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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN CANADA, 1840-1900

THE INFLUENCE OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT UPON THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL CANADA, 1840-1900

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is a predominantly narrative and descriptive account of the impact of Tractarianism within the Anglican communion in eastern and central Canada from 1840 to 1900, based largely on the investigation of widely scattered original sources. It examines connections between the Oxford Movement in England and Canada with a view to discovering similarities and differences. Special attention is devoted to those churchmen, particularly members of the episcopate, through whom the principles of the Movement were transmitted to Canada. The complex role of Tractarianism in the interaction of high and low churchmanship is assessed. The reasons for opposition to it are noted, the strongest of which was the fear that it represented a stepping stone to Roman Catholicism. Finally, cognizance is taken of Tractarian influence in major areas of the church's life and work, such as theology, church polity, pastoral concern, religious education and the formation of religious communities.

RESUME

Cette thèse est principalement un rapport de caractère descriptif et narratif, sur l'impact du Tractarianisme en milieu Anglican dans l'est et le centre du Canada, de 1840 à 1900, et elle est pour une grande part fondée sur des recherches faites dans un grand éventail de sources originales. Elle examine les rapports entre le Mouvement d'Oxford en Angleterre et au Canada afin de mettre à jour différences et analogies. Nous avons accordé une attention particulière à ces hommes d'église, en particulier aux membres de l'épiscopat, qui ont permis le passage des principes du Mouvement au Canada. Nous y évaluons le rôle important du Tractarianisme dans les relations entre les partisans du Mouvement d'Oxford et l'aile évangélique de l'Eglise. Nous y voyons les raisons de l'opposition qu'il y a rencontrée au Canada et dont la plus forte était qu'il fût la porte ouverte au Catholicisme Romain. Enfin, nous prenons connaissance de l'influence du Tractarianisme dans d'importants domaines de la vie et du travail de l'Eglise tels que la théologie, le régime de l'Eglise, les fonctions pastorales, l'éducation religieuse et la formation des communautés religieuses.

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PREFACE

"They have left their defence
to time, or rather committed it to God."¹

Nineteenth century and current writers have variously judged the results of the Oxford Movement for the Church of England in eastern and central Canada.² How far they have done so correctly is another matter.

Those contemporaries who were favourable towards the authors of the Tracts for the Times saw the main effect of their labours as being the revival of a much better understanding of the nature of the church. Writing in 1855, William Stewart Darling, assistant priest at Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, called the Tractarians "earnest, thoughtful men of learning and leisure . . . [who showed] that man can no more make . . . [a church] than he could create a world."³ The church was the Body of Christ, "One, Catholic, and Apostolic." Bishop Courtney of Nova Scotia, with the calm and perspective bestowed by time, was able at the beginning of a new century to look back at their "clear recognition of the system of the Church, as the channel through which God

¹ Tracts for the Times, Tract 82 (London: J. G. F. and J. Rivington, 1840), p. ix. (Hereinafter the Tracts are referred to according to their individual numbers. The edition used is the same throughout unless stated otherwise).

² Comprising those dioceses which sent delegates to the sixth Provincial Synod (1874), to which Fredericton and Nova Scotia were first admitted as full members, i.e., the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada at that date.

³ The Church, April 5, 1855.

ordinarily works upon the hearts and lives of men."¹

The corporate, divine nature of the church was stressed in opposition to the machinations of state power against her, and to evangelical notions concerning her as the invisible community of the faithful, religious denominations being mere man-made conveniences. In England the men of Oxford revolted against the Erastianism of their church, embodied in the Ecclesiastical Commission. In Canada John Strachan, bishop of Toronto 1839-67, attempted to maintain the position of the church in the teeth of the struggle of new "sectarian" immigrants to wrest power and privilege away from her. Moreover, the church had to defend herself against those who saw the individual's relationship to God and the emotion accompanying and attesting it as Christianity's sole aim and purpose. Bishop Charles Hamilton of Niagara noted a tendency in subjective religion to degenerate into a system of party catchwords and thought that the early nineteenth century revival of religion would have faded away had not the church observed her feasts and festivals, ministered the sacraments, while repeating her creeds and prayers which had nothing to do with party.²

Churchmen like Darling and Courtney clearly perceived that a new sense of the church's mission flowed from the Tractarians' understanding of her divine nature. Darling instanced the building of churches, an increase in the number of Canadian bishops and more church schools as examples of

¹ Journal of the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Diocesan Synod of Nova Scotia, 1900 (Halifax: Holloway Brothers, 1900), p. 76.

² Diocese of Toronto, Jubilee, 1839 to 1889. Record of Proceedings (Toronto: Rowse and Hutchison, 1890), pp. 116-23.

Tractarian influence. "The deeper the anxiety for the souls of men, the more fervent their desire to extend her [the church's] ministrations, because they believed that she was organized by the Redeemer Himself to be the instrument of applying to them the blessings of His Salvation."¹ The church had great responsibilities. She provided the channels of God's grace and the means by which individual souls could be guided into the proper paths.² How far Darling and Courtney appreciated that the writers of the Tracts diverged much in their missionary awareness is uncertain.

If Canadian high churchmen disliked any result of the Oxford Movement it was the profusion of religious animosities and party squabbings. In England the University of Oxford provided the framework for the challenge of the young, filled with deep feelings of religious mystery, to the intellectual and political predominance held by the older representatives of a calmer, more rationalistic churchmanship. Canada, however, lacked such a developed university. Where contests were institutionalized was mainly in the synods, first established in the 1850's, and in the elections to bishoprics, Huron being the first in 1857. The Tractarians' vision had been of the church, a light on the hilltop, administering "through seasons of universal excitement . . . strength and health to quiet minds,"³ but the institutional demons had been set loose.

1

The Church, April 5, 1855.

2

Journal of the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Diocesan Synod of Nova Scotia, 1900, p. 76.

3

Tract 86, p. 86.

Bishop Courtney looked to the arising of a new, wider churchmanship which would be a synthesis of the better elements of high, low and broad, to bring about the cessation of the old animosities. "Such a Churchmanship will know better than to charge a zealous Ritualist with Romanizing, to say that an equally zealous Low Churchman is no better than a Dissenter. . . ."¹ By the 1890's there were clear signs that the turmoils which marked the progress of the Oxford Movement in the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada were abating. In 1897 the Reverend Edmund Wood, rector of St. John the Evangelist Church, Montreal, an "advanced" church, had after five years in the ecclesiastical wilderness, which the English Tractarians had come to know so well, been offered a vacant canonry. The Venerable Henry Roe, late professor of divinity at Bishop's College, Lennoxville, was the Canadian correspondent of the Guardian of London, and commented: "This breaking down of party lines will do much good, and shows in a remarkable way how fast the spirit of party is dying out in the Church of Canada."²

What the critics of Tractarianism had disliked and feared most was its supposed Romanizing tendencies. It certainly could not be denied that Newman, Oakeley, Faber, Ward, and others, had entered the papist "perversion". When Archdeacon A. N. Bethune had accused The Echo of Port Hope of reviving party animosity,³ it in reply lampooned The Church's espousal of the via media as the "via appia, or way to Rome," something not to be found in God's word, but

¹ Journal of the Nineteenth (Special) Session of the Diocesan Synod of Nova Scotia, 1887 (Halifax: Hollaway Brothers, 1888), p. 50.

² Guardian, February 17, 1897.

³ The Church, December 22, 1853.

a new invention discovered by the engineers and surveyors of Oxford.¹ It asserted that in challenging its rival it was forced to waive etiquette, for many were driven away from "our truly scriptural and really Protestant Church by ministrations, in their essence Popish."²

While the church newspapers were vociferous, the church historians of the nineteenth century in Canada are curiously meagre in their treatment of the Oxford Movement. Bishop Courtney, born and educated in England, with parochial experience there and in the United States before coming to Nova Scotia, had a sufficient perspective with which to view it. However, the Canadian church historians lacked sufficient knowledge of the English background to provide any thorough estimate of the Movement's influence here. John Fennings Taylor was educated at Radley College during its first days, Oxford being only a few miles distant, but he came to Canada for the remainder of his life at the age of nineteen in 1836 before the names "Puseyite," "Tractator," "Tractite" or "Tractarian" were on people's lips, and before it was obvious that those of Newman's party were something quite different from the traditional high churchman. He also wrote his history,³ in the form of three biographies, during the confusion of the battle. The other historians of the period were of the succeeding generation and were Canadian born and educated. A. W. H. Eaton (1849-1937) was a Nova Scotian who went to Harvard University and spent many years teaching in New York.

¹ Ibid., August 3, 1854, concerning The Echo.

² The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, December 14, 1855.

³ F. Taylor, The Last Three Bishops, Appointed by the Crown for the Anglican Church of Canada (Montreal: John Lovell, 1869). (Hereinafter referred to as Last Three Bishops).

John Langtry (1834-1906) was born in Ontario and was the first graduate of Trinity College to become a clergyman, serving in Toronto diocese for the remainder of his ministry. Thomas E. Champion (1843?-1910) was a Toronto journalist.

These writers were generally well disposed towards Tractarian influence. For Taylor the earnest voices of Oxford were part of Mother England's church's legacy to her children, echoed on every shore of the British Empire.¹ He had the passions of the immigrant. It was natural that those linked in thought and blood with England should be involved in the great religious excitement of the 1840's. The evangelicals are strongly criticized for their divisiveness, their preference for independence rather than Catholicity, and while Taylor approves of due attention to the outward decencies of worship, attempting to see the favourable side of ritualism, he abominates all party excess. Bishop Fulford of Montreal is his model non-party man. Ritualism is hateful when it tries to weaken both the Bible and the victories of the Reformation. In his treatment of Mountain, Taylor states that many of the bishop of Quebec's ideas anticipated the Oxford Movement. But he goes no further in his discussion of Tractarianism. He is concerned with biography not the church on a parochial level. Many of his sources were oral and he does not wish to become involved with personalities still alive or to display partizanship.

That Victorian dislike of descending to personalities is particularly evident in John Langtry's book.² Since Langtry was a Trinity College man, a keen supporter of that institution throughout his life, one might have

¹ Ibid., pp. 32-161, passim.

² J. Langtry, History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland (London: S.P.C.K., 1892).

expected some detailed account of Bishop Cronyn's attacks upon the Romanizing tendencies of Provost Whitaker's teachings, but not a word of this. Langtry was accused by the Church Association of handing ritualistic literature to the young ladies of the Bishop Strachan School at Wyckham Hall, but in so far as his opinions reveal themselves in this book he is the typical high churchman, disliking party bickering, loathing the extreme Low churchmen of Quebec, praising the moderation of Bishop Fulford, opposed to the trend of Montreal diocese after his death, and approving of the high church tone of the diocese of Ontario set by its non-party bishop, J. T. Lewis.¹ Langtry felt himself much restrained by adhering to his brief for the Colonial Church History Series of producing a short book, regretting that "biographical illustration had, in the main, to be passed by and the bare narrative of events adhered to."² He omits doctrinal issues and the finer points of the development of spiritual life in the parishes. His approach is not thematic, but chronological, taking the ten eastern dioceses of Canada in turn. He is also painfully aware of the lack of primary records available to him, a defect not remedied before the efforts this century to establish organized diocesan archives. He notes as sources Bishops' Charges, Synod and Church Society Reports, and various diocesan histories. He does not mention the considerable journalistic enterprise of the Church of England in Canada in the nineteenth century or the vestry minutes of the parishes which would have told him something of parochial disputes. Perhaps he was aware of the difficulties of locating and using such materials. Moreover, he

¹ Ibid., pp. 188-229, passim. ² Ibid., p. v.

does not go beyond the confines of Canada, to the history of the church in England and the United States, to explain and illuminate the nature of their influence upon her. It is, therefore, little wonder that the Oxford Movement does not stand out as of great significance in his book.

Thomas E. Champion attempted to provide Canadians with a concise history of the Church of England in the country.¹ He paints a vivid, pre-Tractarian picture of the general evangelical character of the bishops and clergy; rarity of churches having more than one service on a Sunday; the use of farmhouses and barns for churches; the widespread employment of laity where the services of a clergyman could not be obtained; Holy Communion only celebrated once a month; and baptism and marriage frequently performed in private houses. But with the Oxford Movement "there are bright, hearty services in every church, early celebrations of Holy Communion, as well as mid-day celebration, are the rule, and not the exception, and the congregations are well visited, not only by the clergy, but by scores of willing workers."² Champion's before and after comparison emphasizes the importance of the Movement, but his work is no more than a lively summary, attempting to be fair, accurate and without malice.

A. W. H. Eaton was the only nineteenth century historian of the Anglican church in eastern Canada who was less than sympathetic towards the high church viewpoint. His novel, written together with C. L. Betts, Tales of a Garrison Town (1892), set in Nova Scotia, makes occasional hits at

¹ T. E. Champion, The Anglican Church in Canada (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, Co., 1898).

² Ibid., p. 18.

religious differences, high church excesses, and extremes in all sects. In his history¹ a broad church bias appears, although he deals almost completely with Loyalist times in Nova Scotia. But he does venture briefly beyond 1833. The Tractarians were to him narrow and remote in their outlook. There was much good about Bishop Binney but "he was, however, a pronounced high churchman, and with an English education, came to his diocese, not from the broadening and mellowing experience of parish life and the ministry of souls, but from a tutorship of mathematics."² He hoped that instead of relying upon authority and tradition future clergymen would mingle with those of other denominations in their education, it being on account of this that the churchmanship of the United States was broad and comprehensive. Eaton lacked the sympathy to attempt any complete study of Tractarianism in Nova Scotia.

In the present century there has been no general study of the influence of the Oxford Movement in Canada. The biographical studies commenced by C. H. Mockridge in his The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland (1896) were followed by William Bertal Heeney's Leaders of the Canadian Church (1918, 1920, 1943, various series). Among recent lives of figures influenced by Tractarianism has been John Henderson's John Strachan 1778-1867 (1969), elaborated by John Strachan: Documents and Opinions (1969). The requirements of biography have, however, excluded far-reaching excursions into the Oxford Movement. Small isolated articles and collections

¹ A. W. Eaton, The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891). (Hereinafter referred to as Nova Scotia and Tory Clergy).

² Ibid., p. 239.

of correspondence such as those by John Moir, Eugene Fairweather and John Kenyon have been illuminating, but have not been woven into an integrated fabric. The two best general histories have had little to say about Tractarianism. Philip Carrington in his The Anglican Church in Canada (1963) says that it was influential, but not how it was so. H. H. Walsh's book The Christian Church in Canada (1956) is an attempt to provide a complete history of the Canadian religious story and therefore deals only in part with Anglicanism. He suggests certain anticipations of the Oxford Movement in Canadian Anglicanism but that is as far as he goes.¹

This dissertation takes an overall view of the impact of Tractarianism upon the Church of England in eastern and central Canada, 1840-1900. It focuses its questions upon three main areas. First, it examines the Oxford Movement's part in determining the progress and relationships between complicated and fluid forms of high and low churchmanship. Second, it asks what the particular facts of the Canadian situation contributed to English-formulated ideas. Last, the thesis assesses the influence of Tractarianism upon the main branches of the church's life. Theology, church government, worship, pastoral concern, education and religious orders, in short all aspects of the Canadian Anglican tradition, fall within its compass.

¹ H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), p. 206. (Hereinafter referred to as The Christian Church).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

K	Keble College, Oxford
L	Lambeth Palace, London
NsHA	Public Archives of Nova Scotia
NsHK	King's College, Halifax
ND	Fredericton Diocesan Archives
NJ	The Mission Church, St. John, New Brunswick
NU	University of New Brunswick, Fredericton
O	Oriel College, Oxford
OKD	Ontario Diocesan Archives
OT	Central Public Library, Toronto
OTA	Public Archives of Ontario
OTD	Toronto Diocesan Archives
OTG	General Synod Archives, Toronto
OTT	Trinity College, Toronto
P	Pusey House, Oxford
QLB	Bishop's College, Lennoxville
QMD	Montreal Diocesan Archives
QMJ	St. John the Evangelist, Montreal
QQD	Quebec Diocesan Archives
S.P.G.	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London
SSJE	Society of St. John the Evangelist, Oxford

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE CANADAS AND THE MARITIMES 1833-1861

Church in Danger: Events to 1840

The conviction that the Church of England was dangerously threatened was shared by many churchmen, both in Canada and England, before the first Tracts for the Times appeared in late August 1833.

John Keble's assize sermon of the previous month illustrated the predominant mood among English high and broad churchmen.¹ They feared intensely that the church would be "trampled on and despoiled,"² crumbling away under the onslaughts of godless politicians. The Whig government's tampering with the Church of Ireland, its suppression of the ten bishoprics, was seen as clear notice of an impending more vigorous attack upon establishment at home. For those clergy who venerated the Nonjurors the emergence of a free Church of England was a much less frightening prospect than that the old partnership between church and state be not destroyed but readjusted heavily in the latter's favour. The Dissenters angered chiefly by the church rate were thought to be as dangerous in England as the Roman Catholics in Ireland.

1

Walsh, The Christian Church, p. 206, implies that Keble's sermon began the Oxford Movement. This is an incorrect understanding of Newman's Apologia via Dean Church. This point is illumined by O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part I (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970), p. 70, n. 3.

2

J. Keble, The Assize Sermon on National Apostasy, edited by R. J. E. Boggis (n.p., n.d.), p. 19.

Their alliance in Parliament against the privileged position of the church was for good churchmen visible warning of what equality before the law might lead to in religious terms.

In Canada the tenuous nature of the Church of England's claim to be the established church meant for those who advanced it battle on much less secure ground than in the mother country. The Provincial Assembly of Nova Scotia had in 1758 enacted that Anglicanism should be "the fixed form of worship amongst us,"¹ but it proved impossible to transplant the English parochial model with its communal responsibilities. In New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island church rates for church members were not legally enforceable. The 1791 Constitutional Act reserved one-seventh of the public lands of the Canadas for the support of "a Protestant clergy," an ambiguous term which dissenters were able to assert included them. If the framers of the act intended "to give the Anglican Church the prestige of establishment,"² the reality was more hollow. By 1836 only fourteen "Crown Rectories" had been created in Lower Canada and forty-four, endowed with a small portion of the clergy reserves, in Upper Canada. Among many reasons for the slow implementation of provisions made in the 1791 Act were quarrels in Canada, legal problems, uncertainty over English precedents and the difficulty of getting the Imperial Parliament to do anything quickly. English clergy might be afraid that the church would be overwhelmed by reforming legislation on the government's terms but many Canadian church leaders feared she would perish from neglect. Bishop Jacob Mountain's policy of asserting the predominance of the Church of England in a province where, as in Ireland,

1

32 George 2, c. 5 Nova Scotia. An Act for the Establishment of Religious Public Worship in This Province and for Suppressing Popery.

2

Walsh, The Christian Church, p. 135.

she was in a fiercely opposed minority position was unworkable.¹ The upgrading of the Church of Rome's status, designed partly to woo her adherents from the American cause, made him profoundly pessimistic. Although his successor, Bishop Stewart, called Anglicanism the "Religion of the State," he was silent upon the subject of establishment in his official correspondence, and he realized from 1829 onwards that the church would have to become financially self-supporting. Grants were largely dependent upon the government's estimation of their political utility. Establishment, "the brightest ornament of the British Constitution,"² had to be fought for, and John Strachan was leader in the battle.

