Cornwall. In the major towns one notes the comparative weakness of Anglo-Catholicism in the dockyard conurbations, except for Plymouth, and the contrast between the extreme Anglo-Catholicism of Brighton and the more moderate Anglo-Catholicism of Torquay. The towns with the highest proportion of ritualist churches were Swindon and Taunton, where vestments were worn in half the Anglican churches, followed by Plymouth, Reading, Torquay, Dover, Folkestone and St. Helier, in all of which vestments were worn in between a quarter and half of all Anglican churches. It should be noted that vestments were worn in only a fifth of the churches in Brighton and Hove, though in all but one of these incense was also used. No large town in southern England had a higher proportion of Anglican churches using incense. The towns with the fewest ritualist churches were Maidstone, Aldershot, Reigate and Canterbury, in all of which not a single Anglican church used vestments. In proportionate terms ritualist churches were equally thin on the ground in Portsmouth, Bournemouth and Winchester. Even though Bristol had seen the formation of one of the earliest ritualist pressure groups, the Bristol Church Union in 1848,¹⁰ there were relatively few ritualist churches in the city at the end of the century.

Three small towns, which will be looked at in more detail later in this paper, were strong centres of ritualist teaching and practice. These were, with their 1901 population figures in brackets, Bovey Tracey (2693), where vestments were worn in both Anglican churches and incense used in one; Frome (11,057), where vestments and incense were used in three out of four Anglican churches; and the Clewer suburb of Windsor (14,130), where, as at Bovey Tracey, vestments were worn in both Anglican churches and incense used in one.

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It is obviously impossible in one short paper to consider in any detail all the known ritualist parishes in southern England, and one has to be selective. In doing this the aim has been to illustrate

significant features of or trends within Anglican ritualism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One fact which does become clear from what is known about ritualism in various parts of England and Wales is that similar themes are repeated over and over again, and the danger of quoting too many examples is that one quickly becomes repetitive. There will, therefore, be many ritualist parishes in southern England which escape mention in the main text of this paper, though careful perusal of the appendix will provide the local historian with some indications of the strength of Anglican ritualism in particular parts of the region, and the names of individual parishes that might repay further study.

Pioneer Ritualist Parishes

The five areas of southern England with the longest tradition of Anglican ritualism were, in chronological order, Clewer (1844), Plymouth (1848), Bovey Tracey (1849), Brighton (1850) and Frome (1852). One other early centre of ritualistic activity, Chislehurst (1846), being now in Greater London, falls outside the scope of this paper.¹¹ Important distinctions can be made between these ritualist centres. Whereas the pioneer ritualist incumbents at Clewer, Thomas Thelluson Carter (1844–80), and Frome, William James Early Bennett (1852–86), were established incumbents who were not even advanced ‘high churchmen’ in the first few years after their ordination, the pioneer ritualists at Plymouth, Bovey Tracey and Brighton were men of the second generation of the Oxford Movement and typical examples of its more fervent disciples. The difference in outlook between the two generations is indicated in the cautious approach of the older men towards ritual innovation as compared with the more enthusiastic excesses of their juniors.

T.T. Carter had been born in 1808, his father holding the Buckinghamshire living of Burnham and acting also as Vice-Provost of Eton College. After ordination to the diaconate in 1832 he served for a year under the ‘broad church’ H.H. Milman, later dean of St. Paul’s, as curate of St. Mary’s, Reading. Between 1833 and 1838 he acted as curate to his father at Burnham, and was then appointed to two Eton College livings in succession: Piddlehinton, Dorset (1838–44) and Clewer, Berkshire (1844–80). He seems to have made little mark at the former, and was compelled for health reasons to be non-resident between 1842 and 1844, during which time he lived again at Burnham. Clewer was a mixed parish, partly rural and partly Windsor suburb. For someone who

was later identified as one of the high priests of ritualism, Carter's progress at Clewer was very slow. It was not until 1852 that he began the restoration of the parish church, and the nave was still 'full of high pews in 1858'.¹² One of Carter's curates recorded that in 1865 'a surpliced choir was gradually supplanting the old choir of male and female voices who sat behind the pulpit. Black stoles only were worn, and, at least in the morning, the black gown was used; this was done in consideration for some of the parishioners. At first white stoles were used, but it was some time before red and green were introduced'.¹³ Carter, however, was a convinced Tractarian before he came to Clewer, having been strongly influenced by the *Tracts for the Times* and the other writings pouring out from Oxford in the 1830s and 1840s. His main effort at Clewer was, however, directed towards teaching and social action rather than an obsession with the externals of public worship. He was much caught up in penitentiary work, the rehabilitation of prostitutes, and founded his own House of Mercy at Clewer in 1849, and a sisterhood to run it in 1852. Over the next thirty years almshouses, a convalescent home, boarding and industrial schools were established at Clewer. There were associated foundations at Bovey Tracey: another House of Mercy (1863) and a mission to the poor (1879). Elsewhere in southern England, two convalescent homes and a home for incurables were established at Torquay (1866-92), and another convalescent home and a mission to the poor at Folkestone in 1875, all run by sisters from Clewer.

It was largely as a result of pressure from his curates that Carter was persuaded to adopt a more extravagant ritual at Clewer, though he always denied this: 'I was thought by some an extreme Ritualist, and by others that I was led on against my own mind by my curates. But neither was true. My inclination has been for a good measure of Ritual. I have believed a higher Ritual to be our rightful inheritance . . . From the first I kept the eastward position, and, I think, the mixed chalice. In minor ways, as in processions, and choral celebrations, and the Altar cross, and flowers, I went beyond what the upper ten of the congregation at all liked, as they showed me more or less uncomfortably. But the first movement that made a commotion was lighting the candles at the early celebration. Things went on until matters became more critical, and, I suppose, the teaching disapproved. But not until the dissentients had left the church did I light the candles at the late celebration, or use vestments. After a while the attack came, and the crisis'.¹⁴ There seems every reason to believe that the Church Association engineered Carter's prosecution under the Public

Worship Regulation Act largely because of his national standing as a confessor and retreat conductor, and as the founder and first Superior-General of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. Certainly by the mid-1870s ceremonial was very much more advanced in many other parishes than it was at Clewer, and even there the more extravagant ritual was reserved for the daughter church of St. Stephen, which became a separate parish in 1873, with Carter's former curate, G.D. Nicholas, as the first vicar. Carter's prosecution was vetoed by his bishop, J.F. Mackarness, who had made him an honorary canon of Oxford in 1870, though he made it clear to Carter that he should abandon some of the disputed innovations. Carter therefore felt that he was morally obliged to resign his living to protect the bishop from Protestant abuse, although his stand was much criticised by the more aggressive Anglo-Catholics who regarded it as unnecessarily conscientious. After his resignation Carter continued to reside at Clewer directing his penitentiary work until his death in 1901. His successor as rector maintained the liturgical and theological tradition he had established.

