

THE FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

OTHERWISE CALLED THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH - c.1845 TO c.1927

In which are examined the birth of the Free Church of England, together with the Reformed Episcopal Church (United Kingdom) and the Reformed Church of England which grew from it. A study of the processes of denominational development and growth, division, and finally re-union in 1927. Containing also a survey of the united denomination to the year 1993.

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by

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Chapter 10

"The latch is lifting":

The Uniting Churches, 1921-1927

An introduction and over-view

"On every side the latch is lifting, and the door of opportunity stands ajar"... Despite the encouragement, there was an urgency in Bishop Vaughan's address to the General Synod of the REC in June 1921. Bishop Philip Eldridge's death at sea in March 1921 had removed the last major obstacle to unity with the FCE. But although Vaughan had subsequently been unanimously elected Presiding Bishop, he had still to heal deep wounds caused by their personal disagreements, and by the narrowly averted division within the REC over the 1920 Lambeth "Appeal". Even so, it is evident that Vaughan saw new willingness in both denominations to make unity the main objective for the future. He continued: "as a first step, a real Federative union may be consummated between ourselves and the FCE..."

Correspondingly, there were a number of leading members of the FCE who also hoped for reconciliation, and at the afternoon session of the REC General Synod on Tuesday 21 June 1921, the Report of a meeting of the Joint Committee considering the Union of the two Churches was presented. The resolution was made that "a union of co-operation and fellowship should be forthwith established between the FCE and the REC upon the basis of the principles of the respective Churches." This resolution was immediately sent to the FCE Convocation taking place in Christ Church, Teddington.¹

It was next morning (Wednesday 22 June) that the Convocation received the telegram from the General Synod. Yet there was still some coolness between the denominations, for though it was received, no reply was made.

Even so, the great bitterness of the previous year over the perceived "secession" from within the REC to the Established Church had gone. In his Foreward to the FCE Year Book for 1921-22, Lander spoke encouragingly, if with some reserve, of the future: "Although it has been impossible to bring about a federal union with the REC we are hoping that in the future our relation will be one of deeper brotherly sympathy and united effort".² Thus, for the

leadership of both denominations, by June 1921, not only was unity back on the agenda, but the stage was set "politically" for a reconciliation.

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The goal of unity was effectively to monopolise the vision of both FCE and the REC from 1921 to 1927. This was in great contrast to the years 1900 to 1921 when there were a number of projects under consideration, together with a clear "cross-fertilisation" of ideas and concerns from main-stream non-conformity. Ministerial education, ecumenism, Trust matters, "churchmanship" issues, denominational finances, problems resulting from the Great War, internal relationships: these imposed upon both Churches a greater variety of problems and influences than ever before. Certainly some of these factors were to remain evident within the lives of the denominations from 1921 to 1927 - particularly problems of Trusts and financial restriction. Yet in a way the impetus towards unity was actually expedited by such difficulties. In the case of the REC, almost certainly the shrewd Frank Vaughan realised that many of these problems (particularly that of the remaining internal dissention) might actually be sublimated, or at least submerged, in the greater goal of unity with the FCE.

Again, for both Churches, unity and the pooling of resources was a matter of practical necessity. For both, the isolation of congregations spread so thinly through the land created many difficulties. Firstly, clerical cover during times of holidays or illness was sometimes impossible. Such isolation also meant that bishops had tremendous distances to travel in the course of their work. Finally such isolation also militated against any strong denominational identity or loyalty.

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One of the features of the years 1921-27 that Chapter 10 seeks to demonstrate is the way in which the two denominations actually had to undergo a process of a "psychological" growing-together. The two Churches had slightly different styles: the FCE still showed its Calvinistic CHC roots, whereas the REC (as has well been described by Bishop Cyril Milner) was more "churchy". The occasional coolness between them during the earlier years of the century was, in large measure, due to such differences of background and style. The curiously appropriate image that was used during negotiations was that of marriage.³

Again, the 1920 Lambeth "Appeal" had not only driven a wedge between the two Churches, but had been the occasion of damage to both. Because of the very favourable reaction of a considerable part of the REC to the "Appeal", the distinguished and convincingly protestant Donald Thompson (later Bishop) was just one of several who had actually left the REC for the FCE. Within the FCE, the minister at Emmanuel, Saltley, left to be re-ordained in the Church of England; and it was only with much work and expense that he was prevented from taking Emmanuel with him (see below). Again, the secession of some five churches from the Northern Diocese of the REC to form what was to become the Evangelical Church of England was aided by the internal dissention caused by the "Appeal".

As part of the "growing together" process between 1921 and 1927, both denominations held joint meetings and services where possible. From 1924 onwards, the annual Convocations and General Synods were held at the same locations. Although business meetings were separate, opening sessions, daily services, and social gatherings were held jointly. But it is evident from the accounts of Synod and Convocation that matters could not be rushed. Feelings were very delicate, and the process of growing together had to be gradual.

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Although by 1921, both administrative systems were broadly the same in outline, there were still many details to be sorted out before any scheme of unification could take place. Both Churches had two dioceses - Northern and Southern - each with its own Synod. Both also gave the greater part of the executive authority, including the election of Bishops, to their annual assembly. In each case, an elected central Council met more frequently to carry out the more day-to-day decisions. Nevertheless, there were still certain important differences in matters such as the constitution of the central Councils, and the frequency with which they met. The representation rules of both Churches varied also. This meant that for instance, in the REC, deacons did not as of right belong to the House of Clergy for voting purposes in the General Synod - whereas in the FCE they voted as clergy in Convocation.

The years 1925 to 1927 in particular saw many administrative adjustments to cover differences such as these. It required the minute and careful attention of the Unity Committee - there were many sensitive issues. Again, the far greater size of the new organisation meant that, if a number of those in senior

positions were not to be "overlooked", then the new administrative system would have to be large enough to absorb the main personalities, yet not made too large by merely being doubled in size. It was out of these important considerations that the creation of the third "Central Diocese" was to come. At the same time, this also meant that churches and congregations might be more easily served by the bishops and diocesan committees - simply by cutting down the size of areas of responsibility, and the distances to be covered.

Even so, these adjustments cut across many strongly held feelings and stirred many old rivalries. In two such similar denominations where the tendency to a selfish independency had so often been the source of powerful critical comment by such as Eldridge, the negotiations brought out the temptation for churches and parties to "fight for their corner". Although most of the hand-written documentation for the period has disappeared, yet valuable insights are given as to the feelings and suspicions of individual churches by the Vestry Books of the larger churches such as Teddington, Harlesden, and Southend. Indeed it is Vestry Book III at Harlesden which shows the extent of the problems in the Northern Diocese of the REC where Eldridge had had such a powerful influence. The minutes of one meeting speak briefly of the urgent situation which necessitated Vaughan's move from Harlesden to Morecambe at the close of 1926.

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Finally, as this chapter aims to show, the small size of the Churches was in no way related to the tremendous amount of physical effort and diplomacy needed to complete the Union of 1927. The successful signing of the Act on 15 June 1927 was a "tour de force", especially for Vaughan and Young; for despite many problems, the new unit had the strength conferred by an effective doubling of the size of each of the old ones. Again, the newly united FCE was brought to its most potentially influential position in the country yet.

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Changes and developments in the FCE and REC, 1921-1927:
churches, problems and concerns.

Although the great sociological upheavals of the War were largely over by the beginning of the 1920s, there were still many problems to be overcome, particularly for the working population of the country. Hundreds of thousands of men had returned from the hostilities expecting jobs and an improvement in their pre-war quality of life in a land "fit for heroes".

The enormous socio/economic problems for post-war Germany together with a total inability to pay the punitive reparations figure demanded were already having a "knock-on" effect in neighbouring countries. After 1920, the trade boom of the war and early post-war period in Britain was followed by the sudden collapse in British trade and the inevitable consequence of unemployment. Coal, cotton, and shipbuilding - all suffered serious recession. The effects of social deprivation and poverty were certainly felt by both denominations, especially in the cotton towns of Lancashire and West Yorkshire where both denominations had a heavier concentration of congregations than in other parts of the country. In Glasgow, the depression in shipbuilding accounted to a considerable degree for 70,000 being unemployed in the area - a potentially most serious matter for the FCE churches which served the shipbuilding areas. Perhaps most dangerous of all for most of the churches was the fall in the value of the pound sterling at the beginning of the 1920s. Like many clergy of the FCE or REC, Frank Gregg at Willesborough was obliged to seek secular employment to supplement his stipend. Yet the finances of the country were not to improve for a long while.

The deep national concerns were reflected in the official pronouncements of both denominations. In the "Council and General Report" at the FCE Convocation in June 1921, the Reverend W.E. Young admitted, "this has been a most trying year for everyone. Men of affairs are saying that businesses which are merely able to keep going these days are to be congratulated; and it is only natural that depression in the commercial world, and increase of unemployment would be expected to affect church finance as a whole..."

In Bishop Vaughan's Presidential Address to the General Synod of the REC in June 1921, he said: "My brethren, our times are disturbed...by vast and stupendous problems". In the Loyal Address, the Synod assured the King of

prayers "that the clouds now overshadowing the Empire may be speedily dispersed..."⁴

Nevertheless, unemployment and series of bitter strikes were to continue affect the life of the country. Certainly they affected the two denominations, both of which had few resources, and which also depended so much upon congregational giving. Yet times were such that even the Established Church seemed unable to produce any improvements for the society it served, even in the most basic matters like slum clearance and housing. Roger Lloyd examines the efforts of the Church of England in these inter-war years: he concludes, "the snap but inevitable judgement on them must be that they were hapless". He continues: "Not often has such a sustained wealth of effort produced so microscopic a result". At least, for the REC and the FCE there was the goal of unity which, despite the setback of 1920, seemed at last to be within reach.⁵

It is possible to see these serious social and financial conditions as one of the main reasons (together with the over-riding aim of unity in both denominations) why neither the FCE nor the REC showed any significant growth during these years.

The FCE, 1921 to 1927

The churches and ministry of the FCE

At in June 1921, there were 26 churches:

Southern Diocese: Birmingham - Emmanuel, Saltley, & Ormond Street Mission; Broadstairs; Crowborough; Exeter; Ilfracombe; New Malden; Putney; Teddington; Walsall; Willesborough; Wolverhampton.

Northern Diocese: Accrington; Blackburn; Glasgow - Emmanuel Parkhead, St. Stephens Clydebank and Trinity Springburn; Great Harwood; Haslingden; Hollinwood; Hoyland; Chorlton-cum-Hardy; Middlesbrough; Morecambe; Oswaldtwistle; and Tottington.

To serve these there were 21 clergy. (This included one bishop and also Frank Gregg who continued to serve Willesborough FCE). There were also 12 Licensed Evangelists. The Primus was Bishop Richard Brook Landier who was also Minister of Christ Church Teddington. As in June 1920, the Reverend A.V. Bland was President of the Northern Synod.

However, even though there were 26 churches in the 1921 list, the situation was unsatisfactory. During the twelve months since the Convocation of June 1920, Christ Church, Peterborough, had had to close. The Reverend R.C. Frew had been Minister and "Proprietor" of Christ Church, but even though he secured the Trust to the denomination before his death, the congregation were still unable to support the work financially. Accrington FCE had also had financial and Trust problems, and the church had ceased work. Moreover, as in 1920, Haslingden was still being leased to another denomination.⁶

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By June 1922, the lack of advancement in the denomination was a cause of comment in the Convocation. In his Northern Diocesan Report, H.T. Clark contrasted the early flourishing of the FCE "like a green bay tree" with the disintegrating, or at best, static state of matters as at that time. Once more, he laid part of the blame on the intensely congregationalist nature of the churches which had so long been "a law unto themselves". Much heavier blame was put on the insecurity of the many independent property Trusts. In his report he emphasised the problems involved in dealing with the failing Church at Accrington which had never been vested in the Central Trust. Accrington, he said, was "a parable of the (Trust) weakness to which I referred." Finally, he condemned the dropping of the FCE Magazine as "one of the greatest mistakes ever made in recent years." He commented wisely, "a well informed body of Free Church of England members are your best propagandists".⁷

Thereafter, news of the churches continued to be discouraging. In 1920, when the Reverend T.H. Whitehouse left the FCE to be re-ordained by the Bishop of Birmingham for a local Anglican church in the Saltley area, he tried to take the building and congregation of Emmanuel with him. Because the Trust was a local one, the complex legal action dragged on for several years, and matters were only settled after great expense, in 1925. Vaughan mentions the matter only briefly in his Memories, but in fact, the Annual Reports in the Year Books over several years dwell on the cost and the detail of the action. Moreover, during the course of the Convocation of June 1922, further problems were reported at Accrington, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, and Wolverhampton. However, according to Clark, the churches of the Northern Diocese were all securely tied into the denomination.⁸

There was a slight improvement in matters by June 1923; for although there were still only 26 churches, St. Matthew's, Accrington, had at last been put into the Central Trust. In his "Council and General Report", Young announced that worship would be starting once more very soon. Again, Trust matters had been settled at Burnley and Glasgow. Even so, the news was announced that the Northern Diocese had four vacancies. Amongst them, the incumbent of Oswaldtwistle had left to go to the Church of England, and the new incumbent at Chorlton (who had come from the Church of England) had also left.⁹

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There was more encouragement for the denomination in June 1924 with the account of the opening of a new church at Bexhill-on-Sea that New Year. As it was clear that there was a large group of church people there who wished for an evangelical form of service, a meeting had been held in the Glyne Hall the previous Autumn, at which 40 attended. After liaison between some of the influential local people and the Primus, it had been agreed that Donald Thompson should move from Teddington (as Lander's assistant) to start services in the Glyne Hall during the first eight Sundays of 1924. He was a man of imagination and drive; through his influence with a Mr. A.H. Wood in Bexhill, land in the centre of the town was rented (later to be purchased), and the first wooden church was erected and dedicated by July 1924.

Under Thompson, St. Paul's church flourished. Indeed, later the 1934 church accounts showed contributions to missions during the preceeding 12 months of £451-13s-8d. In April 1963, a new permanent church was completed and opened; but by then the church life of the town had changed greatly, and St. Paul's no longer had the impact of former times. In fact the property still belongs to the denomination, but since the mid 1970s it has been run by an independent evangelical denomination.¹⁰

However, the encouragement of Bexhill was counterbalanced by the fact that the re-started work at Accrington was simply unable to support itself. In Young's "Council and General Report" at the Convocation of June 1925, official reports were given both of the impending sale of the property at Accrington and of the dedication of the church at Bexhill on 23 July the previous year. Continuing financial problems meant that the FCE simply could not afford to support Accrington indefinitely. Similar difficulties in supporting "dying"

congregations meant that by the Summer of 1926, the old established Holy Trinity FCE in the Market Place at New Malden had finally been closed.

To those who attended Convocation in June 1926, the news that the church at Middlesbrough had been put safely into the Central Trust was good; but it must still have been evident that the pattern for the FCE was one of decline. However, this would have given impetus to the concluding unity negotiations.¹¹

In June 1927, the FCE comprised 25 churches:

Southern Diocese: Bexhill; Birmingham - Emmanuel & Ormond Street Mission; Broadstairs; Crowborough; Exeter; Ilfracombe; Putney; Teddington; Walsall; Willesborough; Wolverhampton.

Northern Diocese: Blackburn; Glasgow - Emmanuel Parkhead, St. Stephen's Clydebank and Trinity Springburn; Great Harwood; Haslingden; Hollinwood; Hoyland; Chorlton-cum-Hardy; Middlesbrough; Morecambe; Oswaldtwistle; and Tottington.

The increase of the Episcopate of the FCE

One of the significant problems for the denomination during these years was the difficulty of providing a proper episcopal oversight for the churches. Since the death of William Troughton in 1917, Lander had been the only bishop. Moreover, his health was becoming increasingly uncertain with the strain of sole responsibility and the necessary travelling to be done. He had recently been ill, and once more, during the 1921 Convocation, the matter of a second bishop was raised. After elections, the episcopate was offered to Thomas Gear-Willett, a senior organiser for the China Inland Mission (in FCE orders). He asked for time to consider; but as with others, after three months, he declined because of the demands of the CIM.¹²

At the Convocation at Morecambe in June 1922, the election of a second bishop was raised yet again. This time, in an effort to cut through the electoral system, Brook Lander nominated the Reverend George Rivers of Crowborough to be a "Missionary Bishop" (the assistant to a diocesan). Constitutionally, this was the personal nomination of a diocesan, and although Convocational consent was needed, election was not required. Clearly however, there was internal wrangling, for a portion of the minutes was ordered to be deleted. Later during the proceedings, after further discussion about the Canons permitting the

procedure, it was agreed that the Primus might proceed to consecrate Rivers before the end of the year. But Rivers himself was probably uncertain about the support he would get, for the consecration never took place.

Once more, at the Convocation of June 1924, despite Lander's ill health, nothing was done. But in the following year the matter simply could not be avoided, for Lander had suffered yet further illness, and at the Convocation in June 1925, Young urged the matter of episcopal assistance for Lander as an absolute necessity.

Towards the close of the session, Lander asked Convocation for authority to consecrate W.E. Young as "Missionary Bishop". A convinced protestant, Young had been born at Ballymackey, near Nenagh in Co. Tipperary. However, he had long settled in the London area, and his war work during the years 1914-18 had eventually earned him the honour of the OBE. He was a popular denominational figure who had held an influential position for a number of years, firstly as a leading member of the Council, but more particularly as General Secretary of the FCE. It is also fairly evident that, even in 1915, when Young announced the success to Convocation in the collection of the mysterious £5000 (see above), his connections and his influence were making him a more powerful figure than the increasingly hard-pressed and prematurely elderly Brook Lander. The proposal was given unanimous consent; and Young was consecrated by Lander at Emmanuel Church, Putney, on 28 July 1925.¹³

At the time of the 1926 Convocation, the FCE had just 20 clergy - 11 in the North and 9 in the South. Of these, Brook Lander was Primus and Bishop of the Southern Diocese, and W.E. Young was "Missionary Bishop". The Reverend A.V. Bland remained as President of the Synod of the Northern Diocese. There were also 12 Licensed Evangelists - 3 in the South and 9 in the North.¹⁴

Financial problems, but missionary giving - a contrast

As in past times, financial shortages continued to be a chronic problem for the denominational administration of the FCE. Year by year, the main accounts showed very small sums of money, with minimal or no balances-in-hand.

In June 1921, the total cash-flow in the General Account for the previous year was £46-8s-4d. The balance left stood at just £3-13s-10d. The Sustentation Account had had to provide a grant of £10 to support the failing church at

Chorlton-cum-Hardy: it had also had to pay out £18 towards the legal costs of keeping Emmanuel, Saltley from being taken into the Established Church. The total cash-flow had been £28-5s-8d, and there was no balance left at all! In the following year, the figures were no better - in fact, the Sustentation Account had had £27, but this was all spent on the Saltley action.

Matters were somewhat better in 1923 when the General Account showed a flow of £94-2s-11d, with a balance-in-hand of £32-2s-11d. Moreover, the Sustentation Account had had no call upon it, so that it stood at £26-15s-0d. Again, the figures for 1924 and 1925 remained approximately the same. In fact the accounts were not published in 1926 or 1927, presumably because of pressure of space. But it is reasonable to assume that the figures remained roughly the same as in 1923. Even so, for any denomination (even one so small) with a country-wide responsibility, the amounts concerned were absurdly low.¹⁵

Yet, as before, it is worth noting that the poverty of the denominational administration bore no relation to the amounts sometimes collected by the more active congregations for their own projects. In 1922, the Northern Diocesan Report at Convocation spoke of £270 being raised at Oswaldtwistle for a Memorial Chancel Screen. Again, the church at Hollinwood had raised no less than £600 the previous year. In 1924, it was reported that Oswaldtwistle FCE had collected £290 in a single day for its Anniversary celebrations.¹⁶

Nevertheless, however strong was the resistance to sending moneys to the Central Accounts of the denomination, as in the REC, the generosity of giving to the missionary causes of the denomination provided a startling contrast. In the accounts for 1921, the total given by the churches of the FCE to the CIM stood at no less than £325-4s-7d. In 1922, this rose to £377-5s-9d. By 1925, the figure stood at £415. Because the Year Books for the years 1926-27 and 1927-28 were filled with the details of the Union, accounts were omitted: nevertheless, there is little reason to suppose that the giving was any less.¹⁷

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The REC, 1921 to 1927

The churches and ministry of the REC

At the time of the General Synod of the REC in June 1921, there were some 38 clergy, including Bishop Vaughan, and Frank Gregg at Willesborough FCE. There were also some 23 Lay Readers. These served 23 churches:

Northern Diocese: Adlington, Aspull, Eccles, Egremont (Wirral), Fleetwood, Grove Street Mission (Liverpool), Liscard (Wirral), Tue Brook, Warrington, Wigan, Workington (Christ Church).

Southern Diocese: Aldershot, Balham, Barnstaple, Brighton, Carshalton, Exmouth, Farnham, Gunnersbury, Harlesden, Hemel Hempstead, Leigh-on-Sea, Southend.¹⁸

Although Eldridge's death ended what had threatened to become a major rift within the denomination, great damage was done, both by the relationship between the two Bishops, and then by the 1920 "Appeal". The result was that the REC fared even less well during the early 1920s than the FCE, especially in the North where Eldridge had been diocesan. Early in 1922, four or even five churches left the Northern Diocese: Adlington (and Mission), Wigan, Aspull and Workington. These grouped together with one or more independent Liturgical Churches to form the "Church of England Unattached". Later, they were to become the basis of the tiny "Evangelical Church of England" (see above). The reasons for this secession were probably two-fold.

The first reason was almost certainly the ambition of the very able minister of the churches at Wigan and Aspull, John Pownal Hodgkinson (see above). On Thursday 4 November 1915 there had been a meeting of the Northern Diocesan Synod at Warrington, and the main matter for discussion was the election of a Diocesan Bishop. In fact Eldridge was ill and not present, but it seems likely that he wished to retire as diocesan, probably remaining as Presiding Bishop. In the elections, the majority of votes were gained by Hodgkinson. However, because he did not achieve the two-thirds majority required, Eldridge had to remain.¹⁹ Nevertheless, not only was Hodgkinson seen in the North as having leadership qualities, but he probably saw himself as Eldridge's successor there. Again, although there is no concrete evidence, it is possible that he may have been given encouragement in this hope by Eldridge himself.

Six years later, after Eldridge's death in March 1921, the matter of election to the Northern Diocese was raised at the General Synod in June 1921 at Leigh-on-Sea. Apparently the Northern Synod had yet again been unable to elect a diocesan with the required two-thirds majority; and in fact the Report of the Northern Synod was presented by Hodgkinson, having been prepared by Eldridge before his death.

The house actually decided to elect two bishops: but the balance of electoral influence was probably held by the South, and the men elected were the Reverends J.M. Pollock of Carshalton, and Dr. Louis B. Fenn of Teddington. Fenn accepted, but Pollock eventually withdrew. Nevertheless, once more, Hodgkinson had been overlooked.

The second reason for the secession is almost certainly to be found in the political upheavals in the Northern Diocese at the time of the 1920 Lambeth "Appeal". Even though the breakaway to the Church of England was not made, the "soil had been loosed" around the roots of a number of clergy and people in the North. The concept of change, or perhaps of a greater freedom outside the confines of the REC had actually been mooted. Thus, within 12 months of the episcopal elections, Hodgkinson and his churches, together with Adlington and Workington had left. He and C.E. Wincott were then elected bishops by a specially formed Convocation on 21 November 1922.

The strange events including the Presbyteral "consecration" of Hodgkinson and Wincott to the episcopate in January 1923, and the subsequent formation of the Evangelical Church of England have already been dealt with in the previous chapter. However, it is worth noting that the FCE and the REC were of one mind on the matter of the new ECE. At the FCE Convocation in June 1923, the secession was firmly disowned and condemned.

Following his election, Joseph Louis Fenn was consecrated in Christ Church, Harlesden, on 21 September 1921. Later, at the General Synod of June 1922, a resolution from the Northern Synod was confirmed, and he became Bishop of the Northern Diocese - remaining as Minister at Balham. Interestingly, one of the two co-consecrators with Vaughan was Lander of the FCE. The other was Bishop H. Mumford of the Moravian Church - and so began an informal relationship with the Moravians in Britain which still continues (1993).²⁰

Instability remained, for the 38 clergy in 1922 fell to 36 in the REC Year Book of 1923. Moreover, in the next Year Book to be published (1925) there were just 27 clergy. In fact, between 1923 and 1925, 12 clergy actually left the lists. Of these, E.T. Reed and J.T. Stevenson had died in late 1924 or early 1925, and R. Eason-Jones had been removed from the list for irregularities in running the church at Brighton. But others who had left included W.H. Addinsell of Eccles, F.L. Grosvenor of Warrington, W.T. Jaye of Wallasey, I.C. Johnson of Gunnersbury, J. Jolley of Liverpool, D.P. Robinson of Exmouth, Welby-Pryer of Southend, James Kidney of New Brighton and J.M. Pollock of Carshalton. Most of these were from the Northern Diocese where Philip Eldridge seems to have left such a legacy of unease. Yet whatever the reason (and reasons are not given), for a small denomination, such losses were most serious - especially when they included distinguished men like the ex-schoolmaster, William Welby-Pryer, BD, Rector of Trinity REC in Southend, 1919 to 1923. ²¹

In 1925, the List of Churches included:

Northern Diocese: Eccles, Egremont (Wirral), Fleetwood, Grove Street Mission (Liverpool), Liscard (Wirral), Tue Brook, Warrington.

Southern Diocese: Aldershot, Balham, Barnstaple, Brighton, Carshalton, Exmouth, Farnham, Gunnersbury, Harlesden, Hemel Hempstead, Leigh-on-Sea, Southend.

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The situation was a little more stable from 1925 onwards, for when the "List of Parishes and Mission Stations" in the REC was published in the joint Year Book for 1926-27, as in June 1926, the Liverpool Grove Street Mission for Jews had left the denomination. On the other hand, the new Mission Church of St. Luke had been started at Westbourne Grove, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. The Minister in Charge was the Reverend H.H.A. Leadbeater. St. Luke's, Westcliff remained a part of the united denomination until it eventually failed in 1958.²²

On 15 June 1927 at the time of the Act of Union, it was those 19 churches of the REC which joined the 25 churches of the FCE. Judging by the list of REC churches and clergy in 1926, several more clergy had left the denomination. Even so, the 20 REC clergy (5 in the North and 15 in the South), 17 Lay Readers (3 in the North and 14 in the South), and 2 "Lay Ministers" (South) gave considerable strength to the new united Church.

REC Financial problems, but missionary giving - a contrast

It is difficult to build up an accurate picture of REC finances in these years, simply because the severe financial problems of the denomination were such that Year Books were only published for 1922, 1923, and 1925 - none containing published accounts. Again, there is no trace of the original hand-written accounts themselves. However, some general information is available from the joint FCE/REC Year Book of 1926-27 which included an abstract of the session of General Synod in June 1926.

In the REC Year Book for 1922, there was a full page article entitled "The Sustentation and Home Mission Fund". This set out the aims and objectives of the fund; but it also stated frankly: "The REC is a poor Church. Many congregations find it difficult to maintain their work, and a little timely assistance in an hour of special need may save just such a cause from extinction." A little later it continued: "The REC is not only a poor Church, it is also a small Church..."

Twelve months later, the Year Book for 1923 published a detailed report of the General Synod proceedings for June 1922. In the absence of the Treasurer, Bishop Fenn read the financial statement, and he reported a balance-in-hand of £114-16s-8d. By comparison with some of the figures showed by the FCE at this time this looks more comfortable. However, the mere figure gives no information as to total outgoings or needs. Certainly the subsequent business of the meeting showed considerable concern about denominational finances, for Synod accepted a proposal that, for the sake of "relieving the anxiety of the spending committees", henceforward there would be just one single fund. This was called the "Central Fund", and it was agreed that it would be used to pay for the publication of the Year Books, the Canons, and other necessary publications. It was also to be used for future "forward movement work".

The shortage of money was also very evident when Nathaniel Church in Brighton was in financial difficulty. General Synod agreed to a "guarantee fund" to pay for the interest on a mortgage there. The yearly amount was £45; but it needed an appeal to the other churches who provided £32-10s-0d towards this obligation. In fact Warrington, Egremont, Balham, Fleetwood, Southend, Tue Brook, Leigh-on-Sea and Exmouth all contributed. BUT, money had to be raised from other churches, for it clearly could not be provided by the denomination.²³

By the Summer of 1924, two years later, financial matters had clearly reached some sort of crisis point. That year, the General Synod met at St. John's (FCE), Tottington from 16 to 18 June. Firstly, during the proceedings, it is recorded that "The Rev. F. Grosvenor impressed upon the House the urgent necessity for increased contributions to the Central Fund..." But far more significant was the cable which arrived during the session from Bishop Vaughan in the USA. This announced that the REC in America had just voted the gift of \$1000 from its special Jubilee Fund for the support of the work in England.

As Presiding Bishop in England, Vaughan was attending the American Jubilee celebrations for the foundation of the REC. As well as being forceful, Vaughan was a very able communicator. He wrote well; and according to the memories of those who knew him well, he was a compelling and powerful speaker. It is highly likely therefore that he used his position in the USA to point out the very difficult situation in which the British branch of the denomination found itself. Certainly it was surprising that the American authorities should have made such a generous gift, for not only was \$1000 a great deal of money at that time, but the American REC was not a wealthy Church. It is thus more than possible to see their gift as a response to what had become a most urgent situation in the UK.

Again, it is possible to see the hand of Vaughan in the letter from the General Council in America which was read to the assembly in Tottington. This expressed "...the pleasure with which the possible Union...was viewed by the Council." The strange part was that this approval was such a contrast to the severe displeasure shown by the General Council at the time of the abortive Union between the REC and the FCE in 1888. The REC had been perfectly within its rights as an autonomous province to carry through such a Union then. Yet the project had failed - in considerable measure because of the thorough disapproval from America. Now, however, the approval was absolute.

Almost certainly, with his characteristic thoroughness and force, Vaughan would have spoken to the American leaders of the denomination. He would have outlined his high hopes for the Union of the denominations with all the advantages for making a strong unit out of two small and clearly struggling Churches. He would again have pointed out the parlous condition of the finances of the REC in Britain as matters stood - and the result was both the approval of the General Council for the projected Union, and the most generous gift (but see more below). Perhaps the final seal of approval for Vaughan's work was best seen by

the distinction of the rarely conferred honorary degree of DD by the REC Seminary in Philadelphia.

Whether or not the finances of the REC improved after 1924 is unclear. But what is quite evident is the continuing goodwill of the REC Authorities in America. At the final General Synod meeting on 14 June 1927 before the passing of the Act of Union next day, Vaughan announced that a cheque had been received from America with the final instalment of the gift of \$1000.²⁴

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Yet whatever the financial problems and restrictions for the REC, as with the FCE, the generous giving of their churches to Missions was in surprising contrast. From the turn of the century, the giving of the REC for a small medical mission in India had been very generous. The FCE concentrated on giving to the CIM; but when REC work in India had become impossible to continue, the denomination worked through the centrally organised "REC Missionary Bureau". This diversified giving to such as CIM, CMS, Regions Beyond, Zenana, Japan Evangelical Band, London Jews' Society - but most of all (through the personal involvement of the Eldridge family) the work of the South Africa General Mission in Pondoland (see above). Despite the evident problems of the earlier 1920s, this support continued, with the Bureau handling sums for mission far bigger than the total budget of the denominational administration.

The figures for most of this period are simply not available. However, in the joint Year Book 1926-27, it was noted that the Missionary Bureau had given moneys to Societies including SAGM, CIM, Zenana, BFBS, and also to the Waldensians and the Moravians. The sums totalled no less than £638-0s-6d. At the final General Synod of the REC before Union, on 14 June 1927, it was announced that the REC had given no less than £613-4s-9d to various Societies through the Bureau.²⁵

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These figures provide strange contrasts. But they serve to show one thing very clearly, and that is that, as for so many years, the corporate identity of each denomination and its urgent needs as a denominational unit seem to have meant far less to the churches and congregations than their own domestic needs and projects. In old-fashioned evangelical tradition, missionary projects achieved

a high profile within the life of the communities. The Annual Missionary Reports in the FCE Year Books, and the regular mission reports in Work and Worship earlier on showed quite clearly that nearly every church had regular missionary collections, services and talks - sometimes with lantern shows. Somehow, in a different age, the call to support foreign mission captured the public imagination.

Yet one thing is certain. Had the churches supported the Central Funds of their denominations with the same willingness, it is more than possible that the pattern of church life would have shown an expansion rather than the steady decline which had become so evident. Once again, it is clear that the rigid "independency" amongst the churches was as strong as ever.

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The progress to unity: 1921-1927

The path to the Act of Unity of 15 June 1927 involved much painstaking and detailed work, not only by the leaders of both denominations, but also by the Unity Committee elected by the Annual Assemblies of both Churches.

Doctrinal differences between the Churches were minimal, but a number of administrative and "political" distinctions had to be reconciled before the two units could be properly "fitted together". Moreover, the two systems of Canon Law had different sources, and had developed differently (FCE from the Connexion, and REC from Gregg's "reformed" Anglicanism). A further problem was the settling of the varying property Trusts. Yet again, there were differences in "style" and self-image between the two bodies, because of differing backgrounds and personalities. This required a far more cautious process of "psychological" growing together than might have been imagined. Perhaps the most sensitive problem of all however, was the reconciling of the leading personalities of the denominations; for where there had been two established hierarchies, now there was to be one. These problems all had to be worked out with infinite care.

1921 - 1922

In June 1921, the enthusiasm for unity within the FCE Convocation was rather more muted than that of Bishop Vaughan and the General Synod (see above). Even so, the joint Unity Committee continued its work; and more important than this, in the Autumn of 1921, a united Convention was held at Emmanuel FCE, Morecambe. There are no surviving records, but in his History, Vaughan says that both denominations took part, and the Presidency was shared by the bishops of both Churches. In April 1922, another united Convention was held in Christ Church REC, Liscard. Of these meetings, Vaughan says that "Union was seen to be a sacred duty which could not be ignored."

By June 1922 it is evident that the REC was still the more "eager" partner - probably being the weaker of the two. In the General Synod on Wednesday afternoon, 21 June, Vaughan read the report of the Joint Committee which actually recommended a form of "Federative Unity". At his proposal the scheme was accepted and news of the adoption was then passed to the Convocation of the FCE which was to meet just one week later.

In fact, the General Secretary of the FCE, W.E. Young, was very much in support of the scheme. In his "Council and General Report" to the Convocation on the morning of Tuesday 27 June, his feelings were clear: "Much has been said and written during the past year upon the subject of Christian Unity, but the way lies in action, not in hair-splitting discussions". According to the Convocation Report, the scheme was one for "Federative Union". This would mean complete interchangeability of ministry and membership, and an exchange of representatives in both Convocation and General Synod. The scheme would only have stopped short of real administrative union.

Yet the reception in FCE Convocation as a whole was mixed. Brook Lander thanked the REC representative present, the Rev. F.L. Grosvenor, but suggested that "if we tried to force a vote for union now we might alienate some Churches, as there is not, at present, the unanimity some think." A.V. Bland endorsed the words of the Primus, but "considered that our last 12 months' intercourse had done more towards union than the past 25 years' efforts. He looked forward to a continuation of the methods of the past 12 months..." Like Young, Bland was concerned that the "signals" sent to the FCE were as positive as possible.

It was agreed that the REC proposal "lie upon the table". The excuse was that the appointing of a bishop for the FCE was under way. But in truth, despite genuine interest in unity, there was obviously not the general support in the FCE to take such a major step at that time. The division within the FCE leaders over the matter is evident; for although Lander was reticent, both Young and Bland wished to press ahead.

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It was obvious that there would have to be a far gentler approach to the matter - certainly a period where the two Churches could gradually get to know each other better so that they could "grow together" psychologically. The phrase used in the resolution at FCE Convocation was that "the present fraternal intercourses shall be continued". Again, what this reluctance within the FCE illustrated was the fact that, even if there was no essential difference of theological polity, yet together with the "administrative" distinctions to be settled, there was the difference of style and self-image to be solved. Since the days of both Gregg and Richardson, the REC had seen itself very much as a "purified" form of Anglicanism. On the other hand, the FCE still showed its much older Calvinistic roots within the Connexion - and, in Richard Brook

Lander, some suspicion also. Nevertheless, it had been voted that the meetings and united occasions were to continue; and in fact, in November that same year (1922) a further Convention met once more at Emmanuel, Morecambe.²⁶

1923

Significantly, by the time of the June 1923 Convocation the reticence on the part of Lander and others seems to have waned. Matters had progressed so much so that it was arranged that the two annual assemblies take place in Devonshire: the REC General Synod at Exmouth, and the FCE Convocation at Ilfracombe. Indeed, in his "Council and General Report", to Convocation, W.E. Young commended the motion which was to be raised on the agenda for the possible uniting of the two Churches: "...very important business and needs grave consideration."

Part of the new pressure for unity was, in fact, coming from the Northern Diocesan Synod of the FCE, where the united Conventions had been taking place. But in any case, both denominations had a greater concentration of their churches in Lancashire and West Yorkshire than in other parts of the Country. In his Report of the Northern Diocese, the Reverend H.T. Clark told the assembly: "Our friendly relationship with the Northern Synod of the REC has never waned, but rather increased." Evidently the links that were being forged were social as well as liturgical. He continued: "We seldom meet but what we get either an official representative as a visitor or a warm-hearted greeting from the Diocesan Secretary. For our part we embrace every opportunity of the exchange of such courtesies, and invariably attend their Synods..."

The process of a "psychological" growing together was rapidly taking place; and in fact it was the Northern Synod of the FCE which put forward the motion for General Synod asking that the question of unity be discussed. According to Clark's report, the Northern Synod had already asked all the Northern churches to consult with their congregations at the Easter Vestries. Approval for union was said to be unanimous.

At the eventual discussion of the matter by the full General Synod, A.V. Bland (President of the Northern Synod) outlined the suggestions from the Northern Diocese. These were that, whilst the various properties of the denominations were to remain distinct, yet they were unanimous "in their desire to continue to fraternize with a view to a closer friendship in the near future". After a

general discussion it was agreed that, firstly, clergy and congregations would "enter into close working fellowship." Secondly, in June 1924, the two annual assemblies were to gather together at St. John's FCE, Tottington. The meetings were to be separate, but the public services were to be held together. It was agreed that the year after that, in 1925, a similar gathering would be held at an REC church. Finally, it was agreed that this arrangement was to hold good for three years (interestingly, Vaughan refers to this agreement as a "three year's courtship" in his History). Meanwhile, the Joint Committee was to continue discussion about united action in the matters of the Year Book, the Prayer Book, and other possible publications.

Unfortunately, because there was no Year Book of the REC that same year, there is no means of knowing what the discussions were in the General Synod. Vaughan indicates that preparations were made for the Jubilee Celebrations of the organisation of the REC (2 December 1873); also that a new edition of the REC Prayer Book was published. Even so, it is interesting to see that it is almost as if the initiative towards unity was now being taken by the FCE rather than the REC as before. Certainly the friendships which were being created in the North were a large part of the reason for this.

But another possible reason for the change of heart in the FCE is that, on 28 October of the previous year, one of the very distinguished and most conservative senior clergy of the FCE had died. G. Hugh Jones was a powerful man in the denomination. As a theologian he had contributed much, including the two fine preparation books for the ministry (see above), and the distinguished article on both Churches in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (op. cit.). Nevertheless, Jones was a strongly Calvinistic protestant who had almost certainly been a leading member of the group, who, together with Bishop Samuel Dicksee, at the turn of the century had actually tried to reverse the strictly episcopal polity of the denomination. Dicksee's death had solved the problem created by such a radical movement, and Jones himself had been clearly put aside by the new and far more moderate authorities under William Troughton's leadership (see Chapter 8). Nevertheless, because of his very evident abilities, Jones's power had never been totally eclipsed. But the inevitable result was that his suspicion for a sister denomination, which held strictly to the Established Church as its model, must have transferred itself to others - including Lander.

As Jones lived in the South at Margate, even though he was a member of the Council of the FCE, he had not been able to influence the Northern Synod. Now, however, his strongly anti-Anglican (and therefore by implication, anti-REC) influence had gone; and there was a new enthusiasm for unity on the part of Lander and others in the South, as well as in the North.²⁷

1924: "Old friendships renewed, and many new friendships created" (FCE Year Book, 1924-25, p. 27).

The first of the joint Annual Meetings of both General Synod and Convocation took place at St. John's FCE, Tottington, Lancashire, from 16-18 June 1924. Although the business meetings of the two denominations took place in different locations, the services and social occasions were held together. What is clear is that both denominations were working hard towards a formal union. It would also appear from the FCE Convocation Report that the social integration of both groups was working well; and in the account of the opening tea party, the comment was made about "Old friendships renewed, and many new friendships created".

It is interesting to see that ways were being explored in which certain business affairs in both denomination might be done together. One of the important joint business projects was that of the "insurance of the clergy". Another joint act was the sending of a Loyal Address to the King - a small matter, but important symbolically; for in what was a most important formal resolution, the names of both denominations were combined.²⁸

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Yet, because both denominations so earnestly wished matters to proceed well, there was more than a hint of disingenuousness in reports from both denominations. Again, there was great encouragement from the American authorities. The letter of greeting from the General Secretary of the REC in America expressed "the pleasure with which the possible union...was viewed by the Council", and this was immediately passed to the FCE Convocation to be read out. The two assemblies also took care to exchange formal letters of fellowship and greeting. Once more, the somewhat fulsome comment in the FCE Convocation Report, that old friendships were being renewed and new friendships created, gave the impression - as surely intended - of an ever-growing closeness.

Nevertheless, there were clearly misgivings in the minds of some about the slow speed at which things seemed to be happening, and perhaps also at the difficulties which were probably being experienced in the "psychological" growing together of the two bodies. The Presidential Address to the REC General Synod in June 1924 was delivered by Bishop Louis Fenn in the absence of Frank Vaughan who was in America at the Jubilee celebrations. There was a certain gritty realism in Fenn's words. Firstly he warned that "Whatever the future may bring to our Church, this Synod must form a landmark in its history". But he then continued with a surprisingly frank statement of sadness and regret: "We have spent years in discussion...but with little advance". He then used an image which was curiously stark in its effect: "The two Churches are like two pieces of iron, lying side by side, but unable to fuse. A baptism of fire would enable us to weld the two".

The FCE Convocation Report gives no indication of any of the feelings which must have been expressed during the meetings of the Joint Unity Committee. But in his Address to General Synod, although he gives no details, Fenn makes it quite clear that there had been some hard bargaining, for he continues with the even more stark statement: "The serious questions for both sections is WHETHER WE ARE PREPARED TO PAY THE PRICE".²⁹

His words would almost certainly indicate that there was, within the REC, a feeling that in some way ground, or identity, or perhaps traditions were being lost in the negotiations. Indeed, in the eventual settlement in June 1927, although features of both denominations were preserved in the new united Church, it would be true to say that the balance seemed to have swung towards the FCE - if only in the name commonly used, the "Free Church of England". In Fenn's somewhat bitter words, it sounds very much as if the swinging of the balance was being noticed - and with some regrets in the REC.

It is perhaps in this context that the voting of the gift of \$1000 dollars by the General Council in America can be seen. For it is clear from the record of Vaughan's work and words that, together with W.E. Young in the FCE, he was absolutely determined that the Union would be completed. He makes no mention of these events in his Memories and Reflections: but in his History, albeit briefly, he speaks of his own work in America during the time that the meetings were taking place in St. John's, Tottington.

He was feted by the REC communities with great warmth, and "was given an opportunity of seeing the work in the United States, East and West, among the negro peoples, and in...Eastern... Canada". He tells how his account of the Unity negotiations "received warm and hearty approval by the Council". Then, significantly he uses the word "grant": "and a grant of 1000 dollars was given towards the work in England".

According to many who knew them, the two men, Fenn and Vaughan were very different in personality. Fenn's words in his Address indicate a gloomy pessimism. Vaughan on the other hand was an utter realist, and a man with more than a hint of cynicism in his personality. Although there is no direct documentary evidence, it is more than possible to see Vaughan's work in the USA as one of a fairly deliberate fund-raising in order to give the REC in Britain a better bargaining position in the negotiations. According to Vaughan's words, this was a "grant" for a purpose: "towards the work in England". It was not just an ex-gratia gift, and it was not a grant to the FCE. What is more, it is possible to see the money being given in several instalments (see above) as an incentive to both parties concerned in the on-going negotiations.³⁰ Whilst not a great fortune, \$1000 was still a very considerable amount of money to a denomination so poor.

1925: "Family strife"?

In June 1925, the sessions of General Synod and Convocation met together at Christ Church REC, Leigh-on-Sea in Essex. The year 1925-1926 was the second in the planned three year "courtship" period between the two Churches. But, it is almost certain that matters had not improved from the previous year.

Unfortunately, the REC did not publish either a Year Book or any record of the General Synod proceedings for 1925. However, the FCE Year Book has a number of veiled references to the difficulties which seemed to be arising. Once more it had been agreed that the business meetings of the denominations should be separate, but that the services and social gatherings would be united. However, in his Forward to the book, Brook Lander says: "We regret that the programme as agreed on was not carried out in the evening meetings of Tuesday and Wednesday. As to the future let us wait upon God and be ready to accept his decision."

There is a coldness in Brook Lander's words. To start with, most unusually he wrote in the first person plural; and this gave a curiously authoritarian tone

to his words. It would seem that he was in some way displeased that his wishes, or the plans that he had agreed, had been in some way countermanded or altered. The "evening meeting" on Tuesday 16 June was in fact an Ordination Service, during which three candidates were ordained deacon for the Northern Diocese of the FCE. However, the account gives no information about the presence of anybody from the REC. On the evening of Wednesday 17 June, the evening meeting was a Missionary Service held at 7.30 p.m. But again, no representatives from the REC were mentioned - despite the fact that the REC and the FCE were both supporters of the CIM, from which the speakers at the service had come.³¹

It is likely that some rift had taken place. Certainly according to Young's "Council and General Report", the two Bishops of the REC and the General Secretary of the REC had met with Lander, the President of the Northern Synod of the FCE, and the General Secretary of the FCE (Young himself) to discuss the matter of "developing the union of the two denominations" on 5 March 1925. Like the words of Lander in the Foreword, W.E. Young's words are cold; and the distinct impression of bitterness would seem to indicate that matters had not gone well at that meeting: "The proposed union was thoroughly discussed, the REC representatives expressed their desire to proceed in this direction, and a programme for our gathering here...agreed upon. You may be asked to state very clearly your carefully considered conclusion with regard to your own attitude, as our Reformed Episcopal brethren will naturally expect to be advised of our present position..."

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There is no real way of knowing what had happened at the meeting: but it would not have been out of character for the most forceful Vaughan to have perhaps "over-stated" his wishes or feelings to the elderly and somewhat autocratic ex-Harrobian, Brook Lander. This would certainly account for the lofty and slightly offended tone of Lander's Foreword.

That this difference, whatever it was, was serious is undoubted. Not only were there apparently no representatives to the Tuesday evening and Wednesday evening services, but just over a month later, when Young was consecrated Bishop at Putney on 28 July 1925, the only consecrator was Lander. Yet, when Fenn had been consecrated for the REC in September 1921, Lander had been invited as one of the consecrating Bishops. Later on, when Vaughan wrote his History in 1949, he complained "at the consecration of Bishops Troughton,

Lander, and Young, no Reformed Church Bishop was invited to assist." The trouble was that, on occasions, according to the memories of many, Vaughan was not always aware that his so very outspoken opinions were the cause of offence. Almost certainly this was so in 1925.

In fact, the situation was not without hope; and it was agreed that the last year of the planned courtship should have its joint meeting in Christ Church FCE, Broadstairs. Nevertheless, the fragility of relationships during these last years before union is very apparent. The leading members of the Churches were nervous - probably about creating problems beyond those which their own previous experience would enable them to manage. Part of the problem was that Vaughan and Lander were very different personalities, and from very different backgrounds. It is this context that the sermon preached at the united devotional meeting by A.V. Bland (President of the FCE Northern Synod) can be seen. Central to the address was the theme of "family strife".³²

1926; "With One Accord".

Both Convocation and the General Synod met at Christ Church, Broadstairs from 31 May to 3 June 1926, and relationships seem to have been remarkably restored. Exactly how this had been achieved is unknown. But it would certainly have taken all W.E. Young's well-known powers of diplomacy (and Bland's support) to get Lander and Vaughan to work together with the good will that it needed to produce the significant transformation there was.

In his History Vaughan says only: "By this time (1926) all the outstanding legal and technical points had been dealt with and the problems solved". This is simply not true, for Vaughan's Vestry Book at Harlesden shows clearly the immense trouble that he himself was taking from 1926 to 1927. Again, the two annual assemblies, and the many meetings of the Unity Committee during the year 1926-27 solved most of the problems. Even so, a remarkable improvement in relationships had taken place.

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By May/June 1926, matters had progressed to the stage where all that was possible to be done together was done. As in former years a joint telegram was sent to the King, and it was agreed that the Year Book for that next 12 months would be issued under the name of both denominations. Services and social

occasions were held together; and although the main Convocation and Synodical meetings were held in different halls, on Thursday morning, a joint business meeting was held at which the Unity Committee was appointed which was to undertake the final and difficult detailed work.

The opening article in the joint Year Book was entitled "With One Accord"; and it gave an account of the FCE Convocation meetings. The writer (unknown) spoke of the powerful will for unity which seems to have been the main characteristic of so much of the proceedings: "...the still small voice whispered in our hearts speaking of hope, unity and determination". The author was possibly Young: it was certainly not Lander. But, what is evident is that this official article of the FCE had the approval of both Lander and Convocation; and moreover, it reflected the tremendous mood of optimism at the time.³³

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The bulk of the work of both Churches was that of union. On the morning of Tuesday 1 June, FCE Convocation made the first of its resolutions: "That the FCE agree that amalgamation and organic union with the REC is desirable, and that if so advised the necessary application be made to the proper tribunal in order to place the union of the two bodies on a defined and legal basis". It agreed that a joint Committee work out the details, the FCE members being Bishops Lander and Young and the Reverend A.V. Bland, President of the Northern Diocesan Synod.

That same morning in a neighbouring hall, the meeting of the General Synod passed the motion for union with the FCE unanimously. Their own representatives for the joint Union Committee were to be the two bishops together with the General Secretary of the REC. There then followed a significant piece of symbolism, for the resolution was taken over to the meeting of Convocation by the Reverend G.W. Forbes-Smith (Leigh-on-Sea), who had left the FCE for the REC in 1920. On the other hand the motion from the FCE was brought to the meeting of the General Synod by the Reverend (later Bishop) Donald Thompson (Bexhill-on-Sea). Thompson had left the REC for the FCE at the time of the 1920 Lambeth "Appeal".³⁴

Further details of the Union preparations were published in the FCE Convocation Report; and this showed clearly the many problems to be considered during negotiations. Firstly, the Union Committee would arrange its meetings "as

regularly and as frequently as possible (the first to take place within 21 days from this date)...." Secondly it was agreed that "the ultimate aim shall be Corporate Union, both for existing work and properties, as well as for future work and properties". It was also envisaged that this might well involve legal work through the Court of Chancery. Knowing the problems that had been experienced by both denominations over the matter of properties and Trusts, this must have seemed a daunting prospect.

The problems of ambiguity over various constitutional differences were also something of which the Convocation was well aware. It was understood that in the new "Preamble and Constitution", "no...amendment, revision or enlargement shall conflict with the Deed Poll of the FCE or the Declaration of Principles as adopted by the....FCE in June, 1976, and also by the REC in December, 1873, nor be subversive of the Union..."

There was, above all, emphasis on the plans needing to be acceptable at local level in the churches throughout the Country. This had been one of the fears in the mind of Lander just two years before. It was agreed that the "Preamble and Constitution" was to be sent to every one of the churches of both denominations for approval by the ministers and Vestries. In the meanwhile, before the united annual assembly the following year, it was agreed that the Diocesan meetings of both Churches were to be held in the same locations in the following October, January and May. On each such occasion, the evening services were to be held jointly. In this it is clear that the continuation of the work of psychologically "growing together" was still very much in the minds of both sets of denominational leaders. Indeed, in this respect, Resolution 7 in the FCE discussions urged that both Churches "shall work in the closest possible fellowship and friendship by interchange of pulpits and joint quarterly and annual meetings..."

The name of the newly united Church was to be that eventually agreed before the 1920 "Appeal" had broken negotiations: "'The Free Church of England', otherwise called the 'Reformed Episcopal Church'". Finally, the heavy expense of negotiations was to be spread across all the churches of both denominations. It was agreed that each congregation would contribute the sum of £1-1s-0d, to form a "Union Committee Fund".³⁵

Perhaps one of the very significant indications of the "political" delicacies in the negotiations between the two sets of leaders is seen in the arrangements made for the leadership of the all-important joint Unity Committee. As he was senior in episcopal orders, Brook Lander was Chairman. Vaughan, as REC Presiding Bishop was Vice-Chairman. A.V. Bland (President of the Northern Synod of the FCE) was to be Secretary.

However, not only were both Vaughan and Lander "senior" men, but each was senior bishop in his denomination. Knowing how very "delicate" the relationships had been the year before, it is not difficult to imagine that the choice of leader of both Unity Committee and the eventually united denomination had been perhaps at the basis of the disagreements. That Lander was old-fashioned and autocratic has been passed on as a tradition of the FCE. Certainly, he was not likely to have relished the thought of taking second-place to Vaughan. But on the other hand, the aggressive Frank Vaughan was equally unlikely to be happy to take second-place. The arrangement of the Unity Committee was agreed at the united meeting on the morning of Thursday 3 June. Yet this would have been hammered out long before; and it is likely to have been this arrangement of a technical seniority in all matters for Lander (see below) which enabled such improvement in relations to have taken place.

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The importance of the 1926 Broadstairs meetings would be difficult to over-estimate. Through them, the whole machinery was set in motion for 1927; and although there was much work yet to be done, the gulf of years had been effectively bridged. Indeed, in the Vestry Minutes of Christ Church REC, Harlesden, at a meeting of the Vestry on 22 April 1926, it was announced that at the next "epoch making meeting" of the General Synod, "it had been decided that the two Churches...were to be united after the long courtship..." At Trinity Church, Southend, the Minister spoke of the proceedings to the Select Vestry on 25 June 1926. Curiously he announced that the Union of the Churches "had taken place at the recent Synod". Yet however inaccurate was the reporting in both cases, it is clear that in the mind of the congregations, the step had been taken.³⁶

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It is however interesting to see that, when consulted during the following months, a number of the Vestries of the churches were not prepared to let the proposed "Preamble and Constitution" be accepted without comment. Indeed, there were evidently still many denominational prejudices and much high feeling abroad that had to be reconciled before the Act of Union could be signed the following year.

At Trinity Church, Southend, at a meeting of the Select Vestry on 25 June 1926, the proposed Constitution was read to the meeting by the Rector of the church (Percy Norris). It is clear that the concept of unity was of great importance to them, for the minutes note: This Vestry...has no objections...and wishes to support the Joint Committee in its further efforts to consolidate the two Churches." However, the "political" details were of great importance - particularly perhaps to a church which had once been the "flagship" of Gregg's RCE. The minutes continue: "At the same time it suggests that the proposed new title of the united Church...be re-considered, owing to the fact that the REC is known by that name in other countries, and that the title 'Free Church of England' is rather misleading... It rather suggests that the title be 'The Reformed Episcopal Church otherwise called the Free Church of England'". Even so, the possibility of full organic unity overcame the considerable local feelings, and at the Easter Vestry of 21 April 1927, the Rector was able to announce to the congregation that agreement had been made on the basis of the proposed Constitution. It was again the proposed title of the united Church which caused problems for the Vestry at Harlesden. But they, like Southend, were not prepared to let their objections prevent Unity.³⁷

However, in the "flagship" of the FCE at Christ Church, Teddington, there was even more resistance to the changes implicit in the Preamble and Constitution, although details are not available. Certainly the REC was avowedly more Anglican in liturgy, ministry and administration. Thus there were changes in the new representational rules - such as voting by Houses, as in the REC. This would have been interpreted as a blow against the power of the lay representation. There were several such matters: but the congregation at Teddington had traditionally been unhappy about any style which it considered too "Anglican" - indeed, the departure of Bishop John Sugden from Christ Church in 1880 had been because of this very issue.

At a meeting of the "Church Committee" on 25 November 1926, Bishop W.E. Young came to speak to the church personally "to explain to the committee the reasons

why the Central Committee of the proposed Union did not accept any of the Committee's suggested modifications to the new Constitution and Canons". As so often, the details of the disagreements and negotiations were not recorded. Once again, however, Bishop Young's negotiating skills meant that on 15 December 1926, a letter was sent to Bland at Morecambe. Like Southend, the Vestry at Teddington clearly remained unhappy about the changes to come: "The Vestry appreciates the difficulties inherent in the construction of a Constitution and a set of Canons for the united denomination, but finds no reasons for altering the criticisms expressed..." Nevertheless, like Southend, the possibility of Union eclipsed their misgivings, and they consented to the Constitutions and Canons.³⁸

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The reactions of the various congregations would properly form a separate study - not for here. However, it is interesting to see that the sort of disagreements which were being experienced in the South were also found in the North. The church representation rules meant that, with the standardising of Vestries, some churches had to lose members, others had to increase them. Again, there was resentment in some places about the proposal to vote by Houses under the new Constitution. Yet again, there were tighter controls on the place and work of deacons: they could not celebrate Communion other than by strict and limited faculty; they were not permitted to be full Incumbents; again they might not serve on the Executive Committee of the denomination. Perhaps one of the biggest changes for churches was the fact that the third "Central Diocese" was to be formed: thus, traditional groupings and loyalties were to be changed.

The misgivings amongst a number of Northern congregations in both denominations reached some sort of crisis in the later Summer months of 1926. Again, there is no official record whatsoever of the details or reasons: however, it is clear from the Harlesden Vestry minutes that there were serious problems. At a meeting of the Select Vestry on 8 September 1926, it was announced: "Owing to unfortunate and disturbing events having lately taken place in the Northern Churches, the Union Committee had become perturbed and thought a Bishop should be resident there, to be at hand to guide and direct."

The fact of the matter was that the North simply had no adequate episcopal oversight - in either denomination. In the REC, although Dr. Louis Fenn was Bishop of the Northern Diocese, he had continued to remain as Rector of St.

Jude's REC, Balham, in South London. Although an able man, Fenn was elderly, and simply not capable of the regular visitations that were needed.

But the FCE also had no proper provision for Episcopal oversight in the North. Lander was Primus and Bishop of the Southern Diocese. Although by 1926 he had no church of his own, he was elderly, from time-to-time unwell, and he lived in London N.W.1. Bishop Young was "Missionary Bishop", Incumbent of Emmanuel FCE, Putney, and and Secretary for the Southern Diocese. The only "official" presence in the North was that of Bland at Morecambe who was President of the Northern Synod.

The result of these troubles was that Brook Lander and A.V. Bland asked Frank Vaughan to move from his church at Harlesden to take the incumbency of the FCE church at Morecambe in the place of Bland who was to retire. This information was included by Lander in his Report as Primus to the 1929 Convocation. Undoubtedly Vaughan was perceived not only as a powerful personality, but he was someone whom many actually feared. Above all, he was the only senior bishop young enough to face such a challenge. The Harlesden minutes continued: "Two of the Bishops being over 70 years of age it was out of the question to ask either of them, and so they earnestly asked our Bishop Vaughan to accept a call to Emmanuel Church, Morecambe."

Accordingly, Vaughan left Harlesden after 16 years of highly successful ministry, and in the New Year he was inducted to Emmanuel Morecambe where he was to spend a further 20 years of equally successful ministry. Not surprisingly, the problems in the North were overcome!³⁹

1927: "The future is bright with hope" (Year Book, 1927, p. 3)

The two uniting denominations gathered for their annual assemblies at Christ Church, Liscard, Wirral, from 13 to 16 June 1927. There was no doubt in the minds of those who attended of the unique importance of the occasion for both the FCE and the REC. In the Year Book for 1927-28, each of the four Bishops wrote a forward. Each dwelt on the many opportunities that the Union provided. In particular, Lander reminded the members of both denominations that "The future is bright with hope". Again, the imagery of marriage found its way into the proceedings. The idea of the three-year "courtship" had been frequently used; and in his opening sermon, Lander "began by reference to the Union about to be consummated...."

As had already become the custom, the opening services and social occasions were held jointly. However, at 10.30 a.m. on the morning of 14 June, the Convocation of the FCE met in one hall and the General Synod of the REC in another. In both meetings, the Report of the Joint Union Committee was presented; and following this, both Convocation and General Synod carried the official Resolution to unite the two Churches. The identical text in both assemblies took into account:

- i. The resolution of the two Churches on 2 June 1926.
- ii. The unanimous acceptance of all the congregations of the Union, the Constitution and Canons.
- iii. FCE acceptance of the reformed Prayer Book of the REC.

The Act of Union was to take place the following day, Wednesday 15 June 1927; the Canon Law agreed was to be printed and circulated as the 1927 edition; finally, the title of the united denomination was agreed as the "Free Church of England otherwise known as the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland".⁴⁰

The next morning, at 10.30 a.m., the "First Annual Convocation" of the united Church met together under the chairmanship of Bishop Brook Lander. Firstly, A.V. Bland reported that the resolution in favour of union had been passed unanimously by the Convocation of the FCE. Secondly, the Reverend J.C. Magee reported the same resolution on behalf of the REC.

Then A.V. Bland presented and read out the Report containing the legal declarations of unity which had been prepared by the Unity Committee. A long legal document, this was largely a statement of the bases upon which the Act of Union was made. It mentioned the foundations of the denominations, their identical episcopal polity, and their similar liturgical and governmental character. Like the Resolution passed by both assemblies the previous day, the declaration continued with the acceptance of the new Constitution and Canons, the REC Prayer Book, the agreed title of the denomination, and the construction of the new Convocation in which the Bishops and ministers and lay representatives of both denominations were now incorporated.

Finally, the enormous complexity of the problems of Trusts and properties is indicated in the statement that neither denomination could "change their respective Titles nor reconvey their respective properties already held in

Trust by and for them..." However, the Central (Trust) Board was to administer the various denominational Trusts for and on their behalf.

The Report, dated 1 June 1927 was signed by Lander, Vaughan, Fenn, Young, and the Reverends J.C. Magee and A.V. Bland.⁴¹

The business of that day was complicated and protracted, for at this point, A.V. Bland read the long "Explanatory Report" of the Unity Committee. This outlined the extraordinarily detailed matters which had had to be worked on by the Unity Committee, and was really a way in which all the clergy and laity concerned in the assembly might be "officially" informed of the broad sweep of the matters in which they themselves had been involved at congregational level. This was important, for it was a way in which the leadership could ensure that the whole process might be seen to have involved everyone at grass-roots level. Lander had already declared this to be an absolute necessity at the 1922 Convocation; and indeed, the Explanatory Report made special note of the fact that "one church has asked that the question of finance shall be discussed".

This was, in fact, Christ Church, Harlesden; and the Vestry Minutes show considerable unhappiness about the proposed new scale of Episcopal fees. As they resolved to point out to the Committee, the fees were higher than before, and the poorer churches in particular might find the burden too great. Although a small matter, the fact that it was noted in the "Explanatory Report" shows the minute detail with which the Committee dealt with congregations - and their concern even for just one church amongst 41 others.

It is worth noting that the extraordinary care that was taken extended not only to the feelings of individual Vestries, but to the whole legal process in which each of the denominational authorities was involved. This was to ensure that neither party in the proposed Union could feel itself in any way disadvantaged. To this end, the Canons had been examined by Solicitors representing each denomination; the two statements were then submitted to Counsel for his Opinion. Only when these had had proper approval was the procedure continued. Representation, the constitutional and theological position of the diaconate in the united denomination, the provision the 2½% of yearly expenditure to go to central FCE funds, frequency of Council meetings - these and many more matters were the subject of close scrutiny by the Unity Committee. It is little wonder that the Explanatory Report stated at the outset: "Your Committee has been engaged for hundreds of hours during the past twelve months".⁴²

The "political" dimensions of the leadership question

It is interesting to see that, amongst the proceedings at the Liscard assembly, there were a number of clear indications as to the great delicacy of the negotiations that had been completed. There were also further indications of the quite evidently "political" nature of some of the arrangements which were made; and this is an aspect of the Union that is conspicuously absent from Vaughan's short account in his History.

Although such a fact would never have been documented in 1927, the difficulties of 1925 would indicate that an animosity had grown between the two sides. Lander's Foreword to the Year Book of 1925-26 had been cold and autocratic in tone. Parts of the joint June proceedings had not gone according to the agreed plan. Above all, the fact that Vaughan had not taken any part in Young's Consecration just six weeks later would indicate clearly a break-down in personal relationships between Lander and Vaughan. As was discussed earlier, the two men were utterly different, in background, education and personality. Yet, within twelve months, the situation had changed markedly. Indeed, it is possible to see how, when looking at the final agreed details of the Union, there had almost certainly been some sort of "trade-off" within the leadership of both Churches. There is absolutely no concrete evidence, but it is clear that the only person who would have been able to make such arrangements was Young - whose diplomatic skills had become well known - and whose increasingly high profile had been seen during the years of the Great War.

The prime necessity was for Vaughan and Lander to come to a personal understanding. This would have required some sort of incentive "from without" to break what was probably a power deadlock, but then further encouragement by ensuring that both were properly honoured for their distinguished service. Yet the leadership question was difficult to resolve. Lander was a very senior man of both breeding and education: it was unthinkable that he should simply be "put aside". Yet by 1927 he was too old to undertake the full work of both Primus and a Diocesan Bishop. He had suffered a number of breakdowns of health, and he was also over 70 years of age. This then was the dilemma which the final jurisdictional arrangements took into account.

Firstly, Brook Lander was made Bishop Primus; but this was largely titular. In his Forward to the 1927-28 Year Book, he said: "We feel it a great honour to be the first Bishop Primus". But a little later he continued: "On ceasing from the

more active work of the Episcopate, we desire to thank all for the love and loyalty that has been given us for so many years". The fact of the matter was that even with a third diocese, there were four Bishops but just three places. Thus, in the first United Convocation, it was agreed that as Primus, Lander should have "no Diocesan charge, but...jurisdiction over the whole Denomination". This subtle arrangement dealt gently and well with a man who was, because of his health, and perhaps because of a more old-fashioned and restricted vision, no longer fit for the pressures of a Diocesan.

Again, whilst honouring his position and gifts, it also removed him personally from any practical involvement in the political workings of the dioceses. Part of Canon A 20 of the FCE states: "The Bishop Primus shall be, ex-officio, the President of Convocation, and Chairman of all its Committees, and shall have jurisdiction over all Congregations and Ministers for which other Canonical oversight has not been provided". Yet all three dioceses did have full Canonical oversight through its own Bishop. Accordingly, Lander had the distinction of the position of Primus, yet the effective power within the dioceses of none other than a retired bishop. The personal animus that there had surely been between himself and Vaughan had very carefully been "worked around". Again, almost certainly this was the work of W.E. Young and Vaughan between them.⁴³

Secondly, Vaughan's very great contribution to the Union was recognised at the first United Convocation by the presentation of a cheque "in appreciation of his work." He was elected as Bishop of the new Northern Diocese, which was to consist of "all Congregations, Churches and Missions, situated North of the River Trent". It would also have been clear to him that, as the next senior to Lander, on Lander's retirement he would have been virtually certain to succeed to the position of Primus.

The other Episcopal appointments were less "sensitive". Young was elected Bishop of the new Central Diocese. This was to consist of "all Congregations Churches and Missions, situated South of the River Trent and North of the River Thames". Louis Fenn took the Southern Diocese - "all Congregations, Churches and Missions, situated South of the River Thames".⁴⁴

Thirdly, the approval of the American General Council was necessary to give cohesion to the newly constituted body. In the eyes of the members of both denominations, so often the centre of criticism and uncertainty, it would have

given a "parental" and an outside (thus "official") accreditation to the union. Indeed, the letter from General Council of 31 May 1927 was read to the new Convocation. It gave whole-hearted support and assurance that between the authorities of Britain and America, the "clouds have long been dispersed". In token of this approval, not only was there an invitation to the new FCE to become "a Corresponding Member of the General Council", but in addition, the degrees of DD of the REC Seminary had been conferred upon Bishop Young, and, importantly, the Reverends A.V. Bland and J.C. Magee for their work in the Union process.

Perhaps the final piece of delicate "political" encouragement for the uniting Church was provided by the announcement at the last session of General Synod that the cheque for the final installment of the \$1000 had now been received from America.

Understandably, nowhere does Vaughan mention either the many problems of the negotiations or the political "arrangements" made. However, his Episcopal Charge at the Convocation of 1929 gave a clear hint of some of the perils involved: "Recently, we have passed through the dangerous and delicate process of Union between two distinct sections of this work...There is much to encourage us. Our Union has been marked by a growing spirit of brotherhood, and has the seal of legal security". But the words "dangerous" and "delicate" would indicate much that was never revealed or recorded - certainly for one who may have used his words forcefully, but always with precision and care.⁴⁵

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After the Act of Union on 15 June 1927, the united denomination consisted of 43 churches, divided into three dioceses:

Northern Diocese: St. George's, Mill Hill, Blackburn; Trinity, Eccles; St. Saviour's, Egremont, Wirral; St. Paul's, Fleetwood; Emmanuel, Parkhead, Glasgow; St. Stephen's Mission, Clydebanks, Glasgow; Trinity, Springburn, Glasgow; Emmanuel, Great Harwood; St. Paul's, Haslingden (no services); St. James's, Hollinwood; John Knowles Memorial Church, Hoyland; Christ Church, Liscard, Wirral; St. Stephen's, Middlesbrough; Emmanuel, Morecambe; Trinity, Oswaldtwistle; St. John's, Tottington; Christ Church, Tue Brook, Liverpool; Emmanuel, Warrington.

Central Diocese: Birmingham - Emmanuel, Saltley, & Ormond Street Mission;

Emmanuel, Gunnersbury; Christ Church, Harlesden; Christ Church, Hemel Hempstead; Christ Church, Leigh-on-Sea; Emmanuel, Putney; Trinity, Southend; Christ Church, Teddington; St. Jude's, Walsall; Wolverhampton; Christ Church, Willesborough (though South of the Thames); and St. Luke's, Westcliffe, Essex. Southern Diocese: Christ Church, Aldershot; St. Jude's, Balham; Emmanuel, Barnstaple; St. Paul's, Bexhill-on-Sea; Nathaniel, Brighton; Christ Church, Broadstairs; Emmanuel, Carshalton; Christ Church, Crowborough; Christ Church, Exmouth; Christ Church, Exeter; Emmanuel, Farnham; Christ Church, Ilfracombe.

The 43 churches in the denomination were served by 49 clergy. Of these, 4 were Bishops. Brook Lander had no parochial or diocesan charge, but as Primus, he had jurisdiction over the whole denomination. There was also a total of 31 Lay Readers (the former FCE designation of "Lay Evangelist" was no longer used). The distribution of these men was:

Nothorn Diocese: 14 clergy (including 1 Bishop); 1 clergyman without pastoral charge. Also 11 Lay Readers.

Central Diocese: 12 clergy (including 1 Bishop); 1 clergyman without pastoral charge. Also 10 Lay Readers.

Southern Diocese: 10 clergy (including 1 Bishop); 10 clergymen without pastoral charge. Also 10 Lay Readers.

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At the first meeting of the new united Convocation on 15 June 1927, when the final Union Resolution was formally passed, all rose to their feet and joined in the singing of the Te Deum. The hopes of many over a period of over 40 years had been realised. As agreed at the Convocation, the final details being completed, the united denomination was enrolled in the Chancery Division of the High Court on 10 December 1927.⁴⁶

The successful completion of the Union, with its very many problems and multitude of difficult theological and administrative details, was a considerable triumph for the Unity Committee - but more especially perhaps a personal triumph for the two prime moving forces, Vaughan and Young.

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[Illustrations of the united Convocation and the four bishops, p. xiii]

THE FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND (newly united) 1927



The Uniting Churches, 1921-1927: some thoughts & conclusions

"Through fair weather and foul, the little Church pressed on its way. Time and time again it was betrayed from within: often it had to prune its branches and re-group its forces: at times it seemed likely that it would destroy itself."

In his Centenary Charge to the FCE on 5 June 1944, Frank Vaughan looked briefly at the controversies which had from time to time struck the denomination, and in which he and others present had been caught up in either the FCE or the REC. Not least amongst those in his mind was the whole matter of the Union, for as he had said in his earlier Charge of 1929, they had just passed through a "dangerous and delicate process".⁴⁷

Yet the ironic fact was that people needed to be reminded of the dangers and the problems: for as the individual histories written for a number of the main churches showed all too well, even this most major event in the life of the denomination could be swiftly passed over or even simply omitted. The Act of Union of 15 June 1927 had brought the united denomination to a new strongpoint. Again, many of the churches had had to embrace important changes; indeed those which were formerly REC had effectively to change the whole title of their denomination (see above: the Vestry minutes of both Harlesden and Southend). Yet, many of the churches seemed to regard such an important change as if it were something which had significance only outside the life of their own community. This is very obvious from an examination of the local church histories published by a number of the congregations.

Amongst the former REC churches, in the (rare) history of Trinity Church, Southend, Concerning this House, the only event noted for the year 1927 was the internal re-decoration of the church at the cost of £105-12s-3d! The substantial centenary booklet of St. Jude's, Balham dealt with the Union in 16 words. Otherwise it recounted only the founding of a Girl Guide company in 1927. Christ Church, Liscard actually noted the fact that the Convocation of June 1927 was held at the church marking "the union of the two denominations"; but that was all.

Amongst the former FCE churches, the brief history of St. Stephen's, Middlesbrough, mentions the 1927 Union in 31 words. The substantial booklet on Christ Church, Willesborough, recalls the fact that, "on one Sunday in September 1927", Brook Lander had preached at both services, but there was

nothing more. The centenary booklet of Christ Church, Teddington, mentioned the Union in one sentence of 33 words.⁴⁸

It is difficult to draw any conclusion from this other than the fact that the identity and the important events of the denomination as opposed to the local church seems to have been of comparatively little interest - and, indeed, were yet to be, for these booklets date from 1939 to 1987. The denomination seems to be taken for granted. Again, as was evident in the generosity of Missionary giving as opposed to that for denominational finances - and as Bishop Eldridge and others had noted through the years - the spirit of congregationalism was very strong. This being so, the success for the Joint Unity Committee, but especially for Vaughan and Young, in 1927 appears even more starkly outlined.