Because the Church of England in Canada claimed an exclusive established position she was subject to the persistent opposition of other denominations, which either contended against establishment in principle or wanted it for themselves also. The uncertain nature of the relationship between church and state from the beginning meant that the church was put in danger somewhat earlier than in England. There, the Union with Ireland of 1800-01 added over five million Roman Catholics to the king's subjects, and the French Revolution's influence fostered a more radical anti-clericalism. The 1829 act for Roman Catholic emancipation and the passing of the 1832 Reform Bill widened the constitutional channels for the attack.

In the Maritimes there was a strong tendency for Anglican Loyalists who distrusted American republicanism to equate dissent with the threat of

¹ Ibid., p. 149, reference 25, provides denominational statistics for the Canadas according to the 1842 census.

² J. Strachan to T. F. Lewis, February 1, 1830. Quoted by J. L. H. Henderson, ed., John Strachan: Documents and Opinions (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p. 102. (Hereinafter referred to as Strachan: Documents).

civil and religious disorder, destructive of the bond uniting "Family Compact" government with the Church of England. Dissenters were angered by many disabilities laid upon them including, until 1834, the illegality of marriages conducted by their own ministers. But the main conflict was in the area of education. The rigid Anglicanism of the pre-1830 statutes of King's College, Windsor, was based on the principle "that in exact proportion to the influence of the establishment religion will be the immovable loyalty of the inhabitants of the province."¹ The taking of degrees was bound to the shibboleth of the Thirty-nine Articles. This policy forced the Presbyterians to open the Pictou Academy in 1808; the Baptists to found Horton Academy at Wolfville in 1828, with the aid of seceders from St. Paul's, Halifax; and encouraged the development of Dalhousie College. Edmund Burke, who was to become the first vicar apostolic of Nova Scotia in 1817, attempted to secure a college for the Roman Catholics but was blocked by the government. His attacks upon prominent Anglicans were rebutted chiefly by the Secession Presbyterian, Thomas McCulloch, enlisted for this purpose by Bishop Charles Inglis.² It was not until 1841 that St. Mary's College, Halifax, secured its charter.

The Church of England in the Canadas encountered strong rivalry in her bid for establishment. There had been progressive strengthening of the

¹ Records of King's College, Windsor, quoted in Eaton, Nova Scotia and Tory Clergy, pp. 204-05.

² T. McCulloch, Popery Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers. Being a Refutation of the Principal Popish Doctrines and Assertions Maintained in the Remarks on the Rev. Mr. Stanser's Examination of the Rev. Mr. Burke's Letter of Instruction to the Catholic Missionaries of Nova Scotia (Edinburgh: Pillano, 1808), and Popery Again Condemned by Scripture and the Fathers: Being a Reply to a Part of the Popish Doctrines and Assertions Contained in the Remarks on the Refutation (Edinburgh: Neill, 1810).

Church of Rome's position. Her claims had been carefully exerted by her leaders but she owed her advancement chiefly to the British government's policy of securing French Canadian loyalty. By 1817 Joseph Octave Plessis was the official equal of an angered Bishop Mountain, who thought in terms of a single established church and was fearful lest the Roman Catholic church should usurp that prerogative. Moreover, on the basis of the status accorded her in the 1707 Act of Union, the Church of Scotland was claiming recognition as an established church, thereby becoming eligible for a share of the clergy reserves. Although she secured grants, these were smaller than the Anglicans obtained, and so throughout the 1820's her opposition became more organized. On July 12, 1828, the Canada Committee of the House of Commons allowed the right of the Church of Scotland to a share of clergy reserve revenues, which could also be distributed to other Protestant clergy, in this foreshadowing the provisions of the 1840 Act. Such a departure from the exclusive interpretation of "a Protestant clergy," Strachan dismissed as utterly absurd.¹ The initial challenge of the Methodists, on the other hand, was not a competition for the same object but a threat to the very basis of Tory Anglicanism. Hence, it was far more serious while it lasted. The privileges of the Church of England were radically criticized as part of the platform of the reform movement. It was demanded that the clergy reserves be sold, the proceeds to be used for educational purposes, and a clear separation be made between church and state. The alliance between Egerton Ryerson and William Lyon Mackenzie was of short duration, but the endowment of the

1

J. Strachan to T. F. Lewis. Quoted in Henderson, ed., Strachan: Documents, p. 106.

rectories followed by the unwise autocracy of Francis Bond Head encouraged secret Methodist sympathy for the 1837 rebellion. For Strachan, the Methodists were "the most invidious" of all separatists.¹

This assault upon the clergy reserves coincided with a financial crisis for Canadian Anglicanism. First, there was the problem of providing adequate missionary stipends. The Whigs led by Earl Grey, who came into power at the end of 1830, favoured pruning government expenditure. They were not disposed to support an institution whose wealth, so inequitably apportioned, was under attack as a scandal. The annual grant to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was to be ended in 1834 on the basis, with respect to the Canadas, of unduly optimistic forecasts of the income from the clergy reserves. In 1833 and the following year the stipends of many missionaries were halved. In the spring of 1834, however, a compromise was reached, these now being cut by fifteen per cent initially but guaranteed for life.² Second, much money was required for the erection of churches to meet the needs of a growing population. Archdeacon George Jehoshaphat Mountain visited the Gore settlement early in 1832, finding the Anglicans, who had only one church service a month, squeezed into a house "so insufficient that some persons at first had got into the loft, intending to catch what they could of the service through the floor."³ Afterwards he preached in a schoolhouse at Vaudreuil, inadequate

¹ J. Strachan to A. Jamieson, May 13, 1848, SLB 1844-49, p. 293. Quoted in Henderson, ed., Strachan: Documents, p. 265.

² For details, see T. R. Millman, The Life of the Right Reverend, the Honourable Charles James Stewart D.D., Oxon. Second Anglican Bishop of Quebec (St. Thomas, Ontario: Sutherland Press Limited, 1953), pp. 114-15. (Hereinafter referred to as Charles James Stewart).

³ A. W. Mountain, A Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, D.D., D.C.L., Late Bishop of Quebec (Montreal: John Lovell, 1866), p. 151. (Hereinafter referred to as George Jehoshaphat Mountain).

for the needs of the congregation, whom he urged to build a church. "I was obliged to stand at one side in [sic] the desk on account of a beam in the centre with which my head interfered."¹ As compared with England, the church in Canada was poor and undeveloped.

Her financial vulnerability had become patently obvious, and the idea that she should be financially independent and govern herself through synods grew in strength. Harried by many problems, she would have to look after herself. When Bishop Jacob Mountain held a visitation of the clergy at York in July 1820 he referred to their gathering "in formal synod."² The synodical structures of the American Episcopal Church and the Episcopal Church in Scotland provided models.³ When Archdeacon Strachan in May 1831 conveyed to Bishop Stewart his long held opinions upon annual church conventions he recalled that the late Bishop Hobart of New York considered that they had increased church membership and morale. The times required such meetings. They might appear a novelty but they possessed primitive warrant. "And had the Church of England annual meetings, it would have retained much stronger hold of the population than it has at present. . . ."⁴ That summer witnessed the first effective stage of the process of establishing synods, the formation of clerical associations. The Established Clergy Association of Lower Canada

¹

Ibid., pp. 155-56.

²

P. Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada (Toronto: Collins, 1963), p. 75. (Hereinafter referred to as Anglican Church).

³

There had also been sporadic attempts to establish diocesan synods in seventeenth century England. See G. W. O. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition (London: Faber and Faber, 1941), pp. 166-67.

⁴

J. Strachan to C. J. Stewart, May 21, 1831, SLB 1827-34, p. 189. Quoted in Henderson, ed., Strachan: Documents, pp. 100-01.

was soon followed by the Missisquoi Episcopal Association and the Midland Clerical Society, among others. Their meetings provided opportunities for clergy to discuss the constitutional questions involved in future diocesan synods, although it was 1853 before a "synod," so styled by its members, met in Toronto.¹

The progress of the synodical movement, although largely determined by necessity, was founded upon distinctive Anglican principles which the struggle with "sectarianism" had served to highlight. The precarious circumstances of the Church of England in Canada forced churchmen to become more theologically minded and re-examine the nature of the church in itself. There was a deep stream of high church tradition stretching back through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from which to draw understanding, precedent and experience, although one should beware of assuming a direct influence from the past when similar contentions are advanced. Parallel political circumstances were capable of provoking the same reaction from different generations of high churchmen.²

The old-fashioned English high church school embraced Reformed theology but yet was profoundly Catholic, turning back to antiquity, to the Fathers' interpretations of Scripture. It was the product of a theological renaissance, a restoration of what was conservative and traditional to provide a firm doctrinal basis for the post-Reformation church. The writings of Richard Hooker, Launcelot Andrews, John Cosin, Thomas Jackson, Nicholas Ferrar, George Herbert, William Laud, and many more, display the great advances made in patristic scholarship, together with a new infusion of Platonic thought which

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See Millman, Charles James Stewart, pp. 122-23, for further details.

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See warning about influences on English Oxford Movement leaders in O. Chadwick, The Mind of the Oxford Movement (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1960), p. 26. (Hereinafter referred to as Oxford Movement).

fostered a sacramental view of the world. The task of the church was seen as the proclaiming of the gospel of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ and the saving activity of God in the world as signified by the sacraments. Catholic truth and dogma lay at the heart of the Prayer Book, finding outward spiritual expression in the corporate prayer of the Christian community, the liturgy. The Prayer Book was an "incomparable" creation, a work of complete beauty, the Eucharistic Office being "the crown of the liturgy."¹ Bishop Cosin of Durham (1594-1672) held to the opinion that the rubric presupposed daily communion. The Eucharist was of central importance because it represented the offering of the lives of the nation in unity with the revivifying power of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice. Reverence for the altar and holy things were all part of a changed spiritual awareness.

Yet the crises of seventeenth century politics were more than anything else responsible for shaping the opinions and prejudices of the early nineteenth century high churchman. The contest with Puritan understandings of ministry resulted in new emphasis being given to the episcopal form which was increasingly receiving its warrant from patristic study. The association of Calvinist notions with the outrage of the Civil War and the execution of the king was good reason to impugn their authenticity as part of true Anglican tradition. Reverence for the martyred Charles demonstrated the value placed by high churchmen upon the unity between church and state. The Restoration proved that bishop and king did in fact go together and revived the doctrines of divine hereditary right, non-resistance and passive obedience. It also provided an opportunity to combat "low" ideas propagated by the sects, giving, for example, as Bishop George Bull of St. David's did, more weight to good

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Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition, p. 52.

works in the doctrine of justification. The replacement of James II by William and Mary forced a band of churchmen into refusing to take the oath of allegiance, regarding their former oath as still binding. The Nonjurors had put duty to church ahead of that owed to state when the two conflicted. Both they and other high churchmen articulated the independent authority of ecclesiastical rights and privileges based upon the apostolic succession of bishops and the apostolic tradition of belief. However, the Hanoverian Succession debilitated the high church tradition and provided no encouragement for daring notions of superior claims.

The people who were high church after 1714 tended to be very conservative in their thinking. They were concerned with being faithful to the Prayer Book and its rubrics, maintaining the rules and doctrines of the church, safeguarding her against the opposition of dissenters, and supporting the establishment. The dwindling of the ideal of an equal partnership into the political realities of Erastianism might evoke protestations: Bishop Samuel Horsley of St. David's remarked in his 1790 Charge that priests were "more than mere hired servants of the State or laity."¹ Such protests, however, were spasmodic and unenthusiastic. The high church parson went quietly about his duties believing that church and state were parts of a delicate mechanism that should not be upset. The Tractarians called him "high and dry."

Characteristic marks of the tradition can be found in early nineteenth century Canada. Bishop Charles Inglis of Nova Scotia hearkened back to the Laudian ideal of "Government and Religion" as mutually dependent and co-extensive. He feared that fanatical teachers with low views of the church

¹ Quoted in J. H. Overton and F. Repton, The English Church from the Accession of George I to the End of the Eighteenth Century (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 257.

would reproduce the chaos which marked the close of Charles I's reign.¹

A much stronger assertor of the power and dignity of his rank, however, was Bishop Jacob Mountain who was tenacious of the privileges of establishment. He had owed his elevation to the patronage of the anti-evangelical bishop of Lincoln, George Pretyman, William Pitt's tutor at Cambridge, afterwards his private secretary. He shared the view that church matters were serious matters. "In the discharge of what I conceive to be my duty I am not apt to be affected by the opinions of men."²

His son George, however, belonged in spirit somewhat less to the old high church school and more to the men of the Oxford Movement who were deeply influenced by ideas connected with Romanticism. They believed that the past should be seen with fresh eyes; that God could reveal his truth in mysterious ways; and that "poetry, refinement, and goodness mattered at least as much as prose, calculation and cleverness."³ Like John Keble, George Mountain was a poet, and they appear remarkably similar in personality. Both sought a degree of detachment from ecclesiastical controversy in order to devote their energies to the pastoral mission of the church. In 1834 Mountain was comforting the cholera victims at Quebec. He felt himself "standing, as it were, upon the very verge of the world unseen," which strengthened his

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C. Inglis to W. Morice, November 26, 1811, NsHA, copies of Inglis Letters 1808-14, p. 82. Cited by J. Fingard, "Charles Inglis and his 'Primitive Bishoprick' in Nova Scotia," The Canadian Historical Review, 49, No. 3 (September, 1969), 252.

2

J. Mountain to J. Stuart, March 17, 1803, OKD. Quoted in T. R. Millman, Jacob Mountain First Lord Bishop of Quebec. A Study in Church and State 1793-1825 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 274, n. 4.

3

G. Best's introduction to R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-1845 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. xv.

determination that he should preach "the necessity of the renewal of the heart, . . . of the conviction of sin to be wrought by the influence of the Spirit, . . . and of faith in Jesus Christ. . . ." ¹ He shared with Keble, as with Newman and Pusey, a marked streak of evangelical piety, a sense of personal feeling and commitment. Both he and Keble, of the utmost gentleness of character, were un-Tractarian and old-fashioned in their dislike of public dispute, relished so much by the impetuous Hurrell Froude. They preferred quietness, sobriety and reserve.

Fennings Taylor, with Armine Mountain's memoir of his father in front of him, quite properly commented on the fact that long before 1833 ideas taking shape in Oxford minds "had engaged the serious thoughts of one who was far removed from the quickening sympathies of University life; . . . doing the work of an Evangelist in the wilds of Canada." ² The son had quoted from a letter of Bishop Mountain's written in 1842 claiming that the points made in rough notes which he had jotted down years before, in false expectation of time in which to prepare them for publication, were now being brought forward by other men. ³ Armine Mountain had found some of these memoranda preserved, which he dated between about 1822 and 1827. They show some remarkable anticipations of the Tracts for the Times.

1. Disused, or made to deviate from their original intention, which ought to be restored. Deacons, church clerk. Fasting. Saints' days. Clerical habit (Canon). Religious office for circuit of parish bounds (Homily). Sidesmen and questmen. Excommunication, &c. Daily service. Separate offices for different hours. . . . Marriage and baptism not performed in the congregation. Inconsistencies and bad effects of this deviation.
2. Corrigenda. Enclosed desks. Desks in body of church. Pews. Manner of kneeling and making responses. Private not public worship. Should

¹ See Mountain, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, p. 170, quoting his father's letter to a member of his flock.

² Taylor, Last Three Bishops, pp. 161-62.

³ Mountain, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, p. 251.

face the minister (i.e., the east end of the church), and visibly and audibly send up one voice. . . . 3. Works wanted. History of religious delusion. Familiar ecclesiastical history. Series of psalms and hymns adapted to the Sundays and Holy days. Series of sermons on Church government, ordinances, doctrines, lectures on the festivals, to be read (out of the book), brief and plain: style more familiar than in MS.¹

Fennings Taylor opined that sorrow at the church's neglect of her duties in the moral wasteland of the Protestant settlements provided the chief stimulus to George Mountain's high churchmanship. Particularly, the numerical weakness of the Canadian episcopate had suggested the necessity for more bishops as visible signs of the church's apostolic commission.² But there was also the task of defending Church of England principles in face of the competition and attacks from other denominations. Complying with a request to preach to French-speaking Methodists at St. George's Cove, Gaspé, where there was no Anglican minister, Bishop Mountain took the opportunity "to advert to the ordinances and constitution of our apostolic Church," hoping to counteract any impression that he ~~was~~ sanctioning Methodism or lay-preaching.³ Dealing with the evangelicals of his own church, he was extremely reticent about entering into controversy over disputed points. When the doctrine of "apostolic succession" was at a later date being strongly linked with popery in Quebec, he wondered if he had ever used the phrase in the pulpit, only rarely having talked about the subject at all. "The foundation and constitution of our Ministry ought to be things received as of course: unchallenged and unquestioned things: . . . and there is nothing which I recommend less than that

¹ Mountain, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, pp. 251-52.

² Taylor, Last Three Bishops, p. 162.

³ Mountain, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, p. 73. This was in 1824.

we should be forever thundering these matters in the ears of our people."¹ The faith and forms of the worship of the church were to be transmitted in their integrity and purity from generation to generation: disputes created distortions and impeded this process.

John Strachan's views on the church owed very much less to the English high church tradition than did those of Bishop Mountain. Two principal influences appear. First, there was that of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, for, as a boy, Strachan was taken by his father to St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel in the Gallowgate, Aberdeen, where he heard Bishop Skinner preach.² Second, there was the example of the strong, independent churchmanship of the Episcopalians in New York State, which had developed as a result of the need to find a new sense of purpose and means of support after the severance of ties with England. Its prime mover and representative figure was Bishop Hobart who knew many of the future Tractarians and was well regarded by them. His writings were characterized by attention to "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order," the Gospel being mediated through the church and her sacraments. The Hobartian churchman adhered "to the faith, the ministry, and worship which distinguished the apostolic and primitive church, and particularly to the constitution of the Christian ministry under its three orders of bishops, priests and deacons."³ The church's authority, not having been given by men

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G. J. Mountain, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec at the Triennial Visitation Held in the Cathedral Church of Quebec on the 11th. January, 1854 (Quebec: T. Cary, 1854), p. 16.

2

A. N. Bethune, Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan, D.D., LL.D., First Bishop of Toronto (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1870), p. 2. (Hereinafter referred to as Memoir of John Strachan).

3

J. H. Hobart, 1819 Charge, The Principles of the Churchman Stated and Explained. Quoted in J. T. Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789-1931 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 100. (Hereinafter referred to as Episcopal Church in United States).

but resting upon apostolic succession, was in no respect dependent upon a state connection. Hobart had been intransigent and uncooperative with those outside his church.

In his efforts to maintain the Anglican cause in Upper Canada, John Strachan drew much comfort from the existence of the episcopal churches in Scotland and the United States which, deprived of state support, held their own through adherence to primitive doctrine and discipline. His Letter to the Rev. Thomas Chalmers on the Life and Character of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Hobart of 1832 was full of praise for the late bishop whom he had first met in New York in 1816. Hobart won Strachan's admiration as a fine battler for apostolic truth, never falling "into that Laodicean neutrality... ."¹ He had demonstrated the independence of the church from outward circumstance and the suitability of its ministrations to all nations.² Strachan's only disagreement with him was over the question of establishment, much opposed by Hobart after a visit to England. Hobart's American upbringing had made it difficult for him to appreciate the many benefits of an established church.³ It was astonishing to lay "the axe to the root of the tree which has hitherto produced the fruits of righteousness. . . ."⁴ Strachan was very much the old-fashioned high churchman in his firmness for the principle of establishment.