Developments at Frome were much the same though W.J.E. Bennett was unaffected by the ritual prosecutions or attempted prosecutions under the Public Worship Regulation Act. Bennett had been born in 1804 and served short curacies at several fashionable London churches before his appointment as minister of the Portman Chapel in 1836. He was chosen by Bishop Blomfield to become first incumbent of the new church of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, consecrated in 1843. It was whilst at the Portman Chapel that he gradually became a Tractarian, having previously been a strong Calvinist. It was his ritual innovations at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and the daughter church of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, opened in 1850, which caused serious riots, a dispute with the bishop, and Bennett's resignation early in 1851. Shortly afterwards the vicarage of Frome, in the patronage of the Marquess of Bath, then a minor, fell vacant and was offered to Bennett by the marquess's mother, who was a personal friend of Keble, Pusey and other Tractarian leaders. The appointment produced a furore in Parliament, and at the local level 56 parishioners of Frome, including five clergymen, petitioned Lady Bath against the appointment. A counter-petition in favour of Bennett, however, attracted the support of 1039 parishioners, and within a few months of his institution the congregation had increased by a third to some 2000.¹⁵

When Bennett went to Frome in 1852 he found the parish

church 'unrestored' with box pews and three-decker pulpit. The pews in the chancel were cleared immediately and he abolished both pew rents and church rates. During 1855-6 the pulpit, nave pews and galleries were also removed, and this was followed between 1862 and 1865 by a full-scale restoration of the whole fabric. Bennett remained at Frome until his death in 1886. He introduced various parochial charities, such as a dispensary, provident clubs and soup kitchens. A home was provided for factory girls and a creche for the children of working mothers. The parish was divided into districts with the vicar and curates responsible for regular visiting, a parish magazine was begun in 1854 and parochial missions in 1868. There were local wards or branches of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, Guild of All Souls, English Church Union and Society for Promoting the Unity of Christendom.¹⁶ Frome under Bennett was very much a model Tractarian parish.

Liturgically Bennett was a conservative. He introduced a daily communion service at 7 a.m., with once or twice a month a celebration on Sundays at 10 a.m. for the 'old and delicate', on Thursdays at 9 a.m., and occasionally on weekdays a celebration at 5.15 a.m. for 'working people' with coffee afterwards at the vicarage. He retained choral Mattins on Sundays at 11 a.m. instead of introducing a Sung Eucharist, which was instead at 8 a.m., and there was choral Evensong daily with incense on festivals. Vestments were not worn until the mid-1860s when a majority of the regular communicants requested their introduction and presented them to the vicar.¹⁷ As patron of the daughter churches to the parish church in Frome, Bennett appointed his own curates to these livings as they became vacant, so that of the four Anglican churches in the town, three were strongly ritualist by the 1870s, whilst at the parish church successive marquesses of Bath could be relied on as patrons to continue the tradition which their family had begun there in 1852.

Compared with Carter and Bennett the younger generation represented by Prynne at Plymouth, Courtenay at Bovey Tracey and Wagner at Brighton, were much more radical. George Rundle Prynne was born in 1818 and served as curate at All Saints', Clifton, and very briefly (1846-8) as vicar of Par in Cornwall, before his appointment in 1848 by Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter to the incumbency of St. Peter's, Plymouth, where he remained until his death in 1903. Prynne's 'high church' views were well known before the appointment though Phillpotts always claimed, never very convincingly, that he had been totally unaware of them.

Plymouth was an Evangelical stronghold in the 1840s, and indeed for the rest of the century. St. Peter's was a new parish, using as its church a chapel built in 1830 by the Revd. John Hawker, who had seceded from the established church over Catholic Emancipation, and purchased for Anglican use after his death. Those who knew Bishop Phillpotts suspected that the appointment of a known Tractarian in such a delicate ecclesiastical situation was a deliberate anti-Evangelical move. The establishment of the new parish was supported by the foundation of a sisterhood under Priscilla Lydia Sellon to assist the clergy in ministering to both the spiritual and social needs of a deprived community. Phillpotts agreed to act as visitor to the sisterhood and consecrated the church, from which Prynne had removed the galleries and three-decker pulpit, in 1850. The attacks on Prynne began almost immediately, co-ordinated by the Evangelical clergy. There were public meetings to protest about the use of the surplice in the pulpit, intoning the service, bowing at the name of Jesus, and other minor innovations. There were attacks on the sisterhood and allegations made against Prynne relating to the improper questioning of penitents. Phillpotts held a series of inquiries and publicly exonerated both Prynne and the sisterhood, and was stoned at a confirmation service in protest. He gave £50 annually to augment the benefice income until his death in 1869. With Phillpotts' support, despite the fact that the bishop disapproved of extreme ritualism, Prynne developed St. Peter's as the first of what later became a significant group of ritualist churches in Plymouth. The church was always in the forefront of the ritualist movement, and was, in 1882, the first in England to begin perpetual reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.¹⁸ Prynne was also able to enlarge the original converted chapel with a new nave designed by his architect son.

About halfway between Plymouth and Exeter lay Bovey Tracey of which Charles Leslie Courtenay was vicar from 1849 until 1894. Courtenay, born in 1816, was the son of the tenth earl of Devon. The Courtenays were like the Thynnes (marquesses of Bath) a distinguished, aristocratic, 'high church' family. Courtenay's only other preferment was, despite his known 'high churchmanship', a canonry of Windsor. As this was an appointment in the personal gift of the sovereign, it must be assumed that Courtenay's theological views were of less importance to Queen Victoria, who strongly disapproved of 'high churchmen', than his aristocratic connections. At Bovey Tracey Courtenay Tractarianised the parish church, beginning with a full scale restoration, completed with the addition of an outer north aisle in 1858. The daughter church of

St. John was built in 1852, the architect being R.C. Carpenter, one of those most favoured by Tractarian incumbents and thoroughly 'ecclesiological' in his approach. Here Courtenay introduced an even more advanced ritual than that at the parish church and ensured its continuation by assigning the patronage to Keble College, Oxford, in 1885. The warden and fellows of Keble consistently appointed ritualists to their livings, and several others were assigned to them by the founders of ritualist parishes who did not trust other possible patrons, such as the diocesan bishop or the incumbent of the mother parish, to present candidates of the right churchmanship. Other Anglo-Catholic patrons were the Guild of All Souls and the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith, but there were an even larger number of Evangelical patronage trusts. The extreme nature of the ritualist teaching and practice at St. John's, Bovey Tracey, is made abundantly clear in the verbatim report of an episcopal enquiry held at the church in 1905, recently discovered among the archives of the diocese of Exeter.¹⁹ In the directions given to the incumbent and churchwardens the bishop ordered the former 'to submit at all times for my approval and authority all services and all prayers for which there is no express direction or authority in the Book of Common Prayer, . . . to abstain from all omissions and all interpolations and all variations in the service of the Holy Communion as it is laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, especially . . . the second fraction or intinction or commixture, and the elevation of the host accompanied by the ringing of bells, . . . to abstain from the ceremonial use of incense or portable lights, . . . to abstain from giving notice of or observing by special services any feast or other days not directed by the Prayer Book calendar to be observed, . . . [and] to abstain from placing flowers, lights or ornaments before any image or picture in the church'. He ordered the churchwardens to obtain a confirmatory faculty within six months, or else to remove, two tabernacles, two statues of Our Lady and 'the image of Our Lord displaying the Sacred Heart . . . and . . . to abstain in like manner with the vicar from placing flowers, lights or ornaments before any image or picture in the church or from authorising any other person to do the like'.