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Certainly at the time, during the years 1924 to 1927, the great delicacy of the negotiations and the inter-relationships between the two denominations were very much in the common mind. The process of a "psychological" growing-together had been expressed in the image of a marriage; and this had been used on a number of different occasions. Thus, the three trial years during which the General Synod and the Convocation were held in the same place were referred to as the "courtship". Following this, in his sermon at the 1927 assembly, the Primus of the FCE used a common phrase of that time, and referred to "the Union about to be consummated". But it is interesting to see exactly how far this analogy was taken by the members of the denominations; for the idea became something of an opportunity for humour. In the Year Book for 1927-28, a short article, recounted:⁴⁹

"One of the happiest of many impromptue ideas was that of Mr. and Mrs. Hibbert in providing the wedding cake in honour of the "Union" of the two contracting parties. For many years we shall remember the speech of the Primus, in the character of the Bride, and the reply of the "Page who carried the train".

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One of the very significant developments of these years was the gradual eclipsing of the power of Lander on the one hand, and the strength of partnership between Vaughan and Young on the other. It is also clear that these two factors were connected.

The events of the years 1914 to 1920 had shown how difficult it was for Vaughan with his powerful personality to work as a second-in-command to the much older

Bishop Eldridge. The differences were exacerbated by the fact that the personalities and backgrounds of the two men were so very different. Eldridge had an education and a gentleness of manner which had impressed both Bishop Chavasse of Liverpool and Archbishop Randall Davidson. Again, Eldridge leaned increasingly towards the Church of England: he was very much an "Establishment" figure, and this produced a very adverse reaction in Vaughan.

In the later years leading up to 1927, Vaughan similarly does not seem to have been able to make a good working relationship with Brook Lander - even though he, Vaughan, had equivalent seniority in the REC. Like Eldridge, Lander was an older man. Again, like Eldridge, Lander had had a formal education - although unlike Eldridge, this had been not only at a major theological college (Cheshunt), but also at one of England's most distinguished public schools (Harrow). Again, Lander was very much an "Establishment" figure, and once more, this produced an adverse reaction in Vaughan. Thus the somewhat cold words of Lander in 1925, and the subsequent consecration of Young without any REC participation indicated clearly some sort of breakdown between the two men.

Even though there are few remaining members of the FCE who remember the events of 1927 in any detail, nevertheless, there are those who remember what they were told of the events of the time. It is interesting that the comment of one of the clergy of the denomination (who shall remain anonymous) was that the relationship between the two leaders at the time was a case of "the sergeant versus the gentleman". Clearly such differences were observed by others.

It is in the light of these factors that the growing partnership between Vaughan and Young can be seen. Although Young gained the OBE for his war work, he was still not an "Establishment" figure in the way that both Eldridge and Lander were. Born in Co. Tipperary, Young was from a Protestant family in the Ascendancy; and it is significant that when he had settled in England (after years of travel in America and Canada), he took orders not in the Established Church, but in the FCE by choice. Similarly, it was by choice that Vaughan had left the Church of England to take orders in the REC. Indeed, here it is worth noting that Young's Anglican background in the Church of Ireland was clearly not something which set him apart from the FCE/REC cause. In 1873, when the large group of Evangelical clergy signed their letter of support for "kindred Church bodies", the "Disestablished Church of Ireland" was seen as being at one with the Protestant aims and objectives of the FCE. The strength of alliance

between Young and Vaughan makes it evident that this view still remained - even for Vaughan, who was a particularly militant "Reformed Episcopalian".

Once more, like Vaughan, the impression of Young is that of a man who was very much "of the world". It has been suggested that some of his work during the Great War was in munitions. Yet, not only was Young "of the world", but it is clear that at the time of the announcement of the collecting of the £5000 for the work of the FCE in 1915, Young was actually taking a leading role in the denomination. This became increasingly obvious later with his work as General Secretary of the FCE.

Certainly, the minutes of both the General Synod and the Convocation during the years 1922 to 1927 (where available) would seem to show both Vaughan and Young trying to give a positive lead to the Unity negotiations which had come to such a halt in 1920. Once more, although there is no available documentary evidence, it is more than possible to see the hand of Young in the final arrangements regarding the jurisdictions of the united Church. By these, Brook Lander was given due honour as Primus: nevertheless, his actual power was waning, whereas that of Young and Vaughan was waxing greatly.⁵⁰

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It is also interesting to see that, from 1927 onwards, the balance of power lay with Vaughan and Young, but especially Vaughan. And in them both, a new type of leader was seen.

Both Lander and Dr. Louis Fenn were over 70 years of age, whereas Vaughan was in his 50s and Young in his late 40s. Although Fenn was a friend of Vaughan's, and had been for many years, he again was from a different background to the former Grenadier Guard's Sergeant who had run away from home at the age of 16. Fenn was from a Huguenot family, and, from his early teenage, he had been involved in evangelistic and temperance work. But whether as Secretary to the Liverpool branch of the Evangelization Society, or as a bishop under the eye of Vaughan, he was a very good second-in-command.

By contrast, both Vaughan and Young were intensely "political" men, leaders, and men of the world. Their management style was "pro-active" rather than "re-active". When John Christie Magee was elected to the episcopate and consecrated on 7 July 1932, he was very much cast in the same mould. In his mid 40s, he was

a skilled pastor who had served at Eccles, Liscard, Broadstairs and finally Harlesden. Clearly he was Vaughan's man. Indeed, according to Vaughan himself, he was a "loyal and faithful friend" - and one who, like both Vaughan and Young had been heavily involved in the Joint Union Committee.⁵¹

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An interesting thought, not generally observed, is that the Act of Union of 1927 was more than merely the uniting of two separate denominations - even though that is how those involved in the protracted negotiations seem to have viewed it. Indeed, this idea of the union of two different parties was absolutely clear in the marriage imagery which was used during that time.

But, in fact, the Act of 1927 was actually one of re-union. The founding of the REC in Britain had been through the consecration of T.H. Gregg in the first place. Yet, although he was consecrated for the work of the REC in the UK, the effective genesis of the denomination was through the division of the FCE during the years 1876 to 1878. Eldridge at Peterborough, Sugden at Teddington, Richardson at Malvern, Norton at Littlehampton, Renny at Cheddar, W.H. Simms, and many others, had all left the FCE to form the basis of the REC.

The pattern, from the registration of the FCE in Chancery in 1863 to 1927, was one of division, and then re-union. Firstly, the FCE had split to produce the FCE and the REC. Secondly, the REC had split by 1879 to produce Richardson's REC and Gregg's RCE. Thereon, matters changed. The years 1888 and 1891 saw the unsuccessful attempt to unite the FCE and REC; but in 1893, the two estranged branches of the REC were united under Philip Eldridge. Finally, the two denominations, actually both being from the same "stock" of the FCE, re-united in the Act of 1927.

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It was a tidy and a logical end to what had been a complicated and most untidy history. Certainly there was particular delight (and probably relief) within the REC in America; for there had been a number of times, particularly during the unpleasant battles for recognition between both Gregg and A.S. Richardson, when the General Council had been tempted simply to cut all connections with their troublesome brethren in the UK.

The exact extent of the American approval for the 1927 Union was made clear in the letter of congratulation from the General Council:

"...upon unanimous vote, the Communication (Vaughan's letter, telling them of the imminent Union) was received and ordered spread upon the Minutes. The Council rose and sang the Doxology....We would assure you, Fathers and Brethren, that if at any time in the past difference of opinion may have seemed to cloud our intercourse, such clouds have long since been dispersed, and there is nothing save confidence and love in our hearts for both the Churches so soon to be indissolubly joined together by the spirit of God".

This was a stark contrast indeed to 1888.⁵² But perhaps the more practical indication of their determination that matters should go well, and of their thorough approval for the scheme, was the "grant" of \$1000!

A final thought

In his report of the Northern Diocese in June 1922, the Reverend H.T. Clark had referred to the FCE church at Accrington as "a parable" of the problems caused by insecure trusts and church finances. There is a way in which the whole history of the FCE, with its divisions and then the re-unions culminating in the Act of 1927, may be seen as "a parable" of the foundation and development of very many of the numerous small denominations which have abounded during the 19th and 20th centuries in Britain.

The case-studies chapter aims to illustrate the problems and pressures surrounding the founding and then maintaining of the many mercurial FCE, REC or RCE congregations which tended to be raised up by way of protest against the "Establishment". But again, the stories of these strange and often militant little communities are "a parable" for others in the many smaller denominations. For whatever the denomination, the attendant problems, such as those of identity, personalities, financial insecurity and "patronage" were bound to be much the same.

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In particular, these years 1921 to 1927 illustrate by way of "parable" the process to unity which was very much a feature of non-conformist life in the earlier years of this present century. Any major examination would be inappropriate here. But in the previous chapter, the unity movements were mentioned which resulted in the setting up of the Congregational Union, and also the main Methodist Churches - both having involved the gathering-together

of numbers of small units. A brief look at that movement within Methodism will serve to illustrate the point now.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries had seen a division of the Methodists into small, and often militant units. Arthur Reynolds's survey is useful in examining briefly the processes which resulted in the development of the movement from the "society" within the Church of England to its division into a number of small, but fully-fledged denominations.⁵³

From the main Wesleyan body came: the Methodist New Connexion (1797); the Primitive Methodists (c. 1807-1810); the Bible Christians - or the Bryanites (1815); the Protestant Methodists (1828); the Wesleyan Methodist Association (1834); the Wesley Reform Association (1849); the Independent Methodists (19th century generally).

There was an early attempt at union in 1857. In this year there was a fusion of the Protestant Methodists, the Wesleyan Methodist Association and the Wesley Reform Association to produce the United Methodist Free Churches. Those churches of the Wesleyan Reform Association not joining in with this union formed the separate Wesleyan Reform Union.

After the turn of the century, the great unity movement in Methodism fused most of the the remaining independent units. Indeed, as the Reverend Rupert Davies says, "The greatest event in Methodism between the wars was its union". Davies then recounts the Union of 1907, which gathered the Methodist New Connexion, the Bible Christians, and the United Free Methodists into the United Methodist Church. He continues with the movement which then gradually re-united the three larger units, the Wesleyan Methodists, the United Methodists, and the Primitive Methodist Churches. He points out that all of these had much common theological ground, but different "styles" and, therefore, different administrative systems. The uniting Conference was held in 1932.⁵⁴

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It was in the middle of this uniting process within Methodism, from 1907 to 1932, that the unity of the FCE and the REC was completed. But as is clear from Rupert Davies's accounts, even though each of the the small independent Methodist denominations was larger than either the FCE or the REC, the problems surrounding the negotiations must so often have been the same as those of the

FCE and REC: the "matching" of administrative and political systems; the reconciling of different systems of Canon Law; the settling of different Trust systems; the process of a "psychological" growing-together; and above all, the reconciling of the personalities involved in leadership.

This applies equally to the movements from within Methodism, or to the complex uniting movements within Congregationalism, or even the later formation of the the United Reformed Church (Congregationalists and English Presbyterians). It again applies to the unity negotiations within the confused "Continuing Anglican" Churches of the USA and Canada during these last decades of the 20th century - although these would require a separate and major study.

But the use of this present study, and of this chapter in particular is that it may be able to provide an illustration of various elements and dynamics of schism and (re-) union, including processes and problems. Above all, it may serve to illustrate the parameters of the human and political elements of leadership within the small denominational units.

Fr. Arthur Reynolds made a telling (if obvious) observation in his English Sects of 1921: his words concern Methodism, but they refer equally to any uniting movements: 55

"...the tendency...to divide and to subdivide, has been discovered to be injurious to the cause of religion, and these re-unions are confessions of fault. The step that these united bodies have taken is in the right direction".

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[The chart-survey of the two new churches during the years 1921 to 1927 - just one each for both the FCE and the REC - is in the Appendix, p. 598.]

Chapter 11
The United Denomination, 1927 to 1993:
An over-view

In 1936, when Vaughan published the first edition of his History, the denomination was riding at the crest of a wave. Although still very small by usual standards, in 1927 the new united denomination had been meticulously moulded together, legally and constitutionally. Again, the administrative structure had been vested with painstaking care into the three dioceses - each bishop having been placed with great "political" sensitivity. Thus, whereas there had formerly been two weak and very tiny denominations - the REC still showing the debilitating effects of the constant internal disputes that had riven it from 1914 to 1921 - now there was one united body, encouraged by the near-doubling of denominational strength to some 43 churches. Above all it was clearly in good heart.

Again, an important part of the potential strength that there was at this stage after the Union was in the fact that the preparations for the Act had successfully brought both the politics and the administrative systems of the two denomination into conformity. Thus, from the early 1920s, when this process began in earnest, the opportunities for "slippage" of dissatisfied congregations between the FCE and the REC, as had so often happened in the past, were ended. In a system which relied so much upon the goodwill of church trustees who were so often entirely independent of the central denominational administration, this was an important contributory factor to the future stability of the united FCE as a whole.

Certainly, congregations which were in the "high" tradition might still be taken by their trustees into the Established Church - as Willesborough was in 1958. Again, those at the opposite end of the spectrum might well still move to independency, as did Crowborough in 1972-3. This was the weakness of a system which had a number of semi-independent churches not vested specifically in a denominational trust. Nevertheless, it was no longer possible for other congregations, whose churchmanship varied between the two extremes, to move between the FCE and the REC - and, as had been done, to play the one off against the other. St. Andrew's, East Ham; St. Jude's, Walsall; St. Saviour's, Littlehampton; Trinity, Southend; Emmanuel, Eastbourne; Trinity, Wolverhampton; Christ Church, Braintree - these were just a few examples of the congregations which had "migrated" through the years between the FCE, the RCE or the REC, as

may be easily seen in the church charts in the Appendix. Indeed, St. Jude's, Walsall had migrated several times between the REC, the FCE and Independency; this was perfectly possible because of the strength of its governing trustees. Nevertheless, such fluidity into and out of the denominations was a de-stabilizing factor.

Clearly the new strength bred strength, for the FCE continued to grow after the Union. Certainly, in his History, in looking at the years following 1927, it is evident that Vaughan expressed a real confidence felt by the denomination: "the story of our work, which forms the history from 1927 onwards, is that of a new and wider vision, steady consolidation, deepening fellowship among clergy and laity..." However, the situation was to change; and in 1960, when the second edition was published under Vaughan's guidance, the same phrase was used. Yet already, the pattern of a clear decline since 1945 can only have made it evident that his words expressed a hope now unlikely ever to be fulfilled.¹

1927 - 1945: "A new and wider vision..."

Until the early years of the second world war, the FCE showed a pattern of steady increase over and above the 43 churches in its three dioceses. By June 1928, there were two further congregations, St. Saviour's, Church Street, Burnley, and Trinity Church in Tenterden (Kent). Burnley functioned until 1947, but war-time conditions made work at Tenterden impossible, and the church never recovered. Again, by June 1928, St. Stephen's Mission in Clydebank, had moved to its new situation as St. Mark's, Radnor Park - totally destroyed during an air-raid in 1941. At this time the work of the denomination in Scotland was helped by the creation of a Scottish "Auxiliary Synod" in October 1928.²

St. Paul's, Haslingden finally closed in 1930, but in 1932 another church was added to the Northern Diocese under Vaughan when Christ Church, Wigan, moved back from the Evangelical Church of England. By June 1934, in the Central Diocese, Bishop Young had extended his work from Putney to Roehampton. St. Paul's, Huntingfield Road continued work until 1941. Again, by 1935, a church had opened at Bootle, Liverpool: St. Mark's, Orrell Park, closed in the early 1950s. By June 1937, the new Minister at Orrell Park was also Minister of the Tyndale Memorial Church at Netherfield Road in Everton, and, through his position, he brought the extra church with him into the denomination.³ This connection, however, had ceased by the latter part of 1941.

By 1939, Brook Lander's hopes that Vaughan's presence at Morecambe would act as a "steadying" factor had been clearly justified. The earlier lack of leadership in the North had allowed J.P. Hodgkinson and the ECE to fill the vacuum. But with the formidable Vaughan as Incumbent at Morecambe and Bishop of the Northern Diocese, not only had the troubles of 1925 and 1926 ended, but congregations were coming to the FCE from the ECE. Wigan had returned in 1932, and by June 1939, Emmanuel, Workington, and St. David's, Preston, had joined the denomination (both still active within the FCE). Emmanuel had been founded by discontented members of Christ Church ECE, and according to private information, St. David's, Preston had also had an earlier involvement with the ECE.⁴ By Summer 1939 the FCE had 50 churches.

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The second world war brought all the social upheaval for the country that there had been between 1914 and 1918, with vast troop movement, restriction in civilian travel and building, shortage of materials for printing or publication of books, and blackout regulations. Indeed, there was far more destruction by bombing than in the Great War - especially in the industrial towns and cities throughout Britain. The work of churches throughout the land became very difficult; restrictions within the militarily sensitive area of South-East Kent meant that the FCE churches at both Tenterden and Broadstairs were forced to close "for the duration". Even so, by June 1940, there were three further FCE congregations: Emmanuel (CHC) in Tunbridge Wells, Calne Free Church in Wiltshire, and once again the Connexional Church at Worcester. FCE clergy had been called to each of these places, and Donald Thompson (by then the Missionary Bishop) was given Episcopal oversight of these, together with two other of the "Churches under Private Trusts", Christ Church, Willesborough, and St. Jude's, Walsall.

By Autumn 1941, work at Roehampton and Everton had ceased. However, the independent liturgical churches of St. John's, Summertown, in Oxford, and St. Luke's, Leamington Spa, had joined the denomination so that there were now 53 churches in Britain (including Tenterden and Broadstairs).

From 1942, however, the pattern for the FCE changed to one of a slow overall decline. There was a major change when "for reasons of economic expediency", the 1942 Convocation decided to revert to just two dioceses - North and South. Whilst this may have been "expedient", it caused much ill-feeling, particularly

with G.W. Forbes-Smith who had been diocesan bishop since Young's retirement.

Later that year Bishop Thompson resigned from the denomination (see below). Following this, by June 1943, Worcester had once more left the denomination, and by June 1944, Calne, Leamington Spa, and Tunbridge Wells had also left. In fact, letters from the Minister at Leamington Spa to Vaughan and Thompson (dated 6 October 1943), explained that he was leaving the FCE because of its lack of protestant conviction together with the Masonic influence that he discerned to be present within it. As these complaints had been the basis of Thompson's own resignation, it is likely that the loss of these churches, was directly connected with the Thompson dispute. In fact the only new church at this time was St. Andrew's, Bentley, early in 1944 [illustration of the later re-built church, p. xx].⁵

By the time of the publication of the Year Book for 1945-46, the war was over, and Vaughan's report as Bishop Primus gave thanks for "the great victory in the West". Even so, the situation for the denomination was not good. The resignation of Thompson had done considerable harm to the internal strength of the denomination, and the war had done the rest. Amongst the many that were damaged, the churches at Exeter and Clydebanks had been destroyed by bombing. Exeter was later re-built, but St. Mark's, Clydebanks remained closed: indeed, in that tragic raid on Clydebanks, 20 young people meeting in the building were killed. Balham was severely damaged, but worship continued in the schoolroom. The church at Eccles, at one time so flourishing, had closed. Broadstairs had re-started its work, but the small community at Tenterden had so far been unable to open again.⁶ The 47 working churches were:

NORTHERN DIOCESE: Blackburn; Burnley; Fleetwood; Glasgow - Parkhead and Springburn; Great Harwood; Hollinwood; Hoyland; Tue Brook; Orrell Park; Middlesbrough; Morecambe; Oswaldtwistle; Preston; Tottington; Egremont; Liscard (Wirral); Warrington; Wigan and Workington.

SOUTHERN DIOCESE: Aldershot; Balham; Barnstaple, Bentley; Bexhill; Birmingham - Saltley and Ormond Street Mission; Brighton; Broadstairs; Carshalton; Crowborough; Exeter; Exmouth, Farnham; Gunnersbury; Harlesden; Hemel Hempstead; Ilfracombe; Leigh-on-Sea; Oxford; Putney; Southend; Teddington; Westcliff-on-Sea; Willesborough and Wolverhampton.

To serve these there were 58 clergy (3 Bishops, 40 Presbyters, 15 Deacons), and 36 Lay Readers.

The extension of FCE jurisdiction to Canada: 1930-1942

Undoubtedly, a part of Vaughan's confidence in 1936 was because in 1930 the Canadian REC had actually moved from American jurisdiction to that of its "parent denomination". Although the numbers in Canada were small, as in early days when it had churches in Australia, Bermuda and the Channel Islands, the FCE could again claim a measure of "internationality".

In his History, Vaughan tells how the REC bishop in Canada, William Browning, "transferred his ministry" to the "United Church of Canada". Subsequently, at a special Synod in November 1929, and by agreement with the American authorities, Vaughan was elected Bishop. In a detailed report to Convocation in June 1930, Vaughan gave a hint as to the political background of the transfer when he stated that: "The work as a whole lacked cohesion and genuine co-operation". His report also gives some idea of the wealth of legal detail which the transfer involved.

In "The Free Church of England in Canada, otherwise called the Reformed Episcopal Church", there were just nine churches: Emmanuel, Victoria Avenue, Belleville, Ontario; Trinity Church, Happy Valley, B.C.; Emmanuel, Elgin Street, Ottawa; St. David's, New Edinburgh, Ottawa; St. Paul's, Royal Avenue, New Westminster, B.C.; Christ Church, Shaw Street, Toronto; St. Margaret's, Vancouver, B.C.; The Church of Our Lord, Victoria B.C. (founded by Bishop Cridge); and St. John's, Sussex, N.B. (let to another denomination at the time).⁷ Two bishops were elected to administer oversight on behalf of Vaughan, the Reverend George Marshall of Bellville for the East, and the Reverend Dr. Alexander Hubly for the West. Marshall was consecrated at Christ Church, Harlesden on 7 July 1932 by Vaughan, Fenn and Young. Hubly was then consecrated in Christ Church, Toronto on 11 May 1933 by Bishops George Marshall and Frank Cloak of the American REC.⁸

In the long term, the arrangement was bound to be inconvenient, and the best Vaughan could do was simply to set the small Canadian Church back on its feet. He was perceived as a strong outside authority from the "parent Church", so it was easier for him to carry through the practical arrangements needed. Even so, as Presiding Bishop, he was more than 3000 miles away from the nearest of his Canadian churches, with all the attendant difficulties of either a 7 day sea journey or one of the long and expensive early trans-Atlantic flights.

But by 1941, with all the problems of civilian travel during war time, the arrangement was impossible to maintain - as the Convocation in June 1941 made plain - and it was agreed that Canada return to American jurisdiction. Even though the practicality of this was so clear, there was disagreement in Canada, and Vaughan received a cable on 3 June 1942 stating that "The Western Auxiliary Synod does not endorse motion of First Synod regarding separation". Nevertheless, in that same year, jurisdiction returned to the American REC.⁹

In his copy of the Year Book for 1952-53, Bishop Forbes-Smith made some very revealing notes on the fraught situation in Canada as it was then (and has remained). By 1993, just two or three churches in the West still function, including Cridge's old church in Victoria. But early in 1993, a new church was started near Toronto, and because relationships with America were severed in the mid 1960s, the Canadian churches have been looking towards the FCE once more. Bishop Kenneth Powell of the Southern Diocese visited Canada to administer confirmation and ordination during August 1993. Several issues, including the ordination of women to the priesthood and the ordination of practicing homosexuals in the Anglican Church of Canada have resulted in a number of recent transfers to the Canadian REC.¹⁰

Changes in Leadership, and the Masonic dispute of 1942

At Convocation on 24 June 1930 Brook Lander announced his retirement as Primus. He had evidently forged a relationship with Vaughan, for his words in the Year Book in 1930 show a genuine warmth: "He has been a true brother to me during the past four years." However his succeeding words give a hint as to the rougher waters of past years: "I have learned to love and respect him..." Lander died on 19 November 1937, greatly mourned by a denomination that had had a seal set upon it by the educated and autocratic old-Harrovian.¹¹

On 7 July 1932, John Christie Magee was consecrated in Christ Church, Harlesden (together with George Marshall for Canada) by Vaughan, Fenn and Young. Magee was a capable man who had been greatly involved in the Unity negotiations - rather in the same "business" mould as Vaughan and Young. At first an Assistant Bishop, after Fenn's retirement in 1934 Magee became Southern Diocesan.¹² Fenn died on 25 June 1935 at the age of 79.

Once again, leadership became a burden for Vaughan. Not only did he have to fight a legal dispute over his jurisdiction in Eastern Canada, but early in

1935 Bishop Young resigned, and Vaughan had to take on the Central Diocese as well as his own in the North. Young had been showing signs of what would probably today be diagnosed as Alzheimer's disease. He died on 6 November 1936, justly mourned by the denomination.

In order to relieve the strain on Vaughan, at Convocation in June 1938 both G.W. Forbes Smith of Leigh-on-Sea and Donald Thompson of Putney, were elected to the Episcopate. They were consecrated at Christ Church, Harlesden on 29 September 1938 by Vaughan, Magee and Bishop T.H. Shaw of the Moravian Church. Forbes Smith was elected Bishop of the Central Diocese, and Thompson, already running the Cummins Memorial Theological College at his Rectory in Putney, became Assistant Bishop.¹³

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Donald Thompson was a most capable man who did fine work in both Bexhill-on-Sea and Putney. He was particularly known as a teacher in the denomination, and, like Renny and Brook Lander before him, he had a special gift for the preparation of men for Holy Orders. His work in theological training started even before the "Bexhill Training Scheme" of 1927, and it really built upon the older REC Institute of Theology. At his large Rectory in Dealtry Road, Putney, the residential "Bishop Cummins Theological College" became a valuable part of the work of the FCE.

It is evident that his plans involved a degree course for the more talented students. In the early 20s, he had already rejected the less formally structured degree courses offered by the British branch of the Lincoln-Jefferson University, probably because, although legally chartered in Illinois, it had no accreditation. Then in 1941, the FCE took over St. John's, Summertown in Oxford, and Thompson was put in charge. His plan was to move the College there to enable students to read for an Oxford degree in Theology. Yet before this could be done, a major dispute took him out of the denomination.¹⁴

However able, Thompson was not a politician like Vaughan, nor could he exercise the pragmatism so needed for a Bishop. But the most serious of several disagreements with Vaughan was on the subject of Freemasonry, and amongst the clutter in the Thompson Archive is a small collection of anti-Masonic booklets. It was common knowledge that Vaughan, Young, and Magee were Masons; but Thompson was an old fashioned "Banner-of-Truth" evangelical who saw in the

Masonic movement a threat to the Christian life. In fact a letter from Vaughan to Thompson on 26 April 1940 (found in the Thompson Archive) shows their dispute. Thompson had evidently quoted a pamphlet to Vaughan on the matter; Vaughan's reply showed a characteristic white-hot anger:

"Re Irvine [the author of a pamphlet]...I wonder, WHO gave him authority to consign so many worthy men from His Majesty, the King, to humble workmen, to the condemnation of "heresy"? I will leave it there, Thompson, with this simple declaration IT IS NOT TRUE, the diatribe in my mind is a splendid example of German propaganda.....I leave it just there."

Thompson's resignation from the FCE on 30 November 1942 was hardly a surprise; and he made his reasons clear in the published statement, "An Explanation":

"I have been unhappy over changes which I have seen coming...and the recent one, reducing the chief administrative positions from four to three [through the abandoning of the Central Diocese] and filling them exclusively by Freemasons, has been more than I can conscientiously accept".

But in the long term, his resignation was most serious. It stirred needless suspicion amongst the clergy, it took his own distinguished talents out of the FCE (and others followed), the Theological College closed, and above all, it weakened a Church already hard-pressed by the problems of war-time. Even now, 50 years later, echoes of that dispute are still heard.¹⁵

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1945 to 1975: the Second Century opens

The year 1945 not only brought the end of the war with all its problems, but also the beginning of the second century for the movement. Viewed as a whole, the first hundred years had been a period of important changes and challenges. Registration in Chancery in 1863; the giving of the ancient Succession in 1876; the secessions to the REC in the later 1870s, and further into the RCE; the dramatic "falls" of both T.H. Gregg and A.S. Richardson in the early 1890s; the Great War; disputes at the time of the 1920 Lambeth Appeal; the 1927 Union; the Canadian Jurisdiction; the Second World War - these many problems and events had tested the strength of the FCE, REC and their leaders to the limit - and sometimes beyond it.¹⁶ By comparison, although the following 30 years, from 1945 to 1975, were marked by the steady working of the denomination, it was probably the most uneventful period in the history of the FCE. It was also a period of slow but very definite decline.

Denominational changes: churches & congregations 1946-1960

One of the very encouraging parts of Vaughan's "Primus's Report" to the 1946 Convocation was the news of gifts amounting to \$1450 from the REC in America towards the restoration of damaged churches. Even so, the new post-war world was fraught with difficulties for a small and such a poor denomination. In his Convocation Charge, Vaughan warned "It needs no proof that we stand on the threshold of a new era in the history of human experience". Something of the uncertainty that must have been felt by those present was voiced in his following words: "...we look wistfully into the future...and we seek that wisdom which has been promised to us from on high".¹⁷

At the Convocation of 1947, Bishop Magee reported the failure of one church, but the reception of another into the denomination. Gunnersbury had been the focus of trouble at several times during its history, and at last "in the absence of a congregation", and with the building in poor repair, it was to be closed. On the other hand, St. Jude's in Walsall had moved back yet again to the FCE. St. Jude's remains a small but vigorous part of the denomination.

In June 1948, in his Northern Diocesan Report, Vaughan announced the closure of St. Saviour's, Burnley, because of the dangerous state of the building. It proved impossible to move to a new site. Moreover, by June 1949, St. John's, Summertown, in Oxford, had failed, and the conveyancing of the property was in

progress. However, in the latter part of 1949, these losses were partially offset by the reception of Christ Church at Cross Gates in Leeds. Founded in 1924/5, this had been a part of the ECE. It remains in the FCE [illustration p. xx].¹⁸

The 1950s saw continued decline. In his Northern Diocesan Report in June 1952, Vaughan announced the suspension of work at Christ Church, Orrell Park, Liverpool. By June 1954, the building was demolished. At the Convocation in 1956, it was announced that Emmanuel, Parkhead in Glasgow, had been failing for some time, and the Church closed. By June 1957, the church building in Putney had been sold: although there was some encouragement in the fact that not only had the rebuilding at Exeter started (on a far better site), but the old temporary buildings at Middlesbrough and Bentley had been replaced. The new church at Exeter was consecrated by Bishop Forbes Smith on 24 July 1957 [illustration p. xix]. Again, in June 1958, an application for membership was announced of the newly built St. Paul's Church at Outwood (Radcliffe), Lancashire. Yet another ECE congregation, this remained in the FCE until its closure in 1991. However, in March 1958, Christ Church, Willesborough had officially moved out of the denomination to be received into the C of E. It returned to the FCE in 1987, and remains today [illustration p. xix].

The future of the old-established church at Wolverhampton had been uncertain for some time. In the Year Book for 1958, there were questions as to its relationship with the denomination, and by June 1959, it had left the official List of Churches. Again, by June 1959 Christ Church in Aldershot and St. Luke's, Westcliff-on Sea had failed and had also left the List.¹⁹

In June 1945 there had been 47 churches. By June 1960, there were 39 churches:

NORTHERN DIOCESE: Blackburn; Fleetwood; Glasgow - Springburn; Great Harwood; Hollinwood; Hoyland; Tue Brook; Leeds - Cross Gates; Middlesbrough; Morecambe; Oswaldtwistle; Preston; Radcliffe; Tottington; Egremont; Liscard (Wirral); Warrington; Wigan and Workington.

SOUTHERN DIOCESE: Balham; Barnstaple, Bentley; Bexhill; Birmingham - Saltley and Ormond Street Mission; Brighton; Broadstairs; Carshalton; Crowborough; Exeter; Exmouth; Farnham; Harlesden; Hemel Hempstead; Ilfracombe; Leigh-on-Sea; Southend; Teddington; and Walsall.

In 1945 there had been 58 clergy (3 Bishops, 40 Presbyters, 15 Deacons), and 36 Lay Readers. By June 1960 there were 47 clergy (4 Bishops [Illustration p. xiv], 36 Presbyters, 7 Deacons), and 33 Lay Readers.

Why the decline between 1945 and 1960?

The Established Church is possibly the closest model that can be found for the FCE during these years, for although the "congregationalist" element was not present in the same way in the Church of England, yet theologically, liturgically and in polity the two institutions were (and remain) very similar. But the experience of the Established Church was of considerable expansion during the post-war years to 1960.

A brief survey is not the place for detail. But in his History of the Church of England, 1945-1980, Paul Welsby examines the many ways in which the C of E, with its breadth of tradition, and considerable resources of both men and money, was able to tap the mood and the needs of those years. Priests like Ernest Southcott, with his vast new estate parish at Halton, or Alan Ecclestone at Darnall in Sheffield, were able to form large and thriving congregations. In both cases, the popular Parish Communion movement was at the basis of the changes. But particularly at Holy Trinity, Darnall, Ecclestone had used the numerous house-groups formed by the lay leaders and the parish clergy to produce a sense of community. This was then focussed eucharistically on the parish church at the centre. Welsby sums-up this period of growth and reconstruction in the phrase "Putting the House in Order". Again, he illustrates the way in which the Anglican Church built on the work of the old Industrial Christian Fellowship, and further extended its influence through its Industrial Missions and Chaplains, both lay and clerical. But there was also a bold attempt to reach the needs of the rural communities through schemes like the South Ormsby Group in Lincolnshire in 1949; or in Norfolk, the Hillborough Group in 1961, or the Hempnall Group in 1964.

But as Roger Lloyd also shows, whether it was such experiments as these, or the taking part in the missions of the time (such as Mission to London in 1949, or Billy Graham in 1954), or the use of BBC religious broadcasting facilities - the results were a growth in church attendance, communicants, confirmations, and ordinations. Indeed, the appeal for £600,000 by both English Archbishops in 1946, and then the establishment of CACTM to regulate the whole process of

selection, showed the ability of the National Church to be able to adapt, to create resources, use them, and thus to touch the needs of the time.

But with its tiny size and poverty, there was no way in which the FCE could do anything to match this. Even in June 1960, the financial resources at the centre of the denomination were very small indeed. The "Home Mission Fund" showed a total cash-flow of £2,200-0s-9d (balance-in-hand, £694-14s-9d), and the General Fund cash-flow stood at £2,505-18s-2d (balance-in-hand £681-16s-3d). There was also the small "Prayer Book Fund" (flow £513-7s-2d, balance £258-16s-8d), and the "Publication Fund" (flow £445-5s-1d, balance £238-10s-4d). Nevertheless, as in the past, the total for Missionary giving during the previous year stood at no less than £1,490-16s-9d.²⁰

The most that could possibly be done was to repair the war-damaged churches wherever possible, and to continue training the few men available through correspondence courses with the London Bible College, but above all, simply to minister to the immediate areas where the congregations were. Again, there was no question of the FCE joining the popular swing towards the Parish Communion movement, simply because such an emphasis was totally opposed to the standpoint that had been taken by the denomination since the ritual disputes in the last century. In any case, as has already been pointed out, any wide-spread public concern over ritualism had long before this time been eclipsed by the primary concern of most people and families simply to survive the Great War. After this, the depression and then the second world war meant that, once again, ordinary members of the public had many other problems occupying their attention. The new liturgical developments of such as Southcott and Ecclestone in the 1940s and 50s would doubtless have been the focus of Protestant alarm a century before. But during those drab years of slow post-war recovery, they were actually gaining popular public attention and approval.

As had been noted before in the FCE and REC, the basic needs were for "men and money": yet as Bishop Thomas Cameron (Assistant to Vaughan in the Northern Diocese) noted in 1961, "in these changing days it was becoming much harder to give any man a living wage". Thus in that year, Blackburn and Great Harwood had to share a single minister between them (the able and godly Harry Livsey). However necessary, it was a most unsatisfactory solution. Moreover, Livsey was the exception rather than the rule, for few men had his pastoral gifts.²¹

Another reason for the "unremarkable" nature of these post-war years was that, as in the last century, there was a prevailing insularity in the denomination. A clear illustration of this was the suspicion which led to the continued refusal of the FCE to join the Free Church Federal Council during the 1940s and 1950s. Certainly, because of its determined hold to an episcopal polity, leaders like Forbes Smith and Vaughan were deeply suspicious of early attempts by the FCFC to move towards a uniting of all Free Church ministries. Vaughan would certainly have been aware of the attempt by Bishop Dicksee at the turn of the century to abandon the ancient succession - and of the resulting bad feeling and insecurity. Again, the surprising acceptance of the notion of "Real Presence" in the Eucharist by the FCFC in 1941 would have been anathema to most of the leadership of the FCE, who were still strongly Calvinist in much traditional doctrine. As a result, Convocation refused to accept proposals to join the FCFC in 1944 and 1945.

The motion to join the Council was eventually accepted in 1954, but, even then, misgivings were voiced over several years. Nor indeed was FCE "reserve" only towards non-conformity, for a resolution at the 1946 Convocation to move closer to the Established Church was determinedly voted down. Even in 1993/4, the FCE is only an observer, with others, in "Churches Together in England", and the Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland.²²

Finally, amongst the more obvious reasons for a lack of successful progress during these years was the increasing weakness in the leadership of the denomination. The fact of the matter was that Vaughan was elderly and becoming increasingly infirm. In 1946, with all the new challenges to be faced, he was 77 years of age. By 1959 he had reached his 90th birthday, and his deafness and growing weakness meant that leadership within the denomination was devolving ever more on Thomas Cameron in the North, Forbes Smith in the South, and the Assistant, William Rodgers (consecrated at Liscard, 18 October 1957). This was especially the case after Magee's retirement early in 1953, and then his death within two years, for he had been a sound friend and colleague for many years. Indeed, by the late 1950s, Vaughan had become fearful of new challenges. Even in 1949, when he referred to a "strenuous hostility" in the Anglican Church (Memories), it is clear that he was more worried by it than has been generally realised. For a confidential memo to FCE Council in February 1956 (RDF's archive) shows that he was avoiding an evident opportunity for oversight of the "Church of England in South Africa" because he feared the legal consequences

from the Church of the Province and from the Archbishop of Canterbury. In earlier days he would never have lost such an opportunity.²³

Vaughan had lost the drive that had taken the denomination(s) through the heavy seas of half a century, and he was even represented at Convocations by Forbes Smith. Yet however able, neither Forbes Smith, nor Rodgers, nor Cameron was capable of providing the same leadership. Moreover, although he was failing, as long as Vaughan was still alive, as Bishop Primus the other leaders deferred to him. His death in September 1962 at the age of nearly 93½ was to be felt keenly, but by the same token, its effect would be to release others to be the leaders so much needed. Yet, in considerable measure because of the tiny size of the FCE, there was no-one of his stature to follow.

Churches, congregations, leadership, & decline, 1961-1975

During the following 14 years, as before, the pattern was one of decline, until by 1975 the situation was critical.

Early in 1961, Nathaniel Church in Brighton was closed. By June 1963, staffing had become impossible and the only remaining Scottish church, at Springburn in Glasgow, had closed. On 31 December 1963, the earliest surviving church in the FCE at Ilfracombe was closed and the monies from the property were put to the use of Emmanuel, Barnstaple. On 2 July 1965, the closure was announced of St. Saviour's in Egremont, and the monies were transferred for the use of Christ Church in nearby Liscard. Again, by the following June, 1966, the Ormond Street Mission in Birmingham had failed and had left the List.²⁴

During the years 1968 and 1969, there were several problems over property. In 1968, there was a possibility of opening an FCE church on the new Cantril Farm Estate in Liverpool. However, not only was the response from the people of the Estate not encouraging, but the City of Liverpool Estates Surveyor's Department reportedly failed to reply to no fewer than three official letters on the matter. Eventually the plot of land offered went by default, so that by June 1969 the project had failed. Again, by the June of 1969, new development in Wigan meant that a Compulsory Purchase Order was issued against Christ Church. The church failed, the congregation simply not strong enough to start anew.²⁵

But the 1970s were no easier for the denomination - although in June 1971 the completion of the re-built church and hall at Leigh-on-Sea was announced.

However, from 5 May 1972, services at Hemel Hempstead were discontinued, and towards the end of the year the church was formally closed. Again, by June 1973, not only had it been decided to close the church at Barnstaple, but Carshalton had failed and Crowborough had left the denomination to move into Independency.²⁶ In June 1960 there had been 39 churches, but by June 1975, there were just 29:

NORTHERN DIOCESE: Blackburn; Fleetwood; Great Harwood; Hollinwood; Hoyland; Tue Brook; Leeds - Cross Gates; Middlesbrough; Morecambe; Oswaldtwistle; Preston; Radcliffe; Tottington; Liscard (Wirral); Warrington; and Workington.

SOUTHERN DIOCESE: Balham; Bentley; Bexhill; Birmingham (Saltley); Broadstairs; Exeter; Exmouth; Farnham; Harlesden; Leigh-on-Sea; Southend; Teddington; and Walsall.

In 1960 there had been 47 clergy (4 Bishops, 36 Presbyters, 7 Deacons), and 33 Lay Readers. By June 1975 there were 29 clergy (4 Bishops, 22 Presbyters, 3 Deacons), and, again, 33 Readers. The situation was most serious, and the more so because, of the four bishops, only one was able-bodied (see below).

Some thoughts on the continuing decline in the FCE

The persistent decline of the denomination was a complex matter in which many factors were involved. Perhaps most obviously, as before, the rigorous anti-ritualist stance struck no chord of sympathy in the popular consciousness. Equally obvious was the continuing problem of the tiny size of the denomination, its chronic poverty, and the consequent inability to respond to the sort of challenges that the very testing climate of the 1960s and 1970s were providing. Less obviously, these factors were compounded by continuing problems of leadership, and there were evidently a number of personality difficulties at the time. But in such a small organisation, it was difficult to disperse high feeling. Here, as so many involved are still alive, a detailed examination would be more appropriate in years to come.

Yet, in any case, the 60s and early 70s were unsettling for all churches in Britain - not least the Church of England. Welsby writes of "The bewilderment of the sixties", and points to a general questioning of moral values and traditional authority. He also indicates the satiric questioning of "establishment" figures and institutions, and he quotes the audience figures of over 12,000,000 for the weekly television programmes "Beyond the Fringe" and

"That Was the Week that Was". Again he points out that between 1967 and 1974 the prison population in Britain doubled. Into these troubled waters several English theologians also launched their own radical and questioning works.

Very briefly, Soundings was the series of essays by Cambridge theologians published in 1962 which attempted to make evident the fundamental questions about traditional Christian beliefs which had long been avoided. Whilst public awareness was hardly stirred, it most certainly was by Bishop John Robinson's paperback Honest to God in 1963. As Roger Lloyd comments: "for a long time the air was full of violent charges and denunciations..." Although a difficult and diffuse work, within three years almost a million copies were sold.²⁷

Despite an intense public interest (if lack of comprehension), the comparative insularity within the denomination and its lack of academic theological expertise meant that the debate largely passed the FCE by. Doubtless there was comment from individual FCE pulpits, but the official reactions were very muted. In the Convocation Charge of June 1964, Bishop Dudley Burrell made clear and critical reference to the current thinking of God in terms of "depth", and the "ground of our being". But at no stage did he venture beyond the confines of Scripture; moreover he concentrated totally on the nature and call of ministry through Holy Orders. It was with a certain justification that he commented, "it is now almost a criminal offence to teach children to sing 'Above the clear blue sky'..." But at the same time, although thoughtful, as an official response, it simply did not approach the challenge offered.

It is significant that the intellectual challenge of that time seems yet again to have been interpreted in the FCE in terms of the age-old question of FCE Orders and their validity through being modelled on the New Testament Church. During the year 1974-75, a Special Committee was formed to consider "The Place of Episcopacy in the FCE", and the result of much labour was the well produced if small pamphlet The Historic Episcopate and the Free Church of England, published in 1965. Yet this, and the thinking in Bishop Burrell's Convocation Charge in 1964, was all ground trodden so many times. Indeed as official responses to current thought, they were not only defensive, but classic examples of a "Drawbridge Theology" - and a clear demonstration of an inability to come to grips with the questions or mood of the age.²⁸

Once again, there was no official denominational journal to bind increasingly scattered communities together. Before the second world war, there had been

various short-lived productions, such as the Bulletin of the Northern Diocese, which, in April 1936, amalgamated with the Central Diocesan Recorder to make the Quarterly Messenger. After the war, from 1946 until 1956, the splendidly produced Vision was published, although this largely favoured the Southern Diocese. In the 1960s and early 70s, there were several very small occasional publications. But these were not enough - either to make the FCE known to the country, or the scattered congregations known to themselves.²⁹

A further important factor in the decline of these years has not generally been recognised, and that is that the two dioceses during the post-war years were very different in temperament and policy. A former FCE Presbyter has said that "to all intents and purposes, there were two FCEs - North and South". The North, under Vaughan and Cameron, was "worldly" and pragmatic. There were seldom problems with the holding of raffles or dances, so that communities could be built up like those to be found within the Established Church. The South, however, was under the far more "Puritan" influence of Forbes Smith. Here, the congregations seemed unable to demonstrate the "laissez-faire" which so often enabled communities to grow through purely social means. Indeed, the greatest losses of the 60s and early 70s were in the South.³⁰

One factor which must have been a drawback during these years was the lack of versatility in the forms of worship permitted by the FCE. There were variations to the Prayer Book, such as the Children's Service, Services for the Opening and Closing of Convocation, and other Occasional Services which had long been printed in the Handbook for the Clergy. But worship in the FCE has always been far more "cerebral" than in other denominations. The Children's Service, for instance, was first published before this century, and was very different from the more relaxed formats used in Church Schools or other Churches after the second world war. Generally speaking, it is still not officially possible for FCE churches to be able to provide "theme" services, or for instance the CPAS Family Services. Again, although a Bye-Law was passed in Convocation in 1965 which permitted the use of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible in church as an alternative to the "Authorised Version", it is still not technically legal to use any other version. Certainly, during the post-war period, when Anglican clergy were able to produce a specialised worship "package" which actually had something to offer the local community's needs (such as those provided by Ernest Southcott at Halton, Alan Ecclestone in Sheffield, Joost de Blank at St. John's, Greenhill, Harrow...and many others), FCE congregations were confined to a far more restricted diet.

Again, vestments and church ornaments were strictly controlled. The dress for presbyters and deacons on all liturgical occasions was (and is) "Choir Habit" only. Choirs, if vested at all, might only wear gowns. Then, as now, no altar frontals might be used, nor candles, nor cross upon the Holy Table. The visual impression was, and remains therefore, one without colour, and very much after the manner of "low-church" Anglicanism of several generations past. But, at a time when liturgical experiment and the design of church-interiors in other denominations was becoming ever more colourful and "dramatic", the far sterner customs of the FCE cannot have helped the matter of church growth in an age which was searching for more colourful and "sensuous" worship.³¹

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Finally, the most obvious reason for continuing decline during the 1960s and 70s was, as before, the lack of strong episcopal leadership. Vaughan had not groomed anybody to follow him, probably because, like T.H. Gregg long before, he could not delegate. Certainly Fenn and Magee were "his" men, but both were elderly, and pre-deceased him. G.W. Forbes Smith was consecrated in September 1938, and whilst he was definitely "his own man" and a thoroughly good pastor and scholar, he was withdrawn when it came to the matter of politics, and sternly Calvinist when it came to the "lighter" aspects of church life. After serious injury in a train crash in Essex, from mid-1965 on, declining health prevented him from taking the burden of responsibility needed in the Southern Diocese. He retired in 1968, and died in February 1976 at the age of 91.

In the North, Vaughan had been assisted by Thomas Cameron, who had been consecrated in September 1950. In fact Cameron became the Northern Diocesan in May 1958, and after Vaughan's death in 1962 he succeeded him as Primus. But whilst Cameron could be as abrasive as Vaughan, he showed none of the same instinctive ability in leading and handling men that Vaughan had probably learned as an NCO in the Guards. Several clergy resigned after brushes with Cameron. Again, there was no indication of the breadth of vision and ambition for the denomination that had been so evident in the younger Vaughan. But then, Cameron was an elderly man for all of his episcopate. He retired as Primus in 1975, and died on 12 April 1977 at the age of 88. Meanwhile, on 18 October 1957, William Rodgers had been consecrated in Liscard (Wirral) as Assistant Bishop to Vaughan as Primus. An experienced pastoral man, Rodgers had been born in 1887, and so was 70 years old at his consecration. He died suddenly in June 1963 on the eve of the Convocation.

In the South, when Forbes Smith retired in 1968, Ambrose Martin Bodfish was elected as diocesan. Bodfish had been Rector of Emmanuel, Saltley for many years, and had been consecrated Assistant Bishop in September 1963. A first-class leader, he died suddenly in 1971 before his gifts could be realised to the full. Dudley Burrell had been consecrated at the same service as Assistant for the North. He took over as Northern Diocesan in 1967; but although a kindly man and a convinced evangelical, he had none of the management ability or intellectual cutting edge that was needed for the difficulties of those times. He died at the end of September 1973 at the age of 68.

On 8 October 1969, William Charles Watkins was consecrated at St. Jude's, Balham as Assistant to the Primus (Cameron), and in June 1972, he was elected Bishop of the Southern Diocese. Once again, whilst being an experienced and able pastoral man, his health was poor; and Parkinson's Disease obliged him to resign in December 1976. He died early in 1978 at the age of 67.

The fact is that, whilst they were first rate pastors, these men did not necessarily have the leadership gifts that were so much needed to take the FCE out of the spiral of decline that had become so evident by 1975. Most were also too elderly or too uncertain in health to have undertaken the office of Bishop with success when they did.³² All the distinctive leaders in past years had had outstanding gifts of vision and man-management. They also had the adequate intellectual stamina, the physical force, and the ability to carry others along with them in their hopes and plans. Price, Gregg, Eldridge, Vaughan, and Brook Lander all had those gifts which made them more than just fine "parish men", and each had presided over an expanding denomination. Whilst a surviving church must have its able and godly clergy, a growing church additionally needs a leadership whose overall vision and force is capable of both perceiving and harnessing the differing gifts and strengths scattered within their jurisdiction. From 1946 to 1975, the FCE was a "surviving church" - but barely so.

Then, in the mid 1970s, at the height of the decline, a change of fortune came with the accession of two new Bishops - both with evident and distinguished gifts of leadership. Yet by that stage the denomination had almost reached a point of no return.

1976-1993: strong leadership, and new opportunities

On 29 August 1973, the Reverend Cyril Milner was consecrated at Fleetwood as Assistant Bishop to Dudley Burrell in the Northern Diocese. His consecration was not a moment too early, for, within a month, Burrell was dead and he was the Diocesan. But Milner was very different from most of his predecessors. Firstly, he was just 56 years of age when elected. Secondly, he had been involved in the work of the Ministry from the time he had left High School in Manchester. For some years he was in the Methodist Church Mission in London as Youth Leader and Pastor, but after joining the FCE was made Deacon in 1945. He subsequently became Curate to Ambrose Bodfish at Saltley - a fine leader and trainer of men.

On 1 September 1947, Milner became Rector of St. Paul's, Fleetwood. His experience in Youth and Education were recognised when he became Leader of "Young Life" for the Northern Diocese in 1951. Again he has been continually involved in local education, not only as a school governor, but as a member of the Lancashire Education Committee.³³

From the earliest days his work was marked by a distinctive ability to lead men, and then, having sought out their gifts, to make sure that they were best placed for the denomination. Indeed he needed all his strength of leadership, for by June 1975, he was the only able-bodied bishop in the denomination: Watkins was seriously ill with Parkinson's Disease, Cameron was 86 years of age and very frail, and Forbes Smith (retired) was over 90 years of age. But this serious situation was evident to Convocation, for Milner was elected Primus in that June 1975, an occasion needing great tact and delicate pastoral handling. Yet matters were no better by June 1976, for Bishop Forbes Smith had died in the previous February, Watkins was now totally incapacitated, and Cameron's frailty prevented anything but the lightest duties. The Convocation responded with the election of Arthur Ward, General Secretary, and Rector of Teddington FCE, to be Assistant to the Primus. On 11 September 1976, he was consecrated at Teddington by Bishops Milner, Cameron, Theophilus J. Herter (Presiding Bishop of the REC in America), and Bishop Russell White, retired Suffragan Bishop of Tonbridge in the Diocese of Rochester, an old friend. So for the second time, there was a direct Anglican input into the Succession.³⁴

But like Milner, Arthur Ward was different from many of his predecessors. He also had been in the Ministry since leaving school; he also was still in his 50s when consecrated; again he also had a distinguished career before the episcopate, and one which showed great leadership abilities.

After leaving High School in Leeds, Ward entered the International Training College to study as an Officer of the Salvation Army. He was commissioned on 15 September 1939, and his most distinguished war service earned him the General of the Salvation Army's Certificate for outstanding bravery. In 1946, he returned as a Tutor at the International Training College; it was also in these immediately post-war years that he graduated with the BD degree of the University of London. After several leading posts of command, he then moved to the FCE and was ordained in 1958. His incumbencies at Bexhill, Exmouth and Teddington, gained him a distinguished reputation as a builder, both of congregations and church fabric. In fact his work, particularly as General Secretary of the FCE earned him the rarely given honorary degree of DD from the RES, Philadelphia, in 1974.

In other ways, however, the two men were very different in personality. Yet their different gifts have been something that they have been able to use in ministries that have been noticeably complementary. One brief example is in the strong and settled ministry that the Primus has had at Fleetwood, with the affairs of the North "moving around him" (as it was put by the late John Knight). By contrast, Bishop Ward, with his Salvation Army background, has been more effective with an "itinerant" form of Ministry. In these latter years he has been living in the Ecumenical Parish in Swindon. He has worked widely within the Anglican, Methodist, URC and Moravian communities in Wiltshire. But he has also been able to use this as a base for his work within the large area of the Southern Diocese.³⁵

Once again, Bishop Ward's Consecration was not a moment too soon. For on 31 December 1976, Watkins retired from the Southern Diocese because of his health, and Ward had to take over. Watkins subsequently died at Broadstairs in January 1978, and meanwhile, Thomas Cameron died in April 1977 at the age of 88. By June 1978 therefore, for the first time for many years there were just two bishops - Cyril Milner in the North, and Arthur Ward in the South.³⁶

Continuing weakness, yet the arrest of decline

Despite the new strength of the episcopal team, by the mid-1970s the situation for the FCE had deteriorated beyond the point at which there could be any immediate reversal of fortunes. There was no money to preserve those churches on the point of failure; and in each of those cases, there were too few in the congregation to pay a minister. But in any case, as in the preceding decades, the old controversies over ritualism had ceased to be a part of the public mind. In many parts of Britain, the Parish Communion had become a part of the life of the community. Again, following the changes from the Second Vatican Council, in many Roman Catholic Churches in England and Wales, a new and much plainer style of worship had often become the norm. By the mid-1970s, the bitter anti-ritual and anti-Rome disputes were, for the most part, things of the past.

Again, the growth of a highly organised, powerful and well funded evangelical wing in the Established Church from the 1960s has meant that the *raison d'etre* of the FCE been less evidently needed across the land. In any case, the reduction in the strength of the FCE by 1975 to just 29 churches - widely spaced throughout England - has meant that the denomination has been able to do little more than to tend to the gathered congregations in the established locations which have remained.

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Yet, experience has shown that, although some of the churches have failed through being unable to attract any new membership (the most obvious examples are provided by Brighton, Wigan, Hemel Hempstead and Ilfracombe), others have survived precisely because they have continued to provide a very traditional and "low-church" liturgical form of service. For the fact is that that the conservative, Prayer Book and "low-church" tradition has become increasingly rare where the Established Church has not only become polarised between catholic and evangelical, but where the old-established lines have become so confused by the liberal theology of the 1960s, and then the new charismatic movement which has affected the broad spectrum of Anglican, non-conformist and Roman Catholic worship.

Certainly, in the majority of surviving FCE churches, the membership has tended to be renewed by the influx of churchpeople (whether Anglican or non-

conformist) in their middle age who have sought this precise tradition. Obvious examples are provided by such churches as Teddington, Balham, Harlesden, Walsall, Liscard, Fleetwood and Workington. Other FCE churches have maintained membership through a vigorous work amongst young people. Here, an obvious example is provided by Emmanuel, Saltley, which has had a large and flourishing branch of the Boys' Brigade for many years.

In fact, the charismatic movement which has swept through so many of the Churches of Britain has had very little effect upon the FCE indeed. Described as "perhaps the most important single post-war movement to cut across every denominational boundary....which unites substantial numbers of Christian people who were formerly divided", this has re-vitalised even obviously failing communities in many places. A widely known example is that of the work of David Watson at St. Michael-le-Belfrey in York. Although the movement has affected churches in all traditions of the Church of England, perhaps the greatest involvement has come from the evangelical wing, especially after the international conference organised at Guildford in 1971 by the Fountain Trust, and the statement published in 1977 by leading evangelicals and charismatics, "Gospel and Spirit".³⁷

Nevertheless, the response from the FCE has been effectively limited to two churches - St. Jude's, Balham, during the late 1970s and early 80s, and Christ Church, Exmouth, from the latter part of the 80s. But in both cases, this was the result of the particular ministry of the Reverend David Page (formerly an Anglican Church Army Captain) who moved from the one place to the other. Whilst this attracted new members to the churches, it was not consonant with the traditional worship of the FCE; and when David Page moved from Balham, the tradition (and the attendance) returned to the much more conservative norm.

However, it would be fair to say that the reasons for the survival, and indeed the growth, of a number of the FCE churches are complex - usually relying upon the skills of individual ministers, and the nature of the local communities themselves. This would properly form the basis of a separate examination.

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Even with the strength of the new episcopal team by 1976, the most that could be done was a holding operation to keep as many of the churches open as possible, until such time as the denomination might again be able to provide a

distinctive contribution to the country. In fact, the closures ceased, and there was no further church loss until 1980 at Southend.

Trinity was the large Victorian Church built by T.H. Gregg. However, by the 60s this was the middle of the commercial part of the town with virtually no resident population. To save Trinity would have meant building a new church complex out in one of the residential areas. But as at Wigan previously, those few who still attended could not possibly have undertaken the burden involved. In any case, there was no income for a Rector, and for several years the rota of visiting ministers was managed by the resourceful Churchwarden, Lena Dixon. But her increasing age made even this impossible, and Trinity closed on the last Sunday of December, 1980. But the story of Southend serves as a "parable" to show the sort of problems that had been involved for other churches that had failed. In fact the only other church to shut was Radcliffe in Manchester. After struggling to maintain services with a failing congregation, the church closed at the end of 1991.

These failures were partially offset by the return of Christ Church, Willesborough, to the denomination on 28 March 1987. Under threat of closure from a pastoral re-organisation scheme in the Diocese of Canterbury, the Trustees had withdrawn again from the Established Church.³⁸

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Meanwhile, in 1986 the leadership of the denomination was further strengthened with the election and Consecration of Kenneth John Wesley Powell, Rector of Emmanuel, Saltley. This time, Convocation acted before there was a crisis in leadership, for both senior bishops were around 70 years of age, and Kenneth Powell was just 56 years of age [illus. of the 3 bishops in 1993, p. xiv].

Once more, the new Bishop had a proven leadership record, although, unlike his older colleagues, he had not spent all his working life in the ministry. In fact for many years he had been a senior businessman in the field of sales marketing for the heavy industry of Birmingham. Again unlike most of his predecessors, his is the third generation to be in the FCE. However, like Bishop Milner, one of his great advantages was his training by the renowned and capable Ambrose Bodfish when Rector at Emmanuel. Under Bodfish, Ken Powell was firstly a highly successful Boys' Brigade Leader, and then a Lay Reader. He was ordained Deacon in 1977, Presbyter in 1979, and then by 1982, he took over

Emmanuel as Incumbent. His Consecration was at Teddington on 1 October 1986 by Bishops Milner and Ward, and, in June 1989, on the retirement of Arthur Ward, Ken Powell became Bishop of the Southern Diocese in his place.

A man with business insight as well as a pastor, one of his aims has been to standardise the stipends in the FCE. In such a poor denomination, it was a considerable achievement in 1990 to ensure that the basic minimum for any Incumbent, exclusive of rent, rates, National Insurance, Community Charge, and expenses of office, be set at £3,000 per annum. In practice, churches have means of "enriching" this sum considerably. But this ensures a basic sum upon which churches are expected to build.³⁹

New opportunities for the FCE in New Zealand and Russia

Through the years, many in the FCE nurtured the hope that there might again sometime be a distinctive contribution that the denomination could make to the country. Some feel that the opportunity might well have come with several developments that have taken place in Anglican thought since the early 1980s. Firstly there has been the often bitter controversy which has taken place over the ordination of women to the priesthood. Secondly, although the Roman Catholic response to the ARCIC talks at the end of 1991 seemed to have brought a growing closeness to an untimely end, nevertheless, at the 1992 visit by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Pope, it was agreed that "differences should not put the brake on dialogue but serve as a stimulus to their resolution". To many evangelical Anglicans, even this muted accord has not lessened suspicion of a move towards Rome. Thirdly, the increasingly liberal theology, especially within the Anglican Churches in America and Canada, has raised many fears over matters like the official condoning of homosexual practices, and the ordaining of practising homosexuals. These fears have caused strong protest in many parts of the Anglican world.

In New Zealand, largely as a reaction to the increasing Anglican/Roman Catholic accord, and to the ordination of women to the priesthood, a retired Anglican priest, Kenneth Gregory, started an FCE congregation at Richmond, Nelson, on the South Island. Services at the Redwoods Valley Mission were commenced in the early part of 1983, and within a year, the denomination had been registered with the Department of Justice. In 1983 and 1991, two further clergy were ordained for New Zealand.

Advance has been slow, but by 1991, services were not only being held at Nelson in the South Island, but in the North Island there were congregations at Hauraki District, Turua, Waikino (at Waikino Hall), Wellington (in "a borrowed church"), and also in a number of homes in Hastings. By 1992, there was also a Licensed Lay Reader at Wellington.

The Report from Kenneth Gregory, the "Supervising Presbyter", in the Year Book 1993-94 sets out the position frankly. Whilst the movement has never been large (probably little more than 250), nevertheless, the New Zealand branch of the denomination has now been working for over 10 years, and shows every sign of continuing - however small. The main worry is that of replacing clergy, for Kenneth Gregory is 80 years of age.⁴⁰

Rather more unusual was the request to found a Free Church of England in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in 1991. With the collapse of the communist regime throughout the Soviet Union, the old religious communities have once more begun to take their place. However, in the late 80s and early 90s, there has been something of a reaction amongst many members of the Russian Orthodox community - particularly amongst those who felt that the former Patriarch, Pimen, had compromised the integrity of the Orthodox Church by becoming, according to some, a mouthpiece for the political regime. Again, there were others, apparently unhappy with the alternative Baptist communities available. Accordingly they sought some form of "Protestant-Episcopal" alternative. But until recently the Anglican Diocese of Europe had only one worship centre in the USSR: indeed the British Embassies at both Moscow and Ulan Bator (Outer Mongolia) were served from the Anglican Chaplaincy in Helsinki.

In fact, at the beginning of 1993 the old Anglican Church in Moscow was handed back to the Diocese. But meanwhile, at the end of 1989, a community of some 40 or 50 people in St. Petersburg approached the FCE through a distinguished local physician, Dr. Sergei Makov. In September 1990, Bishop Powell visited St. Petersburg and agreed to form a new FCE church there. Accordingly, on Wednesday 29 May 1991, Dr. Makov was ordained deacon in Teddington for St. Petersburg.

At the Convocation in May 1993, a book of FCE Services which had been translated into Russian by Dr. Makov was authorized for use. In August 1993, Bishop Powell paid a visit to the new community, the "Church of Christ the Saviour", and Makov was ordained to the Presbyterate by him in the presence of the whole new community there. As yet, the congregation still gathers in a

hired hall until a church can be built. "The Free Church of England in Russia, otherwise called the Reformed Episcopal Church" is a missionary jurisdiction which has been placed under the Bishop of the Southern Diocese.

Although there has been a certain resentment about this development from the Anglican Diocese of Europe, it would be true to say that, at the time of the first approaches in the late 1980s, there was no alternative for the people of St. Petersburg at all. Certainly, at the time, the Diocese of Europe was unwilling to open another worship centre in St. Petersburg. In any case, as a missionary work for Eastern Europe the ordination of Sergei Makov is no new thing, for in 1932, Vaughan had actually ordained a man for Poland.⁴¹

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But, to date, despite the hopes of many in the denomination, the theological developments of the late 80s have not resulted in significant increases - other than in New Zealand. Again, according to observers from Britain, despite the revival of interest in the REC in Canada, the American REC has not seen a significant expansion either. It remains to be seen if the ordination of women to the priesthood in England, planned for April/May 1994, will provide an impetus for Anglican evangelicals who cannot accept the decision.

Unity talks begin with the Church of England, 1991

Vaughan had nurtured a dislike for the Church of England from the turn of the century, and there used to be a tradition in the FCE that this resulted from his being turned-down for ordination whilst he was working in the Diocese of Liverpool. Whatever the truth of this, he had never made any attempt to hide his severe displeasure at the fact that clergy of the FCE and REC, at the rate of something like two or three in every five years, had been re-ordained in the Church of England, sometimes after the briefest of training. In his Memories, Vaughan is bitter about the continual supplying of Ministers for other traditions - but especially the Established Church. It is clearly in the light of this that the proposal to the 1946 Convocation for a closer relationship with the Church of England was bluntly rejected.⁴²

However, in 1991, an approach was made to Bishop Ward from the Reverend Dr. John Fenwick, Assistant Secretary of Ecumenical Affairs to the Archbishop of Canterbury. As a result of an agreement made within the denomination, John

Fenwick addressed the Convocation on Monday 27 May 1991, and in the course of his address he suggested the possibility of the FCE becoming a "Designated Church" in order that the denomination might join in the "Sharing of Church Buildings Measure". By this, it would be possible for either denomination to use the buildings of the other, or to set up systems of joint worship if required. Clearly this could also be the basis for future Local Ecumenical Projects (LEPs). Despite misgivings on the part of a few, it was agreed, and the required entry in the London Gazette was made on 15 October 1991.

Subsequently, Dr. John Fenwick moved to become Vicar of the major Lancashire parish of Chorley. But, in the meanwhile he made arrangements at Lambeth for preliminary unity conversations to begin between the FCE and the C of E. Once more, this caused misgivings with a small minority in the FCE, but nevertheless the first meeting was arranged at Church House, Westminster by the General Synod Council for Christian Unity on Tuesday 8 December 1992. The second meeting took place on Friday 18 June 1993 - and in both very significant advances were made.

On the FCE side, the members were Bishops Cyril Milner, Kenneth Powell, Arthur Ward (absent through illness at the first meeting) and the Reverend Dr. Mark Gretason (Rector of St. Jude's FCE, Balham). On the Anglican side the representatives were the Suffragan Bishop of Lewes (Ian Cundy), the Archdeacon of Newark (David Hawtin), and Richard Fenwick (Residentiary Canon and Precentor of Guildford Cathedral) as an Anglican specialist on the history of the FCE. Also in attendance were the Secretary for the Council for Christian Unity, Dr. Mary Tanner, and Dr. John Fenwick's successor at Lambeth, the Reverend Dr. Richard Marsh. After the second meeting it was agreed that each side would prepare a paper on "The Next Step". Richard Fenwick was asked to prepare the paper for the C of E. Briefly, his main points are:

1. There has been significant agreement, especially in the second meeting which used the document Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry as a basis for doctrinal discussions. Richard Fenwick points out that one of the factors to have emerged is that old FCE doctrinal fears have little foundation as things stand in 1993. For instance:

"Bishop Phillpotts' interpretation of 'Baptismal regeneration' may well have caused him to take men to the Court of Arches for the sake of what he considered the truth. But his somewhat esoteric and mechanistic views (which upset so very many within the Established Church) were...the result of his own particular doctrinal thinking as one of the last in a line of...erastian '18th

century' high churchmen."

2. Any full organic union might involve the complete "absorbtion" of the FCE, and this is undesirable, for it is right and proper that the FCE continue its independence and integrity. Thus, amongst the possibilities of partial or "Federative Union" the best model is that of the Iberian "Anglican" Churches, the Reformed Episcopal Church of Spain, and the Lusitanian Church of Portugal. Since 1980, these have come under the Anglican umbrella with the status of "extra Provincial Anglican Dioceses" - yet both have their own liturgies, customs, ministries and administration.

The "Next Step" therefore begins with a second year of meetings, starting on 10 December 1993. The aim will be to prepare the details for a Joint Statement to be presented to both the Convocation of FCE and General Synod of the C of E. The result would then be a mutual recognition, and the sharing of ministries wherever needed, a sharing of churches where appropriate, and a sharing of representation - FCE membership on General Synod and C of E membership on Convocation.

As at present the future of the talks is unknown; but as is said in The Next Step, "The talks have already produced the conviction that proceed to the next step we must. The New Testament imperative to Unity binds those who are evidently so close physically, politically and theologically."⁴³

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1927 to 1993 - some concluding thoughts

In May 1993, the FCE had 26 churches in England served by 32 clergy (including 3 Bishops), and 32 Lay Readers:

NORTHERN DIOCESE: Blackburn; Fleetwood; Hollinwood; Hoyland; Tue Brook; Leeds; Middlesbrough; Morecambe; Oswaldtwistle; Preston; Tottington; Liscard; Warrington and Workington.

SOUTHERN DIOCESE: Balham; Bentley; Birmingham - Saltley; Broadstairs; Exeter; Exmouth; Farnham; Harlesden; Leigh-on-Sea; Teddington; Walsall and Willesborough.

The Free Church of England in New Zealand had 6 worship centres. On the South Island: Nelson. On the North Island: Richmond; Hauraki; Turua; Waikino; Hastings and Wellington. In May 1993, there were 3 clergy and 1 Lay Reader (Jurisdiction: Bp. Ward).

The Free Church of England in Russia had one worship centre in St. Petersburg, with 1 Presbyter (Jurisdiction: Bp. Powell).

It is patently obvious that, although not a greatly expanding denomination, it is not about to fail. Even so, the situation is very different from that of 1927 when, after the Union, there was a large and capable leadership, three dioceses, and above all, confidence engendered by recent success. The potential strength of the FCE was never greater; and because of the "human" truth that success breeds success, it was understandable that, not only was the Canadian Church added to the British jurisdiction, but that there was a steady expansion until the severe problems of the second world war placed impossible demands on Bishops, clergy and people alike.

From 1946-1975, it became ever more obvious that the FCE was a fine and decorous little institution, cast firmly in a 19th century mould. But it was trying to face the demands of a 20th century society that had been radically changed by two world wars, and by the new and often destructive secularism that such works as Soundings and Honest to God actually attempted to address (albeit clumsily). Yet it had no money, nor trained men, nor the size to be able to adapt or adjust. Accordingly its response was the blast of a reactionary and "drawbridge" theology.

In the mid 1970s, the denomination determinedly faced the fact of accelerating decline, and its response was to make hard but realistic changes to its

episcopal leadership. But, whilst the catastrophic decline was halted, it is true to say that the overall strength of the FCE had reached a point where, without strong external impetus, any great restoration or expansion was virtually impossible. Through the theological changes of the 1980s and 1990s, work has extended to New Zealand. The changes in the old USSR have resulted in the new congregation in Russia. But the old problems of distance, manpower and money mean that such expansion is unlikely to be permanent.⁴⁴

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The present episcopal leadership of the FCE is probably more able than it has been at any time - including that of Bishop Vaughan. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there has been no great "white-hot" controversy, as in the last century, to give the necessary impetus to ordinary people to move specifically to the FCE. Even the impending ordination of women to the priesthood in England is unlikely to cause a great influx of clergy to the FCE ministry or laity to the pews. The FCE still lacks a truly "marketable commodity" for the people of this country; and one factor which still holds so many Anglicans to the C of E is an abiding sense of loyalty to the institution so long identified with the country itself. There is again a natural resistance to becoming what they would consider, rightly or wrongly, "non-conformist". This was a restriction upon growth which Eldridge had noted long before in his Report to the General Council of the REC in 1903 (Proceedings of the Seventeenth General Council, p. 41, Bishop Eldridge's Report).

The greatest possibility for the future of the FCE is almost certainly in the new initiative which has been taken in the unity talks between the FCE and the C of E. If the option of a partial or "Federative Union" is decided upon, then many of the problems of supply for isolated churches will be solved, simply because there will be nearby Anglican clergy who will be able to take services as required. Again, although the denomination will not find that its finances automatically improve, yet a steadier supply of ministers will keep congregations working more smoothly and securely than at present. Again, with the possibility of FCE clergy training at Anglican theological colleges - perhaps even with Anglican financial support - the resultingly stricter academic and pastoral training will improve the situation for the churches in the denomination. All too often these have had to rely upon men coming from other denominations where there is little understanding of the conservative and

liturgical nature of FCE worship. Again, the denomination would be able to use the many lay-training facilities offered by their local Anglican dioceses.

In his History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (op. cit.), Professor Raymond Albright examines very briefly the weakness, as he sees it, of the traditional position of the REC in America:

"...these men withdrew....(partly)...because the General Convention refused to require complete doctrinal uniformity by denouncing the doctrines they opposed. In this demand...these men failed to understand the real genius of Anglicanism, which, through creative tension ..produces the comprehensiveness within which millions of Christians discover their faith and experience religious satisfaction."

In many respects this has also been the key to the failure of real advance in the FCE, particularly in the years following 1927. If a "Federative Union" takes place, however, the FCE will, whilst maintaining its own integrity, be a part of a much larger whole: that is to say, the FCE will actually be a part within that "umbrella" held together by the all-important "creative tension". Thus, the key to FCE survival, and whatever measure of advance might come, would lie in the ability of the denomination to accept that future situation of being part of a much larger whole, so that all may find satisfaction in whichever part of that whole they choose to abide.

Yet the question must also be asked what will happen to the FCE if present discussions do not succeed. The answer is, probably nothing - yet. The organisation as it stands, although very small, will still carry on for perhaps 20, 30, or even 40 years to come. Indeed, although figures concerning the age range of membership within the FCE are not available, certain of the churches, if well run by able clergy, might well continue beyond this, for they will continue to experience an influx of churchpeople in their middle-age who seek the precise conservative Prayer-Book worship environment provided by the FCE (see above).

However in the long term, the prognosis is not good. During the discussions at Convocation in 1992, with all the gritty realism that one might expect of a former high-ranking Salvation Army Officer, Bishop Ward laid the alternative before the assembly: "If we do not move forward with these Unity discussions, then ultimately, we will die." [reported by the late John Knight]. However, this unpalatable and brave truth can be perhaps best set next to the opening and the conclusion of Richard Fenwick's Church House Paper The Next Step:

"We have reached an important milestone...for an old wound, long open, is beginning to heal...