It is usual to make a clear distinction between the high and low wings

¹ J. Strachan, A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Chalmers on the Life and Character of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Hobart (New York: Swords, Stamford and Co., 1832), p. 24.

² Ibid., p. 20.

³ Ibid., p. 43.

⁴ Ibid., p. 42.

of the Church of England in Canada at this period.¹ Strachan's viewpoint is set against that of the evangelicals who believed in private judgment in their reading of scripture; a personal, deeply-felt relationship with God based upon conversion; justification by faith alone; and the church as a convenient human institution, certainly not the sole guardian of religious truth. However, the 1830's witnessed relatively amicable relations between different types of churchmen. Strachan had found low churchmanship an always incurable "malady,"² but he was not "the exclusive spokesman for his own denomination."³ Despite one quotation, from Strachan, John Kenyon acknowledges the difficulty of ascertaining the opinions of the rank and file of the clergy in Upper Canada at this time from the biographical details available.⁴

According to an editorial of the Reverend Alexander Neil Bethune⁵ in

¹ J. Kenyon, "The Influence of the Oxford Movement upon the Church of England in Upper Canada," Ontario History, 51, No. 2 (Spring 1959), 79-92. (Hereinafter referred to as "Oxford Movement in Upper Canada"). See also Walsh, The Christian Church, p. 207.

² J. Strachan to H. Patton, April 26, 1854, SLB 1854-62. Quoted in J. L. H. Henderson, "John Strachan as Bishop, 1839-1867" (unpublished D.D. dissertation, General Synod of Canada, 1955), p. 254, n. 72. (Hereinafter referred to as "John Strachan as Bishop").

³ Kenyon, "Oxford Movement in Upper Canada," p. 79.

⁴ Ibid., p. 82, citing Strachan's remark in 1836 to the archbishop of Dublin about the very pronounced evangelical nature (except in one case) of Irish clergy in Canada. Quoted in S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 122. In 1840, of the ninety clergy in the Canadas, approximately one-third was Irish. Strachan's exception was probably the Reverend Edward Denroche (1803-65), missionary at Brockville. But, Arthur Palmer (1807-81), incumbent at Guelph, also a Trinity College, Dublin, graduate, was certainly not a low churchman.

⁵ Rector of Cobourg, Ontario, 1827-67; archdeacon of Toronto 1847-67; bishop of Toronto 1867-79.

The Church of July 29, 1839, a month before the Tracts for the Times received their first comment in that newspaper:¹

It has been frequently asserted in England and in this Colony, that the Apostolical Commission is a tenet confined to what is usually designated the High-Church Party, and repudiated by their Evangelical, or Low-Church, Brethren. That such might in some degree have been the case a few years ago, we are not altogether prepared to deny; but to say that it is the case at present, we have no hesitation in asserting to be incorrect. The distance between these two religious divisions is rapidly diminishing, and the line of demarcation between them has grown so faint as to be barely visible. The High-Church are becoming more Evangelical and the Evangelical, more High-Church. The alarming strides which schism has been making of late, has driven good men, of all shades of opinion within the Establishment, to study the question of Church-government more attentively, and the result has been on the part of the clergy, a more open and decided profession of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and a bolder exposition of it in their pulpits and publications.

In Canada, as in England, the fear of dissent in the mid-1830's resulted in a trend towards a more active vocal high churchmanship, and a unity in the church especially remarkable when viewed in the knowledge of later highly organized party warfare. For the time being, evangelicals turned away from active co-operation with "schism." The problems of money, shortage of clergy,² uncertain status, and all the difficulties of missionary work, were further factors in bringing the church together. Moreover, the life and example of Bishop Stewart served to smooth out differences and gain respect for the evangelical tradition from those outside it. While he possessed the zeal of the evangelical, he disliked the idea of party attachment, standing "in the great central Anglican stream of tradition, although he seemed to hark back to

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The Church, a weekly paper, commenced its career on May 6, 1837, and ended it on July 25, 1856. It displayed remarkable longevity for a church newspaper. For its first four years it was edited by A. N. Bethune, who was also the occasional editor after the subsequent two year editorship of John Kent of Upper Canada College. It stood firmly for Anglican privileges and principles in Upper Canada.

2

Eighty-five in the diocese of Quebec in October 1836. See Mountain, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, p. 187.

the seventeenth rather than the eighteenth century."¹ He probably knew something of the early Tracts, but was removed from them in spirit.

The pre-Tractarian church in Canada was, therefore, looking inwards and taking stock of her own distinctive principles. H. H. Walsh judged that "the Anglican Church in the Canadas and the Maritimes in its prolonged contest with the sectarian movement had to some extent anticipated the tractarian or Oxford movement."² In particular circumstances striking parallels have been observed. Taken as a whole, however, Walsh's statement is open to question. The main thrust of the Oxford Movement was in one direction, that of Canadian high churchmanship in another. It was a matter of differing aims and purposes. Tractarianism began as a clerical defence of the spiritual powers of the church, in reaction against her subjugation to the state. Catholic truth was to be upheld "against the pressure of the age," chiefly Erastianism and liberalism.³ Keble, Hurrell Froude, Pusey and Newman, in contrast to William Palmer of Worcester College, and Hugh James Rose, editor of the British Magazine, were ready for disestablishment. They were more concerned with religion than politics, with informing clergy and people about those aspects of Anglican worship and order which were neglected or misunderstood. If it were necessary to secede from the establishment in order to safeguard principle, this should be done without attention to consequences of a worldly kind. The union between church and state Keble and Newman saw as part of the sinful order, a mean pale thing, compared with apostolic authority. In Canada, on the other hand, high churchmen were not attacking Erastianism, but fighting to attain for their church the status of a state-supported religious establishment. Even when the

¹ Millman, Charles James Stewart, p. 170.

² Walsh, The Christian Church, p. 206.

³ Tract 82, p. ix.

exclusive claim of the Church of England to the proceeds of the clergy reserves was lost during the 1830's, the principle of establishment still remained to be upheld against its enemies.

The Deep Fear of Rome: The 1840's and Early 1850's

When the Tracts began to receive serious attention in Canada during the 1840's the church was still dependent upon her connections with England and hoping to preserve and constitutionalize her privileges by gaining recognition as the state church. But in 1861, the first synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada, comprising the dioceses of Quebec, Toronto, Montreal, Huron and Ontario, met under the chairmanship of the new metropolitan, Bishop Fulford of Montreal.¹ The church was now autonomous, in full communion with the mother church, but dependent no longer upon Whitehall or Lambeth. She could enact the canons and constitutions for her own government. Bishop Bethune, elected coadjutor to Strachan, was consecrated at St. James Cathedral, Toronto, in January 1867, without "letters patent" and "mandamus" from the Crown, these having been deemed unnecessary by the English Colonial Secretary. The achievement of autonomy had not by itself ruled out the establishment principle but it did accompany its passing. The vision of the imperial church had melted away, the struggle for establishment had failed. The secularization of King's College, Toronto, in 1850, and of the clergy reserves in 1854, were famous lost battles on the way. The influence of the Oxford Movement in Canada was in relation to these momentous changes for the church. It provoked action and reaction.

In 1840, however, the Church of England in Canada still considered

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Bishop of Montreal 1850-68; metropolitan bishop of the Church of England in Canada 1860-68.

herself to be seriously threatened by dissenters. The Clergy Reserves Act of 1839-40¹ had treated her better than the other churches, although her exclusive claim upon the reserves was denied and the concept of a dual Protestant establishment, Anglican and Church of Scotland, strengthened. She obtained more than her fair share on a per capita basis over other denominations² which, apart from the Church of Scotland, were kept waiting until a satisfactory surplus appeared. Egerton Ryerson favoured taking money from the reserve funds for educational purposes; British Wesleyans disapproved, upholding the sole established position of the Church of England in the colonies. Canadian Anglicans lamented that Wesleyans in the colony did not show the same support for the national church as their English brethren.³ They could not be trusted. The Christian Guardian considered this attitude as part of the hardening of Anglicanism due to the Tracts. "Nothing is more evident than that the Episcopalian Church in Canada is Pusseyistic in its spirit, pretensions, and unceasing enmity to all other churches, more especially to the Wesleyan Methodist Church."⁴

Continuing Anglican antagonism to the 1840 settlement was one reason for their suspicion towards the Roman Catholics. Strachan was sure that it was their votes which had carried Hervey Price's resolutions for appropriation

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3 and 4 Vic., c. 78. An Act to Provide for the Sale of the Clergy Reserves in the Province of Canada, and for the Distribution of the Proceeds Thereof.

²
A. Wilson, The Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada. A Canadian Mortmain (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 159, 197. (Hereinafter referred to as Clergy Reserves).

³
E.g., The Church, January 27, 1838.

⁴
Christian Guardian, December 14, 1842. Quoted in Henderson "John Strachan as Bishop," p. 232, n. 1.

of clergy reserve revenues through the Assembly in 1850.¹ The clergy reserves issue, however, will not explain that deep fear of popery by Anglicans of varying churchmanship, so much a feature of the period. An understanding of anti-Roman feeling goes far towards explaining that intense dislike of elements in the Tracts which were regarded as tending towards popery, by those generally favourable towards them, and the complete repudiation of Tractarianism by those unable to perceive any merit in it whatsoever, especially in light of the exodus Romewards.

Officially, relations between the Anglican and Roman hierarchies in Canada were good. Bishop Alexander Macdonnell, a judicious man of conservative outlook, was Strachan's friend supporting his efforts to become bishop.² Charles Stewart and George Mountain desired to live peaceably with other denominations.³ This did not mean, however, that they were warmly disposed towards Roman Catholicism as a church system. Mountain believed her to be in error, "decidedly corrupt and superstitious in doctrine and worship,"⁴ although he judged some of her usages preferable to those of the Church of England. Strachan warned his clergy against thinking that Rome had changed character: "the Roman Church never sleeps. . . ." She had used the good opinions held of her to gain equality with the Church of England and was now manoeuvring towards an ascendancy. "And among professing Protestants she finds numerous and powerful allies, while the Church of England has had the

¹ Wilson, Clergy Reserves, p. 207.

² J. L. H. Henderson, John Strachan 1778-1867 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 58. (Hereinafter referred to as John Strachan).

³ Millman, Charles James Stewart, p. 168; Mountain, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, p. 427.

⁴ Ibid., p. 154.

mortification of finding many false brethren without her own bosom."¹

Roman Catholicism corrupted, deformed and divided everything with which it came into contact. In the body politic it was likened to a creeping disease, contracted when Roman Catholic emancipation was granted in England to avert civil war in Ireland. The Church challenged: "Who will be hardy enough to affirm that, within the last ten years, since Popery was permitted to intrude its hydra-head into the Imperial Legislature, the British Empire has been prosperous?" . . . "² To look at Roman Catholic rites, the public display of which was resented, was to risk infection. Before St. Michael's Cathedral in Toronto was dedicated on September 29, 1848, The Church warned: "No Churchman can be present at the approaching ceremonial--without sin. . . ." "³ The cathedral was a mass-house, a meeting-house, or a conventicle; not a real church."⁴ When Roman Catholics claimed that the logical end of the Oxford Movement was Rome, this was considered divisive. They meddled in Church of England affairs, "but they keep on the safe side" with her "and sun themselves whenever practicable in her political influence."⁵

¹ J. Strachan, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto at the Visitation in June 1847 (Toronto: Diocesan Press, 1847), p. 32.

² The Church, November 2, 1839. ³ Ibid., September 21, 1848.

⁴ Ibid., September 21, 1848, letter, "W. S. D.," [the Reverend W. S. Darling], to Editor.

⁵ Church Times [of Halifax], March 21, 1851. This was in opposition to the Pastoral Letter of Bishop William Walsh, Roman Catholic bishop of Halifax. This paper first appeared July 14, 1848, terminating January 9, 1858. Its Hobartian motto was "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order," being comprehensive and moderate in tone. It had episcopal support.

All Anglicans found the Roman Catholic church doctrinally deficient. The evangelicals directly opposed their religion of the heart, of justification by faith, to one of legalistic outward observance. The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder rebuked The Church's unease about a sale of work held on a Friday, with buffet table, thereby offending against a fast day, as falling into the "Roman dogma of the identity of the laws of the church and the laws of Christ. . . ." ¹ Hibbert Binney, bishop of Nova Scotia 1851-87, though very much influenced by Tractarianism, criticized Roman Catholics in the same terms. Legalism was the source of such corruptions as the doctrines of penance, indulgences and purgatory; the Reformation having primarily restored the doctrine of justification by faith alone. "The sinner must . . . be urged to have recourse to the only purifying fountain: the blood of Christ applied by faith to the soul is the only remedy for its disease."² Those joining the Roman Catholic church "are deceived by a shadow" for she possessed only the semblance of Catholicity, which the Anglican church had kept fully in doctrine and discipline.³ Binney suspected that her Mariolatry had gone so far that

¹ The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, July 18, 1856. This paper, extending from 1851-67, expressed the evangelical viewpoint of its founder and editor, the Reverend Jonathan Shortt, rector at Port Hope, C.W. Shortt was a loyal Prayer Book churchman who stood strongly for the rites of the church and believed that evangelical Anglicanism was the norm. Tractarianism was a disloyal and dangerous deviation. His high view of the ideal evangelical church marks him as something other than a low churchman.

² H. Binney, A Charge Delivered at the Visitation Held in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on the 11th. Day of October, 1854 (Halifax: William Gossip, 1854), p. 19. (Hereinafter referred to as Charge, 1854). The best collection of Bishop Binney's charges is in NSHK.

³ Ibid., p. 26.

"she may be now at length entirely withered."¹ John Medley, bishop of Fredericton 1845-92, upbraided the Church of Rome for denying the validity of Anglican baptism, orders and faith; treating members of the Church of England as "heathens."² She was not infallible, and St. Peter had not suggested she would be.³ The Churchman's Friend raised one of the few charitable and optimistic voices about the prospects for the Roman Catholic church during the 1850's. "The vital truths of Christ in His Church" had not been destroyed, and served as the basis of "our one great hope of her future regeneration."⁴

In Lower Canada where the Roman Catholics were in a large majority and represented an alien culture Anglican fears ran especially deep. The Berean of Quebec, edited by the Reverend C. L. F. Haensel, a Church of England clergyman and schoolmaster, an ex-Lutheran of German birth, was strongly

¹ H. Binney, A Charge Delivered at the Visitation Held in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul at Halifax, on the 20th Day of October, 1858 (Halifax: William Gossip, 1859), p. 34, footnote. (Hereinafter referred to as Charge, 1858). Such attacks brought Bishop Binney a bad Roman Catholic press. See for example, The Halifax Catholic of May 13 and 20, 1854.

² J. Medley, A Charge Delivered in the Cathedral, Fredericton, on Thursday, September 1, 1859, to the Clergy of the Diocese, and Published at Their Request by John, Bishop of Fredericton (Saint John, New Brunswick: Barnes and Company, 1859), p. 29. The best collection of his charges is in NU.

³ Ibid., p. 34, on 2 Peter 3:2.

⁴ The Churchman's Friend, June 1856. This was a monthly church magazine produced first in Paris, C.W., and then Windsor, C.W. "It was a high church publication for the very purpose of explaining and defending true Church principles," (Editorial, February 1856), and it crossed swords with The Echo. Almost certainly its editors were the Reverend Adam Townley of Paris and the Reverend Edward Dewar of Windsor.

anti-Tractarian in its sympathies, eager to "advocate the pure reformed doctrine of the Church of England."¹ The paper reflected apprehension at the suspected Romanizing trends in the Church of England and anxiety as to whether the secessions to Rome would be numerous enough to split the church apart. The Berean's fear of popery in the diocese of Quebec provided its perspective. It regarded a forthcoming Corpus Christi Day procession as a "profanation," and a "grievance."² If the early indications of the policies of the new pope, Pius IX, suggested a degree of enlightenment, it was possible this was "one of the devices of the powers of darkness." He had arrogantly assumed "the honour which belongs to God alone."³ Churchmen must be vigilant about popish infiltration. For its younger readers, the Berean provided cautionary tales.⁴ Bishop Mountain feared the effects of doctrinal errors on his own flock. In an 1855 sermon, he desired to settle the truth about "an extraordinary and monstrous dogma," the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, "since . . . we do live in a Roman Catholic country," and the dogma in question is ventilated on all sides of us every day. . . ."⁵

¹ Berean, April 4, 1844. It was published in Quebec April 4, 1844, to March 22, 1849, and then briefly in St. Johns, C.E., late 1849 to early summer 1850.

² Ibid., June 3, 1847. ³ Ibid., September 24, 1846.

⁴ Ibid., October 29, 1846, gave an extract from Charles B. Taylor, Margaret, or The Pearl. Margaret, to the horror of her clerical godfather, was becoming enmeshed in the snares of popery by her rector and his wife, Lady Selina, who had her embroidering an altar cloth based on an illustration from a Roman Missal.

⁵ G. J. Mountain, The Spiritual Improvement of the Annual Observances of the Church in Their Series. A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Quebec on the 5th Sunday in Lent, Co-inciding upon the Occasion with the Festival of the Annunciation, 1855 (Quebec: Lovell and Lamoureux, 1855), p. 15.

Anti-Catholic prejudices were sharpened by the Puritan tradition of the United States and by the marked anti-Roman propensities of American Episcopalians, not least of the high church school, represented by Bishop Jackson Kemper.¹ Moreover, although there were Anglicans among nineteenth century Irish immigrants to Canada, the great majority were Roman Catholic.² Although some Irishmen were at the top of the social ladder,³ the bulk were humble, working poor. Thus there was an equation formed in the public mind between poverty, Roman Catholicism, and disease; for they brought typhus and cholera with them.⁴

Events in England heightened fears of popery during the 1840's and early 1850's. Tractarianism, or Puseyism, was considered by most churchmen at the beginning of this period to be displaying pronounced Romeward tendencies. The first sixty-six Tracts were "skirmishing and musketry"⁵ to arouse attention to old-fashioned high church doctrines, largely forgotten, and reapply them in new times. They were short, directed to current crises. The source of the church's authority, apostolical descent, should be understood in case disestablishment occurred.⁶ A revival of church worship, more frequent

1

Addison, Episcopal Church in United States, p. 157.

2

J. I. Cooper, "Irish Immigration and the Canadian Church Before the Middle of the 19th Century," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, 2, No. 3 (May 1955), 13.

3

Ibid., pp. 6, 8, where examples are given of eminent Irishmen, such as Timothy Anglin, Francis Hincks and Robert Baldwin.

4

Ibid., p. 4.

5

R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-1845 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1891), p. 119.