A similar state of affairs existed in the notorious group of Anglo-Catholic churches in Brighton, the majority of which owed their existence to the munificence of Arthur Douglas Wagner. Anglo-Catholicism in Brighton was less widespread than its critics frequently alleged. It was confined to about a fifth of the churches in the town virtually all of which were established as Anglo-

Catholic churches. The sole exception was St. James', a proprietary chapel usually served by Evangelical ministers, which had a flamboyant ritualist minister in the person of John Purchas between 1863 and 1872. Much of Brighton's notoriety seems to have been the result of Wagner's own dominant personality, which attracted the attention of extreme Protestants, and led to John Kensit contesting the 1900 general election there on an anti-ritualist platform. Yet Wagner's ability to achieve what he did was largely fortuitous. His family was immensely wealthy. His father, Henry Michell Wagner, was vicar of Brighton from 1824 until his death in 1870, a conservative 'high churchman' who was prepared to make provision for his more ritualist son, born in 1825. It was the elder Wagner who built the new church of St. Paul, opened in 1848, at a cost of £14,000, and arranged for his son to become perpetual curate in 1850. Had it not been for the influence of his father the younger Wagner might have had some difficulty in securing ordination or, at any rate, his own benefice. He appears not to have been offered any other and he died as vicar of St. Paul's in 1902.

From the first St. Paul's, an ecclesiologically correct design by R.C. Carpenter, was among the most extreme of the ritualist churches in England. Although Wagner was concerned primarily that his main mission should be to the working class of his district, St. Paul's became the most fashionable church outside London and 'high church' visitors to Brighton, as well as the simply curious, formed a high proportion of the Sunday congregations. Although Wagner was an extremist he was also a politician, abandoning the use of both incense and vestments on various occasions as a result of episcopal requests to do so. In some matters, however, he could be totally resolute, as in the case of Constance Kent where, despite public abuse and even physical assault, he refused to repeat in court what had been revealed to him under the seal of sacramental confession.

If Wagner had merely restricted his ministry to the building up of St. Paul's as the main Anglo-Catholic church in Brighton it is doubtful whether the number of such churches in the town would have increased significantly. The ritualist experiment at St. James' was short-lived and, on the whole, disastrous. St. Michael's, where a strong ritualist tradition was established, was opened in 1862 and, though neither financed nor planned by Wagner, was subscribed to by those who admired his work at St. Paul's and were anxious to provide a benefice for one of his curates. All the other pre-1900 ritualist churches in Brighton owed their existence

directly to Wagner himself. He personally financed the two very modest churches of St. Mary Magdalen (1862) and the Annunciation (1864), and the much more lavish, indeed positively opulent, St. Bartholomew's, opened in 1874, which cost £18,000 and could seat 2000 people. The church of St. Martin, opened in 1875 cost £12,000, but on this occasion the cost was shared between various members of the Wagner family as the building was erected as a memorial to the late H.M. Wagner. One other church, outside Brighton, built by A.D. Wagner, was at Buxted (1885-6). Altogether the younger Wagner is rumoured to have spent some £70,000 on financing churches, schools, and even houses for his poorer parishioners.²⁰

Although all these churches were Anglo-Catholic there were significant differences between them. St. Martin's was fairly moderate: a weekly sung Eucharist was not begun until 1888 nor the eucharistic vestments worn until 1896.²¹ At the other extreme was St. Bartholomew's where vestments and a daily eucharist had been introduced in the temporary mission church as early as 1870. Four confessionals were installed in 1879, Stations of the Cross in 1881, reservation of the sacrament in 1896.²² It was the more extreme of the Brighton churches that produced most of the secessions to Rome: two curates and the organist at St. Bartholomew's in 1878, and another three curates in the two succeeding decades; one curate at St. Paul's in 1876 and one at the Annunciation in 1881. The most serious crisis, however, occurred in 1910 when the vicars of both St. Bartholomew's and the Annunciation resigned to become Roman Catholics, along with several members of their congregations, when the bishop of Chichester prohibited both benediction and exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. There is no doubt that successive bishops of Chichester found Brighton Anglo-Catholics an embarrassment, particularly when they promoted Protestant demonstrations, petitions and riots, even though all the bishops were themselves moderate 'high churchmen'. None, however, took any substantial action before 1910, and the services prohibited then had been specifically condemned by the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Bishop Gilbert (1842-70) was probably so tired of his fruitless struggles with J.M. Neale at East Grinstead as to have no stomach for similar wrangles with A.D. Wagner. Bishop Durnford (1870-95) was even prepared to visit the offending churches; at the consecration of St. Bartholomew's in 1887 he defended outward beauty in worship but asked that the altar candles should not actually be lit whilst he was in the building.²³

Wagner's influence and position in Brighton was unusual. The continued success and growth of Anglo-Catholicism in the town after 1900 had much to do with the way in which church extension had been organised in the town by him and his father. Successive vicars of Brighton, all at least moderate 'high churchmen' themselves, enjoyed considerable patronage, including that of St. Martin's and St. Michael's; the patronage of the churches established for or by A.D. Wagner himself was placed in the hands of a trust whose members included the bishop of Chichester, the vicar of Brighton, and the vicars of all the churches in the trust. The ecclesiastical dominance of a large town by one family had few comparisons elsewhere in England, except perhaps in Leeds where the 'Hookism' of many churches was a direct result of the patronage of the vicar of Leeds, and shared some features in common with the 'Wagnerism' of Brighton.²⁴

Later Ritualist Parishes

The variety in types of parishes influenced by the Oxford Movement, encompassed in the pioneer ritualist ministries discussed above, was continued in the many other ritualist parishes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The popularity of the 'ritualist slum priest' phrase bandied about so freely by even otherwise responsible historians has generally led to two serious misconceptions: firstly that most ritualist activity was confined to socially deprived communities, and secondly that ritualist priests were the only Anglican clergymen with a social conscience. In fact, certainly in the south of England and to a lesser extent elsewhere, the number of Anglo-Catholic clergy in the 'slum priest' category was a small minority. The majority of ritualist parishes were either in the more middle-class urban communities or in the rural areas. Five typical examples illustrate the variety of parishes involved: the urban parishes of St. Michael, Southampton, and St. Agatha, Portsmouth; the suburban parish of St. Peter, Parkstone; the rural parishes of Portleven and Tedburn St. Mary.

St. Michael's, Southampton, was one of only a few medieval churches in the larger towns of southern England to become a centre of ritualist activity, and indeed was an unlikely candidate for such innovations. During the 'papal aggression' crisis of 1850-1 the parish vestry had petitioned both the sovereign and the bishop of Winchester against 'the Romanising teaching and practices of a great number of clergymen of the Church of England', which it considered were 'calculated to undermine the great principles of

Protestantism and to set up in the land a species of priestly domination repugnant to our constitutional liberty'.²⁵ Yet in 1870 the same parishioners were forced to come to terms with the fact that their new vicar, Francis Maund Gregory, born in 1841 and formerly curate at the Anglo-Catholic St. Paul's, Knightsbridge (where Bennett of Frome had once been incumbent), was just such a 'Romaniser'. He inherited a church which had only been re-arranged as a preaching house as lately as 1828, but during 1872-3 the galleries, box pews and three-decker pulpit were swept away (an exceptionally late date for an important town church) and replaced by the customary Tractarian fittings. But Gregory's architectural and liturgical changes were not popular and his ministry, which lasted until his death in 1899, was in many ways a disaster. A once fashionable eclectic congregation was dispersed and replaced by a much smaller one; the number of regular communicants never rose above a hundred.²⁶ Despite this Gregory was succeeded by another Anglo-Catholic and St. Michael's settled down to be a typical, not very successful, Edwardian ritualist parish, rather more typical in fact than the better publicised parishes of popular memory.