The similarities are so great between the main-streams of both C of E and FCE that logic demands that we obey the call of the High-Priestly Prayer in John's Gospel.

This means that after nearly 150 years, we two might walk as one."

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[Details of the churches newly established by, or associated with, the FCE from 1927 to 1993 are included in the chart-survey in the Appendix, pp. 599 ff. Further details are available from the author]

THE FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND 1993/4



NORTHERN DIOCESE
Bishop Milner



SOUTHERN DIOCESE
Bishop Powell

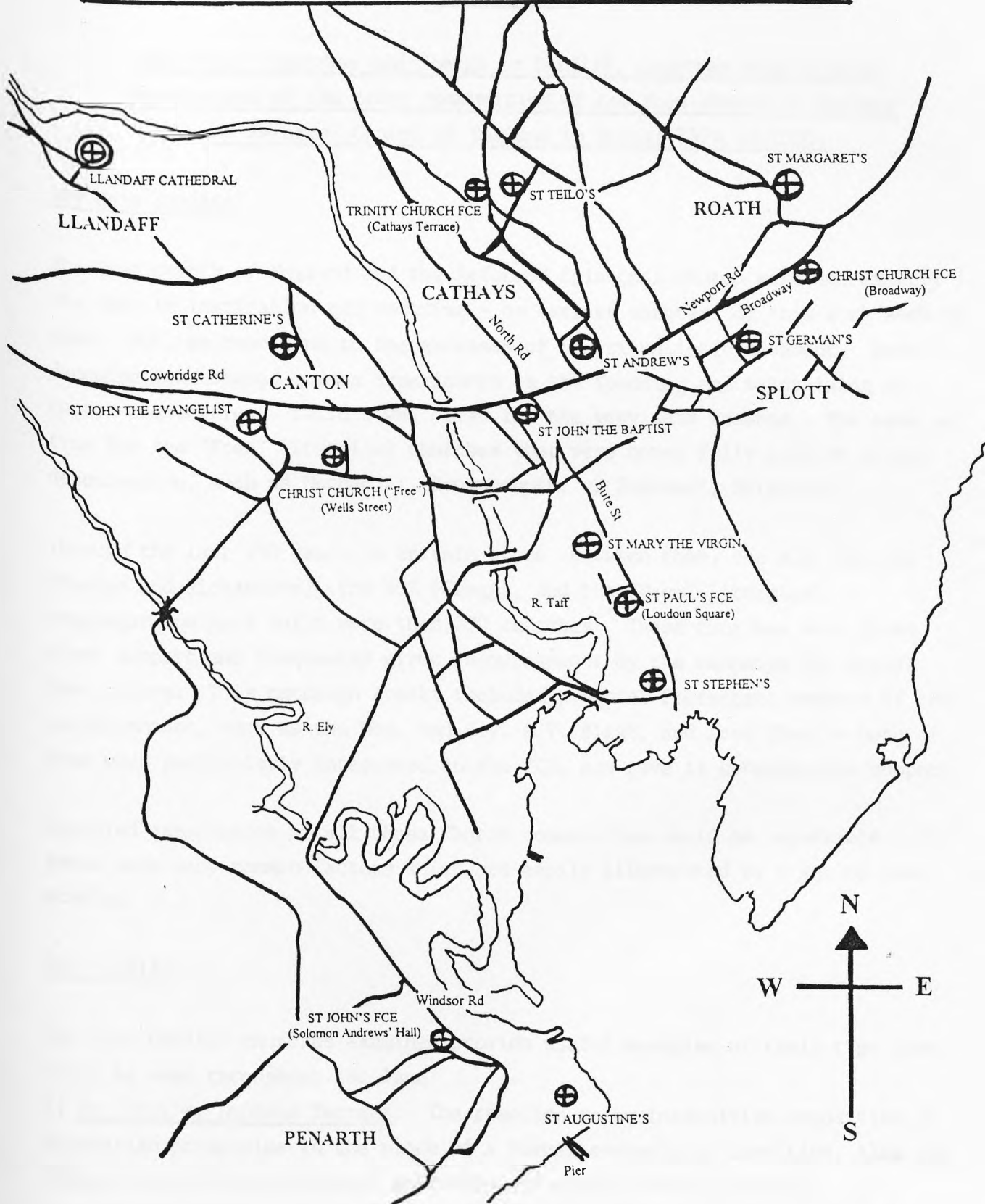


[Langbridge Chapel, on the Isle of Wight, became associated with the FCE at the close of 1993]

A P P E N D I X

CARDIFF AND PENARTH

[The FCE congregations in relation to the main Anglican churches, c. 1885 - 1900]



APPENDIX

CASE STUDIES:

The "Free" Churches and Clergy in Cardiff, together with a brief examination of the other communities of the Free Church of England and Reformed Church of England in Wales: 1874 to 1905.

Why Case Studies?

The Free Church of England and the Reformed Episcopal Church were not exactly the same in inspiration and doctrine - as earlier chapters of this work seek to show. But, as reactions to the excesses of the ritualistic movement, both denominations shared common experiences in the founding and maintaining of church communities. Failure was often for the very same reasons. The same is true for the "Free" liturgical churches that were never fully part of either denomination, such as Nathaniel, Bournemouth, or Emmanuel, Brighton).

Through the last 150 years in Britain alone, between them, the FCE, the REC (Sugden and Richardson), the RCE (Gregg), and the "Free" liturgical congregations have built more than 200 churches. These churches were given great support and frequently given encouragement by the campaign for Prayer Book reform. This campaign itself included powerful Protestant members of the establishment, such as the Hon. and Rev. E.V. Bligh, and Lord Ebury - both of whom were particularly interested in the FCE, and gave it considerable support.

Detailed examination of all these Church communities would be impossible. Yet there were many common factors which are easily illustrated by a set of case studies.

Why Cardiff?

The five Cardiff churches examined provide useful examples of their type that could be seen throughout the land:

- i) St. Paul's, Loudoun Terrace: The reaction to an insensitive imposition of tractarian principles in the place of a former evangelical tradition. Also the features of influential local patronage and strong initial impetus.
- ii) Trinity Church, Cathays Terrace: A daughter mission from the mother church

to a large and populous artisan area, as yet, unchurched - well planned.

iii) Christ Church, Broadway: A further daughter mission from Trinity to another populous area with few Anglican churches, and those militantly tractarian. A considered and planned extension.

iv) St. John's Church, Penarth: A mission from St. Paul's of a political nature rather than a practical one (an ambitious minister) to an area adequately provided for by the Established Church with no tradition of ritualism. A badly planned move, and doomed to failure.

v) Christ Church, Wells Street: An independent "Free" liturgical church. This was in the FCE tradition. It was also built in an area of new artisan housing sparsely served by the establishment. There was no anti-ritualistic impetus.

Again, the Cardiff examples are particularly important in that they were churches that at some stage enjoyed popularity and success - yet ultimately failed. The vast majority of the churches in each of these movements also failed - and for largely the same sort of reasons.

Wales: a special set of circumstances?

But, an examination of the Cardiff communities, together with the other reformed liturgical churches in Wales, is the more important in that it shows not only an observable pattern of failure applicable to the other communities in England, but pressures, weaknesses and public attitudes peculiar to Wales itself. Including the 5 Cardiff Church communities, there were no fewer than sixteen reformed churches either planned or actually working. Not one of them lasted more than a short time - the longest survivor being Trinity, Cathays.¹ This is a factor never before noted in any study of these denominations.

Cardiff, and the new industrial society.

Bishop Alfred Ollivant was a Manchester man, well used to the needs of the new and swiftly growing industrial society he found when he was enthroned in the poor remains of Llandaff Cathedral on 1 June, 1850. Within four months he had organised public meetings at Bridgend (29 October) and Newport (31 October) to establish a "Society for providing additional pastoral superintendence and church accommodation in the diocese of Llandaff" - this was eventually founded as the "Llandaff Diocesan Church Extension Society". Bishop Richard Lewis followed in 1883 with the founding of the "Bishop of Llandaff's Fund", whose object was to raise £50,000 for church extension.²

Clearly, great work was done by the Established Church. Without going into detail, this is made evident in an extract from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Church of England and other religious bodies in Wales and Monmouthshire which was published in 1910:³

"...the sum of £3,332,385 was expended out of voluntary contributions in the four Welsh dioceses upon the restoration and extension of ancient churches and the building of new churches between 1840 and 1906, being on the average, at an annual rate of £35,335 between 1840 and 1874, £58,590 between 1874 and 1890, and £79,407 between 1892 and 1906... In addition to these voluntary contributions, the sum of £21,658 was expended out of certain Parliamentary grants upon the building, extension, or restoration of thirty-four churches in Wales."

In addition, the Established Church was able to profit from rising urban ground rents and increased royalties on coal. In his 1866 Visitation Charge, Bishop Ollivant made a special mention of a series of landowners and industrialists, including one of the most generous benefactors, the Talbot family, who had rebuilt and were living in the old Abbey building at Margam.⁴

The needs of Cardiff.

What, however, is not made clear either by the Royal Commission or by Canon E.T. Davies is that Cardiff itself was not well provided for with new churches and resident clergy until comparatively late on in the 1870s and 1880s. This was particularly so for Butetown, Canton, Cathays and Roath - areas where many thousands of artisan houses were starting to be built to serve the burgeoning of the railways, the industrial works that were commencing on the East Moors, the docks and the business area of the town centre at the time. Further details of this will emerge later in the chapter.

In fact the population of Cardiff had grown from less than 2000 at the turn of the century to 57,363 in 1871. Indeed, by 1901, this figure was to grow to 128,915. Nevertheless, to serve the population of Cardiff as it stood in 1871, there were only 11 Anglican churches, including Llandaff Cathedral. These were: Llandaff Cathedral; St. John's, Cardiff; St. Andrew's (as a daughter church to St. John's); All Saints' (Welsh Church), Tyndall Street; St. Margaret's, Roath; "Splott Chapel" in what was later to become Metal Street (iron); St. Mary's, Butetown; Marriners' Church, Pier head (from St. Mary's - iron); St. Paul's, Grangetown (iron); and St. John's, Canton.

The non-conformist denominations were no better provided for at that time either, and Kelly's Post Office Directory for 1871 shows that there were 6 Wesleyan chapels (5 English and 1 Welsh); 9 Baptist chapels (4 English and 5 Welsh); 5 Calvinistic Methodist chapels (1 English and 4 Welsh); and 7 Congregationalist chapels (6 English and 1 Welsh).⁵

The 1880s and 1890s were times of considerable church building for the Anglicans. But even during the 1880s, the Congregationalists were not adequately responding to the growing needs of the town - as the Reverend John Williamson's reminiscences showed:⁶

"When in the year 1885 I came from Lincoln to Cardiff...there was practically no organisation at all...there were at that time nine (English) churches...I confess that this state of things - the isolation of the churches from each other, and the fact that the town was growing rapidly without any systematic effort to found new churches - caused me a good deal of uneasiness."

Clearly, therefore, there was a vacuum in the Church life of the fast growing communities - and at a time of general concern for the outreach of the Church in the industrial areas, this vacuum was bound to be filled.⁷

St. Mary's, Bute Street.

The presence of a vacuum alone is, however, not sufficient reason to account for the fact that at different times the Cardiff area had no fewer than five free episcopal communities functioning - and, for a time, functioning well. Certainly a need for churches was a pre-disposing factor to the establishment of the FCE as it had been in new industrial areas in the North, notably Lancashire. But the actual impetus was provided by the disputes which soon followed the induction, in the spring of 1872, of Griffith Arthur Jones as vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Bute Street.

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The new St. Mary's had a fascinating beginning. It was planned to be sited in Bute Street, the main approach to the harbour, and in between the West Dock and the Glamorgan Canal with its large basin just to the North West. It was therefore in the middle of a new and concentrated population of working people who served the docks.

But its boundaries extended out in the early days to encompass the predominantly Irish area of Tyndall Street in the East, Temperance Town (later St. Dyfrig's Parish) to the North West, and part of Upper Grange Town (later St. Sampson's) to the West over the River Taff.

As Dr. John Guy says "There was clearly a pressing need to provide better facilities for the spiritual needs of these people than one gallery in St. John's Church".⁸ The challenge was taken up, notably by the Marquess of Bute, who gave a personal gift of £1000 to provide a new site for church and churchyard, and further purchased the patronage of the living from the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.⁹

The appeal for funds began in 1842 under the aegis of the parish of St. John's whose lands these were; but in 1844 when the new parish was created, the Reverend William Leigh Morgan came from the parish of Bedwellty to be inducted as the new vicar. Morgan was a convinced evangelical and a noted preacher who was presented to the living by John, second Marquess of Bute - a man of similar anti-Roman feelings.¹⁰ Consequently the Church became the centre of a strong evangelical tradition - with 1800 seats in Nave, North, South and West galleries. The East was dominated by a high central pulpit which obscured the altar table placed behind it.

All went well while Bute was alive and Morgan in office. Even when the second Marquess died in 1848, Morgan remained as domestic chaplain to his widow. But the 3rd Marquess was a man deeply influenced by the Tractarian Movement who in 1869 had (subsequently) become a Roman Catholic. Although as a Roman Catholic he could no longer make presentation, his trustees (themselves Tractarians) appointed someone sympathetic to their way of thought when, in 1871, Canon Morgan retired to the country parish of Llanmaes. That man was Griffith Arthur Jones, vicar of Llanegryn.

The situation was thus identical to that in so many other places which saw the foundation of the Free Church of England, or either of the branches of the Reformed Episcopal Church:

- i. Although other places of worship were built to serve the needs of the ever-growing population,¹¹ St. Mary's itself still had to serve something over 20,000 people.¹²
- ii. Despite the fact that throughout the 28 years of the ministry of Canon William Leigh Morgan a strong evangelical tradition was laid down in the

parish, it is clear that Bute's trustees sought to reverse that tradition in their new appointment to the living. The Rev. Canon Jenkins (Vicar of Aberdare), and Rev. W.H. Cleaver were those trustees, and that there would be difficulties over the churchmanship differences was evidently clear to them. Certainly it was clear to one of Jones' curates, W.H. Kirby who refers delicately to the move as: "A call from God to a wider and far more difficult sphere of work...succeeding the Rev. Canon Morgan, who had held St. Mary's Cardiff, and St. Margaret's, Roath, jointly for many years".¹³

What made this decision of the trustees particularly brave (or crass according to the viewpoint) was the fact that the strong Irish Roman Catholic presence in the Eastern part of the parish around Adamsdown had confirmed the fears of many who shared the views of the late second Marquis of Bute, so that it was already a parish of entrenched views and positions.¹⁴ The results of their policy were both inevitable and serious, leading to controversy and bitterness over the next 25, and more, years.

Griffith Arthur Jones and the Tractarian Controversy.

Born in 1827 at Ruabon, where his father was a curate, Jones matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford in the mid 1840s. Clearly he was greatly caught up in the furore over the beliefs and teachings of Newman and his companions, and his first confession was made to Dr. Pusey himself.¹⁵ Following his graduation in 1851, he toured Paris and Normandy, and was deeply impressed by the colour and splendour of the surroundings he found, especially at Notre Dame.¹⁶

In his first living at Llanegryn, he succeeded in founding an advanced tradition of catholic ritual and teaching. As J.O. Evans commented "though others taught the faith without its externals, he never evaded the unpopularity which it brought." Again, J.O. Evans provides the significant information that "One of his great convictions was that the Welsh people were to be won over, but that the chance had never been given them...he was a Welshman of the Welshmen by language, family, associations and feelings."¹⁷

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Change at St. Mary's was slow, but in tune with Jones' personality, inexorable. He was given much moral support in this by the new Vicar of Roath, Frederick

William Puller. Unlike Jones, Puller was an Englishman of gentle birth, but like him a convinced catholic...and the two were personal friends.¹⁸

In Spring, 1872 a daily Eucharist was established at St. Mary's,¹⁹ and later, this worship pattern was strengthened when he obtained two sisters from the Community of St. Margaret, East Grinstead, and a lady worker for the parish. This move, in Autumn 1873 brought strong local opposition - although in time the hard work of the sisters was greatly appreciated.²⁰

Probably towards the end of 1873, the three-decker pulpit (of which the clerk's desk had already been removed) was taken apart, the top portion being moved aside out of the way of the altar. The altar itself was enlarged, and a temporary cross placed upon it. This provoked violent opposition:²¹ and although the Vestry Minutes at this time are usually very sparing of comment, a special meeting of 3 July, 1873 has the proposal: "That the plans for alteration as prepared by the Vicar be not approved by the Parishioners". The amendment was put "That the plans as prepared by the Vicar be carried out", but this was lost, and the original proposal carried. A note in pencil at the side of the page says "about 100 persons attended". Clearly, however, the work was done, and within possibly some 5 months, although the vestry minutes make no further references. ²²

It was not long before proposals were made (under the direction of J.D. Sedding) for the removal of the side galleries, with the organ and choir being brought from the west gallery to their new positions in an enlarged and extended (to the west) chancel. Rev. W.H. Kirby remembers: "These proposals met with vigorous opposition, and a fierce battle ensued at the Consistory Court at Llandaff...changes...eventually accomplished, but not without a good deal of friction and conflict extending over a considerable length of time".²³

Again there is comment in a Vestry Meeting on 2 October 1873 showing early on a divergence of opinion: "This Vestry having carefully considered the report of the Archdeacon of Llandaff (concerning the "last Consistory at Llandaff") in reference to the proposed alterations...is still of opinion that the same are utterly uncalled for, distasteful to the majority of the parishioners and in no way calculated to increase their comfort or convenience".²⁴ Clearly Jones was fighting strong opposition within his own Vestry. It is little wonder that, as the Western Mail said "There were lively times at St. Mary's then. The air was charged with electricity. A spark would have set the whole place on fire. The

conflict was terrible at times. The Church was often more like a bear-garden or a Donnybrook fair than a place of Worship".²⁵

In all fairness it should be said that these changes were not accomplished all at once. As the Rev. W.H. Kirby says, the black preaching gown was still used in the pulpit, and the candles were removed from the altar as soon as the service was over. The weekly Sunday evening prayer meetings continued in the Vestry Room at the North West corner of the churchyard "until they died a natural death". But nevertheless trouble there was, from the earliest days of Jones' time, and Kirby recalls the time when one of the men at a Vestry Meeting proposed that a noticeboard be put up in the churchyard: " St. Mary's Junction. Change here for Rome".²⁶

Establishment of the Free Church of England.

The ritualism controversies at St. Mary's came at a particularly active period of expansion for the FCE, and in October 1873, the Free Church of England Magazine noted:²⁷

"The parishioners of Cardiff are again uneasy at the still bolder introduction of Romanistic practices in the Church. Meetings have been held to protest against it, but surely the time has come when something of a more practical nature ought to be inaugurated at Cardiff".

This was in fact carried out in the spring of the next year when, on April 12th, services were held at the Town Hall by the FCE incumbent of Emmanuel Church, Ledbury, the Reverend Philip Norton. Norton was a most able man who was used, on a number of occasions to "open-up" inauguration services for the FCE.²⁸ He preached in the morning and evening to good congregations, the evening service having, reportedly, some 400 people present including many who had formerly worshipped at St. Mary's.²⁹

Clearly, although this churchmanship of St. Mary's was exceptional in Cardiff, there was still nowhere the sort of evangelical tradition that had flourished under Canon Morgan. An emotional article in the FCE Magazine gave a very full account of the occasion; it also showed that there was influential support for these opening FCE services. Firstly they were held in the Town Hall, which fact must have had the agreement of the mayor and corporation. And secondly, the South Wales Daily News waded into the fight in no uncertain manner, deploring the fact that "Romish ceremonial and idolatry flaunt in our churches,

and invade our homes". The paper even felt that "pretensions to high sacerdotal authority threaten our civil and religious liberty."³⁰

Regular services evidently continued, and on the evening of Ascension Day, 14 May 1874, a meeting was held in the Crown Court, Cardiff. Philip Norton suggested that the community of Cardiff adopt the dedication of "St. Paul's Free Church of England", not only because, as he claimed, Paul's writings condemned ritualism, but because he believed that this would be the centre of a new Metropolitan Free Church of England for Wales. At the meeting Norton was invited to become the first incumbent for the new church, and a subscription list raised nearly £100 in promises for the movement. A report in both the FCE Magazine and the Western Mail states "A large and influential building committee was elected".

It is interesting that once again the town authorities' blessing comes into the picture: "A hearty and unanimous vote of thanks was passed to the Mayor and Corporation for their kindness in granting the use of the Crown Court..."³¹ The "Ecclesiastical Register" in the FCE Magazine for June tells of the next stage in which the Mayor and Corporation granted the use of the Crown Court for services for the following three months. "One of the present churchwardens of St. Mary's was among those who signed the petition."³²

During the next weeks there followed an understandably mixed display of public feeling in the press. "Church Mouse" wrote to the Western Mail on 15 June to say that he could not find Norton's name in the Clergy List.³³ Thereafter there continued a battle of words through the following weeks between Norton and others - and in the meantime the movement continued to flourish.

"The District Intelligence" column of Western Mail on 17 July 1874 reported that "a very handsome amount has been promised towards the building fund", and that a Sunday School was soon to be founded.³⁴ Certainly a choir was well enough established to merit an outing in September 1874. This took the form of a picnic in the banqueting hall of Caerphilly Castle. Indeed what was evidently a considerable occasion together with "a capital repast" was reported in the Western Mail. It was also noted that entrance to the castle was given gratis by the owner.³⁵ Later, the Harvest Thanksgiving service found the Crown Court of the Town Hall "thronged" with people whose offertories nearly met the £35 needed to purchase an American organ for use in worship.³⁶

Philip Norton was a man well used to being an innovator,³⁷ and he appeared at a number of new centres of worship in the early 1870s. His habitually high profile in the FCE was shown in his being elected "pro tem" secretary of the South Wales "Diocesan District" at the Annual Convocation of the FCE on Tuesday 22 June 1874.³⁸

The Building of St. Paul's Church.

Meanwhile, moves were being made for the establishment of a permanent site for a new church building in Cardiff. Norton and his church officers were attempting to purchase a piece of land in St. Mary's Street which actually belonged to the parish of St. Mary's. This complicated matter also involved the goodwill of the local ratepayers and the guardians of the Cardiff Union, and so was reported at length in the Western Mail of 18 September 1874.³⁹ The meeting which took place the previous evening was one which evidently captured the public interest, especially as Norton had stated, in a letter to the parish officers responsible for the land, that the move was only "to meet the spiritual wants of the parish of St. Mary" - a piece of calculated impertinence guaranteed to feed existing public resentment over ritualism.⁴⁰ In fact the meeting decided by a large majority not to dispose of that land either by purchase or by lease.

Continuing ritualism the next year put the vicar of St. Mary's several times under fire in the Western Mail and fuelled local feelings. Indeed, the Bishop himself came under fire, for it is clear that the recent introduction of Eucharistic vestments together with altar lights, processions and other ritual, had caused great offence. Griffith Arthur Jones had also permitted the church to be used for a service of the English Church Union and, in a letter to the Western Mail of 15 June, the Bishop admitted that "the condition of St. Mary's parish is such as to give me the greatest possible sorrow". It is, however, worth noting that he felt that the fault lay not only with Jones; as the Bishop continued "he (Jones) has been opposed with a bitterness, a want of judgement, and a want of Christian charity, which might well provoke in a man of strong will a determination not to yield".⁴¹

Clearly, Bishop Ollivant was in no mood to accommodate G.A. Jones any further. On Saturday, 11 September 1875, Fr. Stanton of Holborn was to preach at the Patronal Festival celebrations, but that morning a formal inhibition was served on him by the Bishop's proctor (R.J. Ives was similarly inhibited on another

occasion). The FCE Magazine made much of "the idolatrous usages of Rome", and was jubilant at the news.⁴²

But Ollivant's determination to stand on principle in September was too late to affect in any way the momentum that the FCE had gathered; and the continued and public wrangling during the earlier part of 1875 only served to give more public impetus to the task of searching for a permanent church site.

In March 1875 it was announced that the Building Committee had decided to erect "a superior iron Church" on a site in Hannah Street. Mr. Kent of Euston Road, London, was to be the architect and builder; the building was hopefully to be ready by Whit-Sunday, and at a cost of something over £1000. The extent to which the Cardiff cause had become a matter of wide public concern is seen in the list of patrons to the fund raising bazaar in March: this included Bishop Benjamin Price, Lord Ebury and the Hon. & Rev. E.V. Bligh (distinguished members of the Prayer Book Reform group). It also included the Mayor of Cardiff himself.⁴³ The event was considered an outstanding success with 1500 visitors and a profit of £247-12s-0d.⁴⁴

The work was in fact completed in September of that year at a cost of £1200, £700 of which had been subscribed by the end of August.⁴⁵ The site that was eventually built upon was on the south side of Loudoun Terrace, almost abutting onto Bute Street, and the elaborate and evidently crowded opening ceremonies on 12 September were very fully accounted in the FCE Magazine. This also described the church itself.⁴⁶

Constructed to accommodate 500 people, it was an iron construction consisting of nave with aisles either side, the length being 64 ft and the width 42 ft. The chancel measured a further 22 ft long and 22 ft wide. The description of what was evidently a well appointed building is very full, and includes details of pews, chancel furnishings and stone font.

The ceremony began a few minutes after 11.00 am, the dedication being performed by Bishop Price together with the assistance of F.S. Merryweather the Registrar, the Rev. Thomas Dodd of the Huntingdon Church at Worcester (who preached the evening sermon), the Rev. G.J. Llewellyn, and the Rev. F.W. Ashe of the Church of Ireland. The Rev. A.S. Richardson of the Huntingdon Church at Great Malvern read the prayers. Following this there was a public luncheon at the Royal Hotel at which the Mayor presided and the guests included both

churchwardens of St. Mary's! The exact degree to which there was division within the vestry of St. Mary's has never been made clear, but the recorded presence of both wardens is indicative of major problems at the parish church.

In fact corroborative evidence of this is provided by the St. Mary's Vestry Book. At a meeting on Easter Monday 29th of March, not quite six months before, there had been a public disagreement between Jones and his wardens over the spending of monies from the Matthews Charity.⁴⁷ The following year there was a formal vote of censure on Jones carried by 20 to 8 at the annual Easter Vestry on 27 April 1876.⁴⁸ Evidently the waters were very muddy indeed at this time, and in fact the owner of the land which had been purchased for the building of St. Paul's was Thomas Hodge who was a member of the Vestry and present at the Easter meeting of 1875. Others present at that meeting included Thomas Elliott and Henry North, who were later to play an important part in the growth of St. Paul's as members of the Church there.

The willing support of the civic authorities for the FCE in Cardiff is also clear. In the public luncheon at the Royal Hotel, the Mayor responded to the toast "The Mayor and Corporation". He started by saying that it was his duty to be non-sectarian during his year of office; but the evident assistance given by the corporation to the movement in accommodating them at the Town Hall, and the Mayor's subsequent declaration of sympathy following what he "considered an injustice in the parish of St. Mary" makes it clear that he was expressing what was a very public feeling indeed.⁴⁹

Consolidation, and change of Minister

Things went well with the new FCE community at Cardiff. Gifts of church furnishings were made to a growing establishment that soon had the assistance of a "sextoness".⁵⁰ Again, Miss A. Nelson of Staines was later in the early months of the next year engaged as Deaconess "to assist the incumbent in his labours among the poor".⁵¹

It is interesting that there were occasional visits from Anglican clergy to St. Paul's, and in December 1875 it was reported, "two clergymen of the Irish Church lately officiated..."⁵² It cannot have helped local feelings when the sisters working at St. Mary's apparently told the children that "Satan drives people to the Free Church".⁵³ Evidently, however, it did not materially affect the work of St. Paul's Sunday School, whose adult Bible class alone numbered

more than 60 people.⁵⁴ Yet such a rate of expansion could not continue indefinitely, and clearly a great deal of this depended on Philip Norton's own very considerable ability.

The week of celebrations for the 1st anniversary was crowded with special services and guest preachers, but Harvest Thanksgiving on Sunday 1 October 1876 was to be his last service in Cardiff before going to "inaugural work" at Littlehampton; it was announced that the Deaconess was also to leave for a time. Meanwhile, care of the church was put under Rev. Thomas Dodd of Worcester (C.H.) who was secretary to the Midland District of the FCE.⁵⁵ Six weeks later, on 15 November, after acting for a time as a "locum tenens", the Reverend George Mackey (late of Barrow-in-Furness) was elected minister and accepted the incumbency.⁵⁶

All continued well, and the February contribution to the FCE Magazine reported: "The church here is in a most flourishing condition. Congregations continue to increase. The Sunday School also is very much enlarged and at the recent treat not less than 200 sat down to an excellent tea..."⁵⁷ Again, the May magazine told of an increase in the Sunday School from 50 to nearly 200.⁵⁸

1878 saw a steady increase in the work, and there was evidently considerable local appreciation for the evangelical forms of worship which must have provided for many what Canon William Leigh Morgan had in his day at St. Mary's:⁵⁹

"We rejoice to tell you, my dear Sir, that we have a thorough Gospel preacher, and able Bible teacher in our minister...and his works do follow him...Let us rejoice that we can boast one "ism" only...Protestantism."

Clearly, some thought that the movement was ready to spread, and on Sunday 8th September FCE services were started at Roath by both Mackey and the Rev. James Renny, minister of the FCE in Ludlow.⁶⁰ No details are given as to where the services took place, but what is quite clear is that the experiment was short lived, for the List of Churches and Missions in the July 1879 FCE Magazine does not mention Roath at all.⁶¹

First signs of Trouble

In fact, Roath was fertile ground for an extension of the work of the FCE. The vicar of the ancient parish was Frederick William Puller, a convinced tractarian and close friend of G.A. Jones.⁶² He had opened a school chapel

known as St. Clement's in Croft Street on 1 August 1875. This was the forerunner of St. Anne's, Snipe Street (1877) and very much in the Catholic mould.⁶³ To the south of this was Christ Church ("Splott Chapel" - later to become St. German's) in what is now Metal Street,⁶⁴ and further down on the East Moors in what is now Sanquhar Street was St. Columba's school chapel.⁶⁵ Both were part of the parish of Roath and run by Fr. Puller's staff.

But the real reason for the failure of this early extension of the work was not lack of a need of protestant liturgical worship, but rather the financial problems that had dogged the church community of St. Paul's from 1875 when the church opened, and that made an extension under the "umbrella" of the mother church impossible at this time. The full cost of the church building had never been met, and reports in 1877 showed that the problem was as pressing as ever. The church magazine St. Paul's Free Church Advocate made this plain:⁶⁶

"Our present liabilities, including building fund, amount to £673-1-2½d. To get this sum reduced, if not entirely abolished during the next twelve months, ought to be the earnest desire of all our friends."

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But in addition to the financial matters, there were evidently other internal problems - as was indicated by a letter in the FCE Magazine in March 1878:

"Sir, The able and eloquent discourses delivered by the Rev. George Mackey on Sunday last, to crowded congregations, were such as to prove to everyone who heard him that he is a sound Protestant to the core... I believe, Sir, that the Protestants of Cardiff owe a debt of gratitude to the above named rev. gentleman for his kindly and able denunciations of the Romanising tendencies, Ritualistic practices, and similar motives of the missionaries who are now endeavouring under the mask of Church of England ministers to introduce the confessional..."

The letter, signed "A PROTESTANT", is dated "Cardiff, 14th February, 1878" and sounds very much like somebody who is taking sides in some sort of internal dissention.⁶⁷ It is simply not the sort of material which would normally be the contribution of an untroubled congregation. Indeed, the issue of November 1878 had the ominous information:⁶⁸

"An attempt has been made by the High Church Party to injure the Free Church of England at Cardiff, and by secret and crafty negotiations to get the church into their hands..."

This information is significant in that, as the Index of Deeds and Documents of 1927 confirms, the building at Cardiff was never part of the Free Church of England Central Trust. The only document was that of "Sentence of

Consecration" of 15 September 1875.⁶⁹ Neither were any trustees mentioned: so it is obvious that firstly the building was owned privately, and secondly that there was some form of estrangement with the patron or patrons.

Confirmation of an estrangement appeared in "Jottings from our Note Book" in the FCE Magazine, January 1879: "We very much regret to hear that there is a probability of the Rev. George Mackey shortly leaving Cardiff".⁷⁰ The February edition announced that the Rev. J. Renny of Ludlow had been preaching for several Sundays,⁷¹ and then in April the Ludlow contribution announced that Renny was to leave the town "with sincere regrets" having accepted the Incumbency of St. Paul's, Cardiff.⁷² In the List of Churches in the July 1879, Mackey's name appears at the small cause at Beaumaris.

Yet the greater complexity of the matter did not, in fact, come into the open until the sad and somewhat spectacular end of the life of St. Paul's just nine years afterwards. The matter is explored at greater depth later, but in a letter to the Western Mail, in March 1888, the Reverend Alexander Roger (the FCE minister in Cardiff at this time) wrote:⁷³

"Sir, -please allow me to correct a few errors in your report on the sale of St. Paul's Free Church of England. The church was erected on a site offered by Mr. Thomas Hodge at a cost of £1450. A deficiency of £600 remained at the completion of the building, which was voluntarily paid by Messrs. Williams, North and Elliott. Things went on swimmingly for a few years, until a quarrel arose between Mr. North and the Rev. G. Mackey, the second incumbent, during whose incumbency the ground rent fell in arrear, and instalments were paid as funds would permit..."

The Rev. James Renny, and new challenges.

To the outside observer, however, all must have looked well at St. Paul's Loudoun Terrace. Here was a well appointed church, evidently well attended, a strong and flourishing Sunday School, and clearly the continuing moral support of the mayor and corporation. Furthermore, the location of the Parsonage was changed from 167 Bute Road⁷⁴ to 11 Windsor Esplanade,⁷⁵ a (then) fashionable row of houses overlooking Cardiff Bay. But the truth was rather different, for there were three distinct areas of challenge facing the new incumbent.

Clearly the financial problems were not solved merely by a change of minister, and this first problem was to remain with the church for the rest of its days. Secondly the matter of internal dissension must have been a pressing one, especially as it is fairly clear from the contributions to the FCE Magazine

that people had taken sides. The Easter Vestry meeting was on Easter Monday 1879. Renny was present, but the meeting was chaired by Bishop Benjamin Price..."who happened to be in Cardiff."⁷⁶ The likelihood of Price being in Cardiff accidentally on the day after his own probably busy schedule at Christ Church, Ilfracombe was remote indeed. Far more likely was it that he came over that morning by the paddle steamer service from Ilfracombe to Pier Head specifically to ward off trouble in what was likely to be a difficult meeting. In the event, all went off well:

"The treasurer submitted his accounts for the year, which were passed. The Rev. Mr. Renny, the newly appointed incumbent, nominated as his wardens, Mr. T. Elliott,". (one of those who had assisted to pay off the building debt) "...and Mr. Nickless".

But the third problem was insoluble, and it lay in the fact that at long last the Diocese of Llandaff had agreed to build an evangelical church for Butetown.

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As an evangelical counterbalance to St. Mary's, St. Stephen's Church, with seating for 600, was consecrated by Bishop Joshua Pritchard Hughes of Llandaff on 4 October 1912.⁷⁷ But that site just off Mount Stuart Square was originally purchased in 1875 from the Bute Trustees for the sum of £2000. The complicated story of the reluctance of the trustees of the Marquess of Bute to sell, and the opposition of G.A. Jones to the plans is another matter not for here.⁷⁸ But the important features are that finally in 1877 the preparations were settled, and an Order in Council was obtained so that the Pier Head area became an official Ecclesiastical District.⁷⁹

A year later, an iron church was erected on the site at the cost of £545, and the work began in earnest. The considerable opposition of Fr. Jones to the scheme is understandable in that this new area and church was right at the heart of the commercial centre of the docks, complete with Coal Exchange and most of the principal shipping offices - and he had no control over it.

Nevertheless, from 1879 onwards, the presence of an active evangelical church of the establishment posed a very considerable problem for the new incumbent of St. Paul's, especially in the light of his other problems. His own community was born out of strife, a number of his main church members were centrally concerned with that strife....some of which they had evidently brought with them as faithful but bitterly disappointed ANGLICANS to St. Paul's.

Therefore it is important to see that the Free Church of England Community itself was in an inherently unstable condition, with neither tolerance nor length of tradition to support it; and this problem can be observed time and again in many of the individual churches of the denomination throughout the UK for the same reasons:

- i. They were reactions to ritualism in the Established Church.
- ii. They suffered from internal strife and financial problems.
- iii. Uncertainty followed the subsequent provision of evangelical worship by the Established Church.

This pattern and subsequent uncertainty was to become clearer in Cardiff as time progressed.

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Renny was a man of ability. His capacity for hard work was soon to produce results within the FCE at Cardiff. As part of the process of "settling-down" the community, a successful week's mission was held.⁸⁰ Again, it was not long before Renny was quietly forging relations with other Cardiff churches. On Wednesday 19 November a service of song entitled "The Saviour King" was given by the choir, which was assisted by members of Great Frederick Street Chapel.⁸¹ Following the suggestion of the Evangelical Alliance, the week beginning Sunday 4 January 1880 was held as a week of United Prayer. On the Monday, the service was held at St. Stephen's, and Renny together with other ministers assisted. The service on Tuesday was at St. Paul's when Rev. A.R. Russell of St. Stephen's actually preached. On Wednesday Renny preached in the Baptist Chapel, and on Saturday at the Wesleyan Chapel.⁸²

The problem of the debt remained, and in the February edition of the denominational magazine an appeal was made to those readers able to help.⁸³ But at the Annual Vestry Meeting on Monday 29 March it was reported that the financial position as a whole had improved during the past year - certainly St. Paul's was now outward looking to the extent that on Sunday 25 April, collections amounting to £7 were given to the Cardiff Infirmary for "Infirmary Sunday".⁸⁴ Again, on Whit Monday 1880 the Sunday School together with other friends went for the annual treat to a field up in Llanishen. Renny's hard work was bearing fruit, for 300 people attended in all.⁸⁵

Clearly he needed assistance, and during that year, one of his lay men Charles William Lampport was raised to the diaconate. Lampport worked in a gentleman's outfitters, so was probably non-stipendiary. He had assisted at the Sunday School tea on 28 January 1880 with the "dissolving views",⁸⁶ and later in the July list of Churches and Clergy he appears as the "Rev. C.W. Lampport, Associated with the Rev. J. Renny, Cardiff".⁸⁷

Evidently Renny felt that this time was now right for the extension of the FCE in Cardiff, and on Sunday 26 September, 1880 he commenced services at the Assembly Rooms, Cathays.⁸⁸

The FCE in Cathays, Cardiff

There is no doubt that Cathays was the right location for an FCE centre in 1880. That whole part of the town lying North East of the Taff Vale Railway was a fast growing area of artisan housing. It was originally all part of the large parish of St. John's Cardiff. To serve a closely packed population, firstly St. Andrew's was built at the head of Windsor Place in 1862 (consecrated 1863), then secondly the iron church of St. Teilo's was built some one-and-a-half miles to the north in Woodville Road in 1879.

St. Teilo's was at the centre of the district the new FCE church was to serve. But its seating for 270 was totally inadequate so that in 1885 the church was enlarged enough to seat 400. Even this was not enough for the population, so that the Nave and Aisles of a new stone church were completed and opened for worship in 1897. Also, towards the end of the century the iron church of St. Illtud was built in Crwys Road (demolished after long disuse in the 1950s).⁸⁹

But it is important to see that, unlike St. Paul's, the primary purpose of the new work at Cathays would not be to combat ritualism so much as simply to "church" a large and needy population. David Howell was vicar of St. John's until 1875, and his successor was C.J. Thompson - by no means "advanced" churchmen.⁹⁰ So, it could be said that FCE work in Cathays started at an initial disadvantage, for there was none of the "negative impetus" that Butetown had provided. Again, Anglican services had started at the iron church of St. Teilo on 16 December 1879, and for some time before that, the clergy of St. John's had held services in the nearby National Schools in Cathays. Even so, in December 1880, the FCE Magazine announced: "CARDIFF, - On Sunday,

September 26th, the Rev. J. Renny commenced Free Church of England services in the Assembly Rooms, Cathays..."⁹¹

Although the denominational magazine makes no further mention of the work at Cathays until August 1882, it is clear that a mission hall with regular services was set up in Cathays Terrace. This was at the lower end of the street near the road bridge over the Taff Vale Railway, and it was near this site that the new Trinity Church was to be founded.⁹²

Renny's last days at Cardiff.

From the end of 1880, for a time the step-by-step news of the work in Cardiff becomes much less. The reason is twofold. Firstly the church of St. Paul had now been open some five years. There had been no lack of controversy. But evidently there was considerable local approval, so that once the life of the church under Renny became established and the white-heat waned, just so did activity within. Secondly, there were now other causes like those at West Drayton, Putney, Shoreham, and Southampton that took the pages of the "Ecclesiastical Register". So, interest from outside on a "national" scale must also have waned.

The lifeless contribution to the FCE Magazine for February 1881 illustrated the point well in its opening sentence: "St. Paul's Church was neatly decorated at Christmas, thanks to Mr. Nickless, the Misses Brooks, and other ladies."

But there is also the significant information included that, during the week of services for Christian Unity in January, a service was held at St. Paul's by the Rev. J. Renny, "assisted by G.A. Russel (sic.), of St. Stephen's Established Church of England..." Clearly the good relations established were continuing between the two churches and clergy. Although there was no news of Renny preaching at St. Stephen's, nevertheless, the closeness of ethos must, in the long term, have been a steadily weakening factor in the life of the FCE, especially as most of their officers and members were from the Established Church in origin.

By the middle of 1881, Renny had lost his clerical assistant, for on Sunday 1st June, C.W. Lampport preached for the first time at his new charge, St. John's FCE at Spalding.⁹³ The list of Churches and Ministers published in August showed only a "licenced helper" with Renny at Cardiff, a Mr. G.J. Russ.⁹⁴ By

the beginning of the next year, however, the young "student-curate", the Reverend Alexander Roger had moved to Cardiff to be Assistant Minister.⁹⁵ Having taken lodgings at 94 Cathays Terrace, Cathays,⁹⁶ he was to play an important role in Cardiff in the following years.

Renny's departure; and the growth of the work at Cathays.

Although communications from Cardiff to the "Ecclesiastical Register" became sporadic, it is evident that St. Paul's was continuing to have difficulties. The report of the Western District to Convocation in June 1882 gave considerably more detail.⁹⁷

"Cardiff-The Rev. J. Renny is still labouring indefatigably in this important sphere...but the church being situated in the neighbourhood of the docks, from which a considerable migration to the more aristocratic suburbs has occurred during the last six months the congregation in common with that of other places of worship has been deprived of some of its most influential and useful members, whose loss has greatly depressed the officers of the church and occasioned them considerable anxiety as to the future prospects. They feel that the best thing to be done...would be the removal of the church...to a more central position; but the funds for this are not forthcoming."

It is interesting to see that the nature of the work of the FCE in Cardiff was having to change and that the change had come quickly.

The church had formerly been patronised by the powerful element of the town council and the managerial and administrative classes, whose conservatism had been shocked by St. Mary's. But clearly these were the people who were now moving out to places like Pen-y-lan, (north west of the town), Cathedral Road (west of the Taff towards Llandaff), and other prosperous suburbs which were being built. As the church could not afford to move, the main thrust of the work of the FCE had evidently from now on to be for a different social class. Now it was to be for those still living in Bute town - and more especially to the artisan classes of Cathays, where the mission room had been working steadily for the previous year and a half.

The work of the mission was certainly well advanced by the early summer of 1882. There were two services each Sunday and one during the week. In addition, a Sunday School of 50 scholars and 6 teachers also met. Bible classes during the week completed the vigorous pattern of life in Cathays Terrace. But once again, it was finance that was creating problems, for the people of Cathays were very much poorer than those of Bute town 10 years

before. The Room was rented, and this was paid out of collections. But Renny was personally responsible for much of the remaining expenditure, including church furnishing and seating - something he could not afford.⁹⁸

After September 1882, there was no further mention of Renny, and in February 1883, it was announced that the Reverend J.F. Allan of the FCE in Leominster preached his farewell sermon there on Sunday 17 December 1882 prior to moving to Cardiff to take charge of St. Paul's.⁹⁹ Therefore by September or October 1882, James Renny had tendered his resignation.

Exactly why Renny left is not clear. He had been at Cardiff just 3½ years, and the evidence shows him to have been an effective worker. However, the financial problems had not been solved; again, the movement of the professional people upon whom he and his officers relied had caused considerable difficulty. Further, for the first time since Renny had started in 1879 there was a change of wardens. From 1879 to 1882 the Ministers' Wardens were Mr. T. Elliott, 123 Bute Road, and Mr. T. Nickless, 171 Bute Road. The people's wardens were Mr. Hallett, Eleanor Street, and Mr. Brooks, Trinity Street.¹⁰⁰ In August 1883, the list of Churches shows that Nickless has been replaced by a Mr. Williams, and Brooks by a Captain Baker. The possibility is that Nickless and Brooks had some sort of disagreement with Renny: certainly, both had established businesses, and neither moved house at this time.¹⁰¹

But what above all is significant is that Renny had moved to a charge outside the Free Church of England - to the small new independent church at Cheddar in Somerset. Although comparatively short lived and never part of the official property trust of the denomination, this came under the jurisdiction of Bishops Sugden and Richardson's branch of the REC.¹⁰² The likelihood is therefore that, like other FCE clergy during the late 1870s and early 1880s, at the latter part of his time at Cardiff, he had decided to leave the FCE for the REC. In fact, these clergy changes between the denominations, and Renny's subsequent career as a bishop in the REC are discussed in chapter 6.

It is highly probable therefore that with the personal financial burden of the mission at Cathays, the continuing financial problems at St. Paul's, the removal of some of his best people, and disagreements over all these difficulties, including possibly with Nickless who was superintendent of the Sunday School,¹⁰³ Renny simply saw the easiest way out as resignation. In all

probability there was no other FCE church suitable for him to go to, so like others (including Philip Norton) he changed denominations.

J.F. Allan, Alexander Roger, and the continuing growth of Trinity Church as a new Independent Church in the FCE Western District.

The District Meeting at Cardiff on Wednesday 11 April 1883 dealt with a number of matters which applied to Cardiff alone. Clearly, both Roger and Allan had been acting as deacons in the FCE, for it was announced that, after examination, both were recommended to Convocation for presbyter's orders. In addition, J.J. Russ, the Cardiff "Evangelist" assistant was recommended for Deacon's orders - a considerable strengthening of the clerical team.¹⁰⁴ But perhaps the most significant item was the official reception of what was now known as Trinity Church, Cathays, into the FCE - the congregation being presented by Alexander Roger, living in Cathays Terrace. Evidently, until this time, the mission had been functioning as a free and unattached church "supplied" from the FCE - as indeed Cheddar was supplied from the REC.

Trinity Church, together with Roger and his two churchwardens subsequently appeared in the official list of Churches and Clergy. Roger was clearly regarded as the incumbent of Trinity, for he was not in the list as Allan's curate, and in further references to Trinity in September and November he appeared as the incumbent.¹⁰⁵

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Clearly, the work at Trinity was progressing well, and it is from this time that a shift in the balance of the work of the FCE in Cardiff begins to be visible - from St. Paul's to Trinity.

Harvest Thanksgiving at St. Paul's was held on Sunday 30 September 1883. Congregations were reported by Allan to be good.¹⁰⁶ But the report from Trinity is much fuller. Their Harvest celebrations were also on 30 September, and the congregations were large: "that in the evening uncomfortably filling the church". Alexander Roger wrote an account of the visit to Cardiff of Bishop H.O. Meyers. On Sunday 14 October he conducted three services during the day; and despite a heavy downpour of rain spoiling attendances in the morning, the church was full for the confirmation of 7 candidates in the afternoon and again full for the evening service. What is especially interesting in the

"Ecclesiastical Register" in November's Magazine is the Bishop's own version of his visit, for clearly he thought well of Roger:¹⁰⁷

"The Bishop thinks the work of our young friend...most encouraging one under many difficulties. The pretty little Trinity Church, Cathays is in the midst of a population of not rich people; but they are very hearty and if not able to do much, they do their best, and Mr. Roger evidently has their hearts."

The reference to the "pretty little" church, and the reported crowding indicates that the congregation at Cathays had already grown out of their mission room down at the end of the Terrace. Certainly, by 1885, Slater's Cardiff Directory for 1885 refers to "Trinity Free Church of England", and under the streets section the church appears on the left hand side before No. 1 Cathays Terrace: whereas "Trinity Schoolroom" is still next to number 2, opposite on the right hand side of the street. In fact, fortuitously, in a photograph of the "Woodville Hotel" on the corner of Cathays Terrace and Woodville Road which was taken in 1888, Trinity appears as a compact stone-built building, perhaps some 35 feet long, with bell turret and porch [illustration, p. xvi].¹⁰⁸

The latter part of 1883 and the beginning of 1884 was a time of further expansion for Cathays. Although there was evidently little of the powerful middle-class support that had so carried the early years at St. Paul's, yet the community was secure enough to be contributing £1-5s-0d to the Old Debt Fund of the FCE in April 1884 (one of the only 7 churches to do this).¹⁰⁹ Again, there were probably some 10 people from Trinity sufficiently interested in the overall work of the church to be subscribers to the denominational magazine,¹¹⁰ and Bishop Meyers had publicly expressed his confidence and approval for the work being done. So it was that, at the end of 1883, the work of Trinity was extended to a daughter mission in Roath.

Christ Church, Roath.

Roger was more successful in Roath than Mackey and Renny had been in the closing months of 1878, when it is clear that the experiment lasted no more than 6 or 7 months. This time the work was supplied from Cathays, and there were no great public announcements. The last contribution from Cardiff in 1883 was in the November edition of the FCE Magazine, and there was no mention of Roath at all. But the Official List of Churches and Clergy was published in July 1884, and under the entry for Cathays, Roger has a Licensed Evangelist, Mr. T.R. Galbraith, and the entry continues:¹¹¹ "Christ Church, Roath, Mission

Room, Broadway (supplied from Trinity Church)." Thus, the mission was established, and working well enough to risk an announcement by July that would not be an embarrassment as it must have been in 1878.

The ground in Roath was still fertile as far as protestant churchmen were concerned. In 1880, Fr. Puller was succeeded by the Rev. C.A. Smithies; and when he in turn left Roath Vicarage to become Bishop of Zanzibar, Fr. F.J. Beck continued very much in the same mode. In addition, the foundation stone of St. German's had been laid at the corner of Star Street and Metal Street on 18 April 1882, the church being complete enough for worship to start in 1884; and on 21 January 1884 the mission chapel of St. Agnes was first erected in Bertram Street, off Broadway.¹¹² Both these churches were in the mainstream of the catholic tradition, so Roger was able to capitalise on the protestant sympathies that there were in the area - not the same public feeling that had provided the momentum in Bute town 10 years previously, but enough to make success more likely than it had been in Roath just 6 years before.

The choice of Broadway for the mission was significant. The first entry in the town directory is in J. Wright & Co.'s Cardiff Directory for 1885, and the address given is 136, Broadway, almost next to the Theodora St. intersection, and so further from St. German's than St. Agnes'. But it was within easy reach of both - and the areas served by them.¹¹³ The street directory section states the occupier as P.E. Turner, butcher. Almost certainly therefore the mission would have been in a loft or a storehouse to the rear. Information for the directory would have been provided towards the end of 1884, and the services were given as: "Sundays 11 a.m. & 6.30 p.m. Tuesdays 7.30 - assisted by clergy and Lay helpers of Trinity Church."

In fact, the first information communicated to the denominational magazine was in January 1885, and this tells of the Licensing of the Rev. R. Haydon Dignum by Bishop Price for his work at Christ Church Mission "in connexion with the Trinity Church, Cathays".

The work went well, and following a week of mission, within a year of being established, there was a "well attended" Sunday school and a Bible class for men.¹¹⁴ Significantly in contrast to Anglican neighbours (and in deference to the wishes, probably of Bishops Newman & Meyers (see below)), neither Trinity nor Christ Church had any special decorations for Christmas.

That R.H. Dignum's ministry was acceptable to the FCE community is evident. He was, in fact, a non-conformist minister, and, in the established custom of the FCE was acting with the status of a deacon at Christ Church.¹¹⁵ He was present at the Western District Synod at Exeter in April 1885, and on Wednesday 15th April the Synod formally received Dignum into the ministry of the FCE. He was subsequently ordained to the presbyterate at Convocation that same July.¹¹⁶

At this stage, Christ Church became semi-independent, and in the List of Churches for 1885, the word "mission" is dropped, and Dignum is described as "Incumbent", his residence being at 7 Sapphire Street, which was just off Clifton Street and close to St. German's. The church had its own wardens, Mr. F. Walland and Mr. W. Ashman.¹¹⁷

Trinity Church, 1884 & 1885

The assistance of Mr. T.R. Galbraith as licensed Evangelist was probably of greater value to Roger than merely that of supplying some of the work to be done in Roath. The variety in the life of Trinity could only have been possible with the help of somebody who was probably able to work with Sunday schools, Bible classes, church fellowships, visiting, and the non-sacramental services themselves.

On 4 August 1884 a flower show was held in the schoolroom. This was a display of the work of children (mainly connected with Trinity), and there were 200 exhibits. Just two days later the Band of Hope took a boat trip up the Glamorgan Canal as far as the Melingriffith works in Whitchurch, the afternoon being spent on the farm of Mr. Solomon Andrews - apparently a very successful day.¹¹⁸ The Sunday school meanwhile continued to be a successful part of the work at Cathays. A set of figures provide countrywide statistics for the FCE; and although the outright lead went to St. John's, Southampton with 396 pupils, as a small church in a poor area, 125 pupils and 11 teachers at Trinity compared well with many others. Lynmouth, West Drayton, Norwich Tabernacle and Cleeve (Cheltenham) had only 50 pupils each. More ominously, the numbers at St. Paul's, Cardiff included just 100 pupils and 13 teachers.¹¹⁹

Indeed, Roger was considering further expansion at Trinity, and in the September edition of the magazine he spoke of the cramped conditions of the schoolroom and the need to provide a new room on a piece of adjoining land that

had been promised to him. He announced a sale of work to take place on 15, 16 and 17 October 1884, and appealed to readers for gifts for this.¹²⁰

The leaders of the denomination were investing both time and interest in what was obviously considered a successful venture at Cathays. Harvest celebrations took place on Sunday 14 September, and the special guest was Bishop H.O. Meyers who preached morning and evening to good congregations (especially in the evening). During the Sunday afternoon he conducted a children's service for F.J. Allan at St. Paul's. Interestingly, the Harvest celebrations reflected the strongly protestant feelings of the FCE bishops at this time. In his address to Convocation that previous June Bishop Newman had warned:¹²¹

"But we are doing a greater work of an indirect kind, repressing, keeping down the rise and progress of sacramentalism, Romanism in particular; checking ornate services and floral displays..."

Meyers evidently was of the same mind, and Roger writes "This year, for the first time (in deference to the wish of the Bishop), the usual decoration of the church for the occasion was dispensed with".¹²² Again, at Christmas, both Trinity and Christ Church dispensed with the usual decorations.¹²³

Roger was evidently keeping carefully to the "party line", and it would be interesting to conjecture whether or not this was in response to problems between F.J. Allan at St. Paul's and the Bishops: certainly Allan's work was not flourishing in anything like the same way; and almost as if in response to the opening of the church at Roath, he was contemplating the possibility of extending the work of St. Paul's to Penarth. The unwisdom of this was to become very evident.¹²⁴

In fact, despite Alexander Roger's hope to open a new schoolroom, this does not appear to have taken place. The street section of J. Wright & Co.'s Cardiff Directory for 1886 still shows Trinity Church schoolroom in its old position next to No. 2 Cathays Terrace - and here it was to remain.

The new year brought with it more work for Roger - and probably more than he could really properly manage. The conditions and problems at St. Paul's are examined more closely below, but at some stage - probably after Christmas - F.J. Allan left the church, and Roger had to take over as temporary "Curate in Charge".¹²⁵ But there was yet more work for him to do, and on Wednesday 15 April at the Western District Synod he was elected Secretary in the place of F.J. Allan.

Together with this post, his work at Trinity, the oversight of the new and semi-independent church at Roath, and having in addition the problems of St. Paul's together with the ill considered work at Penarth (see below), it is little wonder that there was no further magazine contribution from Trinity during 1885. It is interesting to note further that the autumn meeting of the Synod which was planned for September at Ilfracombe¹²⁶ was in the event held at Cardiff on Tuesday and Wednesday 20 and 21 October - a month late.¹²⁷

Failure of the FCE Magazine & problems of information supply: 1886 onwards.

Detail of the subsequent history of Cathays and Roath is hard to find - as indeed it is for any of the Cardiff churches after 1885. For because of financial difficulties and a general lack of support, the December 1885 edition of the FCE Magazine was the last for some years. A small magazine entitled the Free Church of England Record was produced and edited by Alexander Roger, and this continued until it too ceased in 1888. However, no copies appear to have survived in any of the major collections, the only traces of it remaining in references to it, and occasional quotations from it, made by Bishop T.H. Gregg in his Reformed Church Record.¹²⁸

Moreover, none of the vestry books of the Cardiff FCE churches have yet been traced nor have any of the church magazines been kept in any obvious collection. Fortunately, the marriage register of St. Paul's Church is preserved in the safe of St. Mary's Church, and this provides help in unravelling the complex story of the last days of St. Paul's and of the other Cardiff churches during the late 1880s.

The most fruitful source of information however is the local and Welsh press. The special difficulties of St. Paul's, both clerical and financial, and its eventual failure in 1888 were both acrimonious and public. Many of the battles were concerned with personalities, and they were often fought in the pages of the Western Mail.

Therefore, although the sources are mainly concerned with St. Paul's, the extent of the problems there caused an inevitable "knock-on" effect on the other Cardiff FCE churches, and this was compounded by the general problems of finance and clerical supply in Cardiff. Trinity alone struggled on for some years - but only as a shadow of what had been.

It is also significant to note that 1888, which was to mark the beginning of the closure of FCE work in Cardiff, was also a year when the denomination was having some important decisions to make as to its own identity nationally - and was finding the process a severe strain countrywide.

J.F. Allan and St. Paul's Loudoun Terrace, September 1883 to December 1885.

It is evident from the material available, that, from the beginning, J.F. Allan had taken a charge which was not only very demanding, but that was gradually ceasing to play anything like the role it had enjoyed in its earlier days.

To return to St. Paul's as it was at the time of the good Harvest celebrations on Sunday 30 September 1883,¹²⁹ Allan had, in effect, been minister at the church for some eight months or so, and he seemed to be in a good position for the work ahead. He had the experience of Leominster behind him. He had been ordained to the presbyterate for his new charge. Again, although the able team of four wardens under Renny had changed, at least three of the four were clearly men of local status and ability.

His team consisted of a licenced helper, Mr. G.J. Russ (who had been proposed for ordination to the diaconate - though not evidently ordained in the June service during convocation). The wardens were:

Thomas Elliott, mineral water manufacturer, 231 Bute Road. Also businesses at Bridgend and Pontypridd. Stores at Canal Parade; private residence Greenfield House, Cowbridge Road, Canton.¹³⁰

John Hallett, a shopkeeper, 23 Eleanor Street, Docks.¹³¹

And the new wardens:

Captain Henry Baker, a Cardiff pilot, 12 Loudoun Square, Docks, later, 20 Constellation Street, Splott.¹³²

Mr. T. Williams,¹³³ no further information, other than he was a man of some means, and that he was to be elected (re-elected?) Treasurer, April 1884.

Furthermore, although Nickless had ceased to be churchwarden, Allan evidently had his support in church (quarrel with Renny or not), for Mrs. Nickless assisted with the Harvest decorations, and John Nickless himself was in charge of the Sunday school (if not at that time, certainly by the next Whitsun).¹³⁴

No contribution was printed in the FCE Magazine from November 1883 until May the next year, when there was a report of the Easter Vestry Meeting held on 15 April. The financial situation would appear to have been far more settled, and the accounts showed a balance in hand of £15-19s-4d after expenses, and also after "paying off nearly £30 debt on the organ". A new organ had been the ambition of some years, and now it was evidently fulfilled.

The contributor to the FCE Magazine, J.W. Harden, says that the congregation had contributed liberally to the fund, "especially Mr. T. Williams (Treasurer), who gave a handsome sum to clear the debt off by the end of this financial year". Once again the same men were elected as wardens: Elliott and Williams (Incumbent's Wardens), and Hallett and Baker (People's Wardens).

According to Harden, the future looked good at that point..."there is (sic) good signs of a prosperous future for this church, the pastor, the Rev. J.F. Allan being very zealous in his work, and greatly beloved by all". More significantly he continues, "The congregation has greatly increased during his twelve months' ministry in Cardiff..."¹³⁵ Even so, by comparison, it was clear that work was progressing far better at Trinity. Roger had made a contribution from Trinity to clear off the FCE "old debt" on April 16th of £1-5-0d, but there was no mention of St. Paul's in the FCE accounts for 1882/84.¹³⁶

Again, there are signs that Allan's accommodation in Cardiff was very unsettled. When he first moved to Cardiff, it was not to the prestigious property vacated by Renny at 11 Windsor Esplanade, but to 26 Castle Road, Roath¹³⁷ (probably now Castle Lane, just off the southern end of City Road). Within a year or so he had moved again, to Balmoral House, 31 Despensers Street, Riverside (off Lower Cathedral Road).¹³⁸ In addition to this, within the year he had lost Russ, his licensed church helper.¹³⁹

However, the Report of the Whitsunday Services, 1884, provided by J.W. Harden told of good attendances, morning and evening. There was an afternoon service as well that year, and it is interesting to see that the preacher at this service was the minister of the ancient Congregational Church (Trinity Church) in Womanby Street.¹⁴⁰ The Rev. William Seward had only just arrived at Trinity, and he remained at this distinguished church until his death in 1894.¹⁴¹ Allan was obviously keeping Renny's ecumenical links.

Next day, the annual outing took place; and 150 children together with 50 friends went to a field at Lewis' farm at St. Fagans.¹⁴² But satisfactory though this might have seemed to Harden at this time, it was still a contrast to Whit Monday 1880 when 300 had travelled to Llanishen for the day.¹⁴³ The Sunday school statistics published in the FCE Magazine for September 1884 (p. 198) show that there were just 100 pupils at S. Paul's, with 13 teachers.¹⁴⁴

Sunday 14 September saw the highly successful Harvest Services at Cathays with Bishop Meyers as guest preacher. During the afternoon, he conducted the children's service at St. Paul's for John Allan.¹⁴⁵ The St. Paul's Harvest celebrations were two weeks later on 28 September, and once more William Seward of Womanby Street appears as guest preacher in the evening. The report speaks of good attendances at both services.¹⁴⁶

Meanwhile, although the November report tells of the death of Daniel Maybery, an official and Sunday school teacher, on 23 September, it also tells of the anniversary services on Sunday 11 October. The preacher in the evening was Mr. E.H. Dunn, "late Evangelist of Newcastle" whose sermon was "earnest and telling". This was clearly the prelude to a "call", for by April 1885 he was a "licenced evangelist" at Cardiff, and specialising in the work of a new venture for John Allan at Penarth.¹⁴⁷

Allan had started the Penarth Mission with an introductory service in November at which all seemed well.¹⁴⁸ But by the next District Synod in April something had gone very wrong at St. Paul's, for he had left the church, and Alexander Roger of Cathays had taken over as curate-in-charge. More serious than that, Allan had left the denomination altogether, for there is no mention of him in the 1885 list of Churches and Clergy. Again, there is no record of him going to Gregg's RCE, or to the REC under Bishops Sugden and Richardson. Furthermore, there is no mention of his name in the 1891 list of Churches and Ministers in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, with which there was still some form of federative agreement.¹⁴⁹

Without a detailed examination there is no obvious reason why Allan should have left St. Paul's and the denomination. He had been at Cardiff for only two years, and all had seemed to be progressing well. Clearly, episcopal attention was being directed at Cathays and the work of Alexander Roger, and there may well have been some resentment over this and the evident success he was having both at Trinity and Christ Church. Certainly there were still fairly serious

financial problems to do with the payment of ground rent, which were never made public in the pages of the FCE Magazine, (this is dealt with in greater detail below), and Allan evidently was not able to take the matter firmly in hand.

In many ways, there would appear to have been a deal of ambition in Allan that was not proved justified by his results. In the 1885 edition of J. Wright's Cardiff Directory, the St. Paul's entry shows him suddenly to be the possessor of the degree of Doctor of Laws.¹⁵⁰ Senior members of the clergy of the FCE, such as Bishop Newman may well have obtained, as he did, a DD but Allan was only ordained presbyter two years before, the source of his degree is unknown (he was not previously a graduate).

Finally, the extension of the work of St. Paul's to a mission station at Penarth looked very much like an over-hasty response to the success of Roger at Cathays. To assist him Allan had only a new and untried lay-assistant who had just moved in to Cardiff. From the start the work was ill-conceived and badly researched. Together with the financial instability of the mother church, the result was to be inevitable. But meanwhile, John Allan, having reached his greatest point of challenge, some time before the new year, simply left.¹⁵¹

St. John's Free Church of England, Penarth: November 1884.

On a Sunday evening in November 1884, (date unknown) J.F. Allan held a service in the Solomon Andrews' Large Hall in Albert Road. Between 60 and 70 were present, and, during the service, Allan stated:¹⁵²

"They had not come to oppose any other church or congregation, but to support the Free Church of England, which he was sorry was needed in almost every place. He urged others who were present to do their best to bring others there next Sunday night, who were not in the habit of attending any place of worship. It was for the benefit of those that the effort was being made, and for those who were dissatisfied with the ritualistic practices, if such there were in Penarth..."

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With the building of the docks from 1859 to 1865, Penarth grew from a farming community to a small town of some 10,000 inhabitants. When Charles Parsons succeeded to the Rectory in 1863, he had made church extension his priority. Firstly, St. Augustines was re-built at the cost of £10,000 by William Butterfield, and this large parish church with seating for some 500 was dedicated by the Bishop of Llandaff on 11 September 1866.¹⁵³ By the early 80s

there was also the daughter church of All Saints - a tin church built in Rectory Road, down above the Dingle (later moved to Victoria Square) - and this was served by a curate-in-charge under the Rector of Penarth.¹⁵⁴

But Parsons was equally aware of the needs of the poorer families who had settled on the docks side of Penarth Head, and some time before 1885 this tin "working man's church" was built and staffed from the parish church.¹⁵⁵

Further down towards Cogan, the daughter church of Llandough (Holy Nativity) later provided for the needs of the people of the artisan community at the lower (western) end of Windsor Road. A National school was provided for the education of the children of these newcomers, and from its opening in 1863 in the middle of the new area of housing, the clergy played an important part in its life.¹⁵⁶

Penarth was therefore well and thoroughly "churched" as far as the Anglicans were concerned. And in addition, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists were all provided for, at least from the mid-1860s. The situation was therefore by no means like Cathays where Trinity was founded to provide for the basic need of a place of worship in a new area of housing.

The only other obvious reason why FCE communities took root and flourished was to provide a refuge from the growth of ritualism - such as in a fairly extreme form in Bute town. But the extent of Allan's care in preparing the groundwork for the needs of Penarth in this direction can be seen in his comment of that first service on "ritualistic practices, if such there were in Penarth".

The simple answer is that there were none. The tradition was later to become tractarian under the Reverend John Thomas who became Rector in 1901. But Charles Parsons in particular (1863-1889) was a highly orthodox Church-of-England man¹⁵⁷ with a very considerable leaning towards an anti-Roman protestantism.¹⁵⁸ Time and time again in the pages of the FCE Magazine there is a declared support for evangelicals of the "Establishment". Finally Allan's other claim that he aimed to serve those who did not go to any place of worship betrays a basic lack of strategic thinking. It was all very well to get people out of curiosity to a number of opening meetings. But with the large range of churches and denominations providing a whole variety of worship, he was not likely to provide for them what was not adequately provided already.

Meanwhile, services continued in the new year, and Mr. E.H. Dunn built up a congregation in Penarth which fluctuated in attendance. On the one hand, Dunn and the church officials felt that they needed a larger hall, but on the other hand the offertories were "inadequate to meet demands".

A Sunday school was opened on 3 May, and the new superintendent was a Sergeant Jenkins.¹⁵⁹ The May edition of the denominational magazine refers to "St. John's Church, Penarth": it is clear however that they had no permanent site - and it is unlikely that they were still meeting in the large Andrews' Hall. It is possible, therefore, that the work was continuing in Andrews' Lesser Hall in Ludlow Lane where the English Congregationalists had started in 1882.¹⁶⁰

By May 1885, Alexander Roger had been made curate-in-charge of St. Paul's, and therefore Penarth also. Evidently he could not adequately manage both these and his own primary charge at Cathays, together with a watchful eye over Christ Church, Roath. The Western District Synod on 14 and 15 April interviewed Dunn, and having found him satisfactory, recommended him for examination for deacon's orders. He was subsequently ordained deacon, probably at the ordination service at Christ Church, Teddington which was held during the Annual Convocation Meeting on 30 June and 1 July.¹⁶¹ But the work at Penarth simply would not support him; and in the same magazine in which he appears as a newly ordained curate there is also the announcement of his departure. The "Ecclesiastical Register" quoted from the Penarth Chronicle:¹⁶²

"On Sunday last, (no date, but probably early July 1885) the Rev. E.H. Dunn ...preached his farewell sermons...The services here will not be discontinued, but will be carried on by licenced preachers from the Cardiff churches."

Dunn did not actually leave the area, for as the September FCE Magazine stated: "they (the members of St. John's) rejoice to know of his new sphere of labour at St. Paul's Cardiff". However, he was no longer officiating at Penarth at all, for the Penarth contributor to the Magazine, George H. Williams, says: "The services here which had been unsettled since the resignation of the Rev. E.H. Dunn, and the consequent absence of a recognised minister, have been seriously affected". The probable assistance of the Cardiff Licenced Evangelist, Mr. J.W. Johnson, was evidently of no effect.¹⁶³

But Williams had high hopes for the work of a deacon who had recently joined them. The Rev. R.V.K. Betty had been ordained deacon on 25 June 1884 during the annual Convocation.¹⁶⁴ He was evidently in secular employment before he

came to Cardiff, for he appears in the List of Churches and Clergy for 1884 and 1885 as one of the "Ministers Without Pastoral Charge", his address being at Hanover Park, London, S.E.¹⁶⁵ Williams spoke warmly of Betty's work with Sergeant Jenkins and the Sunday School. Obviously his work must have been appreciated by his clerical colleagues also, for at the meeting of the "Western and Midland Diocesan Synod" in October 1885, he was appointed Diocesan Treasurer. Again, in the long tradition of the FCE, he was granted "a faculty to administer the Lord's Supper at St. John's, Penarth, until Convocation".¹⁶⁶

From here, detailed news of St. John's is impossible to obtain. In the last contribution to the FCE Magazine in September 1885, George Williams spoke of correspondence with Lord Windsor with regard to the site for a permanent church building. However, nothing definite had been received from Windsor then, and it is very doubtful whether monies sufficient for such a venture could have been raised anyway. The FCE Magazine ceased publication at the end of the year, and no copies of the short-lived FCE Record are available in any obvious collections. The local Penarth newspapers are not preserved in Penarth, Cardiff or Colindale for this period.

As Betty's name appears in the list of clergy for Cardiff in J. Wright and Co's Cardiff Directory for 1886 it is likely that he was continuing to work at Penarth until at least the beginning of that year. But then in Daniel Owen & Co.'s Wright's Cardiff Directory for 1887-1888, he appears as curate to Roger at Christ Church, Roath. In the next year's Directory his name disappears altogether (and when the first of the FCE Year Books appears in 1895 he is no longer in the denomination). Thus it is likely that the work of St. John's probably continued until Betty left, say until the end of 1886, and thereafter for possibly a few months until the pressures at Cardiff (see below) made any sort of continuing oversight or assistance impossible.

It is worth noting that neither of the two main Penarth historians, Chrystal Tilney and Roy Thorne, was aware of an FCE congregation at Penarth in this period. Clearly not only was this ambition to have a permanent site never realised, but the short existence of the community lasting just over two years - and troubled years at that - left no lasting impression whatsoever.¹⁶⁷

Alexander Roger and St. Paul's Loudoun Terrace, 1886-1888
(including the closure of Christ Church, Roath)

By 1886, Roger was in the impossible situation of leading four churches in a system which was increasingly unstable. Financial problems abounded, and assistant clergy simply could not be adequately supported.

St. John's Penarth: this almost certainly failed by the end of 1886.

Christ Church, Roath. According to the 1885 list of Clergy and Churches, this was under the Incumbency of Rev. R.H. Dignum, who was living at 7 Sapphire Street.¹⁶⁸ During the "Western and Midland Diocesan Synod" which was held that year in Cardiff, on Tuesday 20 October 1885 Bishop Price officiated at a special service at the church¹⁶⁹. But it is clear that, although the early days of Christ Church had shown much promise, it was probably incapable of supporting its own ministry.

Its impetus had been provided by the ritualism of the Anglican churches in Roath, and all went well while its ministry was supplied from Trinity, Cathays. But by the end of 1886 it is almost certain that R.H. Dignum had left. By the time of the publication of the 1887-1888 Cardiff Directory (June 1887), St. Paul's, Trinity and Christ Church appear under the incumbency of Alexander Roger with R.V.K. Betty as his curate.¹⁷⁰ Within 12 months R.V.K. Betty had left, and by the publication date for the 1888-1889 Directory (June 1888), only Trinity under Alexander Roger appears in the list of Churches at all.¹⁷¹ The implication is that Christ Church simply could not support itself in an area increasingly concentratedly churched by the "Establishment". It was a modest, working class area, and in the near vicinity was the ancient parish church of St. Margaret, together with St. German's, Star Street (1884), St. Agnes, Bertram Street (1884), St. Anne's, Snipe Street (1886), and St. Clement's school chapel in Croft Street (1875).

It is likely that when Betty left, with the many problems that Roger had to face in Bute town and the lack of financial viability in Roath, Christ Church closed. This would have been probably sometime in the autumn of 1887.

Trinity Church, Cathays. From the reports in the FCE Magazine in 1885, the work at Trinity was evidently secure. But as had been pointed out, the people of Cathays were predominantly artisan and incapable of great financial support. In addition, the community cannot have been receiving the attention it needed from a badly over-stretched minister.

St. Paul's Church. Meanwhile, St. Paul's Church was entering the last two years of its life. It had never been free of long-term financial problems, nor had it ever managed to avoid internal strife. Some FCE churches had seen secure and settled ministries over a number of years - S.J.C. Dicksee at Crowborough, Bishop Price at Ilfracombe, Bishop H.O. Meyers at Putney, Bishop John Sugden (while in the FCE) at Teddington, J. Brunskill at Tottington, Lancs., and Bishop Newman at Willesborough. But St. Paul's, like so many of the promising but short-lived communities seemed never to keep its clergy for long. Indeed, its closure in 1888 was as public as it was sad, and details are furnished by a series of letter to the Western Mail in March and April 1888. The marriage register of St. Paul's also provides supporting evidence.