6

Tract 1.

communion,¹ saying the daily offices publicly,² would bring back those lost to the "ashes" of "sectarianism."³ Attempts being made to have Parliament alter the Book of Common Prayer were to be resisted since criticism of it would become habitual, the liturgy stripped bare.⁴ Theologically, the early Tracts lacked weight. Those after the autumn of 1835 were more substantial, particularly Pusey's tracts on baptism, Isaac Williams' on "Reserve," and Newman's Tract XC. However, although contemporaries thought of the men of Oxford in terms of their Tracts, the mind of the Movement is better indicated by those writings less directed to the heat and needs of particular moments.⁵

In anti-Roman polemic the first eighty-nine Tracts did not cover new ground but there was approval enough of things popish to trouble the nervous. In its literal sense the Tridentine decree on Purgatory was acceptable.⁶ The Breviary was suitable for Anglican private devotions.⁷ Newman's embryonic theory of historical development suggested that pre-Reformation times might have brought progress.⁸ However, in March 1838, the first two volumes of Hurrell Froude's Remains had been published.⁹ His self-mortification seemed to some monastic, very un-Anglican. When he attacked the Reformation as

1. Ibid., 26. 2. Ibid., 25.

3. Advertisement, iv, for Volume 1, 1833-34, of the Tracts.

4. Tract 3.

5. Chadwick, Oxford Movement, pp. 52-53, states that the Tracts are not the writings most indicative of the mind of the Movement. In his selection of the works of the Tractarians he makes a special point of including their poetry.

6. Tract 79.

7. Ibid., 75. 8. Ibid., 38.

9. Hurrell Froude had died on February 28, 1836. Newman was his literary executor.

Erastian, "a limb badly set,"¹ this sharpened suspicions that Tractarians desired to overthrow what martyrs had won. Above all, Newman's attempt in Tract XC of February 27, 1841, to uphold the Thirty-nine Articles against Bishop Stanley of Norwich's assertion that they were Calvinistic, provoked horrified reactions. He aimed at demonstrating their capacity for being interpreted in a Catholic sense accordant with the primitive church, rather than in the manner intended by those who framed them, so that Catholics need not hesitate to subscribe to them. Newman was popularly understood to be attempting to reconcile the position of the Church of England with that of the Church of Rome while disparaging the Reformation. But, there was a crucial principle of the Oxford divines involved; the ancient church, not the Reformers, was the ultimate criterion of judgment in church matters. Old-fashioned high churchmen could not accept this. Archbishop Howley requested that the Tracts cease; the bishops condemned Tract XC in their charges. It is indicative of the higher more advanced churchmanship of the American episcopate, untrammelled by a state connection, that Bishops Brownell of Connecticut and De Lancey of Western New York praised it.² Except for a few evangelicals, the English episcopal bench was Erastian and theologically unsure of itself in attempting to cope with Tractarianism.³ In Canada the bishops regarded the tract as part of an alarming deviation Romewards but offered no profound or detailed critique.

1

R. H. Froude, Remains of the Late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude (2 volumes; London: J. G. and F. Rivington, 1838), 1, 433.

2

Addison, Episcopal Church in United States, p. 157.

3

D. Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church. A Study of the Church of England 1833-1889 (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968), p. 52. (Hereinafter referred to as The Idea of the Victorian Church).

The year 1841 witnessed the beginning of a disastrous chain of events for Tractarianism. It was agreed between England and Prussia in the autumn that Michael Solomon Alexander should be consecrated as joint Protestant bishop in Jerusalem. The novelty and political intent of the arrangement helped destroy Newman's faith in English bishops. He soon retired to Littlemore to live an ascetic life, leaving the movement leaderless, and permitting the emergence of a radical Romanizing wing under the leadership of Frederick Oakeley and William George Ward, fellows of Balliol. Their despising of the Reformation and idealising of Rome upset Pusey, while forcing moderate high churchmen to withdraw their support. The conversion to Roman Catholicism of the Reverend Richard Sibthorpe in October had been disquieting.¹ At Oxford the Tractarians and their foes launched into full-scale warfare, compounded uniquely of a bitter mixture of academic, political and clerical animosities. They fought over the professorship of poetry; the earlier censuring of Dr. Hampden, the latitudinarian regius professor of divinity; Pusey's eucharistic teaching; the awarding of a degree to the Unitarian American ambassador; and over the succession of the new vice-chancellor, this being a heavy defeat for the Tractarian party.² The climax was Convocation's condemnation of W. G. Ward's The Ideal of a Christian Church, followed by its removal of his degrees in February 1845.

Shortly before, the House of Bishops in the United States had scrutinized the teaching at the General Theological Seminary, particularly that of its Tractarian church history professor, the Reverend John D. Ogilby, but

1

Ex-fellow of Magdalen, he was the first priest of importance to secede.

2

The evangelical Dr. B. P. Symons, warden of Wadham, was upheld as vice-chancellor by 882 to 183 votes.

issued no condemnation. But 1845 was the year in which seven of its students and newly ordained priests, together with six students from Nashotah House, followed Ward, Newman and F. W. Faber, the hymn writer, into the Church of Rome. The American exodus, however, was much smaller than the English.¹

Another wave of secessions in England was occasioned by the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on March 9, 1850, that the Reverend G. C. Gorham, who maintained the evangelical belief that infant baptism did not bring unconditional regeneration, had not contradicted the Church of England's position on baptism. Tractarians found this an abuse of state power, striking at Christ's commission to the church, and bankrupting her authority. Subsequent converts to Rome included Viscount Feilding, T. W. Allies, Henry Wilberforce, and Henry Manning. Yet Pusey, Keble, James Mozley (fellow of Magdalen, later regius professor of divinity) and Charles Marriott, editor of the Library of the Fathers, were among first-generation Tractarians who remained firmly members of the Church of England. In Canada, the secessions were greeted with horror, but the example not followed. The Reverend Edmund Maturin, curate of St. Paul's, Halifax, made an isolated pilgrimage into the Roman Catholic fold and back again, chronicled in the Halifax Church Record;² yet he did not secede until October 1858.

In 1850 the crisis of "Papal Aggression" made things worse for the Tractarians. On September 29, the pope issued a brief establishing thirteen

1

See Addison, Episcopal Church in United States, p. 161.

2

Church Record ran from January 6, 1859, until December 31, 1864, (probably for a few months after that, though copies do not survive). Its editor for at least two years was the Reverend R. H. Bullock, a Tractarian, but he chose the path of discretion, the editorial voice remaining silent during the first half of the newspaper's career. Bishop Binney supported it, and ended up financing it.

English Roman Catholic sees, including that of Westminster, whose new cardinal archbishop, Dr. Wiseman, was speaking of the return of the Church of England to Rome. Newman had asserted that this was the direction the Oxford Movement was logically heading in his Lectures on Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Submitting to the Catholic Church. In popular prejudice, anti-Puseyism became increasingly joined to anti-popery. Ritual usages which were conceived by Tractarians as an endeavour to express Catholic truth in worship, or attempts to encourage devotion through beauty as members of ecclesiological societies did, were the more furiously attacked. The problem of deciding what ritual the Prayer Book forbade or enjoined had caused the bishops of London and Exeter trouble over preaching in the surplice and the weekly offertory in the early 1840's. Papal Aggression stirred up mob irreverence against suspected Roman paraphernalia and customs. Riots forced the Reverend W. J. E. Bennett, vicar of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, to resign at the end of 1850. Some people thought that the ritualists within were more serious a danger than the pope without. In the decade following the Papal Aggression, ritual conflict became focused on eucharistic worship. Archdeacon G. A. Denison's assertion of the Sacrament's efficacy being independent of faith was part of a general heightening of eucharistic theology by Tractarians which, when made visible in the parishes by strong-willed young Anglo-Catholics in the form of chasubles and altar lights, raised the cry of popery and demands for discipline. In Canada, the whole matter was fully discussed at the Provincial Synod of 1868, and must be seen in relation to the church's new autonomy.

Canadian Anglicans had reacted strongly against Papal Aggression in England. The Berean had already criticized the design of the Young England

party to remove remaining Roman Catholic disabilities.¹ The Church declared that the object of the restoration of the hierarchy was to "enforce all the penalties of the Canons of the Church of Rome against all Heretics and Schismatics even to the death."² In subsequent issues it connected Tractarianism with a Roman Catholic plot hatched at a secret conclave at Chieri in 1824, overheard by the 'abbate' Leone, hiding in a cupboard, and later revealed by him.³ The first step was an assault upon civil rights in all Protestant countries. Second, "wolves in sheep's clothing were to enter our Catholic fold. Our universities were invaded, and one of the earliest fruits of the Jesuits' labours there were the Tracts for the Times, which emanated from Oxford, and did so much to unsettle the minds of many."⁴ Third, there was to be an alliance between Jesuitism and popery on the one hand, and the state on the other, to establish theocracy.⁵ Having thoroughly scared its readers, The Church thought that Canadian Anglicans should rally round the mother church. "At home the members of our Church are everywhere striving and petitioning the Throne and Legislature upon the subject. But whilst witnessing their activity, may we not well ask, 'Why stand ye idle here?'"⁶

With the abatement of the fury of the party warfare of the early 1850's, the fact that the church did not crumble, the acceptance of the loss of the reserves, and the failure of the bid for an establishment, the causes for Anglican hatred of Rome temporarily subsided. Medley thanked God that "the spirit of intolerance has somewhat died out among men, and their convictions

¹ Berean, June, 17, 1847.

² The Church, December 19, 1850.

³ Ibid., December 26, 1850.

⁴ Ibid., January 2, 1851.

⁵ Ibid., January 9, 1851.

⁶ Ibid., January 16, 1851.

partake of a spirit of charity. . . . They can believe that Christ loves the soul of a Papist as dearly as he loves the soul of a Protestant. . . ."¹

Both the Church of Rome and the Church of England in Canada had their immediate energies turned to questions of church organization, the provision of satisfactory administrative machinery to meet church needs in an era of great constitutional change on the political front.

Self-Government: The Drawing Together of the Church 1851-61

After an Imperial enabling act, the Assembly of the Canadas on November 23, 1854, passed the Macdonald-Morin ministry's Clergy Reserves Secularization Act, although the recognition of existing vested interests hardly constituted a radical secularization. J. A. Macdonald's Toryism in a new era of responsible government had turned away from supporting special church privilege to the principle of denominational equality founded upon the separation between church and state. As Sir Robert Peel had demonstrated in England,² so in Canada Toryism and the interests of high churchmen were no longer synonymous, although Macdonald, a Presbyterian, was to become an Anglican communicant at the "advanced" church of St. Alban's, Ottawa, in the 1870's.³ Strachan, aided by Bishop Mountain who was in England during the early part of 1853,⁴ fought for the reserves to the end. The conciliatory Fulford in

1

J. Medley, A Charge Delivered in Christ-Church Cathedral, Fredericton, September 13, 1865, at the Triennial Visitation, by John, Bishop of Fredericton (Saint John, New Brunswick: William M. Wright, 1865), p. 17. (Hereinafter referred to as Charge, 1865).

2

Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part 1, pp. 222-31.

3

A. L. Davidson, Annals of the Parish of S. Alban the Martyr Ottawa, (Ottawa: private printing, 1942), p. 14.

4

Mountain, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, pp. 303-17.

Montreal had already concluded that the church stood to gain more by accepting her position as "one of many religious bodies"¹ rather than diverting her energies from the quest of self-government by fighting for dubious privilege. His viewpoint was similar to that of the English Tractarian, W. E. Gladstone, who was active in promoting bills during 1852 and 1853 to allow colonial churches liberty to manage their own affairs, in tune with the anti-Erastianism of the Oxford Movement, and regretfully declined to support Strachan on the reserves question.² He stuck by the liberal principle that the issue was a domestic one, given the introduction of responsible government. His later approach to Irish disestablishment showed him to be unfriendly towards the concept of a minority church seeking a degree of establishment against the wishes of the majority, attempting to defend the indefensible, and therefore endangering the church's mission.³

The granting of authority for the reserves settlement illustrated Colonial Office thinking. Canadians were to manage their own concerns, thereby helping to reduce the unnecessary costs of Empire. Abrasive, middle-class, free-trade economics exposed Canada to world competition, so Canadian progress towards self-government received English aid as a just cause. Thus the change in the English attitude towards the colonial churches was part of a more general metamorphosis. Constitutionally minded crown lawyers of the nineteenth century, unsympathetic to the concept of an imperial church

1

F. Fulford, Primary Charge, January 20, 1852. Quoted in Taylor, Last Three Bishops, p. 56.

2

Henderson, John Strachan, p. 83.

3

Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part 2, pp. 430-31.

established by royal prerogative, opposed the propriety of creating ecclesiastical jurisdictions where representative institutions already existed.¹ The letters patent of a colonial bishop were becoming of increasingly dubious worth when, in 1865, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the dispute between the bishops of Capetown and Natal judged them to convey no powers of "coercive jurisdiction" at all.

That "Tractarian patriarch," Bishop Medley, in his Charge of the same year doubted very much whether the Imperial Parliament would be of any further help in settling questions of ecclesiastical titles or church government: "My strong conviction is that reliance on English lawyers and statesmen is resting on a broken reed. . . ."² His English contacts made him realize that there was little knowledge or care about "our place, our woefulness, our feelings, and our interests; . . ."³ In colonial "sees" they were little ships.⁴ Medley's response was a call for a more independent spirit on the part of the Church of England in New Brunswick. "We are not children," he declared, attempting to diminish his diocese's reliance upon S.P.G. monies.⁵ Unlike Strachan, Mountain or Bethune, he had long queried

1

See Millman, Jacob Mountain, pp. 287-88.

2

J. Medley, Charge, 1865, pp. 20-21.

3

Ibid., p. 7.

4

J. Medley, Other Little Ships, sermon preached in Exeter Cathedral, 1878, on August 13 (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, n.d.), p. 7.

5

J. Medley, A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese, by John, Bishop of Fredericton At His Third Triennial Visitation Held in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, 1853 (Fredericton: J. Simpson, 1853), p. 19. (Hereinafter referred to as Charge, 1853).

the benefit to the church of establishment at home,¹ and perceived that the claim of the Church of England in Canada to be established by statute was meaningless if she received no state financial support (as in New Brunswick), if English statemen asserted that she was not established, or if they treated her as if she were not.² There was, however, a fear that the abandonment of the bid for establishment would destroy all links with the mother church. Would they not be flinging off "the character and relation which belong to us as English Churchmen?", asked Bishop Mountain.³ There was also the prospect that divergent responses to ritualism might drive the English and Canadian churches apart. The Reverend H. Binney, the bishop of Nova Scotia's father, a keen evangelical like the fathers of not a few Tractarians, was apprehensive about this prospect. Writing to W. E. Gladstone in June 1852, he pointed out that the "grand desideratum" was to define how far colonial Episcopalians "may deviate from the strict letter of our rubrics and canons without severing the link which constitutes their bond of union with the United Church of England and Ireland."⁴ Canadian unease concerning the doctrinal trends

1

J. Medley, A Charge Delivered at His Primary Visitation, Held in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, August 24, 1847, by John, Bishop of Fredericton (London: Joseph Masters, 1847), pp. 20-23. (Hereinafter referred to as Charge, 1847).

2

Medley, Charge, 1853, p. 18.

3

G. J. Mountain, Thoughts on "Annexation", In Connection with the Duty and Interest of Members of the Church of England; And as Affecting Some Particular Religious Questions Intended Originally for Publication as a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England; in the Diocese of Quebec (Quebec: T. Cary, 1849), p. 11.

4

The Reverend H. Binney to W. E. Gladstone, June 29, 1852, British Museum, Gladstone Papers, CCLXXXVII, 44372, f. 209.

of ritualism and rationalism combined with the desire to attain a common mind on such questions were to be strong forces behind the summoning of the 1867 Pan-American Conference.

In the political arena self-government was the means to cope with exposure to hostile forces. After it had been granted, self-government for the church appeared as a logical and necessary extension of this principle. Between September 24 and October 1, 1851, Bishops Fulford, Strachan, Mountain, Medley and Feild¹ conferred at Québec, and one of their recommendations was that provincial and diocesan synods should be organized.² Two methods of achieving this goal presented themselves. First, an enabling act of the Imperial Government could be sought, or else, as the United Kingdom had granted a colonial Parliament local representation and the power of making local laws, "protection and justice" could be demanded "from the body politic of which we are a part."³ Second, there was the notion that the church possessed an "inalienable right" as a Christian body to call church assemblies, of which she could not be deprived by "Kings nor Parliaments" without destroying liberty.⁴ Meetings would be held by "voluntary consensual compact." This view was in line with Tractarian emphasis upon the rights of the Catholic church, and the readiness of the men of Oxford to oppose the church-state connection when these were threatened. The Visitation of May 1851, held by Strachan at Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, comprised 124 clergy and

¹ Edward Feild, bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-76.

² See D. C. Masters, "The First Provincial Synod in Canada," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, 4 (June 1962), 1-18, for general discussion.

³ Medley, Charge, 1853, p. 17. ⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

127 laymen, and looked much like a synod. Application was made to the Crown for permission to establish a legal synod, but the failure of the colonial church bills led the conference assembled for the Visitation of 1853 to declare itself a synod. Strachan thought that synods were primitive, and therefore legitimate.¹ It was not until 1857 that "an Act to enable members of the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada to meet in Synod" was passed by the Canadian legislature, the Crown having signified its approval.²

After the Toronto initiative, synods were relatively quickly established in the dioceses. In Nova Scotia the "synod" met for the first time on October 15, 1856, in the Bishop's Chapel, although disputes over the bishop's powers delayed its incorporation for nearly a decade. In Quebec the first synod of July 1859, met after riot and fisticuffs from evangelical laymen who envisioned it as a tool for episcopal despotism. In that year synods were constituted for Montreal and Huron dioceses. The Ontario synod followed upon the creation of the new diocese, meeting initially in November 1862.³ Bishop Medley, taking note of the widespread opposition in his diocese to synods, decided to proceed with circumspection. Not until July 1871 was there an incorporated synod in the diocese of Fredericton.⁴ The common criticism had been that synods were Tractarian and popish, designed to

¹ J. Strachan, Church Fellowship. A Sermon at the Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Quebec (York: E. Stanton, 1832). Quoted in Henderson, ed., Strachan: Documents, pp. 112-14.

² Act passed May 28, 1857: 19 and 20 Vic., c. 121.

³ Carrington, Anglican Church, p. 119, erroneously gives 1861 as the date.

⁴ Ibid., gives the date 1861.

carry the church Romewards with a new vigour backed up by episcopal veto and dictation. The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder complained that

had we none but the old-fashioned, easy-going High Churchmen of former days to contend with, we would apprehend little danger, but the restless class of agitating hankerers after a semi-popish administration of our church, display such zeal and energy, and talk so plausibly, that they carry many away with them, . . .

In 1860 royal letters patent appointed Bishop Fulford as metropolitan with the right to call and preside over a Provincial Synod, which met the following year. A constitution and declaration of principles were agreed upon. The latter confined itself to the areas of church discipline and property, and did not claim authority in church doctrine. The strongly evangelical diocese of Huron was particularly concerned with safeguarding diocesan rights, for to threaten these was to threaten Canadian evangelicalism itself. It also saw danger in the idea that the office of metropolitan should in perpetuity be held by a bishop of Montreal, over whose election it would have no control.

Thus the development of the synodical movement in Canada was deeply bound up with the influence of Tractarianism. Oxford ideas encouraged its progress, and after synods were established they became places where these ideas were fought over and discussed. The old party battles had a new institutional forum.

The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, April 11, 1856.