One of these was St. Agatha's, Portsmouth, established in 1882 by Winchester College as its contribution towards the spiritual needs of a large and deprived urban community, and finding in its second missionary, Robert Dolling (1885-96) the ideal 'ritualist slum priest'. It is difficult to know how successful Dolling was in spiritual terms; there can be little questioning of his achievements in the social field. His own account of his work in Portsmouth and that given by his contemporary biographer²⁷ suggest that his spiritual success was considerable, but the surviving records of his successor, G.H. Tremenheere, suggest that congregations after 1900 were very modest.²⁸ Under both Dolling and Tremenheere the Winchester College Mission was conducted on aggressive Anglo-Catholic lines. Soon after the former's arrival in Portsmouth there was a daily communion service at St. Agatha's and four celebrations on Sundays, including one for children, and various extra-liturgical services such as Vespers of the Dead and of the Blessed Sacrament. Enormous emphasis was placed on the need for regular confession to a priest as the best way of leading a profoundly spiritual life. In his dealings with three bishops of Winchester Dolling refused to compromise on even the most unimportant aspects of ritual practice and he used the conflict with Davidson over the consecration of the permanent church as a convenient matter of principle on which to resign.

Many of the most successful Anglo-Catholic parishes in the long term were to be found, not in the centres of the major urban communities, but in their suburbs, and a good example is St. Peter's, Parkstone, which lay between Bournemouth and Poole and benefitted from the expansion of both towns in the period after 1850. Bournemouth itself had been a centre of much Tractarian, though largely non-ritualist, activity since 1845 when A.M. Bennett had become vicar of the parish church. Parkstone had only become an independent parish in 1833 but was to become the major ritualist centre in the area with the appointment of E.E. Dugmore to the vicarage in 1872. Dugmore, who was vicar for 38 years and who became a canon of Salisbury in 1890, was responsible for rebuilding the parish church and for building four daughter churches, two of which later became independent parish churches. These, however, were to be no ordinary buildings. St. Peter's, rebuilt in stages between 1876 and 1901, was one of the major works of the major 'high church' architect, J.L. Pearson. St. Osmund's is one of the few, and one of the most effective, neo-Byzantine churches in England. Dugmore, like many other Anglo-Catholics, believed that beautiful services required beautiful buildings in which they could be carried out; he achieved this aim spectacularly not once but twice.²⁹

Ritualist activity in the rural areas has been generally underestimated by historians of Victorian Anglicanism. In the south of England it was in rural or small town parishes that the impact of the Oxford Movement was first felt. Even before 1840 there were Tractarians like Hawker at Morwenstow, Keble at Hursley and Manning at West Lavington, and later on one thinks of Butler at Wantage, Denison at East Brent and Neale at East Grinstead. In south-east Hampshire there was a significant group of rural Tractarian or ritualist parishes on the northern outskirts of Portsmouth: Farlington, Purbrook, Widley and Wymering.³⁰ Among the incumbents of these parishes were George Nugée and Alfred Poole, two former curates of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, where ritual riots had taken place in 1850. Another significant group of ritualist parishes was established in the Chard district of Somerset, the initiative being taken in the 1870s at Barrington and Shepton Beauchamp.³¹ Rural ritualism could be detected by the end of the century in both populous as well as remote and scattered rural communities, of which Porthleven in Cornwall and Tedburn St. Mary in Devon can serve as appropriate contrasting illustrations. Porthleven was a large coastal village in the parish of Sithney, where a separate ecclesiastical district had been created in 1842.

Porthleven, like most of the larger villages in Cornwall, was a stronghold of Methodism and the appointment of the advanced ritualist, Thomas Lockyer Williams, to the vicarage in 1851 provoked considerable conflict. Despite this he remained at Porthleven until 1889 and was able to establish a successful Anglo-Catholic tradition in the parish which was maintained by his successors. The success of a strong ritualist tradition, including the use of both vestments and incense, in a village like Porthleven was of considerable significance for the later ecclesiastical development of Cornwall, which reacted against the strength of Methodism by becoming almost universally 'high church' by the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed by the early years of the twentieth century Cornwall numbered among its clergy two who were so extreme as to have little in common with their Anglican brethren, and whose churches were clearly meant to resemble their Roman Catholic counterparts in Brittany: Sandys Wason of Cury and Gunwalloe and Bernard Walke of St. Hilary. In 1910 the bishop of Truro inhibited Wason from religious duties outside his own parish and refused to visit his churches. His response was to introduce the Roman Catholic service of Benediction and in 1919 a group of irate local farmers 'arrived at the vicarage' and 'bundled the vicar and his belongings unceremoniously on a cart and carried them over to St. Hilary', as a result of which he resigned.³³ Walke was appointed to St. Hilary in 1912 and mixed extreme ritualism with extreme socialism. All efforts by the bishop and disaffected parishioners to tone down the ritual at St. Hilary failed and eventually in 1932 'a party of Kensit supporters came in cars and a coach from Plymouth and elsewhere outside the county. By a deception they got into the church, brushed aside the vicar . . . and with crowbars and hammers broke down statues, pictures, the reredos of the high altar . . . In the church strewn with stone dust, fragments of plaster and wood, and with the altar linen bedraggled and torn, Kensit read prayers and the Ten Commandments. They had . . . allowed Walke to remove the Sacrament, which he did through a path lined with kneeling parishioners holding candles'.³⁴ Four years later Walke resigned. Some years earlier, C.W.E. Tothill, rector of Tedburn St. Mary, a scattered rural parish in Devon, had suffered similar attacks on his rather milder ritualism. Tothill became curate of the parish in 1862 and succeeded to the rectory in 1865. By the end of the century it was one of four rural parishes in Devon in which both incense and vestments were used. In 1886 a petition, signed by one of the churchwardens and 62 parishioners, was sent to the bishop of Exeter asking him to allow

the prosecution of Tothill under the Public Worship Regulation Act. The bishop, the Evangelical E.H. Bickersteth, however, indicated that he would veto the prosecution on the grounds that he had received a counter-petition supporting Tothill signed by 90 parishioners. The churchwarden alleged that most of these were schoolchildren and that the counter-petition had been organised by the schoolmaster who supported Tothill; he claimed that most parishioners had ceased to attend the parish church, but instead attended either neighbouring parishes or the Methodist chapel which had recently been opened in the parish, no doubt to take advantage of the conflict. Tothill himself, however, considered that it was the churchwarden, a newcomer to the parish, and a handful of dissenters who had stirred up the people against him. He admitted that his congregation had declined but believed that this was entirely the fault of the churchwarden who had deliberately persecuted him since he had moved into the parish.³⁵

One group of ritualist parishes that requires specific consideration is those to be found in the larger seaside resorts. The general assumption has been that inland watering places, such as Cheltenham and Tunbridge Wells, were centres of Evangelicalism and that the seaside resorts were strongholds of ritualism. Whilst there is some general truth in this view it requires some modification. Bath, for instance, though certainly an Evangelical stronghold, had three well-established ritualist parishes by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and at Tunbridge Wells, despite Evangelical protestations, the new church of St. Barnabas was established in 1881, under the patronage of Keble College, Oxford, specifically to offer a Tractarian alternative to the Evangelical monopoly of Anglican worship in the town.³⁶ The level of ritualist activity in seaside resorts varied considerably. As we have seen it was extreme, though limited to a smallish number of churches, in Brighton; it was more widespread, though also more moderate, in Penzance and Torquay. The least ritualistic seaside resorts seem to have been the Kentish ones of Herne Bay and Margate, the latter as strongly Evangelical as Tunbridge Wells. But at another Kentish resort, Folkestone, there was nearly as much conflict over ritualism, with Matthew Woodward at the parish church, Husband at St. Michael's and Ridsdale at St. Peter's, as there was in Brighton. Ritualist churches in many seaside resorts were frequently built as a result of donations or legacies from wealthy visitors, and occasionally even after mass lobbying for their erection. Christ Church, St. Leonards-on-Sea, was built in 1859-60 at the sole cost of Lady St. John, mother of the first rector, Charles Lyndhurst