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It was apparently Bishop Newman who appointed Alexander Roger as curate-in-charge of St. Paul's at Easter 1885.¹⁷² Newman himself had been appointed by the Presiding Bishop, Benjamin Price to hold an enquiry into the situation at St. Paul's with the grave financial problems that existed there and especially the non-payment of the ground rent of the property.

An article in the Western Mail for Wednesday 28 March 1888 was headed "Sale of a Church at Cardiff - curious complications - Litigation probable".¹⁷³ The report contained an account of a public auction sale the previous afternoon of St. Paul's Church, Loudoun Terrace. According to the paper "there was only sparse attendance", and Mr. Norton, a brewer, offered £350 for the property, but as no other bid was made it was withdrawn. After short consultation the bidding was opened again, and the vicar of St. Mary's, G.A. Jones, started the bidding with £200. Norton tendered £400, and the property was knocked down to him. However, John Hallett who had been churchwarden for some eight years

advanced "a moral claim to the property" in that he had put sums of his own money into it. The claim was not allowed, but litigation was expected.

Further details of recent history was given; and by way of a reply to the article, Alexander Roger wrote a long letter to his editor amplifying some of the problems. The letter was printed the next day, on Thursday 29 March, and told the whole curious story.¹⁷⁴

Thomas Hodge offered the site in Loudoun Terrace, and the cost of erecting the church was £1450. The deficiency of £600 was paid by Messrs. Williams, North and Elliott. All went well until North and Rev. George Mackey quarrelled. The ground rent had fallen in arrear, and so "instalments were paid as funds would permit until Easter 1885". At this stage Bishop Newman entered the enquiry.

Hodge had just previously lowered the ground rent from £25 per year to £20. But after a consultation with Mr. Hodge at which the Bishop was present, "Mr. Hodge agreed to let his claim for £58 ground rent stand over, provided we commenced "de novo" and paid our way as we went."

In countering the critical nature of the original article, Roger continued: "all claims were met during my incumbency, and the church was overhauled and re-painted at a cost of about £20."¹⁷⁵ The most severe problem of all arose however in the August of 1877. By this time, Roger was on his own, and trying to cope with St. Paul's, Trinity and Christ Church (in its last few months). As he explained:

"Last August a person, calling himself the Rev. D.T. George, called on me and proffered his services to take occasional duty. Having to attend our convocation in London (this was June/July, so Roger seems to be a month out in calculation), I asked him to take duty for me at Trinity Church on the Sunday, as I was wishful for a Sunday's rest with my parents there. On my return he offered to relieve me of the duty at St. Paul's for a month, which, with the bishop's consent, I gladly agreed to. The next thing I heard was that the people wished to elect him as their incumbent..."

Following a meeting at which Hodge was present, Alexander Roger handed over finally to D.T. George. In fact, the evidence of the St. Paul's Marriage Register confirms this account of events. There is some uncertainty in that at one point the register was possibly filled in by another party so that when D.T. George performed a marriage ceremony (his first) on 17 August 1887, the word "Incumbent" is written after the signature.

On the 17 November 1887 he signs as "Incumbent designate" - so the hand-over had evidently been formally agreed by then. Subsequently, on 31 December 1887, and later, 25 January 1888, George signs as "Incumbent"; but there, the register ends.¹⁷⁶

Alexander Roger's account of matters is unfortunately skeletal, and unclear as to dating. Evidently, George was the incumbent by December (although whether formally inducted or not is unknown)...and as Alexander Roger continues:

"Things went well for about a month, when Mr. George was asked for an explanation of his letters of orders from the Bishop of Ohio, but he refused to give any. In conjunction with Mr. Hodge, he withdrew from the Free Church of England, seized the church with Mr. Hodge, and started services on his own account."

Despite a request to meet the General Secretary, Hodge evidently refused to discuss the matter. Then, Roger continues:

"About a month afterwards, Mr. Hodge and Mr. George had a dispute over certain money matters, and Mr. Hodge locked Mr. George and the congregation out of the church on the following Sunday evening. Our council gave the matter into the hands of Messrs. Williams, North, and Elliott, asking that they would take it up. Those gentlemen obtained possession, and, instead of handing it over to us, put it under the hammer."

Roger finished with certain other bitter remarks about their lack of legal claim, but only "a moral one".

This account was dated Wednesday 28 March, and written from "Trinity Parsonage, Cathays". It was published the following day. Monday saw a reply from one of the previous churchwardens, S. Powell, and having disputed the facts of the original article "Sale of a church at Cardiff", he wrote a letter of support for the work of D.T. George. He continued the story of the congregation: "We are no more the congregation of St. Paul's, but an independent body, free from the yoke of any church government..."

Following this letter was an editorial statement saying that Mr. Thomas Hodge, Cardiff Dockyard, had also written, and he objected to Mr. Roger's criticisms as reckless and inaccurate. In the interests of all parties, the correspondence was being closed.

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The work at St. Paul's was finished. According to the article of Wednesday 28 March,¹⁷⁷ Hodge had actually closed the church "six weeks ago" - the last

service was therefore on the morning of Sunday 18 February 1888, the doors being locked before the projected evening service.

The problems of ownership were sorted out, and in the Western Mail account of the St. Mary's Easter Vestry was the news that the parish had purchased the church and was to open it as a place of worship of the Church of England.¹⁷⁸ Griffith Arthur Jones was clearly jubilant, and promptly announced a public appeal to help pay for the purchase and adaptation of the site and building - the sum totalled £485.¹⁷⁹

Correspondence continued with a bitter and sad letter from Roger: "I am branded as untruthful. The whole matter of St. Paul's is intensely painful to me".¹⁸⁰ But the final word went to Hodge, who wrote a spiteful report concerning Alexander Roger's temper; and with this the editor firmly closed the matter.

Meanwhile, G.A. Jones moved swiftly, and (the Bishop of Llandaff being indisposed) the church was re-opened and re-dedicated to St. Michael by the former vicar of Roath, now the distinguished missionary Bishop of Zanzibar, C.A. Smythies, on Sunday afternoon 15 April 1888.¹⁸¹

Trinity Church, Cathays, 1886-1896

The closure of St. Paul's Church effectively signalled the beginning of the end for FCE work in Cardiff. Certainly little enough work can have been done at Cathays with the pressures of the situation in Bute town; and the collapse of the causes at Penarth and Roath only serves to show the instability of the denominational loyalty within the town at the time. There was neither financial cover nor long term popular support to tide them over their difficulties. In addition to this, the personal feelings and circumstances have to be considered of a man who had been pilloried in the press and who clearly felt himself ill used.

The 1887-8 Cardiff Directory shows the services at Trinity to have been: Sundays 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m., with Thursday at 7.30 p.m.¹⁸² This had been the pattern from the early days at the church. The next year's directory gave the same times together with the information: "Holy Communion first and fourth Sundays in the month";¹⁸³ the directory for 1889-1890 has the same entry. But the directory for 1890-91 says merely "Services Sunday 11 a.m. & 6.30 p.m.";¹⁸⁴

so it is clear that by the publication date of June 1890, regular services of Holy Communion had ceased.

Further evidence from the directories for these years shows that Roger moved from Cardiff some time towards the end of 1889; for after two changes of address in Cathays, the 1890 directory has no mention of him at all. At some time between June 1889 and June 1890 a full time ministry at Trinity ceased.

There is evidence that the congregation at Cathays struggled on for a few years more, and the town directories had entries for Trinity showing Sunday services at 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. But the final year was 1896, for by the publication date of the 1897 directory (in January) there was no entry for the church at all. Exactly how the services were staffed is impossible to say. Certainly the wardens would have taken an active role in leading the offices. They may also have had occasional help from an REC presbyter who lived in Newport where he worked as a company secretary.¹⁸⁵

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The reason for the failure of Trinity is evident. Unlike St. Paul's it was never the centre of a cause célèbre, fighting local ritualism. Its origin was that of a mission to a new and densely populated area that simply needed "churching". The foundation itself was not in any real way controversial, and thus in the area, it would have been seen as no more special than that of any evangelical church, say, of the Church of England. Furthermore, the area was very much one of artisan housing, and unlikely to provide the local intellectual theological interest capable of sustaining an isolated and fairly moderate church community. The issues of apostolic authority, or baptismal regeneration, or Prayer Book reform would have meant nothing.

While Trinity was attached to St. Paul's and supplied by the mother church it worked well. When Trinity was on its own under an obviously capable presbyter it also worked well - for a while. But when matters went wrong and Roger's time and attention were divided (and then he himself personally humiliated in the press) then there was neither financial security nor tradition to keep the impetus of church life going, and it failed.

Above all, during the life of Trinity, the Established Church was making successful inroads into that same area. St. Andrews, at the head of Windsor Place, had been built in 1862; and in 1884 this became a parish in its own right. By 1886, the new vicar, G.W. Hanford, had also started services at the National School in Cathays under the title of St. Cuthbert's Mission.¹⁸⁶ Again, by June 1887, the iron church of St. Iltyd was also opened by him in Crwys Road.¹⁸⁷ Perhaps the final straw was the evident continuing success of St. Teilo's church near Trinity, in Woodville Road. Here, there was a vigorous pattern of church life sustained by the vicar, together with two curates and two lay readers.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, from 1893, the clergy of St. John's held services at St. Monica's Church school, just around the corner from Trinity.

Quite literally, Trinity had lost its "raison d'etre". It had no clergy, it had no money. It was surrounded by churches and missions of the Establishment considered "moderate" in churchmanship; and some time during 1896, it closed.

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For a brief time, Alexander Roger served at Christ Church REC in West Kensington. However, by 1895 he had returned to be incumbent of Christ Church FCE, Putney. Here he remained for 34 years.¹⁸⁹ Both Trinity church and the schoolroom remained. The schoolroom was taken over almost immediately in 1896 by the parish church as St. Andrew's Church Institute;¹⁹⁰ and, possibly some time in 1899, the church itself became Cathays Terrace Methodist Free Church.¹⁹¹ Whether or not any of the original congregation remained is unknown.

The Reverend C.W. Lamport, and Christ Church, Wells Street, Riverside, Cardiff.

Those who are aware of the FCE in Cardiff (few indeed) have occasionally made the mistake of thinking of Christ Church (now St. Cadoc's), Wells Street, as having originally belonged to the denomination. Certainly its minister, Charles William Lamport, had been ordained as a presbyter in the FCE, but when the building was registered for public worship on 15 April 1896, it was by a group describing themselves as "Reformed Church of England".¹⁹² As this had been the title given to his branch of the REC by Bishop Gregg, and as the two branches of the REC had united in 1894 under the title "The Reformed Episcopal Church, otherwise known as the Reformed Church of England", clearly the title given to Christ Church was not denominational - just generic. Again, as is evident from the year books of the FCE, and the REC magazine Work and

Worship, neither Lampport nor his church belonged to either denomination. Christ Church was an independent "Free" liturgical church.

It is, however, clear that in two cases clergy from both denominations were used there, so that a brief survey of Christ Church would not be out of place.

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Charles William Lampport was born at Salisbury in 1842 or 1843, the son of a farmer. Around the year 1865 he moved to Cardiff to work as an assistant at a clothing establishment, but on inheriting a legacy from an uncle who wished him to be ordained, he went off to study first at St. Bees and then Lichfield.¹⁹³

A mercurial man with very definite ideas in the evils of ritualism (as he thought them), he was never ordained in the Established Church. The FCE Magazine reported Lampport as assisting with the Sunday school of St. Paul's, Loudoun Terrace in January 1880, and by July he had been ordained deacon and was assisting James Renny as curate.¹⁹⁴ In fact he did not in fact remain at St. Paul's for long, and soon took an appointment as "pastor of the Free church of England, at Spalding, from 1st May, 1881, at a salary of £120 p.a."¹⁹⁵

The iron church of St. John's in Pinchbeck St., Spalding, was built in the mid 1870s by a group of people who objected to the ritual in the local Parish Church.¹⁹⁶ The story of Lampport's ministry here is an extraordinary one, for all the weaknesses and internal dissension which were to be seen at St. Paul's, Cardiff were seen at St. John's, Spalding in the most extreme form. Any detailed account would be out of place here; but an outline of the facts is useful to show the personality of Lampport in context.

At first all went well, but by 1883 serious differences had arisen between the minister and William Eusebius Dandy the churchwarden. Dandy was a difficult man, and astonishingly: "The Pastor was accused of endeavouring to introduce Romish practices...and of other actions which did not commend themselves to certain members of the congregation".¹⁹⁷

The climax came at a meeting on 17 April 1883 when Lampport refused to give place in the chair to Bishop Newman who had been called to try to sort matters out. The scene was a disgraceful one - taken down word for word by the local reporter - and eventually the Bishop, Dandy and others left the building.¹⁹⁸

Much to the dismay of many local people, matters further deteriorated. On the Saturday after the meeting, the church was locked against Lamport, and two bailiffs put in possession. Lamport had the chains wrenched away with hammer and chisel, and with the aid of the police took the services next day. Inevitably the congregation split, legal action followed, and at length the minister resigned: in fact the local historian Mr. Norman Leveritt indicates that in 1886 Lamport was actually declared bankrupt.

In the meantime, following the scene involving Bishop Newman, Lamport was in serious trouble with the denomination; and at the Annual Convocation in London on 26 June 1883 his name was removed from the list of ministers.¹⁹⁹ Any further settled ministry in the town was impossible, and eventually, in April 1887, Lamport left Spalding and returned to live in Cardiff.²⁰⁰

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On his return to Cardiff Lamport started a mission, probably at a house, in Cradock Street, and then some time before 1895, from 80 Eldon Street (Eldon Street or "Road" is now Ninian Park Road) just a few hundred yards away.²⁰¹

The obituary in the Spalding Free Press (op. cit.) says

"His work as a missionary was so successful that in course of time he was obliged to erect a new edifice".

This was, according to the South Wales Daily News obituary, "chiefly at his own expense and partly by means of subscriptions"; the small building, in dressed stone, is situated at the southern end of Wells Street - again, close to the mission at 80 Eldon Street.

There is no doubt that Lamport was successful, and as the Spalding obituary said, he gathered about himself "a strongly anti-ritualistic flock". This area of Riverside was part of the newly created parish of St. Catherine's, Canton.²⁰² But there was no adequate parish cover for this large area of artisan housing, built mainly for the GWR engine sheds close by. So, in fact Lamport was able to use the obvious need for simple Prayer Book worship in the area - even though there were no local ritualistic battles to fight.

Once again, confirming the experience of the FCE churches, the main and continual problem was finance. As he himself had largely paid for the church, he had avoided the other problems of quarrelling with powerful local patrons,

but for most of his ministry he was simply unpaid, and as the South Wales Daily News obituary says, he maintained the church "at his own expense".

Lampport evidently had some considerable local popularity, and for six years sat as an elected Independent member of the Cardiff Board of Guardians. The situation, however was far from ideal, and evidently his health was causing trouble²⁰³ to the extent that the last services were held on 30 July 1905. The church was sold to the parish of St. Catherine, and as "St. Cadoc's" the first Anglican services were held on 13 August 1905.²⁰⁴

Lampport died on Tuesday 11 January 1910, mourned by many, and leaving a widow and one son who worked in the Great Eastern Railway Company at Spalding. As the local obituary said, he was "a somewhat remarkable personality". He was just 67 years of age.

Staffing at Christ Church

Lampport was basically an FCE man, deacon 1880, presbyter 1881. Yet it is interesting to see that although removed from the list of clergy in 1883, he remained in the tradition of free but liturgical and prayer-book worship.

The old Christ Church Register was not well kept, nor was it very clear. But it is almost certain that the Bishop Baker who performed the services for Lampport on 4 August 1901 (11 a.m. with Holy Communion at 6.30 p.m.) was Bishop William Baker, formerly of the FCE. There had, in fact, been a disagreement between Baker and the denomination some little time before.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, although he left the FCE, Baker apparently continued to officiate amongst certain of the "Free" liturgical churches - including Christ Church.

Again, it is important to see that the divide between the FCE and the REC traditions was not such that there was not some ministerial co-operation. William Frederick Bentley was a former FCE presbyter who eventually joined Sugden and Richardson in the REC to be minister of the REC at Wolverhampton.²⁰⁶ In the 1890s he was not in any full-time ministry, but working as company secretary to Morris and Griffin, chemical manufacturers, in Newport. Following his death on 7 March 1897, there was an obituary in the South Wales Daily Star on 11 March, and a slightly fuller account of the funeral the next day.²⁰⁷ The first account says that: "He conducted two services at Cardiff on Sunday, but on the following day was seized with a stroke..."

The account the next day includes a record of a wreath from "the rector and congregation of Christ Church, Riverside, Cardiff". By this date Trinity, Cathays was already closed, and so it seems fairly clear that, REC or not, he was assisting Lampport that Sunday.²⁰⁸

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The importance of the career of Lampport at Spalding and Christ Church, Riverside, is:

- i) That the problems of unyielding personalities, congregations rendered unstable by a history and a tradition of crusading, and the weakness of inadequate financial backing and continuing support were time and again vital flaws leading to the failure of a movement.
- ii) There was a flexibility in ministerial support which permitted Baker and Bentley to serve at Wells Street which would never have been found in the Established Church at this time. The first obituary of Bentley moreover seems to indicate that Bishop Eldridge of the REC had given an official licence for his presbyter to work in a free church basically in the FCE tradition.

Other Communities of the FCE and the RCE (Gregg) in Wales.

Free Church of England.

In the early years in Wales, as in England, it was often very difficult to distinguish communities of the FCE from those of the Connexion. The younger FCE had developed alongside its older sister; and as the Connexion in the early days had supplied ministers to a number of communities, such as at Ilfracombe - the ministries were interchangeable for some years.

The matter is dealt with more fully in chapter 1; but it is clear that in Wales, as in England, sometimes a new community was FCE in name only, for it was perhaps the result of a minister of the younger sister serving at an earlier Connexional chapel.

A few holiday resorts had short lived FCE communities supplied from England for the duration of the summer season only. The Harbinger, and later, the FCE Magazine had occasional lists of contributions. In the January edition of 1866, these included gifts from Cardiff, Cowbridge (after an address at the

Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel), Swansea (from Ebenezer), Llanelly, Carmarthen, St. Clears, Laugharne, Pembroke Dock, Milford, Haverfordwest, Narberth and Neath.²⁰⁹ But the likelihood is that these contributions were "sympathy" ones for a new free-church venture rather than signifying any denominational loyalty - especially as older denominations were involved.

Very briefly, there were Free Church of England Communities at:

i) Ruthun, Denbighshire.

An old chapel was re-opened for the use of an English congregation by the Connexion on 7 June 1857. The CHC bought it in 1862.²¹⁰ In the 1865 Harbinger it is referred to as the "Free Church, Ruthun".²¹¹

It is interesting to note that the congregation was English and not Welsh. Special arrangements were made for the distinguished preacher Kilsby Jones who was preaching in Welsh at Ruthun "to preach an English sermon in the Free Church".²¹² Later that year The Harbinger announced the departure of the minister Rev. J.S. Hill from the church on his appointment to St. James' Free Church, Exeter. The comment is significant:²¹³

"His services have been much appreciated, but the English population is comparatively small, and he leaves for the more extensive sphere of labour in the City of Exeter".

In June 1870, it was announced that the minister, the Rev. J. Dunning had resigned, and that the church was being supplied from New College, by a Rev. Mr. Davies;²¹⁴ but by the publication of the Tenth Annual Report of the FCE, 1872, there is no mention of the church at all.

ii) Denbigh.

The Denbigh Free Church commenced services on 12 May 1861. The Revs. R. Hancock, J.S. Wake and Thomas Thoresby officiated in the opening weeks,²¹⁵ but all trace of the community has disappeared from the Harbinger by 1865.

iii) Llandudno.

The June edition of the FCE Magazine in 1867 announced services for the summer months at this North Wales resort. This was for the benefit of the many English visitors, and they were to be held at St. George's Hall. Benjamin Price and J.B. Figgis were amongst the first officiating ministers.²¹⁶ The season ended on Sunday 29 September, and services were reportedly well attended.²¹⁷

In 1868, these started, once more at St. George's Hall on Sunday 28 June.²¹⁸ The August edition of the FCE Magazine printed controversial extracts from the Llandudno Register and Herald where "A Visitor" commented on the Free Church "infidels" in the town.²¹⁹ A report in the September magazine tells of the considerable numbers of attenders, but all staying briefly on holiday.²²⁰

In the early part of 1869, when Rev. John Brunskill from Tottington went to book the hall for a further season he found that the hall was fully engaged "and that no other building could be had as eligible for worship".²²¹ However in 1872 the season's service took place once more at St. George's Hall each Sunday at 10 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. Hopes were expressed for the establishment of a permanent church,²²² and the season ended on Sunday 29 September with an estimated average congregation of 260.²²³

The July edition of the magazine for 1873 announced the opening of the new season at St. George's Hall on Sunday 6 July; but there are no further references in the FCE Magazine, and certainly no permanent church followed.

iv) Mold.

The history of "Mold Free Church" began in the late autumn of 1857 with services held at the Town Hall by the Connexion. Later, during Autumn 1870, services were held: "in connexion with the Congregational Free Church".²²⁴ This was followed by lecture series that year and the following March: but the actual denominational content for the FCE seems to have been minimal.²²⁵ Mallard suggests that in the "early days preaching was...carried on in the Town Hall at Mold".²²⁶ He referred specifically to the FCE, but there was no mention of the town at all in the Tenth Annual Report of the FCE in 1872.

v) Tenby.

In 1871 The Rock published a letter, reprinted in the October FCE Magazine, concerning ritualism at the parish of Tenby. A room was found and fitted for worship and "a good, earnest, faithful, prudent man" found to lead the services. The services were reportedly well attended,²²⁷ although clearly the arrangement was ad-hoc, and not entered into the Tenth Annual Report of 1872.

Again, in 1876, FCE services were held at the Royal Assembly Rooms, on Sundays 16 and 23 July. The preacher was the Rev. Phillip Norton of Cardiff. Like Llandudno, Tenby was a popular sea-side resort where summer visitors swelled the population: but a settled community would have been totally impracticable.

vi) Reaction to ritualism at Llangollen.

An FCE supporter had collected 6/3d for the work of the denomination in the year 1 July 1867 to 30 June 1868.²²⁸ Later, in 1876, there was a trenchant editorial report on the ritualism of the parish church..."which is turned into a mass-house...like a Birmingham show-room".²²⁹ The editorial ended "our secretary is on the qui vive". There does not seem to have been any further action however, and once again it was an example of a resort where, as the editor says, parishioners and visitors were not catered for.

vii) Reaction to ritualism at Brecon.

An editorial article commented, in 1874, on the growing dissatisfaction over "Ritualistic ceremonials" in Brecon. On a Friday night, probably in July, an FCE service was held at the Town Hall at which the Rev. Phillip Norton preached. The article spoke of a branch of the denomination to be established in the town as a probability, and concluded "Free Church Services are arranged to be held in the Town Hall."²³⁰ Clearly, however, the work did not continue, and nothing further is heard of the work in the town.

viii) Beaumaris.

The FCE Magazine of March 1879 noted that the Town Hall had been secured for the immediate starting of FCE worship. The Reverend George Mackey of Cardiff was to preach at the opening services.²³¹ In the April edition the further information was given that the Mayor had, in June 1878, refused the use of the Town Hall, so in fact permission had been granted for the use of the Castle. This service "caused quite a sensation in Beaumaris", and later, in April 1879, more services were conducted "for some Sundays".²³² But the hope for a permanent FCE church never materialised, and no more was heard.

Reformed Church of England (Bishop Gregg)

i) Welshpool

John Edward Hill was vicar of Welshpool from 1865 to 1887. His "ritualist" tendencies were little more than his turning east before and after the sermon, moving from the south side of the altar to the north for the Gospel at the Communion, and arranging that the choir processed from the chancel before the congregation. Nevertheless, difficulties were stirred for him by the fact that one of his younger daughters, Ellen, became a member of an Anglican Sisterhood. In addition, the restoration of St. Mary's parish church by G.E. Street in the late 1860s was held in considerable local suspicion - the more so because it

included the removal of the old "proprietary" pews, and the planned removal of the galleries. Nevertheless, there was considerable local controversy in the late 1870s, and Gregg's journal, Our Church Record, noted in March 1879: "An excellent site has been purchased for our church here".²³³

The new church, an iron building dedicated to St. David, was opened on Thursday 31 July 1879 by Bishop Gregg together with Bishop Toke in attendance. The congregations were large at both morning and evening services, and Bishop Toke remained to preach the following Sunday. It is recorded that many had to remain outside because of the crowds. This worried many members of the Established Church in the area, and the proceedings were attacked by Bishop Walsham How who was preaching at nearby Guilsfield at this time.²³⁴

ii) The Canal Mission, Welshpool: A detailed examination is out of place here. But, briefly, the movement prospered to the extent that by March 1880, the "Vicar", the Rev. R.H. Taylor had a Sunday School of 90 with 12 teachers; and on Sunday 1 February he opened the St. David's Canal Mission" at the other end of the town. The mission had its own daily services.²³⁵

iii) "Groes Llwyd".

The importance for the RCE of Welshpool was that it was the first church of the denomination in Wales. Evidently heartened by the success, some time in the late summer of 1880 a new church was opened ("a permanent structure...free from debt") at "Groes Llwyd". It was completely crowded out for the opening services, and the minister was the Rev. H. Williams.²³⁶ Groesllwyd is just five miles to the north of Welshpool on the Llanfyllin road - as a tiny hamlet a mile and a half from the village of Guilsfield there can have been little hope of success. As with the extension of the work of St. Paul's FCE Cardiff to Penarth, the move was political rather than practical, and just as poorly thought out.

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Information from Welshpool had been fairly regularly sent to the denominational magazine until the latter part of 1880. But no further contribution appeared until August 1882 when the RCE Vicar, R.H.Taylor had probably left Welshpool.

The services on the 16 July were taken by a local neighbouring minister, and those on the 23rd by the RCE Vicar of Trinity, Wolverhampton, the Rev. John

Evans.²³⁷ He then celebrated the Holy Communion the following Sunday. The September magazine noted "a goodly number of communicants", but there was no mention in either magazine of the church at Groesllwyd - and evidently John Evans was from Guilsfield and so would surely have had an interest there if the community were still in existence.²³⁸

The impression is that both the Canal Mission and Groesllwyd had ceased working by the middle of 1882 and probably before. That Welshpool itself was having difficulties is also fairly clear; and in fact by January 1883, within three months, the newly published list of churches and service times for the denomination has no mention of any of the three Welsh communities.²³⁹ Gregg's experiment to extend to Wales had lasted something less than four years.

It is evident, however, that St. David's itself continued independently for a few years. The Reverend Cecil Johnson was minister from 1884 to 1886. His successor, the Reverend Dr. Synton Honan, continued from 1886 to 1889. However, local support faded after J.E. Hill retired as vicar of Welshpool. Again, the increasing internal disagreements between Honan and his wardens over a salary dispute weakened the congregation fatally. As John Elwyn Davies says: "the movement ended under a cloud in 1889...so that its leading lights all took an active part in St. Mary's under the next vicar".²⁴⁰

Conclusions

The failure of the Cardiff Churches

The process of failure in each church is examined in detail above. These final conclusions aim to sum up the experiences and to make brief references to other churches where further examination will provide similar experiences.

i) Churches that were "born" out of the turmoil of the ritualistic controversy were, as an ecclesiastical community, inherently unstable. Their leaders were people who had taken a stand, at some personal cost, and were prepared to do so again unless they were given their way. This is quite clear from the example of St. Paul's - especially with the difficulties over monies owed to Hodge. Another clear example is provided by St. John's, Spalding with the stand taken by the churchwarden Dandy (see above). A brief examination of sources shows similar experiences at Trinity RCE, Southend (although Southend survived), St. Saviours, Littlehampton (FCE then REC (Sugden & Richardson)) - and many others.

ii) Strong and lasting leadership together with a settled community was rare - but when found, the combination worked. Christ Church, Ilfracombe, under Bishop Price, and Emmanuel, Putney, under firstly Bishop Meyer and then Alexander Roger are obvious examples in the south. In the north St. John's, Tottington, under John Brunskill and, later Emmanuel, Morecombe, under Bishop Traugthon are other examples. Nothing of the kind existed at Cardiff - the closest was the ministry of Alexander Roger at Trinity, Cathays, which was spoiled by the gross problems of St. Paul's.

iii) Daughter missions such as Christ Church, Roath, and St. John's, Penarth - unless they were truly financially independent - depended upon the mother churches. When the parent community was failing, the missions simply could not continue. This is clearly seen at Welshpool and in many other centres which had, for a while, daughter churches, e.g. Southend's mission at Prittlewell and Yeovil's mission at Cheddar.²⁴¹

iv) With all three denominations, the bulk of the membership were loyal Anglicans "de-churched" by ritualism. When a local source of strife ceased, because, either a new "moderate" Anglican church was built, or, an anglo-catholic was replaced by a moderate - then people tended to return to their former churches. The knottier points of doctrinal controversy, especially theories of baptismal re-generation were not to the forefront of most people's minds: blatant ritualism was. Ultimately, the success of St. Stephen's, Pier Head, tolled the death knell for St. Paul's, racked with all its problems.

Despite the lack of theological understanding, St. Paul's and Trinity might have survived if there had been a long tradition of loyalty from a settled congregation to tide them over the difficult times - but there was neither.

v) Perhaps the single greatest need for the new "Free" communities in the early days was the overall "umbrella" organisation able to supply ministers to take charge of the many new churches in different parts of the country: but above all one which had an adequate central fund to help in the providing for these ministers (and equipment for new denominational centres). There was a central FCE Sustentation Fund. But this was clearly totally insufficient to support the numbers of churches being founded. Necessarily therefore, churches relied upon the patronage of wealthy local tradesmen - like Dandy at Spalding and Messrs. Hodge, Nickless and Elliott at Bute town. This led to the sort of "proprietary" congregationalism that in times of stress was a fatal weakness.

Adequate central funding would have provided a secure ministry without such continual deference to local patronage. Such an "umbrella" organisation would again have acted as a steadying authority in times of difficulty. But there was no such umbrella. The Bishops relied on their own churches for stipends, and their function was all too often that of powerless mediators in times of crisis - examples are seen with Bishop Newman at Spalding and the increasingly elderly Bishop Price at Cardiff.

vi) An important feature of the failure of the Cardiff churches is that of isolation. There is no doubt but that the denominations themselves were too small for the countrywide needs of the day. Furthermore the split in the REC made it even more difficult to "cover" areas of the country where new causes had been started. Thus, the failure of the Cardiff churches was not that Cardiff itself was geographically isolated, for there was in fact no real "centre" to the FCE. Indeed, Cardiff was less isolated than was Ilfracombe where the Bishop Price had a very successful ministry. Again, the other North Wales communities were mostly within reach of rail connections, and Welshpool was on the line from Shrewsbury to Aberystwyth. The real weakness was in the isolation of individual communities of the FCE from each other. Thus to assist the Cardiff churches a man would have to come from Ludlow or Leominster. Assistance at the Welshpool RCE church meant the minister having to come from the nearest other RCE church at Wolverhampton. Such scattered communities put much pressure on the laity themselves; and if they themselves were too disunited to keep worship going through lay-readers and churchwardens, then the community could not last with only the occasional visit from a minister to take Communion every couple of months. Such unrelieved isolation from the other churches made even the concept of an annual Convocation authority unreal; it only served to increase the tendency to the congregationalism that so beset the churches of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.

vii) Finally, a significant weakness in the FCE position in Cardiff (and certainly in other places where the FCE was serving new areas of housing) was that although the denomination was first to serve a need in an area like Broadway, or Cathays, the Established Church soon caught up with its obligations. By the mid 1880s, Roath was, if anything over-supplied with churches. By the mid 1890s Cathays was certainly over-supplied, for this was the place where three parishes met. St. John's, St. Andrew's and the old parish of Roath had boundaries which met within walking distance of Trinity, Cathays Terrace; and the 1880s and 1890s was the greatest period of church

building and extension in the history of all three. In the case of Cathays, there was also a spate of building by non-conformity, Minny St. (Welsh Congregationalist), Crwys Road (Methodist), Crwys Road (Calvinistic Methodist) - and a number of others, all catering for every variety of liturgical and doctrinal taste.

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The Cardiff churches are typical of many of the "Free" churches of the period in origin, running, and in the pressures which beset this type of foundation - Cardiff can then be seen as a microcosm of the FCE in many places in the United Kingdom at the time. But there are also special circumstances operating in Cardiff and in most other areas of Wales where reformed liturgical communities were planned or started - circumstances peculiar to Wales, not yet considered.

Including the Cardiff churches, there were sixteen "Free" churches formed or seriously considered - every one of which failed within a very short period. Although it is true to say that these circumstances are particularly evident in Cardiff, there are certain features observable in all the communities.

i) There is no doubt that from the early 1870s, the "Church of England" was seen in Wales as being exactly what its title suggested. Back in 1842, Bishop Edward Coplestone of Llandaff had said of England "We seek to be one with her in language as we have for centuries been one in religion".²⁴² He had suggested that in areas where the Welsh language was dying, it should be allowed to die out. These remarks made so publicly must have been very damaging at a time when non-conformity was being identified strongly with the Welsh Language. Later, in correspondence over the provision of Welsh services at All Saints, Tyndall Street, an old and tired Bishop Alfred Ollivant accused the Welsh congregation of "crying wolf". He failed to understand the need of those of the church who were more at ease in Welsh to worship in the language of the home.²⁴³

This was in the mid 1870s, and Canon E.T. Davies says of the last quarter of the century that non-conformity was becoming closely associated with Welsh nationalism. He continues: "The challenge which the Church in Wales had now to face was that of an "alien" church, and it was this charge which ultimately sealed its fate as the established church."²⁴⁴ In 1894, when Asquith

introduced the first Disestablishment Bill into Parliament he actually referred to the Established Church in Wales as an alien church.²⁴⁵

The obvious conclusion is that in the extension of the FCE in the Principality, in the minds of very many, especially in North Wales, the same condemnation must have applied. At Llandudno, the FCE was a seasonal thing which must have been seen by local people generally as being there for the English visitors each summer.

At Llangollen, it was the complaint once more that locals and visitors were not being catered for. At Ruthin, the distinguished Welsh preacher Kilsby Jones had to be got to preach in English at the Free Church.

Again, the abortive cause at Beaumaris may have had an impressive start at the Castle - but for that very reason it would never have drawn any really firm local support from the countryside. On the other hand, however "alien", the buildings of the Established Church were scattered all over the country, they were funded from a powerful central authority, and the clergy were usually Welsh and from the same "peasant" stock as their people.²⁴⁶ The ultimate balance of loyalty was obvious.²⁴⁷

ii) The Free liturgical churches in Wales had no popular or "social" roots like traditional Welsh nonconformity. The linguistic tie-up with the language and the chapels was well established and strong; again, without going into detail, the link between the chapels and the Liberal party was equally strong. As E.T. Davies says in "The Church in the Industrial Revolution" - "The fortune of politics, religion and language were interlinked..."²⁴⁸ Again, the chapels had championed the cause of Welsh Education, and the "pennies of the poor" had played a strong part in the foundation of the non-conformist orientated University College at Aberystwyth in 1872.

In marked contrast, the only "cause" that the reformed churches espoused was that of a vigorous anti-Romanism, which in Wales the strong Calvinistic presence could do far better, and of an anti-ritualism in a land where such examples were not widespread anyway (see more below). The great cause of opposing the re-generative theory of baptism may have excited thinking at the ancient universities but had no point of contact with the majority of the ordinary working class or even professional people of Wales. Especially for

the Cardiff dock and artisan areas of the 1880s and 90s, the reformed "cause" was far too cerebral to be practical - it simply lacked gut-appeal.

iii) There is the possibility that the new "Free" churches, if they had lasted, could somehow have got caught up in the moves towards the "Great Revival" at the beginning of the new century - but this simply never happened. Firstly the last church at Cathays died out some ten years too soon. But, more importantly, there was no real point of contact with Welsh non-conformity itself. The FCE had always, and has always refused to regard itself as non-conformist. The current declaration, as made by Bishop Arthur Ward at the 1988 Convocation, is that the FCE represents the "middle-way" - not between Romanism and non-conformity, but between the Established Church and non-conformity.

This may have appealed to many in England like the Hon. and Rev. E.V. Bligh who felt threatened by the rising tide of ritualism,²⁴⁹ or by the many readers of the Rock who were continually informed of the ever present menace of the Puseyites - the 1870s provides numerous examples from its pages. But in the Wales of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the gap between Anglicans and non-conformists was (despite occasional glaring examples of ritualism in Cardiff and South Wales) a very narrow one. In referring to the church in Glamorganshire, E.T. Davies says:²⁵⁰

"For the greater part of the last century...the church was "low" and definitely evangelical in tone...the two extremes, "High" and "Low" co-existed, but the authentic Anglican position was rare."

It would be true to say that in the popular eye in South Wales, the FCE was simply not easily "identifiable". It was certainly not Anglican, it was obviously not Welsh, and the real non-conformists seem largely to have ignored it. A frequent commentator on chapel affairs in the Western Mail was the columnist "Non-Con. Quill" - but even at the height of its troubles in Cardiff, the denomination is simply never mentioned.

iv) Finally, in thinking of the "Englishness" of the FCE in Wales and especially in Cardiff, it is worth noting that at a time of rising Welsh consciousness in the churches, St. Mary's, Cardiff was strongly involved in the furthering of the Welsh language in worship. In January 1852 Leigh Morgan, Vicar of St. Mary's, initiated the movement to establish a Welsh Church in Cardiff.²⁵¹ However insensitive was his successor in the matter of ritualism, he took the same interest. Griffith Arthur Jones was a Welsh speaking Welshman: a Welsh Sunday School was started by him in his Bute Terrace schools

and he held regular Welsh celebrations in St. Mary's parish. Ironically, by these closing years of the 1880s the influential support of the town fathers had passed to Jones. Robert Hughes, the first Lord Mayor of the City of Cardiff was a faithful supporter - as he had been since his boyhood when he was one of Jones' choristers at Llanegryn. As J.W.W. & H.A.C. said, they ".. were in the forefront of the Welsh Church movement in Cardiff."²⁵²

Dr. Brian Lodwick stresses this feature of G.A. Jones and his work: he compares the catholicism of Bute town with Roath under the aristocratic English Fr. Puller: "It could be argued that the development of the ideals of the Oxford Movement in Roath was a domino movement, an overlap from England, but St. Mary's was quite different".²⁵³

In the last analysis, Jones was made of tough material. He stayed the course through all the bitterness and fighting. Secure in his stipend, he fought for the popularity that was undoubtedly his at the end of his ministry; and by the end of the century the bitterness of popular anti-ritualistic feeling in Cardiff had died. Locally he captured the people's hearts as a diligent churchman and a Welshman.

On the other hand, the FCE in Cardiff had fought itself into oblivion. It seemed unable, as a denomination, somehow to "tap" the public imagination in Wales at all. Following the closure of Trinity, Cathays Terrace, it made no further appearance in the Principality.

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[A P P E N D I X]
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THE NEW "FREE" CHURCHES IN DEVON [CHAPTER 1]

Year	Church/congregation	Reason	Denomin.	Ceases	Reason/destination
1844	St. John, Bridgetown, Totnes	Dispute with Bishop	"Free"	1861	Shore moves to Buxton (last signs Baptism Reg. 27-x-61; Devon C.R.O., ref. P.R.1)
1844	Christ Church, Exeter	Local ritualism	"Free"-FCE	n/a	
1844	Christ Church, Ilfracombe	Local ritualism	CHC - FCE	1963	Aged congregation. & Fabric problems
1852	Furrough Cross Free Church	Local ritualism	"Free"-CHC	1902	Joined Cong. Union
1857	Bovey Tracey Free Church	Local ritualism	"Free"-CHC	1865	Joined Cong. Union

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"FREE" CHURCHES (ASSOCIATED WITH CHC OR FCE) ESTABLISHED OUTSIDE DEVON: 1851 to c.1863
[CHAPTER 2]

Year	Church/congregation	Reason	Denomin.	Ceases	Reason/destination
1851	Carlisle Chapel, Kennington (<u>Harbinger</u> , Feb 1852, p. 60 f.)	Goreham Case	Free-CHC	1852	Minister left CHC in 1853.
1853	Avebury Free Church	Local ritualism	Free-FCE	1884	prob. to Independency
1856	In Sussex (unspecified)	Local ritualism	Free	?	unknown: <u>Harbinger</u> , October 1856, p.152
1857	Sandown, I.O.W.	Local ritualism	Free-CHC	1890?	financial hardship
1857	Ruthin Free Church	Local ritualism	Free-CHC	1871?	See case studies
1857	Mold Free Church	Local ritualism	Free-CHC	1871	See case studies
1859	Hackney Free Church	Local ritualism	Free-CHC	1860?	Similar Adelphi Chapel nearby
1860	Purbrook Free Church, Hants (Christ Church)	Local ritualism	Free	1868?	poss. Independency

Year	Church/congregation	Reason	Denomin.	Ceases	Reason/destination
1860	Beaumaris	English Summer visitors	Free	1879?	See case studies
1861	Ross Free Church, Herefs	Local ritualism	CHC/FCE	1866?	prob. finance
1861	Llandudno Free Church	English Summer visitors	CHC/FCE	1873?	See case studies
<u>AUSTRALIA</u>					
1858	Geelong, N.S.W.	Local ritualism	Free-FCE	?	[Merryweather p 185]
1863	Sydney, N.S.W.	Local ritualism	Free-FCE	?	[Merryweather p 181]
<u>CANADA</u>					
1856	St. Thomas, Montreal	Local ritualism	Free-CHC	?	

Information concerning the foundation and development of each of these congregations has been gathered from a number of sources, including the denominational magazines, F.S. Merryweather's History, and I.M. Mallard's dissertation on the Connexion.

It is worth noting that, in the early years of several of these churches there was influential local support. At Purbrook this included the Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Lucius Curtis. In 1866, he provided a school room in the centre of Cosham for a daughter church. Harbinger, March 1866, p. 78.

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CHURCHES ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE FCE: 1863 - 1876 [CHAPTER 3]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1859	Brixham Free Church (Bethel)	Local ritualism	Free-FCE	1866?	poss. to Independency
1863	St. Jas., Kilburn (iron - CHC)	Local ritualism	CHC-FCE	?	?
1863	Worcester (CHC 1767)	dual CHC-FCE	CHC-FCE	c1883	remained in CHC when fed. union failed
1863	Shoreham, Sussex	Local ritualism	Free-FCE	c1890?	mainly CHC by 1870
1863	Rochdale Free Church	offshoot from CHC	Free-FCE	1865?	poss. back to CHC
1863	Middleton, Lancs (CHC 1816)	dual CHC-FCE	CHC-FCE	c1890?	back to CHC
1864	Alston Coll. Chapel, Lancs	Local ritualism	FCE	c1887?	Minister (headm.) retires from school.
1864	Tyldesley, Lancs (CHC 1795)	dual CHC-FCE	CHC-FCE	c1886?	back to CHC
1864	Ch. Ch., Teddington, Middx	Local ritualism	FCE		Still a major work

c1866	Tunbridge Wells (CHC 1769)	minister is CHC/FCE	CHC-FCE	c1880	back to CHC
c1866	North St, Brighton (CHC 1750s)	minister is CHC/FCE	CHC-FCE	c1883	back to CHC
1866	St. Mary, Bendish, Herts (CHC)	extn. from Cheshunt	CHC-FCE	c1868?	?
1866	Cosham Mission, Hants	extn from Purbrook, & patronage of Sir Lucius Curtis, Admiral of Fleet	FCE	c1868?	poss. Independency
1867	Cregoe St. Mission, Birmingham	Local ritualism	FCE	1869?	?
1867	St. John, Tottington, Lancs	Local ritualism	FCE		still working
1867	Calne Free Church, Wilts	Local ritualism	Free-FCE	1870?	?
1867	Ch. Ch., Sydenham (f. Prop. Ch)	re-opening as	FCE	1870?	?
1867	Ulverston FCE Mission	slum work	FCE	1889?	minister moves
1867	Llandudno seasonal mission	Local ritualism	FCE	c1874	see Case Studies

1868	Buxton, Derbys	Local ritualism	CHC/FCE	1883?	prob. finance
1868	Lower Broughton, Lancs	Local ritualism	FCE	1871?	death of minister
1868/70	St. Jas., Hollinwood, Lancs	Local ritualism	FCE		still working
1869	Trinity Ch., Lynmouth, Devon (iron) private "proprietor"	Local ritualism	FCE	c1884	?
1870	St. Paul, Wheelton, Lancs	Local vicar incompet.	FCE	1880	to C of E
1870	Wilsden, nr. Bradford	Local ritualism	FCE	1885-90?	?
1870	West Bromwich (f. Free Ch.)	Local ritualism?	FCE	1871?	poss. Independency
1870	Trinity Ch., Wolverhampton perm. building opened 1883	Local ritualism	FCE	1878?	In Gregg's RCE 1879. In REC by 1889. Prob. failed c. 1893.
1870	Trinity Ch., New Malden, Sy	Local ritualism	FCE	1925	finance & supply
1870	Girlington, Bradford	mission from Wilsden	FCE	c1872	?

1870	Holy Trin., Oswaldtwistle	Local ritualism	FCE		still working
1870	Mold Free Church (CHC 1857)	Local ritualism	CHC-FCE	c1872	see Case Studies
1871	"St. Luke's", North Kensington	Local ritualism	FCE	c1872	?
1871	Holy Trinity, Ledbury	Local ritualism	FCE	c1878	minister moves
1871	Emmanuel, Everton, L'pool	new area unchurched	FCE	c1899	trouble btn. minister & denom.
1871	Tenby, Pembs	Local ritualism	FCE	c1877	see Case Studies
1872	St. Jas., Atherton, Lancs (iron)	Local curate seceded because of ritualism	FCE	c1877	poss. Independency
1872	Mill St. Leamington (CHC 1851)	minister is CHC/FCE	CHC-FCE	c1876	back to CHC
1872	Ch. Ch., Braintree, Essex	Local curate seceded because of ritualism	FCE	1881	to RCE then C of E
1872	St. John, Southampton	Local ritualism	FCE	c1887?	?

1872	Trinity Ch., Hornsey, Middx	Local "enthusiasm"	FCE	c1873	Evangelical Vicar
1872	Trinity Ch., Leominster	Local ritualism	FCE	c1885	finance
1872	Chatteris, Cambs	Local ritualism	FCE	c1878	?
1873	St. John, Spalding, Lincs	Local ritualism	FCE	1890	see Case Studies
1873	New Barnet, Herts (iron)	Local ritualism	FCE	1875	finance
1873	St. Peter, Cleeve Hill, Glos	Local ritualism	FCE	1885-1895	prob. finance
1873	Ch. Ch., Golden Hill, Staffs	Local ritualism	FCE	c1878	to REC (UK) until mid-1880s. Then ?
1873	Ch. Ch., High Wycombe	Local ritualism	FCE	1885-1895	finance
1873	Birkenhead Mission Room	Local ritualism	FCE	c1881?	finance
1873	Barrow-in-Furness FCE	?	FCE	c1878?	lack of local need
1874	Oxford FCE Mission Room	Local ritualism	FCE	c1875	local Evang. chs.

1874	Ch. Ch., Willesborough, Kent	Local ritualism	FCE	C of E 1957	to FCE 1987
1874	Brecon FCE	Local ritualism	FCE	1874	see Case Studies
1874	Norbiton, Surrey	Local ritualism	FCE	c1875?	prob. finance
1874	St. Paul, Addiscombe, Surrey (f. ch-of-ease to par. church)	Local ritualism	FCE	c1877	poss. Independency
1874	Bishop's Cleeve, Glos	Mission fr. Cleeve Hill	FCE	c1875	prob. finance
c1874	Emmanuel, Malvern (CHC 1827)	Minister (Richardson) has dual membership	CHC-FCE	1877	to REC w Richardson. Then back to CHC 1885 w. his resig. & move.
1875	St. Paul, Cardiff	Local ritualism	FCE	1888	see Case Studies
1875	Kennerleigh Mission, Devon	Local ritualism?	FCE	c1877?	prob. finance
1875	Trinity Ch., Ludlow (iron)	Local ritualism	FCE	c1881	finance
1876	Cobnash Mission, Herefs.	Mission fr. Leominster	FCE	c1879	finance

1876	Emmanuel, Putney	Local ritualism	FCE	1957-8	finance & supply
1876	Topsham n/r Exeter	Local ritualism	FCE	1878?	poss. Independency
1876	St. Saviour, Littlehampton	Local ritualism	FCE	1876	to REC
<u>A U S T R A L I A</u>					
1865	Bourke St, Woolloomooloo Bay	no local liturg. ch.?	FCE	c1866	prob. Anglican - now St. Peter's
1874	Rockingham, Northern Aus.	Local ritualism?	FCE	c1876?	finance & supply?
1868	Brisbane, Queensland	Local ritualism	FCE	c1870?	prob. finance
1872	Maryborough, Queensland	Local ritualism?	FCE	c1875?	?
<u>B E R M U D A</u>					
1875	FCE at St. George's	Local ritualism	FCE	1879	to REC till 1880?

Information concerning the foundation and development of each of these congregations has been gathered from a number of sources, including the denominational magazines, and I.M. Mallard's dissertation on the Connexion.

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CHURCHES NEWLY ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE FCE, REC AND RCE: 1877 - 1880 [CHAPTER 4]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1877	St. Saviour, Littlehampton	Local ritualism	FCE	1877	to REC; failed c1889
1878	Ch. Ch., Hemel Hempstead	Local ritualism	RCE	1972	finance & poor local support
1877	Ch. Ch., High Wycombe	Local ritualism	FCE	1886-95	?
1878	Ch. Ch., Sidcup, Kent	Local ritualism & support of Earl Sidney, Lord Lieut. of Kent	RCE	1880-1	Div. btn. Gregg & Bp. Toke, the incumbent. Prob. to C/E, 1900.
1877	Trinity Ch., Southend	Local ritualism	FCE	1877	to REC, then RCE in 1879. Finally closed 1980: popn. shift.
1878	Emmanuel, West Drayton, Middx	Local ritualism	FCE	1884-5	retirement of minister, G H Jones
c1878-9	Norwich (Tabernacle) CHC 1752 complex hist. See Mallard p48	dual membership	CHC-FCE	1902	to CHC

1879	Ch. Ch., Crowborough, Sx	Local ritualism	FCE	c1974	to Independency
1879	St. John's, Dundee	Lic. "English" chapel	RCE	1882	communic. probs. (distance). Poss. to Episc. Ch. of Scot.
1879	Folkstone	Summer services/local rit.	REC	1880?	finance & staffing?
1879	St. Paul, Haslingden, Lancs	Local ritualism	FCE	c1901	finance
1879	Hunstanton, Norfolk.	Summer services	REC	1880?	finance & staffing?
1879	Kennington (S. London)	poss. former FCE?	RCE	c1882-3	?
1879	Ch. Ch., Tue Brook, L'pool perm. church estab. 1881	Local ritualism	RCE		Still working in FCE
1879	New Cross, London S.E.	Local ritualism	FCE	1886-1895	prob. finance
1879	Macduff, Grampian, Scot.	"English" congreg.?	REC	1880-1?	finance & staffing?
1879	Margate	Local ritualism	REC	c1882	prob finance

1879	Market Drayton, Salop	Local ritualism	FCE	1881-2	to C/E (Emmanuel) closed c 1960
1879	Ch. Ch., Peterborough (iron ch. opened March 1881)	Local ritualism	REC	1893	to Independency ? New minister 1893. (See Knowles Papers)
1879	Ch. Ch. Prittlewell, S'end	Mission extn. fr. S'end	RCE	c1893	Gregg's probs. (ch. 5)
1879	Emmanuel, Warrington	Local ritualism	RCE		Still working in FCE
1879	St. David's, Welshpool (iron)	Local ritualism	RCE	1889	Case Studies chap.
1879	Ch. Ch., Yeovil (Also a "cottage" mission for a short time in 1879 at Preston, near Yeovil)	Local ritualism	REC	1913	Finance - but major internal probs. incl. sale of large stone ch. & move to hall.
1879-80	Emmanuel, Barnstaple	Local ritualism	REC	1973	long-term financial probs. Never strong
1880	Emmanuel, Eastbourne (iron) f. 1879, & formerly REC	Local ritualism	FCE	1881-2	back to REC. Then c1891, back to FCE until failure c1899

1880	Ch. Ch., Liscard, Ches.	Local ritualism	RCE		Still a major cause
c1880	Sidcup RCE Mission	extn. from Ch. Ch.	RCE	1880-1	Div. btn. Gregg & Toke
1880	Welshpool Canal Mission	Extn. fr. local RCE	RCE	c1885?	Case Studies chap.
1880	Groes Llwyd nr. Welshpool	Extn. fr. W'pool	RCE	c1885?	Case Studies chap.
1880	St. John, Westcott, Sy. f. c1870 as Indep. cause	Local ritualism	FCE	1896-7	to CHC
<u>CANADA: Provinces of Quebec & Ontario</u> (mainly in the border areas around Montreal and Ottawa)					
1879	St. Bartholomew, Montreal founded 1877, REC (USA)	secession fr. REC (USA) of Minister & congreg.	RCE	1889	transf. to new REC (Canada) jurisd. Ceased work 1920s?
1879-80	Farmersville	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1880s?	info. not avail.
1879-80	Lachine	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1880s?	info. not avail.

1879-80	New Dublin	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1880s?	info. not avail.
1879-80	Washburne	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1880s?	info. not avail.
1879-80	Ottawa	Poss. extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	1880?	info. not avail.

The dating of the foundation of several of the churches in the UK varies slightly with those given in the present Year Books. This is because the years given there are occasionally either inaccurate, or referred to the completion of a permanent church building. In the present study, the dates given refer, as closely as possible, to the clear establishment of a congregation.

Information concerning the foundation and development of each of these congregations has been gathered from a number of sources, including the magazines of the three denominations, newspapers, Reports to the REC General Council in America, and I.M. Mallard's dissertation on the Connexion.

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CHURCHES NEWLY ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH GREGG'S RCE: 1881 - 1894 [CHAPTER 5]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1881	Piccotts End Cottage Mission ("Cottage Mission")	Extn. fr. Hemel Hempstead nearby	RCE	1882	finance & poor local support
1882	Emm'l, Forest House, Chester (failed late 80s: re-std 1890)	Local ritualism	RCE	c1891	finance & local scandal over debt
1882	Ch. Ch., Handbridge, Chester (in disused Cong. Church)	Extn. fr. Emmanuel	RCE	c1886?	prob. finance
1882	Emmanuel Miss., Wolverhampton	Extn. fr. Trinity	RCE	c1885?	Prob finance. Sitn. w. 2 chs. was complex
1885	Bethesda, Clapham (from Independency)	Local ritualism	RCE	1885	prob to Indep. Also no superv. because of Gregg's illness.
1885	Ch. Ch., Paisley, Scot. (reb. iron, 1888)	former "English" Chapel (Orange Lodge involved)	RCE	c1891-2	prob foll Gregg's failure
1885	Ch. Ch., Eccles, Lancs	Local ritualism	RCE	1956	Community changes, esp. after 1945.

1885	St. Jude's, Walsall, Staffs (Indep. found'n, 1871)	Local ritualism	RCE	c1892	Indep.; 1909 to FCE; 1940-7 Indep.; 1947 back to FCE.
c1885	St. Saviour's Miss'n, Spalding	Poss. remnants of disp. at St. John's FCE under Lamport.	RCE	c1888	Little local support See more on Lamport in Case Studies.
c1886	St. Stephen's Miss'n, Spalding	Poss. extn. from St. Saviour's; 1½ miles outside Spald.	RCE	c1888	Little local support See more on Lamport in Case Studies.
1887	Nathaniel, Brighton: f 1871 as "Free" liturgical church by elderly Anglican priest.	Local ritualism	RCE	1960	Social changes in locality, also financial probs.
c1887	Glasgow RCE Mission	Extn. fr. Paisley	RCE	c1891-2	prob foll Gregg's failure
1887-8	Emmanuel, Birkenhead (wooden)	Local ritualism	RCE	c1906-10?	finance - very small cause.
1889	Emman'l, Cliff Town, Southend	Extn. fr. Trinity	RCE	c1891-2	Probs. of Gregg's final illness.

1889	Ch. Ch., Leigh-on-Sea, Essex	Extn. fr. Southend	RCE		Still in FCE
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The dating of the foundation of several churches in the UK varies slightly with those given in the present Year Books. This is because the years given there are occasionally either inaccurate, or referred to the completion of a permanent church building. In the present study, the dates given refer, as closely as possible, to the clear establishment of a congregation.

CANADA: Provinces of Quebec & Ontario (mainly in the border areas around Montreal and Ottawa)

1880-81	Sixth Concession	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1890s?	info. not avail.
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1881	Land's Mills	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1890s?	info. not avail.
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1881	North Augusta, Ont	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1890s?	info. not avail.
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1881	Hemlock Corners	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1890s?	info. not avail.
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1884	Ch. Ch., Oshawa, Ont	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	mid 1890s?	info. not avail.
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NEWFOUNDLAND

1881	Brigus	Extn. fr. Montreal	RCE	?	info. not avail.
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1881	Bishop's Cove	Extn. fr. Montreal?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
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1882	North River	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1883	South River	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1883	New Harbour, Trinity Bay	?	RCE	?	still working 1902
1883	Dildo	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1883	Chapel Arm	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1883	Norman's Cove	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1883	Witless Bay	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1883	Shoal Harbour	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1883	Hart's Delight	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1884-5	Green's Point	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
1884-5	Trinity Ch., St. John's (new church dedic. 1886)	Extn. fr. Brigus?	RCE	mid 1890s?	info. not avail.

1885	Green's Harbour	?	RCE	?	info. not avail.
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The Anglican Church in Canada was neither large nor "Established" as in England and Wales. Other Protestant denominations were strong, and so both Anglican and RCE congregations tended to be "gathered". Certainly there was not usually the strong impetus to secession provided by a local and parochial ritualism as in Britain. Perhaps because of this lack of a continual and powerful countrywide controversy, the REC as a whole in Canada and Newfoundland was never large. Writing in 1902, Annie Darling Price mentions only St. Bartholomew's, Montreal of the churches which had been within the jurisdiction of the RCE on "mainland" Canada. Concerning the REC/RCE in Newfoundland she makes it clear that there were just two main church centres left, Clarke's Beach and New Harbour. Together with these were "several outside stations connected with these missions". She further says that in 1891 the total number of REC adherents in Newfoundland was 600.

Clearly, a number of the congregations were very small - perhaps typically no more than two or three families - hence their brief existences. Moreover, the places named are frequently little more than hamlets. Certainly, in the case of a number of these communities, both on the mainland and in Newfoundland, not even the Times Index-Gazetteer of the World has any reference to their locations.

In fact there is virtually no information available in Britain on the Canadian REC/RCE in these early days. Any proper examination would entail considerable research both in America (at the REC Seminary in Philadelphia) and Canada.

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Information concerning the foundation and development of each of these congregations has been gathered from a number of sources, including the magazines of the RCE, newspapers, and Reports to the REC General Council in America.

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CHURCHES NEWLY ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE REC IN THE UK: 1881 - 1900 [CHAPTER 6]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1880/1	Margate, Kent (church fr. another denomin. taken over)	Local ritualism	REC	c1882	prob. finance
1881	Lewisham, (South London) (f. Anglican pr. as minister)	Local ritualism	REC	c1882	lack of finance & local support
1882	Ch. Ch., Cheddar, Somerset	Local ritualism	REC	1889-90	finance, and moving of minister, Renney
1883	Weymouth, Dorset (in town Assembly Rooms)	Local ritualism	REC	c1885?	prob. finance
1883	Emman'l, Gunnersbury, London (large iron church)	Local ritualism	REC	1946	finance/after effects of war/fabric needs
1886	Ch. Ch., Carlton Hill, NW 8 (former Presb. Church)	London site	REC	1892	Richardson's private property. Failed w. his bankruptcy
1887	St. Jude's, Balham, London, SW	Local ritualism	REC		still a major cause

1888	Ch. Ch., West Kensington (large, former Anglican ch.)	Exn fr. Carlton Hill	REC	1892	failed with ASR's bankruptcy
1888	Ch. Ch., Harlesden, NW 10 (new dual-purp. ch., 1984)	Local ritualism	REC		still a major cause
1889	St. Paul, Skegness (iron)	Local ritualism	REC	1891-2	to FCE, then to Baptist Union, 1894
1889	St. John, Upton Manor, Lond.	Local ritualism	REC	1912	to Moravians
1889	Emman'l, Farnham, Surrey	Local ritualism	REC		still active in FCE
c1890	St. John's (Mariners'), Dover orig. Wesl. Meth., then C/E, then CHC, then C/E	Local ritualism	REC	c1902	finance/lack of local support (complex history)
1896	Ch. Ch., Exmouth, Devon (ex-Meth. ch. bought 1897)	Local ritualism	REC		still a major cause
1896/7	Ch. Ch., St. Helier, Jersey (at Lyric Hall)	Local ritualism	REC	1903	finance & death of minister in 1903
1898	St. Andrew, East Ham	Local ritualism	REC	c1900	to FCE, then failed c1904: prob. finance

c1899	Ch. Ch., Aldershot	Local ritualism	REC	1959	finance, fabric & elderly congreg. (complex history)
1899-1900	St. Saviour, Manor Park London, E 12 (congreg. prob. formed mid-90s)	Local ritualism	REC	c1903	prob. finance, local support, & death of minister

In the case of the churches of the REC during these years, because of the lack of any denominational magazine for most of the period, the gathering of information on the individual congregations has had to be made from a wide variety of sources. Because of the difficulty of finding these, they have been itemised under reference numbers in the notes.

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CHURCHES NEWLY ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE FCE: 1881 - 1900/01 [CHAPTER 8]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1882	Mill St Chapel, Leamington Spa (f. CHC 1851)	dual membership	CHC-FCE	1882	to Independency w. a new minister
1883	Trinity Ch., Cathays, Cardiff	new area, & extn fr. St Paul, Cardiff	FCE	c1896	see Case Studies
1883	St Paul's, Laisterdyke, Lancs	Local ritualism	FCE	c1890?	prob. finance, & lack of local support
1883	St Matthew's, Accrington, Lancs.	Local ritualism	FCE	1924	finance & local trust problems
1884	St John's, Penarth, Glam. (in local Hall)	"Political" extn from St Paul, Cardiff	FCE	1887	see Case Studies
1884	St Stephen's, Preston, Lancs	Local ritualism	FCE	c1890	poss. to Indep.
1885	Ch. Ch., Broadway, Cardiff	Local ritualism & extn fr St Paul's	FCE	1887/8	see Case Studies

1885	Emmanuel, Morecambe	Local ritualism & beach mission	FCE		still a major cause
c1890?	Ockbrook Mission, Derby	Local ritualism	FCE	1897	minister (Ginty) moves. Tiny cause fails.
1890	Emmanuel, Camlachie, Glasgow	prob people from Gregg's RCE congreg.	FCE	1956	new social patterns post Second War
c1890?	Emm. Mission, Cutler Heights, Bradford.	Local ritualism?	FCE	1896	minister (Ager) to Oswaldtwistle FCE. Small Cause.
c1890	Hunslet Mission, Leeds (in local Board School)	Local ritualism?	FCE		finance/lack of local support
1896	Mickleham Mission, Dorking (in the Carriden Mission Hall	Local ritualism & extn fr Westcott	CHC-FCE	1897	to CHC
1896	Trinity Ch., Springburn, Glasgow.	extn fr Emml, Parkhead	FCE	1962	social changes post Second War

1899	St James' "Chapel-of Ease" Southview, Crowborough)	extn from Christ Church	FCE	1901	death of Dicksee at Christ Church.
1899	St. Paul's, Catford, Sy.	Local ritualism	FCE	1901	to Indep?

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CHURCHES NEWLY ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE FCE: 1900-1920/21 [CHAPTER 9]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1900	Emmanuel, Great Harwood, Manchester	Local ritualism	FCE		still working
1902-3	St Stephen's, Clydebank Glasgow	extn fr Springburn	FCE	1927-8	out of FCE 1907-12. (small cause)
1904	Ch. Ch., Broadstairs	Local ritualism	FCE		still working
c1904	St Thomas, East Pk. Rd., Leicester	Local ritualism a large congregation	FCE	1914	left FCE: finance & denom. discipline
1904?	FCE, St John's Rd., Stapleford (unknown which)	Local ritualism?	FCE	1907	left FCE: legal probs over property
1904	St Philip's Mission Whiteinch, Glasgow	extn fr Emmanuel, Camlachie (Irish immigrants)	FCE	1906	finance & lack of local support
1904?	Ch. Ch., Eccleshall Rd., Sheffield	Local ritualism	FCE	1919	to Indep? No firm loyalty to FCE

1904	FCE, Dudley Port, Tipton, Staffs.	Local ritualism/	FCE	1907	to Indep?
1907	St George, Mill Hill, Blackburn	Local ritualism	FCE		still active cause
1908	Emm., Alum Rock, Saltley, Birmingham (f. 1903)	Local ritualism	FCE		still large cause in FCE
1908	Emm., Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester	Local ritualism	FCE	1926	finance & internal dissent
1908	St Stephen, Middlesbrough	Local ritualism	FCE		still active cause
1908-9	Ormond Street Mission, Birmingham (f. 1891)	Local ritualism	FCE	c1965	sociol. changes in locality
1912	John Knowles Memorial Ch., Hoyland, S Yorks (f. 1911)	Local ritualism	FCE		still active cause

1912	FCE Mission, Craddock St., Wolverhampton (f. 1903)	Local ritualism?	FCE	1958	to Indep?
1913	St John, Aston Rd., Birmingham	extn fr Emm., Saltley	FCE	1919	finance + small cause minister moves to C/E
1915	St Stephen, Clacton-on-Sea in "The College" chapel	Local ritualism?	FCE	1916	to Indep?

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CHURCHES NEWLY ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE REC: 1900-1920/21 [CHAPTER 9]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1904	Emmanuel, Carshalton, Sy.	Local ritualism	REC	c1975	finance & ministry
1908	St Philip, Adlington, Lancs. (f. 1899)	Local ritualism	REC	1922	to "Evang. C. of E." (see chapter 9)
1909	Ch. Ch., Wigan, Lancs.	Local ritualism	REC	1922	to "ECE"
1909	Wycliffe Ch., Ashton-in- Makerfield (f. 1906)	Local ritualism	REC	1917-18	small cause + death of popular minister
1909	St Paul's, Fleetwood, Lancs. (f. 1906)	Local ritualism	REC		still major cause in FCE
1909	Ch. Ch., Workington, Cumberland	Local ritualism	REC	1922	to "ECE" (no clear REC Trust)
1910	Adlington Canal Mission	fr. St Philip's	REC	1922	to "ECE"

1910	St James', Glasgow (in the "Baths Hall")	for Irish immigrant shipworkers	REC	1913	mortgage probs. Remnant to Indep.
1910	St Mary, Chesterton Staffs. (iron)	Local ritualism	REC	1915	ex-C/E minister + internal probs.
1912	Ch. Ch. Mission Aspull, Wigan (f. 1908)	extn fr Wigan	REC		to "ECE"
1913	St Barnabas, Lewes, Sx. (iron)	Local ritualism	REC	1919-20	to C of E (see chapter 9)
1915	St Saviour, Egremont, Wirral	extn fr Liscard	REC	1965	sociol. changes (old seaside resort)
1915	St Luke's Mission, Blackpool (f. 1891)	Local ritualism	REC	c1918	sociol. probs of Great War
c1917?	R.E. Mission to the Jews Grove St, L'pool ("Hope of Israel Missn" - f. 1906)	REC chaplain apptd	REC	1924-5	prob. the minister leaves the REC

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CHURCHES NEWLY ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE FCE & REC: 1921-1927 [CHAPTER 10]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1924	St Paul's, Wickham Avenue Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex (wood; perm. church, 1963),	Local ritualism	FCE	c1975	sociol. changes in town. FCE still owns church, leased to indep. evang. denom.
c1925	St Luke's, Westbourne Grove, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex	Local ritualism	REC	1958	finance & ministry, & fabric problems

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CHURCHES NEWLY ESTABLISHED BY, OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE FCE: 1927-1993 [CHAPTER 11]

<u>Year</u>	<u>Church/congregation</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Denomin.</u>	<u>Ceases</u>	<u>Reason/destination</u>
1927-8	St Saviour's, Church St, Burnley, Lancs.	Local ritualism	FCE	1947	financial probs., & minister (Livsey) moves to L'pool.
1927-8	Trinity Ch., Tenterden, Kent	Local ritualism	FCE	1946	Closed "for duration" of war. Small cause, never recovered.
1928	St Mark, Radnor Park, Glasgow	former St Stephen's Miss'n, Clydebank (transplanted)	FCE	1941	Totally destroyed in in an air raid. Not re-built.
1934	St Paul's, Huntingfield Rd, Roehampton	extn fr Putney	FCE	1941	Small cause, & war- time conditions.
1937	St Mark's Mission Bootle, Liverpool	Local ritualism	Indep-FCE	1953	Affil. by minister (H.S. Revill). Next min. (Wm. Rogers) moves to Liscard 1953 - church leaves FCE

1937	Tyndale Memorial Ch., Netherfield Rd, Everton, L'pool	affil. Indep. ch. through minister (Revill, who had also been at St Mark's Bootle)	Indep-FCE	1941	Minister (Revill) moves to Eccles FCE in 1941. Church leaves FCE.
1939	Emmanuel, Workington,	a split from the ECE in Workington	FCE		still active in FCE
1939	St David's, Preston	moves from ECE	FCE		still active in FCE
1940	St John's, Summertown, Oxford	affil. Indep. ch.	Indep-FCE	1948-9	back to Indep. Never strongly FCE
1940	Emmanuel, Tunbridge Wells	from CHC	CHC-FCE	1944	returns to CHC (Prob. Thompson's Masonic dispute involved).
1940	Calne Free Church, Wilts.	moves affiliation	Free-FCE	1944	back to Indep. (Prob. Thompson's Masonic dispute involved).

1940	St Luke's, Leamington Spa	affil. Indep. ch.	Indep-FCE	1944	back to Indep. (Prob. Thompson's Masonic dispute involved).
1943-4	St Andrew's, Bentley, Staffs.	Local ritualism	FCE		still active in FCE
1949	Ch. Ch., Cross Gates, Leeds (f. ECE, 1924-5)	moves from ECE	FCE		still active in FCE
1958	St Paul's, Outwood, Radcliffe, Lancs. (f. ECE, late 1930s)	moves from ECE	FCE	1991	finance/ministry & sociol. changes

THE FCE IN NEW ZEALAND (jurisdiction: Bp. Arthur Ward)

(SOUTH ISLAND)

1983	Nelson FCE Mission, Richmond, S. Island.	Ordination of women to priesthood, & allied liberal issues in Anglican Church	FCE		still active in FCE
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NEW ZEALAND (continued)

(NORTH ISLAND)

Service centres opened between 1983 and 1993: Hauraki District; Turua (Holy Trinity FCE Church); Waikino (at Waikino Hall); Wellington (at a borrowed church in Naene); and Hastings (Te Awanga Community Hall). Quarterly visits to various centres and homes for Holy Communion.

THE FCE IN RUSSIA (jurisdiction: Bp. K.J.W. Powell)

1991 Church of Christ the Saviour, RUSSIA, 194017, St Petersburg, Yaroslavsky Prospect 37.7.

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Further details on most of the churches included in these lists are available from the author.

C O N C L U S I O N S

CONCLUSIONS

Because of the similarity of the FCE, REC and RCE to the Established Church, and their powerful early patronage, the influence they exerted and the unease engendered in high places was out of all proportion to their small size. In addition, the intensely fissiparous nature of the denominations created continual complications - both in ecclesiastical jurisdiction and ordinary human relationships. There has never been any critical study made of the denominations or their problems.

Moreover, the pattern of conclusions itself is complex; for, firstly, a number of these are best observed chronologically, and as they develop out of the narrative progress of the study. Usually, these have been stressed within the text for consideration at this final stage. Some of them have been discussed more fully within the context of the appropriate chapters, and thus need little more than a mention here. However, without undue repetition, it seems logical to begin with a "chronological" examination of the conclusions that are best seen within the time-scales involved. Following this, there are then a number of general conclusions which have been drawn out of the more detailed and more specific considerations.

A "chronological" survey of conclusions

The origins of the FCE (chapter 1)

In their works, Merryweather, Price and Vaughan rightly rooted the FCE into the troubled years of the 1840s and 1850s. Their emotional anti-Roman Catholicism may be difficult to understand in a later age, but the fact is that the strong "roots" of the FCE movement grew within a profound fear and hostility at popular level. The powerful reactions of so many to the process of Catholic Emancipation, together with the downfall of the Restoration Monarchy in France in 1830, provided a potent recipe for political insecurity, especially amongst the middle and upper classes in Britain. It is against this background that the almost hysterical fears of "Puseyism" and ritualism within the Established Church are to be seen, for to many ordinary and educated people, they seemed an actual advance of Roman Catholicism into the formerly secure and established "Protestant" fabric of Britain itself - fears which were compounded by the "Papal aggression" of 1850.

But this fear actually found a focus in the Erastian Bishop Henry Phillpotts of Exeter, for his perceived support for "Puseyism" and his abrasive treatment of evangelicals led not only to the Exeter "surplice riots", but also to endless legal disputes - including that with the manipulative James Shore.

Yet, although the Shore case was an important "step" in the formation of the FCE, it was actually less significant than the mythology in the denomination would make it. In fact the ground was already prepared countrywide - in general by the flaunting of ritualism despite national feeling - in particular by the focus of anti-ritualist controversy in a diocese with a bishop unprepared to compromise. So the ingredients were countrywide, but in Exeter diocese the "ideal" environment was provided.

Here, it is important to see that T. E. Thoresby, a leader of the old-established CHC, used the dramatic nature of the Shore case as a way to boost the flagging fortunes of his own denomination - hence his later labours to formalise the new FCE in law. Indeed, the first part of this study demonstrates the way in which Shore, together with the Connexion, was able to bring to popular notice the concept of evangelical Prayer Book worship outside an Established Church increasingly sympathetic to the ritualism feared by so many. The intense national publicity of the case then turned the idea of a Free Liturgical church into reality in people's minds - but for their locality.