CHAPTER II

CANADIAN LINKS WITH TRACTARIANISM IN ENGLAND

The Church of England stood as an exemplar to her daughter churches; this was a common assertion of Canadian churchmen. Bishop Lewis of Ontario¹ could

scarcely exaggerate the influence which the Church of England exercises over the Church in Canada. There is a natural desire to proceed "pari passu" with the Church of England, in every useful movement, and a willingness to be taught by the wider experience and greater learning of the Mother Church.²

Canadian clergy with English backgrounds were keen on reproducing the church of their youth in their new country, "in such ways as God shall lead us, and as the varying conditions of our life permit."³ They brought to Canada what they had learned in England. Bishop Medley's new cathedral at Fredericton, based upon many English architectural models, symbolized his mission of bringing to his diocese the new quality of religious feeling inspired by Tractarianism.

Bishop Medley was one of a group of Canadian Anglicans who had studied

¹ John Travers Lewis: bishop of Ontario 1861-1901; metropolitan of Canada 1893-1900; archbishop of Ontario 1893-1901.

² J. T. Lewis, A Charge Delivered by the Rt. Rev. J. Travers Lewis, D.D., LL.D., Lord Bishop of Ontario, at the Visitation of the Clergy of the Diocese of Ontario, Held in Christ Church, in the City of Ottawa, October 27th, 1874 (Ottawa: Citizen Printing and Publishing Company, 1874), p. 3.

³ Medley, Other Little Ships, p. 8.

at Oxford and had personal acquaintance with the authors of the Tracts. The college structure of the university provided the perfect framework for warm personal friendships to develop, although the close proximity between the young and old, the forces of innovation and conservatism, afforded combustible materials for bitter and long-lasting rivalries. The young were attempting to force Oxford out of her eighteenth century lethargy. Students were earnest and serious. Newman worked fifteen hours a day. In the afternoons they went on long walks immersed in the issues of the times, coming back to tea in each other's rooms. Many had been at school together or, at least, had been to the same kind of public school, so converse and friendships were easy and unforced. The tutorial system brought about intellectually stimulating personal relationships between tutors and undergraduates. The presence of the Church of England in the university was immediately visible in the persons of young, unmarried, clerical dons in the colleges. Oxford's beauty, its still, dreamlike quality helped to make university days a formative experience and provided the setting for friendships that remained to the grave.

Medley was an undergraduate at Wadham, a college of evangelical tone, matriculating in November 1822, and taking his degree in 1826. His student days, therefore, antedated the Oxford Movement, but he had the opportunity of getting to know John Keble and E. B. Pusey, both fellows of Oriel College at that time, although the evidence for their friendship comes from a later date. With Keble, Medley was on close terms. On November 18, 1844, Keble wrote to Newman that "Medley has been here to consult whether he shall accept the Bishoprick of New Brunswick . . . ,"¹ the implication being that

1

J. Keble to J. H. Newman, November 18, 1844. Quoted in Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, 1839-1845. Edited at the Birmingham Oratory (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917), p. 349.

Newman knew him also. In 1852, Medley was in England and visited Keble at Hursley for a few days at the beginning of August. He received an altar-cloth, originally intended for Ottery St. Mary, Devon, from Judge J. T. Coleridge, Keble's Tractarian biographer whom he knew from his days as vicar of St. Thomas, Exeter. He went to Hursley where he stayed with Keble and met "three dear little boys" who gave him "three silver spoons which were all made into one paten." They were nephews of Charlotte Yonge, another Keble biographer, whose ideal of the quiet, devoted priest in his country parish was the vicar of Hursley.¹ Medley must have impressed the needs of his diocese upon the mind of his friend, for, in October 1853, Keble wrote to Judge Coleridge asking whether he had "any objection to appropriating the proceeds of the next edition of the *Lyra (Innocentium)* to Fredericton, for I very much wish to do some little for dear Medley, and hardly know how to do it any other way. . . ."²

Medley was a relatively frequent visitor to England given the arduous nature of the journey involved. He was there in 1848, 1852 and 1858. He was therefore to some degree able to keep up his old connections formed before his elevation to the episcopate. On June 29, 1848, Medley attended the opening ceremonies of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, which had been purchased by A. J. Beresford Hope, M.P., a pillar of the Ecclesiological Society of London, who, on the suggestion of the Reverend Edward Coleridge, gave it to the church as a missionary college teaching the full Catholic faith. He was Judge Coleridge's younger brother and an old class fellow of

¹
J. Medley, "Annals of the Diocese of Fredericton," p. 51. MS in ND. (Hereinafter referred to as "Annals").

²
J. Keble to J. T. Coleridge, October 6, 1853. Quoted in J. T. Coleridge, A Memoir of the Reverend John Keble, M.A. (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1869), pp. 363-64.

Pusey at Eton. With Medley at the service were such Tractarian figures as Archdeacon Benjamin Harrison, author of Tracts 16, 17, 24 and 49; Charles Marriott, an editor of the Library of the Fathers who had brought R. W. Church into the Movement; and Bishop Forbes of Brechin, "the Scottish Pusey," who, a short time previously had been vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds, a church attempting to apply Oxford Movement principles to a city populace¹ and attacked by ecclesiastical authority. Such meetings must have been helpful in providing Medley with the spiritual support for his difficult and pioneering work in the diocese of Fredericton. He also managed to obtain from the editors of the Library of the Fathers and the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology volumes of these works to take back to Canada with him. On this visit he also met the architect William Butterfield who translated the spirit of the Oxford Movement into stone and brick. The Ecclesiological Society of London brought them together, Butterfield producing proposals for the east end of Frank Wills' cathedral in Fredericton and designs for furnishings.² It is probable that in 1848 or 1852 he met as well the Reverend Cecil Wray, incumbent of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Liverpool, who had burst into a strong defence of the Catholicity of the Church of England a few years before when his curate seceded to Rome.³ They had been contemporaries at Oxford and were to have an interesting correspondence on the doctrine of

1

R. J. E. Boggis, A History of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury (Canterbury: Cross and Jackman, 1907), p. 74. (Hereinafter referred to as St. Augustine's College).

2

D. S. Richardson, "Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick" (unpublished M.A. thesis for the Department of the History of Art, Yale University, 1966), p. 81. (Hereinafter referred to as "Cathedral, Fredericton").

3

C. Wray, The Scandal of Permitted Heresy and a Violated Discipline. An Address to the Congregation of St. Martin's Liverpool on the Occasion of the Secession of the Curate of That Church to the Roman Communion (3rd. ed.; London and Liverpool, 1846).

the Holy Communion in 1857.¹

Visits to England were short, a matter of a few months, and it was impossible to renew old acquaintances or discuss church matters relevant to the Tractarian revival. Medley lamented to his friend W. E. Gladstone that shortage of time made it out of the question to converse with him "on the subject of your Synodal Measure."² Moreover, a bishop out of sight was one out of mind. Medley often ruefully observed how little interest the English as a whole had in the colonial church. The distance from Christ Church or Oriel to Fredericton was such as to overtax sympathy and imagination. Scholars and pastors were apt to become engrossed with matters at hand. Newman's brother-in-law, Tom Mozley, and Medley were contemporaries at Oxford. In his reminiscences he mentions Medley as one of "a dozen men with golden futures" who abandoned "any hope of comfort, luxury, or splendour" to retrace their steps back to the primitive spirit of the church "when the trumpet of no uncertain sound, . . . , was now heard at Oxford."³ But although he remembered that Medley had served in Devon and translated St. John Chrysostom, he designated him bishop of Newfoundland.⁴

One friendship that seems to have suffered from Medley's removal to New Brunswick was that with Pusey. While Medley had been an undergraduate

¹ MSS at L, MS 1604, ff. 419-31.

² J. Medley to W. E. Gladstone, June 11, [1852], Gladstone Papers, CCLXXXVII, 44372, f. 168.

³ T. Mozley, Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1882), p. 3.

⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

at Wadham, 1822-26, Pusey was fellow of Oriel. Later they worked together on the Library of the Fathers, Pusey as a general editor, and Medley as the translator with H. K. Cornish of the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on 1 Corinthians which appeared in 1839 with a preface by Keble. Sharing the same theological outlook, Medley frequently wrote to Pusey for advice.¹

. . . I have to preach a Visitation Sermon for the Archdeacon and have chosen the subject of the Church fallen. . . . What I want is some accurate information on the state of the Greek, Russo Greek Syrian and Abyssinian Churches, and I do not know precisely where to lay my hand on it--Could you or Newman merely name the books where it is to be found. Or are there none?

He wanted to know what Pusey thought of his plan for "establishing a kind of Baptismal Temperance Society avoiding the Manicheism of it, . . ." to be connected with a Friendly Society whose members could "enjoy recreational amusement, . . . I think we leave the poor too much to themselves and do not attempt to refine and Christianize their amusements."

Also (though I fear I am sadly trying you with questions) a friend of mine applied to me in behalf of a very accomplished and clever friend of his a lady who had become Socinian, but was now shaken, and wished to read anything I might put into her hands especially some parts of the Oxford Tracts. I recommended parts of vol. 1, but I thought I wd write to you. I also mean to send Norris on Reason and Faith which I think meets the precise point of difficulty in those minds, viz that we must not believe what is contrary to reason or above it, confounding the two. . . .

However, the bulk of the extant letters from Medley, then vicar of St. Thomas, Exeter, to Pusey, evidence a strong emotional bond between the two men that similar family tragedies had forged. Between 1839 and 1844, Medley's second son, wife, eldest daughter and mother died, while Pusey lost his wife and daughter, Lucy. When consumption claimed his wife, Medley wrote

¹

J. Medley to E. B. Pusey, [1840], P, Pusey Letters.

to thank Pusey for his letter which had given him

the most solid comfort, and not least from our being yoked together in suffering. Life is as you say cut in two and there is nothing more to fix one's heart upon. But the thought of their being in Paradise and with the Lord, must yield us some measure of comfort or one must sink, or lose one's reason. . . .

This part of their correspondence breathes the ethos of the Oxford Movement. There is a deep preoccupation with the mystery of life and death, and a desire to find God's ultimate purpose, even in suffering. Medley thought it a mysterious circumstance that at his original meeting with Pusey in Devon his wife had first spat blood. With that sense of the seriousness of life which the Tractarians shared with the evangelicals, Medley wondered whether he had attended too much "to things without and too little to that interior religion which is the life and soul of all."² Medley shared with his spiritual counsellor his thoughts on the subject of death for he wished to die, an "affectation to write this to any but you, but it is true. . . ."³ He hoped that he and his wife's mutual love would transcend death through the continuation of individuality. "There is a notion some people entertain of the departed watching over us. But Scripture does not I think countenance it, but rather that it is the angels' part to do so. I wish I could see it, but the text is silent. . . ."⁴ The death of Lucy Pusey on April 22, 1844, bound them together again in "sacred sorrow" and Medley hoped Pusey could come to Devon so he could "minister to your comfort."⁵ After Medley's

¹ Medley to Pusey, May 1841, P. ² Ibid.

³ Medley to Pusey, January 7, [1842], P. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Medley to Pusey, May 1, 1844, P.

departure to New Brunswick, however, there is no record among Pusey's papers of any further correspondence. In the "Annals of the Diocese of Fredericton" there is no direct mention of any meeting with Pusey while Medley was in England. It seems likely that distance and the continued withdrawal of Pusey from public life after his wife's death brought an end to close friendship.

Francis Fulford was an undergraduate contemporary of Medley, matriculating at Exeter College in February 1821, and being elected a fellow in June 1824, although he was only resident in Oxford a year from June 1825. From 1822 to 1845 John Henry Newman was a fellow of Oriel College. It was probably during Fulford's Oxford days that they became friends, for in 1838 when Fulford went up to Oxford to take his M.A. he found a note on his table from Newman asking him to dine at Oriel. He went to morning prayer at eleven o'clock at St. Mary's and then again at four o'clock for Newman's afternoon service

when he read the prayers exactly like any other man (odd as it may seem) as he did in the morning, except that he turned to the altar at the Creeds; and preached a very good sermon. At 1/2 past 5 I went to Oriel for dinner and met 5 or 6 men all strangers to me, and had an agreeable dinner.

Fulford's sympathy with the Oxford Movement at this time is illustrated by his act in 1843 of signing with such men as Gladstone and Judge Coleridge a protest against Pusey's two-year suspension from preaching in the university. Newman had written to Fulford enclosing the memorial for his signature. "Generally speaking it is thought this disturbance will do good-- Pusey having been treated with such great harshness. Not that it is inconsistent with the usual proceedings of the Heads of Houses; but as time

1

C. H. Fulford, "Life of Bishop Fulford by his Grandson," p. 123. (Typewritten.) He utilizes Fulford's Journal.

goes on they show themselves more."¹ Newman thought that many people would be unsettled by the suspension. "They have already temptations enough to perplex themselves about the Catholicity of the English Church, and such acts come to them as fearful tokens against it. And the worst and most deplorable thing is, that the persons who have done it, wish it to have this effect."²

Newman's secession to Rome brought their friendship to an end. Fulford was unable to appreciate Newman's reasons. In particular, they differed over the question of the relationship between church and state. Both saw that establishment incurred serious inconveniences, but for Fulford the issue was not one of principle but one of practicality.

There may be many difficulties arising out of the connection between the State and the Church in England; some of which appear to have pressed heavily on Dr. Newman's mind. But this connection giving the Church a legal status and establishment there [England] whatever may be either the benefits or inconveniences arising from it is not, as you must well know, of the essence of the Church; it is only a special accident in a particular branch. Other branches in full communion with the Church in England, . . . not to speak of the multiplied and increasing witnesses in the Colonies, are quite independent of any such connection.

But "the principle of dogma, by which we get and maintain the primitive faith, and a visible Church, ever witnessing for and proclaiming the Word of God, with Sacraments and Rites, which are channels of invisible grace" were of the essence of the nature of the church.³ Because in Canada the claims of the Church of England for the hereditary right of an establishment were impracticable, and dangerous to her position, Fulford was opposed to them. Generally, Fulford thought that Newman had acted upon "essentially

¹ Ibid. ² Ibid.

³

F. Fulford, "A Lecture on Some of 'the Passing Events and Controversies of the Day,'" in Sermons, Addresses, and Statistics of the Diocese of Montreal (Montreal: Dawson Brothers; London and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1865), p. 305. (Hereinafter referred to as Sermons of Diocese of Montreal).

insufficient grounds" as demonstrated by his Apologia, in contrast to "the really sound and well understood principles of the Anglican Church herself."¹ Although Newman had made "the great mistake of his life,"² especially as he had held "as late as 1844, that 'grace was to be found in the Anglican Church,'"³ Fulford thought him a highly gifted individual, honest and of a "really sincere and deeply religious temperament."⁴ There is no evidence, however, that the two men met again. But, while in England during the summer of 1853, Fulford dined with Bishop Phillpotts, stayed with Bishop Wilberforce at Cuddesdon, and breakfasted with W. E. Gladstone and Archdeacon Harrison on July 7. In the summer of 1863, he again breakfasted with Gladstone where he met with Bishop Forbes of Brechin, Cobden, Thackeray, and the dowager duchess of Sutherland. On January 29, 1867, "Dr. Pusey called to see me and talked about the proposed 'Pan Anglican,'"⁵ although there is no evidence of a close friendship.

It is probable that Hibbert Binney, bishop of Nova Scotia, who matriculated at Worcester College, Oxford, in March 1838, becoming a fellow of the college in 1844, knew Pusey. In his 1884 Charge he observed on the death of Pusey that

... some of you, who have not had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with his character and work, may have been disposed to regard him merely as the leader of a party of very extreme views, without recognizing the depth and solidity of his learning, and the personal piety for which he was above all remarkable.⁶

¹ Ibid. ² Ibid., p. 307. ³ Ibid., p. 305. ⁴ Ibid., p. 284.

⁵ Fulford, "Life of Bishop Fulford by His Grandson," p. 141.

⁶ H. Binney, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy at the Visitation Held in the Cathedral Church of St. Luke, at Halifax, on the 1st Day of July, 1884 (Halifax: George W. Baillie, 1884), p. 5. (Hereinafter referred to as Charge, 1884).

Binney particularly praised Pusey's steadfastness as an Anglican. If the clergy were to train their people in his knowledge of Catholic truth they would be secured from the onslaught of Romanism.

Like some other sons of that period, Binney was opposed to the strong evangelical leanings of his father, the rector of Newbury, Berkshire, a man "opposed . . . to anything like what is called Tractarianism or a substitution of forms for the vital power of religion."¹ The father was a strong supporter of Professor Hampden for the bishopric of Hereford in 1847,² but one of the consecrating bishops at Binney's consecration was the high churchman, A. T. Gilbert of Chichester, who had signed the remonstrance against Hampden and had been opposed to the Jerusalem bishopric.³ Bishop Binney's father acted as a go-between with Gladstone on the constitutional position of the Church of England in Nova Scotia, but the Gladstone Papers do have one letter from the bishop, written in January 1881, asking Gladstone to oppose the Deceased Wife's Sister Legalisation Bill.⁴

James William Williams, bishop of Quebec from 1863 to 1892, was careful not to be seen as the supporter of any one particular party in the church.

1

The Reverend H. Binney to W. E. Gladstone, June 29, 1852, Gladstone Papers, CCLXXXVII, 44372, f. 209.

2

Letters of the Reverend H. Binney, December 4, 7 and 10, 1847, Nos. 144, 147 and 155 in "Hampden Controversy Catalogue," 0.

3

This point is made in V. G. Kent, "The Right Reverend Hibbert Binney, Colonial Tractarian Bishop of Nova Scotia, 1851-1887" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1969), p. 23. (Hereinafter referred to as "Binney, Tractarian Bishop").

4

The Right Reverend H. Binney to W. E. Gladstone, January 28, 1881, Gladstone Papers, CCCLXXXIII, 44468, f. 59.

The correspondent of the Guardian in 1873 called him "scarcely a High Churchman, though certainly not a Low Churchman; he is, however, very wise and just and clear headed."¹ But as Archdeacon Henry Roe pointed out in his sermon at the dedication of a font and baptistery in St. Matthew's, Quebec, as a memorial to Bishop Williams, he was "distinctly a churchman" who had preached an elaborate defence of apostolic succession before the synod which had elected him and who taught "the spiritual efficacy of the sacrament of baptism, a firm belief in which lay at the root of all his teaching."² Williams had clear personal associations with the Oxford Movement. One of his godparents was his father's cousin, Isaac Williams, and the other was Sir George Prevost, afterwards archdeacon of Gloucester, a friend of Bishop George Mountain and the author with Thomas Keble of Tract 84. Both were high churchmen of the old-fashioned kind. Isaac Williams, author of Tract 80, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," became distrustful of the extreme wing of the Oxford party and in 1842 left Oxford and settled down in Gloucestershire, where from 1862 to 1864, Francis Partridge, later dean of Fredericton, was tutor to his family. Therefore, when James William Williams entered Pembroke College, Oxford, in October 1847, after a three-year spell as an engineer in New Zealand, his godfather was no longer there. It was, too, a rather different Oxford from that of a few years before. After Newman's secession there had been a strong liberal reaction by such men as Mark Pattison, J. A. Froude and Arthur Clough. Williams, however, was of a practical bent of mind, concerned with leading a good personal life and not deeply caught up in intellectual movements.

1

Guardian, Supplement, Wednesday, January 29, 1873.