Vaughan (1828–95). Vaughan was vicar of St. Neots in Huntingdonshire from 1854, and his mother had arranged for the new church to be looked after by the clergy of the neighbouring ‘high church’ parish of St. Mary Magdalen, until he resigned St. Neots to reside at St. Leonards-on-Sea in 1863. There were daily services from 1863, a weekly early communion service from 1864, and choral celebrations of Holy Communion from 1865. By 1868 lighted candles and vestments were in use, and a daily communion service began in 1870. Between 1872 and 1875 the first church was replaced by a much larger building designed by Sir Arthur Blomfield. The new church was consecrated by Bishop Durnford of Chichester in 1884. The use of incense began in 1886 though it was only used on the major festivals until the congregation became accustomed to it. Although Christ Church clearly drew a large proportion of its congregation from amongst the wealthy residents and visitors, it was envisaged that, like the ritualist churches in Brighton and other seaside resorts, it should function as a centre of social concern for the less well-to-do inhabitants: a creche for working mothers was begun in 1872 and in 1891 the clergy of the church spearheaded a mission supported by all the Anglican churches in Hastings and St. Leonards.³⁷ The eventual establishment of the ritualist parish of St. Andrew’s, Worthing, in what was, like Margate, an Evangelical stronghold, is particularly interesting for the light it throws on the development of English seaside resorts. In 1878 the Anglican Community of St. Mary the Virgin established a convalescent home in Worthing, and a small group of lay people who had recourse to their chapel formed the nucleus of a campaign to establish a ‘high church’ parish in the town. A site was purchased and a building committee formed in 1885 though, as at Tunbridge Wells, the local Evangelical clergy endeavoured to frustrate these efforts by offering to enlarge the accommodation of existing churches. The new church was, however, built, with the support of the bishop who secured the assignment of a small ecclesiastical district from three existing parishes, which meant that an independent parish could be created. It was, however, realised that the congregation would always be eclectic and that many would be visitors. Indeed it would seem that the likely benefit for the tourist trade was one of the most powerful arguments in favour of the new church, if one newspaper report was to be believed: ‘We warmly congratulate the people of Worthing . . . No watering place has a chance of doing well that has not at least one decent church . . . a health resort which does not provide for the Ritualist cuts itself off from a large

section of the community'.³⁸ St. Andrew's, Worthing, was consecrated in 1888, and once again the patronage was vested in Keble College, Oxford. Vestments and incense were in use from the beginning. A crisis over the insistence that private confession was an obligatory preliminary to confirmation, and the subsequent episcopal enquiry, resulted in the secession of the vicar and one of the curates to Rome in 1905. The tradition was, however, continued by the next and all subsequent incumbents.

Patronage and Societies

Two aspects of parochial ritualism which have in the past received insufficient attention from ecclesiastical historians have been the role of patrons in promoting ritualism and the strength given to the ritualist clergy by the various national societies founded to protect 'high churchmen' or to popularise their teaching. Tables 4 and 5 summarise the situation in both respects in the parishes of southern England, firstly for a group of parishes throughout the region and secondly for a group of parishes in its most 'high church' county, Cornwall, which was practically coterminous with the diocese of Truro.

Looking first at the patrons it is very clear how much the spread of the Oxford Movement in the parishes owed to non-episcopal patronage. We have noted how on several occasions patronage was vested in Keble College, Oxford, which, as a Tractarian foundation, could be relied on to appoint 'high churchmen', indeed almost always extreme ritualists, to its parishes. But Keble College, Oxford, were not the only collegiate patrons of ritualist parishes, similar appointments being made by Eton College at Clewer and Winchester College at Portsmouth. The role of private patrons, very frequently members of the aristocracy, in presenting 'high churchmen' to livings was also significant. In the south of England the most important patrons in this category included the Marquesses of Bath and Salisbury, and the Earl of Shaftesbury. The role of the last-named is particularly interesting, since the seventh earl, who died in 1885, was the noted Evangelical philanthropist and politician. It was his son's widow, the eighth earl dying in 1886, acting on behalf of the ninth earl during his minority, who presented ritualist incumbents to the Dorset parishes of Hinton Martell and Horton, and who built the chapel of Woodlands as daughter church to the latter in 1892. Although the diocesan bishops presented to fewer than a quarter of the ritualist livings in the south of England, their role in promoting ritualism

was certainly not negligible and the statistics do give some support to the contemporary Evangelical assertion that the bishops were doing little to curtail parochial ritualism, particularly when they themselves were known to have presented ritualists to their own livings. One parish in which a dispute over the appointment of a ritualist incumbent actually led to a change of patronage was St. Stephen's-by-Launceston, where the patrons were the ratepayers and feoffees of the parish. In 1900 a vacancy occurred in the living. The previous incumbent had been a 'high churchman' and the feoffees wanted the tradition to continue. The ratepayers were, however, of a different opinion, and the two groups presented rival candidates. After six months, with no settlement, the right of presentation lapsed to Bishop Gott, who passed over both the rival candidates, but appointed another 'high churchman', the vicar of Lostwithiel. As a result of this dispute the patronage of the living was transferred from the original patrons to the dean and chapter of Truro.³⁹

There is no doubt that without the Anglican system of patronage, under which no individual or institution had a monopoly of presentation to benefices in any diocese, the parochial success of the Oxford Movement could have been very severely hampered. The fact that it was not hampered had much to do with the significant network of private patrons, supported by a small number of collegiate institutions, supplemented later on by a number of ritualist patronage trusts, who made it their business to see that ritualist clergy were presented to benefices and thereby allowed to impose their liturgical and theological views on a frequently suspicious laity.

The role of the ritualist societies was complementary to that of the ritualist patrons. They provided a network of support for ritualist clergy under attack from their laity. They provided a mechanism whereby ritualist opinions could be promoted in the national and diocesan and even parochial organisations of the established church. Finally, they provided a forum where like-minded people, clerical and lay, could get together to discuss their beliefs and problems. The largest of the ritualist societies was the English Church Union which had branches in many of even the more moderate 'high church' parishes in England and Wales. Of the two societies which promoted special 'high church' concerns, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, founded by T.T. Carter of Clewer, enjoyed very considerable support in ritualist parishes; the appeal of the Guild of All Souls, which encouraged prayers for the departed, was slightly more limited. The national

organisation with the most restricted membership, confined to priests and ordinands, was the Society of the Holy Cross, but its influence was considerable. It was this society which was particularly active in the promotion of retreats and auricular confession. It operated as a secret society, which greatly assisted its influence among the clergy, and its surviving membership records reveal that its support tended to be concentrated in particular localities. Many of its members were beneficed in the south of England, and although they included well-known ritualists like Bennett, Carter, Courtenay and Prynne, and their curates, there were a fair number of country clergymen whose parishes were not among the more well-known centres of ritualism: Purbrook and Wymering (Hampshire); Flimwell (Sussex); Pennard, Elworthy, Great Elm, Farmborough, Bicknoller, East Brent and Hambridge (Somerset); Landreth and St. Erth (Cornwall); Faringdon, Benson and South Morton (Berkshire); Kenn and Tallaton (Devon); Northfleet and Stone (Kent).⁴⁰ The influence and strength of these ritualist societies was considerable, and a very important factor in assisting the spread of 'high church' opinions and practices among both clergy and laity.