The genesis of the FCE, 1848 - 1863 (chapter 2)

In the minds of Thoresby, Dodd, Shore and others of the CHC, whilst there was a clear intention to form a new denomination, it was to be formed from within the Connexion. But in June 1850, the Conference passed a resolution stating that it would "cheerfully enter into communication with...this movement, with a view to a union with them, if such a union should be found practicable". Thus from the start, the "Free" liturgical movement was perceived as being outside the denomination, and during the following years the hopes for a development in the Connexion simply did not happen. The fact was that the CHC had been riven for many years with such internal strife that, in its divided state, it was incapable of any such change in identity to accommodate the ever increasing number of new communities.

An important factor discussed is the difficulty during the 1840s and 50s of distinguishing between the churches of the Connexion and the new Free churches.

Certainly, after 1863, a number of Connexional ministers held dual membership with the new movement, so that although the churches they served were CHC, they appeared in the FCE lists. As a result, during the 1850s, there was the shift in the balance between the two systems under the CHC umbrella. Whilst new Free churches continued to be founded, the Connexion continued to be rent by disputes; and this is why, as I.M. Mallard pointed out: "There was a tendency for the FCE element to assume a superiority over the Connexion".

It is evident that this shift in balance was then accelerated by the action of the 1862 Conference which divided the country into "districts or dioceses", each Superintendent having an "episcopal" type of jurisdiction. Certainly, the strongly protestant misgivings of many traditional CHC members caused a pronounced polarisation within the CHC by reaction. It was therefore inevitable that the 1863 Conference saw a virtual schism in the CHC, for because of the deep divisions it was impossible to take the final step of identifying the Connexion wholly with the episcopal and authoritarian structure implied by the FCE Poll Deed. The only solution was for the new "Free" churches to take a separate identity parallel to the Connexion - the hope being that a "Federative" rather than "organic" unity might produce the same result in the long run. Thoresby's plan had failed, and when the Deed Poll went forward to Chancery on 31 August 1863, it represented what was largely a newly gathered denomination from the Connexion.

The FCE, 1863 - 1876 (chapter 3)

During the years 1863 to 1876 it is interesting to observe the FCE gradually taking on a new and distinct identity, and one which was taking it further and further from its Connexional cradle. This development is extensively examined in chapter 3, and so needs no further detailing. However, during the process, it is important to see that the old "Federative" relationship between the FCE and the Connexion was being continually eroded by the abiding fear in the CHC of absorption by its authoritative offspring, for this illustrates graphically the long-standing confusion present in the Connexion over its own identity.

A number of developments in the growth of a new ecclesial style are identified in the text of the work - including the strong involvement of the FCE in the Prayer Book Reform movement, the adoption of the title "Bishop", and the frequent use of the surplice at services, other than Holy Communion, by 1870. Again, it is observable that in 1867 and 1868, largely in response to these

changes, the Conference distanced itself by emphasising the separate nature of the two bodies. The fact was that the FCE was looking increasingly towards the Established Church as a model; but the closer it moved, then by reaction, the further away the Connexion drew.

Again, in June 1874, the establishment of a "Federative Union" between the FCE and the new REC in America set the possibility of any organic union between the FCE and the CHC even further away. For the common "Anglican" ground between the REC and the FCE was far greater than anything between the CHC and the FCE.

[Nevertheless, it is again important to see that, whatever the wishes of the FCE leadership, there was only so much connection that the FCE could have with its Anglican model. For despite the aristocratic support of people like Bligh, Ebury, Sidney, or even Lord Shaftsbury, they had no real executive authority within the Church of England.]

Yet it was the "harmonising" of polity and Canon Law between the FCE and REC which drew the FCE furthest from its roots. In Spring 1875, Thoresby's articles in the FCE Magazine on FCE Orders made it clear that within its "two-fold" Order of Ministry (Presbyters and Deacons), the denomination saw Presbyterate as including Episcopate - moreover, that the major Orders were regarded as indelible. But, what has never been made clear is that, from the moment Federative Union with the REC was signed, any effective relationship with the Connexion was breached; and the Consecrations of Price and Sugden in 1876 effectively cut the umbilical cord forever. To many in the CHC, the FCE was then indistinguishable from the State Church.

The years 1876 - 1880: division and sub-division (chapter 4)

The circumstances involved in the emergence of the separate branch of the REC for Britain in 1877 have never been examined - even by Vaughan. Indeed, it is likely that he was not fully aware of the intense complications involved. Even in 1876, it was clear that it was the great differences between the "Calvinistic" FCE and the "Anglican" REC that prevented full union. And it was because full unity was impossible that the separate British REC began early in 1877. In fact the new REC came largely out of a split in the FCE, and this study identifies the "Littlehampton affair" as the cause. For, although started as an FCE work, St. Saviour's was put under REC jurisdiction.

Significantly, what emerges from the wordy battle involving various pieces of correspondence from both Thoresby and Philip Norton (the minister at Littlehampton) is that there were two factions within the FCE. One, represented by T.H. Gregg, sought to form a conventional "English" protestant episcopal Church. The other, represented by Thoresby, saw Gregg's views as too close to the "magical" idea of Apostolic Succession, and was "bitterly opposed to this aim." It is evident that Price stood half way between the two, although by nature he would look to the Connexion. Finally, Sugden felt a loyalty to the REC because of his Orders, and it is certain that the extreme reaction of Thoresby (with Price's tacit support) then forced him, with other leading members, to side with the new separate REC.

Meanwhile, it was the Anglican background and style of the newly consecrated Gregg, together with his aggressive ambition, which was causing considerable nervousness within the C of E. However tiny, the infant REC was producing reactions at the highest level in Britain. In the Convocation of Canterbury in February and May 1878, some bishops felt that Gregg was trying to represent himself as Anglican: others were facing problems with his "validly" ordained men seeking posts in Anglican parishes. However, a close examination of the facts of the time also makes it evident that it was this same insistence on an "Anglican" style, and his aggressive ambition, which was at the basis of another division; this time it was within the new British branch of the REC.

Quite unable to judge reactions to his ideas, in October Gregg wrote to Bishop Fallows in America to ask for "letters dimissory" to continue an independent work in Britain. Without awaiting reply, he consecrated N.R. Toke as his Assistant Bishop. At a stroke, therefore, Gregg alienated many within the tiny new REC, and, on 8 November 1878, Richardson announced in The Rock that Gregg had left the denomination. Indeed, by March 1880, he fulfilled his aim for an "English" denomination by adopting the title "Reformed Church of England" - and thus the pattern of division was complete, and there were now three small protestant episcopal Churches, not just one.

Chapter 4 also examines the fortunes of the FCE after the secession of its members to the REC; and what has never been understood is that the Littlehampton affair of 1878 had also polarised those who were left between the "Connexional" traditionalists on the one hand, and a new "Episcopal Branch of the FCE" on the other. Thus, in 1878 the FCE stood at the brink of yet another

schism; and it was only the the diplomatic skill of Price, with the support of Figgis, that succeeded in healing the division in November 1878.

Perhaps the most significant of the conclusions drawn from this particular period is the observation that, within the whole movement during these years, there grew up a major churchmanship dispute of "high" (or Anglican style) versus "low" (or Connexional style). It was not only this which actually caused the secession of the FCE from the Connexion, and later the further secession of the REC from the FCE, but, later, it was the continuing demand for an even more authoritative and "Anglican" style which caused the secession of the RCE from the REC - very much a "matroshka" process.

Finally, it is significant that the patronage of such as Ebury and E.V. Bligh was essentially from without rather than from within. Yet that patronage brought mutual benefits; for just as the denominations themselves profited, so Ebury and Bligh used the movement as a weapon with which the government and Anglican hierarchy could be threatened into further action against the tide of ritualism. In his reply to the Bishop of Rochester who had asked for financial help to set up the new diocese of St. Albans, Ebury announced with brutal bluntness that he would give nothing, for: "should this plague (ritualism) continue....I shall have to seek a refuge elsewhere." It did; but he didn't, and neither did Bligh!

The RCE: 1880 - 1894 (chapter 5)

At first, it was clearly Gregg's organising abilities and energetic personal involvement throughout the denomination which kept the RCE ahead of the REC (UK) in its growth - in Britain, Eastern Canada and Newfoundland. But growth brought problems of oversight which simply could not be solved by one man - yet he was clearly not capable of working closely with an episcopal colleague, for Sugden and Toke both left him. Even by June 1883, assistance was obviously a matter of urgency; and by the winter of 1889/1890 when his health was failing, the administrative system was plainly breaking down.

The fact was that Gregg was trying to rule on Anglican lines with a central administration. Yet he was unable to work with episcopal colleagues. Again, he could not delegate; otherwise he would have formed an efficient local secretariat. Finally, the RCE was far too poor, either to have a professional administration or a professionally trained clergy to the standard of the

Established Church. Again, despite his Anglican ideal, because of the manpower problem, Gregg had to license deacons to celebrate Holy Communion. Although he was never happy with compromise, compromise was forced on him.

But the major failure which undoubtedly clouded Gregg's latter years "psychologically" was his unsuccessful attempt between 1884 and 1889 at reconciliation with the American REC. His aim was to prove the RCE to be the true REC in Britain - with himself as leader. Gregg's powerful American support included the American Presiding Bishop, and the chapter examines the manipulative way in which Gregg tried to discredit the work of the REC (UK) under Bishop Richardson whilst re-inforcing his own claims. In fact Richardson was regarded as an ambitious and dangerous man, and a source of continual strife in the REC in Britain. Nevertheless, letters recently discovered at the RE Seminary make it clear that Gregg's eventual failure was almost certainly because the American leaders had been greatly embarrassed when he published confidential material, including the opinion of a senior American leader that the exclusion of his name from the REC lists was "ultra vires". But it is also clear that America saw P.X. Eldridge, one of Richardson's leading presbyters, as a new star, and this also helped the recognition of the REC (UK).

Gregg had put himself under impossible strain. He was running a small but widespread denomination, modelled on the State Church, together with his own busy church and important social work. He was hampered by lack of money and by a strong "congregationalism" amongst his churches - for the real power lay locally, with the trustees, and those who paid the clergy. Again, his position was weakened by the lack of any episcopal assistance in the UK, and by the pressure of his own ambitions. Whilst he remained able to travel, then many of the problems within the churches could be "eclipsed" by the strength of his own hopes and personality. However, with declining health, he began to lose control of the RCE, and by 1891 his tragic insanity made an end to his own ministry.

Finally, chapter 5 examines the turmoil of the denomination during the early 1890s, and this has pointed to a number of conclusions never before made. The main problem was that, with the fall of Gregg, there was no obvious leader. He had not groomed a successor, and indeed had centralised authority in himself. Consequently, because there was no-one to exercise proper episcopal oversight, approximately half his churches in Britain (perhaps 9) either failed or left the RCE. Even so, it is significant that the "congregationalism" amongst the independent Trusts which had long militated against proper denominational

unity, actually worked to preserve the churches which remained, for their own internal power structures kept them going despite their isolation.

The REC in Britain: 1880 - 1900 (chapter 6)

Perhaps the initial conclusion drawn from these years is that a major problem resulted from the lack of any strong leadership or firm central administration in the REC - unlike the RCE.

The changing structure of the REC between 1880 and 1888 is examined. From 1883, the REC in Britain was given complete administrative independence from America. But the ease with which this had been granted by General Council is indicative of American embarrassment over the continual strife in Britain. Indeed, when Sugden retired in 1885, he made a total break with the REC. Yet by the late 1880s it was clear that Richardson was unable to work with episcopal colleagues anyway, for Bower and Greenland had left the denomination. Again, the events surrounding Bishop Greenland's resignation clearly demonstrate a stronger spirit of congregationalism in the REC than in Gregg's RCE.

In examining these years, the chapter identifies several further important failings. Firstly the personality "mix" of the leadership in the denomination simply did not work. Secondly, because he had no episcopal assistance, Richardson was hopelessly overworked. Thirdly, Richardson did not have Gregg's ability to run a denomination single-handedly anyway. Finally, the poverty of the denomination meant that there was no "safety-net" for congregations with financial problems. Yet, withal, the central weakness in the system was that of the personality of Richardson himself - his mercurial and unpredictable nature, the lack of practical theological acumen which meant that he permitted himself to become involved in two illegal consecrations outside the REC succession, and above all else, the total lack of business sense which led to his bankruptcy and enforced resignation in 1892.

By 1892 both the REC (UK) and the RCE were seriously damaged, and the chapter examines the way in which the wreckage was salvaged by Philip Eldridge for the REC and Frank Gregg for the RCE. But, in examining the conclusions made in the text, it is important to see that Richardson was obliged to resign before he was declared bankrupt, and REC leadership was immediately tightened by Sugden's return from retirement and by the consecrations of Eldridge and James Renny. In the RCE there had been no such planning; thus, when Gregg fell, his

denomination fared worse. Indeed, although the years 1895 to 1900 provided a time of healing for the newly united denomination, the damage done in both denominations meant that by 1900 there were still only 21 churches.

The REC and RCE 1880 - 1900: further considerations (chapter 7)

Using the Tait and Benson papers at Lambeth, an examination is made of the troubled relations between Gregg and Richardson and the Anglican Bishops, from 1880 to 1900. In 1878, the Upper House of Canterbury was worried by Gregg's "Establishment" style, and the fact that his orders stood within the ancient succession. This was complicated by the fact that although a Counsel's Opinion stated that REC Orders were valid, yet a strongly "political" Memorandum from the American Bishops in 1878 insisted that Orders from Cummins were in-valid. For Archbishop Benson this provided an all but insoluble theological dilemma because of the current "Augustinian" thinking on Holy Orders; and it is this dilemma which was at the basis of the uncertainty of so many of the Church of England bishops at the time. Indeed, Benson's nervousness is seen in his refusal to decide whether such men should be merely received or (re-) ordained: he merely pushed the decisions back to the Bishops.

At the close of the chapter, a number of general conclusions are drawn out for both the REC and RCE during the period 1880 to 1900. At the risk of some repetition, it is worth noting that amongst these were common failings. It is clear that both leaders over-reached themselves in their ambitious plans. Both were unpredictable and mercurial. Neither could work with episcopal colleagues; as a result, neither was able to cope with their burden of responsibility. Again, neither denomination had the security of a large organisational "umbrella", nor did they have the trained clergy who could compete with the Church of England.

Finally, a further examination of the tendency towards the "congregationalism" of both denominations re-inforces the earlier observation that actual power lay with the local groups who owned the churches and paid the clergy. The prevailing force was therefore "centrifugal", not "centripetal" as in the C of E. Again, as the new communities frequently comprised people who had left their parishes in the heat of dispute, they tended to bring an inherent instability with them. Nevertheless, although hindsight shows these denominations to have been little actual threat to the State Church, they were perceived as dangerous. For both were too close to the Anglican model for comfort.

The FCE, 1880 - 1900 (chapter 8)

Despite division, the FCE remained stronger than the other two denominations, and it is probable that powerful early expansion was a salient factor in this, as was the continuing arrangement for dual FCE/CHC membership. Yet although the FCE saw none of the dramatic troubles of the REC and RCE, it also lost ground, for by 1900, there were just 21 churches.

Analysis indicates that, without doubt, the main problem through these years was an escalation in the churchmanship dispute which had caused the secessions to the REC. Indeed, in June 1881, Price spoke of his deep concern at the divisions and party spirit which he certainly saw as hampering expansion. It is evident that the growth of the "low-church" party during the early 1880s was aided by the continuing influence of senior CHC clergy who held dual membership. Others like William Baker saw the future in the Anglican mould, and it was only Price's diplomatic ability that kept the two parties together.

Another factor stirring-up the low-church party in the FCE was certainly the attempts at re-union with the REC in 1888 and 1890. Both attempts failed. Nevertheless, the complex and impassioned debates which were involved over such matters as the re-ordination of those presbyterially ordained would only have inflamed old wounds within the FCE. It is probably this which accounted for the fact that, by 1895, both Figgis and Thomas Dodd had left the FCE List.

Again, it is reasonable to form the conclusion that, because of the public censure following the falls of both Gregg and Richardson, the FCE also suffered losses. However unjust, the untutored eye would not have distinguished between the Churches. Again, ritualism was no longer the cause-célèbre of former decades, and by the mid 1890s, both Price and Eldridge were urging evangelism for the new unchurched areas rather than merely the combatting of particular focal points of ritualism.

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The years 1895 to 1900 saw a climax in the "party" strife within the FCE, and this resulted in the (unsuccessful) attempt by the "low-church" party to abandon the episcopal polity of the denomination in the Convocation of 1901. Dicksee, the Primus, was attempting to reverse all that had been done since 1876 - a radical and dangerous project for a small and unstable denomination.

These events are now forgotten in the FCE, and the reasons for such a step are not easy to understand.

Yet what does become clear is that, first and foremost, the basic internal strife over churchmanship was compounded by a weak leadership, for Meyers was in Australia and Price had died in 1896. Again, Bishops Baker and Dicksee were utterly opposed in churchmanship. In fact the chapter looks at the crucial balance held by Price, for as a former Calvinistic Methodist, yet a pragmatist and able politician, he seems to have been able to hold the delicate balance between "high" and "low", and to have kept the loyalty of both. However, when he, together with Figgis and Dodd, were no longer part of the FCE, not only had the old "restraining" force within the leadership gone, but with it, the reconciling abilities of all three.

Taken by itself, Dicksee's plan made no sense. But certain developments amongst Congregationalists and Baptists at the time provide assistance. In particular, the "spiritualisation" process within Congregationalism sought to raise consciousness of the laity to their own call to ministry: yet the result was actually a "laicising" of the clergy. It is highly likely that Dicksee was influenced by this development in thought.

Once more, certain familiar and significant characteristics are observed in the study. Denominational poverty and the lack of any financial "overstructure"; a scattered denomination with no proper "umbrella" of clerical supply; the lack of suitably educated men who could deal with the privileged classes; inherent "congregationalism" of the system - all militated against any strong expansion.

Lastly, it is clear that the inner tensions of the FCE corresponded directly with the strength or weakness of its leadership. A denomination empowered at congregational level depended upon the co-operation of its church officers, the loyalty of its clergy, and therefore the management skills of the bishops. The linchpin to the early stability of the FCE was Benjamin Price. After his death, his successors espoused two utterly opposed traditions. Moreover, neither had Price's strength of character or tolerance. It is worth noting that if Dicksee had not died, or if the "anti-episcopal" resolution had succeeded, then the FCE would gradually have become a part of Congregationalism - and as indistinguishable from Congregationalism as is the Connexion today.

The FCE and the REC, 1901 - 1921 (chapter 9)

The early 20th century witnessed more profound changes in the ecclesiastical scene than probably any other time during the period of this study - Particularly amongst the larger non-conformist Churches. New commercial and political influence had strengthened the social position of non-conformity. The burgeoning of non-conformist theological scholarship in turn led to change - none more dramatic than the sacramental emphasis in "Free Catholicism". Yet the FCE and the REC were too small and too poor to be able to share the benefits of change. They also remained isolated, both from the State Church and non-conformity, for their Episcopal polity was too Anglican for non-conformist comfort, and too Anglican for Anglican comfort.

Again, the earlier aristocratic patronage of figures like Lord Ebury had died with them, so that by the 20th century, members tended to be drawn from the lower middle and artisan classes. But a most important factor in these social changes for the denominations was that concerns and values within society had changed. Although many deplored the continuing growth of ritual within the State Church, the white heat of popular dispute had largely disappeared; and with the carnage of war, people had very different priorities. Yet despite the isolation of the FCE and REC, certain of the major features in non-conformist life at this time were reflected by them. Amongst these, those of new standards of scholarship, new emphases in "churchmanship" and new ecumenical concerns are examined in the text.

Particularly important in the matter of drawing conclusions, however, is the ecumenical dimension, for because of the Episcopal Polity of both denominations and their tiny size, there was little chance of their taking part in any of the main ecumenical projects. Nevertheless, there were attempts to find some form of unity between the FCE, the REC, and the CHC. However, the denominations had changed. At the turn of the century, when the FCE had nearly dispensed with its ancient succession, there were evidently hopes for unity with the Connexion. But, although the churchmanship of the FCE had moved "down" that of the CHC had moved still further "down" and largely into congregationalism. Moreover, at the same time, parts of the REC had moved "up" under Eldridge.

Thus although the only realistic hopes for unity were between the FCE and REC, the 1920 Lambeth "Appeal" then divided the REC. Eldridge had moved "up" to Anglicanism, but at the same time the militant Vaughan had moved "down" from

Anglicanism. Schism was only averted because Vaughan was able to make it clear that the REC was too disunited to be able to take part in a satisfactory union at all. Although unity with the FCE was seriously delayed, yet the churchmanship similarities between Vaughan and the influential William Young of the FCE meant that unity was immediately replaced on the agenda in Summer 1921.

Perhaps the most powerful influence upon all the Churches was made by the bitter problems of the Great War. Indeed, it is significant that not only was church life in the REC and FCE changed dramatically, particularly by the numbers of men who were caught up in military service, but in addition, the War left a legacy which has never actually disappeared. That was the militantly "Establishment" style of support for "King and Country", especially in the FCE.

The disastrous clash between Bishops Eldridge and Vaughan in the REC is examined, for this divided the denomination and brought instability. Yet paradoxically, it was that same severe disunity in the denomination which ultimately preserved it. For there is no doubt that, following the 1920 "Appeal", Eldridge would have carried most of the REC into Anglicanism.

Finally, one conclusion is made evident by the study of the Trust problems of the Churches during these years. Because of the firm episcopal polity of the denominations, although a man was ordained "Presbyter", yet his ordination and duties gave him a position virtually indistinguishable from that of an Anglican Parish Priest. By the same token, because the actual authority over the church property often rested with a local trust, then his convictions and decisions seemed able to sway the future of his church. But as long as he had the support of the trustees, there was then no effective action that the denominational authorities could take against him. This was demonstrated by the secession of Wigan, Adlington, Workington, and Aspull to form the ECE in 1922.

Consequently, despite the poverty and weakness of the FCE and the REC as administrative units, those clergy who were firmly established in their churches were more secure and more influential than their non-conformist brethren. This may well be one of the salient factors in the growth of both denominations from 1900 to 1914, and then their maintenance from 1914 to 1920/21 when others were significantly losing members.

The uniting Churches: 1921 -1927 (chapter 10)

Eldridge's death removed the last major obstacle to unity with the FCE - although Vaughan had still to heal deep wounds in the REC caused by the personal differences between them, and by the near-split over the Lambeth "Appeal" of 1920. But, there was a willingness in both Churches to move once more towards unity; and by June 1921, it is evident that it was the strong working relationship forged between Vaughan and Young which set the political stage for discussions to re-commence.

In fact, although unity monopolised the vision of both Churches from 1921 to 1927, some former problems remained evident, particularly problems over Trusts and finances. Yet there is a way in which the unity project was actually given impetus by such concerns. Certainly, the shrewd Frank Vaughan would have realised that many RCE problems (especially that of internal dissention) might be sublimated in the greater goal of unity.

An important development observable in these years was the slow eclipsing of the power of Brook Lander on the one hand, and the growth in power of the partnership between Vaughan and Young on the other - the two factors being patently connected. Vaughan reacted badly to the older and more "Establishment" figures of both Eldridge and Lander. Certainly he had a "tenderness" which produced a particular reaction against the educated and statesmanlike urbanity of the old-Harrobian Lander. It is then in the light of this that the partnership between Vaughan and Young needs to be seen, for Young was not "Establishment". He was Irish, and a thorough-going protestant. Again, it is significant that both he and Vaughan took orders not in the State Church, but in the FCE or the REC by choice. Like Vaughan, Young was a man "of the world" with a "pro-active" management style, who when he announced the mysterious £5000 for the FCE in 1915 was obviously taking a leading role in the denomination. The evidence certainly shows the political manipulations of both Vaughan and Young in the leadership arrangements for the united Church. The elderly Lander was given place of honour as Primus: yet his actual power was limited whilst that of Young and Vaughan was greatly increasing.

A further point which bears emphasising is that the Act of 1927 was actually one of re-union - not simply union as has so often been stated. Firstly, the FCE had split to produce the REC. Secondly, the REC had split by 1879 to produce Gregg's RCE. Thereafter the pattern changed, for in 1893, the REC and

the RCE were united under Philip Eldridge. Then, the two Churches, both being from the same "stock" of the FCE, re-united in 1927. It was a tidy end to a fraught, complex and untidy history. Again, it is important to observe how the Vestry Minutes and histories of several churches in both denominations show very little actual interest in the Union, which they seemed to regard as significant only outside the life of their congregation. The denomination was taken for granted. In so many different ways the strength of a congregationalist spirit was shown time and again through the years.

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Finally, there is a way in which the whole history of the FCE, with its pattern of division and re-union, may be seen as a "parable" for many small denominations in Britain. Certainly, the years 1921 to 1927 show by "parable" many of the unity processes in non-conformity this century. The chapter looks briefly at the long process of uniting the various Methodist Churches, culminating in the Conference of 1932. As Rupert Davies points out, all had common theological ground, yet each had different "styles" and differing administrative systems. The process therefore would have been very much the same as for the FCE and REC - the enmeshing of administrative systems; the matching of differing codes of Canon Law; the reconciling of different Trusts; the process of a "psychological" growing-together; and above all, the reconciliation of the leading personalities. Yet these problems must have been the same for Methodism, Congregationalism, the later URC negotiations, or even those amongst "Continuing Anglican" Churches at present.

Indeed this study might serve to illustrate some of the salient elements and dynamics involved in schism and (re-) union generally, including processes and problems. Above all, it may serve to illustrate parameters of the human and political elements of leadership within small denominational units.

The united denomination, 1927 - 1993 (chapter 11)

It is clear that, in the years following 1927, with a large and capable leadership, and the confidence which had been created by the success of the Union, the potential strength of the FCE was never greater. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the new vitality not only helped to add the Canadian REC to its jurisdiction, but assisted a steady expansion until the severe social restrictions imposed by the Second War.

Yet from 1946 to 1975, it was increasingly obvious that the FCE was locked into an essentially 19th century style - unlike the C of E where liturgical experiments were being made to suit differing social needs. There was also a social dimension to the theological differences in church "life" between North and South. The churches in the "Calvinist" Southern Diocese seemed unable to provide a relaxed social life, and it was there that more churches failed. Above all, failing leadership meant that new opportunities, like possible jurisdiction of the Church of England in South Africa, were lost. Moreover, though frail, Vaughan's hold on the denomination meant that the other Bishops did not face the challenges - indeed, at his death in 1962, there was no obvious leader to follow.

The FCE was therefore unfitted to face the demands of a 20th century Britain, substantially changed by the savagery of two world wars, the Depression and many other social changes . It had neither money nor trained men, nor the structure, to be able to adapt or adjust. Again, because of its lack of academic theologians, the FCE was unable to deal with the new and destructive secularism that works like Honest to God, or Soundings were actually attempting to address. It is in the light of these very evident difficulties and weaknesses that the contraction to only 29 churches by 1975 must be seen.

The radical change in the approach of the denomination towards its leadership in the mid 1970s may have halted the alarming decline; but the overall strength of the FCE had sunk to a point where, without strong external impetus, any swift restoration was impossible. The theological changes of the 1980s assisted the growth of the Church in New Zealand. Again, the fall of the USSR has resulted in the new community in St. Petersburg. But the traditional problems of distance, manpower and money mean that such expansion is unlikely to be permanent. Above all, there has been no great controversy, as in the last century, to encourage specific movement to the FCE. Even the ordination of women to the priesthood is unlikely to cause any significant migration from the State Church - not, at least, to the FCE.

The brightest hope for the denomination is in the possibility of a "Federative Union" with the C of E. At a stroke, manpower problems would be helped, and a steadier clergy supply would keep congregations working more securely. Again, the stricter training for the FCE ministry at Anglican colleges would improve the servicing of the churches of the denomination. All too often these have relied on men coming from other denominations who have little understanding of FCE worship. In fact, the chapter looks at the future for the denomination if the present talks fail. Certainly the FCE could continue for perhaps 40 years or more, especially where vigorous churches with able clergy might continue to attract a "mature" membership by their essentially old fashioned and conservative low-church style. Nevertheless, the long term prognosis is bad; and at the 1992 Convocation, Bishop Ward laid this truth before the assembly. Yet the fact is that in 1993, the denomination stands at the threshold of a new and vital lease of life.

Case studies (Appendix)

The Appendix contains a chapter dealing with a set of case studies, from 1874 to 1905. These focus mainly on the FCE churches in Cardiff; but there is also an examination of the other 11 similar churches throughout Wales. At different times, between the three denominations, there have been over 200 congregations in various parts of the world, and detailed studies of the lives of these would be impossible. However, many common features in their foundation, life and work appear, particularly amongst the churches in Britain - perhaps the most common of all being their comparatively short existences.

These common factors are easily identified in the studies of the Cardiff churches; and therefore a more detailed examination of the issues involved, and their resolution, is possible. Certainly, each of the Cardiff congregations at some stage enjoyed success. Yet ultimately, like so many of the congregations in all three Churches, they failed, and the process of their failure provides a graphic illustration of a number of important common factors. These are factors which have been noted in other parts of the present study. Nevertheless, it is worth drawing them together in this section of the conclusion for ease of observation:

- i) Churches like St. Paul's, Loudoun Square, that were "born" out of the ill-feeling of a local ritual controversy tended to be inherently unstable. Their leaders were people who had made a personal stand on a matter of principle, and

very often they were prepared to do so again unless they were given their way.

- ii) Strong and lasting leadership within a settled community was rare - but the combination worked well. Ilfracombe under Price, and Morecambe under Troughton are obvious examples. Yet nothing similar existed in Cardiff.
- iii) Daughter missions such as Christ Church, Roath and St. John's, Penarth tended to depend upon the security of the mother church. But when the parent community failed, the mission was unable to continue. The truth of this is particularly evident, for instance, in Southend's mission at Prittlewell and Yeovil's mission at Cheddar.
- iv) With the three denominations, most of the membership consisted of loyal Anglicans "de-churched" by local ritualism. However, when a "ritualist" was replaced with a "moderate", or a new "moderate" church was built, then members tended to return to the Anglican fold - as in the case of the building of St. Stephen's, Pier Head. The technical doctrinal matters did not figure greatly in most people's minds, but ritualism did.
- v) Perhaps the greatest need observed was for a strong countrywide "umbrella" administration which would have been able to supply and pay ministers for the new churches. In fact the central FCE Sustentation Fund was totally unable to support the churches being founded. Thus, in practice, churches tended to rely upon the patronage of wealthy local tradesmen, and this led to a "proprietary" congregationalism that in times of stress was a fatal weakness.
- vi) An important feature of the failure of the Cardiff churches was that of isolation. Indeed, the countrywide problem of isolation amongst the churches of a small and scattered denomination made even the concept of the authority of the Convocation unreal. It merely increased the tendency towards the inward-looking independency that beset all three Churches.
- vii) Finally, there was a significant weakness of the FCE in Cathays and Roath, and in other places where the denomination was serving new areas of housing. For although the FCE might well have been the first to move into an area, the stronger denominations soon followed - all catering for every variety of liturgical taste.

Thus the Cardiff churches illustrate the origins and problems of running many of the "Free" churches of the period, particularly in Britain. However, this study is the more important in that it also shows pressures, weaknesses and public attitudes which were peculiar to Wales. Here, of the 16 "Free Liturgical" congregations throughout Wales, not one lasted more than some 20 years - and most very much less.

- i) There is no doubt that from the early 1870s, the "Church of England" was increasingly seen in Wales as an alien Church - and it is fairly evident that in the popular mind both the FCE and the RCE fell under the same condemnation. Certainly, there were very few FCE churches in "Welsh" Wales. Their clergy were mainly English, the closest FCE bishop living in Ilfracome, and Gregg being resident in Southend. Conversely, not only were the "alien" Anglican clergy funded from a powerful central authority, but they were usually Welsh and from the same stock as their people. The ultimate balance of loyalty was obvious.
- ii) The reformed liturgical churches in Wales had no popular or "social" roots like traditional Welsh nonconformity. Moreover, such controversies as baptismal re-generation had no point of contact with the majority of the ordinary people of Wales - the "cause" simply lacked gut-appeal.
- iii) Finally, it is worth noting that at a time of rising Welsh consciousness, St. Mary's, Cardiff, was strongly involved in the furthering of the Welsh language in worship, and Father Griffith Arthur Jones was a Welsh speaking Welshman who ultimately captured people's hearts both as a diligent churchman and as a Welshman. On the other hand, the FCE seemed unable to grasp the public imagination in Wales at all.

General conclusions

It has been noted several times during this study that the prevailing theological, liturgical and ecclesiological styles of the FCE, like those of the REC and the RCE in earlier days, have continued through the years to be very much in the manner of evangelical Anglicanism in the mid-19th century. Yet, from the earliest years, the denominations had hedged themselves so very tightly around with principles, regulations and militantly proclaimed customs that it was impossible for their liturgical style and worship to be able to develop in the way that was possible for the other larger denominations, and especially the Anglican Church. The FCE, REC and RCE were essentially "cause-orientated", and the resulting legacy of this for the present FCE has been a good, honourable and hardworking denomination, but one that, in many respects, has been "frozen" in time.

The hotly-held theological principles and practices that were at the heart of the 1863 Poll Deed were a viable basis for the denomination when, in the middle years of the 19th century these were burning religious and social issues. For many ordinary people, the discovery of a liturgical Prayer-Book denomination which was free from the authority of the "Establishment", and its apparent

connivance over ritualism, was both a revelation and a liberation. Together with the issue of Prayer Book reform, and with the encouragement and support of a number of well placed aristocratic patrons, the whole movement gained a popular support.

But all this was very "cerebral", and when the Prayer Book reform issue had died down, and the aristocratic patronage had faded through time or death, there was no longer that same popular support to provide an impetus for the costly process of setting-up and then the maintenance of new churches. Indeed, after the popular concerns over the "Papal aggression" had died down, the ordinary working family was far more likely to respond to the colour and pagentry of Anglo-catholicism - especially in the drab conditions of many of the poorer industrial areas. Certainly towards the new century and beyond it, public concerns were becoming very different. After the first few months of the Great War, most average families whose menfolk were being carried off to the battlefields of Northern France and Belgium were far more concerned with the mere notion of survival. Certainly, to those actually on the battlefields whose lives were touched by the heroic work of many Anglo-Catholic padres at the front (W.S.F. Pickering, Anglo-Catholicism, a Study in Religious Ambiguity, pp. 46 ff.), the hard edge of such doctrinaire disputes as those over baptismal regeneration, or the wearing of a stole, or the matter of turning East to say the Creed, must have seemed an unnecessary luxury.

In the meanwhile, the new "Free" movement under the aegis of the CHC demonstrated its inherent instability due to the mercurial nature of those who had created new congregations out of protest. In a "matroshka" process, the FCE was born out of the CHC, the REC was born out of the FCE, and within a short time the RCE was born out of the REC. But this process solved no problems in the long-term: rather did it only serve to dissipate and split both the energies and talents of those who were involved in the movement - and thus to minimise any possible long-term strength and effect that might have been.

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Although at one time a "cause-célèbre", there is an important factor which militated against any really significant expansion of the FCE on an international, or even national scale. That is the fact that however "good" was the leadership within the three denominations, no really "great" leader of a world-wide significance has been produced by them. Certainly there have been

men of high quality with apologists like Thoresby, Merryweather, Hugh Jones or Gregg. Again, Bishops like Price, Gregg, Troughton and Eldridge have been giants within their own local communities - as the local press reports of their funerals have so often shown. But none achieved more than some three or four column-inches by way of obituary in the Times, and none left any literary or theological works which have made a dominating mark upon the religious life of the country. On the other hand the lives, teachings and works of such as Wesley, or Whitfield, or, on an even larger scale, Luther or Calvin, have changed the face of nations.

It is interesting to consider the similarity of several of these observations with those of the late C. B. Moss in his work The Old Catholic Movement. Moss suggests that a significant reason why the Old Catholic movement never succeeded in a major world-wide expansion was because firstly, the movement was born into an age when, towards the end of the last century, "popular interest in Europe had turned away from religion to politics and economics". Secondly, he says frankly that Old Catholicism "never produced a great popular leader, a Luther or a Wesley..." In fact from the first, the movement "was led by scholars", but as he points out "they had no successors" (2nd ed., pp. 288 & 318). Certain similar points are made in his study of the Anglo-Catholic tradition by W.S.F. Pickering (op. cit). He points out the early aristocratic patronage by such as Lord Halifax; yet with the passing of years, the movement "lost caste". Once more, because the values of society have changed, so the Anglo-Catholic movement has lost its vigour; in fact Pickering sees a unity within the movement only as long as there was a strong and vocal Protestant lobby to act as an external unifying force.

The diagnostic points made by Moss in particular would seem to fit the situation of the FCE well. In the first place, the FCE could not have begun until the high-point of the Oxford Movement had been reached with both public outrage over ritualistic extremes, and public fears engendered with the numbers of senior churchmen who had gone to Rome. Yet, in a way, because of the changes in society and fashionable thought, the movement had already started too late to take popular root. Once more, unlike other movements (such as the powerful flowering of non-conformity in Wales) there was never any party-political affiliation or involvement. The movement never managed to achieve any widespread popular gut-adherence.

Yet more than these factors, the failure of the FCE movement to take popular root was because of the ultimate impossibility of the ideal of such as Gregg, or Baker, or Eldridge or a number of others. Their ideal was of a protestant-episcopal church which was identical with the C of E except for the lack of State "control", and with a thoroughgoing theological and liturgical purification. Yet their ideal was a chimera. The fact was that the power of the C of E not only depended upon its connections with the Establishment with the Bishops having a voice in the House of Lords by right, but it depended upon the authoritative and centralised control of the Bishops together with the large land holdings and strong financial interests of such as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of England. Conversely, the power of the three denominations actually lay with the individual congregations; and however strong the avowed episcopal polity, the inherent instability caused by the "congregational" nature of the denominations weakened them badly. Despite the traditional and central episcopal function of the bishops, whilst the majority of congregations owned their buildings and paid their clergy, the constant and unhealthy movement of churches into and out of the denominations continued.

In any case, not only were the FCE, REC and RCE partly reactions to the episcopal/political authority at the heart of the State Church, but they were simply too small, too unstable, and too poor to be able to offer any viable alternative in the long term. In addition, the Churches did not attract, and could not afford to train ministers of the right quality - as had been the realistic fear of Bishop Frederick Newman. The Established Church worked well because it was broad enough and flexible enough to take the great contrasts of theology, liturgy and local administrations needed country-wide. But the whole doctrinaire framework of the "Free" denominations actually made that same breadth impossible.

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Finally, what became increasingly evident during the years after 1927, but particularly after the end of the Second War, was that the FCE was essentially a 19th century institution, founded upon, and caught up in a 19th century protestant theology and liturgical ideal. It was simply unable to come to terms with the new and radically secular thinking of a world shaken to the core by the upheavals and brutalities of two world wars, and the great social problems engendered by the Depression - to say nothing of a rapidly increasing population, many of whom had either little or no inkling of any religious

traditions at all. Again, the lack of a theologically trained and educated clergy in the FCE meant that the response of the leaders of the denomination to the theological debates of the 1960s was reactionary and uncritical - a "drawbridge" response.

Nevertheless, as has already been noted, although the FCE has something over 30 churches and congregations and is not an expanding communion, however poor the prognosis in the long term, it is not about to die. Whatever the results of the present unity negotiations with the Church of England, the fact is that there are something between 2000 and 3000 members in Britain, New Zealand and Russia, with a dedicated and often talented clergy ministering through an orthodox and Biblically-based liturgy. Above all, the denomination possesses an integrity which is evident to all who come closely into contact with it. These are the facts as they stand. But whatever fortune the future will hold, and analysis indicates that without success in the new movement towards the Church of England this will be bleak indeed, it is worth recalling the words of the distinguished puritan who wrote:

"I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, not bate a jot
Of heart or hope, but still bear up
And steer right onward."

(John Milton)

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CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGINS OF THE FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

1. F. Vaughan, History of the Free Church of England otherwise called the Reformed Episcopal Church, (Bath 1936), p. 21 f.
2. F.S. Merryweather, The Free Church of England etc., (London 1873).
3. Ann Elizabeth Price (ed), The Organisation of the Free Church of England, (London, 1908); extracts from the unpublished autobiography of Bishop Price.
4. Ibid., op. cit., p. 6.
5. Ibid., p. 8: letter from Lord Roden to Bp. Price, December 1866.
6. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, (London 1971 ed.), Vol. I, pp. 20 ff. Alec R. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, (Harmondsworth 1961) p. 45.
7. Ibid., p. 49: a complex matter, not for detailed examination here. Stephen Neil points to an inability to encompass new theological thought as well as the positive benefits of a new industrial society, Anglicanism, (Harmondsworth, 1958), p. 242 f. A.H. Hore says that the Evangelical party "had passed from its early zeal into unreality and indifference" (manifestly untrue!) The Church of England, William III to Victoria, (London, 1886), p. 252. Michael Hennell, Sons of the Prophets, (London, 1979) provides a distinguished counterblast to the more gross generalisations on the subject. See esp. p. 122.
8. Alec R. Vidler, op. cit., p. 52. Newman considered the sermon to be the start of the movement. His words from the Apologia are quoted by A.H. Hore, op. cit., p. 277 f.
9. Richard Church wrote of the reaction at Oxford itself, that it was met..."not with argument but with panic and wrath". R.W. Church, The Oxford Movement, (London, 1891), p. 290.
10. "Head thrust forward and gaze fixed as though on some vision seen only by himself, with swift, noiseless steps, he glided by...(like) some apparition"...These are Dean Robert Gregory's memories recorded by W.H. Hutton (ed) The Autobiography of Robert Gregory, Dean of St. Paul's, (London, 1912) p. 18. Also p. 26 for reactions to Tract XC.
11. Memories of Edward Bellasis, incl. W.H. Hutton (ed), op. cit. p.30.
12. Ibid., p. 28.
13. Ibid.
14. Ann Elizabeth Price, op. cit., p. 7.
15. This is an over-simplification of what is obviously a major study.
16. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., pp. 61 ff.

17. Owen Chadwick, op. cit., p. 297; also Alec Vidler, op. cit., p. 160 f.
18. A full account of the trial is provided by G.W.E. Russell, Edward King, (London 1912), pp. 143-210.
19. Letter from Richard Church to his mother, dated 1 November 1843, printed in Mary C. Church, Life and Letters of Dean Church, (London, 1894), p. 45 f.
20. Alec R. Vidler, op. cit., p. 157.
21. Stephen Neil, op. cit., p. 232.
22. L. Strachey & R. Fulford, The Greville Memoirs: 1814-1860, (London 1938), Vol. VI, p. 4: - quoted by C.K. Francis Brown, A History of the English Clergy, 1800-1900, (London, 1953). p. 115 - note 62 is not very clear - but if examined with reference to his political change of heart in 1827, its justice becomes evident. See below.
23. Richard S. Lambert, The Cobbett of the West, (London, 1939), p. 39.
24. His pamphlet supporting the government over their action in the "Peterloo Massacre" had flown defiantly in the face of public opinion. Ibid., p. 38 f.
25. "A Short Letter to the Right Honourable George Canning... on the present position of the Roman Catholic Question by the Rev. Henry Phillpotts, D.D., Rector of Stanhope, 1827.
26. G.C.B. Davies, Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, 1778-1869, (London, 1954) p.89.
27. Ibid., pp. 77 ff. His astonishing request to keep Stanhope at £4000 a year was not granted by the Whigs...Richard S. Lambert, op. cit., p. 39.
28. C.K. Francis Brown, op. cit., p. 114.
29. Richard S. Lambert, op. cit., p. 33.
30. Anthony Trollope, The Warden, (1850), (London, 1961 (Ikon), p.70.
31. Hansard, 3rd series, XII, columns 271-287. L. Strachey and R. Fulford (ed), The Greville Memoirs, (London, 1938), vol. II, p. 287.
32. L. Strachey and R. Fulford, op. cit., p. 289.
33. Alec R. Vidler, op. cit., p. 46.
34. G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., p. 139.
35. Alec R. Vidler, op. cit., p. 47.
36. Thomas Shapter, The History of the Cholera in Exeter in 1832, (Exeter 1849), pp. 236-7.

37. Richard S. Lambert, op. cit., p. 55 f.
38. Letter by George Barnes, dated 26 August 1832, M.S. Canons letters Roborough papers, principal Registry of Bp. of Exeter. Quoted by G.C.B. Davies, op. cit. p. 143.
39. The extraordinary feud between the editor of the Western Times and Phillpotts is well portrayed by Richard S. Lambert, op. cit.
40. Richard Lambert, op. cit., p. 109 f.; also p. 110. Also G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., p. 217. Davies shows a kindlier side to Phillpotts' attitude to Methodism: pp. 148 f.
41. Richard S. Lambert, op. cit., pp. 111 ff. Lambert in his examination of the relationship between Latimer and Phillpotts is hardly unbiassed, but Phillpotts' behaviour and sense of business ethics was often gross in the extreme. Also p. 114. A slightly less biassed account of this case is included by G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., pp. 159 ff. He quotes from the Episcopal Charge of 1833 pp. 70 f.
42. This, traditionally, had conservative political implications: Stephen Neil, op. cit., p. 232.
43. J.R.H. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, (London, 1953), p. 354. Also G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., foreward by Norman Sykes, p. 7 f.
44. C.K. Francis Brown, op. cit., p. 114 f.
45. Owen Chadwick, op. cit., p. 217.
46. Richard S. Lambert, op. cit., p. 127. Also p. 127 where Lambert quotes Latimer.
47. Despite the warm support and friendship of Manning seen in a letter dated 30 December 1844. He wrote "I have been no unfeeling bystander in the severe trials by which your Lordship is beset..." Published in G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., p. 191.
48. H.P. Liddon, Life of Pusey, (London 1893), vol. II, p. 400 f.
49. Written on blue paper, on recto only. Exeter Cathedral Library, ED 22. G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., has an account of this complex matter, pp. 180-191; and so does Richard S. Lambert, op. cit., pp. 127-131.
50. Bishop's Charge, 1842, p. 10.
51. Ms., Dr. Shapter on the Surplice Riots, op. cit., p. 2.
52. Ibid., p. 3 f.
53. Ibid., p. 4.
54. A Letter to the Very Rev. the Dean of Exeter as a memorial from him and certain residentiaries of Exeter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, 1844; a postscript on p. 26 complains of one of the clergy in the diocese

who has "within the next (sic., evidently last) few weeks.... actually preached...in his great-coat".

55. M.S., Dr. Shapter on the Surplice Riots, op. cit. p. 16.
Also p. 17: The text here is difficult to read being both untidy and scored-over; but Shapter does not pull any punches.
56. M.S. Dr. Shapter on the Surplice Riots. p. 21.
57. Ibid., p. 22.
58. Ibid., p. 22 f.
59. Quoted in G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., p. 186.
60. M.S., Dr. Shapter on the Surplice Riots, p. 23.
61. Ibid., pp. 25 f.
62. The Times, 18 December 1844; also 4 February 1845.
63. A Letter to a Rural Dean, by H. Exeter, 4 December 1844.
In her article on "The Origins of the Free Church of England" Dr. Judith Pinnington quotes the bishop "The real question, in short, is whether there shall be authority or not..."
Church Quarterly Review, January 1968, p. 54.
64. M.S., Dr Shapter on the Surplice Riots, p. 20, reporting the united parish meetings of St. Sidwell's and St. James', 12 December 1844.
65. Owen Chadwick, op. cit., p. 219.
66. See G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., especially chapters 6 and 7 for further details.
67. Ibid., p. 229. Reports on the Goreham case and Phillpotts v. Evers are included in The Times, Monday 12 March 1849. Goreham at the Court of Arches, p. 7, cols. 1-3; Phillpotts v. Evers p. 8, col. 1. Owen Chadwick, op. cit., p. 264.
68. It was, in fact, the partisan nature of Latimer's reporting and comment which enabled the bishop at long last to seek revenge for the years of Latimer's acid pen in a case for libel...thus adding (in a 3 year period) Phillpotts v. Latimer to Phillpotts v. Shore, Phillpotts v. Evers and the Goreham Case at the Court of Arches. G.C.B. Davies, (op. cit., p. 229) comments "at the courage, vigour and determination of a man who, although some seventy years old, could yet conduct such a mass of business simultaneously".
69. History, Gazeteer and Directory of Devonshire, 1850, "It is in the perpendicular style, with a tower, about 1200 sittings".
70. Phillpotts sets out the basic facts at the beginning of his collection of letters The Case of the Rev. Mr. Shore, A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, (London, 1849) pp. 3 ff.
71. Ibid., the petition is printed on p. 9 f., and the License p. 10 f.

72. The background to the affair is also set out by G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., pp. 220 ff., and R.S. Lambert, pp. 132 ff.
73. See extract from The Western Times, 30 January 1847: "The Toleration Acts".
74. These exchanges were published in an article on the later case when Shore was imprisoned. The Eclectic Review, May 1849, p. 611 ff.
75. Published in The Queen at the Prosecution of the Bishop of Exeter against Thomas Latimer laborer, Exeter Assizes, March 1847. Statement of facts...in aid of the defence, p. 24.
76. G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., p. 390.
77. Richard S. Lambert, op. cit., p. 134.
78. In the meanwhile there had been further negotiations for the endowment of the chapel, but no agreement could be reached, and the building was still unconsecrated. Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, The Case of The Rev. Mr. Shore op. cit., p. 14 f.
79. Letter from Barnes to Shore, Appendix No. 1, The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself (London, 1849).
80. Somerset did not realise that as the Chapel was not endowed and consecrated, the nomination had to be that of the vicar.
81. Letter from Shore to Barnes, appendix no. 3., The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself, op. cit.
82. Shore's own words in Patriot, 17 April 1848, quoted in Eclectic Review, May 1849, p. 616 f.. There is another personal account of his dealings with Cosens at this time in The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself, op. cit., pp. 24 ff.
83. The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself, op. cit., p. 26.
84. Cosens' account is published by Phillpotts in The Case of the Rev. Mr. Shore...by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, op. cit., p. 18.
85. Ibid., p. 20 f. Letter of 11 November 1843.
86. Ibid., p. 23. Letter from Shore to Phillpotts, 23 November 1843.
87. The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself, op. cit., Shore to Phillpotts, (letter 18), 16 November 1843, p. 54.
88. Ibid., Phillpotts to Shore, (letter 22) 25 November 1843, p. 58.
89. Ibid., Cosens to Shore, (letter 27), 11 December 1843, p. 61. Several times, Phillpotts had written to Cosens urging some nomination. His refusal could well have been the result of private agreement with the Bishop.
90. The Case of the Rev. Mr. Shore....by Henry...etc., op. cit., letters, p. 26 ff.

91. The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself, op. cit., p. 28: "I was so ill, that I... was confined to my room for several weeks".
92. Richard Lambert, op. cit., p. 135.
93. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 67. Frank Vaughan, (op. cit.) says that the chapel actually closed for 6 months and was re-opened by Shore on 14 April 1844; p. 22.
94. The Case of the Rev. Mr. Shore...by Henry..etc., op. cit. p. 28.
95. The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself, op. cit. p. 63 ff.
96. Ibid., Letter of 22 March 1844, p. 65.
97. Ibid., p. 31.
98. The Western Times, 10 August 1844.
99. The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself, op. cit., p. 65.
100. Totnes had a reputation for being a querulous community anyway. H.J. Whitfield wrote of the "genius of the spot" in 1854: "Probably the strife of politics is sterner, and more incessant, in Totnes, than in any other town...the stream of water down the street was made a badge of faction": Rambles in Devonshire, p. 148: included by Jack Simmons, A Devon Anthology, London, 1971.
101. Anon., A Brief History (of Christ Church, Exeter), c. 1980: a typewritten manuscript.
102. Exeter Flying Post, 3 October 1844.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid., 20 March 1845.
106. Ibid., 9 April 1846.
107. Allan Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter 1650-1875, (Manchester, 1962), p. 213.
108. Ibid., Brockett quotes from the Free Church Register of Baptism, 1848 onwards: p. 214.
109. White's Devonshire Directory, 1850 .
110. Allan Brockett, op. cit. p. 214.
111. The last baptism entry for the Free Church in the Register of Baptisms was made on 28 October 1860. Ibid.
112. Exeter Flying Post, 8 May 1861.
113. I.M. Mallard, The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and its Chapels, (dissertation for Cheshunt College, 1957), p. 60.

114. Exeter Flying Post, 25 June 1873.
115. Ibid., 25 December 1874.
116. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 69.
117. Ibid.. Also FCE Magazine, February 1869, p. 30.
118. G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., p. 179 f.
119. North Devon Journal, quoted in The Circular etc., op. cit., October 1844, p. 21.
120. Benjamin Price "The Free Church of England at Ilfracombe. A Record of Facts" FCE Circular, 1864, p. 81. This is part of Price's own personal account of the commencement of the cause to which he was called soon after.
121. The Circular etc., op. cit., October 1844, p. 21
122. Report of the Executive Committee, Report of the Annual Conference of the CHC for 1845, The Circular op. cit., August 1845, p. 118.
123. Benjamin Price, The FCE at Ilfracombe etc., op. cit., p. 81.
124. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 71.
125. Benjamin Price, The FCE at Ilfracombe, etc., op. cit., p. 82.
126. Ibid., p. 83. A detailed account of these extraordinary times would make a fascinating separate study: no less the long life and work of Price himself - a man of very great ability.
127. Benjamin Price, The FCE at Ilfracombe etc., op. cit., p. 81.
128. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 71.
129. Benjamin Price, The FCE at Ilfracombe etc., op. cit., p. 81.
130. Ibid., p. 83.
131. Some further interesting details of their early days come from Price's obituary. Ilfracombe Chronicle and North Devon News, 11 January 1896, p. 2., col. 2.
132. FCE Magazine, February, 1869, p. 31, the author probably Price.
133. Benjamin Price, The FCE at Ilfracombe, etc., op. cit., p. 84. Indeed, the town was isolated in the 1840s. An article in the local paper on the history of Christ Church (written in 1930) recalls: "There was no railway; a coach did duty once a day... the pier was not built; if the tide was out when the weekly steamer from Bristol arrived, the passengers landed in small boats on the Warp-house rocks at Lantern Hill". Ilfracombe Chronicle, 19 December 1930, "Link with the Past", p. 1, col. 2.
134. The lease was for seven years, and the guarantee was for £100 per annum during that time to pay the minister - an inherently unstable

situation, even for one of Price's ability: see Price's obituary: Ilfracombe Gazette & Observer, 7 January 1896, p.5, col. 2.

135. Benjamin Price, The FCE at Ilfracombe, etc., op. cit., p.85.
136. Ibid., pp. 89 ff.. Price tells the story with skill. There were many curious and moving moments which he recounts, and although the language is dated the tension of the whole matter comes over well.
137. The Circular, etc., op. cit., October 1844, p. 21.
138. Though how, is a matter of conjecture!
139. Benjamin Price, The FCE at Ilfracombe, op. cit., pp. 91.
140. Ibid., p. 97.
141. Because of increasing problems at Christ Church, Ilfracombe, in January 1956, the Southern Synod set up a Committee of Enquiry into the future of the work there. The Report of the Committee of Enquiry re. Christchurch, Ilfracombe, Devon, makes sad reading. Also, FCE Year Book, 1963-64, Report by the Bishop of the Southern Diocese, p. 33. Ibid., 1964-65, Council Report, p. 32.
142. For details of the Shore case, see below. Eardley's pamphlet was signed by him at "Torquay, 22 March 1849". Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart., An Appeal to the Country on behalf of the Rev. James Shore, M.A., (London, 1849).
143. Leslie Lowndes Pateman, The Pictorial and Historical Survey of Babbacombe and St. Mary-Church, (Torquay, 1979), p. 198f. I am grateful to Mr. Pateman for his kind help in this enquiry.
144. Notes made in 1922 on local history..."memories at my great age which may be helpful in future", by William Henry Grant: now in the possession of Mr. Leslie Lowndes Pateman.
145. Leslie Lowndes Pateman, op. cit., p. 199. These notes all rely heavily upon the work of William Henry Grant (above).
146. Ibid., p. 141.
147. I am indebted to Mr. E.H. Pearce Skinner - a very senior member of the church whose memories span many years.
148. J.B. Figgis (ed), op. cit., p. 207. Indeed, from time to time it appears in Harbinger in the "Connexional News" section.
149. Miss Francis Mary Pugh, at a great age, has many clear memories of her father's ministry (the Rev. Isaac Pugh, 1904 - c. 1935). I am grateful for her help.
150. Bovey Tracey Congregational Church 1857-1957, (Bovey Tracey, 1957): a now rare leaflet celebrating the centenary of the church.
151. Ibid., together with Judith Pinnington, op. cit.
152. Although the Centenary leaflet says that the Reverend Willoughby Willey came as first minister in 1857.

153. Harbinger, list of contributions, November 1858, p. 180.
154. Harbinger, August 1859, p. 182 - contributions to the C.H. Missionary Society.
155. Ibid., List of Ministers recognised by Conference in June - August 1862, p.236.
156. Ibid., January and February 1864.
157. FCE Magazine and Harbinger, July 1867, p. 202.
158. Judith Pinnington, op. cit., p. 56.
159. I am indebted to the Rev. Clifford Fry for his help. He was minister of the Bovey Tracey church from 1955-1958.
160. Shortened, and not totally accurate accounts of the early days of the Connexion are provided by F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., pp. 45 ff., and F. Vaughan, History of the Free Church of England etc., chapter 1. Other full works appear in the Bibliography.
161. Some useful information is provided in the booklet on the bicentennial celebration of the college: Cheshunt College, op. cit., pp. 4 ff., "A Short History" by S.C. Orchard.
162. The Circular for the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, October 1844, p. 24.
163. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 53 & 54.
164. Largely due to the problems over the division of power between the Trustees and the Conference. But this is examined more fully below.
165. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 66.
166. Anne Elizabeth Price ed., The Organisation of the Free Church of England, (Ilfracombe & London, 1908), p. 11.
167. The Circular (op. cit.), September 1848, p. 237.
168. The Eclectic Review, May 1849, p. 625.
169. See above. The case is extremely complicated. In fact G.C.B. Davies (op. cit., p. 224) indicates that at this point Shore would not "openly declare himself a Dissenter". Yet he had actually already claimed to be functioning "as a non-conformist" minister".
170. Sir Culling Eardley, op. cit., p. 6.
171. Published in Patriot, 17 April 1848; also quoted, Eclectic Review, May 1849, p. 627.
172. G.C.B. Davies, op. cit., p. 225.
173. Letter to Patriot, 17 April 1848.
174. See Eclectic Review, May 1849, p. 628.

175. Richard S. Lambert, op. cit., p. 136.
176. Patriot, 17 April 1848 (op. cit.).
177. The Times, Saturday 10 March 1849, p. 6, col. 4. The letter is also set out in a diffuse and very uninformative lecture by Thoresby himself: H.M. Barnett, The Test of Truth...with which is embodied a Lecture on the Origins, Nature, doctrines and Objects of the Free Church of England, by T.E. Thoresby. (London 1873), p. 57
178. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 75.
179. The Times, Saturday 10 March 1849, p. 6, col. 4.
180. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 77 f.
181. The Times, Tuesday 13 March 1849, p. 7, col. 5.
182. The Rev. Edward Craig, A Letter to the Evangelical Clergy, (London 1849).
183. Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart., op. cit., 1st edition 22 March 1849, 2nd edition, 4 May 1849. Also, 2nd. ed., p. 23.
184. Ibid., p. 14.
185. The Times, 12 March 1849, letter of 10 March 1849, p. 8, col. 5.
186. Ibid., 14 March 1849, page 8, col. 3.
187. Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, The Case of the Rev. Mr. Shore, op. cit., p. 31. He also speaks of Shore (p. 30) making "a tour of agitation, in which, during two or three years, his Bishop was made the object of most rancorous abuse...in almost every town in England, and even Scotland".
188. Sir Culling Eardley, op. cit., p. 21.
189. One of the charges made against Shore was that he openly disobeyed the Bishop's prohibition to preach before taking the declarations making him a dissenter. But this complex case would properly be the subject of separate study.
190. The Times, Shore's letter to Thoresby (within Thoresby's appeal) 10 March 1849.
191. Second Writ of Detainer, 31 March 1849: published in The Case of the Rev. James Shore by Himself, p. 36 f. In fact Shore says that he was told he would be given due warning once more to pay, prior to arrest. The second warning, he claims, did not come.
192. Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, The Case of the Rev. Mr. Shore, op. cit., p. 31: Phillpotts was unwise to say this, for he was then seen as questioning Shore's honesty over the funds given.
193. Sir Culling Eardley, op. cit., p. 3.
194. The Times, Friday 30 March 1849, p. 3, col. 5.

195. The Bill would legalise the process for many who (like Connexional Chaplains) wished to leave the Establishment. It would also prevent any further actions on the basis of indelibility of orders.
196. The Times, 13 March 1849, p. 7, col. 5; & 30 March 1849, p. 3, col. 5.
197. The Circular, op. cit., October 1844, p. 24.
198. Ibid., September 1848, p. 237, under the pen-name of "Japheth".
199. The Rt. Rev. F. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 27.
200. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 79.
201. Vaughan, (op. cit., p.25) uses virtually the same words as Benjamin Price in The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 13.

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CHAPTER 2

THE GENESIS OF THE FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1848 - 1863

1. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, "Proceedings of Conference", August 1850, p. 255.
2. The Circular of the FCE, No. 1, October 1863, p. 34 f.
3. Ibid.. Reply from Thoresby, dated 3 April 1850: Eardley's contributions to the correspondence have been lost.
4. Ibid.. Reply from Thoresby, dated 23 May 1850.
5. The Circular....No. 1., op. cit., p. 35: reply dated 27 May 1850.
6. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, August 1850, p. 272.
7. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, April 1851, p. 89 f.
8. Stephen Neil, Anglicanism, (Harmondsworth, 1960 ed.), p. 233.
9. This most complex dispute has been much examined. The main studies are J.B. Mozley, The Baptismal Controversy, (London 1862), and J.C.S. Nias, Goreham and the Bishop of Exeter. (London, 1951).
10. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, August 1851, p. 178.
11. Harbinger, February 1852, p. 60 f.
12. Harbinger, January 1857, p. 11; the capital letters for "Free Churches" are Reynolds' own.
13. Ibid., January 1857, p. 11.
14. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 61.
15. See title pages for the different years.
16. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 61.
17. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, August 1851, p. 187 f.
18. Ibid., p. 187.
19. Harbinger, March 1854, p. 83.
20. Ibid., July 1854, p. 195.
21. Ibid., January 1857, p. 11.
22. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 81. It is surprising that, in view of the importance of these negotiations, no documents remain.

23. Harbinger, June 1857, p. 103.
24. Ibid., August 1860, p. 193.
25. Ibid., August 1860, p. 194.
26. J.B. Figgis, ed., op. cit., "List of Churches and Ministers", p. 206.
27. Harbinger, April 1861, p. 103.
28. List of Churches and Ministers of both the FCE and CHC, FCE Magazine, July 1867, p. 204.
29. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 78 f.
30. The account of the Conference in Harbinger, August 1862, pp. 235 ff.
31. See below, chapter 3, pp. 97 ff.
32. Harbinger, August 1862, p. 238.
33. Ibid., December 1862, p. 373 f.
34. An account of the spring meeting of the London District in Harbinger, June 1863, p. 192.
35. See I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 43. The Trustees had sold the chapel in 1861.
36. See further details about the problems of the Trustees below.
37. Harbinger, January 1863, p. 21.
38. Ibid., July 1863, p. 207 f.
39. This question is examined more fully in the Concluding thoughts at the end of the chapter.
40. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 82.
41. Harbinger, August 1863, p. 249.
42. Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 13.
43. The Circular of the Free Church of England, No. 1, October, 1863, pp. 5-25.
44. See the "Resolution", Ibid.
45. S.C. Orchard (contrib.), Cheshunt College, op. cit.
46. Edwin Welch, "Lady Huntingdon's Plans", op. cit.
47. The Circular, No. 1, op. cit., p. 35.

48. Ibid., p. 38.
49. The Circular, No. 1, p. 39 f.
50. Ibid., p. 41; his letter is dated 20 July 1863.
51. Ibid., p. 44.
52. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 44 ff.
53. The Circular, No. 1, op. cit., pp. 46 ff. For more on Willcocks see chapter 3.
54. Harbinger, August 1863, pp. 249 f.
55. This highly complex matter would properly form a separate study itself. It has also often been misunderstood. Mowbrays published English Sects: An Historical Handbook, by Arthur Reynolds (London, 1921). The section on the Connexion, including the single sentence on the Free Church of England, is a model of misinformation.
56. The plan together with other important documents was subsequently published in (Aaron C.H. Seymour) The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, (London, 1839).
57. Gilbert W. Kirby, The Elect Lady, (The Trustees of the Connexion, 1972) p. 53 f. The Reverend Gilbert Kirby (former Principal of the London Bible College) is Chairman of the Trustees of the CHC. I am grateful to both him and Mr. and Mrs. Staplehurst (Mr Staplehurst also a Trustee) for their continual and most kind help with information and denominational traditions and memories.
58. Op. cit., p. 54. As has already been pointed out, the Countess was compelled to do this in order to avoid the problems of the Statutes of Mortmain - but it did rely on the integrity of the beneficiaries, and any continuity of policy was ultimately impossible to ensure.
59. Op. cit.
60. "An Old Attendant", Spa Fields Chapel and its Associations 1779-1884 (a few reminiscences), (London, c. 1888) p. 37 f. Also list of Trustees p. 70.
61. Edwin Welch, "Lady Huntingdon's Plans", Guildhall Studies in London History, vol. II, pt. 1 (October 1975) pp. 31-40.
62. "An Old Attendant", op. cit., p. 37 f.
63. This is supported by the protestations of the Trustees and the line of succession set out by them in Report of Proceedings at a Conference of the Ministers and Managers of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion together with the Trustees, 3 December 1884, pp. 29 ff. They were replying to a strong

condemnation of "alienation", because of this progress, by "An Old Attendant", op. cit., p. 20.

64. The Rev. W.B. Adams, "Her College", in J.B. Figgis ed., op. cit., p. 57.
65. S. C. Orchard in Cheshunt College, op. cit., p. 7 f.
66. Ibid., p. 8.
67. Ibid., p. 9.
68. S.C. Orchard, op. cit., p. 11.
69. Ibid., p. 12.
70. Circular letter: To the Ministers of the Late Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and to the Managers of the Chapels included in the Connexion Trust, London, 21 February 1842. Archives of the Connexion Trustees (Mr. & Mrs. Staplehurst, Rayleigh, Essex).
71. In their later Report of Proceedings etc., 3 December 1884, op. cit., it is made clear that the Conference had instituted the suit in Chancery "determined if possible, to compel the Trustees to yield to their authority", p. 24. The waters are very dark indeed. In addition the CHC was continually facing the problem of debt; Ibid., p. 23 f.
72. "An Old Attendant", op. cit., p. 19.
73. Circular letter: To the Ministers...and to the Managers of the Chapels included in the Connexion Trust, (1842) op. cit., p. 1.
74. Stroud's words are quoted by "An Old Attendant", op. cit., p. 39.
75. In the year 30 June 1840 to 30 June 1841, grants were made to just 10 ministers (total £338-8-0) and 5 widows (total £130-0-0). The fairly substantial sums involved are undoubted; but considering the total number of clergy (both inside and outside of the Trustees' chapels) together with the many dependants and retired clergy besides, it is hardly surprising that there was friction. "Provident Fund Account 1840-1841" included in the letter To the Ministers....and to the Managers of the Chapels included in the Connexion Trust (1842) op. cit., p. 1.
76. On 21 June 1891, in a sermon by the Rev. James Mountain, he tells how students had traditionally proceeded to different non-conformist denominations: "They were perfectly free, for the basis of the college was as catholic as Christianity". J.B. Figgis, ed., op. cit., p. 194.
77. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, August 1851, p. 172. An address by the Rev. Jacob Kirkman Foster, Cheltenham, 12 June 1851.
78. Ibid., p. 173.

79. Ibid., August 1851, p. 174.
80. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, September 1851, p. 199 f.
81. Ibid., October 1851, letter to the Editor, signed "J.C.", p. 255 f.
82. Harbinger, September 1852, pp. 276 ff.
83. Ibid., August 1852, p. 236.
84. Ibid., August 1853, p. 232. Sherman's pedigree was irreproachable. The distinguished minister of the Surrey Chapel, he was recognised by both bodies. He was also a Cheshunt man, who left college in 1816: Alumni List, Cheshunt College, op. cit., p. 24.
85. Trustees Report, Harbinger, May 1854, p. 126.
86. Ibid., August 1854, the Conference Report, p. 200.
87. This information is included in the list of Trustees provided by the spirited defence of the Trustees in their Report of Proceedings at a Conference... 3 December 1884, op. cit., p. 31.
88. Harbinger, January 1855, pp. 12 f.
89. Price's warning in "Things Deplored" was prophetic, for what he outlined were all the elements involved in the break-up of the identity of the Connexion as it had been known. His warning of 1855 was soon borne out, for J.W. Grant looks to 1870 as the year when the C.H.C. "entered into such close relations with the Congregationalists that by 1870 they could hardly be distinguished from them:" John W. Grant, Free Churchmanship in England 1870-1940, (London c. 1955) p. 97.
90. Harbinger, August 1855, p. 113. Also, Parliamentary Papers 1852-3, volume LXXXIX: Census of Great Britain 1851 - Religious Worship (England and Wales): Reports and Tables.
91. Harbinger, p. 115 f.
92. Harbinger, p. 118 f.
93. Report of Proceedings at a Conference etc., 3 Dec. 1884, op. cit., p.31.
94. Harbinger, April 1856, p. 63.
95. Ibid., February 1856, p. 24 f.. This subsequently became a resolution of the Conference in 1857, for both sets of Trustees and Conference to unite. Ibid., August 1867, p. 127.
96. Harbinger, June 1856, p. 91 f.

97. Ibid., June 1857, p. 91 f.
98. Ibid., June 1858, p. 88.
99. "An Old Attendant", op. cit., pp. 40 ff.
100. Ibid., p. 47.
101. Ibid., p. 46.
102. Harbinger, May 1859, p. 101.
103. Ibid., August 1859, p. 169.
104. Report of Proceedings at a Conference...1884, p. 14.
105. As Edwin Welch says, the difficulties in relationships for a century were not ended until, on 3 December 1884, it was agreed that the Trustees should be members of the Connexion. At a stroke, the enormous potential for strife was ended. Edwin Welch, "Lady Huntingdon's plans": Guildhall studies in London History, Vol. II part 1, October 1975, pp. 31-40.
106. Although, of course, in its later and very powerful form throughout Wales, the "Presbyterian Church of Wales" has vested its legislative authority in the Quarterly Association of both North and South Wales.
107. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, December 1851, p. 273
108. Parliamentary Papers 1852-3, Volume LXXXIX: Census of Great Britain 1851 - Religious Worship (England and Wales), op. cit.
109. The Countess of Huntingdon's New Magazine, August 1851, p. 178.
110. Harbinger, January 1860, last page.
111. Ibid., August 1860, p. 200.
112. Ibid., September 1860, p. 223 f.
113. Ibid., February 1861, p. 48.
114. Ibid., September 1862, last page.
115. Ibid., October 1862, p. 320.
116. Ibid., April 1863, p. 127.
117. Ibid., July 1863, p. 222.
118. Ibid., October 1859, p. 237.

119. Harbinger, March 1861, p. 79. However bad internal relations were within the Connexion, the Trustees did agree to appoint Perkins to Malvern which was in their trust.
120. Ibid., August 1862, p. 236.
121. Ibid., August 1861, p. 190: Session on Wednesday morning 26 June 1861.
122. Harbinger, August 1863, p. 249.
123. A footnote to the title of the article seems to indicate that it was included in the 1863 FCE Circular No. 1, op. cit.; but this was, in fact, not so. (The ambiguity arises from there being two printed asterisks in different places on the page). FCE Magazine, June 1870, pp. 161 ff.
124. Lewis' wording is obscure at several points, and needs careful examination: FCE Magazine, June 1870, footnotes on pp. 162 & 163.
125. J.B. Figgis, ed., op. cit., list of Presidents of the Conference, p. 207. This was possible through a federative agreement between the denominations which remained for some years. See below.
126. Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 9.
127. This remarkable little document was found, used as a bookmark, in the 1870 volume of what is evidently Price's own set of bound copies of the denominational magazine. The incomplete set is housed at the Evangelical Library in Chilton Street, London. In fact the envelope was addressed to "Miss M.M. Price, Horne Villa, Ilfracombe", with the London metropolitan postmark, 6 p.m., 18 May 1905.

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CHAPTER 3

THE FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1863 - 1876

1. Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 13.
2. The Circular of the FCE, No. 1, October 1863, p. 22.
3. The "Fifteen Doctrinal Articles" of the Connexion were, and are, the basis of the Calvinist polity of the denomination. When they became part of the polity of the FCE, they were to be considered as being "included in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England": Ibid., p. 23.
4. Ibid.. The resolution concluded with the "Form of subscription for Ministers and other office-bearers of the Free Church of England", p. 25.
5. Ibid., p. 23 f.
6. Ibid., p. 24.
7. "An Old Attendant", op. cit., p. 21 f.. The changes he somewhat caustically comments upon are the subject of further examination below.
8. Ibid., p. 22.
9. Report of Proceedings.....1884, op. cit., p. 29 f.
10. J.B. Figgis, ed., op. cit., p. 48. There must have been some sort of considerable disillusion, for Figgis was a great lover of liturgical worship. He was also, just one year before (in 1890), one of the small groups of C.H. ministers involved with the little-known talks on re-union, with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Here, from his own account it is evident that the concept of the historical episcopate held no theological problems for him - (discussed more fully below). J. Westbury-Jones, Figgis of Brighton, (London, 1917), pp. 151 ff.
11. Harbinger, March 1864, pp. 87 ff.
12. The British Standard, 20 February 1864.
13. Harbinger, March 1864, p. 89.
14. Harbinger, January 1865, pp. 5 ff.. For all that it had been claimed that Thoresby had found clear indication of such plans for the Connexion amongst the Countess's own papers, there is no evidence of such a paper. The evidence provided here by Willcocks is, at best vague. Again, the article leads into the ever present matter of dispute with the Trustees.
15. Ibid., p. 5.
16. The Presidential address at the 1865 Conference, Harbinger, August 1865, pp. 230 ff.
17. Ibid., p. 233.
18. The Presidential Address at the 1865 Conference, Harbinger, August 1865, p. 234.
19. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 61.