2

Sermon by Henry Roe, February 21, 1895. Quoted in Quebec Diocesan Gazette, March 1895, pp. 48-53.

The only other high church, Oxford-educated bishop in eastern Canada during the nineteenth century was Charles Hamilton.¹ In 1852 from the High School, Montreal, he entered University College, Oxford. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Pusey's son, Philip, who was at Christ Church. During Hamilton's time at University College, Pusey delivered sermons on The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist and The Nature of Faith in Relation to Reason. Also at University College was William Francis Wilberforce, the eldest son of Archdeacon Robert Isaac Wilberforce who seceded to Rome in 1854. More striking than his friendships were his relationships with high church families. Hamilton's wife was a niece of Bishop G. J. Mountain. His brother, John, first married a daughter of Bishop John Travers Lewis, and then as his second wife the sister of the Reverend Edmund Wood, rector of the "ritualistic" church, St. John the Evangelist in Montreal.

Ashton Oxenden, bishop of Montreal from 1869 to 1878, who received his B.A. in 1830 after three years at University College, Oxford, was an evangelical, but he did have some high church associations. At Harrow he was friendly with "Henry Manning, then a Kentish boy, and now a Cardinal...,"² and was acquainted with Gladstone. When Oxenden became a bishop, J. W. Williams received "a highly appreciative letter respecting him from Sir George Prevost, who is a decided high churchman."³

Hollingsworth Tully Kingdon who succeeded Bishop Medley in the see of Fredericton was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving his

¹ Bishop of Niagara 1885-96; bishop of Ottawa 1896-1909; archbishop of Ottawa 1909-14.

² A. Oxenden, The History of My Life (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1891), p. 13.

³ J. W. Williams to J. T. Lewis, August 9, 1869, S.P.G., X9, C MSS, Ontario.

B.A. in 1858. He was trained for the ministry at the recently founded Tractarian theological college, Cuddesdon, near Oxford, where H. P. Liddon was vice-principal. Kingdon was only at Cuddesdon one year, 1858-59, but his friendship with Liddon remained. In 1873 he was offered the living of All Saints, Margaret Street, conditional upon an undertaking to give up the use of vestments at the church, and he wrote to Liddon for advice. Although Kingdon had never worn vestments, he was unable to accept the bishop of London's opinion that they were illegal, and so despite strong episcopal pressure he refused the offer. He did not wish to be at the head of a London church either large or small.¹ Between 1869-78 he was curate of St. Andrew's Church, Wells Street, London, which had the offertory, mixed chalice, coloured altar cloths, cross and candlesticks, but no vestments because the Tractarian vicar, Benjamin Webb, had found that the congregation did not want them. Tully Kingdon

preached rather learned and patristic sermons; and rather delighted in more mystical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. . . . He said, . . . that secular education was identical with the Serpent's original offer to Eve. He looked after the choir-boys . . . of St. Andrew's; which then offered the most elaborate musical service in London. . . . He had no favourites and never spoiled.²

It is probable that Medley first made Kingdon's acquaintance when visiting St. Andrew's in 1878.

Bishop John Inglis of Nova Scotia, although he was not educated at Oxford but at King's College, Windsor, had strong personal ties going back many years with a group of high churchmen of the old school, sharing Inglis' own views on church matters. These men helped to lay the foundation of the

¹ H. T. Kingdon to H. P. Liddon, August 20 and 27, 1873, K, Liddon Papers.

² Letter of H. L. Paget, bishop of Stepney, n.d., concerning Kingdon, ND.

Oxford Movement. They were Hugh James Rose, rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk, founder of the British Magazine in 1832 to promote church principles; H. H. Morris, vicar of South Hackney; and Joshua Watson, a layman especially interested in church schools. It was at Hadleigh that H. Froude, W. Palmer, Arthur Perceval and R. C. Trench met to discuss the question of church-state relations at the end of July 1833. Many letters passed between Joshua Watson and Bishop Inglis on the question of the Oxford Tracts and on various church matters; on the question of episcopacy, for example, upon which "we are bound, . . . to decide on what is necessary for ourselves, although the plain inference from this necessity in reference to others may be painful."¹ Although Inglis' connections were with an older generation of high churchmen, he being in his sixties when the troubles at Oxford were at their height, he did have some contact with the new generation. In February 1846, Inglis wrote to the S.P.G. that it was "certainly a comfort to hear of the appointment of a religious man, and especially of one whose religious views are so high and becoming as those of Mr. Gladstone, to Official Power [Colonial Secretary]. I know him, and several members of his family, a little."²

John Strachan was also of the pre-Tractarian generation of churchmen having been born a year after Inglis, in 1778. His early education at Aberdeen Grammar School, King's College, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews University afforded no friendships which would have given him any personal links with the Oxford Movement. His early removal to Canada and the difficulty involved in journeying to England withdrew him from the English scene. He

¹ E. Churton, ed., Memoir of Joshua Watson (Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker, 1863), p. 250.

² J. Inglis to S.P.G., February, 1846, NSHA, copies of letters to S.P.G., December 17, 1838, to December 28, 1849, No. 324.

was immersed in Canadian matters. Moreover, he was not interested in theological subtleties, but was a man of practical action. Strachan saw the early Tracts as agreeing with his own theological position which he believed was the product of his own mind, independent of any influence from Hobart or Newman.¹ He considered that any good churchman would think as he did. When Strachan was in England during the summer of 1839 he made efforts to meet Dr. Walter F. Hook of Leeds² and J. H. Newman,³ but without success. In a letter of August 15 Strachan praised Newman and his associates for their "invaluable labours to protect the Church from Popery on the one hand and dissent on the other."⁴ He wanted to meet the authors of the Tracts and thank them in person. He had met neither Keble, Pusey nor Newman before. He had been delighted to see in the British Magazine and the Tracts "the results at which I had steadily and laboriously arrived carried still further . . .,"⁵ and thought it would be a joy "while travelling in the silent and primeval forests of my Diocese to have spent a single day nay even an hour with men whom I already love. . . ."⁶ Newman replied that the approval of a bishop was reward enough for the troubles of the authors of the Tracts and that, although Keble and Pusey were out of Oxford, there was a chance he and Strachan might be able to meet in London.⁷

¹ Henderson, "John Strachan as Bishop," p. 35.

² J. Strachan to W. J. D. Waddilove, OTA, SLB 1844-49, p. 60.

³ Quoted in full in J. Moir, "The Correspondence of Bishop Strachan and John Henry Newman," Canadian Journal of Theology, 3, No. 4 (October 1957), 220-22. (Hereinafter referred to as "Strachan and Newman").

⁴ Ibid., p. 220.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 220-21.

⁷ Ibid., p. 221.

Newman wrote again on September 22 to arrange this. Newman's letter of October 11 to Strachan shows, however, that no meeting took place. Newman had to see an invalid friend off to Malta. On May 23, 1840, Strachan wrote to Newman introducing Henry Scadding, classical master at Upper Canada College. He took the opportunity to inform Newman of current events of interest in Canada, and to express his appreciation for the first eighty Tracts. Strachan had in his library all Newman's publications prior to October 1839. He added that he did not "feel inclined to quarrel with the remains of the Reverend R. H. Froude. He was a noble soul and his death a great loss to the Church. A few years would have removed any little excrescences and perhaps his spirit wishes that his Editor [Newman] had softened those which appear."¹

On May 21, 1842, Strachan wrote to Newman introducing the Reverend Henry J. Grasett, rector of Toronto.² There were some criticisms of trends in the Oxford Movement, but the tone of the letter was friendly. When Newman seceded to Rome, however, Strachan's anti-Romanism made any further correspondence impossible. Strachan was not a man who forgave easily when he felt himself let down, and opposition to anything or any ideal that he cherished he took as a personal insult. On November 19, 1845, he wrote to Bethune that Newman had "done incalculable mischief, and is quite inexcusable unless he be indeed mad. . . ."³ Likewise the attitude of English

1

Ibid., p. 223.

2

Ibid., pp. 224-25.

3

J. Strachan to A. N. Bethune, November 19, 1845, OTT, letter packet. No. 2.

high churchmen over the clergy reserves meant that his friendship had to be withdrawn.¹ Gladstone's support of independent government for the colonial churches had brought about a contact which disappeared when he would not stand firm for the special privileges of the Church of England in Canada. Moreover, once the questions of the clergy reserves and synodical government had been settled it was no longer necessary for Strachan to approach English churchmen. When Adam Townley, rector of Paris, Canada West, applied to Strachan for a letter of commendation on his impending trip to England, Strachan replied that

I have now no correspondents to whom I can venture to introduce you except the two secretaries of the two Church societies, Hawkins and Murray, whom you know as well as I do. With the Bishop of Oxford and some others I have dropped all correspondence except it might by chance be an actual matter of business, since they voted away the Clergy Reserves in May, 1853.²

Although bishops journeying to England on behalf of their dioceses were afforded special opportunity for access to famous English churchmen and statesmen, many of the Canadian clergy had the chance of personal acquaintance with the leaders of the Oxford Movement as a result of their English background or training.

James Beaven matriculated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, on November 4, 1820, and served as a priest in England from 1826 to 1843, when he came to Toronto as professor of divinity at King's College. There he preached in a surplice and intoned the service.³ Mark Burnham, from Newcastle, Upper Canada, matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, on October 13, 1825, and

1

For Strachan's links with Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, see Wilson, Clergy Reserves, p. 156.

2

J. Strachan to A. Townley, May 29, 1860, OTD, Strachan Letters, envelope No. 2.

3

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume X, 1871 to 1880 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 39-40.

received his B.A. in 1829. He was later to put Oxford Movement ideals into practice at St. Thomas, Canada West. Edward Henry Dewar, born in Amherstburg, Upper Canada, on August 31, 1812, matriculated on January 27, 1831, at Exeter College, Oxford. He took his B.A. in November, 1834. He was, therefore, at the university at the time of Keble's assize sermon. Having been chaplain to the British residents at Hamburg, Germany, he returned to Canada in 1851, and contributed in many ways to the progress of the Oxford Movement here. Francis James Lundy, from Lund, Yorkshire, was a contemporary of Dewar at Oxford, matriculating at University College, May 16, 1833, at the age of eighteen. In the 1850's he became controversial for introducing altar lights at St. Andrew's, Grimsby, Canada West.

Jasper Nicolls¹ who became principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, in 1845, matriculated at Oriel College on June 2, 1836, taking his B.A. in 1840. In 1843 he became Michel fellow at Queen's College. He was a gentle, reserved, high churchman, anxious "never to go beyond or to fall short of what the Church of England in her Prayer Book teaches."² At Oxford, Nicolls supported the Tractarians at a time when organized opposition to them within the university was most determined, and got into trouble with his evangelical father, General Gustavus Nicolls, for his sentiments. On March 11, 1845, Gustavus Nicolls wrote to his son that he was surprised

at your thinking it necessary to consult your friends respecting the Surplice, . . . its having been laid aside in the Dioceses of London and Exeter, after having been firstly generally adopted in both, and in the former, by the recommendation (may I say) of the Bishop's--this I thought would be sufficient for the guidance of any young churchman.³

¹
Ibid., pp. 547-48.

²
H. Roe's sermon on the death of J. Nicolls, QLB.

³
G. Nicolls to J. H. Nicolls, March 11, 1845, QLB, Nicolls Papers, packet 1845-46.

On February 13, 1845, contrary to a previous intention to abstain, Nicolls had been one of the minority of 386 to vote in favour of Ward's The Ideal of a Christian Church in the Sheldonian. Jasper "would also have voted in favour of Tract XC, without having read it, and all this holding the right (a duty) of private judgment--in this I go with you, and hope your private judgment may not have been carried away by party."¹ No certain indications of friendships with English Tractarians survive, although their existence seems probable.

Unlike Nicolls, John Bainbridge Smith was a Cambridge graduate, admitted as a pensioner at St. John's College, March 23, 1840. Ordained in 1846 as a priest in the diocese of London, he was appointed professor of mathematics and vice-president of King's College, Windsor, in 1847, leaving before January 1854. In 1893 appeared his book English Orders: Whence Obtained, and in 1898 Ordinals Past and Present, and Their Witness to the Validity of English Orders.² Bishop John Inglis, writing to the Reverend E. Hawkins of the S.P.G. in London, refers to a letter of protest written by J. B. Smith concerning the low level of worship at King's College, "startling weaker brethren by the novelty of his own sentiments."³ According to F. W. Vroom, professor of divinity at King's College 1888-1936,

1

G. Nicolls to J. H. Nicolls, February 17, 1845, QLB, Nicolls Papers, packet 1845-46.

2

F. W. Vroom unfortunately mixes him up with another John Bainbridge Smith and therefore credits him with works on theology written at a ludicrously early age. King's College: A Chronicle 1789-1939. Collections and Recollections (Halifax, N.S.: The Imperial Publishing Company Limited, 1941), p. 75.

3

J. Inglis to E. Hawkins, March 20, 1849, NsHA, copies of letters to S.P.G., 1838-49, No. 378.

J. B. Smith was the one who first brought Oxford Movement influence to the college, and had a strong personal influence upon the theological opinions of the students.¹ George Hodgson, the first priest-incumbent of St. Peter's, Charlottetown, owed much to him.

Another educator was Richard Whitmore Norman who came to Canada in 1866. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on January 28, 1847, and was warden of St. Peter's College, Radley, Oxfordshire, from 1861 to 1866, having previously been head master of St. Michael's College, Tenbury, 1857-61. Norman had a bond with the Oxford Movement through Radley, a school which owed much to Nathaniel Woodard's philosophy of education.² He was associated with St. John the Evangelist Church, Montreal, and its school before becoming assistant at St. James the Apostle, Montreal. In 1888, he was appointed dean of Quebec, where he helped Bishops Williams and Dunn to raise the services in a higher direction.

Another clergyman with direct Oxford links was the Reverend Francis Gretton Coleridge Brathwaite who matriculated on December 9, 1853, at Balliol College. In 1862 he came to Canada as a direct result of Bishop Fulford's urging. He was enthusiastic about the Oxford Movement and became the firm friend of Mrs. Buxton Smith, whose father had known the Kebles in Gloucestershire, and of the Reverend Edmund Wood. For twelve years he worked at Onslow on the Upper Ottawa River where he was in charge of four missions and the builder of three small churches. He was a strong influence upon Augustus Prime, later the controversial Tractarian curate of St. John

¹ F. W. Vroom to Sister Christabel S.S.J.D., May 9, 1933, OTG.

² B. Heeney, Mission to the Middle Classes: The Woodard Schools 1848-1891 (London: S.P.C.K., 1969) p. 50.

the Evangelist, Montreal, who at his prompting went on to Bishop's College, Lennoxville, to study for the ministry.

A number of the clergy in Canada, however, were not associated with the Oxford Movement through attendance at Oxford but through their education at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, which was founded upon Tractarian principles. The college had opened on November 28, 1848, with six men, under the wardenship of William Hart Coleridge, keeping "strict regard to economy and frugality of habits."¹ The college statutes were basically the work of Charles Marriott with additions by Pusey. "The full and entire development of the Catholicity of the Prayer Book must be our standing point. . . . Don't you feel with me that we must have the old House of St. Augustine back again," Beresford Hope wrote to Edward Coleridge.² "St. Augustine's College was a distinctly High Church foundation, on strictly Anglican Bible and Prayer Book principles, with specialities of simple living and self-denial for Staff and Students," Henry Bailey, the second warden, observed.³ The regimen was certainly spartan.⁴ St. Augustine's prided itself on its links with alumni. "I would turn your history and experience to good account for the guidance and persuasion of many a young aspirant after Missionary life, who is more likely to be moved by biographical notices of those who have preceded him in the same career,

¹ Royal Charter of Incorporation in The Calendar of the Missionary College of St. Augustine, Canterbury, For the Year of Our Lord, 1853 (Canterbury: St. Augustine's Press), p. 17.

² A. J. Beresford Hope to E. Coleridge, Red Book, Volume 1, 56. Quoted in Boggis, St. Augustine's College, p. 55.

³ H. Bailey, letter of April 14, 1904. Quoted in Boggis, St. Augustine's College, pp. 174-75.

⁴ Especially under the first warden. In Warden Bailey's time there was some relaxation.

than by anything else."¹ One of the means of achieving this object was through the Occasional Papers,² the first issue of which appeared on May 31, 1853, being basically a collection of letters and news from missionaries abroad to encourage the students and to form a supportive bond between co-workers for Christ around the globe. They helped make St. Augustine's Tractarian influence a continuing and creative force among its sons.

Canadian dioceses received many of the Augustinians. The first student of the college, John Symes Williams, went as a priest to Fredericton. Between 1849 and 1900 ninety-four students entered the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada.³ These included Francis John Benwell Allnatt who was rector of Drummondville, 1864-72 and 1874-85, and then professor of pastoral theology at Bishop's College, Lennoxville, becoming Harold professor of divinity on the resignation of Henry Roe in 1892. Francis Partridge, rector of Rothesay, New Brunswick, rector of St. George's, Halifax, 1881-95, appointed dean of Fredericton in 1895, brought his intimate knowledge of Isaac Williams to the Maritimes. Another important Augustinian was Charles Andrew Daniel who came to the diocese of Toronto in 1863. Between 1865 and 1879 he was especially prominent as curate of St. John the Evangelist, Montreal, where during the 1870's he assisted Father Wood in his disputes with Bishop Oxenden. In 1876 Oxenden accused Daniel of withholding a letter forbidding

¹ H. Bailey, Twenty-Five Years at St. Augustine's College: A Letter to Late Students (n.p.: S. Hyde, 1873), p. 4.

² The complete set for the period 1853 to 1900 are on microfilm at OTG.

³ The full list can be found in Boggis, St. Augustine's College, pp. 312-26.

Father Prescott S.S.J.E. from preaching at St John's.¹ Augustinians in Canada tended to keep in as close touch as they could. The Reverend Philip W. Loosemore, Fredericton diocese; the Reverend William E. Gelling, St. Luke's, Halifax; the Reverend John Pearson, St. Margaret's Bay, Nova Scotia; the Reverend John Griffiths, Sandy Cove, Digby, Nova Scotia; and the Reverend C. P. Emery, Quebec, are revealed to be in friendly contact by the Occasional Papers. Some other prominent high church Augustinians were Canon Thomas Richardson of Quebec and T. E. Dowling of Fredericton.²

The Tractarian bishops in Canada felt safe in accepting Augustinians.³ Medley had welcomed the founding of St. Augustine's to bring forth men "by their words and good example to teach all her [the church's] members holiness."⁴ The obituary notice of Medley in the Occasional Papers quoted his view of St. Augustine's as "no motley collection of assorted plagiarism, but a positive creation, a real thing, which may be said to be like nothing else, and yet like everything else, in Christian art."⁵

Some of the Augustinians came to Canada under the auspices of the S.P.G. The Missionary Roll of the S.P.G. lists F. Partridge in New Brunswick

1

A. Oxenden to Father Prescott, S.S.J.E., October 4, 1876. MS letter in A. T. W. French, ed., "Matters of Parochial Interest of St. John the Evangelist Church Montreal. From Beginning of Work in 1861 to Close of Second Rectorate in 1916-17," p. 150. (Hereinafter referred to as "Matters of Parochial Interest"). This volume is kept in the central branch of the Royal Trust, Dorchester Street, Montreal.