Conclusion

The principal aim of this paper has been to demonstrate that, contrary to popular opinion, the strength of Anglican ritualism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was not confined to the metropolis and a few specially selected resort towns. It was, apart from a fairly heavy concentration of Anglo-Catholic parishes in London, reasonably evenly distributed throughout the country. In the south of England the ritualist domination of the coastal resort towns has been grossly exaggerated, even in the case of Brighton, which owed its unique position in the development of Anglican ritualism to the influence, patronage and wealth of one clerical family, the Wagners. By contrast relatively little attention has been paid to the significant role of ritualism in the ecclesiastical history of towns such as Reading, Swindon and Taunton. It is to be hoped that the general conclusions drawn in this paper will lead in the future to some detailed studies of ritualism in these and other places, and to some consideration of why some towns attracted ritualist clergy, whilst others, such as Aldershot, Canterbury, Maidstone and Reigate, clearly did not.

As well as considering the general question of the ritualist geography of southern England this paper has also tried to show

the common ground that existed between ritualist parishes in very different types of communities: the contrasting caution or rashness in the introduction of liturgical and other changes; the response of the laity; the success or otherwise of the experiment in terms of the size of the congregation; the reliance on wealthy benefactors to provide buildings and endowments; the role of both aristocratic and ecclesiastical patrons, and of the national ritualist societies. It is important neither to underrate nor to overrate the success of the Oxford Movement's parochial impact. In terms of the number of parishes that were fully ritualist by c.1900 that success was severely limited. Overall, vestments were worn in about 12% of the Anglican churches in the south of England, whilst incense was used in less than 2%. Yet when one considers the enormous public hostility to ritual innovations, together with the legislative attempt to control ritualism through the Public Worship Regulation Act and two royal commissions into the subject, then the fact that extreme ritualism had established even such a limited foothold in the Church of England was indeed remarkable. And it has to be remembered that many other Tractarian practices, still violently condemned by Evangelicals, such as lighted candles, the mixed chalice and the eastward position at the eucharist, had become the norm in dioceses such as Canterbury and Truro by 1900, and accepted in more than a quarter of all the parishes in every diocese of southern England, with the sole exception of Bath and Wells.

The plain fact was, and the Evangelicals recognised this, that the ritualists had outmanoeuvred both their critics and the Anglican establishment. Many Evangelicals blamed the bishops for this, but in reality the real cause of the ritualist victory was the same Anglican system which had allowed the Evangelicals themselves to survive in the face of much hostility in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There was no adequate mechanism in the Church of England for securing uniformity of doctrine and liturgical practice. Parishes were effectively independent, bishops did not have a monopoly of patronage (some of which was exercised by highly eccentric landowners), incumbents once appointed had security of tenure and it was notoriously difficult to secure their deprivation on anything except grounds of gross immorality or neglect of duty. When attempts were made through the courts to define the historic practice and teaching of the church they frequently produced either conflicting legal opinions or, as in the case of the Gorham Judgement, a wholly unsatisfactory attempt at compromise. Efforts to regulate ritualism through the Public Worship Regulation Act were frustrated, partly through the

ability of bishops to veto what they considered were unwise prosecutions, and partly through the stubbornness of the ritualist clergy, who realised that, if they stood firm and were imprisoned for contempt, they would quickly be seen as martyrs to a cause. One of the most remarkable changes in public opinion was that which took place between the mid-1870s, when everybody was demanding the suppression of ritualism, and the mid-1880s, by which time the popular view was enormously hostile to the imprisonment of clergymen who believed that what they were doing had divine authority.

But a further factor in the growth of ritualism was a growing appreciation of ritual by Anglican worshippers. There had been from the 1830s a forceful lay lobby, mostly aristocratic, in support of Tractarian principles. As the decades passed this lobby grew considerably and gained a very strong adherence from the female middle class element in Anglican congregations. There were of course still cases of parishes, even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and indeed later than that, where ritualist incumbents imposed unwanted ceremonial on hostile congregations and either divided their parishes or emptied their churches. But equally there were many parishes where the pace of ritual change was determined by the congregation, where 'high church' clergy were deliberately encouraged to introduce a more elaborate ritual by popular demand.

The various attempts to control ritualism put forward by the bishops — not all, of course, since some were either secret or open supporters of the ritualists — and by Parliament were doomed to failure. Frequently battles were still being fought after the issue had been effectively conceded, and it has been argued that if greater flexibility had been shown some of the more extreme manifestations of ritualism could have been suppressed. It is doubtful if this would have been the case. What is remarkable about Anglican ritualism is the speed at which it developed once it had begun. The critics never really came to terms with this and clearly misjudged the key support for ritualists in certain areas, or the determination of the ritualist clergy to fight for what they believed in.

Ritualism in southern England in 1900 was, therefore, well entrenched and widely distributed throughout the region. There was nowhere, with the possible exception of Surrey, where ritualism had made little headway, as it had in parts of Wales and East Anglia. In social terms it had as much effect on the prevailing ecclesiastical climate as the challenges provided by the growth of

dissent and the break-up of the Anglican domination of religious life over the previous century. Its detailed manifestations and its progress in different parts of the region would certainly repay further attention, and one hopes that the historians of local communities will be looking out for the way in which the teachings of the Oxford Movement affected the Church of England in their community in the years after 1840.

Table 1: Ritual Observance in the Provinces of Canterbury and York, 1903

Churches adopting	Eastward (%) Position	Lighted (%) Candles	Mixed (%) Chalice	Eucharistic (%) Vestments
Diocesan average	39	26	24	10
<i>Southern dioceses</i>				
Truro	84	62	56	24
London	70	52	45	24
Canterbury	72	47	38	12
Oxford	53	39	32	14
Winchester	55	36	31	9
St. Albans	47	34	31	11
Chichester	48	31	31	10
Gloucester	43	31	28	11
Salisbury	42	30	32	9
Exeter	40	33	28	12
Rochester	40	30	27	14
Bristol	38	29	24	14
Bath & Wells	27	21	19	10
<i>Midland dioceses</i>				
Lichfield	52	31	34	14
Worcester	44	27	28	11
Lincoln	40	29	27	13
Peterborough	44	27	26	9
Ely	38	30	26	12
Hereford	30	20	15	5
Norwich	20	16	15	8
<i>Northern dioceses</i>				
Newcastle	48	32	31	14
Wakefield	46	27	36	12
Southwell	37	27	27	15
Durham	43	22	30	9
Chester	40	25	24	7
York	35	25	21	12
Ripon	28	20	17	5
Manchester	30	11	18	4

Table 1: Ritual Observance in the Provinces of Canterbury and York, 1903

Churches adopting	Eastward Position (%)	Lighted Candles (%)	Mixed Chalice (%)	Eucharistic Vestments (%)
<i>Northern dioceses</i>				
Liverpool	29	11	16	5
Carlisle	15	3	3	1
Sodor & Man	4	—	—	—
<i>Welsh dioceses</i>				
Llandaff	32	23	21	12
St. Asaph	18	9	8	3
St. Davids	11	8	7	3
Bangor	19	5	3	1