20. Harbinger, preface for 1866, p. iii. As Mallard points out, it was still possible for the magazine to be purchased with the old Connexional title on the cover - but at best this was a sop following the insensitivity of the announcement: I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 61. An indicator of the way in which the news of the title change was received can perhaps be seen in the eventual heading on Volume I of the new magazine in January 1867: it read The Free Church of England Magazine and Harbinger of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.
21. Ibid., August 1866, p. 195 f.
22. Ibid., p. 201 f.
23. Ibid., June 1866, p. 141.
24. See above, Chapter 1, p. 23.
25. Harbinger, December 1866, p. 328.
26. The Free Church of England Magazine, January 1867, pp. 1 ff.
27. Ibid., p. 6.
28. The Free Church of England Magazine, January 1867, p. 6.
29. Ibid., p. 32.
30. Although it was held at Spa Fields: FCE Magazine, July 1867, p. 193.
31. Ibid.
32. As had Thoresby more than 20 years before: J.B. Figgis ed., op. cit., Lists of Presidents of CHC Conference, p. 207.
33. Presidential Address, FCE Magazine, July 1867, p. 199. Price's pithy and curiously direct style betrays his long and distinguished preaching career. He was a Welsh speaking Welshman from Tyncoed in Breconshire, well used to short epigrammatic sentences: Obituary in Ilfracombe Gazette & Observer, Tuesday 7 January 1896, p. 5 cols. 2-6.
34. The importance of it to Price is evidenced in the details made by his daughter as a preliminary to compiling the booklet from his autobiography. She notes "Father's Convocation Address. The first C.H. Conference 1867. P. 197." Miss Price's letter, op. cit.
35. For a brief discussion of the background to the case, see Chapter 2, pp. 65 ff. Editorial comment, "Lady Huntingdon's Trusts", Harbinger, August 1865, p. 197.
36. Free Church of England Magazine, July 1867, p. 201: the amount of money concerned was considerable, for it apparently involved the administration of £100,000 worth of Connexional property.
37. Willcocks quotes the Vice-Chancellor in "An Old Attendant", op. cit., p. 46.
38. Ibid., p. 48.
39. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 61.

40. The substance of this belief is shown by Pusey's letter to Bishop T.H. Gregg in 1882: "the Tractarians of 1833 and onward learned their belief through the Church of England in her Prayer Book, and consequently, while the Prayer Book remains untouched, Tractarianism cannot be shaken": A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Tradition in the Free Churches, (London 1964), p. 75.
41. A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Revision of the Victorian Evangelicals, (Dublin 1963), p. 2.
42. E.I. Everard, Beware of Dogs, beware of evil workers - A rural pastor's address to his flock...(Oxford 1860), p.23.
43. Ibid., p. 10.
44. Esme Wingfield-Stratford, This was a man, (London 1949), p. 232. Considering all the passion of the time in the cause of Prayer Book Reform, there is a certain wry justice in Wingfield-Stratford's comment "The New Reformation....strikes one as being a slight choppiness of weak tea in a parsonage teacup...."! p. 189.
45. Harbinger, June 1865, p. 161.
46. Ibid., December 1866, p. 328.
47. FCE Magazine, July 1867, p. 210.
48. FCE Magazine, July 1867, p. 211.
49. Ibid., p. 213.
50. Ibid., p. 211: Once again the militancy seems strange to a different age.
51. Ibid., August 1868, p. 223. Certainly the revisions so far do not seem to have been in general use, for in the new FCE in Broughton Lane, Manchester, information was given that "Prayer Books are not supplied, simply because the ordinary Prayer Book is in general use.....": Ibid., September 1868, p. 250.
52. FCE Magazine, May 1868, pp. 117 ff.
53. Ibid., p. 121.
54. A fuller consideration of the developing concept of episcopate in the FCE appears below.
55. FCE Magazine, July 1869, p. 217.
56. "The Association for Promoting a Revision of the Book of Common Prayer" changed its title to "The Prayer Book Revision Society" in 1872. A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Revisions... op. cit., p. 10.
57. A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Tradition... op. cit., p. 72.
58. FCE Magazine, August 1869, p. 255 f.
59. A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Tradition... op. cit., p. 72.

60. The Royal Commission on Ritual was appointed in 1867, and its outcome was the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. Despite a certain success in this through the work of powerful protestants such as Sir William Harcourt, Peaston maintains that it was still a disappointment to Evangelicals. Certainly, in 1879, when Ebury sponsored the Prayer Book Amendment Bill in Parliament, despite his emphasis on the dangers of auricular confession and priestly absolution, the Bill was rejected. A. Elliott Peaston, The Prayer Book Revisions... op. cit., pp. 10 & 13. Also, A.H. Hore, op. cit., p. 346 f.. Also, Alec R. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, op. cit., pp. 161 ff.. The capacity of the Act for creating Anglo-Catholic martyrs is examined by Owen Chadwick, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 348 f.
61. There is a full account of this ceremony, including the text of Ebury's speech in the Surrey Comet, 17 July 1869.
62. Owen Chadwick, op. cit., Part II, pp. 315 f.. Chadwick also points out that Bennett and the other Anglican Priests in the town had an agreement that any parishioner might attend the church of whichever of the different "traditions" suited them. He was not therefore an advocate of compulsory uniformity - of whatever tradition.
63. E.B. Pusey, On Eucharistical Adoration, or, the Worship of Our Lord and Saviour in the Sacrament of Holy Communion, (1857): See Eugene R. Fairweather, ed., The Oxford Movement (selection of documents), (New York, 1964), p. 381.
64. The main study of Bennett is by F. Bennett, The Story of W.J.E. Bennett, (London, 1909). It is not an easy work, its style is laudatory, and sometimes its reasoning is diffuse. In fact, Pusey's arguments in his pamphlet are most subtle - the effect of the presence of Christ he likens to the nourishing effect of food and drink upon the body of the individual - he uses the words "heavenly nourishment" (Fairweather, p. 382). Bennett, however, was more explicit: "under their veil is the Sacred Body and Blood...."
65. Desmond Morse-Boycott, They Shine like Stars, (London, 1947), p. 199.
66. T. Huband Gregg, D.D., M.D., The Risdale Case and the Bennett Judgement, (London, c. 1877) p. 5. Gregg claims that it was these two cases which forced on him the realisation that he could no longer serve in the Established Church (see Gregg's subsequent career in chapter 4).
67. FCE Magazine, July 1872, p. 128 f..
68. The Record, quoted in FCE Magazine, August 1872, p. 165.
69. FCE Magazine, July 1871, pp. 179 ff.
70. Or to an end, if Privy Council had overturned the decision of the Court of Arches.
71. Clearly this was pre-arranged, for both letter and reply were subsequently published, and both are polished in style and ready for public consumption.
72. This correspondence was subsequently published in the printed edition of The Tenth Annual Report of the Free Church of England, (1872), op. cit., pp. 10 ff.. Also the FCE Magazine, January 1873, pp. 8 ff.

73. The Tenth Annual Report.....op. cit., pp. 13 ff.; also FCE Magazine, January 1873, p. 11 f. In fairness, Bligh could only speak for himself. As younger son of the Earl of Darnley, his connections were powerful enough to ensure that he did not suffer the same fate as the former curate of Totnes!
74. A report in the FCE Magazine, January 1873, p. 2 f.
75. Ibid., p. 3.
76. FCE Magazine, January 1873, p. 3 f.
77. FCE Magazine, April 1873, pp. 61 ff.
78. T.H. Gregg signed as Vicar of Harborne Heath, Staffordshire; also Dr G.A. Jacob the former headmaster of Christ's Hospital, R. Capel, Vicar of Abergavenny, and the Chaplain at Seville, L.S. Tugwell. Whilst not being some of the great names of the day, they, with others, represented most parts of the country.
79. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 188; Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., p. 19.
80. FCE Magazine, January 1873, p. 5.
81. Ibid., August 1873, pp. 141 ff.
82. Fun, (London) 20 November 1869, p. 112.
83. The Sphinx, (Manchester) 15 August 1868 - reprinted in FCE Magazine, September 1868, pp. 249 ff.
84. Ibid., p. 251.
85. Ibid., p. 252.
86. Ibid.. The fact that he was a Congregationalist is perhaps the more significant in that, in wearing the surplice, he was probably adhering to what was seen as the custom of the denomination in which he was working.
87. See above.
88. Surrey Comet, 17 July 1869: the brackets are in the text.
89. Report in Church Times, commented upon in FCE Magazine, July 1872, p. 146. In the convocations of 1871 and 1872, the creation of the new Bye laws of the Free Church of England included a section on clerical vestments. By paragraph 16 section i, custom was legalised with the declaration that "the surplice is worn in the reading of the liturgy, and a black gown in preaching: (London, 1872) p. 17.
90. FCE Magazine, July 1868, p. 185.
91. See details of the "Resolution" 1863, Circular no. 1, op. cit., p. 24: "...the General Annual Convocation shall be held according to the rules and regulations...." Later this section refers to the "General Convocation"....It also refers to the "Monthly Meetings of the Presbyteries" - another term that was not in general use.

92. The Church Times article is commented upon by the editor in the FCE Magazine, July 1872, p. 146. In 1873, Merryweather makes a detailed examination of the function of the Convocation of the FCE. He also makes certain comparisons with the Convocation of the Established Church. An interesting survey, it is nevertheless something of a "council of perfection". F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., pp. 118 ff.
93. In full, "Plan of an Association for Uniting and Perpetrating the Connexion of the Right Honourable the Countess-Dowager of Huntingdon": Gilbert Kirby, op. cit., p. 53.
94. Gilbert Kirby (op. cit., p. 53) gives the figure as 23, but the FCE resolution of June 1863 quotes 24, Circular No. 1, op. cit., p. 8 f.
95. Gilbert Kirby, op. cit., p. 53 f.
96. See above.
97. FCE Magazine, July 1867, pp. 202 ff.
98. Circular No. 1, p. 23 f.
99. Ibid., p. 24. A later editorial in the December 1869 edition brought to the readers' attention the suggestion of "one of our Clerical Correspondents" that a superintendent might well oversee a definite district "named after places, such as London, Bristol, etc." p. 371 f.
100. FCE Magazine, July 1870, p. 218.
101. Ibid., July 1871, p. 169.
102. Ibid., p. 181.
103. Ibid., p. 195.
104. Bye Laws of the Free Church of England, (London 1872).
A rare copy is held at the B.L.; 4109.b.4
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105. Ibid., p. 7, section VI.
106. The failure of the FCE Magazine from 1885 until it was re-founded in 1905 (through financial difficulties) means that for a period of 20 years, regular information on the denomination is very difficult to obtain.
107. So great was this change in both polity and practice that both Benjamin Price and F.S. Merryweather devote considerable time in their works to the subject. (Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., pp. 21 ff., F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., pp. 143 ff.)
108. Circular No. 1, op. cit., p. iv f., & 24.
109. Circular ...No. 2, (1864), p. 57.
110. Ibid., p. 61.
111. In the earliest days of the denomination, the only individual accorded the description "Bishop" was Benjamin Price, and it was by way of a compliment regarding his assistance for the new

- Free Church at Kilburn. The editor writes: "We owe this new movement in the right direction, to the sagacity and enterprise of our esteemed President, who in this work has shown himself a true Bishop". FCE Magazine, April, 1863, p. 123.
112. Ibid., May 1868, pp. 117 ff.
 113. Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., pp. 21 f.
 114. Obituary of Price: The Ilfracombe Gazette & Observer etc., 7 January 1896, p. 5, cols. 2-6.
 115. Benjamin Price, The Organisation, etc., op. cit., p. 22.
 116. FCE Magazine, May 1868, pp. 113 ff.
 117. Ibid., p. 126. The continual return of writers to the subject shows a considerable "tenderness" in the denomination. In fact the subject of orders in the early church is a minefield - not for this study. Yet Thoresby and others were trying to identify Price's position with those of the early Presbyter-Bishops of the first century before the function of the monarchical episcopate became established. But as they knew full well from the epistles of St. Clement and those slightly later by St. Ignatius, different areas had differing governing systems. Indeed in Ignatius' letters to Magnesia, Tralles, Smyrna, Ephesus (and possibly Philadelphia), the monarchical episcopate was well in evidence at the very beginning of the second century.
 118. F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 103.
 119. Ibid., p. 104. In some respects he was correct, but on the other hand the senior clergy of the early church were hardly likely to be removed from their episcopates by annual convocational vote! Thoresby, Merryweather and others will have been only too aware of the weakness of their arguments on elective episcopate. In appealing to early church practice they will have quickly come face to face with St. Clement's warnings that "it is not just to remove from their ministry those who were appointed by them (the Apostles), or later on by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole church." 1 Clement 44. 1-6. Whilst they will have questioned Clement's authority (as second Bishop of Rome): nevertheless, his writings demonstrate early church practice.
 120. F.C.E. Magazine, June 1868, p. 170.
 121. FCE Magazine, June 1868, p. 170.
 122. Ibid., p. 173. Figgis' criticisms are especially noteworthy in that he had a deep love of liturgical worship - as his own ordination made clear: J. Westbury Jones, op. cit., p. 50 f.
 123. Benjamin Price, The Organisation, etc., op. cit., p. 22.
 124. FCE Magazine, July 1868, pp. 185 ff.
 125. Ibid., p. 186.
 126. Benjamin Price, The Organisation...etc., op. cit., p. 22 f.

127. Ibid., p. 22.
128. The correspondence from Sphinx, dated 8 and 26 September 1868, is reproduced in the FCE Magazine for December 1868, pp. 347 ff.
129. The reply in Sphinx is re-printed in the FCE Magazine for December 1868, pp. 347 ff.
130. FCE Magazine, November 1869, p. 343.
131. Circular No. 2, 1864, p. 57: "The first order shall be designated Bishops or Presbyters or Elders....This order includes the President or Bishop Primus....."
132. FCE Magazine, December 1869, pp. 371 ff.
133. Yet the autobiography is the work of old age, and its lack of an accurate time-scale is confusing. At this point he also stated that the Connexional Conference additionally agreed that the new title be used in the FCE. Yet on the next page he pointed out how the "more decidedly church tone" alarmed the Connexion and assisted in the separation of the two administrative units. Benjamin Price, The Organisation, etc., op. cit., p. 23 f.
134. FCE Magazine, August 1870, pp. 218 ff.
135. Ibid., p. 217.
136. Price says that relationships were difficult and that there was much suspicion on the part of the traditional members of the Connexion who feared the new denomination was getting "ritualistic". Eventually, the separate sittings were decided upon "for peace sake"! Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 24.
137. FCE Magazine, November 1870, p. 299.
138. Ibid., December 1870, p. 325 f.
139. FCE Magazine, December 1870, p. 325 f.
140. Ibid., p. 328.
141. The Tenth Annual Report of the FCE, 1872, p. 9.
142. Ibid., p. 4. Considering the depth of feeling on the part of Jones and Figgis in 1868, this seems surprising. Benjamin Price evidently remained unconvinced about their conviction and was quite frank in his reminiscences: The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 23.
143. See above.
144. FCE Magazine, May 1873, p. 88.
145. Ibid., June 1873, pp. 104 ff.
146. Ibid., July 1873, p. 121.
147. Ibid., August 1873, p. 145.

148. Proposed by Thomas Dodd of Worcester; Ibid., p. 146.
149. Ibid., p. 147.
150. Ibid., July 1872, pp. 130 ff.
151. Ibid. July 1872, p. 132.
152. Inside front cover, FCE Year Book, 1989-90.
153. The College Trustees had become alarmed by the bad feeling that had developed over Connexional claims, and in 1870 sought Council's opinion which supported the "catholic" nature of the college: Deeds of Trust and Like Documents relating to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, privately printed for circulation (London, 1874) pp. 45 and 46. Edwin Welch indicates that the Free Church was claiming the college, but his arguments are too compressed and unsubstantiated: "Lady Huntingdon's Plans", Guildhall Studies etc., op. cit., p. 39. But controversy continued.
154. His letter of resignation to the diocesan bishop is published in full: FCE Magazine, January 1874, p. 12 f.
155. Archdeacon Charles Tiffany's elderly work on the history of P.E.C.U.S.A. dismisses the event (inaccurately) in just 2 pages: Charles C. Tiffany, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, (New York 1895), p. 535 f.. Even in 1951 when events could be seen in context without personal feelings being involved, J.T. Addison fails to examine the details of the dispute and the secession which followed: The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931, (New York, 1951), pp. 206 ff.. With more insight, Prof. Raymond Albright deals at some length with the issues and problems surrounding the ritualist movement in America. He quotes Bishop Philips Brooks who wrote a letter to Elizabeth Mitchell on 20 November 1873 telling of the fuss caused by the secession: "Nothing like it since the pow-wow among the gods when Prometheus stole the fire": Raymond W. Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, (New York, 1964), p. 286.
156. The work is extremely rare, and I am grateful to Bishop Arthur Ward for having Bishop T.H. Gregg's own signed copy sent to me on loan from Germany - the only traceable copy outside the U.S.A.: Benjamin Aycrigg, Memoirs of the Reformed Episcopal Church, (New York 1878). This special edition has a section of 7 pages which was on restricted release because of its highly sensitive material.
157. Annie Darling Price, History of the Reformed Episcopal Church, (Philadelphia, 1902).
158. The Rev. Allen C. Guelzo, Ph.D (Editor), The First Thirty Years, (The Reformed Episcopal Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1986). Again, this duplicated book is very scarce in the U.K., and I am grateful to both Bishop Arthur Ward (FCE) for his copy, and to Dr. Guelzo himself for his personal kindness and help.
159. Raymond W. Albright, op. cit., p. 272.

160. Cheney was suspended from office on 17 February 1871 for repeatedly omitting certain "regenerative" phrases from the Baptismal Office. Ibid., p. 280.
161. Formerly rector of St. John's, Lockport, Illinois: Ibid., p. 281.
162. Ibid., p. 282. What is not realised is that in the absence of an organised "Free" episcopal denomination in the U.S.A. at that stage, Cooper actually contemplated uniting his movement to the FCE. At the quarterly meeting of the Council on 11 November 1873, a letter from Cooper was discussed which asked for details of possible admission to the FCE. (FCE Magazine, December 1873, p. 231; also "Ecclesiastical Register", p. 237). The subsequent founding of the REC made such a move redundant, but it is interesting to see the interest from America in the FCE, and the interest shown by the FCE for the new developments in America.
163. The full text is printed in Bp. Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., pp. 44 ff.. In fact, Vaughan's account of events is very detailed at this point, and provides a good digest of the broad outline of events in America.
164. Raymond W. Albright, op. cit., p. 287; compare, FCE Magazine July 1872, p. 132.
165. FCE Magazine, January 1874, p. 12 f.
166. Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 66 f.
167. Ibid., p. 67 f..
168. FCE Magazine, March 1874, p. 49; also Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 69.
169. FCE Magazine, March 1874, p. 49.
170. Ibid., April 1874, p. 61 f.
171. Frank Vaughan, History, etc., op. cit., p. 69.
Price himself writes of this important communication in his autobiography, but clearly his memory by then was not wholly reliable, and he tells of writing on the 19 March 1874:
Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 25.
172. FCE Magazine, May 1874, p. 81.
173. The Rev. Allan C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 19.
174. FCE Magazine, June 1874, p. 101 f.
175. The weakness of this Article was to be only too apparent later.
176. Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., p. 44. Decision of 15 May.
177. FCE Magazine, August 1874, pp. 145 ff.
178. Frank Vaughan, History, etc., op. cit., p. 71.
179. Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., p. 16.

180. FCE Magazine, August 1874, p. 145.
181. Aycrigg reports the latest figures of the FCE as in June 1874: "There are now exactly 40 Free Churches in England". See more below: Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., p. 16, lines 39-46.
182. FCE Magazine, February 1874, p. 31.
183. Ibid., May 1874, p. 89.
184. FCE Magazine, February 1874, p. 31.
185. Ibid., April 1874, p. 71 f., & June 1874 p. 115.
186. Letter from T.W. Mossman to J.R. Lumley, 31 January 1874: Ibid., June 1874, p. 116. Mossman's motives in helping Lumley are not very clear. In fact, together with the Rev. F.G. Lee (Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth), and Dr. J.T. Seccombe (a physician), Mossman was a founder of the "Order of Corporate Reunion". The purpose of this was to obtain for the Church of England a succession which Rome would be obliged to recognise as "valid". Mossman was clearly concerned with the "mechanics" of Holy Orders. Certainly he will have seen a consecration of non-conformists by Cummins as a way of compelling a unity in the Church that could be guaranteed to override the suspicion then held within the episcopate of the Established Church for dissenting ministry. Henry R.T. Brandreth, Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church, (London, 1961 ed.), pp. 105 ff.. The matter is dealt with in greater detail by Brandreth in Dr. Lee of Lambeth, (London, 1951). See also Church Times, 28 April 1922, p. 413, "A Chapter of Secret History".
187. Ibid., p. 177. The account of the accident in the Buxton Advertiser is quoted extensively.
188. FCE Magazine, October 1874, pp. 183 ff.
189. Raymond W. Albright, op. cit., p. 280 f.. Cheney's deposition, for omitting "re-generative" phrases in services of Baptism, had shocked many in P.E.C.U.S.A. He was highly regarded, and there was deep emotion when a personal friend, Bishop Whipple, tried to get him to accept the rulings so that he might be re-instated. The scene was documented in detail in a letter by Whipple to the diocesan, Bishop Whitehouse. Although less public, it was reminiscent of the scene at the time of Newman's sermon on "The Parting of Friends": The Right Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple, Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate, (New York, 1900), pp. 328 ff.. Ideas in the article were later developed into the more substantial What do Reformed Episcopalians Believe? (Philadelphia, 1888).
190. FCE Magazine, October 1874, p. 188. The end of 1874 and the whole of 1875 saw significant advances for the REC in Canada.
191. Ibid.
192. FCE Magazine, January 1875, pp. 3 ff., & February 1875, pp. 21 ff.
193. FCE Magazine, January 1875, p. 4.

194. Henry Phillpotts had died in Autumn 1869. But had he been able to read what Thoresby was clearly suggesting, one suspects that he would have appreciated the irony! R.S. Lambert, op. cit., p. 209 f.
195. FCE Magazine, March 1875, p. 57 f.
196. Ibid., p. 58.
197. Fully reported in FCE Magazine, April 1875, p. 66 f.
198. FCE Magazine, May 1875, pp. 83 ff.
199. Ibid., p. 85.
200. Ibid.
201. Ibid., p. 86.
202. Reported in FCE Magazine, June 1875, p. 108 f.
203. Ibid., p. 109.
204. Ibid., p. 114.
205. Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 26; also Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 71. Vaughan relies heavily on the memoirs of Price, from whom he quotes freely.
206. The Reverend Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 19 f.
207. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 273; also FCE Magazine, July 1875, p. 134 f.. The resignation is the subject of careful and dispassionate examination by F.A. Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia, (Vancouver 1959), chapter 7, pp. 76 f.
208. FCE Magazine, August 1875, pp. 145 ff. - the account of the meeting of Convocation.
209. "An Old Attendant", op. cit., p. 21: - see more below.
210. FCE Magazine, August 1875, pp. 142 & 145.
211. There was a curious comment in the announcement of his resignation that "there may have been other men more energetic". But looking at him with the benefit of hindsight, it is difficult to see how this could be said. It is possible, however, that there was, in the writer of the article, a touch of personal malice. Ibid., p. 142.
212. Ibid., p. 146 - Report to the Secretariat.
213. FCE Magazine, March 1876, p. 49.
214. Ibid.
215. Ibid., April 1876, p. 61.
216. Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., p. 196, lines 22 ff., meeting of 23 February. It is somewhat embarrassing that although the words of this aside were obviously not noted in the

FCE Magazine, yet news of them went to America where they were carefully preserved by the ever watchful Aycrigg.

217. FCE Magazine, May 1876, p. 87.
218. FCE Magazine, July 1876, p. 121.
219. Ibid., August 1876, p. 141. News of the death had been received in England on 11 July, as the Council was about to assemble: p. 143.
220. The Rev. Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 22.
221. FCE Magazine, August 1876, p. 149, published minutes of the Annual Convocation.
222. Ibid., p. 150: "Delegates from America". This is also clear from the abstract of the Fourth General Council of the REC ("approval of the Articles of Union"), the Rev. Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 22.
223. FCE Magazine, September 1876, p. 162.
224. This was the recently built replacement for the old "Surrey Chapel" where the Rev. Newman Hall had exercised a distinguished ministry for many years. Although basically Congregationalist, it was in many ways non-denominational. A later influential minister was the Baptist, F.B. Meyer. The Christian, 9 November 1888, p. 1043 f.
225. L.G. Belshaw, Christ Church, Teddington - The First Hundred Years, (Twickenham, 1964), p. 4.
226. 10th Annual Report of the FCE, 1872, pp. 3 & 4.
227. Work and Worship, January 1901, p. 42.
228. L.G. Belshaw, op. cit., p. 4.
229. FCE Magazine, September 1876, p. 162.
230. Benjamin Price, The Organisation...etc., op. cit., p. 29 f.
231. Ibid., p. 24.
232. There was a transparent integrity in Price throughout his ministry. It caused him to agonize frequently over the problems he met, especially in his long and extremely successful ministry at Christ Church, Ilfracombe. A testimony of the esteem with which he was held was seen in the extraordinary civic funeral in Ilfracombe at his death in 1896. For more on Price's work, see below, chapter 7.
233. Benjamin Price, The Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 30 f.
234. Ibid., p. 31.
235. Ibid.
236. FCE Magazine, September 1876, p. 172.
237. The Richmond and Twickenham Times, 19 August 1876, p. 7, col. 1.

238. Ibid., also FCE Magazine, September 1876, p. 172. There is also a useful account of the service preserved in the Christ Church, Teddington Vestry Book II (1871-1887), p. 75 f.
239. FCE Magazine, September 1876, p. 161.
240. In fact, on 11 August, The Rock announced the Convocation meeting to take place at which Bishop Cridge was to be welcomed. The writer referred to the two "sister churches" of the FCE and REC "fast spreading over England, Canada and America, and are said to number already about 120 influential congregations." The Rock, 11 August 1876, p. 627, col. 2. These figures accord with the letter of W.H. Simms, a "Licensed Evangelist" of the FCE, Ibid., 1 September 1876, p. 673, col. 2.
241. Ibid., 3 November 1876, p. 851, col. 2.
242. Ibid., 24 November 1876, p. 915, col. 1.
243. Ibid., letter from "Querist and editor's comment, 15 December 1876, p. 978, col. 2. Also p. 979, col. 1. The curiously partizan style shows well the extent to which many bystanders became involved.
244. The full text of the letter from Moor Park, dated 10 September 1876, is re-printed in FCE Magazine, December 1876, p. 228.
245. Ibid., September 1876, p. 178.
246. "An Old Attendant", op. cit., p. 21 f.
247. Presumably referring to the REC links.
248. The CHC Poll Deed of 1821.
249. When Price wrote a letter to the FCE Magazine in November 1876, the editor headed his correspondence "Right Rev. Bishop Price", FCE Magazine, December 1876, p. 229.
250. Presumably the CHC members who had accepted the FCE declaration for the sake of federative union.
251. Benjamin Price, The Organisation, etc., op. cit., p. 25.
252. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 61. He commented that the affiliation scheme of the early 1870s had met with a "half hearted response".
253. "Alphabetical list of the Churches and Mission Stations of the Free Church of England", FCE Magazine, July 1879, pp. 132 ff.

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CHAPTER 4

1876 - 1880, DIVISION AND SUB-DIVISION

1. Benjamin Price, Organisation etc., op. cit., p. 30.
2. Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p.70 f. Again, Aycrigg notes the comment of the REC committee: "organic union would not be practicable without material changes". He continues, "The Deed-Poll is the legal constitution of the FCE, under which they hold all their property. This, I presume, could not be changed without an Act of Parliament. This they might not be able to obtain..." Aycrigg's words give clear indication that ownership of properties under the existing terms of the Poll Deed was a source of difficulty. Benjamin Aycrigg, Memoirs etc., op. cit., p. 281.
3. Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections etc., op. cit., p. 4.
4. Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 74.
5. Both Sugden and Gregg were important figures in the history of the new denomination in England in these early days; and despite the fate of the bulk of hand-written material through the years, in the case of both these churches, virtually a full set of records remains.
6. FCE Magazine, February 1877, p. 21 f.
7. Ebury's letter, written from Moor Park, Middlesex, on 10 September 1876, is published in the FCE Magazine, December 1876, p. 228.
8. Report of the Quarterly Meeting, FCE Magazine, March, 1877, p. 42 f.
9. Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., p. 280.
10. Annie Darling Price, A History of the Formation and Growth of the Reformed Episcopal Church, 1873 - 1902, (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 227. This was for denominational sale in America, and details on Britain are very sketchy. Controversial matters generally are avoided.
11. Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 76. Vaughan was ordained deacon in the REC in 1904. During his long ministry he would have met many for whom some of these events were in living memory.
12. Christ Church, Teddington, Minutes of Churchwardens' Committees, 1871-1887, Meeting of 21 February 1878, p. 89.
13. For example, see the meeting: FCE Magazine, February 1876, p. 28 f.
14. Aycrigg, Memoirs etc., op. cit., p. 280 f, also in the separate confidential supplement to the memoirs, p. 314.
15. The Episcopal Gazette, (London), November 1879, p. 3, col. 2.
16. Ibid., pp.3 ff. Further information on Lane p. 6 f. However, the material in the journal is badly written and waspish - mainly devoted to attacking Gregg, who by then had parted from the mainstream REC (see below). Also FCE Magazine, April 1877, p. 68.
17. Aycrigg, Memoirs, etc., op. cit., p. 288 f.; also note on p. 292.

18. Some useful details on his background are in a long article: "The Rt. Rev. T. Huband Gregg, DD, MD, Lord Bishop of Verulam", The Biographical Magazine, February 1887, pp. 192 ff. The article is of limited value as to the main part of his career, because the information is selective and its tone laudatory.
19. The Medical Register: I am most grateful to the Rev. Dr. John R. Guy, former Archivist at the Marsh-Jackson Postgraduate Centre, Yeovil District Hospital. He has sought out many details of the available contemporary courses, and has confirmed the way in which Gregg managed to achieve his basic medical qualifications.
20. The regulations for MD at the time required the candidate (who had to have qualified at least three years) to read two theses before the Regius Professor of Physic, on subjects selected by himself. Register of the Alumni of Trinity College, Dublin. I am grateful to Deirdre Hamill, Admissions Librarian of TCD, for her help with several details over the regulations at that time.
21. Letter from Frederick Harper, Gilead, December 1872, p.89.
22. Register of the Alumni of Trinity College, Dublin: The actual exercises performed at the time were not preserved. I am again grateful to Deirdre Hamill at TCD for her assistance in the matter of 19th century regulations.
23. Pamphlets all by T.H. Gregg: Startling facts about the confessional in the C. of E., (London 1889); Evangelical-ism!...Weighed in the balances...and found wanting; (London n.d.); Poisoned bread etc., (Weymouth, c.1870); The Archbishop's two black cats etc., (London 1889).
24. Pamphlets all by T.H. Gregg: New Zealand etc., (London 1875); Drink: what it costs, (London 1875); The Baby, etc., (London 1875).
25. Desmond Morse-Boycott, They Shine Like Stars, (London 1947), pp. 199 ff.
26. The Rock, 11. May 1877, p. 389. The feelings of many churchmen were expressed in the comment: "It is impossible that the Eastward Position should ever be tolerated in the Church of England".
27. T.H. Gregg, The Risdale Case and the Bennett Judgement, op. cit., p. 2, a personal preface, signed T.H.G. Certainly Gregg had allowed this to become part of the local popular mythology (rather in the manner of Luther's declaration, "Here, I stand"). In his obituary in the local press, the writer states: "A judgement given in 1877 ...caused him to secede from the Church of England": Southend Standard, 2 April 1896, p. 5, col. 4.
28. Notes on the Midland District Meeting of the FCE, FCE Magazine, December 1876, p. 232. A fairly full account of this impassioned commendation of the denomination was subsequently printed in the FCE Magazine, January 1877, pp. 9 ff.
29. The "Jottings" column, FCE Magazine, April 1877, p. 68.
30. Birmingham Daily Gazette, Monday 14 May 1877. (Pub. in FCE Magazine, June 1877, p. 112 f.

31. "Jottings", FCE magazine, June 1877, p. 115.
32. "The Famous Spilsby Circular", The Episcopal Gazette, November 1979, p. 3.
33. A useful outline to this complex matter is provided by C.B. Moss, The Old Catholic Movement, (London 1977 ed), esp. chapters 15 to 19.
34. Ibid., p. 241 f.
35. Ibid., p. 255 f.
36. D.B. MacGregor, Scottish and Anglican, (Edinburgh, 1958), p. 12; Frederick Goldie, A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1976 ed.), pp. 61 & 72 ff.; Marion Lochhead, Episcopal Scotland in the Nineteenth Century, (London, 1966), p. 36. A surprising picture of the lasting bitterness felt within the Episcopal Church at its harsh treatment is seen as late as 1944 in a sermon preached in St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh. On 9 May 1944, Bishop F.L. Deane preached for the bi-centenary of the birth of Bishop John Skinner of Aberdeen. Sermon printed in full in the Appendix: Anthony Mitchell, The Story of the Church in Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1957 ed.), pp. 45 ff.
37. This most complex problem of residual division within the Episcopal Church and the subsequent sharp reaction to Tractarianism was carefully examined in a paper by Gavin White, "New Names for Old Things", (Studies in Church History, Vol. 14), Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History, (Oxford 1977), pp. 329 ff.
38. Alexander Ewing, A Letter to the Rt. Rev. the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Bishop of Argyle, (Edinburgh 1858), pp.3 ff.
39. I am most grateful to Fr. White for his kind help in providing a number of unpublished details from his own researches in this complex matter. Letter from Gavin White to the author, 21 October 1991.
40. The Constitution is published in The Episcopal Gazette, November 1879, p. 6 f. (Interestingly, Lane was somehow involved with the Association, for the Constitution gives him as a source for further information).
41. Crockfords Clerical Directory, (London 1900).
42. Our Church Record, May 1879, p. xx, "Jottings".
43. Ibid., January 1880, p. 30.
44. Ibid., February 1880, p. 38.
45. The Reformed Church Record, February 1883, p. 11.
46. Again, I am grateful to Fr. Gavin White of the University of Glasgow for his most kind help.
47. "Peake vs Association of English Episcopalians in Scotland", Scottish Law Reports, Vol XXII, p. 3; 8 July 1884.

48. The papers of Archbishop A.C. Tait, Vol. 218 ff. 66 & 67, Lambeth Palace Library.
49. These events were minutely chronicled by Benjamin Aycrigg, Memoirs etc., op. cit., esp. chapters 4 & 5. Also from the Episcopalian point of view, see E. Clowes Chorley, Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church, (The Hale Lectures), (New York 1946) pp. 405 ff.; also from the Episcopalian point of view, Raymond W. Albright, op. cit., pp. 277 ff., etc.
50. The Tait Papers, op. cit., Vol. 216, ff. 68 & 69.
51. See above, p. 137.
52. The Episcopal Gazette, November 1879, p. 3.
53. The Magazine of Christ Church REC Yeovil, The District and Parish Helper, August 1879, p. 2.
54. Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 76.
55. Benjamin Aycrigg usefully quotes from the official minutes of the Fifth General Council, Memoirs etc., op. cit., p. 291 f. Especially, see notes at the bottom of p. 292. Aycrigg's minute detail has produced some surprising and valuable pieces of information.
56. Ibid., notes at the bottom of p. 192.
57. Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., pp. 291 f., and note, p. 292.
58. FCE Magazine, August 1877, "Jottings...", p. 145.
59. Ibid., September 1877, p. 171, "Jottings..."; also p. 176.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., August 1877, p. 145: Cridge's words from the Fifth General Council are recorded by the editor.
62. Report on the Annual Council of the FCE on 26 June 1877, FCE Magazine, August 1877, p. 149. Bishop Price's Address.
63. Ibid., p. 151.
64. Ibid., Article: "Manchester Guardian" and the Free Church of England', p. 146. See also Manchester Guardian, 4 July 1877 and 9 July 1877.
65. G.H. Jones, "Reformed Episcopal Church and Free Church of England", J. Hastings (ed) Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, (London 1908 - 1926, 12 vols.), Vol. 10 (1918), pp. 629 ff. Jones says that the withdrawals were "on the question raised by Churchmen in the religious press concerning the historic episcopacy". Whilst too simplistic, this does open up further issues.
66. Letter from the Reverend Percival Smith: published in The Episcopal Gazette, November 1879, p. 12.
67. Letter from T.H. Gregg at Southend to Marshall B. Smith, Passaic, N.J., dated 13 September 1877: The Episcopal Gazette, January 1880, p. 19.

68. Ibid.. Letter from the Reverend Dr. B.B. Ussher, Rector of St. Bartholomew's REC, Montreal to the Montreal Gazette.
69. Benjamin Aycrigg, Memoirs etc., op. cit., pp. 314 f.. This information comes from the confidential supplement which was not available to the public. Page 320 explains that only 250 copies of the supplement were ever printed, and 50 copies of the complete Memoirs with the supplement. This information is taken from Gregg's own signed copy which was traced to Germany, now (1991) in America. The detailed contents of these letters from Gregg were not printed by Aycrigg, but only certain extracts.
70. Ibid., p. 315. The letters from which Aycrigg quoted have since disappeared. The Reverend Dr. A. Guelzo, former Professor of Church History at the Reformed Episcopal Seminary in Philadelphia, has confirmed that they are not in the archives there. I am most grateful to Professor Guelzo for his considerable help, and his kindness.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.; also Mrs. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., pp. 227 f.; also, The Reverend Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 26.
73. Benjamin Aycrigg, Memoirs etc., op. cit., p. 317.
74. Ibid., p. 316 f.: Letter from the clergy and laity of the REC in England to the Rt. Rev. Samuel Fallows, Presiding Bishop of the REC.
75. Southend Standard, Friday 26 April 1878, p. 8, cols. 3 & 4.
76. FCE Magazine, August 1878, pp. 145 ff.; attendance lists and the Annual Address by Bishop Price.
77. H.J.F. Thompson, Littlehampton Long Ago, (Bognor Regis, 1974 ed.), pp. 93 f.
78. The Rock, 25 August 1876, p. 655, col. 2; also 1 September 1876, p. 674, col. 2.
79. Ibid., 29 September 1876, p. 737, col. 2.
80. The Littlehampton News, 10 March 1877, reprinted in FCE Magazine, April 1877, p. 62 f.
81. FCE Magazine, September 1877, p. 177 f.
82. Ibid., October 1877, pp. 186 ff.
83. The Rock, 14 September 1877, p. 766, col. 2. Letter signed by Thoresby from The Parsonage, Spa Fields Chapel, Clerkenwell. (no date)
84. Ibid., 21 September 1877, p. 781. col. 2.
85. Ibid., letter from Philip Norton to the editor (undated).
86. The Record, 17 May 1878, p. 2 col. 2.
87. Christ Church, Teddington, Vestry Book 1871 - 1887; p. 89, Meeting of 21 February 1878.

88. H.J.F. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
89. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
90. Quoted in the FCE Magazine, April 1878, p. 61.
91. Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
92. Chronicles: Convocation of Canterbury (Upper House), 14 May 1878, pp. 180 ff. Also, The Record, 17 May 1878, p. 2, col. 6 ("Ecclesiastical Intelligence").
93. Alfred Ollivant, Episcopal Charge to the Diocese of Llandaff, 1866: quoted in E.T. Davies, Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century, (A New History of Wales) (Llandybie 1981), p. 51.
94. See Case Studies chapter in Appendix, pp. 510 ff.
95. Chronicles, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 f. Also, The Record, 17 May 1878, p. 2 col. 6; also The Reformed Episcopal Church: A Statement concerning its Rise, Constitution, Orders, History, and the Necessity for its Work in this Country, (London (1878), p. 5: this pamphlet quotes the words as reported in The Guardian for 5 May 1878.
96. Reprinted in The Record, 8 May 1878, p. 2 col. 5.
97. Chronicles, *op. cit.*, p. 175. Also The Record, 27 May 1878, p. 2 col 3.
98. The Guardian, 8 May 1878, p. 640, col. 1.
99. Chronicles, *op. cit.*, p. 183, & 176. Also, The Record, 27 May 1878, p. 2 col. 3.
100. Chronicles, p. 180. Also, The Guardian, 22 May 1878, p. 708 cols. 1 & 2.
101. Letter to Archbishop Tait from Bishop E.H. Beckles, Vicar of St. Peter's, Hackney Road, London, E., 20. August 1878. The poor writing gives the impression of someone elderly and unwell. Tait Papers, Vol. 235, ff. 122 f.
102. The Record, 29 May 1878, p. 2 col. 5.
103. Chronicles, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff. Also The Record, 27 May 1878, p. 2 col. 4.
104. Chronicles, *op. cit.*, p. 177. Also, The Guardian, 5 May 1878, quoted in The REC: a Statement...*op. cit.*, p. 5.
105. Chronicles, *op. cit.*, p. 183. Also, The Guardian, 22 May 1878, p. 708, col. 1.
106. FCE Magazine, August 1878, Minutes of Annual Convocation, p. 150 f.
107. *Ibid.*, October 1878, p. 191.
108. Annie Darling Price, *op. cit.*, p. 227 f.
109. Frank Vaughan, History etc., *op. cit.*, p. 78.

110. Ibid.
111. Benjamin Aycrigg, Memoirs, op. cit., p. 312: Aycrigg quotes the rubric in full.
112. Ibid., p. 319.
113. Chronicles of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury. Meeting of 14 May 1878, p. 176. For some of Gregg's clergy and their churches, see the list of signatories to the Memorial sent at the close of 1877 to Bishop Fallows in Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., pp. 316 f. The total lay membership is, however, unknown.
114. Nonconformist, 22 May 1878.
115. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 228; also Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., p. 317.
116. Southend Standard, 1 November 1878, p. 8, col. 3. Also, 8 November 1878, p. 4 col. 6 f., for service details.
117. At the 1879 General Council meeting the Commissioners said that Gregg had balked at incorporating elements of General Council Canon Law into the UK Constitution and Canons, and had resigned. Their oversimplification is a measure of the reaction that was likely from those who had warned against being "too precipitate"! Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 28. Report of the Seventh General Council, 1879, at Christ Church, Chicago, IL.
118. Southend Standard, 8 November 1878, p. 4, col. 6.
119. Ibid., p. 5, col. 1.
120. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 2. The complete plan of dioceses is detailed in Chapter 5, pp. 193 f.
121. Reprinted in FCE Magazine, December 1878, p. 224 f.
122. Benjamin Aycrigg, op. cit., pp. 316 f.
123. Correspondence between The Lord Bishop of St. Albans (Dr. Claughton) and Bishop Gregg, (Southend 1878).
124. The militancy may well have been because Gregg was writing very much with the people of Southend in mind. Thus, he was also fighting a local battle; and this letter appears in Southend Standard, 22 November 1878, p. 4, col. 6.
125. The letter to the Rock was reprinted in full by the Southend Standard, Ibid.
126. Letter from Steward L Woodford to Bishop Sugden, 21 November 1878, together with a copy of the official resolution of the Executive Committee of the REC in America, dated 22 November 1878. Sent by Richardson to the Southend Standard, 6 December 1878, p. 6, col. 4.
127. The full text of Aycrigg's letter and Gregg's post card are included in an open leaflet by Aycrigg, and published in The Episcopal Gazette, November 1879, p. 14.

128. Ibid., p. 14 col. 2.
129. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 228.
130. Trinity, Southend Vestry Book, 1878-1902, Meeting of 27 May 1878, p. 19. The opening of the new aisle was announced in Our Church Record, July 1879, p. xxvii. By this time, it states, Sunday School membership had risen to over 350, & the Bible and Prayer Union to more than 150 people.
131. The disputes at Trinity were frequent. The congregation there had been born of local strife and were very volatile. The Rector's Warden, Mr. Hemman had resigned his position at the meeting of 21 January 1879 (p.6), and legal problems led to preparations for the case "Hudson and others v. Glenn" in the new year of 1880 (pp. 45 - 50 etc.).
132. First Annual Report, Trinity Church, Southend, Easter 1879, pp. 6 ff.
133. Ibid., p. 16.
134. Our Church Record, Gregg's new denominational magazine, started January 1879; April 1879, p. xvi, and May 1879, pp. xix f.
135. Ibid., April 1879, p. xvi; the denominational magazine has a bare account of developments at Sidcup. But the correspondence books of Archbishop Tait make very interesting reading on the matter. The Earl Syney's powerful social and political position meant that Tait had to tread very carefully indeed. In a letter from Sydney to Tait of 21 February 1879, he objects strongly to the implication that, because he now worships at Gregg's new iron church that he is therefore a "dissenter" - Tait 253 ff. 56-59.
136. Our Church Record, May 1879, p. xix.
137. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 229.
138. Digest of the Seventh General Council, 1879: Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 28 f.
139. The dating in Annie Darling Price, op. cit., pp. 229 & 278 is seriously flawed. There is a better account of the matters surrounding the consecration in the District and Parish Helper, (Christ Church REC, Yeovil), August 1879, pp. 1 ff. This edition also contains a brief biography of Richardson. Rutgers College (since 1925 Rutgers University) is the distinguished State University in New Brunswick, N.J. It was founded in 1766 under British Royal Charter. The World of Learning, (London, 1984 ed.) p. 1558.
140. Our Church Record, July 1879, p. xvii. The account of the General Council finishes with much other foolish recrimination about letters sent to Gregg during the troubled months of negotiation with America. There is a great contrast between the good straightforward evangelical material in both the Parish Helper insert and some of the denominational articles on the one hand, and the occasional articles and ephemera dealing with Sugden and Richardson's branch of the REC on the other. In the matter of the aggressive and almost abusive nature of some of the material in the Episcopal Gazette (Sugden and Richardson), it is worth noting the continuing trend of Richardson's attitude in this vein as opposed to the shy and almost withdrawn

personality of the now elderly Sugden who was soon to retire. The "spite" was Richardson's.

141. Our Church Record, September 1879, pp. xxxiii ff.
142. Ibid., p. xxxiv.
143. Ibid., p. xxxiii.
144. The Reformed Church Review, August 1880, pp. 64 ff., & p. 69.
145. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 230.
146. Our Church Record, April 1879, p. xvi.
147. Ibid., July 1879, p. xxv. Also Annie Darling Price, op. cit., pp. 229 f.
148. Our Church Record, August 1879, p. xxx.
149. Ibid., October 1879, p. 4.
150. Ibid., pp. 6 f.
151. Ibid., December 1879 pp. 21, 22, 24.
152. Our Church Record, December, 1879, p. 21; and January 1880 p. 31. Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., abstract of proceedings of the Eighth General Council, 26-30 May 1881, p. 31.
153. The Episcopal Gazette, January 1880, pp. 18 & 31 ff.
154. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., pp. 229 f.
155. The Reformed Church Review, August 1880, p. 70.
156. Ibid., November 1880, p. 99, and December 1880, p. 111.
157. Our Church Record, October 1879, p. 5.
158. The Tait Papers, Vol. 251, ff. 236 f.; probably mid-1879.
159. The Reformed Church Review, March 1880, p. 5; also August 1880, p. 65.
160. Work and Worship, January 1901, p. 42; also The Record, 17 May 1878, p. 2, col. 2.
161. Christ Church, Teddington, Vestry Book 1864 - 1870/1; pp. 12 ff.; the total stipend, including pew rents, was guaranteed to be not less than £200 per annum.
162. Christ Church, Teddington, Vestry Book 1871 - 1887; p. 89, meeting of 21 February 1878.
163. Work and Worship, July 1897, p. 12: John Sugden's obituary notice.
164. Ibid., January 1901, p. 42: a brief tribute to Sugden which accompanied a photograph of him.

165. Christ Church, Teddington, Vestry Book 1871 - 1887;
Annual Report 31 March 1879, pasted between pp. 190 & 191.
166. Ibid., Meeting of Seatholders, 21 April 1879, pp. 189 ff.
167. Ibid., p. 197.
168. Ibid., Meeting of Seatholders, 13 April 1880, pp. 218 ff.
169. Ibid., Meeting of the Church Officers, 18 October 1880, p. 239.
170. Ibid., Meeting of the Church Officers, 19 December 1880, pp. 240 ff.
171. Ibid., Meeting of the Church Officers, 22 December 1880, p. 243. Also
Farewell - a pamphlet "for private circulation only" (London 1881),
p. 6: pasted into the rear of the Vestry Book 1864 - 1870/1.
172. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 273.
173. Ibid.
174. District and Parish Helper (Christ Church, Yeovil), July 1879, p. 3.
175. Proceedings of the Eighth General Council of the REC (USA); day 2, 27
May 1881. "Bishop Sugden's Report", pp. 48 ff.
176. District and Parish Helper (Christ Church, Yeovil): April 1879,
pp. 4 ff.; June 1879, p. 3; August 1879, p. 2; October 1879, p. 3;
December 1879, p. 4.
177. Proceedings of the Eighth General Council of the REC (USA); day 2, 27
May 1881. "Bishop Sugden's Report", pp. 48 ff.
178. FCE Magazine, August 1878, pp. 145 ff.
179. Ibid., p. 147.
180. Ibid., p. 149.
181. Ibid., pp. 149 & 150.
182. Ibid., p. 141.
183. Ibid., p. 157.
184. Ibid., October 1878, p. 191.
185. Ibid., November 1878, p. 201.
186. Ibid., December 1878, pp. 221 ff. Vaughan makes no mention the crisis.
He does say of this period, that the FCE "carried on its own work
according to the original plan": History, op.cit., p. 79.
187. FCE Magazine, April 1879, p. 63.
188. Ibid., pp. 63 f.
189. Ibid., May 1879, p. 99.

190. Ibid., July 1879, pp. 130 ff.
191. Ibid., September 1879, pp. 166 ff.
192. The Rock, 15 August 1879.
193. Our Church Record, October 1879, p. 5.
194. FCE Magazine, July 1880, pp. 146 ff.
195. Ibid., July 1879, p. 131.
196. Ibid., pp. 139 f.
197. Report of the Eighth General Council of the REC
(USA), 26-30 May 1881, Second Day, pp. 48 f.

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CHAPTER 5

BISHOP GREGG AND THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1881 TO 1894

1. This phrase, adapted from Isaiah 54 v. 2 was used several times by Gregg in the description of the work of the RCE in Canada:
Reformed Church Record, January 1885, p. 2. It was used later in 1887 at the time of the hopes for unity between the two branches of the REC in Britain: Ibid, December 1887, pp. 93 f.
2. Reformed Church Record, March 1881, pp. 35 ff. The minute detail required for this work is evident from the vestry accounts of this time in which such matters as the arranging of the gas supply and the correcting of a persistent draught were dealt with: Vestry Book 1878-1902, Trinity Church, Southend, meeting of 7 January 1881. The insurances were the topic of discussion at the meeting of 8 April 1881.
3. Reformed Church Record, February 1883, p. 16; March 1883, p. 24.
4. Reformed Church Record, February 1881, p. 20.
5. Ibid., January 1881, p. 4; July 1881, p. 102; August 1881, pp. 121 ff.
6. Ibid., April 1881, pp. 52 f.; July 1881, pp. 101 f.
7. Ibid., September 1882, p. 123; December 1882, p. 181; April 1883, p. 27; August 1883, p. 57; September 1883, p. 67; December 1883, p. 90.
8. Allen C. Guelzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 f.
9. Reformed Church Record, November 1881, pp. 170 f.; December 1881, p. 185.
10. Ibid., March 1882, p. 35; July 1882, p. 105.
11. Ibid., September 1882, p. 133; November 1882; p. 166.
12. Ibid., October 1884, p. 75; December 1884, p. 91; January 1885, p. 2; March 1885, pp. 18 f.; December 1885, pp. 90 f.
13. Ibid., September 1886, p. 67; December 1886, p. 92.
14. Ibid., June 1888, p. 45. Gregg's support for the change of jurisdiction had an important political dimension which is explored later in this chapter.
15. Ibid., pp. 46 f.; also Annie Darling Price, *op. cit.*, p. 235; also Allen C. Guelzo, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
16. Reformed Church Record, June 1888, p. 42; October 1888, p. 78. The unwillingness of the Newfoundland churches to transfer to the REC (Canada) jurisdiction reflects perhaps the secular politics of the time which kept Newfoundland independent from Canada for a further half century.
17. Ibid., December 1888, pp. 94 f.; January 1889, p. 3; December 1889, p. 92.
18. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., p. 6.
19. Reformed Church Record, September 1881, p. 130. Vaughan says that Gregg chose the diocesan names which he had "culled from the history of the

British Church" - possibly Gregg was trying to imply an ancient authority which ante-dated the rule of Rome: Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., p. 2.

20. Ibid., January 1883, p. 5.
21. Ibid., June 1884, pp. 44 f.; October 1884, p. 75.
22. Ibid., January 1885, p. 2. It is interesting to read the words of Archdeacon Theodore Wirgman (S. Africa), writing probably during 1909/10. He had had some acquaintance with Gregg, and his comment was that after his consecration, "Gregg showed a good deal of energy": A. Theodore Wirgman, Foreign Protestantism within the Church of England, (London, 1911), p. 236.
23. Ibid., March 1890, p. 19; April 1890, p. 27.
24. Ibid., June 1887, p. 44; July 1887, p. 50; January 1891, inside front cover.
25. Ibid., January 1883, p. 5.
26. Ibid., April 1885, p. 26; May 1885, p. 35; April 1887, p. 28.
27. Reformed Church Record, January 1883, pp. 4 f.
28. Ibid., April 1881, p. 53; March 1881, pp. 34 f.; May 1881, p. 69; August 1881, p. 124.
29. Ibid., May 1883, p. 36.
30. Ibid., February 1885, p. 11.
31. Ibid., December 1886, p. 92.
32. Ibid., January 1887, p. 4.
33. Ibid., March, 1887, p. 20.
34. Ibid., June 1887, pp. 43 f.; August 1887, pp. 60 f.
35. Ibid., January 1891, p. 17.
36. Southend Standard, 2 April 1896, p. 5, col. 4.
37. The Baby etc., (London 1875).
38. The Biographical Magazine, Article: "The Right Reverend T. Huband Gregg, DD, MD, Lord Bishop of Verulam", February 1877, p. 199.
39. Reformed Church Record, February 1885, p. 9; July 1885, p. 55.
40. Ibid., February 1886, pp. 9 f.; July 1886, p. 49; September 1886, p. 65; March 1887, p. 21; March 1888, p. 19.
41. Ibid., February 1886, p. 9; April 1889, p. 27; August 1889, p. 57.
42. Ibid., February 1890, p. 9.
43. Southend Standard, 2 April 1896, p. 5, col. 4.

44. Ibid.; also A. Theodore Wirgman, op. cit., p. 236.
45. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 230.
46. Reformed Church Record, November 1884, p. 86.
47. The English Churchman, 19 August 1866, and 26 August 1866.
48. Reformed Church Record, October 1886, pp. 77 ff.
49. Although retired, Sugden continued a certain amount of work as assistant to the minister of the local Congregationalist Church at Kirkburton. I am grateful to the Rev. Dennis Baraclough, Vicar of Kirkburton (1988), for his help in gathering local traditions and information from members of his congregation and parish.
50. Reformed Church Record, February 1887, pp. 12 f.
51. Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council of the REC, p. 59, Bishop Cheney's Report. Also, Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 41.
52. Reformed Church Record, August 1887, pp. 61 f.
53. Gregg was later to publish a strong criticism of the London churches of Richardson, based on these factors: Ibid., September 1889, pp. 68 f.
54. Ibid., July 1887, pp. 50 f.
55. Ibid., August 1887, pp. 61.f.
56. Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council of the REC, p. 59, Bishop Cheney's Report.
57. Reformed Church Record, December 1888, p. 95.
58. Ibid., January 1889, pp. 5 f.
59. Ibid., p. 4.
60. Ibid., March 1889, p. 21.
61. An Important Letter from Bishop Gregg to the Presiding Bishop of the REC, 28 February 1889, (London, 1889). This copy from the Seminary in Philadelphia. Gregg's shrill accusation was most unwise. The "minutes" to which he refers are almost certainly the official printed declaration of the removal of Gregg's name. This was ordered and signed by Nicholson as a matter of normal legal course; moreover the printed notice also contained the relevant extract from the General Council Minutes ordering the removal of his name. Printed Circular, dated 27 May 1880, photo-copy from the archives of the Seminary at Philadelphia (with the author).
62. Reformed Church Record, April 1889, p. 30.
63. Letters: i.Charles D. Kellogg to Bishop Cheney, 24 January 1889 (referred to in reply from Cheney to Kellogg, 28 January 1889); ii. J. Anderson to Kellogg, 10 January 1889. RES, Philadelphia (photocopies with the author).
64. Letter from Bishop Cheney to Kellogg, 28 January 1889, RES, Philadelphia (photocopy with the author).

65. Letter from Bishop William Nicholson, 2106. Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, to Kellogg, dated 25 January 1889. RES Philadelphia (photocopy with the author).
66. Letters: i. Bishop Cheney to Bishop John Sugden, 31 January 1889; ii. Bishop Sugden to Bishop Cheney, 22 February 1889; iii. Bishop Sugden to the Reverend W.T. Sabine, 23 February 1889; iv. Bishop Sugden to the Reverend W.T. Sabine, 26 March, 1889 - being a reply to a letter from Sabine to Sugden dated 4 March 1889. RES, Philadelphia (photocopies with the author). Also, Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., pp. 97 f.
67. Letters: i. Bishop Richardson to Charles Kellogg, 16. February 1889; ii. Typed letter from Richardson to Kellogg, 13 March 1889. RES, Philadelphia (photocopies with the author).
68. Letters: i. Bishop Richardson to Kellogg, 27 March 1889; ii. Bishop Richardson to Kellogg, 9 May 1889; iii. Cheney to Kellogg, 28 February 1889; iv. Cheney to Kellogg, 2 April 1889. RES Philadelphia (photocopies with author).
69. Reformed Church Record, June 1889, pp. 42 f.; Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 231; Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council, 22-27 May 1889, pp. 24 & 96-98. Also, Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., pp. 40 & 66.
70. Southend Standard, 2 April 1896, p. 5, col. 4; Reformed Church Record, October 1885, p. 73. Even so, it is not clear exactly when or where Gregg had this accident.
71. Reformed Church Record, November 1885, p. 81; December 1885, p. 89; March 1886, p. 17; January 1886, p. 7.
72. Ibid., March 1888, p. 20.
73. Ibid., January 1890, p. 6; April 1890, p. 27.
74. Ibid., May 1890, p. 35; June 1890, pp. 41 & 44. Also Southend Standard, 8 May 1890.
75. Reformed Church Record, August 1890, pp. 57, 59, insert foll. p. 60; November 1890, p. 81.
76. Southend Standard, 16 July 1891, p. 5, cols. 2 & 3. Also, 9 July 1891, p. 8, col. 5.
77. Ibid., 16 July 1891, p. 5, cols. 4 & 5.
78. Ibid., 30 July 1891, p. 8, cols 1, 2 & 3.
79. Ibid., 4 December 1891, p. 8, cols. 1 & 2.
80. Ibid., 6 August 1891, p. 5, col. 6; 2 April 1896, p. 5, col. 4. Also Times, 6 April 1896, p. 1, col. 1.
81. Trinity Church, Southend, Vestry Book, 1878 - 1902, pp. 209 f., Meeting of 25 March 1892.
82. Southend Standard, 2 April 1896, p. 5, col. 4; Times, 6 April 1896, p. 1, col. 1; The Record, 10 April 1896, p. 351, col. 3.

83. Southend Standard, 4 December 1891, p. 8, col. 1.
84. A. Theodore Wirgman, op. cit., p. 236.
85. The disputes within the congregation were over a number of matters, including moneys for pew rents, and perhaps more sharply, the position and the authority at Trinity church of the Reverend Alfred Waller who had been Bishop Gregg's Curate. Further details can be found in: Trinity Church, Southend, Vestry Book, 1878 - 1902; also Southend Standard, especially, 4 December 1891, p. 5, col. 2; 10 December 1891, p. 2, cols. 2 & 3, and p. 8, cols. 1,2,3, & 4; 18 December 1891, p. 2, col. 2. In fact, the Southend Standard is an important source of information throughout this whole troubled period. Also, Concerning this House, op. cit., especially p. 8 (the Rev. Charles Snosswell).

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CHAPTER 6

THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UK: 1880 - 1900

1. Proceedings of the Eighth General Council of the REC, May 1881, second day, Bishop Sugden's Report, pp. 48 ff.; also, District and Parish Helper, (Christ Church, Yeovil), April 1879, pp. 3 ff.; July 1879, pp. 1-3; August 1879, pp. 1 & 2; October 1879, pp. 1 - 3; November 1879, p. 3; December 1879, pp. 1,2 & 4. Also, Parochial Magazine, (Christ Church, Yeovil); August 1880, pp. 1 ff.; September 1881, pp. 1 ff.
2. Reformed Church Record, December 1881, pp. 205 f.; also June 1882, p. 88.
3. Proceedings of the Ninth General Council of the REC, May 1883, second day, Bishop Sugden's Report, pp. 42 f. Some information on the final problems of Cheddar in Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, op. cit., p. 17.
4. Reformed Church Record, September 1884, p. 72. Work and Worship, July 1912, p. 89. Church closure, Year Book of the FCE: 1946-7, p. 48; 1947-8, p. 12.
5. Reformed Church Record, September 1889, pp. 68 f. Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council", May 1889, the Reverend P.X. Eldridge's Report, p. 98. The fate of this church was made clear in Marylebone Times and Independent, 5 March 1892, p. 7, col. 1 (see below).
6. P.X. Eldridge, St. Jude's: a Story of Faith and Faithfulness, (Brighton n.d., but c. 1912). Year Book of the FCE, 1957-58, p. 3. Reformed Church Record, September 1889, pp. 68 ff.
7. The Christian, 30 March 1888, p. 31, col. 3. Reformed Church Record, September 1889, pp. 68 f. Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council", May 1889, the Reverend P.X. Eldridge's Report, p. 98. The end of this cause was made clear in Marylebone Times and Independent, 5 March 1892, p. 7, col. 1.
8. Reformed Church Record, May 1888, p. 35; also Work and Worship, February 1912, p. 17: in fact, Vaughan's dating of the original cause is confirmed by the hand-typed Index of Deeds and Documents (op. cit.) which gives the date of 28 October for "Copy Deed of Trust", p. 5. Also, Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council, op. cit., pp. 98 f.
9. Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council of the REC, op. cit., p. 97. The Reverend Norman Walker, St. Paul's, Eighty Years of Christian Work and Witness, (Skegness 1974), pp. 1,8, & 10.
10. Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council of the REC, op. cit., p. 96. Victoria County History: A History of the County of Essex, Vol. VI, pp. 131, 137 f.; National Register of Archives, p. 22400, D/N21. Also: the Rev. Edgar Brown, "The Moravians in Essex", The Essex Review, Vol. 63, (Colchester 1954), p. 83.
11. Reformed Church Record, June 1889, p. 45; Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council of the REC, op. cit., p. 97; Work and Worship, October 1912, p. 123.
12. John Bavington Jones, Dover, A Perambulation, (Dover 1907), p. 185: unfortunately, the article is muddled and the dating unsatisfactory. Also Batcheller's Guide (Dover 1844), pp. 93 f.; 1853 edition, pp. 95 f. Also Dover Express, 21 August 1908. I am grateful to Mrs. P.D. Godfrey, the Local Studies Librarian, for her help in providing information.

13. Bath Chronicle, 29 September 1887.
14. Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council of the REC, op. cit., pp. 96 ff.
15. Proceedings of the Eighth General Council of the REC, May 1881, Second Day, Bishop Sugden's Report, pp. 48 ff. Interestingly, just as both Sugden and Gregg had taken territorial titles at first, Richardson first took the title of "Bishop of Caerleon". The basis for the title is unclear. Gregg worked out a system of 14 dioceses for the UK, but this was not published until September 1881, having been agreed by the Synod of the RCE on 14 July 1881. It is possible that such a title was a matter of "jure dignitatis". But certainly the REC in the UK seems to have had no such organised diocesan plan as that of the RCE, and Richardson seems not to have used the title subsequently: District and Parish Helper (Yeovil), August 1879, p. 2; Reformed Church Record, September 1881, p. 130.
16. Proceedings of the Eighth General Council of the REC, May 1881, Second Day, Bishop Sugden's Report, pp. 48 ff.; also Proceedings of the Sixth General Council, May 1878, pp. 49 f.; also Annie Darling Price, op. cit., pp. 227 f.
17. Rock, 15 November 1878, see the Episcopal Gazette, February 1880, p. 40.
18. District and Parish Helper (Yeovil), "Our General Synod", August 1879, p. 2.
19. Ibid.
20. Proceedings of the Ninth General Council of the REC, May 1883, Report of Bishop Sugden, p. 42.
21. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 231; also, Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 33.
22. Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 29; also Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 231.
23. Proceedings of the Ninth General Council of the REC, May 1883, Bishop Sugden's Report, p. 43.
24. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 278. Reformed Church Record, February 1887, pp. 12 f., reply from Sugden to Gregg, dated 30 December 1886.
25. Handwritten letter from Richardson to Kellogg, from St. John's Wood, dated 9 May 1889; R.E. Seminary collection.
26. District and Parish Helper (Yeovil), August 1879, p. 2.
27. Reformed Church Record, September 1889, pp. 68 f.; Marylebone Times and Independent, 5 March 1892, p. 7 col. 1.
28. Letters from Richardson to Professor Kellogg, 1889: R.E. Seminary Collection.
29. Letter from Richardson to Kellogg, 9 May 1889; RE Seminary collection (photocopies with author).
30. Ibid.

31. Work and Worship, July 1904, p. 213 (Obituary); also East Dorset Herald, 12 May 1904 (no pag.), Obituary.
32. Work and Worship, February 1912, p. 17; Reformed Church Record, May 1888, p. 35. Incorrectly, Gregg states that the work at Harlesden had actually been started by Greenland. Greenland himself gives further information in the printed letter of resignation which he wrote to the members of the General Synod of the REC on 1 January 1889; RE Seminary collection.
33. Greenland's letter of resignation, 1 January 1889. Also details of his consecration from the official list of Bishops, FCE Year Book 1992-93, pp. 66 ff. Also, Letter from Richardson to Kellogg, 9 May 1889, op. cit.
34. Gregg's assertions were published in the Reformed Church Record, January 1889, p. 4. A rebuttal of Gregg's facts was made by letter: the Reverend J. Anderson to Professor Kellogg, 10 January 1889; RE Seminary Collection.
35. The matter of the Reverend B.G. Richardson's St. James', Harlesden is complicated: but see Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, op. cit., p. 22; also, Reformed Church Record October 1888, p. 74 (the new St. James' Church had just been opened). For Tyler's departure see Reformed Church Record, June 1889, p. 45.
36. Letter from Bishop Richardson to Professor Kellogg, 9 May 1889, op. cit.; also Reformed Church Record, June 1889, p. 45.
37. Exactly how much Greenland had had to do with the foundation of the Free Protestant Church of England is uncertain. Alan Bain certainly associates him firmly with the founding of the denomination - although, inaccurately, he states that Richardson consecrated Greenland for the FPCE. Pruter and Melton, and H.R.T. Brandreth take the progression a stage further. They indicate that the FPEC merged in 1897 with the "Nazarene Episcopal Ecclesia" of Bishop James Martin, and the "Ancient British Church" of Richard Williams Morgan to form the "Free Protestant Episcopal Church". This fact is supported in a rare pamphlet by Bishop Charles Dennis Boltwood on the "Free Protestant Episcopal Church". None gives any indication of what happened to Greenland with regard to the FPCE: but all agree that the new "Archbishop" elected to the primacy of the FPEC in 1897 was Leon Chechemian, an Armenian immigrant, originally raised to the status of "Vartapet" by Archbishop Chorchorunian of the Armenian Orthodox church in Armenia. He had later also been consecrated in a ceremony in which Bishop Richardson had been involved (see below). Alan Bain, Bishops Irregular, (Bristol 1985), p. 114. Karl Pruter and J. Gordon Melton, The Old Catholic Sourcebook, (New York 1983), p. 102. H.R.T. Brandreth, Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church, (London 1961), pp. 71, 79 (note 4), 84. C.D. Boltwood, The Origin, Orders, Organisation, etc, of the Free Protestant Episcopal Church, (London, N.D., 1950s?), pp. 1 ff.; P.F. Anson, Bishops at Large, (London 1964), pp. 217 ff.
38. Reformed Church Record, June 1889, p. 44.
39. Alfred Webb, The Churches of Bournemouth, (Bournemouth 1910) p. 35. Also, the Bournemouth Visitors' Director & Poole, Christchurch & East Dorset Advertiser, Wednesday 23 June 1897, p. 4, col. 8.
40. Official list of the Consecrations of Bishops, FCE Year Books, op. cit.
41. East Dorset Herald, 12 May 1904, Obituary headed in bold capital letters "SUDDEN DEATH OF BISHOP GREENLAND", no pag., col. 5.

42. H.R.T. Brandreth, op. cit., p. 84 & note; Peter Anson, op. cit., pp. 221; Pruter & Melton, op. cit., p. 102; Alan Bain, op. cit., p. 157: Bain wrongly states that Richardson consecrated Martin for the work of the REC.
43. C.D. Boltwood, op. cit., Introduction and pp. 1 f. In fact, according to Peter Anson, (op. cit., p. 222, note 1), this pamphlet is substantially a re-working of another similar one on the FPEC by E.A. Asquith in 1917. Also, Pruter & Melton, op. cit., p. 102.
44. Peter Anson, op. cit., pp. 221 f.
45. Reformed Church Record, December 1888, pp. 94 f. Letter from Bishop Cheney to Professor Kellogg, 28 January 1889, RE Seminary collection.
46. Alan Bain, op. cit., p. 157; H.R.T. Brandreth, p. 84. Confusingly, Anson says that Chechemian consecrated Martin as "Archbishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk in 1897"; the dating was possibly influenced by Boltwood in his "Line of Archbishops and Bishops": Peter Anson, op. cit., pp. 221 f.; also, C.D. Boltwood, op. cit., "Line of Archbishops and Bishops", (no pag.).
47. H.R.T. Brandreth, op. cit., p. 79 (Brandreth's understanding of Richardson's consecration and work for the REC is defective). Peter Anson, op. cit., pp. 219 f.; (according to Anson, no "instrument" of consecration has ever been produced, but, rather, the information is based on the oral tradition of the Ferrette succession). Alan Bain, op. cit., p. 71.
48. The plotting of unauthorised successions is a minefield for the unwary because of the intentions of the many involved, and the complications of the successions themselves. The background of the "Ancient British Church" and the succession of the Ferrette line are well illustrated by Brandreth, op. cit., pp. 70-79. Unfortunately Brandreth's bias and his over lavish criticisms are often unhelpful, - as are those of Peter Anson, op. cit., chapter VII, especially pp. 216-244.
 Certainly some of the complication lies in the fact that two of Stevens' consecrators were Dr. F.G. Lee (Vicar of All Saint's, Lambeth) and Dr. J.T. Seccombe (a Norfolk physician and a distinguished local magistrate). These were both founding members of the "Order of Corporate Reunion". This had been a genuine attempt to provide the Church of England with a succession which Rome would be forced to recognise as valid.
 The strange story of the OCR is examined by H.R.T. Brandreth, op. cit., pp. 105 ff., also in his Dr. Lee of Lambeth, (London 1951).
 For information on the Ferrette succession and also the OCR, see also: Church Times, 28 April 1922, p. 415, "A Chapter of Secret History".
49. Ibid.: but for far more detail, Peter Anson, op. cit., pp. 216 ff.
50. Peter Anson, op. cit., pp. 218 f.
51. Ibid.. Also, H.R.T. Brandreth, op. cit., p. 79 & note. C.D. Boltwood, op. cit., p. 4.
52. Karl Pruter and J. Gordon Melton, op. cit., p. 102; Peter Anson, op. cit., pp. 221 f.
53. Alan Bain, op. cit., p. 71.
54. Ibid.; also C.D. Boltwood, op. cit., "Line of Bishops".
55. H.R.T. Brandreth, op. cit., p. 79, note 2.

56. Proceedings of the Ninth General Council of the REC in America, May 1883, pp. 42 f., Bishop Sugden's Report. Also, the Twelfth General Council of May 1889, pp. 96 ff., the Reverend P.X. Eldridge's Report.
57. Times, Saturday 27 February 1892, p. 5, col. 3. A report of the case was also carried by The Marylebone Times and Independent for 5 March 1892 (p. 7, col. 1). Here the previous composition figure given was 2s. 6d. in the £1, but this is evidently a misprint, for the sum of 12s. 6d. in the £1 is repeated later by the Times for 12 June 1892, p. 7, col. 5.
58. Reformed Church Record, August 1887, pp. 62 f.; January 1888, pp. 7 f.
59. Times, Saturday 4 June 1892, p. 7, col. 5.
60. Ibid., Saturday 27 February 1892, p. 5, col. 3.
61. Ibid.; also Marylebone Times and Independent, 5 March 1892, p. 7, col. 1.
62. Times, Saturday 4 June 1892, p. 7, col. 5.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., Saturday 18 June 1892, p. 14, col. 5. The progress of the case may be seen in the following editions of the Times: 11 February 1892, p. 14, col. 2; 27 February 1892, p. 5, col. 3; 3 March 1892, p. 9, col. 5; 5 April 1892, p. 13, col. 6; 4 June 1892, p. 7, col. 5; 18 June 1892, p. 14, col. 5.
65. Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections etc., op. cit., p. 19.
66. H.R.T. Brandreth, op. cit., p. 79 note 2; also Alan Bain, op. cit., p. 189.
67. Work and Worship, July 1897, p. 12; Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 232.
68. Proceedings of the Eighth General Council of the REC in America, May 1881, p. 49, Bishop Sugden's Report.
69. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., pp. 232, 280 & 281.
70. Year Book of the REC, 1922, Record of Consecrations, p. 29.
71. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 232. Centenary: 1887 - 1987, the commemorative booklet of St. Jude's Church, Balham, (London 1987), p. 4. The circumstances of Sugden's illness were recalled by P.X. Eldridge, St. Jude's, a story of faith etc., op. cit., p. 11.
72. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 280.
73. Frank Vaughan, History, etc., op. cit., p. 81. Also Minutes of the united Synod of 1894, p. 1; Frank Gregg's own copy of the Synod Minutes of this and following years makes interesting reading. They are neatly underlined with sections numbered by hand. Important points are further underscored in pen. Gregg evidently still had strong feelings over the unity discussions, for he has underscored the words "otherwise called".
74. Proceedings of the Fourteenth General Council of the REC in America, June 1894, pp. 75 ff., Bishop Eldridge's Report. Also Minutes of the united Synod of 1894, p. 2, section 6. See also Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 280; also Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., pp. 80 f.