2

There is a full list of the dioceses in which Augustinians were serving in Boggis, St. Augustine's College, pp. 312-26.

3

E.g., H. Binney to E. Hawkins, February 6, 1860, S.P.G., Nova Scotia letters 1860-67, 2695.

4

J. Medley to E. Hawkins, August 23, 1848. Quoted in Medley, "Annals," p. 20.

5

Occasional Papers, No. 253 (April 1893), p. 3.

and F. J. B. Alnatt in Lower Canada.¹ Was the S.P.G. biased in selecting for missionary work overseas those who were in favour of the Oxford Movement? Certainly enemies of Tractarianism found fault with the S.P.G. In May 1846 there was a memorial, one among many, from Shrewsbury with regard to the "blighting system of error" which "has found its way with the missions of the society," citing especially missions in and around Calcutta, India.² In 1854 Archbishop Sumner wrote to the Reverend E. Hawkins about repeated attacks on the Society from a writer in the Record, an evangelical Church of England newspaper.³ However, while the Society was accused of a Tractarian bias, it was also charged with anti-Tractarian prejudice. On Thursday, November 10, 1842, the rector of Cheltenham, the Reverend Francis Close, declared he would leave the S.P.G. if it put oral tradition and the Fathers above written tradition and the Word of God. The Secretary of the S.P.G. replied that "he could affirm that they never, with their eyes open, appointed a missionary to a foreign station, who held those opinions; to prevent this they took double and anxious pains."⁴ In December 1842, at the General Meeting of the Society in London, the Reverend Arthur Perceval asked if candidates were quizzed on the Tracts or on the authority of the Fathers

¹ Missionary Roll for 1702-1892 in C. F. Pascoe, Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1892 (London: S.P.G., 1893), pp. 860-77.

² Memorial of May 12, 1846, S.P.G., Home Papers 1840-50.

³ J. B. Sumner to E. Hawkins, July 17, 1854, S.P.G., Home Papers 1840-50 (mis-filed).

⁴ The Cheltenham Journal and Stroud Herald, November 14, 1842. An extensive correspondence arose about this. See especially ibid., February 6, 1843.

and this made a ground for rejection. He received a negative reply together with the assurance that the theological opinions of candidates were not tested.¹ Newly arrived in Fredericton, Bishop Medley opined that S.P.G. missionaries were often unsound churchmen. He excused himself for having ordained two men from the evangelical Colonial Church Society, claiming that the S.P.G. had been unable to

maintain a consistent system of teaching. There are no churchmen lower than the very men who are connected with the venerable society. The Bp. of Nova Scotia is surrounded with clergy of an ultra low school all eating the Society's bread--If then I reject a sincere faithful man because he does not come from the Society, ten to one but he becomes much lower and does infinite harm to the Church.²

Caught, however, in the middle of high and low church crossfire, a usual predicament for the S.P.G.,³ the Archbishops' Board of Examiners was set up in 1846 to place selection on an impartial and official level. In point of fact, however, the people nominated to serve on the Board by the two archbishops and the bishop of London were those who had been examiners for the previous years. The minutes of the Board either approve or reject an applicant, without any reasons being given, certainly no theological matters being indicated. This was the case both before and after 1846.⁴ The bishop

¹ His doubts remained. On April 13, 1843, a three-page pamphlet on the subject written by him appeared.

²

J. Medley to E. Hawkins, September 10, 1846, S.P.G., C/CAN/F/29, f. 329.

³

J. Inglis to E. Hawkins, July 2, 1844, NsHA, copies of letters to S.P.G., 1838-49, No. 297: "We seem to be thought too High by Low Churchmen, and too Low by High Churchmen; but under such circumstances, in which we are thought to be in the middle way, we are in danger of neglect from the High, and injury from the Low. . . ."

⁴

Volume XII5, Candidates Committee Proceedings, 1839-46, Board of Examiners, 1846-1848; Volume XII3, Candidate List with notes, 1848-68, S.P.G. The latter gives the names of candidates and dates for their interviews. Up to 1851 there is a record of whether they were "accepted," "declined," or "withdrew."

of Exeter, however, was much dissatisfied when the Reverend W. R. Scott of Enfield was rejected. Phillpotts maintained that Scott was "constrained by a series of cross-questions to admit that he agreed in the main with the theological principles popularly stigmatized as 'Puseyism.'"¹ From an overall examination of the applications of rejected candidates² it can be seen that they were refused on such grounds as lack of education, moral delinquency, weak judgment and extreme youth. One reaches the conclusion that generally doctrine only concerned the Board in finding suitable missionary positions for their candidates.³ S.P.G. missionaries were of all shades of the spectrum of theological opinions. They included such high churchmen as James Hudson of New Brunswick, and William Bullock of Digby, Nova Scotia; and low churchmen such as F. L. Osler and Benjamin Cronyn. The fact that the S.P.G. sent out a man did not mean he was a Tractarian. There are no sure connections.

1

H. Phillpotts to S.P.G., December 7, 1854, S.P.G.

2

Boxes C. Home 19b; 19c; 19d, S.P.G. These are presumably of rejected candidates since the names are not in the list of missionaries.

3

G. J. Mountain to E. Hawkins, May 12, 1846, QQD, 2650/46 (350). He asked for "sound and steady Churchmen and at the same time prudent in avoiding grounds of alarm and offence from a suspicion of Romanizing tendencies."

CHAPTER III,

FIRST CANADIAN REACTIONS TO

THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES

The Tracts for the Times came to New York quickly. In October 1836 Bishop Stewart of Quebec was impressed by the volume of the talk they had excited there.¹ At least as early as 1838 they were appearing in American editions. Therefore, although they were never published in Canada it would not have been difficult for Canadian Anglicans to secure copies. Yet these were slow to come into their hands. The Church had been in existence for over two years before it ran an extract from the Quarterly Review commenting upon them.² They became the subject of A. N. Bethune's editorial only on August 24, 1839. This was six years after the publication of the first Tracts in England. No comment was offered upon R. H. Froude's Remains by The Church, and it was over two years after the publication date of the initial two volumes that Strachan wrote to Newman, approving of them.³ Strachan did not gather his collection of Tractarian literature, or attempt

¹ Millman, Charles James Stewart, p. 170, n. 18, quotes Stone's Memoir of a Life of James Milnor, D.D., printed in Clowes Chorley, Men and Movements in the American Church (New York, 1946), p. 198: "The Tracts [for the Times] had a surprisingly large circulation in the United States. Bishop Stewart of Quebec remarked that he had heard more about them in a three days' sojourn in New York than a year's residence in London."

² The Church, June 15, 1839. The issue of August 10, 1839, reprinted F. W. Faber's sermon I Believe in One Catholic and Apostolic Church (3rd. ed., 1839), and that of October 19, 1839, carried J. H. Newman's Tract 6 (1833).

³ Supra, p. 56, n. 1.

correspondence with Newman, until he was in England during the summer of 1839.

The reasons why the Tracts were discussed belatedly in Canada lay principally in the pioneering nature of the Anglican church here. Toronto could not aspire to the theological or intellectual liveliness of New York. Small numbers of clergy scattered over large areas of country found most of their time occupied with demanding practical issues. The leisure to read and reflect was at a premium. Although clerical associations sprang up in the 1830's, these were not the full scale meetings of clergy or laity that the later synods afforded. Episcopal visitations provided only infrequent opportunities for clergy to meet and talk about the ecclesiastical questions of the day. It was not until 1842 that the seminary opened at Cobourg to give theological education a much needed stimulus.¹ For Strachan the early months of his episcopate were especially busy, and it was not before May 1840 that he could report definite progress to Newman in catching up with Oxford writings. His last tract was 80, of 1837,

but I daily expect all that may have been published up to April. I believe I have all your publications that were out before I left England. I am delighted with Palmer[']s Treatise on the Church [of 1838] & have read with benefit Gladstone[']s book, [The State in its Relations with the Church, December 1838].²

Although observations upon the Tracts took time to appear in Canada, when they did, those of high churchmen were particularly favourable. While

¹ T. R. Millman, "Joseph Braithwaite and the Bishop Stewart Theological Seminary at Chambly, 1828-38," Montreal Churchman, 27, No. 5 (May 1939), 20-22, lists the twelve known ordinands who studied under Braithwaite. The school gave no degrees and its course of study is unknown.

² J. Strachan to J. H. Newman, May 23, 1840. Quoted in Moir, "Strachan and Newman," p. 223.

contrasting views on the principle of establishment helped shape the respective developments of the Oxford Movement in England and Canada, previous circumstances in this country had prepared the ground for such a reception. Canadian Anglicanism's competition with other denominations had encouraged serious re-examination of the fundamental nature of the church. English Tractarians would not have quarrelled with The Church's Prospectus of May 6, 1837. The paper aimed at a full declaration of the "apostolical constitution" of the church and the "scriptural purity of her Articles, Homilies and Liturgy. . . ."

Bethune's first editorial on the Tracts singled none of them out for a specific critique. It is uncertain how many of the eighty-six then available he had read or in what depth he had studied them. Much overworked, Bethune had long wished to quit the editorial chair, finding church journalism increasingly taxing,¹ but he was a scrupulous scholar and would not have tried to defend writings with which he did not possess at least a fair acquaintance. He sought to avoid either an uncritical endorsement or anything which would prove disruptive. A high character, but not unqualified approval was given to the Tracts which had "an apparent tendency to some few doctrines, which we deem erroneous, and which we believe are so held by the soundest of our Protestant divines; they are also occasionally disfigured by some expressions and sentiments which, to say the least, we consider of questionable lawfulness, and most decidedly inexpedient."² But the authors had "restored many a half-buried and

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A. N. Bethune to J. Strachan, June 16, 1838. Cited by A. N. Thompson, "The Life of the Right Reverend Alexander Neil Bethune D.D., D.C.L., Second Bishop of Toronto" (unpublished Master of Sacred Theology thesis, University of Toronto, 1957), p. 81. (Hereinafter referred to as "Alexander Neil Bethune").

2

The Church, August 24, 1839.

forgotten truth," especially that of apostolic succession, to its proper prominence in the battle against laxity and rationalism. Deviations from the middle way would disappear with time and experience. "When truth has been obscured and even hidden for a long time, it bursts upon us with a blaze almost dazzling; . . ."

Bethune's cautious approval of the Tracts was shared by Strachan who kept a paternal eye on his former pupil's newspaper. The new bishop of Toronto, always keen to claim personal acquaintance with church leaders, wrote to praise Newman and his friends, having discovered so much in the Tracts in accordance with principles formed earlier "by reflexion rather than books."¹ The strong eloquence of the early Tracts, "their able defense of the true Church," much appealed to Strachan.

Soon The Church found itself defending the Tracts more determinedly. "Every opinion which might bear the remotest appearance of error has been carefully selected from these writings, and held up to the condemnation of the conscientious Christian; while those sentiments which, by implication, would lead to a direct contradiction of the very errors imputed, were studiously kept out of sight."² The concerted nature of the opposition to the Tracts makes it clear that the newspaper is referring to the controversy in England, but with an eye to potential hostility from Canadian evangelicals. Not only were the attacks unfair but often dishonest in that many of the Tracts' most vehement condemners "had never read them!" Bethune, however, asserted that a thorough examination would reveal that they

¹ J. Strachan to J. H. Newman, August 15, 1839. Quoted in Moir, "Strachan and Newman," p. 220.

² The Church, October 19, 1839.

contained more truth than error, "knowing . . . , as in some instances we personally do, the character of those whose motives are so unfeelingly traduced, --their learning, . . . their piety, . . . their Christian meekness" This is curious as there is no evidence to suggest that he or his assistants, J. G. D. Mackenzie or Alexander Dixon for example, had direct personal ties with Tractarians.

At its close this editorial grasps the main issue exciting suspicions against the Oxford authors, their position with regard to the Church of Rome. The Church, with its horror of schism, could appreciate any admiration for Rome on account of her "retaining that principle of unity, to which Protestant Christians are lamentably indifferent or which they are sinfully surrendering." Yet it emphasized that the Tractarians were strong foes of popery, their own disclaimers to be received, "and not the false glosses which ignorance or malice may have palmed upon the Christian world." It is unlikely that many Canadian churchmen felt uneasy about any Romeward trend of the Oxford Movement at this time. A careful reading of the later Tracts would have been necessary, combined with some theological sophistication, to appreciate Romanizing tendencies more implied than overt.

Strachan's interest in Tractarianism and the broad range of The Church's compass meant that the diocese of Toronto was early open to the influence of the Tracts. The presence of a body of Irish evangelicals in the western regions guaranteed future heated debate. In Nova Scotia, however, the perspective of Anglican opinion as reflected in the editorials and articles of the Colonial Churchman¹ was much more narrow and inward

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This newspaper began in December 1835 and died in December 1840. Its editor was the Reverend J. C. Cochran, an old-fashioned evangelical who ran it from his parish of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.

looking. The Church observed that "their course seems to lie over a sea less boisterous than we have been compelled to navigate; . . ."¹ The calm spirit exuded was far removed from Oxford upheavals. There was, however, an interest in renewed thinking on apostolical succession,² and a plea by the editor for crosses on churches, "the Christian's glory."³ If, however, theological disturbance did not engage the paper's interests, the poetry of the Oxford Movement in the form of John Keble's verses could. In England, Keble's The Christian Year had quickly become popular after its publication in 1827. Newman's evangelical background had made him applaud its poetic expression of religious feeling and the Reverend J. C. Cochran was similarly captivated by the book. On January 11, 1838, "A's" letter to the Colonial Churchman recognized "something in this delightful author so calm and tranquillizing, so comforting to a religious mind, that I cannot but regret that a work which abounds in such beautiful poetry should not be more extensively known than it is." "A" hoped that he was mistaken in suspecting this author to be so little known in Canada, pleading for extracts to be printed in this newspaper. Cochran replied that he did not possess a copy of The Christian Year, but by the end of the month the first in a series of extracts was forthcoming.⁴ The Colonial Churchman's circulation was small, but its readers were afforded a small sample of the piety of the Oxford Movement.

One factor that kept those Canadian Anglicans who lacked direct access

¹ The Church, July 13, 1839.

² Colonial Churchman, September 21, 1837.

³ Ibid., May 17, 1838.

⁴ Ibid., January 25, 1838.

to English church newspapers and magazines from information about English ecclesiastical controversy was the idealization of the mother church. The Colonial Churchman on May 5, 1836, carried a report from a Nova Scotian clergyman visiting England where he saw "crowded churches" and heard "faithful preaching." "Green and flourishing yet is that tree, planted by God's providence, which for centuries has borne such rich and precious fruit. May God still guard it from the axe of the destroyer!" At this time English Tractarians were still reeling from the affront to Catholic orthodoxy of Hampden's appointment as regius professor of divinity at Oxford. But even to Tractarian clergy abroad the church in England was as firm as a rock, bathed in golden light, a picture that owed more to absence and homesickness than to reality. The Reverend E. H. Dewar, then chaplain to the British residents in Hamburg, Germany, and much saddened by the melancholy state of religion which he found there, wrote in 1844 that "England is excelled by no nation upon the earth for piety, for charity, for a pure and Christian morality."¹ There, "young and old, and rich and poor" obeyed the summons of Sabbath bells, a stirring picture to one "long an exile from his country." Strachan admired these sentiments so much that he quoted this part of Dewar's book in his formal obituary.² The reality, however, was that the working poor were almost entirely alienated from the church and that the church, far from being unchanging

1

E. H. Dewar, German Protestantism, and the Right of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. A Brief History of German Theology, from the Reformation to the Present Time. In a Series of Letters to a Layman (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1844), p. 229. (Hereinafter referred to as German Protestantism).

2

Proceedings of the Eleventh Session of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Toronto, June 9-11, 1863 (Toronto: Rowsell and Ellis, 1863), p. 12.

and solid, was threatened from all sides.

In 1840 Strachan's enthusiasm for the Oxford Movement was very strong. He wrote to Newman that "the said principles which your writings & those of your Friends are disseminating in England are rapidly gaining ground in the United States & this Province."¹ The Church had done much in spreading them, "& removing the prejudices & mistatements [sic] which the Dissenters publish and foster against her. We are gaining ground very rapidly and many of my Clergy who were rather low in their opinions on the Sacraments & sacred Character of the Church are very much changed for the better."

Strachan continued his support of the Tracts through 1841. In England Froude's Remains, John Biden's secession and Tract XC had brought about a vigorous reaction against them. How speedily Strachan came to read Tract XC or at least was aware of the controversy it had occasioned is uncertain. Bethune in the May 15, 1841, edition of The Church had commented upon it after a general review of the Tracts which he praised for revealing the church as it once was, "Catholic in its constitution and government, Catholic in its worship and discipline, as well as Catholic in its doctrinal tenets. . . ." (The Church always made a point of using the term "Catholic" in the sense of "primitive," and not confusing it with "Roman Catholic" as many churchmen did). Particularly welcome, given the recent creation of the diocese of Toronto and the desire for further Canadian bishoprics, was the Tractarian conception of episcopacy "as something more than the mere appointment of human wisdom, . . ."

The editorial repeated the popular English opinion that Tract XC held the Thirty-nine Articles to be no stumbling block to the acceptance of Roman Catholic dogmas, they containing no "condemnation of the doctrines of

¹ Strachan to Newman, May 23, 1840. Quoted in Moir, "Strachan and Newman," p. 222.

Purgatory, of Pardons, of the Worshipping and Adoration of images and relics, of the Invocation of Saints, and of the Mass, as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome." Bethune, however, had to confess that he was going by what others were saying, "because we have not had the opportunity of examining it; yet we are much more disposed to think the sentiments of its author to be really erroneous, than that a strained or unauthorized interpretation of its meaning has been made by individuals so competent to judge as the Heads of Houses in Oxford." Yet Bethune had failed to appreciate the political motives of the college heads. He had also criticized on hearsay evidence. The authors of the Tracts suffered much from those who had never read their works. Bethune, however, did make two points in mitigation of possible bad effects of Tract XC. First, the Oxford publications were from individual men, and had not been authoritatively proclaimed as accepted teaching. Second, "while . . . , amongst the useful fruits yielded by the writings in question, some . . . , are ashes to the taste, there is no reason, while we abstain from the latter, that we should reject the former."

Strachan's 1841 Visitation Charge made extensive reference to the salutary impact of the Tracts, but included no specific mention of Tract XC. The church was assailed and divided because she had departed from the apostolic model. The writings of the Reformers were little read, low views held of the sacraments and of priesthood, and people were lukewarm in their obedience to ecclesiastical ordinances, when "a few devout and learned men manfully and heroically came forward to stem the torrent. . . ."¹

1

J. Strachan, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto at the Primary Visitation, Held in the Cathedral Church of St. James, Toronto, on the 9th September, 1841 (Toronto: H. and W. Rowsell, 1841), pp. 17-18.

The works of the Fathers and the "pillars of the Reformation" had been rescued from ignorance, and oblivion.

The tenor of their teaching has been like their lives, holy, meek, and consistent with the spirit of Christianity; . . . But . . . , I by no means consider them perfect, or possessing any other authority than that of individual writers. Nor do I profess to agree in all their opinions, much less in some of their expressions . . . ; but . . . , after making all the deductions which the most rigid justice can demand, an amount of merit still remains to which few writers can pretend.

The Tractarians, although not mentioned by name, were men worthy of respect.