Table 2: Anglo-Catholic Churches in different types of Communities in Southern England, 1903

Churches with:	Vestments	Incense
Principal urban centres	31	12
Resort towns	47	16
Large market towns	11	4
Small market towns	48	5
Rural parishes	205	19
Total	342	56

Table 3: Anglo-Catholic Churches in the larger towns of Southern England, 1903

Town:	Population	Anglican Churches	Churches with Vestments	Churches with Incense
Bristol	328,945	73	10	4
Portsmouth/Gosport	217,017	30	3	2
Plymouth/Devonport	178,073	28	7	4
Brighton/Hove	160,013	35	7	6
Medway Towns*	110,177	15	2	1
Southampton	104,824	18	3	1
Reading	72,217	14	6	—
Bournemouth/Poole	66,466	30	3	2
Hastings/St. Leonards	65,528	21	3	1
Thanet Towns*	57,317	13	2	—
Bath	49,839	21	3	2
Exeter	47,185	28	3	2
Swindon	45,006	6	3	1

Town:	Population	Anglican Churches	Churches with Vestments	Churches with Incense
Eastbourne	43,344	9	2	—
Torquay/Paignton	42,010	17	6	—
Dover	41,794	8	2	—
Maidstone	33,516	10	—	—
Tunbridge Wells	33,373	8	1	—
Aldershot	30,974	4	—	—
Folkestone	30,650	8	2	1
Gravesend	27,196	5	1	—
St. Helier	26,418	8	3	1
Reigate/Redhill	25,993	5	—	—
Canterbury	24,899	15	—	—
Taunton	21,087	6	3	—
Winchester	20,929	15	1	1
Worthing	20,015	6	1	1

*Medway Towns: Chatham, Gillingham and Rochester

*Thanet Towns: Broadstairs, Margate and Ramsgate

Table IV: Patronage of Anglo-Catholic Churches in Southern England, 1903

Churches in:	Group A ¹	Group B ¹
Private patronage	14	21
Bishop's patronage ²	12	11
Incumbent's patronage	10	6
Trustees' patronage	8	—
Collegiate patronage	6	—
Crown patronage ²	3	5
Capitular patronage	2	3
Other patronage ³	1	3
Total no. of parishes	56	49

Notes:

(1) Churches in Group A includes all churches with incense and vestments in southern England; those in Group B include all churches with vestments in the county of Cornwall and diocese of Truro.

(2) In two churches in Group A and four in Group B, the diocesan bishop and the Crown presented alternately.

(3) The Lord Chancellor was patron of one church each in Groups A and B; the Duke of Cornwall and the ratepayers and feoffees of the parish were the patrons of one parish each in Group B.

Table 5: Membership of Ritualist Societies among Clergy of Anglo-Catholic Churches in Southern England, 1903

Members in:	Group A	Group B
English Church Union	50	28
Confraternity of Blessed Sacrament	46	17
Guild of All Souls	22	1
Society of Holy Cross	15	1
Associates of Society of St. John Evangelist	3	—
Total no. of parishes	56	49

Note:

Groups are the same as in Table 4 above. Numbers are counted as one per parish even if more than one clergyman belongs to the same society in the same parish.

Appendix: Summary List of Ritualist Churches in Southern England in 1903

Berkshire:

Vestments were worn in 23 churches including six in Reading; the parish churches of Abingdon, Hungerford and Newbury; St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's, Clewer, Windsor; All Saints, Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, where there had been a celebrated confessional scandal in the late 1850s; St. Leonard's, Wallingford; and All Souls, South Ascot. Incense was used in only one church, St. Stephen's, Clewer.

Channel Islands:

Vestments were worn in three churches in St. Helier, Jersey: St. Luke's, St. Mark's and St. Simon's, in the last named of which, established as a ritualist church in 1865 and designed by the distinguished Tractarian architect, G.F. Bodley, incense was also used. Vestments were not worn in any churches in Guernsey though at both the ancient parish church and the new church of St. Stephen's in St. Peter Port candles were lighted, the chalice mixed and the eastward position taken at the eucharist.

Cornwall:

Vestments were worn in 49 churches including Truro Cathedral; three churches in Newlyn and Penzance; and the parish churches of Bodmin, Camborne, Hayle, Launceston, Padstow, Redruth, St. Columb Major, St. Ives, St. Just-in-Penwith, Saltash and Torpoint. Incense was used at Breage, Germoe, Lezant and Porthleven. E.M. Phillipps-Treby, rector of Forrabury, became a Roman Catholic in 1895.

Devon:

Vestments were worn in 58 churches including seven in Plymouth and Devonport, six in Torquay and Paignton, three in Exeter and two in Bovey Tracey; in the parish churches of Bideford, Dartmouth, Kingsbridge, Okehampton, Plympton St. Mary, Plympton St. Maurice, Salcombe and Shaldon; and, among the 27 village churches, at Lew Trenchard, where the distinguished antiquarian, folklorist and hymn-writer Sabine Baring-Gould, author of *Onward Christian Soldiers*, had been rector since 1881. Incense was used at four churches in Plymouth (All Saints, St. James', St. Peter's and St. John's, Sutton-on-Plym); two in Exeter (All Hallows and St. Mary Steps); St. John's, Bovey Tracey; and in the village churches of Bridgerule, Chardstock, Mary Tavy and Tedburn St. Mary.

Dorset:

Vestments were worn in 16 churches, all but two of which were in rural parishes, the exceptions being St. Peter's, Parkstone, and St. James', Shaftesbury. Incense was used at St. Peter's, Parkstone, and in the village churches of Alderholt, Hinton Martel, Horton and Woodlands.* J.B.M. Camm, rector of Monkton Wyld, became a Roman Catholic in 1891.

*The *Ritualist Clergy List* implies that both vestments and incense were used at both Horton and its dependent chapelry of Woodlands, but it is possible that they were only in use at Woodlands and not at Horton.

Hampshire:

Vestments were worn in 30 churches including three in Portsmouth and Gosport; three in Southampton; two in Bournemouth; in Romsey Abbey; and in the parish churches in Basingstoke and Farnborough. The village churches in which vestments were used included those at Hursley and Wymering, where the eminent Tractarians John Keble and George Nugee, respectively, had been beneficed. Incense was used at St. Clement's, Bournemouth; St. Agatha's and St. Michael's, Portsmouth; St. Michael's, Southampton; and Holy Trinity, Winchester. Vestments and incense were also in use at Alton Abbey, but this was not a parish church. W.B. Drewe, vicar of Longstock, became a Roman Catholic in 1885.

Isle of Wight:

Vestments were worn in Holy Trinity, Cowes; St. Michael, Swanmore, Ryde, in which incense was also used; St. Alban, Ventnor; and in the village churches at Arreton, Chale, Godshell, Gurnard, Haven Street and Whitwell.

Kent:

Excluding the area now in Greater London, vestments were worn in 33 churches including two each in the Medway Towns, Thanet, Dover, Folkestone and Whitstable, and one each in Gravesend and Tunbridge Wells. Incense was used in St. Saviour's, Folkestone; St. Mary's, Strood; and in the village church of Egerton. It was alleged in the *Ritualistic Clergy List* that S.R. Hole, 'late Dean of Rochester', wore vestments, took the eastward position, and used both lighted candles and the mixed chalice at the eucharist. C.J. Ridsdale, vicar of St. Peter's, Folkestone, since 1869, who had been prosecuted under the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 and had sought a dispensation from Archbishop Tait to be absolved from his obligation, according to his interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric, to wear the eucharistic vestments, appears not to have resumed the use of vestments in 1903.