75. Brighton Gazette, Wednesday 6 April 1921, p. 2, col. 3.
76. Proceedings of the Fourteenth General Council of the REC, Bishop Eldridge's Report, pp. 75 f., also p. 77.
77. Work and Worship, January 1901, p. 43.
78. Proceedings of the Sixteenth General Council of the REC, May 1900, pp. 58 ff., Bishop Eldridge's Report.
79. Official Report at the General Synod of the REC, 1 June 1897, (see Work and Worship, July 1897, pp. 14 f.); also, Year Book of the FCE: 1943-1944, p. 3; 1951-1952, p. 3; 1963-1964, p. 7. Index of Deeds and Documents, p. 8.
80. Official Report at the General Synod of the REC, 1 June 1897, op. cit., p. 14. Work and Worship, July 1903, p. 166, Obituary of William Westbury.
81. Work and Worship, October 1898, pp. 70 f.; July 1899, Synod Report, pp. 93 f.; October 1899, p. 109.
82. Ibid., April 1899, p. 86; July 1899, p. 94; October 1899, p. 110; April 1900, pp. 11 f.; 1958-1959, p. 28.
83. Work and Worship, April 1900, p. 11: Burn was not in the list of Richardson's clergy as given by Gregg in 1889; also, Report of the proceedings at the 1903 General Synod, Ibid., July 1903, p. 165.
84. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., pp. 232, 281. Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections etc., op. cit., p. 7. Report of the General Synod, 19 June 1895. I am grateful to the Local History Librarian at the Stratford Library for his help. No obituary was published in either of the the local papers, the Stratford Express and the Forest Gate Weekly News.
85. Bournemouth Visitors' Directory & Poole, Christchurch & East Dorset Advertiser, Saturday 25 August 1895 (supplement), p. 6, section 93.
86. Ibid., 23 June 1897, p. 4, col. 8. Also, Alfred Webb, op. cit., p. 35.
87. Bournemouth Visitors' Directory etc., op. cit., 23 June 1897, p. 4, col. 8. Also Huddersfield Daily Examiner, Wednesday 23 June 1897, p. 2, col. 5.
88. Southend Standard, 2 April 1896, p. 5, col. 4. Also, Times, 6 April 1896, p. 1, col. 1. Also, The Record, 10 April 1896, p. 351, col. 3. Also, Southend Echo, 8 April 1896, p. 5, col. 2.
89. Proceedings of the Sixteenth General Council of the REC, May 1900, Bishop Eldridge's Report, pp. 58 ff.
90. Work and Worship, April 1900, pp. 1 ff.; also pp. 5 ff.
91. The worries over Ireland became stronger still: Ibid., July 1907, pp. 2 f.; March 1912, p. 32; July 1913, p. 82; August 1913, p. 96.
92. Conservatism of English Churchmen, see Proceedings of the Seventeenth General Council of the REC, May 1903, Bishop Eldridge's Report, p. 41. For strong fears of Roman Catholicism: Benjamin Price, op. cit., pp. 5 ff.

CHAPTER 7

THE RCE AND THE REC (UK) 1880 - 1900: FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS & CONCLUSIONS

1. The correspondence books of Archbishop Edward White Benson, Lambeth Palace Library: Vol. 16 (1884) ff. 390 - 393.
2. Benson, 16: ff. 393 & 394 (A.S.R. to Benson, 6 March 1884); 395 & 396, 397 (A.S.R. to Benson, 13 March 1884).
3. Benson, 16: ff. 400 - 402 (A.S.R. to Benson, 31 March 1884); 403 & 404 (A.S.R. to Benson, 5 April 1884); A.S.R. to Benson mid-May 1884.
4. Benson 16 ff. 407 - 410.
5. Benson, 16: f. 411 (Fowler to Richardson, 19 June 1884); ff. 412 & 413 (A.S.R. to Fowler in reply, n.d.).
6. Benson 27 (1885): ff. 264 & 265.
7. Benson 27: ff. 266 v & r (notes); ff. 267 & 268 (scored draft); ff. 269 & 270 (reply, dated 10 June 1885); ff. 271 - 274 (Memorandum from the committee of American bishops).
8. The Memorandum is included as a 4-page hand written copy in Benson 27: ff. 271 - 274. It is unclear why the document was not printed and circulated to all the English bishops when it was received by Tait in 1878, for this was probably the intention of the committee of American bishops. However, if, as seems likely, the legal Opinion sought by the Committee of English bishops was produced at about the same time, it might well have been felt by the Archbishop that two influential opinions which clearly came to very different conclusions might have given a public impression of disunity within the Anglican episcopate. On the other hand, the extreme brevity of the American Memorandum, and its general lack of theological substance would hardly have commended it either to Tait, or to a number of his episcopal colleagues who possessed able and incisive theological minds.
9. Benson 27: ff. 277 & 278.
10. Benson 27: ff. 279 & 280 (B. & W. to Benson, letter of Advent Sunday 1885); f. 281 (Benson to B. & W., 4 December 1885).
11. Benson 37: ff. 306 & 307.
12. Benson 37: ff. 308 & 309.
13. Benson 37: ff. 310 & 311 (B. & W. to Benson, 3 August 1886); ff. 312 & 313 (Benson to B. & W., 7 August 1886); ff. 320 & 321 (B. & W. to Benson, 17 August 1886).
14. Bath Chronicle, 29 September 1887 (cutting, no page ref.).
15. Benson 37: Various letters, ff. 322 - 352.
16. Benson 27: ff. 284 & 285 (Breasley to Benson, 3 March 1885); ff. 286 & 287 (Vicar Gen. to Fowler, 5 March 1885); ff. 288 - 290 (extract from Convocation minutes); ff. 290 & 291 (2 The Sanctuary to Fowler, 9 March 1885); ff. 292 & 293 (Fowler to Breasley 10 March 1885).

17. Benson 27: ff. 294 & 295 (Gregg to Benson, 20 March 1885); ff. 296 - 327 (various leaflets and pamphlets sent by Gregg)
18. Benson 45 (1887), f. 286.
19. Reformed Church Record, December 1886, pp. 93 f.
20. Ibid., February 1887, p. 14.
21. The 1888 Conference document "A Statement in regard to Ordinations or Consecrations performed by Dr. Cummins, or others claiming Ordination or Consecration from him"...etc., is printed in Official Reports and Resolutions (of the Lambeth Conference of 1888), (new ed., London 1896), pp. 359 - 363.
22. Benson 61: ff. 230 - 233.
23. Benson 61: ff. 234 & 235.
24. Benson 98: ff. 108 & 109 (McGovern to Benson, 16 May 1891); ff. 110 & 111 (McGovern to Benson, 23 May 1891); f. 112 (Chaplain to McGovern, final refusal. Strangely, another of the reasons given by the chaplain is that McGovern is not a graduate; and yet Llewellyn was ordained by Bath and Wells as a Literate).
25. Benson 100: ff. 45 & 46 (Ripon to ...Baynes, 2 June 1891 - sent to Benson for comments).
26. Benson 110: ff. 277 & 278 (Lincoln to Benson, 20 June 1892); ff. 279 & 280 (Lincoln to Benson, 1 July 1892).

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CHAPTER 8

THE FCE: 1880/81 - 1900/01

1. FCE Magazine, July 1880, "Alphabetical List of Churches and Mission Stations", pp. 146 ff. Also, for Norwich, I.M. Mallard, op. cit., pp. 48 f.
2. Year Book of the FCE, 1900 - 1901, "List of Churches and Missions", pp. 7 ff.
3. FCE Magazine, August 1881, pp. 147 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
5. *Ibid.*, July 1880, p. 147.
6. Episcopal Gazette, November 1879, pp. 2 f. Editorial comment.
7. FCE Magazine, June 1881, p. 122; July 1881, pp. 123 ff.
8. Edward Shillito, The Hope and Mission of the Free Churches, (London, 1913), pp. 72 f. R.W. Dale was equally clear that one of the fruits of evangelical revival towards the end of the century was a thirst for souls rather than the good of the individual denomination: "They heard nothing from the fervent evangelist about the principles of Congregationalist polity...their great solicitude was to make men Christians": History of English Congregationalism, (London 1907), p. 589.
9. Benjamin Price in his Presidential Address at Convocation: *Ibid.*, July 1881, pp. 128 ff.
10. FCE Magazine, July 1885, pp. 90 ff., List of the Churches.
11. Year Book 1895-96, pp. 1 ff.
12. *Ibid.*, 1897-98, p. 3.
13. FCE Magazine, January 1885, p. 8.
14. *Ibid.*, 1896-97, pp. 2, 5, & 8; 1902-03, p. 8. I am grateful for the help given to me by Miss Francis Mary Pugh of Torquay. Her father, the Reverend Isaac Pugh, was minister of the church from 1904 until the mid 1930s. I am also grateful for the kindness and help of Mr. Leslie Lowndes Pateman, a distinguished local historian and author.
15. Year Book 1896-97, p. 5. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 15. Year Book 1895-96, p. 5; 1896-97, p. 8. A warm welcome awaits you at St. John's, Westcott, an introductory pamphlet, (1990). I am grateful to Mrs. Daphne Cross, a long-standing member of the church and one of its officers, for her kind help.
16. Year Book 1899-1900, pp. 8 & 12; 1900-01, pp. 6 ff. The Year Books contain virtually no information on the dispute between Baker and the Council. It was only much later that Bishop Vaughan spoke of the matter in his Memories and Reflections (op. cit., p. 18).
17. Year Book 1900-01, pp. 5 & 7 ff.

18. I. M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 61. Although there are many errors in his work, the usefulness of Mallard's observations lie in the fact that he was writing at a time when there were still people alive who remembered the very last shadows of the "federative relationship" in the 1890s. Again, even though they themselves might not have witnessed the earlier working of the scheme, Mallard would have captured the "feelings" of the denomination on the way in which matters had worked in the 1880s.
19. FCE Magazine, September 1881, p. 170.
20. Ibid., August 1882, pp. 171 f.; September 1882, pp. 187 ff.; August 1882, p. 158.
21. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 61: although it is important to see that Mallard was examining the materials available to him very much from the point of view of the Connexion. Indeed, the sources available are few.
22. FCE Magazine, January 1883, p. 4; February 1883, pp. 34 f., & October 1883, p. 230.
23. Ibid., August 1883, pp. 163 ff.
24. The Rock, 21 September 1877, p. 781 col. 2. See also his letter in the edition for 14 September 1877, p. 766 col. 2; this illustrates well the astonishing forcefulness of the man. Nevertheless, the "immoderate" style of Thoresby's correspondence in the matter of the new church at Littlehampton demonstrates clearly the level of personal commitment that he felt for the denomination in the creation of which he had taken such a part through the years. It is clear that Thoresby was a formidably powerful character in every way. In speaking of the funeral, "A local contemporary" spoke of Thoresby himself as: "a man of massive build...and of strong mental calibre." An Old Attendant (F.W. Willcocks), Spa Fields Chapel and its Associations, op. cit., p. 51. It is tempting to suspect that Price would not have been able to quote his work in the way he had if Thoresby had still been alive.
25. FCE Magazine, August 1883, p. 175.
26. Ibid., July 1884, pp. 134 ff.
27. Ibid., p. 134.
28. Ibid., July 1885, p. 85.
29. Ibid., pp. 85 ff.
30. Ibid., July 1884, p. 134.
31. Ibid., July 1885, pp. 88 f.
32. It is evident that Price and Newman worked closely and well in their partnership as leaders. Newman was already 63 years of age when he became minister at Willesborough in 1875. But his energy and his maturity as a pastor were very evident - not only in the wider work of the FCE, but in his own ministry at Willesborough, which gives a good indication of his strengths. Not only did he supervise the completion of the substantial buildings there, but, according to the inherited traditions of the community, he was responsible for good and careful pastoral work in a new and rapidly expanding railway community which faced many social problems.

Again, his funeral tribute to Joseph Foster (the founder of the church) supports the impression given in other writings - that of the combination of a generosity of manner together with an incisive and analytical mind. These abilities were essential in the running of the denomination, especially with the ageing of Bishop Price: J.H.H. Whisson, The First Hundred Years, Christ Church, Willesborough, 1874 - 1974, (privately printed, Willesborough 1974), p. 10. Also, I am grateful to several senior members of the church for their memories, and for recounting memories handed down within the congregation through the years: I thank particularly Mrs. Ballard, and Mrs. Olive Rand.

33. Gregg published a letter from "an American Bishop" (certainly Bishop Cheney), in which the correspondent says "I am striving hard to bring about a union of the two branches in Canada....and...I should be very glad if we could have a world-wide Reformed Episcopal Church, with one General Council for doctrinal matters, but no power to interfere with local affairs." Reformed Church Record, December 1887, p. 93.
Corroborative evidence of this appears in a private letter Bishop Cheney wrote to Charles Kellogg, 28 February 1889. Referring to the Canadian unity negotiations (and Bishop Ussher's willingness to retire from jurisdiction in Canada) Cheney writes: "Bishop Ussher has certainly showed a most thorough Christian spirit in the course that he has pursued..." Cheney's strong approval is very evident, and he expresses the hope that a question to be raised by a Dr. Howard Smith in the matter "will not be suffered to interfere with the good feeling of the Council..." Typed ms letter, 28 February 1889, written at Christ Church, Chicago; photo-copy with RDF. In fact, the slow progress in the growth of the REC had been the subject in a sermon for the May 1887 session of the meeting of the General Council in Philadelphia by the Reverend James M. Gray: Abstract of the Eleventh General Council, Allen C. Guelzo, op. cit., p. 37.
34. Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council, May 1889, pp. 96 ff.
35. Reformed Church Record, November 1888, pp. 84 f.
36. The English Churchman and St. James's Chronicle, 18 October 1888, p. 658, col 3.
37. Christian, 19 October 1888, p. 21, col. 3; Rock, 18 October, p. 5, col. 3; Christian, 26 October 1888, p. 19, col. 1.
38. Letter from W.H. Simms to the Episcopal Recorder, reprinted in the Reformed Church Record, December 1888, pp. 93 f.
39. Episcopal Recorder, 25 October 1888, re-printed by Gregg in the Reformed Church Record, December 1888, p. 94.
40. Reformed Church Record, December 1888, pp. 93 f.
41. Episcopal Recorder, 22 November 1888, quoted by Gregg in Reformed Church Record, January 1889, p. 5.
42. Ibid., March 1889, p. 21, col. 2.
43. Ibid., January 1891, pp. 10 ff.
It is interesting to see that Figgis had been greatly involved in the negotiations between the Connexion and the C of E. These had taken place as the result of the Encyclical Letter which had been sent out by the bishops after the Lambeth conference of 1888. Valuable details are given by

- J. Westbury-Jones, Figgis of Brighton, (London 1917), pp. 147 ff. Figgis's own words are recorded, pp. 151 ff. Again, it is important to see that the Encyclical Letter from the bishops of the Established Church, together with the involvement of the Connexion, will have acted as a powerful incentive to the negotiations between the FCE and the REC. By the nature of their somewhat fraught relations with the C of E through the years, the other two denominations were unlikely to have been able to enter into negotiations with the C of E themselves.
44. Year Book 1895-96, pp. 1 ff. For details on the long illness of Price see: Ilfracombe Chronicle and North Devon Chronicle, 11 January 1896, p. 2, col. 1. For useful information on Newman's last years, see: J.H.H. Whisson, The First Hundred Years - Christ Church Willesborough, 1874 - 1974, op. cit., p. 10. Also, the Newman memorial plaque in the church; also the List of Ministers. Again, I am grateful to Mrs. Olive Rand for her kind help, and also for passing on some inherited memories from the congregation of Christ Church.
 45. Ilfracombe Gazette and Observer, 7 January 1896, p. 5, col. 2.
 46. Year Book 1896-97, pp. 1 ff., but especially p. 2, "Business arising out of Reports".
 47. Year Book 1895-96, pp. 1 & 2; 1896-98, p. 1; 1897-98, p. 1.
 48. Ibid., 1897-98, p. 1.
 49. Ibid., p. 3: In June 1897, Dicksee had been re-elected to the position of Primus; and then re-election was made of Dicksee as Bishop of the Southern Diocese, Baker of the Northern Diocese, and Meyers as Missionary Bishop. It is important to see here that "Missionary" has the meaning of being an assistant to the other diocesans wherever the help might be needed. In this context it does not mean a Bishop working abroad. This makes it even more strange that there was no mention of Meyers in the minutes of Convocation other than at his re-election.
 50. Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, op. cit., pp. 18 f.
 51. Year Book 1897-98, p. 7.
 52. Ibid., 1908-09, p. 2, also see Minutes, p. 12.
 53. Service Register of Christ Church, Wells Street, Cardiff (later St. Cadoc's). The Register was apparently destroyed in the serious flooding in Riverside, Cardiff, in the early 1970s. Before that, however, in 1970, details of the clergy taking services there were noted by RDF.
 54. Year Book 1899-1900, p. 3.
 55. Ibid., front cover, pp. 3 & 5.
 56. Year Book 1900-01, p. 5.
 57. Ibid., pp. 10 & 4.
 58. Ibid., p. 10.
 59. Ibid., p. 3.

60. Ibid., 1901-1902: The minutes of the Convocation, pp. 3 - 7.
61. J.W. Grant, Free Churchmanship in England, (London, c. 1950), pp. 74 ff. He quotes R.W. Dale, Essays and Addresses, p. 348.
62. H.S. Skeats and C.S. Miall, History of the Free Churches of England, 1688-1891, (London 1891), pp. 646 ff. The words of the Reverend Dr. Mellor of Halifax to the following meeting of Assembly are quoted in extenso.
63. R.W. Dale, The Evangelical Revival and other Sermons, (London 1880), pp. 37 f.
64. J.W. Grant, op. cit., pp. 78 f.
65. J.A. Houlder, A Short History of the Free Churches, (London, 1899), p. 193. Also, J.W. Grant, op. cit., p. 22; also pp. 93 ff. Matters were complicated by Spurgeon's own puritanical attitude towards such things as clergy who attended the theatre. This also earned the blast of his condemnation. There is much passion in his condemnation on what he saw almost as apostasy, especially in "Another Word Concerning the Down-Grade", Sword and Trowel, August 1887, p. 397: "A new religion has been initiated".
66. J.W. Grant, op. cit., pp. 78 f. Grant also quotes J.C. Carlile, C.H. Spurgeon, (London 1933), p. 112. In fact, the general concern about theological rationalism at the end of the 1870s was the cause of comment within both the FCE and the RCE. At a meeting of the Vestry at Christ Church, Teddington on 21 April 1879, Sugden regretted the presence of "ritualism and rationalism" within the Established Church: Christ Church, Teddington, Vestry Book II, Meeting of 21 April 1879 (no pag.). Again, in the Reformed Church Review, Bishop Gregg wrote of the recent Episcopal Charge to the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury by the Archbishop. This had included his warnings on the subject of Rationalism: but Gregg felt that his comments had not been directly or strongly enough expressed: Reformed Church Review, October 1880, p. 88.
67. The Reverend Dr. Newman Hall, "Chairman's Address" of 1866, The Congregational Year Book, 1867, p. 22.
68. R.W. Dale, A Manual of Congregational Principles, (London 1884), pp. 34 & 74.
69. J.W. Grant, op. cit., pp. 77 ff.
70. Year Book 1901-02, p. 5.
71. Ibid., p. 7.
72. Ibid., p. 5.
73. Official "List of the Consecration of Bishops", Year Book 1989-90, p. 70. The sensitive nature of the matters at the 1901 Convocation was underlined by the fact that, in later accounts mentioning his election and Consecration, no reference was made to the circumstances surrounding them. The "Brief Biographical Sketch of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Troughton" published in January 1915 was not at all brief. Yet it simply glossed over the events of 1901, saying that "he succeeded the Right Rev. Bishop Baker as Bishop of the Northern Diocese of the Free Church, and was consecrated in London in 1901". Incorrectly, this continues ". .and on the death of the Right Rev.

- Bishop Dicksee became Bishop Primus". FCE Diocesan Quarterly Magazine, (Northern), Vol. I, No. 1, January 1915, pp. 4 f.
74. J.W. Grant, op. cit., p. 97. FCE Mazazine, December 1870, p. 325.
 75. W. Clayton Fudge, The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion - What it was! What it is! What it might become!, a publication mainly for circulation within the Connexion, (Lancing c. 1935), pp. 7 ff.
 76. Ibid., p. 17. Nevertheless, Figgis still resisted strongly the Congregationalist hold on the College. In fact the Trustees "were championed by the forceful minister of their church in Brighton..." Cheshunt College op. cit., p. 15.
 77. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 62. I am most grateful to Mr. and Mrs. D.G. Staplehurst, Rayleigh, Essex, for their kind help with much early documentation, and in passing on much information from memory. Mr. Staplehurst is one of the Trustees of the Connexion.
 78. Public appeal by Bishop Price (treasurer, F.W. Willcocks), Daily Telegraph, November 1868 (news cutting from Connexional archives: photocopy with RDF).
 79. Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, op. cit., p. 17.
 80. FCE Magazine, May 1881, p. 99.
 81. FCE Magazine, July 1881, pp. 121 f.. Accounts of the funds published periodically. Also, August 1882, p. 163.
 82. Ibid., October 1882, p. 229. The letter from the Council is printed in full, but the space where the amount owed would be filled in by hand is left blank.
 83. Index of Deeds and Documents, op. cit., p. 12 (Putney). In fact, the matter of the Putney deeds was to become the subject of considerable dispute between the Troughtons and the FCE - (not for this study).
 84. FCE Magazine, December 1882, an Editorial review, p. 247.
 85. Ibid., February 1883, p 36; March 1883, p. 54, published Council Minutes.
 86. Ibid., October 1883, pp. 214 ff. Also, Newman's address to the 1884 Convocation, July 1884, p. 146 f.
 87. Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, op. cit., pp. 24 f.
 88. FCE Magazine, December 1883, p. 257. Also, Report of 1884 Convocation, July 1884, p. 134.
 89. Ibid., July 1884, p. 152: Annual Report of the Financial Secretary.
 90. Correspondence: Ibid., November 1884, p. 247.
 91. Ibid., July 1885, pp. 89 & 90.
 92. Minutes of the 1895 Convocation, Year Book 1895-96, pp. 1 - 4, & 7. General Account and Sustentation Fund Account, p. 8. References to the Trustees of the Sustentation Fund are made in the Minutes for the Convocation of 1896, Year Book 1896-97, p. 2.

93. Ibid., 1896-97, pp. 2 f.
94. Ibid., 1897-98, pp. 1 ff.; Sustentation grants, p. 7. Official Accounts, pp. 9 ff.
95. Concerning the legal action for defamation, see Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections op. cit., pp. 18 f. Vaughan's account is not absolutely clear in this matter. But what is evident is that the disciplinary action together with all the administration to do with the case, and the calling of a special meeting of Convocation, must have cost a good deal of money. Treasurer's Accounts for the year June 1898 to June 1899: Year Book 1899-1900, pp. 10 f. Confusingly, the Publications Account and the General Account seem to have been "blended" once again.
96. Ibid., 1901-02, p. 11.
97. Ibid., pp. 4 & 7.
98. Prospectus of The Bishop Cummins Theological College, Dealtry Road, Putney, S.W.15, (London, c. 1940), p. 2. This rare pamphlet contains an outline of the earlier training schemes. The copy traced was the property of the Primus, Bishop Vaughan, and contains ink corrections for future published editions (probably never printed because of war-time restrictions). Also, "The Bishop Cummins Theological College Report", Year Book 1940-41, pp. 23 f.
99. Times, 7 Jan 1896, p. 10, obituary. However, much detail is available from Price's obituary in The Ilfracombe Gazette & Observer, 7 January 1896, p. 5, cols. 2-6. It is likely that much of this material came from one of his children. Certainly much of this material was used later in an obituary in Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, Vol. 28, July, 1896: obituary by the Reverend W. Harpley, MA.
100. The bitterness of opposition from people in the town to the new church is well illustrated by Price himself in the FCE Circular no. 2, January 1864, pp. 81 ff., "The FCE at Ilfracombe", etc.: "But in the...summer of 1846, the opposition was at its height. Visitors caught the contagion. The town was wrapped in a flame, and the poor minister nearly torn to pieces by the contending parties". In fact, at the time, men were refused work for attending the church, and servants lost their places! See also, Dr. Judith Pinnington "The Origins of the Free Church of England", Church Quarterly Review, January 1968, pp. 54 ff.
101. Even T.H. Gregg felt the power of the man, his chapel and the tradition of the Countess for which he stood. He wrote an article following a visit to Spa Fields, and he remarked upon the black drapery around the great pulpit, which was in honour of Thoresby who had recently died. Reformed Church Record, May 1883, p. 35.
102. The reaction of Ilfracombe to Price's death, on 6 January 1896, was in great contrast to the reaction he received when he had first gone to Christ Church nearly 51 years before. The very full obituaries in the local papers and even the accounts of his funeral were edged in black.
Both local papers published detailed accounts of Price's early life. They also carried accounts not only of his work at Christ Church but of his work with the FCE as Primus.
It is interesting to see the amount of genuine respect and affection in which he was held in the community. At the meeting of the Town Council after his death, the members recalled his interest in local and civic

matters. This included his support for the successful scheme to bring the railway to Ilfracombe. In fact, not only was there an official Vote of Condolance sent by the Ilfracombe Council to the Price family, but at the funeral on Friday 10 January, the very large attendance included local clergy, magistrates and the Town Councillors - all in procession to the local cemetery where Bishop Dicksee performed the committal.

Obituaries: Ilfracombe Gazette and Observer, 7 January 1896, p. 5, cols. 2 - 6; also 11 January 1886, p. 7, cols. 1 - 4 (including some new material); also 18 January 1896, p. 5, col. 3; also Ilfracombe Chronicle and North Devon News, 11 January 1896, p. 2, cols. 1 - 3; also Times, 7 January 1896, p. 10, col. 5. Funeral Reports: Ilfracombe Gazette and Observer, 11 January 1896, p. 5, col. 3; also Ilfracombe Chronicle, etc., 11 January 1896, p. 5, col. 1.

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CHAPTER 9

The FCE and the REC (UK): 1901 - 1920/21

1. J.W. Grant, Free Churchmanship in England, op. cit., p. 204.
2. Ernest A. Payne, The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England, (London 1944). J.W. Grant, op. cit.. Horton Davies, The English Free Churches, (London, 1963 ed.). Donald Davie, A Gathered Church, (London 1978).
3. Ernest A. Payne, op. cit., p. 121.
4. Philip X. Eldridge, The Origin, Orders, Organisation and Worship of the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom, (London 1910): see especially chapter 7.
5. FCE Year Book 1903-1904: Presidential Address at Convocation, p. 3.
6. Work and Worship, April 1900, pp. 2 f.
7. Year Book of the FCE, 1900-01, pp. 5 & 7 ff.
8. Ibid., 1901-02, pp. 7 ff.
9. Ibid., 1903-04, p. 14.
10. Leslie Lowndes Pateman, op. cit., p. 141: also, the personal memories of Miss Francis Mary Pugh (daughter of Isaac Pugh). I am grateful to Miss Pugh for her help.
11. Presidential Address, Year Book of the FCE, 1903-04, pp. 3 f.
12. Ibid., 1905-06, pp. 10 ff.
13. Ibid, 1919-20, p. 16; also Peterborough Advertiser, 12 March 1881, and 19 March 1881; also, letter from Richard Hillier (Local Studies Librarian, Peterborough Public Library) to Mr. N.H. Knowles, 6 October 1986.
14. FCE Magazine, November 1905, p. 44; also January 1912, p. 3; also obituary of John Halliday, February 1912, p. 1.
15. Year Book, 1906-07, pp. 13 ff., also 1907-08, pp. 14 ff.
16. Ibid., 1908-09, pp. 10 & 11, also, List of Churches, pp. 14 ff.
17. Ibid., 1909-10, pp. 18 ff.
18. Ibid., 1910-11, pp. 25 ff.; 1911-12, pp. 16 ff.; 1912-13, pp. 18 ff., also "Council and General Report", pp. 8 ff.
19. Year Book, 1914-15, pp. 19 ff.; the final entry of the mission in the official list of churches appears in the book for 1919-20, p. 27.
20. Ibid., 1913-14, pp. 19 ff.; 1914-15, p. 9; 1918-19, p. 17; 1920-21, p. 7 & pp. 26 ff.
21. Annual Report of the CHC, 1914, Trustees Report, pp. 8 f.; also the hand written accounts of the meeting of the CHC Trustees on 27 January 1914, Trustees' Minute Book 1913-1924, p. 13; also FCE Magazine, January 1914,

- p. 1; also (FCE) Year Book 1914-15, Presidential Address at Convocation, p. 1; also, List of Churches, pp. 29 ff.
22. Lists of Churches and Clergy: Year Book, 1901-02, pp. 7 ff.; 1914-15, pp. 29 ff.
 23. J.W. Grant, op. cit., p. 267: in fact, Grant uses the figures given in The Congregational Year Book, 1926, pp. 15 ff. Edward Royle, Nonconformity in Nineteenth-century York, (York [University of York, Borthwick Paper No. 68] 1985), pp. 30 f. Royle uses the local Wesleyan Circuit Schedules as a basis for information; he also uses information from articles in the Yorkshire Gazette in 1905 and 1906 - the local press was well aware of the fall in attendances. Also Rupert E. Davies, Methodism, (Pelican, Harmondsworth 1963), pp. 184 f. Also, W.E. Orchard's sermon "The Permanence of the Church" in The New Catholicism and other Sermons, (London 1917), p. 105.
 24. FCE Magazine, September 1908, p. 1; also Year Book, 1908-09 Presidential Address, pp. 4 f.
 25. FCE Magazine, March 1909, p.1.
 26. Ibid., December 1909, p. 1. (Oswaldtwistle) Year Book 1913-14, p. 13; (Tottington) FCE Diocesan Quarterly Magazine, April 1916, p. 36.
 27. (Halliday) FCE Magazine, January 1912, p. 3 & February 1912, p. 1. (Troughton) FCE Diocesan Quarterly Magazine, January 1915, pp. 4 ff; also Times, 25 May 1917, p. 3 col. 6; also Morecambe and Heysham Times, 30 May 1917, p. 3 col. 5. (Brook Lander) FCE Diocesan Quarterly Magazine, October 1915, p. 100. As so often, I am indebted to the kindness of many of the long standing members of the denominations who have given me either their own memories, or those handed to them by their older friends and relatives. In this case, I am particularly grateful to the Reverend Neave Knowles, editor of the 1961 updated History of the denomination, who died at the end of 1992.
 28. Harbinger front pages (no pag.), September 1906 & October 1906; also, W. Clayton Fuidge, The Countess of Huntington's Connexion etc., op. cit., title page: the entire pamphlet is a powerful condemnation of the system which had allowed the denomination to slide into decline.
 29. Year Book, 1915-16, p. 9 & pp. 30 ff.
 30. Ibid., 1916-17, pp. 21 ff.; 1917-18, pp. 5 f.
 31. Ibid., 1919-20, Southern Diocesan Report, pp. 13 & 16, and List of Churches, pp. 27 ff.
 32. Ibid., 1920-21, Southern Diocesan Report, p. 10; also pp. 26 ff. Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections op. cit., p. 11. According to Vaughan, the incumbent was actually re-ordained by the Bishop of Birmingham before he had officially resigned from Emmanuel.
 33. Year Book 1920-21, p. 4, pp. 26 ff.; also (Bland) 1917-18, p. 7, Northern Diocesan Report.
 34. Proceedings of the Sixteenth General Council of the REC, May 1900, p. 59, Bishop Eldridge's Report.

35. Work and Worship, April 1903, p. 152.
36. Proceedings of the Seventeenth General Council of the REC, May 1903, pp. 41 f., Bishop Eldridge's Report. Also, General Synod Report, June 1903, pp. 4 ff. Also, Work and Worship, July 1903, pp. 166 f., published a warm obituary of Westbury, and of the work which he had done for the denomination at considerable personal cost. Also, *ibid.*, January 1905, p. 247 (Carshalton).
37. General Synod Report, 1901, p. 69. One of the few remaining volumes of documentation from the old collection which was made by Bishop Frank Vaughan before the Second War is that of a hand-bound volume of Synod Reports from 1894-1916. The greater part of the collection which he had made in the church at Morecambe was lost when the materials were transported by lorry to Broadstairs in the early 1960s. Foolishly they were left uncovered, and the books and papers suffered so much from heavy rain during the journey that they were apparently virtually useless, and subsequently destroyed. Sadly, this collection appears to have contained the scrapbook collection made by Bishop Nicholas Toke (sometime Gregg's assistant bishop).
 Although in very poor condition, the bound copy of the Synod Reports is especially valuable in that it was the one which belonged to Bishop Gregg's son, the Reverend F.T. Gregg. Through the years, there are many underlinings and numbers of marginal notes and comments - some of them are most revealing! I am grateful for information on Vaughan's collection from Bishop K.J.W. Powell. Conversation, February 1993.
38. General Synod Report 1902, pp. 116 & 119. Also 1903, pp. 5, 6, & 9. Also Work and Worship, July 1903, pp. 163 ff. For more on Bowman and his career, see his obituary in Work and Worship, August 1914, p. 93. Also, Annie Darling Price, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
39. General Synod Report 1904, p. 9. Also 1907, pp. 4 ff.
40. Work and Worship, April 1909, p. 8. Also General Synod Report 1909, p. 3. Work and Worship, February 1912, p. 14; March 1912, p. 30. Also General Synod Report 1911, p. 7. Details on the early life of Vaughan are difficult to find. Even his son Harry says: "my father spoke very little indeed about his early life". Even so, I am grateful to both Mr. Harry Vaughan, and to Vaughan's step-daughter, Miss Mildred Catt, for their valuable help. Letters: Mildred Catt to RDF, 25 October 1987, & Harry Vaughan to RDF, 11 January 1988.
41. General Synod Report 1907, pp. 6 & 11. Also, Work and Worship, July 1908, pp. 14 f.; October 1908, p. 14; Magazine covers with lists of the churches and clergy during 1913. Also, see Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
42. General Synod Report 1907, pp. 6 & 11. Also, Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
43. General Synod Report 1908, p. 4; also Work and Worship, January 1908, p. 9; April 1908, p. 5; October 1908, p. 7; July 1910, pp. 6 f.
44. The story of the Evangelical Church of England is a complex one which would need special examination. It appears in the main books on "Episcopal Vagantes", for in 1944 the Armenian line of Succession from Leon Chechemian was taken into the denomination through the consecrations of Gordon Pinder, C.L. Saul and James Charles Ryan by Benjamin Charles Harris ("Bishop of

Essex"). The matter was clearly something of an embarrassment to Vaughan - and indeed to the REC at the time. The FCE and the REC have always shunned anything to do with illicit consecration - as A.S. Richardson had found to his cost in the early 1890s. See Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, op. cit., p. 22. Also Year Book of the REC, 1923, p. 4. Also H.R.T. Brandreth, Episcopi Vagantes etc., op. cit., p. 85, note 2. Also, P.F. Anson, Bishops at Large, op. cit., pp. 231 f. Also information from The Protestant Recorder, June 1947, a rare copy of the denominational magazine of the ECE (RDF's collection). Also information from the very rare pamphlet by Bishop Leslie Saul, The Origin and Organisation of the Evangelical Church of England, (London 1945), pp. 1 & 8. Also material and the personal memories of the Reverend Dr. Donald Baker. An Anglican Priest now at the Charterhouse, Dr. Baker knew Scott-Montague and the ECE when he was in parishes in the dioceses of Chester, Liverpool and Norwich. I am most grateful for his help.

45. Work and Worship, April 1909, pp. 7 f.- editorial announcement; July 1909, pp. 7, 11 & 15; October 1909, p. 16. Also Year Book of the FCE, 1954-55, p. 3.
46. Work and Worship, April 1909, p. 16: nevertheless, the church remained heavily in debt.
47. Work and Worship, July 1910, pp. 11 & 14; October 1910, p. 8. Also General Synod Report 1910, pp. 2 f. Also Work and Worship, November 1913, List of Churches, inside rear cover; Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, op. cit., pp. 20 f. The Ms. Index of Deeds and Documents, op. cit., indicates that a "Deed of Covenant", for St. Mark's Glasgow, dated 16 October 1928 was subsequently lodged with the FCE at some stage: see p. 28.
48. Work and Worship, April 1912, p. 41; August 1912, pp. 103 f.; July 1915, p. 75.
49. General Synod Report, 1911, Bishop Eldridge's Address, pp. 2 f.; also Work and Worship, January 1911, p. 16.
50. Ibid., January 1912, List of Churches, inside rear cover; Work and Worship, December 1912, p. 149; January 1913, p. 12; REC Year Book 1922, p. 24; June 1912, p. 72.
51. Work and Worship, February 1913, p. 13; Ibid., p. 18 (Southern Association Meeting); June 1913, p. 68 (Eldridge's General Synod Report, in which he told how he took over the liability of the Mortgage of £550, and payed off the creditors himself, including the previous minister). Ibid., October 1912, p. 124 ("The Bishop's Monthly Pastoral"). Also, Frank Vaughan, Memories and Reflections, op. cit., p. 9. Also see m.s. Index of Deeds and Documents, op. cit., p. 2.
52. Work and Worship, June 1913, p. 68; July 1914, p. 84; September 1914, p. 107; January 1915, p. 11; 1920 Lambeth Conference Papers, vol. LC114, f. 20, Lambeth Palace Library; Also Kelly's Directory, 1915, 1918, 1927 & 1936-38. According to the plans approved by the borough authorities in September 1914, the building was slightly less permanent than the magazine described. It was said to be constructed "of corrugated iron sheet and deal framing with matchboarding on the outside": Lewes Borough Register of Plans, DL/A2/7. I am most grateful to Miss Wendy Walker, Borough Archivist, for much help in tracing the church.

53. Work and Worship, June 1912, pp. 68 & 73. Also, General Synod Report 1912, pp. 3 & 4 f.
54. Work and Worship, March 1913, (Editorial) p. 25; also p. 29 (General Synod Report). Report of General Synod of February 1913, pp. 1 - 4; Work and Worship, May 1913, pp. 51 f.; FCE Year Book, 1963-64, p. 3 (Obituary).
55. Report of General Synod, June 1913, pp. 7 & 8; Ibid., June 1914, pp. 5 & 6. Also Work and Worship, June 1914, pp. 68 f., and 76 ff.
56. Unfortunately, neither the printed Reports of General Synod, nor the Church Lists within the rear cover of Work and Worship at the time actually published a full list of all Clergy and Lay Readers. In calculating the figures, general information from the Synod Reports has been used, together with the lists of churches in the January, February and July editions of the denominational magazine. The January and February lists are the more comprehensive.
57. Work and Worship, May 1915, p. 56; July 1915, p. 76.
58. Work and Worship, June 1915, p. 65; July 1915, p. 74 (Eldridge's Report to General Synod).
59. Work and Worship, July 1915, pp. 74 & 78. FCE Year Book, 1965-66, p. 21; 1966-67, pp. 15 f.
60. REC Year Book 1922, Report of General Synod of June 1921, pp. 3-12; Presidential Address, pp. 13-21; official List of Churches and Clergy, pp. 23-27 & 30.
61. Work and Worship, May 1915, p. 56; June 1914, p. 61.
62. Report of General Synod, 1915: pp. 3 & 6 f.; also Work and Worship, July 1915, p. 74. The detailed preparations for the infrastructure of the Northern Diocese were soon under weigh. In fact, the Presiding Bishop conducted a large meeting at Wigan on 22 July. He subsequently appointed the Minister of Liscard, the Reverend M. Greenhalgh, as his Commissary in the North: Ibid., August 1915, p. 93. A measure of the delicacy of the whole business surrounding the creation of the diocesan structures in 1915 is perhaps seen in the fact that, in his Memories and Reflections, Vaughan makes no mention of the matter whatsoever. In his History he dismisses the whole matter in six lines: Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 83.
63. C. Silvester Horne, A Popular History of the Free Churches, (London 1903), pp. 413 ff.
64. Cheshunt College, op. cit., pp. 15 ff.; L. Elliott-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era, (London 1936), pp. 451 ff.; Rupert Davies, op. cit., p. 196 & note.
65. Skeats and Miall, op. cit., p. 625.
66. Year Book of the FCE 1906-07, p. 11; 1913-14, p. 14.
67. Cheshunt College, op. cit., the List of Alumni, p. 23. Also J.B. Figgis, ed., The Countess of Huntingdon etc., op. cit., (book for the centenary of her death), Appendix pp. 204 f., denominational and College details and lists. FCE Diocesan (Northern Quarterly Magazine), October 1915, pp. 100 ff.

68. Annie Darling Price, op. cit., p. 279; FCE Magazine, May 1881, pp. 96 f.; Reformed Church Record, April 1889, p. 28; Work and Worship, August 1914, p. 93 (Obituary).
69. Rock, 22 August 1902; Work and Worship, October 1902, pp. 127 f. Again, the widely varying requirements for training were well illustrated by Bishop E.C.S. Gibson in his Introduction to E.L. Elwes, The History of Wells Theological College, (London 1923), pp. v ff. A number of bishops and heads of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges greatly resented further training beyond what a degree, together with special theological lectures, would already have given at the University. For variation in requirements, see also, C.K. Francis Brown, op. cit., pp. 240 ff.; also L. Elliott-Binns, op. cit., pp. 446 ff.
70. Year Book 1902-03, p. 5; 1909-10, pp. 11 ff.; FCE Magazine, January 1910, p. 1;
71. Work and Worship, October 1902, pp. 127 ff.; January 1903, inside front cover; July 1903, pp. 167 & 168; Report of General Synod, 1906, p. 25; Ibid., 1907, pp. 9 f.; Ibid., 1908, p. 4. Frank Vaughan indicates that the venue for the examinations varied according to need. In 1912, they were held in London: Memories, etc., op. cit., p. 9.
72. Year Book, 1913-14, pp. 14 & 15; 1914-15, p. 7; FCE Magazine, October 1913, p. 1.
73. Year Book, 1916-17, p. 13; 1917-18, p. 2; Official List of Bishops; Year Book 1976-77, pp. 29 f. Once more, I am grateful for much help given by senior members of the denomination, whose memories have given more substance than the documentation in existence: in regard to Bishop Forbes Smith, especially Mrs. Lena Dixon, for many years a Churchwarden of Trinity Church, Southend (died in 1990); also the Reverend Neave Knowles (died 1992).
74. This list is culled from various sources - primarily the Lists of Churches printed inside the rear covers of Work and Worship during the years 1913, 1914 and 1915. Also useful is the List of Churches in the Year Book of the REC for 1922, pp.23 ff.; Year Book 1923, List of Churches, pp. 25 ff., and Clergy List, p. 32. Again, "Round the Churches" in Work and Worship frequently indicates where the minister had a degree or diploma.
75. For a brief estimate of C.J. Vaughan's work, see: C.K. Francis Brown, op. cit., p. 249; also L. Elliott-Binns, op. cit., p. 455; also, S.L. Ollard and Gordon Crosse, op. cit., pp. 609 f. Lander's name and date of leaving theological college appear in the Alumni List in Cheshunt College, op. cit, p. 23. FCE Diocesan Quarterly Magazine, October 1915, pp. 100 f.; Year Book, 1913-14, p. 10; 1916-17, p. 13; FCE Magazine, October 1913, p. 1.
76. FCE Magazine, October 1916, pp. 99-131. Also for pamphlets: The Free Church of England: Its Doctrines and Ecclesiastical Polity, & How to prepare for Holy Orders in the FCE, (both 1913-14), see Year Book 1914-15, "General and Council Report, p. 8. Also, FCE Magazine, August 1914, pp. 1 f.: the editor praises How to prepare etc., as being an essentially practical work. He commends it as an especially good guide for those who cannot go to College. Part of the editorial appeals for funds to enable the books to be printed. Other school publications by Hugh Jones included: Higher Scripture Teaching: St. Luke, Lesson Papers in Religious

Knowledge: St. Matthew, and Finding Christ: a Biblical Study for Seekers after God.

77. Year Book, 1909-10, p. 16; 1910-11, p. 21.
78. Report of General Synod, 1910, p. 10; Ibid, 1915, p. 5.
79. Work and Worship, October 1902, p. 128.
80. J.R.H. Moorman, op. cit., p. 403.
81. Detailed examination of the mission movement is not for here. But a good background is provided by Stephen Neil, A History of Christian Missions, (Pelican, Harmondsworth 1964). The resulting, so called, "three prongs" of the Ecumenical movement are clearly and briefly illustrated by Alec Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, op. cit., pp. 258 f. J.W. Grant, op. cit., pp. 259 f. J.H. Shakespeare, op. cit. Ernest A. Payne, op. cit., pp. 130 ff. Rupert E. Davies, op. cit., pp. 186 f.
82. Year Book, 1906-07, p. 11; also FCE Magazine February 1906, p. 6.
83. Ibid., June 1910, p. 3; also January 1914, p. 1. Morecambe and Heysham Times, 30 May 1917, p. 3 col. 5; Morecambe Visitor and Heysham Chronicle, 30 May 1917, p. 3, cols. 4 & 5; Ibid., 6 June 1917, p. 3, cols. 3 & 4; Lancaster Observer and Morecambe Chronicle, 1 June 1917, p. 6, col. 5; Times, 25 May 1917, p. 3, col. f.; Work and Worship, October 1902, p. 135. Although such limited relationships may seem unimpressive to a later age, it is worth contrasting these events with those at Skegness in 1897 when the Rector invited the people of St. Paul's Baptist Church to join in a Service of Thanksgiving for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee at the Parish Church. The Baptist Vestry would agree only to a United Service in the Pleasure Gardens - and, at that, only if it did not take place on a Sunday: Norman Walker, op. cit., p. 4.
84. Work and Worship, January 1903, pp. 144 & 147; January 1911, p. 16; February 1915, p. 24. FCE Magazine, January 1915, pp. 3 ff. Also, January 1909, p. 1; also, January 1915, p. 1 & February 1915, p. 1.
85. Year Book, 1903-04, p. 10; 1907-08, p. 12; 1909-10, p. 8; 1911-12, pp. 3, 8 & 14. Also, FCE Magazine, July 1911, Convocation Report, p. 1.
86. Year Book, 1913-14, pp. 1 ff.. 1914-15, p. 1: also FCE Magazine, January 1914, p. 1. Year Book 1916-17, p. 3. Harbinger, September 1906, p. 1; October 1906, p. 1; November 1906, pp. 1 f.; January 1907, p. 2. Clayton Fudge stated his arguments against the Congregationalist drift very forcibly later: W. Clayton Fudge, The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion: What it was, etc., op. cit., the entire pamphlet labours the point of the need to return to Conference control.
87. Year Book, 1919-20, pp. 5 & 21; also The Voice of the CHC and Sierra Leone Mission, April & June 1973 - see especially June, p. 4. In fact, the increased representation asked for appears in the Extract from the Convocation Minutes published in Year Book 1918-19, pp. 17 f. But as so often, the controversial details of the discussion were discretely left unrecorded.
88. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 10; Report of General Synod, 1900, pp. 19 & 20, (from Work and Worship, July 1900, pp. 19 f.).

89. W.Y. Fullerton, F.B. Meyer, (London 1929), pp. 75 ff. I am also grateful to the late Dr. John Brodie Gurney Smith for information on the nature of Meyer's work of Christian reconciliation. Meyer was an old and valued family friend, and John treasured many of his own memories and those particularly of his father. Work and Worship, April 1904, pp. 201 f.; Report of General Synod, 1904, p. 11; FCE Year Book, 1905-06, p. 4; Report of General Synod, 1906, p. 26.
90. FCE Year Book, 1907-08, pp. 8, 10 & 11; Report of General Synod, 1907, pp. 6 & 12.
91. FCE Year Book, 1911-12, p. 8 (Council and General Report); Report of General Synod, 1912, pp. 5 & 6; Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 10.
92. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 11; List of Consecration of Bishops, (all FCE Year Books); FCE Year Book, 1916-17, p. 3; Report of General Synod, 1916, pp. 7 f.; FCE Year Book, 1916-17, pp. 15 & 17.
93. FCE Year Book, 1917-18, pp. 17 & 1; Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 11. Interestingly, the first suggested title of the united denomination was virtually the same as that proposed at the time of the abortive Union of 1888.
94. Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 86; FCE Year Book, 1918-19, pp. 2, 4, & 18; Ibid., 1919-20, pp. 5, 19, & 20.
95. FCE Year Book, 1920-21, pp. 5f. & 17; REC Year Book, 1922, p. 6 (Report of General Synod, 1921).
96. Roger Lloyd, op. cit., p. 214.
97. Norman Walker, op. cit., p. 6; Allan Brockett, Witness (A History of the Six Members of the Exeter Council of Congregational Churches), (Dawlish 1962), p. 29.
98. Barbara Stone, Bath Millennium: the Christian Movement 973-1973, (Bath 1973), p. 129.
99. Year Book of the FCE, 1914-15, p. 4. Work and Worship, January 1914, p. 2; Ibid., December 1914, p. 133.
100. Mark Sorrell, The Peculiar People, (Exeter 1979), pp. 51 ff.. Known today as the "Union of Evangelical Churches" this was a revivalist (Baptist) movement which flourished in Essex in the 19th. century. By 1979 some 25 of the 43 churches founded still functioned. The movement is now affiliated to the FIEC.
101. Work and Worship, August 1914, p. 8 (P.X.E.'s "Pastoral"). The Reverend J.M. Wilson, D.D.: the full title of the article was "Christ's Sanction as well as Condemnation of War", and it first appeared in the Hibbert Journal: FCE Diocesan Quarterly Magazine, October 1915, pp. 113 ff. FCE Magazine, June 1910, p. 1; also FCE Year Book 1914-15, pp. 4 f.; Work and Worship, January 1915, p. 1.
102. FCE Magazine, September 1914, pp. 1 (Saltley), 3 (Hoyland), 4 (Oswaldtwistle and Tottington); also October 1914, p. 2 (Crowborough); also FCE Year Book 1915-16, pp. 4 f.

103. Work and Worship, September 1914, pp. 105 f.; October 1914, p. 119.
104. FCE Diocesan (Northern) Quarterly Magazine, January 1915, pp. 17 ff.
105. FCE Magazine, January 1915, p. 3; also Year Book, 1917-18, p. 6.
106. Work and Worship, March 1915, p. 35 ("Round the Churches"); Ibid., November 1915, p. 131.
107. FCE Magazine, April 1915, p. 1; also Year Book, 1918-19, pp. 11 ff.
108. Work and Worship, January 1915, p. 7; February 1915, p. 21; March 1915, p. 33; April 1915, p. 48; July 1915, p. 76 (all men away at war). Ibid., June 1915, p. 71 (Liscard, killed and injured). Ibid., p. 72 (rail travel problems for the next Synod - even though it was to be in London, at Gunnersbury).
109. J.H.H. Whisson, op. cit., p. 17. I am grateful for local memories of the events of that time. Apparently the organ, which was the source of some local pride, was damaged by the soldiers who took some of the pipework. It was not until after the war that repairs were completed, and there was considerable bad feeling amongst some of the members. FCE Magazine, March 1915, p. 4; Year Book, 1915-16, p. 17. Work and Worship, October 1914, p. 119; September 1914, p. 107; November 1914, pp. 129 & 131; December 1915, p. 142. An interesting personal memory of Carshalton as a semi-rural village during the Great War, and of the danger from the Zeppelin raids at the time is provided in: Surrey within Living Memory, (Guildford 1992 - Surrey Federation of Women's Institutes), p. 181.
110. FCE Magazine, December 1915, p. 3; Work and Worship, August 1915, pp. 95 f.
111. FCE Year Book, 1920-21, p. 1; also, REC Year Book, 1922, Presidential Address, pp. 14 ff.; FCE Year Book, 1919-20, p. 25.
112. Work and Worship, December 1914, p. 144; May 1915, p. 52; Report of General Synod, 1916, p. 8; REC Year Book, 1922, pp. 8 f.; FCE Year Book, 1924-25, p. 33.
113. FCE Year Book 1901-02, Accounts p. 11.
114. Ibid. 1909-10, p. 23; also pp. 9 f. & 22. The General Treasurer had already made a strong appeal to the churches through the columns of the magazine in the previous July: FCE Magazine, July 1908, p. 3.
115. FCE Year Book 1914-15, pp. 33 f., also pp. 19 & 20.
116. FCE Magazine, December 1910, p. 1; Year Book, 1912-13, p. 15; 1913-14, pp. 23 f.
117. FCE Magazine, May 1909, p. 7 (Tottington). The situation at Teddington was complex. Clearly the congregation was divided over the Minister, the Reverend T.H.S. Perfect, who announced his intention of retiring because he felt that he could no longer remain in the FCE. During the latter part of 1902 he tried to take the congregation and the property with him to the Church of England - this he almost succeeded in doing (examined later - see below). When he had left and Richard Brook Lander had been appointed in May 1903, the church enjoyed far more settled times. The success of the Sale of Work, following the earlier financial problems,

provides a clear indication of the extent to which individual churches so often seemed to respond to the skills of a good and a strong incumbent. Christ Church, Teddington - the First Hundred Years (1864-1964), op. cit., pp. 8 f.: the problems of the troubled period, then the success of 1905, is well illustrated in the Church Meetings of the time - Vestry Book III (1887-1905), and Book IV (1905-1926). Brook Lander's letter accepting the living (dated 14 May 1903) is pasted into the book in the middle of the pages recording the Meeting of 15 May 1903 (no pag.). It is interesting to see his firm, swift and decisive hand. Lander made no bones about his happiness at Bournemouth, and the fact that the move was therefore "costing me much". FCE Magazine, June 1910, p. 3 (Oswaltdtwistle); FCE Year Book, 1914-15, p. 17.

118. Ibid., 1914-15, p. 8; also FCE Magazine, Editorial, August 1914, pp. 1 f.; FCE Diocesan Quarterly Magazine, October 1916.
119. FCE Magazine, April 1915, p. 1; May 1915, p. 1.
120. Year Book, 1915-16, p. 9; and Accounts, pp. 34 f.
121. FCE Magazine, November 1915, p. 1; also December 1915, p. 1.
122. Year Book, 1920-21, pp. 31 f.
123. Report of General Synod, 1901, pp. 73 ff.
124. Ibid., 1903, pp. 5 & 15 (Accounts); Ibid., 1904, p. 8; Ibid., 1905, pp. 4 & 13.
125. Ibid., 1906, pp. 28-31; Work and Worship, January 1907, p. 2; Report of General Synod, 1907, pp. 7, 9, 11, & accounts, pp. 15-18; Ibid., 1908, p. 6.
126. Report of General Synod, 1913, pp. 8 f., & 13-16; Work and Worship, July 1913, pp. 79 f.; August 1913, p. 94; October 1913, p. 120.
127. Work and Worship, June 1914, p. 61; Report of General Synod, 1914, p. 4.
128. Report of General Synod, 1916, pp. 10-12; Work and Worship, July 1915, pp. 74 f.
129. Frank Vaughan, Memories, etc., op. cit., pp. 11 f.; Judgement delivered by Mr. Justice Younger, in the action of Attorney-General v. Ingram and others, (published by the REC, London 1918), pp. 14 f.; Year Book of the REC, 1922, p. 8 (Treasurer's Report).
130. Ernest A. Payne, op. cit., p. 123. Skeats and Miall, op. cit., pp. 683 & 684.
131. J.W. Grant, op. cit., p. 18; also R.W. Dale, A Manual of Congregational Principles, (London 1884), p. 20; also, Congregational Year Book, 1867, p. 53 - this contains a model trust deed prepared by the Trust Committee of the Congregational Union the year before.
132. London Diocese Book, 1989, p. 112. For some details concerning St. Mary's, Reading, I am grateful to Bishop Arthur Ward (FCE) for his generous help in this. In all 9 cases, the origins of the Proprietary Chapels mentioned are different. Although in origin, most were Evangelical in spirit (and

still are), seldom was this merely a measure to moderate an isolated local Anglican "outbreak" of ritualism. In the case of St. Thomas', Newcastle, this was the 19th century re-foundation of a mediaeval bridge chapel over the Tyne within a newly populated area. Even so, the church was, and is non-parochial - as are all the remaining Proprietary Chapels. I am grateful to the Newcastle Diocesan Secretary for his help; 22 February 1993. In all the examples given, the relationships between the churches and the local parishes and diocesan authorities seem to remain "tender".

133. See further, Chapter 3; also Teddington Vestry Book I (1864-1871), & Book II (1871-1887); also, The First Hundred Years, 1864-1964, op. cit., pp. 2-8.
134. Teddington Vestry Book III (1887-1905), meetings October 1902, then meeting on 6 November 1902 (no pag.).
135. Teddington Vestry Book III, Meeting of Seatholders 24 November 1902. Copies of the notification of meeting and the ballot paper are pasted within the book at this point.
136. Teddington Vestry Book III, Committee Meeting of 15 December 1902; Meeting with the Trustees, 5 January 1903; details of presentation to Perfect in meeting of 15 December. The book includes a printed account of the moneys collected, pasted in.
137. These problems are frequently complex ones involving strong local interests. They cannot properly be dealt with in this examination; but information is obtainable in the Year Books for each of the years concerned - frequently in the "Council and General Reports", sometimes in Diocesan Reports, very occasionally in a Presidential Address, but latterly in a special section of each Convocation devoted to "Trusts and Trustees". In some cases, there are occasional references to the negotiations in the FCE Magazine. Also the manuscript Index of Deeds and Documents. I am especially grateful to Bishop Kenneth Powell (Southern Diocese) for his help and information. Much detail concerning trusts and deeds is simply not extant following a fire bomb during the Second War on the property of the Solicitors of the denomination at the time, Messrs. Spain Bros., in central London. A great amount of documentation, including many deeds, was destroyed. (Conversation, 1 February 1993).
138. Year Book, 1908-09, p. 11, Resolution of Convocation; also, p. 12.
139. Ibid., 1910-11, p. 16.
140. Ibid., 1911-12, p. 6 (Broadstairs); also 1914-15, p. 9.
141. Ibid., 1913-14, p. 16; 1914-15, pp. 7 & 8.
142. Year Book, 1915-16, "Council and General Report", p. 7. The February Synods were reported in FCE Magazine, March 1915, p. 1. The May meeting of the Southern Synod is reported in the edition of June 1915, p. 1. The July 1915 edition (p. 1) carries a brief report of the Convocation itself: there is no mention of the £5000 in any of the publications other than briefly in the Year Book.
143. Report of General Synod, 1910, pp. 9 & 10.

144. Frank Vaughan, Memories, etc., op. cit., pp. 20 & 9; Work and Worship, February 1913, p. 13; June 1913, p. 68 (Eldridge's Report to General Synod); Index of Deeds and Documents, p. 2.
145. Work and Worship, July 1913, p. 79.
146. Report of General Synod, 1916, pp. 6 & 7.
147. Frank Vaughan, Memories, etc., op. cit., pp. 11 f.; Minutes of Finance Sub-Committee, 3 December 1915, Trinity Southend, Vestry Book II, page pasted between pp. 61 & 62; Minutes of Easter Vestry, 26 April 1916, Vestry Book II, pp. 64 f.; Ibid., Meeting, 16 July 1916, pp. 66 f.; Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 11. Judgement delivered by Mr. Justice Younger, in the action of Attorney-General v. Ingram and others, (published by the REC, London 1918), pp. 14 f.; Year Book of the REC, 1922, p. 8 (Treasurer's Report). I am also grateful to the late Mrs. Lena Dixon (former Churchwarden) for information on this and other matters.
148. Roger Lloyd, The Church of England: 1900-1965, (London 1966), p. 404; Alec R. Vidler, op. cit., p. 261; J.G. Lockhart, Cosmo Gordon Lang, (London 1949), p. 272; G.K.A. Bell, Randall Davidson - Archbishop of Canterbury, (London 1935), Vol. II, pp. 1003-15; Text of the 1920 Encyclical and the Appeal, The Lambeth Conferences(1867-1930), (London 1948), pp. 23 ff.
149. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 12. Re. Lang on paving the way for formal conferences, see his letter to Halifax, in J.G. Lockhart, Viscount Halifax, (London 1935), vol II, p. 269. FCE Year Book, 1920-21, pp. 5 & 15.
150. I am grateful to many FCE people for their memories. My thanks are due to an Anglican Priest (anonymous), formerly of the FCE, for a number of penetrating insights: conversations, 1988, 1990, 1993. I am especially grateful to the late Neave Knowles, for many years Lay Reader and Churchwarden of St. Jude's FCE, Balham. He was in many respects Vaughan's only "confidant" in his latter years: many conversations, 1987-1991.
151. Private papers belonging to Vaughan. These include: (i) an account of the Bible at Harlesden which came from St. John's Frome. It is in Vaughan's own hand, and contains personal details. (ii) The Church Portrait Journal (Bennett Memorial Number, n.d., late 1880s) containing notes and annotations by Vaughan (R.D.F.s collection). Also letters from Mildred Catt to R.D.F., 25 October 1987, & from Harry Vaughan to R.D.F., 11 January 1988. Also, Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 4; also, Work and Worship, February 1912, p. 17; also FCE Year Book, 1963-64, Obituary, p. 3 & Report of the Southern Diocese, pp. 31 ff.
152. Vaughan's work in Synod can be seen many times in Reports of General Synod, especially 1908-1912; also, FCE Year Book, 1963-64, p. 32. Vaughan's success in the LTh was recorded in Eldridge's Report to the General Synod of 1912, Work and Worship, June 1912, p. 72.
153. Report of General Synod, 1912, pp. 6 f.; Work and Worship, June 1912, p. 73; also, February 1913, p. 13.
154. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 27; Report of General Synod, 1913, especially p. 8; Ibid., 1914, pp. 5 & 6.

155. Report of General Synod, 1915: pp. 3 & 6 f.; also Work and Worship, July 1915, p. 74. It is worth repeating that a measure of the delicacy of the whole business surrounding the creation of the new diocese in 1915 is seen in the fact that, in his Memories, Vaughan makes no mention of the matter. In his History he dismisses the whole subject in six lines: Frank Vaughan, History etc., op. cit., p. 83.
156. Work and Worship, December 1915, p. 144; Report of General Synod, 1916, pp. 6, 8 & 9.
157. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., pp. 9 & 10. An account of the LTh examination "recently held" is included in the Presiding Bishop's Report to the General Synod of 1912: Work and Worship, June 1912, p. 72.
158. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., p. 26; Ibid., pp. 11 f.
159. Ibid., p. 12; in his History, Vaughan gives only a bare outline.
160. Letters in 1920 Lambeth Conference Papers, Volume L.C. 114: Bishop of Liverpool to the Reverend George Bell at Lambeth, 2 October 1919, f.6; Bishop of Liverpool to Archbishop of Canterbury, 5 June 1920, ff. 13 & 14 (v & r).
161. Ibid., Volume L.C. 114; letter from Eldridge to Canterbury, 21 June 1920, in which he encloses a copy of the typed suggestions and conditions he discussed at Chichester on 28 February 1920: ff. 21 & 22. Frank Vaughan, Memories etc., op. cit., pp. 13 & 14.
162. Letters in 1920 Lambeth Conference Papers, Volume L.C. 114: The Reverend Percy Norris to Canterbury, 12 May 1920, ff. 7 & 8; Bell to Norris, 13 May 1920, f. 9; Norris to Canterbury, 18 May 1920, f. 10.
163. Ibid., L.C. 114; letter, Eldridge to Canterbury, 29 May 1920, f. 11; also, notes of a meeting between Eldridge and Canterbury on 18 June 1920, marked "Private", ff. 17-20.
164. Ibid., L.C. 114; letters: Eldridge to Canterbury, 21 June 1920 including typed sheet of terms, ff. 21 & 22; also Eldridge to Canterbury, 22 July 1920, enclosing modified suggestions: ff. 23 & 24; also Canterbury to Eldridge, 13 August 1920, f. 25; also Eldridge to Canterbury, 21 September 1920, f. 26; also Canterbury to Eldridge, 1 November 1920, f. 27.
165. The Lambeth Conferences 1867 - 1930, op. cit., Conference of 1920: Encyclical letter, pp. 23 ff.; "An Appeal to all Christian People", pp. 38 ff.; Unity Committee list, p. 118; Sub-Committee Report on REC, pp. 139 f.; 1920 Lambeth Conference Papers, Volume 108, ff. 240-243.
166. Times, 4 April 1921, p. 6, col g; Brighton Gazette, 6 April 1921, p. 2, col. 3; Balham, Tooting, Mitcham News and Mercury, 5 April 1921, p. 5 col. 5.

Chapter 10

The Uniting Churches, 1921-1927

1. REC Year Book 1922, pp. 21, 4, & pp. 17 ff., also p. 6.
2. FCE Year Book 1921-22, pp. 6, 21 & 1.
3. Conversations between the FCE and the Church of England:
Session II, 18 July 1993, Church House, Westminster. RDF
involved as one of the 4 Anglican representatives.
4. J.H.H. Whisson, op. cit., p. 18; FCE Year Book 1921-22, pp. 3 ff.; for
details of unemployment in Glasgow, p. 4. Also, REC Year Book 1922,
pp. 21 & 9.
5. Roger Lloyd, op. cit., p. 456.
6. FCE Year Book 1921-22, List of Churches, pp. 31-35; also, p. 4; also p. 17.
7. Ibid., 1922-23, pp. 7, 10; also pp. 8 ff.
8. Frank Vaughan, Memories, op. cit., p. 11; FCE Year Book 1922-23, (Saltley)
pp. 5, 23, 35 & 36; (Accrington) p. 10; (Chorlton) p. 14; (Wolverhampton)
p. 24; also p. 8.
9. Ibid., 1923-24, (Accrington) pp. 7 & 8; (Burnley and Glasgow) p. 30; also
pp. 11 & 12.
10. St. Paul's Church, Bexhill Eleventh Report and Statement of Accounts, 1934,
pp. 1 & 7; also FCE Year Book 1924-25, pp. 3 & 4, 29; 1961-62, pp. 2 - 5;
1963-64, pp. 48-50. I am grateful for information given by the late Neave
Knowles; also to Bishop Arthur Ward, a former incumbent.
11. FCE Year Book, 1925-26, pp. 9, 10, 41; also 1926-27, List of Churches,
pp. 9-13, also p. 6.
12. Ibid., 1938-39, p. 34 (Obituary of Lander); also 1921-22, pp. 6 & 20.
13. Ibid., 1922-23, pp. 18 & 35; also 39. Also 1924-25, p. 5; 1925-26, pp. 8,
40, & 41. I am grateful to the (late) Reverend John Knight for information
concerning the appointment of "Missionary Bishops" in former times. Again,
information concerning the origins and birthplace of W.E. Young was kindly
passed on in a letter from Neave Knowles to RDF, 5 January 1989. He had
been in touch with Young's grandson at Barrie in Ontario.
14. FCE Year Book, 1926-27, List of Churches and Clergy, pp. 9-13.
15. Ibid., 1921-22, pp. 36-38; 1922-23, pp. 47 & 48; 1923-24, pp. 39 & 40.
16. Ibid., 1922-23, pp. 11 & 13; 1924-25, p. p 11.
17. Ibid., 1921-22, p. 38; 1922-23, p. 48; 1925-6, pp. 28-32.
18. REC Year Book, 1922, "List of Parishes and Mission Stations", pp. 23-27.
List of Clergy as in 1922, p. 30.
19. Account of the Northern Diocesan Synod, Work and Worship, December 1915,
p. 144.

20. Account of General Synod, 1921, REC Year Book 1922, pp. 3, 4 & 5; C. Leslie Saul, op. cit., pp. 1 & 8; H.R.T. Brandreth, Episcopi Vagantes, op. cit., p. 85, note 2; FCE Year Book, 1923-24, pp. 10 & 11; REC Year Book 1923, Minutes of the 1922 Synod, p. 3; "List of Consecrations of Bishops", Year Books of the FCE.
21. REC Year Book 1923, pp. 32 & 4; 1925, pp. 8, & 30. The resignation of Welby-Pryer was complicated. It arose partly from his serious illness, but mainly because of the fact that the finances at Southend were not sufficient to meet the handsome stipend of £300 per annum which had (with conditions) been agreed. Eventually, after he had left, the Vestry rejected the moral right of a claim that Welby-Pryer had made for £124 he was owed in arrears of stipend. At a subsequent meeting, Vaughan seems to have taken the part of the Vestry. As a result, Welby-Pryer left the ministry of the REC, and subsequently took orders in the Established Church. There was some bitterness on the part of Vaughan because the former Rector had not resigned his REC orders before moving to the Church of England: Trinity, Southend, Vestry Book II, Meetings, 19 July 1923, 20 September 1923, 11 October 1923, 10 December 1923, 9 February 1924, 12 March 1924. Letter from Vaughan to R.A. White Esq., 5 April 1924, interleaved in Vestry Book II, following meeting of 12 March 1924. The whole matter was decidedly unedifying, and showed bad faith on the part of both the Church, and Welby-Pryer, although there is no doubt that the man had been badly handled. The affair serves to show the occasionally parlous state of some of the churches as well as the denomination. It is also important in that it indicates the sensitivity and the mercurial nature of relationships within the denomination at a difficult period.
22. FCE Year Book, 1926-27, pp. 16-20. For most of its life St. Luke's was in the charge of the Reverend (later Bishop) G.W. Forbes Smith. In 1959, he wrote "Much to my sorrow I could not find anyone willing and capable of sustaining a ministry and, as the building was deteriorating it seemed the wisest course to sell the property": 1959-60, Report of the Southern Diocese, p. 29. Also, 1926-27, pp. 16-20.
23. REC Year Book, 1922, p. 28; 1923, pp. 9, 10 & 30; also *ibid.*, p. 5.
24. *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 9; also pp. 4, 7, & 19; Also RES Catalog, 1989-91, op. cit., pp. 104 f. Through the century of the life of the Seminary, up to 1989 only 53 honorary DDs had ever been conferred. Moreover, of these, only 6 have ever been conferred upon people from Britain - the last being upon Bishop Arthur Ward in 1974. FCE/REC Year Book, 1927-28 p. 13.
25. REC Year Book, 1922, p. 32; FCE/REC Year Book 1926-27, p. 22; FCE Year Book 1925-26, pp. 28-32.
26. Christ Church (REC), Harlesden, Vestry Book III (1925-1935), Open Vestry Meeting on 22 April 1926; Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., pp. 90 f.; REC Year Book 1923, p. 7; FCE Year Book, 1922-23, p. 6 (Council and General Report), also pp. 37 & 38 (Minutes of Convocation); also p. 39.
27. Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., pp. 91, 92; FCE Year Book, 1923-24, Council and General Report, pp. 6 f.; p. 10; pp. 28 & 29; also p. 7 (G.Hugh Jones). Some details of the 1923 General Synod actually appear in the Vestry Minutes for that period at Trinity Church, Southend. Certainly finance was uppermost. Firstly there was a request for financial contribution to the central administration in order that the new edition of the Prayer Book might be published. Secondly, there was a request for

financial help in order that Bishop Vaughan might be sent across to America for the Jubilee Celebrations of the REC. The financial state of Trinity after the big legal case (see above) was very insecure. The Vestry agreed to send money for Vaughan's visit to the USA, but not for the new Prayer Book: Trinity Church, Southend, Vestry Book II, Meeting, 5 July 1923.

28. FCE Year Book, 1924-25, pp. 20, 27, 28, 31; REC Year Book, 1925, pp. 3, 4.
29. FCE Year Book, 1924-25, pp. 20 & 31; REC Year Book, 1925, pp. 4, 6, & 10.
30. Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., p. 92. For further details on the grant, see the previous section of this chapter. Although there is no way of providing positive proof for the idea of the \$1000 as an "incentive", such a notion is again supported in a conversation between Neave Knowles and RDF in 1989. In talking of the impetus given by Vaughan to the negotiations, Neave Knowles commented on the "utter single-minded determination" of Vaughan that all should go well. Both he and a number of other senior members of the denomination (including Bishop Arthur Ward) have spoken of the great "emotional" power that Vaughan seemed to have within him. Moreover, time and again, people have spoken of Vaughan as an able manipulator of both men and situations.
31. Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., p. 92; FCE Year Book, 1925-26, pp. 1, 41, & 43.
32. Ibid., p. 9; "List of Consecrations of Bishops"; Frank Vaughan, Memories, op. cit., p. 10; FCE Year Book, 1925-26, pp. 42 & 3 ff.
33. Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., p. 93; FCE/REC Year Book, 1926-27, pp. 4 & 7; also pp. 3 ff.
34. FCE/REC Year Book, 1926-27, pp. 4 & 5 (FCE Convocation); pp. 15 & 16 (REC General Synod).
35. Ibid., pp. 5, 6, & 7.
36. Christ Church REC, Harlesden, Vestry Book III, (1925-1935), Meeting on 22 April, 1926; also, Trinity Church, Southend, Vestry Book II, Meeting, 25 June 1926.
37. Trinity Church, Southend, Vestry Book II, Meetings on 25 June 1926, and Easter Vestry, 21 April 1927. Also Christ Church, Harlesden, Vestry Book III, meeting of 19 April 1927.
38. Christ Church, Teddington, Vestry Book 1926-1933, Meeting of 25 November 1926, p. 28; also, Tuesday 14 December 1926, p. 30; Letter to Bland from Teddington Vestry, 15 December 1926 (interleaved between pages 31 & 32).
39. I am grateful for much information on this period (undocumented) from the late Neave Knowles (1989), and also the late Mrs. Lena Dixon of Southend (1988) - both of whom were heavily involved in the events of the time. Christ Church, Harlesden, Vestry Book III, Meeting of 8 September 1926; also 7 December 1926; FCE Year Book, 1958-59, p. 3. Enquiries to find out the nature of the "disturbing events" in the North have not been successful. Very often, difficult or controversial material has been omitted from Official Records. It is probable however that some of the problems involved interference from "Bishop" J.P. Hodgkinson of the Evangelical Church of England. Certainly, Hodgkinson was situated at Wigan, and he would certainly have retained many of his connections with people in

- the REC. The lack of any proper episcopal oversight in the North actually left the way wide open for such ambitions. Lander writes of their request to Vaughan in his "Report of the Bishop Primus", Year Book, 1929-30, p. 4.
40. Year Book 1927-28, pp. 3, 4 & 5; also pp. 9 (FCE) & 12 (REC). See also Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., pp. 94 ff.
 41. Year Book 1927-28, pp. 27 ff.
 42. Christ Church, Harlesden, Vestry Book III, meeting of 7 June 1927. Further financial details were actually revealed in the Vestry Minutes of Christ Church, Teddington. According to these, the united denomination could hope to raise the sum of £250 per annum through the new financial arrangements which had been planned by the Unity Committee: Vestry Book III, meeting of 21 June 1927, p. 48. Year Book, 1927-28, pp. 14 f.
 43. Ibid., pp. 3 & 35. For details of the Canon concerning the position of Bishop Primus (A 20), see FCE Constitution and Canons Ecclesiastical, (Spalding, 1983 edition), p. 28.
 44. Year Book 1927-28, pp. 27 & 35.
 45. Ibid., pp. 33, 34 & 35; also p. 13. It is interesting to see that the matter of the official approval of the General Council in America was still considered important when the present Primus wrote his 1987 Convocational Charge, 60 Years of United Witness, 1927-1987, (Walsall 1987), p. 5. Although he does not dwell on the matter Bishop Milner points to the significant fact that the ancient Episcopal Succession came from the parent REC in America. Thus there was an important "symbiotic" connection which this demonstrated. RES Catalog, 1989-91, op. cit., pp. 104 f. Also, Convocation Charge delivered before Convocation assembled in Emmanuel Church, Morecambe, by the Right Rev. F. Vaughan, DD., June 1929, (Teddington 1929), p. 1,
 46. Year Book 1927-28, pp. 41-46; also p. 32; also Constitution and Canons Ecclesiastical (1983 ed.), op. cit., p. 1.
 47. Centenary Charge to the FCE Convocation by Frank Vaughan, at Morecambe, 5 June 1944; (Wallasey 1944), p. 6; Convocation Charge of June 1929, op. cit., p. 1.
 48. Concerning this House, (1938), op. cit., p. 18; Centenary of St. Jude's, Balham, (1987), op. cit., pp. 3 & 6; Christ Church, FCE, Martin's Lane, Liscard, Wallasey, 1880-1980, (Wallasey 1980), p. 8; "J.G.", St. Stephen's Church, Woodlands Road, Middlesborough, 1911-1986, (Middlesborough 1986), p. 3; J.H.H. Whisson, (1974) op. cit., p. 19; Christ Church, Teddington, The First Hundred Years, (1964), op. cit., p. 9.
 49. Year Book 1927-28, p. 26.
 50. Information on Young's background and earlier life from his grandson, living in Barrie, Ontario. Letter from Neave Knowles to RDF, 5 January 1989.
 51. Year Book 1935-36, p. 3, Obituary of Fenn; 1956-57, pp. 14 f., & 40, Obituary of Magee. Also conversations with the late Neave Knowles, the late Lena Dixon, the late Reverend John Knight, & Bishop Arthur Ward.