Somerset (inc. Bristol):

Vestments were worn in 55 churches including ten in Bristol; three each in Bath, Frome and Taunton; two each in Clevedon and Yeovil; St. John's, Bridgwater; All Saints, Weston-super-Mare; and the parish churches of Bruton and Radstock. Although vestments were worn in 24 village churches, these did not include East Brent, where Archdeacon Denison had been beneficed between 1845 and 1896. Incense was used in four churches in Bristol (All Saints, Clifton; Holy Nativity, Knowle; St. Raphael's and St. Simon's; St. Raphael's was actually closed between 1878 and 1893 because of 'ritualistic difficulties'); three churches in Frome (St. John's, St. Mary's and Christ Church); two churches in Bath (St. John's and St. Mary's, Bathwick); All Saints, Clevedon; and the village churches of Chaffcombe, Cloford and Hambridge. W.M. Hunnybun, vicar of Bicknoller, became a Roman Catholic in 1872, as did F.B. Lord, rector of Farmborough, and Lord F.G. Osborne, rector of Great Elm, in 1877.

Surrey:

Excluding the area now in Greater London, vestments were worn in only nine churches, all rural with the exception of St. Nicholas, Guildford. There were no churches in the county in which incense was used.

Sussex:

Vestments were worn in 34 churches including seven in Brighton and Hove, three in Hastings and St. Leonards and two in Eastbourne; St. Mary's, East Grinstead; St. Michael's, Lewes; St. Mary's, Littlehampton; St. Andrew's, Worthing; and, among the 17 village churches, Buxted, founded by A.D. Wagner, and West

Lavington, where Cardinal Manning had been rector and archdeacon before he became a Roman Catholic. Incense was used in six churches in Brighton (All Souls, The Annunciation, St. Bartholomew's, St. Martin's, St. Mary Magdalene's and St. Michael's); Christ Church, St. Leonards-on-Sea; St. Andrew's, Worthing; and the village church at Hadlow Down. J.H. Spelling, rector of Westbourne, became a Roman Catholic in 1888.

Wiltshire:

Vestments were worn in 23 churches including three churches in Swindon; St. Mary's, Marlborough; St. Martin's, Salisbury; and All Saints, Westbury. Incense was used in St. Paul's, Swindon, and in the village church at Baverstock.

Notes

¹ E. Waugh, *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), bk. 1, cap. 1.

² On later Anglo-Catholicism generally the best introductions, though superficial, are A. Hughes, *The Rivers of the Flood* (1961), and P.F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings* (1965), especially pp. 206–17, 303–27.

³ See P.T. Marsh, *The Victorian Church in Decline* (1969), pp. 158–92, and J.F. Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics* (Oxford 1978), the latter reviewed by the present writer in *Southern History*, i, pp. 252–3.

⁴ C. Mackenzie, *Sinister Street* (1913), bk. 2, cap. 6.

⁵ A. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁶ Bishops: A.T. Gilbert (1842–70), R. Durnford (1870–95), E.R. Wilberforce (1895–1908).

⁷ Bishops: S. Wilberforce (1845–69), J.F. Mackarness (1870–89), W. Stubbs (1889–1901), F. Paget (1901–11).

⁸ Bishops: E. Denison (1837–54), W.K. Hamilton (1854–69), G. Moberly (1869–85), J. Wordsworth (1885–1911).

⁹ See H.M. Brown, *A Century for Cornwall* (Truro 1976), especially pp. 22–64.

¹⁰ See M.A. Crowther, *Church Embattled* (Newton Abbot 1970), pp. 186–95.

¹¹ A study of Chislehurst and its ritualist rector, Francis Henry Murray (1846–1902), by the present writer will appear in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xcvi, during 1983.

¹² *Life and Letters of Thomas Thelluson Carter*, ed. W.H. Hutchings, (1903), pp. 34, 39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁵ F. Bennett, *The Story of W.J.E. Bennett* (1909), pp. 159–68.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 206–9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 200–1.

¹⁸ For a recent assessment of Prynne see G.C.B. Davies, *Henry Phillpotts* (1954), pp. 287–306; the contemporary biography by A.C. Kelway was published in 1905.

¹⁹ Now in the Devon Record Office; I am extremely grateful to Mr. Dickinson of that office for bringing this document to my attention.

²⁰ The best reassessment of Wagner and Brighton Anglo-Catholicism is E.P.

Hennoch, 'The Anglo-Catholics and Church Extension in Victorian Brighton', *Studies in Sussex Church History*, ed. M.J. Kitch, (University of Sussex 1981), pp. 173-88. H.H. Maughan, *Wagner of Brighton* (Loughlinstown 1949), is brief and slight.

²¹ M.J. Leppard and K.H. Hackman, *St. Martin's History and Guide* (Brighton 1975), p. 19.

²² *St. Bartholomew's, Brighton: A Short Story of the Last Fifty Years* (Brighton 1924), pp. 8, 20-1, 33.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁴ See W.N. Yates, 'Leeds and the Oxford Movement', *Thoresby Society Publications* lv (1975), especially pp. 19-24.

²⁵ D.C. Cotton, *History of St. Michael's Church*, (Southampton 1970), p. 22.

²⁶ Service registers and other very full records of the parish in Southampton City Record Office; see W.N. Yates, 'Urban Church Attendance and the Use of Statistical Evidence, 1850-1900', *Studies in Church History*, xvi (1979), p. 397.

²⁷ R.R. Dolling, *Ten Years in A Portsmouth Slum* (1896), and C.E. Osborne, *Life of Father Dolling* (1903).

²⁸ Service registers and some other records in Portsmouth City Records Office; for a re-assessment of Dolling's ministry at St. Agatha's, see the present writer's forthcoming study of 'The Anglican Revival in Victorian Portsmouth' in the *Portsmouth Papers* series.

²⁹ Dugmore's building achievements are chronicled in *Records of the Church of St. Peter* (Parkstone 1926).

³⁰ See W.N. Yates, *Ritual Conflict at Farlington and Wymering*, Portsmouth Paper no. 28 (Portsmouth 1978).

³¹ R. Dunning, 'Nineteenth Century Parochial Sources', *Studies in Church History*, xi (1975), pp. 302-6.

³² H.M. Brown, *The Catholic Revival in Cornish Anglicanism*, (St. Winnow 1980), pp. 40-1, 63-4.

³³ H.M. Brown, *A Century for Cornwall* (Truro 1976), p. 80.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³⁵ *Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*: minutes of evidence nos. 3116-74.

³⁶ Correspondence in Kent Archives Office, P371L/28/10.

³⁷ See H.V. Nicoll, *The Story of Christ Church* (St. Leonards-on-Sea 1909).

³⁸ *Church Times*, 23 May 1888, quoted in D.R. Elleray, *St. Andrew's Church* (Worthing 1977), p. 9.

³⁹ M. Fisher, 'The St. Stephen's Patronage Dispute of 1900', *Old Cornwall*, ix (1980), pp. 137-42.

⁴⁰ Details from the 1855-81 roll of members of the Society of the Holy Cross in the temporary custody of the Kent Archives Office.