52. Ibid., 1927-28, pp. 9 & 33; also Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., pp. 101 f.
53. Arthur Reynolds, English Sects: an Historical Handbook, (London 1921), esp. pp. 98 ff.
54. Rupert Davies, op. cit., pp. 186 ff.
55. Arthur Reynolds, op. cit., p. 102.

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Chapter 11

The United Denomination, 1927 to 1993

1. Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., 1936 ed. p. 105, 1960 ed. p. 102.
2. Year Book 1928-29, pp. 11 & 14; 1929-30, p. 9; Frank Vaughan, History, op. cit., 1960 ed., pp. 107 f.
3. Year Book 1932-33, p. 9; 1934-35, p. 21; 1935-36, p. 9; 1937-38, pp. 15 & 47.
4. Year Book 1939-40, pp. 14 & 15; 1952-53, pp. 3 f.; also Frank Vaughan, Memories, op. cit., p. 20.
5. Year Book 1940-41, p. 43; 1941-42, pp. 27 & 40. For the uniting of dioceses see Frank Vaughan, History(1960), op. cit., p. 107; also Year Book 1942-43, p. 21. The bad feeling engendered in Bishop Forbes-Smith was apparently the subject of comment in his private diaries for the period. These were discovered in the late 1980s by Mr. Laurie Gage, and lodged by him in Lambeth Palace Library (under embargo). I am grateful to Mr. Gage for much assistance and information (June 1989). Year Book 1942-43, pp. 25 f.; 1943-44, pp. 24 f.; 1944-45, pp. 17, & 37 ff. Also, letters from the Incumbent of St. Luke's, Leamington Spa to: i. Bishop D.A. Thompson, dated 6 October 1943 (enclosing a copy of his letter to the Trustees of his church). ii. Bishop Frank Vaughan, dated 6 October 1943. Both letters were discovered as wrappings for sermons in the Bishop Thompson cupboard in the Evangelical Library by RDF in 1989. The letters are strongly worded, and as so often in the history of the denominations, they show the intensely mercurial nature of so many involved.
A moving account of the bombing of St. Mark's, Clydebank, is included in Year Book 1970-71, p. 6.
6. Year Book 1945-46, pp. 5, 16 & 42 ff.
7. Frank Vaughan, History (1936), op. cit., pp. 113 ff. Year Book, 1930-31, pp. 56 ff. & 79.
8. Frank Vaughan, History (1936), op. cit., pp. 119 ff.; also Official List of the Consecration of Bishops.
9. Convocation Minutes Book 1937-1957 (the earliest Minutes Book traceable), p. 89; Ibid., copy of letter dated 8 June 1942 from the General Secretary of the FCE Convocation to the General Secretary of the First Synod of Canada, p. 93; Ibid., Cable dated 3 June 1942 from Western Auxiliary Synod in Canada to Vaughan, pasted on p. 94; also Frank Vaughan, History (1960), op. cit., pp. 86 f.
10. Year Book 1952-53, containing Forbes-Smith's hand written notes on rear blank page. As in so many things I am grateful to both Bishops Arthur Ward and Kenneth Powell for their help and information. I am also grateful for help and information given by both the (late) Reverend John Knight, and the (late) Reverend Neave Knowles of the FCE.
11. Year Book 1930-31, pp. 3 & 16; 1938-39, p. 34.
12. Ibid., 1932-33, pp. 4 & 64; 1933-34, p. 24.

13. Ibid., 1935-36, p. 3; 1936-37, p. 6; 1935-36, p. 5; 1937-38, p. 11; 1938-39, p. 37; Official List of the Consecration of Bishops. Again, I am grateful to Bishop Arthur Ward for much kindly help in giving information about these times: conversations, May 1988 & May 1989.
14. Year Book 1940-41, p. 23. The Bishop Cummins Theological College, Putney, c. 1938 - a very rare surviving copy of the College Prospectus. Lincoln-Jefferson University, Non-Resident Students' Guide, Chicago, 1922-1925; also a letter from the resident British Agent to Thompson, dated 5 June 1923 (private collection of RDF). Year Book 1941-42, p. 24.
15. Pamphlets including James Payne, The Christian and Freemasonry, London, 1939 (Foreward by Thompson). "An Explanation", The Messenger, December 1942, pp. 1 ff. RDF's private collection. Letter from Vaughan to Thompson, dated 26 April 1940, Thompson Archive, Evangelical Library: despite the importance of the letter, it was found by RDF as wrapping for a bundle of sermons. For useful brief surveys of Thompson's life see: Bible League Quarterly, April-June 1984, "Bishop D.A. Thompson 1896-1984" (Tributes) pp. 231 ff. Also: H.J. Legerton's article in In Our Inheritance, Summer 1992, "Bishop D.A. Thompson", pp. 8 f.
16. In the first edition of his history, Vaughan also dates the effective start of the FCE movement to the year 1845. Frank Vaughan, History (1936 ed.), op. cit., p. 18. Again, it was in June 1845 that Benjamin Price accepted the incumbency of his church at Ilfracombe, F.S. Merryweather, op. cit., p. 71.
17. Year Book 1946-47, pp. 13 & 4.
18. Ibid., 1947-48, pp. 12 f; 1948-49, pp. 28 & 48; 1949-50, p. 27. The Protestant Recorder (ECE) June 1947, p. 19; also February-March 1948, pp. 14 f. Year Book 1950-51, p. 28.
19. Ibid., 1952-53, p. 23; 1954-55, p. 19; 1956-57, pp. 20 & 30 f.; 1957-58, p. 17; 1958-59, pp. 15 & 20 f.; 1991-92, p. 25; 1958-59, p. 30; J.H.H. Whisson, op. cit. (Willesborough) p. 27; Year Book 1959-60, p. 63; 1960-61, Lists of Churches and Clergy, pp. 47 ff.
20. Paul A. Welsby, A History of the Church of England 1945-1980, (Oxford, 1986 ed.), Chapter 2, pp. 28 ff.; also, Roger Lloyd, op. cit., especially Chapter 25, pp. 514 ff. Year Book 1960-61, Denominational Accounts, pp. 56 ff., & Missionary Account, p. 32.
21. Year Book 1961-62, pp. 24 f.; also RDF's personal knowledge of the late Harry Livsey, and of his gifts.
22. J.W. Grant, op. cit., pp. 351 & 359. Convocation Minutes Book 1937-1957: 1944, p. 120; 1945, p. 130; 1954, p. 244; 1956, p. 262. Year Book 1955-56, p. 49. Convocation Minutes Book, 1937-1957: 1946, p. 146. Church of England Year Book, 1993, pp. 314 & 320.
23. The elderly Bishop Magee retired early in 1953 and died in August 1955: Year Book 1953-54, p. 16; 1956-57, p. 14.
Thomas Cameron, an able pastoral man, though reportedly abrasive, was consecrated as Vaughan's Assistant Bishop in the North at St. John's Tottington on 21 September 1950. His consecrators were Vaughan, Magee, Forbes Smith, and Bishop W.G. MacLeavy of the Moravian Church: Official List of the Consecration of Bishops. I am also grateful for information given by the (late) Reverend John Knight (FCE), and to a distinguished

Anglican Priest (sometime FCE) who would prefer to remain anonymous.

William Rogers was elected to the Episcopate, and consecrated at Christ Church, Liscard (Wirral) on 18 October 1957. His consecrators were Forbes Smith and Cameron, assisted by the Rev. F.P. Copeland Simmons, Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council.

The statement by Vaughan on the Church of England in South Africa is a two-page document typed by Vaughan and corrected by him in pen. It is headed "Confidential To Council, February 1956." RDF's archive. General information on CESA: Anthony Ive, The Church of England in South Africa, Cape Town, 1966).

24. Year Book 1961-62, pp. 27 & 34; 1963-64, List of Churches, pp. 68 ff.; 1964-65, p. 47; also p. 24 (Ilfracombe); 1965-66, p. 59; 1966-67, pp. 15 f.
25. Ibid., 1968-69, p. 21; & 1969-70, p. 23 (Cantril Farm Estate). 1969-70, pp. 23 & 64 (Wigan).
26. Ibid., 1971-72, p. 23; 1972-73, p. 17; 1973-74, p. 20, also pp. 18 & 62; 1974-75, p. 19.
27. Paul Welsby, op. cit., pp. 97 ff.; also pp. 110 ff.; Roger Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 603 f.
28. Year Book, 1964-65, pp. 6 ff.; The Historic Episcopate of the Free Church of England, (FCE 1965); also a typed manuscript in preparation for this work by the Committee, RDF's archive.
29. Various copies: Vision, Central Diocesan Recorder, Quarterly Messenger, Southern Diocesan Leaflet, Bulletin of the Northern Diocese, etc., B.L. and RDF's archive.
30. I am grateful to this former FCE Presbyter for much help, and for his considerable insights of the period which he has shared. Conversations (anonymous), June 1993.
31. Reference made to FCE Handbook for Ministers, op. cit.; also A Children's Service (FCE, n.d.); Constitution and Canons Ecclesiastical (FCE), op. cit.. Year Book 1967-68, pp. 81 ff., "Bye-Laws, Orders, Regulations and Injunctions", (Convocation 1965). Also many conversations with FCE clergy during the years 1987-1993. The Anglican liturgical developments of this time are the subject of many studies, but a useful brief survey is provided by Paul Welsby, op. cit., especially pp. 68 ff., 151 ff., & 239 ff. Ernest Southcott's liturgical work at Halton and Southwark was also the subject of a very lively lecture by him (including a following discussion from the floor) at a visit to St. David's College, Lampeter in 1964.
32. Vaughan: Year Book 1963-64, pp. 3 & 52. Forbes Smith: 1965-66, p. 26; 1968-69, pp. 7 & 14; 1976-77, pp. 29 f. Cameron: 1958-59, p. 19; 1966-67, p. 21; 1975-77, p. 29; 1977-78, pp. 20 & 12. Rogers: 1958-59, p. 14; 1963-64, pp. 4, 52 & 54. Bodfish: 1963-64, p. 25; 1968-69, p. 8; 1971-72, pp. 3, 9 & 10. Burrell: 1963-64, pp. 26, 31 f. & 46; 1966-67, p. 71; 1974-75, pp. 6 & 8. Watkins: 1969-70, pp. 19 f.; 1970-71, pp. 35 f. & 45; 1972-73, p. 50; 1977-78, p. 20; 1978-79, pp. 17 f. There is far more documentation than this available; but these references in the Year Books of the FCE are taken from Primus' Reports, Diocesan Reports, special articles, Convocational Minutes and Accounts, and are most easily available for such a brief survey. I have also drawn upon many conversations with clergy of both the Established Church and the FCE, and a number of the

- laity of the FCE - including former members of Hemel Hempstead, Southend, Aldershot, Carshalton, Ilfracombe and Crowborough; also present members of Teddington, Balham, Harlesden, Leigh-on-Sea, Willesborough, St. Jude's in Walsall, Tottington, and Oswaldtwistle. These have mainly taken place during the years 1986 and 1993.
33. Year Book 1973-74, pp. 43 & 47 f.; 1974-75, pp. 6 f.
 34. *Ibid.*, 1975-76, p. 5; 1976-77, pp. 10, 22, & 30 ff. I am grateful for much help given so generously by both Bishops Milner and Ward. This final overview contains much material which is the result of many conversations with them between 1986 and 1993. Also, Official List of the Consecration of Bishops.
 35. Year Book 1976-77, p. 49. This provides some useful details of Bishop Ward's career before his Consecration.
 36. *Ibid.*, 1977-78, p. 14; 1978-79, pp. 17 f., 25 & 30.
 37. Paul Welsby, op. cit., pp. 242 ff. He quotes R. Towler & A.P.M.Coxon, The Fate of the Anglican Clergy, (London 1980), p. 198.
 38. Year Book 1981-82, p. 25. I owe a debt of gratitude to the late Lena Dixon for a great amount of information and help that she gave me with regard to the life and work of Trinity Church, Southend. Year Book 1991-92, pp. 25 f.; 1987-88, pp. 35 f.
 39. Year Book, 1986-87, pp. 34 f.; 1989-90, p. 53; 1990-91, pp. 47 f. I am grateful to Bishop Powell for much information in many conversations during the years 1986-93.
 40. Church of England Year Book, 1993, p. xxix - Canon Colin Craston's "Review of the Year 1992". FCE Year Book 1983-84, pp. 5 & 24; 1984-85, pp. 36 & 40; 1991-92, pp. 36 f. & 58 f.; 1992-93, p. 65; 1993-94, pp. 47 f.
 41. *Ibid.*, 1991-92, pp. 21, 29, 44 & 48; 1993-94, pp. 50 & 71. The Polish matter was never properly explained in the FCE. According to information gathered by the (late) Reverend John Knight some years ago [conversation with RDF in 1989], Vaughan had been approached by certain Polish churchpeople who were unhappy with the position of the Roman Catholic Church in their Country. This, they felt, had been compromised by the apparent unwillingness of the Pope to become involved in a move to demand a guarantee of Polish National sovereignty. Contact had been made through a Polish academic, Peter Gorodishz (a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society), living in Bialystok. But in fact it is far more likely that his work was actually one of representing the work of the British Mission to the Jews, possibly as a converted Polish Jew himself. By 1940, his location was given as "Wilno, Lithuania" - and he no longer represented the BMJ. But there was a sinister end to the matter, for having escaped from Poland, he was in an area where there was also strong anti-Semitism, and he disappeared from the Lists in 1943. Almost certainly the real facts of the case died with Vaughan in 1962, and even he will not have known what eventually became of Gorodishz. In Poland his address was given as "25, S.W. Rocha, Bialystok." Year Book 1932-33, p. 5; 1934-35, pp. 45 & 52; 1935-36, p. 50; 1940-41, p. 42. Understandably, in St. Petersburg, the denomination is referred to as the "Reformed Episcopal Church".
 42. There are many examples of Vaughan's displeasure of the "leakages" through the years - especially in his "Primus' Report". In Memories op. cit., see

especially pp. 9, 16 & 21. Minutes Book of Convocation, 1937-1957, Convocation of 1946, p. 146.

43. Year Book 1991-92, pp. 13 ff. & 45; 1992-93, p. 19. Also, Richard Fenwick, The Next Step, (Stockholm, 12 August 1993) a paper produced for the Unity talks between the FCE and the C of E at Church House, Westminster.
44. One possibility which remained until the late 1980s was that of the FCE becoming the basis of a larger uniting Protestant Episcopal Church. Although conjecture, this could have involved the remaining churches of the Connexion, the Independent Methodist Church, and the Moravian Church in Britain, each having had past dealings with the FCE. This would have made some 90 or 100 churches, a viable unit for work and even extension. But since 1990, circumstances have changed.

In fact, according to both the late Neave Knowles and the late John Knight, a form of unity with the Independent Methodist Church had been one of Vaughan's plans early in the 1950s. Vaughan himself was situated in the North West where most of the IM churches were, and remain now. However, after Vaughan's time, nothing more was heard of this. Certainly, the vigorously "Independent" nature of the denomination would not have made unity easy to achieve, not least because of the difficulty of getting them to accept the strictly Episcopal Polity of the FCE. Because of the connections he had undoubtedly forged, together with his own powerful manner, Vaughan might just have succeeded. But is unlikely that those who followed would be successful - and with the present relationship which has grown between the FCE and the C of E, the possibility is now remote.

Historically, the Connexion is closer to the FCE than many denominations. Again, the Connexion still exists as a small group of about 22 churches: there are also still some 6 or 8 churches in Sierra Leone (The Voice of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and Sierra Leone Mission, e.g., Summer edition, 1990). Nevertheless, although the CHC Conference still meets annually, all the churches in this Country have been absorbed into other denominational units. Many are to be found within the Congregational Federation, and a couple of others within the Federation of Independent Evangelical Churches. Again, none of the Connexional churches in the UK now has any "liturgical" form of service. It is evident therefore that there is now little common ground for unity with the FCE, and in any case, no really powerful central authority within the Connexion to bind its membership into such an agreement.

Finally, the circumstances of the Moravian Church in 1993 no longer makes any such organic unity with the FCE possible. For during the late 1980s, the Moravian Church began unity talks independently with the C of E. As in 1993, these are at an advanced stage, and some form of agreement is said to be likely. Therefore it would be impossible for the Moravians to begin parallel talks without involving the Established Church as matters stand at present.

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APPENDIX - CASE STUDIES CHAPTER

The "Free" Churches and Clergy in Cardiff, together with a brief examination of the other communities of the Free Church of England and Reformed Church of England in Wales.

1. Several small communities in Australia died out quickly, but two in Scotland lasted until comparatively recently. However, these cases would require separate examination, not within the scope of this study.
2. E.T. Davies, ed., The Story of the Church in Glamorgan 560-1960, (London, 1962), p. 84.
3. E.T. Davies, Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century, (Llandybie, 1981), p. 80.
4. Ibid, p. 81.
5. Population details, Brian Dicks, Portrait of Cardiff and its Valleys, (London, 1984), pp. 79 f.; Alfred George Edwards, Landmarks in the History of the Welsh Church, (London, 1912), pp. 239 ff., & 245 f. Cardiff churches in 1871, Rev. John C. Read, The Church in Our City, (Cardiff, 1954); Kelly's Post Office Directory for Monmouthshire and South Wales (Cardiff Sub-section), (Cardiff, 1871), pp. 224 f.
6. John Williamson, ed., History of Congregationalism in Cardiff and District, (Cardiff), 1920), p. 16 f.
7. The Roman Catholic population had grown enormously with the immigration of thousands of Irish manual workers to cope with the building of docks and railways. They were little better provided for - but that is another story. Certainly the second Marquess of Bute feared the prospect of the great works bringing an influx of Roman Catholics: Jack Jones, River out of Eden, (London, 1951): see, Meic Stephens ed., A Cardiff Anthology, (Bridgend, 1987), pp. 12 & 41 f.
8. Rev. J.R. Guy, A History and Description of the Mother Church of Cardiff, (Cardiff, n.d. (c.1972)), p. 34.
9. Ibid.
10. See the novel by Jack Jones, River out of Eden, in Meic Stephens, op. cit., pp. 11 ff. Morgan was at the same time appointed vicar of Roath.
11. Many details of the Butes, and St. Mary's and the division of the parish into smaller areas are available from: Rev. J.R. Guy. A History and Description, etc., op. cit. J.R. Guy, Churches of Cardiff (series), (Cardiff, South Wales Echo, 1964); Rev. John C. Read, op., cit.
12. J.W.W. and H.A.C., Father Jones of Cardiff, a Memoir, (London 1907), p. 26.
13. Ibid., p. 32 f.: the memoir of Rev. W.H. Kirby.
14. There is a moving account of the difficult social conditions for some in the Irish quarter in Alexander Cordell, Peerless Jim, (London, 1984): see, Meic Stephens, op. cit., pp. 23 ff.

15. J.W.W. & H.A.C., op. cit., p.2 f. The authors refer constantly to Fr. Jones' diaries.
16. Ibid., p. 5.
17. Ibid., p. 15.
18. Well illustrated by Rev. Brian Lodwick, The Oxford Movement and the Diocese of Llandaff during the Nineteenth Century, (M.Phil. thesis, Leeds, 1976), p. 188.
19. J.W.W. & H.A.C. op. cit., p. 30.
20. Ibid., p. 34; & The Rev. John C. Read, op. cit., p. 60.
21. J.W.W. & H.A.C., op. cit., p. 30 & 34.
22. St. Mary's Vestry Minutes Book (no pag.)
23. J.W.W. & H.A.C., op. cit., p. 35.
24. St. Mary's Vestry Minutes Book, op. cit.
25. "Father Jones of Cardiff" article in Western Mail, 11 April 1900, p. 7, cols. 1, 2, 3.
26. J.W.W. & H.A.C. op. cit., pp. 32 ff. The Vestry Minutes make no reference to the latter proposal.
27. Free Church of England Magazine, October 1873, p. 208. Evidently the reference was to the recent matter of the Consistory Court at Llandaff over the proposed alterations to Quire and Sanctuary.
28. Formerly a minister of the Huntingdon Connexion, his later career was to be in the established Church.
29. FCE Magazine, May 1874, p. 90.
30. Ibid., p. 91.
31. The reports are substantially the same in FCE Magazine, June, 1874, p. 114; & Western Mail, Saturday 16 May 1874, p. 6, col. 1.
32. FCE Magazine, June, 1874, p. 118.
33. Western Mail, 16 June 1874, p. 7, col. 2.
34. Ibid., 17 July 1874, p. 6, col. 5.
35. Reported in FCE Magazine, October 1874, p. 196.
36. Ibid., November 1874, p. 218.
37. FCE Magazine, November 1876, p. 216.
38. "Proceedings of the Annual Convocation of the Free Church of England", FCE Magazine, August 1874, pp. 145 ff. Although there was no obvious alternative, this was still a position of some responsibility in a new and fast growing area in the FCE.

39. Western Mail, 18 September 1874, p. 5, cols. 5 & 6.
40. Ibid., letter from Norton of 16 July 1874, quoted in col. 5.
41. Western Mail, 15 June 1875, p. 5, col. 5.
42. FCE Magazine, October 1875, p.188. Also B.M. Lodwick, op. cit., p. 203, & Rt. Hon. G.W.E. Russell, Arthur Stanton. A Memoir, (London, 1917), p. 163.
43. FCE Magazine, March 1875, p. 58.
44. Ibid., April 1875, p. 76 f.
45. Ibid., September 1875, p. 178 - these reported figures were not totally accurate, and financial obligations were to be the cause of trouble later.
46. Ibid., October 1875, pp. 191 ff. Though concerning the date of consecration, see page 21 and note 4 below.
47. St. Mary's Vestry Book, Meeting of 29 March 1875.
48. Ibid.
49. It is interesting that in his speech F.S. Merryweather "regretted that there had lately been a lull in the progress of the movement". Certainly from his own account of the movement which had been completed in 1873 (op.cit.), in earlier years there was a considerable spreading of denominational churches in both this country and certain parts of the Empire. But the account of the opening celebrations at Cardiff together with his hope that this would soon be another FCE community in the town do not show any lack of public interest here. The explanation is certainly to be found in the continuing determination in the part of G.A. Jones to achieve his aims even at the cost, as he was warned, of emptying his church. This sort of reactional impetus was exactly the same in very many other towns and cities.
50. FCE Magazine, November 1875, p. 217.
51. Ibid., March 1876, p. 56; April 1876, p. 78.
52. Ibid., December 1875, p. 234.
53. Ibid., p. 236.
54. Ibid., January 1875, p. 11.
55. Ibid., October 1876, p. 197.
56. Ibid., November 1876, p. 217; December 1876, p. 233.
57. FCE Magazine, February 1877, p. 37.
58. Ibid., May 1877, p. 96.
59. Ibid., January 1878, p. 16 f.
60. FCE Magazine, October 1878, p. 181.

61. Ibid., July 1879, p. 132 f.
62. See Brian Lodwick, op. cit. pp. 186 ff.
63. Rev. John C. Read, op. cit., p. 52.
64. Ibid., p. 35.
65. Ibid., p. 65.
66. St. Paul's Free Church Advocate, quoted in FCE Magazine June 1877, p. 116.
67. Ibid., March 1878, p. 57 f. A detailed examination of an earlier controversy in Roath is made by John R. Guy, "Liturgy - Roath Confessional", Impact, 1969, pp. 17 ff. Further details on this local controversy in Brian Lodwick, op. cit., p. 207.
68. Ibid., November 1878, p. 218.
69. The Free Church of England otherwise called The Reformed Episcopal Church. Index of Deeds and Documents. Probably the work of Bishop Young following the union of 1927, this document was re-discovered in a cupboard at Christ Church, Teddington (1988); p. 35.
70. FCE Magazine, January 1879, p. 14.
71. Ibid., February 1879, p. 32.
72. Ibid., April 1879, p. 78.
73. Western Mail, 29 March 1888, p. 4, col. 6. Hodge was formerly of the Vestry of St. Mary's: see St. Mary's Vestry Book, especially minutes of the meeting of 29 March 1875.
74. FCE Magazine, May 1878, p. 98.
75. Butcher's Cardiff District Directory, 1880-1881, (Cardiff 1880), under "Private Residents Directory" section.
76. FCE Magazine, May 1879, p. 95.
77. The story of the considerable social and religious work of HMS Thisbe, and another iron mission (prior to the building of St. Stephen's), is told briefly by Dr. John Mayberry, I Saw Three Ships, St. Michaels, Lanes, (1987), p. 5 f.
78. Ibid., p. 67 f.; Rev. J.R. Guy, A History and description etc., op. cit., p. 45; J.R. Guy, Churches of Cardiff, op. cit., No. 23, 4 September 1964.
79. The London Gazette, Friday 13 July 1877, p. 4121 f. According to column 2 of p. 4121, the sum of £3,000 had been contributed by "certain persons" as an endowment. This is the only example of a Cardiff parish being formed under "The Peel Act" under which the Priest was appointed by a patronage trust. G.A. Jones' own copy of the Gazette, annotated by him, is held in the safe of St. Mary's.
80. Ibid., p. 113, "Jottings from our Note-Book"

81. Ibid., December 1879, p. 232.
82. FCE Magazine, February 1880, p. 36.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., June 1880 p. 119.
85. FCE Magazine, June 1880, p. 119.
86. As a layman; *ibid.*
87. Ibid., July 1880, p. 147. Lampport was a complex and volatile character who was later to do much work as an independent minister in Riverside, Cardiff (see below).
88. Ibid., Dec. 1880, p. 246.
89. Not until 1884 did the parish of St. Andrew's become independent, but with St. Teilo's remaining as a district church until 1956 when the Welsh congregation took over St. Andrews and it was re-hallowed as Dewi Sant. St. Teilo's then became the new parish church of St. Andrew and St. Teilo. John C. Read, *op. cit.* p. 26 f. & 28 f.; John R. Guy, Churches of Cardiff (series) 3 July 1964; 11 September 1964. Also Roger Lee Brown, The History of the Welsh Church in Cardiff, (Tongwynlais, 1987) p.83. For more on the 1897 re-building of St. Teilo's see below.
90. I am indebted to Rev. Roger Brown who has allowed me the use of his notes for a projected work on the life and ministry of David Howell.
91. John C. Read, *op. cit.*, p. 28; FCE Magazine (December 1880), p. 246.
92. Slaters Cardiff Directory, 1883-4: In the streets section, "St. Paul's Free Church Mission Room" appears under Cathays Terrace, next to number 2.
93. Ibid., June 1881, p. 113.
94. FCE Magazine, August 1881, p. 146.
95. Ibid., August 1882, p. 165; also p. 170 Convocation Reports.
96. Slaters Cardiff Directory, 1883-1884. Under the names section, Edward Cosslett alone is the name printed. But under the streets section, residents appear as "Edward Cosslett, Carpenter, Rev. Alexander Roger". Roger was in fact living very close to the mission room - a matter of 250 yards up, on the same side of the street.
97. Western District Report to Convocation, June 1882.
FCE Magazine, August 1882, p. 169 f.
98. Western District Report to Convocation, 1882, *op. cit.*
99. FCE Magazine, February 1882, p.39. Later at a meeting of the council of the FCE, on 10 April 1883, a letter from Cardiff was read which told of Allan's unanimous vote as minister. The appointment was confirmed by council. Ibid., May 1883, p. 100.
100. FCE Magazine, May 1879, p. 95; June 1880, p. 119; August 1881, p. 146; August 1882, p. 165.

101. The addresses in the List of Churches is incorrect in a couple of places. Nickless, the only one of that name in Cardiff, was John Nickless agent for the L.N.W.R. His properties at 139 Bute Road and Tyndall St., still appear in the 1885 Slater's Cardiff Directory, (p. 122), as does that of "George Brooks, Venetian and wire blind maker, 5 Trinity Street", (p. 104.)
102. At first Cheddar was supplied by Rev. G.I.H. Llewellyn from Christ Church REC, Yeovil. Of the new church Bishop Sugden says: "I had pleasure in dedicating the new church on 4th April last, at the request of Bishop Richardson, under whose jurisdiction it falls geographically" - Ninth General Council of REC, Minutes of second day, morning - 24 May 1883, p. 42 f. From REC Seminary, Philadelphia.
103. FCE Magazine, June 1880, p. 119. There is, however, evidence that the Nickless family did not actually leave the church, see below.
104. Western District Synod Report, FCE Magazine, May 1883, p. 112. Annual Convocation met at Westminster Chambers on 26 and 27 June, and on the Wednesday evening, 27th. an ordination service was held at Emmanuel Church, Putney. J.F. Allan and Alex. Roger were ordained presbyter - there were two men ordained deacon, but Russ was not one of them. Report of Annual Meeting of Convocation, FCE Magazine, August 1882, p. 161 f. Special mention of Trinity Church is made on p. 176.
105. FCE Magazine, August 1883, p. 180 ff.; September 1883, p. 202; November 1883, p. 245.
106. Ibid., November 1883, p. 244.
107. FCE Magazine, November 1883, p. 245.
108. Slater's Cardiff Directory, Cardiff 1885 p. 241, and streets section. A picture of the Woodville Hotel, with Trinity Church in the background, appears in: Stewart Williams, Cardiff Yesterday Vol. 1, (Cardiff, 1983 ed.), plate 67.
109. FCE Accounts 1883/4, FCE Magazine, July 1884, p.151 & Report of the Financial Secretary, Ibid., p. 152.
110. FCE Accounts, 1883/4, op. cit. The system of magazine payments is far from clear in the printed short-form of the accounts. But whereas there is no mention of St. Paul's at all, on 31 December 1883, 5s-0d was received from Roger for magazines, and a further 3s-4d on 2 June 1884. The estimate based on a monthly cost of 1d each is only approximate but probably close.
111. FCE Magazine, July 1884, p. 153.
112. John C. Read, op. cit., pp. 35, 53. John R. Guy, Churches of Cardiff, op. cit., 1 May 1964 & 15 May 1964.
113. J. Wright and Co. - Cardiff Directory, 1885: Main entry p. 12.
114. FCE Magazine, January 1885, p. 5.
115. As with the Moravian church, there has always been the provision for a deacon to celebrate the Holy Communion in the FCE, though as a matter of expediency only, and under strict and special licence from the Bishop.

116. "Meeting of the Western District Synod" - an account in the FCE Magazine, May 1885, p. 68. Account of Convocation for 1885, FCE Magazine, July 1885, p. 85.
117. Ibid., p. 90: although it is interesting to see that J. Wright & Co.'s Cardiff Directory, 1885 still speaks of the church as "Christ Church, Mission Room"... "assisted by Clergy and Lay helpers of Trinity Church".
118. FCE Magazine, September 1884, p. 194.
119. Ibid., Sunday school statistics, p. 198.
120. Ibid., p. 194.
121. Report of the annual convocation for 1884, Ibid., July 1884, p. 145.
122. Ibid., October 1884, p. 220.
123. Ibid., January 1885, p. 5.
124. See below.
125. Account of "Meeting of the Western District Synod", FCE Magazine, May 1885, p. 68.
126. Ibid.
127. Ibid., November 1885, p. 150.
128. Reformed Church Record, January 1889, p. 8, col. 2 - this tells of the last edition of the Free Church of England Record.
129. FCE Magazine, November 1883, p. 245.
130. Butcher's Cardiff Directory, 1880-1881, p. 308; & Slater's Cardiff Directory, 1885, p. 122.
131. Slater's Cardiff Directory, 1885, p. 133.
132. Slater's Cardiff Directory, 1883, p. 4; & 1885, p. 98.
133. List of churches and clergy, F.C.E. Magazine, August 1883, p.180
134. FCE Magazine, July 1884, p. 156.
135. FCE Magazine, May 1884, p. 100.
136. Annual Accounts of the FCE (short form), Ibid., July 1884, p. 151.
137. List of churches and clergy, FCE Magazine, August 1883, p. 180.
138. Ibid., July 1884, p. 158.; & Slater's Cardiff Directory, 1885, p. 96.
139. FCE Magazine, (List of churches and clergy), July 1884, p. 158.
140. FCE Magazine, July 1884, p. 156.
141. John Williamson (ed), History of Congregationalism in Cardiff and District, (Cardiff, 1920), pp. 25 & 50.

142. FCE Magazine, July 1884, p. 156.
143. Ibid., June 1880, p. 119.
144. Figures which compare poorly with Trinity Cathays, and more poorly for such a large town nationally, see above.
145. FCE Magazine, October 1884, p. 220 f.
146. Ibid., November 1884, p. 238.
147. Meeting of the Western District Synod, FCE Magazine, May 1885, p. 68. He had moved to Cardiff, in fact, by December, Ibid., January 1885, p. 5 (under Ilfracombe).
148. See below.
149. The Rev. J.B. Figgis (ed), The Countess of Huntingdon and her Connexion, (London 1891) pp. 205 ff.
150. J. Wright and Co's Cardiff Directory, 1885, p. 12. Information would have been given in probably by the end of December 1884.
151. In fact an entry in Daniel Owen & Co's Wright's Cardiff Directory, 1887 - 1888, J.F. Allan is listed amongst the Nonconformist Ministers, still as "St. Paul's (Free C. of E.) 31 Despenser Street". Possibly he remained a while in Cardiff - though not working for the denomination - but this is clearly an error in the Directory itself, and the resident under the streets section for the address is a James A. Hogg, p. 292 (see more below).
152. This account from the Penarth Advertiser (date unknown) was printed in FCE Magazine, December 1884, p. 265, under the title "Cardiff - Church Extension", in the "Ecclesiastical Register". Unfortunately, no Penarth newspapers for this period have survived at either Penarth, or Cardiff, or the B.L. at Colindale.
153. Chrystal Tilney, A History of the Parish of Penarth with Lavernock, (Penarth, revised ed. 1988), pp. 46 ff.
154. Ibid., p. 55.
155. Ibid., p. 56 f.
156. Ibid., p. 60.
157. The near-unitarianism of one of his most popular curates, Mr. Playter, caused him acute embarrassment, and Playter was dismissed - later founding his own church in Penarth which soon failed. Chrystal Tilney, op. cit., pp. 53 ff.
158. Ibid., p. 62.
159. FCE Magazine, May 1885, p. 77.
160. Roy Thorne, A History of Penarth, (Newport, Gwent, 1975, rep. 1982), p. 38.

161. Account of the Annual Meeting of Convocation, FCE Magazine, July 1885, pp. 85 ff.
162. Ibid., July 1885, p. 94.
163. List of Churches and Clergy, Ibid., p. 90. The only trace of Dunn appears in the 1886-87 edition of J. Wright & Co.'s Cardiff Directory (June 1886), when his address is 22 Plantagenet Street, Canton (pp. 104 & 176). In the next edition, his name is no longer in the churches section for the FCE, but he appears as editor of the Cardiff Evangelist at Roshern House, Crwys Road, Cardiff. By the 1888-89 edition he is no longer in Cardiff.
164. Report of Annual Meeting of Convocation, FCE Magazine, July 1884, p. 134.
165. List of Churches and Clergy, Ibid., July 1885, p. 90.
166. Meeting of the Western and Midland Diocesan Synod, FCE Magazine, November 1885, p. 150.
167. I am indebted to both Dr. Davies (Chrystal Tilney) and Mr. Thorne for their assistance, especially to Dr. Davies for considerable trouble she took in enquiry. There again, there is no entry for St. John's in any of the Cardiff and District directories.
168. FCE Magazine, July 1885, p. 90.
169. "Western and Midland District Synod" Report, Ibid., November 1885, p. 150.
170. Daniel Owen & Co.'s Wright's Cardiff Directory, 1887-1888, p. 41.
171. Ibid., 1888-1889, p. 40. Indeed it is likely that Betty had left by the summer of 1887, because Alex. Roger was having staffing difficulties at the time of Convocation, see below.
172. Letter by Alexander Roger to Western Mail, 29 March 1888, p. 4, col. 6. In fact, Roger had signed the St. Paul's Marriage Register on 21 January 1886 as "Incumbent pro-tem"; clearly John Allan had left before this.
173. Western Mail, 28 March 1888, p. 3, col. 5.
174. Ibid., 29 March 1888, op. cit.
175. Alexander Roger's letter to Western Mail, 29 March 1888, op. cit. The original article pointed out that Hodge was one of the trustees of the church, that the amount owed rose to between £70 and £80, and that the church was "practically in an insolvent state". There is little doubt that Roger under-plays the whole issue: the strife and difficulties must have been very considerable to have led to the swift and probably acrimonious departure of at least two clergy. But, see below.
176. The St. Paul's Marriage Register has no pagination.
177. Western Mail, 28 March 1888, op. cit.
178. Ibid., 4 April 1888, p. 2, col. 9.
179. Ibid., 7 April 1888, p. 3, col. 7.

180. Ibid., 10 April, 1888, p. 4, col. 7. Letter dated 7 April.
181. Cardiff Times and South Wales Weekly News, Saturday 21 April 1888, p. 5, col. 8.
182. David Owen & Co.'s Wright's Cardiff Directory, 1887-88, p. 41.
183. Ibid., 1888-89, p. 40. Date of publication is given as June 1888.
184. Ibid., 1890-91, p. 44.
185. See below.
186. J. Wright and Co.'s Cardiff Directory, 1886, p. 13.
187. Daniel Owen and Co.'s Wright's Cardiff Directory, 1887-88 p. 41.
188. See above; also Western Mail, 14 February 1895, p. 4, col. 4.
189. FCE Year Book, 1933-34, p. 24.
Obituary of Rev. Alexander Roger.
190. Daniel Owen & Co.'s Wright's Cardiff Directory, 1897, p. 409.
191. Ibid., 1900, p. 427.
192. The Rev. John C. Read, op. cit., p. 30 f.
193. This and other information is contained in his obituary notices: Spalding Free Press, 18 January 1910; & South Wales Daily News, 13 January 1910, p. 6, col. 7.
194. See above.
195. Spalding Free Press, 19 June 1883.
196. Spalding Free Press, 24 January 1922.
197. Ibid., 24 January 1922.
198. Ibid., 24 April 1883, p. 6, cols. 1, 2, 3. Another public scene some days earlier witnessed a virtual street-fight between Lampport and a church officer in the middle of the town over a minute book. Ibid., 10 April 1883, p. 6, cols. 3 & 4.
199. A short account of these years is given in Spalding Free Press, 24 January 1922. Also Leveritt and Elkin, Aspects of Spalding 1790-1930, (Spalding 1982), p. 130 f. I am indebted to Mr. Leveritt for his help.
200. Spalding Free Press, 19 April 1887. The church at Spalding never really recovered from these scenes. Never out of debt, the congregation called two further ministers, but the last service was held on 5 October 1890. Leveritt and Elkin op. cit., p. 130. The last memories of the movement were of Dandy's "Mission Van" touring the countryside - a sad relic of an ambitious project. Spalding Free Press, 24 January 1922.
201. South Wales Daily News, 13 January 1910, p. 6, col. 7:
Lampport's obituary. Also Daniel Owen & Co.'s Wright's Cardiff Directory 1896, entry under streets.

202. The Rev. John C. Read, op. cit., pp. 29 ff.
203. South Wales Daily News, 14 January 1910 - a correction to the obituary published the day before.
204. The Service Register of Christ Church, Wells Street. Sadly during the disastrous floods in Cardiff in the late 1970s this register, along with other books was apparently destroyed. This information is taken from notes made from the book in 1966.
205. See FCE Year Book 1899-1900 (name omitted) & Ibid., 1908-1909 p. 2, announcement of his death.
206. Minutes of the Twelfth General Council of the REC, Philadelphia, 1889; p. 97.
207. South Wales Daily Star, 11 March 1897 & 12 March 1897, no pag. Also see the notice of death in Work and Worship, July 1897, p. 14.
208. With the disappearance of the Service Register, this information is impossible to verify.
209. The Harbinger, January 1866, p. 28.
210. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 60.
211. February 1865, p. 77 & September 1865, p. 279.
212. The Harbinger, May 1867, p. 157.
213. Ibid., p. 320.
214. Ibid., June 1870, p. 166.
215. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 60.
216. FCE Magazine, June 1867, p. 175.
217. Ibid., October 1867, p. 320.
218. Ibid., June 1868, p. 183.
219. Ibid., August 1868, pp. 231 ff.
220. Ibid., September 1868, p. 262.
221. Ibid., September 1869, p. 287.
222. Ibid., July 1872, p. 144.
223. Ibid., November 1872, p. 213.
224. FCE Magazine, October 1870, p. 278 & November p. 307.
225. Ibid., January 1871, p. 26f.; also April 1871, p. 111. Again in the magazine for April 1873 (p. 79) a soiree was announced for the Church.
226. I.M. Mallard, op. cit., p. 60.

227. FCE Magazine, October 1871, p. 263 f.
228. Ibid., November 1868, p. 324: summary of cash received.
229. Ibid., September 1874, p. 176.
230. FCE Magazine, July 1874, p. 126 f.
231. Ibid., March 1879, p. 55.
232. Ibid., April 1879, p. 76.
233. John Elwyn Davies, article "Three Welshpool Vicars: the Clergymen of a Victorian Town", The Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 76 (1988), pp. 107 ff.; also Cynric Mytton Davies, article "A church that vanished without a trace", The County Times and Express, (Montgomeryshire), 11 April 1970. Also, Our Church Record and Parish Helper, March 1879, p. xii.
234. Ibid., September 1879, p. xxxv. There is an interesting detailed account of the opening and consecration ceremony.
235. The new official magazine, The Reformed Church Review, March 1880, p. 3.
236. Ibid., October 1880, p. 86.
237. This information appears in the, again, new official publication The Reformed Church Record, August 1882, p. 117.
238. Ibid., September 1882, p. 133.
239. Ibid., January 1883, p. 8. Subsequent lists in following months are the same.
240. John Elwyn Davies, op. cit., p. 119.
241. The matter is too complex for many specific references to be made here, but lists of churches featured in other chapters provide obvious examples.
242. Edward Coplestone, Charge at the Triennial Visitation of the Diocese of Llandaff, (London, 1842), p. 23.
243. Roger Lee Brown, A History of the Welsh Church in Cardiff during the Nineteenth Century, (Tongwynlais, 1987), p. 57 f.
244. E.T. Davies, Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century, (A New History of Wales, Llandybie 1981), pp. 85 ff. This is a separate and major topic, not for discussion here. Davies points out the unfairness of overstating the case - but there is still much truth in the popular view he expresses.
245. Ibid., p. 86.
246. E.T. Davies, Religion and Society etc. op. cit., p. 84.
247. There is an irony that as far as Welshpool was concerned, Bishop Gregg was a remote figure from Southend, a formidably educated Irishman. For the FCE in Wales, Bishop Price of Ilfracombe was actually a Welsh speaking Welshman from mid-Wales. But by the 1880s he was becoming increasingly

elderly and infirm, and was delegating his work to Bishops Meyers and Newman.

248. E.T. Davies, chapter 6 "The Church in the Industrial Revolution", David Walker (ed.), A History of the Church in Wales, (Penarth, 1976), p. 143.
249. Esme Wingfield-Stratford, This was a Man, (London, 1949), see especially his bitter views on "the real thing", p. 114.
250. E.T. Davies, "From the Restoration to Disestablishment", The Story of the Church in Glamorgan 560-1960, (London 1962), p. 86. See also E.T. Davies, "The Church in the Industrial Revolution", op. cit., p. 140. Even after disestablishment there was a breadth of churchmanship in South Wales, and a number of evangelicals; A.J. Edwards, Archbishop Green, (Llandyssul, 1986) p. 63.
251. Roger Lee Brown, A History of the Welsh Church, etc., op. cit., p. 15.
252. J.W.W. & H.A.C., op. cit., p. 15 & 56; also Roger Lee Brown, A History of the Welsh Church, etc., op. cit., p. 65.
253. The Rev. Brian Lodwick, op. cit., p. 208.

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A short church service for family worship, schools, cottage lectures, on board ship, etc., Weymouth, 1878.

Startling Facts about the Confessional in the Church of England, London, 1889.

What is Auricular Confession? and what does the Church of England say about it? London, 1889.

(ed.) The Baptismal Service for Infants and the Confirmation Service according to the Reformed Episcopal Church, Weymouth, 1878.

(ed.) Bishop Nicholson's Reasons for Joining the Reformed Episcopal Church, London, 1878.

(ed.) Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of St. Albans and Bishop Gregg, Southend, n.d. (c. 1879).

Shea, Charles E., Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, London, 1879.

REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH (CANADA)

Bishop Cridge Memorial Building Fund, an Appeal Leaflet for the building of the Cridge Memorial Hall at The Church of Our Lord, Victoria, B.C.; Victoria, c. 1927.

REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH (UK)

Anon., The Reformed Episcopal Church - a Statement concerning its Rise, Constitution, Orders, History, and the necessity for its work in this Country, London, 1878.

Anon., (ed.) Rules of Order (a leaflet publishing rules for debating procedure), REC, c. 1900.

Anon., What does the Reformed Episcopal Church stand for?, (an information leaflet) REC, n.d. (c. 1910).

Book of Common Prayer (REC in Britain), London, (1909).

Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, REC, 1910 ed.

Constitution and Canons of the Reformed Episcopal Church, London, 1383.

Eldridge, the Bishop P.X., A Catechism with Scripture Proofs, London, 1926 ed.

The Church Catechism of the Reformed Episcopal Church in the UK, Brighton, 1915.

also: The origin, orders, organisation and worship of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Brighton, 1910 ed.

Prayer: a parable, Brighton, 1916.

General Synod, 1915, the printed programme and agenda of the General Synod in June 1915, at Emmanuel, Gunnersbury; REC, 1915.

Judgement delivered by Mr. Justice Younger in the Action of Attorney-General v. Ingram and others, December 17th, 1917, London, 1918; also later ed., c. 1926.

Llewellyn, the Reverend Gordon J.H., The Claim to Priestly Absolution and Apostolic Succession Considered, (sermon published as a pamphlet), Yeovil, 1879.

Dr. Gregg and the Reformed Episcopal Church, Yeovil, 1878.

Yeovil, Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New Church, Thursday, May 15th. 1879, printed Order of Service, Yeovil, 1879.

REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH (USA)

Aycrigg, Benjamin, Memoirs of the Reformed Episcopal Church,
(fourth ed., with confidential supplement),
New York, 1878.

Book of Common Prayer (REC in the USA), Philadelphia 1932.

Catalog of the Reformed Episcopal Seminary, Philadelphia
1989-91.

Cheney, Charles Edward, What do Reformed Episcopalians
Believe?, Philadelphia, 1888. Also, Philadelphia, 1978.

Guelzo, Allen C., The First Thirty Years: A Historical Handbook
for the Founding Years of the Reformed
Episcopal Church, 1873-1903,
Philadelphia, 1986.

Price, Annie Darling, A History of the Formation and Growth of
the Reformed Episcopal Church 1873-1902,
Philadelphia, 1902.

ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS
YEAR BOOKS, GENERAL SYNOD REPORTS, CHURCH REPORTS, ETC.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Church of England Year Book, various.

London Diocese Book, (various years).

CONGREGATIONALIST

The Congregational Year Book, various.

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON'S CONNEXION

The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, Abstract of the Cash Accounts for the Year ending 31 December, 1894,
 also includes a list of the churches and ministers of the Connexion.

FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The Tenth Annual Report of the Free Church of England,
 London, 1872 (no other printed Annual Reports from this period are traceable).

Bexhill-on-Sea, St. Paul's FCE, Eleventh Report and Statement of Accounts, 1934.

also: Year Book and Directory, 1952.

The Annual Year Books

The Annual Year Books of the FCE increase in size, especially after the turn of the present century. The editions after 1909-1910 generally contain much information. Material typically includes Forewords and/or Reports by the Bishop Primus, Episcopal Charges at Convocation, Reports from each Diocesan Bishop together with details from the churches, Reports from the Diocesan Synods, Detailed Reports of proceedings at the Annual Convocations, Reports from the main Committees (Missions, Doctrine, Sunday School, and Youth Work). Again, committee membership is detailed, lists of churches and clergy are included, and the main denominational accounts are printed in some detail, together with a Treasurer's Report.

Very occasionally, statistical information is printed, including the main financial information from each of the churches. From time to time, information on the communicant numbers is included; but in a tradition where the sacrament was not the central act of worship these do not give a true picture of total membership. In fact, probably because of the intensity of "congregationalist" feeling, there seems to have been a long-standing resistance to sending full details of membership

to the Bishops. This was certainly the subject of comment on several occasions by Bishop Eldridge of the REC.

No collection of the Year Books is complete, that at the B.L. begins only in 1902. The earlier editions from 1895-1896 are, however, available as part of the Thompson Archive at the Evangelical Library in Marylebone.

The Year Book of the Free Church of England, annual editions, 1895-1896 to 1925-1926 (editions for 1898-1899 and 1904-1905, not traceable). This becomes:-

The Free Church of England and Reformed Episcopal Church Year Book for 1926-1927, produced jointly by the two denominations. This becomes:-

The Free Church of England otherwise called the Reformed Episcopal Church. Year Book for 1927-1928. Editions continue annually without a break to the present (1993-1994).

THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND (GREGG)

Southend, Trinity Church, First Annual Report, Easter 1879.

THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH (UK)

The Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, otherwise called the Reformed Church of England General Synod, Report of General Synod:
editions from 1894 - 1916.

Separate printed reports were published from 1894 (the Synod which united the RCE and the REC) to 1896. From 1896 to 1902, detailed reports were published annually in Work and Worship. Reports were once again printed and published separately from 1903 to 1916.

The B.L. collection is substantially incomplete, but the Reverend Frank Gregg's own bound volume of the reports from 1894 to 1916 (significantly marked and annotated) has been traced. Much general information is available, including the financial accounts of the denomination.

The Annual Year Books

The Reformed Episcopal Church of England (in Federal Union with the Free Church of England) Year Book for 1922. Editions were also published for 1923, and 1925.

The REC Year Books contain full reports of General Synod, Presidential Addresses, list of churches and clergy and information on the work for mission. They do not, however, contain the financial accounts

In 1926, the Year Book was issued jointly with the FCE.

UNPUBLISHED/MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

BALHAM - THE BOX OF EPHEMERA FROM ST. JUDE'S FCE
"The Neave Knowles Archive".

This box includes some of the material that went into the preparation of the second edition of Vaughan's History by Neave Knowles when he was Lay Reader and Churchwarden at Balham. Amongst the many pieces of archival material used, the following manuscripts have been consulted:

Letters

The Rev. Gordon Roberts to Neave Knowles about the location of various historical documentation on the FCE, 25 June 1960.

Bishops Forbes Smith and Thompson, a cyclostyled letter of thanks to members of the Convocation for the presentation of their Episcopal robes and seals, 10 October 1938.

E.M. Tylor (for Marshall, Morgan and Scott - printers of the FCE Prayer Book) to Neave Knowles, 30 August 1951.

Bishop Vaughan to Neave Knowles, 7 September 1951.

Bishops Vaughan, Magee, Forbes Smith and Cameron to the clergy of the FCE, a cyclostyled letter forbidding the intoning of the Preces and Suffrages in the services, October 1950.

Other material

The original typed drafts of 4 of the monographs which eventually became appendices in Vaughan's History (both editions). (i) "Primitive Episcopacy" (2 drafts) was originally from Bishop Cummins' sermon at the Consecration of Bishop Charles Cheney in 1873. (ii) "Re-union" was probably written by Vaughan himself for the second edition of the History which was published in 1960. (iii) "The Free Church of England Book of Common Prayer" was originally the first of Tracts For These Times (cyclostyled), with many alterations by the Rev. F.H. Easton. (iv) "Reformed Episcopal Orders Examined - By a Clergyman of the Anglican Church".

"History of the Free Church of England - 1960 edition. Report of History Committee appointed by Convocation 1959": the original typed copy, and the altered fair copy, typed for duplication.

"To Members of the Southern Synod - Report of the Committee of Enquiry re Christchurch, Ilfracombe, Devon", March 1956 (the original typed copy).

Modern copies of various photographic originals, some of which were used in the second edition of the History in 1960: Bishop Benjamin Price. Bishop David Cummins. The Founders of the REC in America, 1873. St. John's, Tottington, Bury - the West end. A photograph of a lithograph of James Shore, made probably during the 1840s. Christ Church, Ilfracombe - the

interior c. 1950. James Shore in old age. St. John's, Bridgetown, Totnes - from the East, from the West, and the eventual "conflation" of the two views to get the illustration for the cover of the 1960 edition of the History. The united Convocation, 1927. The Convocation photograph for 1975. FCE stall at the Evangelical Exhibition, Central Hall, Westminster, 1951. Spa Fields Chapel, c 1890. Christ Church, Exeter, 1957.

CARDIFF - CHRIST CHURCH, WELLS ST, CANTON
(Now St. Cadoc's - Church in Wales)

Service Register, 1896 onwards. This Register was examined in 1966, but was subsequently destroyed in the flooding of Canton in the late 1970s.

CARDIFF - ST. MARY'S, BUTE STREET (DOCUMENTS IN SAFE)

List of Documents in safe. This includes, no. 11, "Contract for Sale of Iron Church - St. Paul's Free Church - Hodges Row, Docks, 1888". The document however is missing.

Register of Marriages of St. Paul's Free Church of England, Loudoun Terrace: starts 24 October 1876.

Vestry Book of St. Mary's, 1871 to c. 1890

EXETER CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

"Dr. Shapter on the Surplice Riots at Exeter", 1844 and 1848: a hand-written manuscript of 29 pages.

Letter: Dr. Thomas Shapter to the Rev. W.H.B. Proby,
22 November 1881.

(Reference for both mss: D & C Exeter, ED/22)

DEVON COUNTY RECORDS OFFICE (EXETER)

St. John's Bridgetown, Baptism Register Vol. 1 (ref. PR 1).

BISHOP G.W. FORBES SMITH

"Notes from Canadian Correspondence", made 1952-53. These two pages of handwritten notes are contained in an edition of the Year Book of the FCE for 1952-53, and they include some revealing facts about the state of the REC in Canada at that time. This book was part of Bishop Forbes Smith's own library - dispersed after his death.

HARLESDEN - CHRIST CHURCH FCE

Vestry Book 3, 1925-1935.
 Vestry Book 4, 1935-1940.
 Vestry Book 5, 1940-1947.

The Vestry Books contain many letters, leaflets and circulars. Where these have been used, they are acknowledged in the notes during the course of the text.

FROM THE JOHN KNIGHT COLLECTION (Harlesden FCE Rectory)

After the death of the Reverend John Knight in 1992, much of the documentation which had been in his possession was destroyed. Some of that material, such as the copies of the Morecambe property documents, was photocopied by RDF before his death. Some of the remainder is in RDF's collection.

Christ Church, Willesborough - copy of Trust Deed, 10 July 1875. Also copy of endorsement for the transfer of the jurisdiction back to the FCE, dated 29 June 1987.

Emmanuel, Morecambe, copies of various deeds including:
 Indenture of 4 April 1889 (granting a freehold plot for the church to the Rev. William Troughton.
 Also: Indenture conveying church property on 15 June 1885.
 Another, 2 July 1891.
 Another, 23 December 1898.
 Another, 30 March 1899.
 Another, 1 August 1919.
 Another, 1 August 1919.
 Another, 1 August 1919.

Copy of The Church Portrait Journal (W.J.E. Bennett Memorial Number, 1886): Bishop Vaughan's own annotated copy.

Handwritten account by Vaughan of the acquisition of W.J.E. Bennett's Bible for Christ Church, Harlesden. Also further information on Vaughan's early times at Harlesden. Date c. 1955.

The presentation book-plate for the inner page of the Bible from the people of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge to W.J.E. Bennett upon the consecration of the church, 30 May 1843.

Copy of the death certificate of Bishop Vaughan, 1 October 1962.

Manuscript of a paper presented at a Teach-in at Liverpool University on 21 November 1967 by the Rev. W.B. Makin. The subject, "Ecumenism".

Photographic portraits, including Bishop Eldridge c. 1915, Bishop J.C. Magee c. 1940, Bishop Vaughan with his church officers at Harlesden c. 1925, and the 4 Bishops of the newly united denomination in 1927, taken at the uniting Convocation: Bishops Vaughan, Young, Fenn and Brook Lander.

Letters

William Parker to the Rev. Frank Vaughan, 29 September 1910.

The Very Rev. B.M. Cowie (Dean of Exeter) to William Parker,
4 June 1887.

Neave Knowles to the Rev. John Knight, 18 July 1983.

The Rev. John Knight to Neave Knowles, 2 August 1983.

(These latter 2 letters are significant in that they demonstrate clearly the generally "scrappy" nature of the denominational records even in the 1950s. It is clear that, even then, the documentation to do with the clergy list was disordered and incomplete - as indeed it had been in Eldridge's latter years in the REC).

THE NEAVE KNOWLES ARCHIVE II - in the author's collectionLetters

Bishop D.A. Thompson to Neave Knowles, 10 February 1940.
Also: 10 December 1943.

Bishop D.A. Thompson to members of the FCE, a letter printed in The Messenger explaining his resignation from the denomination, December 1942.

Also: Bishop Thompson to readers of The Messenger (which he continued to produce after his resignation from the FCE), announcing the death of his wife, January-February 1944.

Bishop Vaughan to Neave Knowles, 2 November 1950.

Also: 4 March 1956.
(another) 4 March 1956.
? March 1956.
22 August 1951.
6 October 1960.
1 July 1960.
23 June 1960.

Other material

Index of Deeds and Documents, typed foolscap list of legal documents for properties listed by the Reverend W.E. Young at the time of Union in 1927.

A doctrinal comparison between the teachings of the C of E and the FCE - a typed document, possibly in preparation for a tract (probably the work of Vaughan), c. 1938.

Confidential Memo from the General Secretary (probably) of the FCE, the Reverend William Rogers to the members of the Council of the FCE. This largely concerns the urgent need for improvement of training of clergy and for an examination of the problems of leadership. Probably c. 1938.

Bishop Vaughan's typed Lantern Lecture on the history and work of the Reformed Episcopal Church, 1924.

"Copy of a statement made by Rt. Rev. Frank Vaughan D.D. on the C of E in South Africa", delivered to the Council of the FCE, February 1956. Marked "Confidential".

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY ARCHIVES

The Correspondence Books of each Archbishop contain many leaflets, press-cuttings, and other documentary items, together with their voluminous correspondence. Where the papers have been used, they are acknowledged in detail in the notes during the course of the text.

The papers of Archibald Campbell Tait: Archbishop of Canterbury 1868-1882

Papers and correspondence on the FCE, 1873-1879:

Vol. 187, f. 285; Vol. 190, ff. 167-170; Vol. 200, ff. 367-431; Vol. 249, ff. 346-367; Vol. 251, ff. 230-231.

Thomas Huband Gregg - correspondence on the validity of the Consecration by Bp. David Cummins in 1876: Vol. 218, ff. 66-69.

Papers and correspondence on the REC, 1877-1879 (no separate heading for the RCE)

Vol. 231, ff. 101-105; Vol. 235, ff. 122-123; Vol. 246, ff. 320-323; Vol. 247, ff. 255-258; Vol. 251, ff. 161-247; Vol. 252, ff. 65-68; Vol. 253, ff. 46-48, 50-53, 56-61, 73-94; 99-112, 128-130, 142-150, 159-162, 198-199, & 205.

The papers of Edward White Benson; Archbishop of Canterbury 1883-1896

Papers and correspondence involving the FCE

Vol. 61, ff. 234-235; Vol. 132, f. 375; Vol. 147, ff. 87-105.

Papers and correspondence involving A.S. Richardson 1884-1891

Vol. 16, ff. 389-397, 400-413; Vol. 49, ff. 285-286, & 309; Vol. 99, ff. 395-397.

Papers and correspondence on the REC generally, 1884-1893 (these include matters involving T.H. Gregg and the RCE)

Vol. 16, ff. 389-413; Vol. 27, ff. 264-317, 328-347; Vol. 37, ff. 298-352 passim; Vol. 45, ff. 286-318; Vol. 49, ff. 285-318; Vol. 61, ff. 204-241; Vol. 98, ff. 108-112; Vol. 99, ff. 395-397; Vol. 100, ff. 45-46; Vol. 110, ff. 277-280; Vol. 116, ff. 334-337; Vol. 117, ff. 1-11 passim.

[Included amongst these are extracts and cuttings from Reformed Church Record (1887-1888): Vol. 49, ff. 290-293, 310-317; Vol. 61, ff. 236-239.]

Also: The Catechism of the REC, n.d., Vol. 27, ff. 318-327.

The papers of Randall Thomas Davidson
Archbishop of Canterbury 1903-1928

Vol. 268, ff. 80 ff.

Lambeth Conference (1920 "Appeal") Papers: Vol. 108, ff. 240-243; Vol. 114, ff. 6-28, 142, 145-146; Vol. 261, ff. 231-236, 282-c 286, 404-414.

PETERBOROUGH PUBLIC LIBRARY

Letter from Richard Hillier (Local Studies Librarian) to Neave Knowles, 6 October 1986.

REFORMED EPISCOPAL SEMINARY ARCHIVE

Letters

The Rev. J. Anderson [Gen. Sec. REC (UK)]
to Charles Kellogg, 10 January 1889.
Also: 24 January 1889.

Bishop C.E. Cheney to Charles Kellogg, 28 January 1889.
Also: 28 February 1889.
2 April 1889.

Bishop C.E. Cheney to Bishop John Sugden, 31 January 1889.

Bishop Thomas Greenland to Bishops, Clergy and members of the General Synod of the REC (UK), a printed open letter, 1 January 1889.

Bishop T.H. Gregg to Bishop C.E. Cheney, a printed open letter,
28 February 1889.

Bishop W.R. Nicholson to Charles Kellogg, 25 January 1889.

Bishop A.S. Richardson to Charles Kellogg, 16 February 1889.
Also: 13 March 1889.
27 March 1889.
9 May 1889.

Bishop John Sugden to Bishop C.E. Cheney, 22 February 1889.

Bishop John Sugden to the Rev. John Sabine
("Private and Confidential") 23 February 1889.
Also: 26 March 1889.

Other Material

A printed statement of the official decision of the General Council to erase the name of Bishop T.H. Gregg from the Roll of the REC (USA): decision dated 27 May 1880.

SOUTHEND - TRINITY CHURCH ARCHIVES

Until fairly recently these were in the possession of the former Churchwarden, Mrs. Lena Dixon of Thorpe Bay. Not long before her death she lodged them with the Southend Reference Library.

Vestry Book I, 1878-1902.

Vestry Book II, 1902-1933.

Like the Vestry Books of both Harlesden and Teddington, very many letters, papers, bills, leaflets and loose reports have been pasted into the pages. These are of particular value in examining the problems of the early 1890s, and those later times in 1917 when there was an attempt to transfer the church to the hands of the Anglican Diocese of Chelmsford. Where these letters and papers have been used, they have been acknowledged in the notes during the course of the text.

Further archive material from Lena Dixon (RDF's collection)

Various papers concerning the rebuilding of the 3 manual organ, originally by Bishop and Sons, in 1931. The matters discussed give interesting information on the work of Trinity at the time, including its being open each day for private prayer - an unusual feature for that particular tradition. Letters include:

David Roberts (organ builder) to the Rev. Percy Norris, Rector,
24 February 1931.

Also: 9 April 1931.

The Rev. Percy Norris to David Roberts, 9 May 1931.

A.L. Lawrence to the Rev. Percy Norris, n.d., but probably
February/March 1931.

Also, a set of instructions to the Rector on points to be raised with Roberts with regard to the rebuilding scheme. Author and date unknown.

Also 3 pages of manuscript information by Lena Dixon on the life and work of Trinity, and its clergy, since about 1919, when she had started attending the church.

Also photographs of the interior of the church in about 1960, and the large robed choir at Trinity in 1933.

Also, copies of the 2 parchments which were buried in a lead casket when the foundation stone of the church was laid on 3 December 1877. Since the demolition of the church in the mid-1980s, these have been kept at Southend Reference Library.

TEDDINGTON - CHRIST CHURCH FCE (South Porch)

Vestry Book I, 1864-1870/71.
 Vestry Book II, 1871-1887.
 Vestry Book III, 1887-1905.
 Vestry Book, 1926-1933.

Each of the Vestry Books is an invaluable store of letters, circulars and leaflets - especially useful during the difficult times around 1880, and later in 1901-2. The many loose papers and letters consulted are acknowledged in the notes during the course of the text.

Also at Teddington:

Minutes Book of Churchwardens' Committees, 1871-1887.

Minutes Book of FCE Convocation, 1937-1957.

This volume also contains many letters, papers, circulars, and even several cables which have been pasted in. All have been acknowledged in the notes where they have been used.

BISHOP D.A. THOMPSON ARCHIVE (EVANGELICAL LIBRARY)

Letters

The letters from the Thompson archive have been used largely as "markers" or as wrappers for bundles of sermons and pamphlets in the Cupboard which was sent to the Evangelical library at Thompson's death in 1984. In the main, they have not been kept as part of a correspondence archive, and their preservation has, to this extent been fortuitous. It is significant, however, that the letters so preserved are, in a number of cases, concerned with momentous times in his ministry. Examples are those in 1927 which clearly refer to his plans to commence the work of the residential Theological College. Other examples concern his bitter clash with Bishop Vaughan over the Masonic movement. Again, there are other papers concerning his resignation from the FCE.

As it is inconceivable that there were not very many other pieces of paper that might have been used for the purposes stated, it seems clear that Thompson chose this curious method of preserving "sensitive" correspondence for those who might be seeking information at a later time! Letters used include:-

The Reverend Harry E. Anderson to Bishop Thompson, 6 June 1940.

The Rev. A.M. Bodfish to Bishop Thompson, 29 July 1941.

Bishop Brook Lander to the Rev. D.A. Thompson, 25 March 1927.

The Rev. Terence H. Brown to Bishop Thompson, 6 October 1943.

The Rev. Terence H. Brown to the Trustees of St. Luke's FCE,
 Leamington Spa, 6 October 1943.

The Rev. Terence H. Brown to Bishop Vaughan, 6 October 1943.

The Rev. S.R. Cambie to the Rev. D.A. Thompson, 5 June 1923
(Lincoln-Jefferson University).

Bishop Frank Vaughan to Bishop Thompson, 26 April 1940.

Bishop Frank Vaughan, printed letter to the denomination with regard to Bp. Young's retirement through ill health, and his replacement at the church at Putney, June 1935.

The Rev. T. Gear Willett to the Rev. D.A. Thompson,
21 April 1927.

Mrs. Mary Young to Bishop Thompson, 6 November 1936.

Mrs. Mary Young to Bishop & Mrs. Thompson, 15 November 1936.

Bishop W.E. Young to the Rev. D.A. Thompson, 21 March 1927.

Other Material

A preparatory plan by Miss Anne Elizabeth Price for the pamphlet The Organisation of the Free Church of England. This was made in freehand using an opened-out envelope addressed to her sister, dated 18 May 1905. It has been preserved as a bookmark in the bound volume of the FCE Magazine for 1870-1871.

Her choice of much material from the FCE Magazine is significant. It also indicates that the booklet did not eventually find publication as had earlier been intended, for the work eventually relied mainly upon the unpublished (and now lost) autobiography of her father, Bishop Benjamin Price.

TORQUAY - ST. MATTHIAS' PARISH CHURCH

The Rural Dean's Book, 1897-1979.

THE VAUGHAN FAMILY

Letters

Miss Mildred Catt to R.D.F., 25 October 1987.

Mr. Harry Vaughan to R.D.F., 11 January 1988.

BISHOP ARTHUR WARD'S ARCHIVES

The original printed legal papers for the Shore Case in 1949:

(i) Shore against Barnes: CASE on behalf of the Reverend James Shore, Clerk, the Appellant.

(ii) Shore against Barnes: on an Appeal from the Arches Court of Canterbury - JOINT APPENDIX.

YEOVIL DISTRICT HOSPITAL ARCHIVES[Now at Somerset C.R.O. - collection not yet catalogued]Letters

The Rev. R. Eason-Jones (Minister at Christ Church FCE) to
F.W. Mayo (Hon. Sec. Yeovil Hospital), 28 January 1910.
Also: 3 February 1910.

F.W. Mayo to the Rev. R. Eason-Jones, ? January 1910.
Also: 7 February 1910.

YEOVIL REFERENCE LIBRARY

Black and white photograph of Christ Church REC, Yeovil, 1880.

MONOGRAPHS AND UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, ETC.

- Anon., (eds.), Primitive Episcopacy, a statement prepared by Convocation of the FCE in 1963 to consider "The place of the Episcopate in the Free Church of England"; typed m.s., 1963.
- Anon., "Emmanuel Proprietary Chapel, Wimbledon, 1861 - 1972", an unpublished m.s., c. 1973 (Wimbledon).
- Anon., Some Account of God's Gracious Dealings with the Work in Wimbledon which finally developed into Emmanuel Church, an unpublished m.s., c. 1900 (Wimbledon).
- Brown, the Reverend Roger L., David Howell in Cardiff, unpublished m.s., 1987.
- Bruce, R.S., A Bibliography of Selina Countess of Huntingdon, an unpublished typed text by the Librarian of All Nations Christian College, Ware, Herts., 1980.
- Carter, Grayson, Evangelical Seceders from the Church of England c. 1800 - 1860, D. Phil. thesis (2 vols.), Oxford, 1990.
- Corley, John, Braintree Free Church of England, unpublished paper delivered in October 1975 (Essex CRO).
- also: Braintree Free Church of England, another unpublished m.s. (n.d.), (Essex CRO).
- Davie, Dr. Grace, unpublished paper, "Britain as a European Society?", delivered at St. Paul's Church, Camberley, 16 November 1993.
- Edmonds, the Reverend P.W., Christ Church, Hemel Hempstead 1878-1974, a short history prepared for Hertfordshire C.R.O., cyclostyled copy.
- Hennell, M.A., Short History of Emmanuel Proprietary Chapel, Wimbledon, unpublished notes, 1982
- Hughes, Eric G., Stories of Christ Church, Tuebrook, unpublished monograph, Liverpool, c. 1989.
- Lodwick, the Reverend Dr. Brian, The Oxford Movement and the Diocese of Llandaff during the Nineteenth Century, M.Phil thesis, Leeds, 1976.
- Mallard. I.M., The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and its Chapels, a dissertation, Cheshunt College, Cambridge, 1957.
- Messer, Michael, Notes on Chapel House, Lansdown, Bath; (Site of All Saints' Chapel), and All Saints' Chapel, unpublished m.s., 1962.

also: Notes on the Methodists and Proprietary
Chapels in Bath, unpublished m.s., c. 1985.

Munden, Alan, Emmanuel Church, Wimbledon, unpublished notes,
1993.

Taylor, T., Holy Trinity Church (FCE), Oswaldtwistle, short
m.s. account of the history and work of the church
(unpublished), Oswaldtwistle, 1990.

CENSUS RETURNS

Spalding, 1881.

EPISCOPAL AND ARCHIDIACONAL CHARGES

FCE, RCE or REC Charges are usually included in the Year Books or the Church journals. Those printed separately include:

Church of England

Coplestone, the Right Rev. Edward, Charge at the Triennial Visitation of the Diocese of Llandaff, London, 1842.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, at triennial visitation, 1842.

Free Church of England

Convocation Charge delivered by Bishop Frank Vaughan, June 1929, Teddington, 1929.

Prospect and Retrospect - Centenary Charge delivered by Bishop Vaughan at Morecambe, 5 June 1944: Wallasey, 1944.

Sixty Years of United Witness, 1927-1987, Convocation Charge delivered by Bishop Milner at Teddington, June 1987.

Evangelical Church of England

Archdeacon's Charge on the subject of "Charity", delivered to the clergy of Preston Diocese, Christmas 1948, by Archdeacon-Emeritus P. Scott-Montague (printed leaflet, n.d.).

Reformed Church of England (Gregg)

A Charge delivered by the Right Rev. Bishop Gregg DD, the Primate of the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, (otherwise called) the Reformed Church of England, at a Visitation at Sidcup, Kent, 1 July 1879, London, 1879.

PRINTED "PROCEEDINGS" OR CHRONICLES

The Minutes, or official "Record of the Minutes", of the annual Convocations of the FCE were usually printed in the Year Books. Records of the General Synod meetings of the RCE were generally published (with varying degrees of fulness) in Gregg's journals. Later, the "Reports of the General Synod" of the REC (UK) were printed and issued under separate cover. Sometimes they were published in Work and Worship. However, in the case of all three denominations, occasional references to important Synodical or Convocational matters discussed have been traced in the Vestry Books of the major churches of the denominations.

Other chronicles consulted include:

Anglican

Extracts from:

- Anon., (ed.), The Lambeth Conferences (1867-1930)
(incl. Reports from the 1920 and 1930 Conferences),
London, 1948.
- Anon., (ed.), The Lambeth Conference, 1930, Encyclical Letter
etc., London, 1931
- Chronicles of the Convocation of Canterbury (Upper House), May
1878, February 1879.
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