Strachan's letter to Newman of May 21, 1842,¹ indicates that he had not examined the last Tracts. "Tho far distant I have not been altogether inattentive to the controversy occasioned by the Tracts for the Times and while I exercise my own judgment in approving or disapproving those I have seen (down to Number 82 inclusive) I am unable to account for its bitterness." It is strange that Strachan had not seen more Tracts as Volume 5, Tracts 83-88, was in his possession by 1840,² but a lack of acquaintance with the late numbers might be a factor making for his extremely restrained criticism. Keble, Pusey, William Palmer and Arthur Perceval all approved of Tract XC. It was in many respects a very "Protestant . . . document."³ Strachan may have agreed with it in essentials. Certainly, "the earliest Numbers wrought wonders for our Church and revived . . . that Spirit of reverence for primitive truth & order. . . ." Those known to be their writers were generally considered extremely able and learned, leading the purest lives. Strachan indicates one reason for his reluctance to

¹ Quoted in Moir, "Strachan and Newman," pp. 224-25.

² In OTT, signed "John Toronto 1840."

³ Chadwick, Victorian Church, Part 1, p. 183.

become involved in a deeper debate with Newman. He felt himself lacking in the theological expertise necessary. "I do not consider myself qualified to decide upon the points at issue and even if I were the requisite information is not within my reach." Several criticisms were, however, passed upon the Tractarians. Pusey's visit to Irish Roman Catholic nunneries in the summer of 1841 was much regretted.

I do not & cannot accord with severe strictures on our early reformers-- or with the tone not always dutiful to my Mother the Church of England-- or with some palliations as they seem to me of the Church of Rome. My union with that Church must remain hopeless while she adheres to the Canons of the Council of Trent and the creed of Pius the 4th.

If Strachan at that time had not read Tract XC his comments suggest some knowledge of the phrases that many thought offensive and which were removed in its second edition.

Strachan's moderate and restrained observations may also have been prompted by his awareness of the divisions in Tractarian ranks. Canadians were finding out that just as the ideas of the Oxford Movement were changing from its early days so were differences developing among its leaders. The Jerusalem bishopric controversy of late 1841 and 1842 was a case in point. Hook; Palmer of Worcester College; Pusey, initially; and Gladstone, supported the scheme. Newman, Hope, Ward and Faber opposed it, being no friends to German Protestantism. In Canada, The Church praised Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem and welcomed the king of Prussia's projected visit to England, certain that "the glorious prospects of true Catholicism . . . will far more than console us for the defection of a few weak men from the Church, and for the hollow triumph which Popery has obtained, by pointing to the divisions of Protestant Dissent."¹ John Kent, a master, at Upper Canada

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The Church, January 15, 1842.

College, was now editor,¹ and, in a country where the claims of the Church of England to be the established church met with "sectarian" protest, was keen to show a gain for the Catholic principle of episcopacy. Moreover, the extent of German immigration into Canada and good relations existing between Anglicans and Lutherans encouraged a more friendly attitude towards Germans than that held by Newman in an insular and xenophobic Oxford. Canadian support for the Anglo-Prussian bishopric remained firm. The Church Times [of Halifax] stood up for Alexander's successor, Samuel Gobat, against Tractarian criticism. It saw no reason for a protest in 1853 against Gobat's proselytizing among the Eastern churches signed by J. M. Neale, Pusey, Marriott, Keble and Isaac Williams, among others, which could only be supported if Gobat were denying fundamental Christian principles. It thus found itself in the company of the archbishops of Canterbury and York.

By 1842 Canadian high churchmen had begun to be aware of the Romanizing tendencies of the later Tracts. Because, however, the early ones were still held in great esteem, being "quite unexceptionable,"² a clear distinction was coming to be made between the early numbers which were praised and the later which were criticized. The Church no longer maintained that Tractarians had their faces set against popery as it had done three years before. "Latterly, and especially in Tract XC, we believe that they have made unwarrantable concessions in favour of Romanism, and endeavoured to wrest the Thirty-nine Articles from their plain, legitimate meaning."³ Kent, however, admitted that he was working very little from personal knowledge,

¹ He was editor from August 16, 1841, to June 30, 1843.

² The Church, February 26, 1842. ³ Ibid.

having read scarcely any of the Tracts, "except three or four early ones," and conveying the impression that he had read copies of these in an English church newspaper. But while the Tracts were linked with Romanizing the charge that they encouraged secession to Rome was met with scepticism, "for Mr. Sibthorp has expressly stated, that the 'common idea' that his mind had been inclined to Popery by the perusal of the Tracts for the Times, is unfounded."

One new criticism of the later Tracts was that they were much too subtle and devious. Possibly Canadians prized plain speaking more than the English. Tract XC was "so mystical and fine-drawn in its arguments, as in a great measure to counteract its mischievous tendency."¹ Its method of interpretation was equivocal. Strachan, in particular, possessed an ideal of masculine strength suited to the needs of a frontier church. He thought "the Tractarians soon fell from the manliness and straightforwardness of their first tracts into a singular and puerile fondness of minutiae, which enfeebled their minds."² For Strachan, things should mean what they appeared to mean. Undue theological sophistication distorted plain truth.

The Church was beginning to realize in 1842 that comment on the Tracts only served to stir up trouble. It declared its intention not to enter upon any discussion of their merits.³ The extent of opposition to the Oxford Movement in these early years before the publication of the evangelical Berean is difficult to document. How quickly clergy embraced the emphases of Tractarian theology into their sermons or how soon the laity became acquainted with them is uncertain. In June 1839 the Reverend F. O'Meara,

¹ Ibid. The issue of March 10, 1843, has a similar critique.

² J. Strachan to E. H. M. Baker, March 7, 1856, SLB 1854-62, p. 124.

³ The Church, February 26, 1842.

a pronounced low churchman, wrote to his like-minded friend, Henry Grasett, that the Reverend George Hallen of Medonte was delivering the church "a darker and deadlier stab than the . . . Christian Guardian or British Colonist . . . could inflict" by "most shamefully" impugning the doctrine of justification by faith alone at Orillia, and was fervent in his hope that Hallen be not appointed to the pastoral charge of that neighbourhood.¹ It seems that O'Meara had been stung into protest by a higher theology.

Strachan's Visitation Journal of 1842 relates the work of the Reverend Mark Burnham at St. Thomas in reviving his parish according to Oxford principles.

It is gratifying to state the very prosperous condition in which I found this parish, . . . The success attendant upon his labours . . . he ascribes . . . to a more clear and earnest development on his part of the distinctive principles of the Church. . . . It was not until he pointed out distinctly and emphatically the nature and privileges of the Church, her close resemblance to the apostolic pattern, the many important and decided differences between her and other "Protestant denominations" that his congregation began to feel that they were a distinct and privileged people . . . and they manifested themselves no longer lukewarm in her service, but were ready to contribute with their substance as well as by their example to the advancement of her holy cause . . . the church has been enlarged and repaired, a large and commanding school-house has been built, in which religion forms the basis of instruction, and distinct principles of the Church are impressed upon the hearts and minds of the rising generation.

Evangelical clergy were becoming disturbed at the new trends. The Reverend R. D. Cartwright of Kingston was full of fears about the consequences of Tractarianism for church and gospel. The Reverend George Mortimer of Thornhill was another evangelical of the older generation who disapproved of "Puseyism," hoping that his nephew would be on guard against a "religion of forms and ceremonies and high priestly assumption. . . . Let

¹ F. O'Meara to H. Grasett, June 5, 1839, OTA, Strachan Papers.

² J. Strachan, Journal of a Visitation to the Western Part of His Diocese in the Autumn of 1842 (London: S.P.G., 1846), pp. 34-36. Quoted in Kenyon, "Oxford Movement in Upper Canada," p. 86, who points out Strachan's bias.

anything be expected otherwise than from Christ by faith through the power and agency of the divine spirit, and carry out this admission to its full length, and you are landed safely in Romanism."¹

The Reverend F. L. Osler of Tecumseth wrote to his friend the Reverend Francis Proctor in April 1842 rejoicing that so many English bishops had condemned Tract XC.² Strachan's pro-Tractarianism created a barrier for him, and he later wrote that he "should do better if I had Bp Mountain of Montreal to deal with [rather] than the Bp of Toronto. The latter is ultra high church and most anxious for the respectability of the church . . . , the former is the Xtian Bishop one can look up to as a Father and love."³ It is somewhat ironical, but consistent with the evangelical background of so many Oxford Movement clergy that W. S. Darling, who became involved with ritualism at Holy Trinity, Toronto, was Osler's favourite pupil at this time.

The Church had commenced its career respected by all, unbeset by party strife. The Tracts changed this situation. In October 1843 Osler wrote to Proctor that the newspaper "though not advocating the errors of the Oxford heresy, continually excuses them and sets forth the Church instead of Xt set forth by the Church." Bethune, once again editor, "is ultra high church. The paper has done much mischief, but I hope there will be a change soon else there will be a split. . . ."⁴ The previous editor, Kent, had resigned because the "clash and din of party strife was too much for him"⁵

¹ J. Armstrong, The Life and Letters of the Rev. George Mortimer, M.A., Rector of Thornhill, in the Diocese of Toronto, Canada West (London: Aylott and Jones, 1847), pp. 233-34.

² Quoted in A. Wilkinson, Lions in the Way (Toronto: Macmillan, 1956), pp. 75-76.

³ Ibid., p. 76. ⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

⁵ Bethune, Memoir of John Strachan, p. 159.

In Nova Scotia, also, the high church revival was making an impact. Bishop John Inglis' viewpoint was in accord with the broad tenor of the Tracts. He was moved by the response of the aged at St. John's Chapel, Loch Lomond, when at long last they were able to receive communion,¹ and was anxious "to enforce the duties to the church and to her claims" through making the parishioners of Mahone Bay "duly sensible" of her ordinances.² Inglis was always implacably opposed to Calvinism whose worst effect was "a tendency to party and disunion, of which those who thus lean, are often unconscious."³ His low church clergy found him exclusive for his opposition to a common Protestant burial ground. It is clear that under his guidance revived high church principles were making an advance. At Trinity Church, Digby, the Reverend William Bullock was "bringing his flock to a due regard for Rubrical Order. He baptizes and marries only in the church, and observes all days for which solemn services are appointed. On these occasions, he is much encouraged by a very respectable attendance in the church."⁴

Bishop Inglis appears to have been favourably disposed towards the Tracts in 1843. In a letter to the S.P.G. concerning the trouble its secretary, William Campbell, had at Cheltenham he supposed that his speech there has been "much distorted and falsified as the poor writers of the Tracts are."⁵ He suspected "it was a piece of premeditated mischief, and

¹ J. Inglis to S.P.G., December 29, 1840, NSHA, copies of J. Inglis' Letters, No. 209.

² Inglis to S.P.G., [July] 1842, No. 265.

³ Inglis to S.P.G., September 19, 1842, No. 267.

⁴ Inglis to S.P.G., [July] 1842, No. 265.

⁵ Inglis to S.P.G., [1843], No. 200.

that one of its objects was to aid the Colonial Church Society in its efforts to supplant the S.P.G." He felt the need of an Anglican church newspaper in his diocese to replace the Colonial Churchman and set forth the principles of the church, defending its members "against the delusions which are attempted by Romanist, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist periodicals, while we have no similar means for appeals to the good sense of our people."

In Quebec diocese there seem to have been no specific cases of early Tractarian influence. The Berean began its career in April 1844, and although it had a lot to say about the Oxford Movement in general it noted no particular scandals. Bishop George Mountain viewed his own opinions, in the way that Strachan did, as anticipating those found in the Tracts. Both the evangelical and high church revivals were seen as giving new life and energy to the church. For Mountain, the Oxford Movement was not only a matter of ideals, but one of practical mission, "enlightening the ignorant and reclaiming the depraved. . . ." He gloried in the power and authority of the church "that . . . challenges comparison . . . of her whole system in doctrine, government and lordship, with the writing of the earliest fathers, in records of the earliest councils, and the liturgical offices of the earliest times, to show her accordance with all these venerable authorities. . . ." ¹

Throughout 1843, as reflected in The Church, Canadian high church attitudes towards the Tractarians appear to have been highly ambivalent. The Romanizing tendencies of the Oxford Movement aroused dismay, but for the sake of her honour the church had to be defended from the abuse of dissenters.

¹
G. J. Mountain, Episcopal Address to the Members of the Church of England in the Diocese of Quebec, 1842, QQD, copy in Mountain Papers 1842-49.

Popery was taking advantage of internal division, but "dissent, at present, is the enemy from which the Church in Canada has most to fear; . . ."¹

The Church thought that Anglican accusations of "false doctrine, heresy and schism" provoked dissenters to retaliate by branding high church principles as "Puseyite."² The newspaper, understanding by this term "a predilection for the novelties of Romanism," found it unjust "because it is really and truly applicable, in that sense, to a very insignificant number of those who minister at the altars of the National Church at home, and probably not to a solitary individual within the bounds of the two Dioceses of Canada."³ With regard to evangelical hostility to the Tracts from within the church, there was a profound silence. It was expedient to present a united face to opposition from without and the Tractarian theology of the church provided the underlying principles for this endeavour. Encouragement was given by the vision of the mother church raising her head once again in majesty after "being trampled upon, insulted and reviled, . . ."⁴

The war between the Tractarians and their opponents raged at Oxford. On May 14, 1843, Pusey delivered a sermon on the doctrine of the real presence, The Holy Eucharist, a Comfort to the Penitent, for which he was abruptly suspended from preaching in the university for two years on the grounds that it was against recognized Anglican teaching. The Church said that it was hard to show that the sermon was heretical, but considered that it would have been better if it had not been written "because it is deficient in practical power and benefit, and throws but a thicker shade of mystery around that which it was meant to explain."⁵

¹ The Church, August 19, 1842. ² Ibid., March 10, 1843.

³ Ibid., July 28, 1843; December 1, 1843. ⁴ Ibid., August 4, 1843.

⁵ Ibid., August 11, 1843.

It did, however, reprint the offending sermon in its pages, although Canadian churchmen were left to form their opinion three months later than the undergraduates at Oxford.

The year 1843 was an uneasy one in that clergy in England trickled over to Rome, and it was daily expected that Newman would join them. His failure to do so raised the spectre of the fifth columnist at work. The Church viewed his recantation of language used against the Church of Rome as exhibiting

the worst abominations and tenets of Popery, and the sooner the Church is rid of such wavering Protestants as Mr. Newman, the sooner will her peace be restored We grieve over this sad perversion of a pious and highly-gifted mind, and perceive, in consequence, more clearly than ever, the necessity of neither going beyond, nor falling short of, the Prayer Book. . . .

The situation of the Church of England in Canada made her very conscious of her position as steering a middle course between competing churches and sects. The time was ripe to assert the Reformation doctrine of the Anglican church as the via media. Charges of "Puseyism" by dissenters could be taken as "an assurance of our being in the safe, middle path between Popery and Dissent. . . ." ² The Anglican way was one of delicate balance and there was a deep mistrust of any change that threatened the vision of the church being the same for ever. Falling short led to schism, a lurch too far meant straying onto the via Appia.

A clergyman who mutilates the baptismal service, who violates the generally recognized rubrics or who shortens the prayers according to his convenience and caprice, . . . is in danger of becoming a Protestant Dissenter, . . . A clergyman who introduces strange gestures and exploded ornaments or observances connected with the superstitions of the age preceding the Reformation, . . . ³, is in danger of becoming outwardly and in heart a Popish dissenter.

There was one sure test for avoiding these pitfalls and that was the testimony of the Scriptures as the sole standard of religious truth. Primitive

¹ Ibid., April 28, 1843.

² Ibid., October 28, 1842.

³ Ibid., April 28, 1843.

tradition illumined Scripture but was to be fully subordinated to it.

So far as the Oxford writers brought forward doctrines warranted by Holy Scripture, and which, though for a time nearly forgotten, have been held by the Church in all ages and places, viz., the Apostolical Succession as declared in our Catechism, and Baptismal and Confirmation Services, --and the real though spiritual communion in the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist as shown in the Communion office, -- and that the Church is by divine appointment the depository and witness of truth, they did good service.

But what was not allowed was unlimited private judgment "in favour of novelties" without proper regard for scriptural sanction or the support of authorized ecclesiastical formularies. In so far as the Tractarians had dispensed with the necessary standards and "have indulged towards Rome or attempted in the slightest manner to gloss over or palliate any of her numerous and deadly corruptions" Strachan was unable to countenance them.

The heightening tension of the events at Oxford during 1843 made The Church anxious to rescind some of its earlier support for the Tracts without losing face. Distinguishing between the early and later Tracts no longer sufficed. Tractarianism had become completely odious and any more sophisticated distinctions belonged to previous days. "We never said that the writings of the Tractarians, . . . , were unexceptionable: we never proposed them for the guidance or study of our Christian community; . . ." On February 2, 1844, The Church announced that "it is time to have done with the Oxford controversy." The feudings and secessions had made the whole topic too embarrassing, too easy to provide ammunition for papist and dissenter. During the party warfare of the 1850's Bethune's support for the Tracts was to haunt his career. Evangelicals like F. L. Osler and Samuel

1

J. Strachan, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto, at the Triennial Visitation, on the 6th of June, 1844 (Cobourg: Diocesan Press), p. 53.

2

The Church, December 1, 1843. C.f., ibid., February 26, 1842.

Ardagh were becoming increasingly hostile to The Church. Strachan wrote to Bethune advising him how to proceed.¹ Very long articles like Gladstone's considerations on the present state of the church, although excellent in themselves, might appear in extract:

Your Editorial Articles are in general very able, but the truth is the Persons who object are of morbid temperaments, and miserable judges; yet as they can do us a mischief we must yield a little in taking selections now and then from their own School, when it can be done without any compromise of principle.

It is clear that in 1844 and 1845 evangelical opinion was becoming more forceful in its opposition to the Tracts. One important factor was the growth of ritualism in England as a result of the Oxford Movement and the fear that the church in Canada would be similarly infected. The Church thought the Canadian situation afforded its own safeguards. "Struggling, as we are, against spiritual destitution, no caution is required to guard us against lavish ornament and superstitious ceremonial: the ritual of our church and our scanty means forbid these extremes."² Laymen, however, particularly in the more backward regions of the diocese of Toronto, were suspicious of innovations. The Reverend Alexander Pyne was S.P.G. missionary at Moore and Sarnia in the Huron Tract from 1841 to 1845. When he lit candles at sunset for evensong and baptism "a murmur reached me, after a few days, to the effect that I was sadly tainted with the notions of the new theology, about the symbolism of candles, and that I appeared to think Divine service required that aid to render it more efficacious!"³

It was preaching in the surplice, however, that proved the cause of

¹ J. Strachan to A. N. Bethune, January 29, 1844, OTT.

² The Church, June 19, 1841.

³ A. Pyne, Reminiscences of Colonial Life and Missionary Adventure in Both Hemispheres (London: Elliot Stock, 1875), p. 47. (Hereinafter referred to as Reminiscences).

the first proper ritualistic controversies in Canada. It was the custom in 1840 that Holy Communion was celebrated in the surplice, which was used at the offertory sentences, and that the Nicene creed and the sermon were with the black gown. Preaching in the surplice was "a decided novelty" according to many churchmen, not necessarily evangelicals. Strachan had a decided preference for the surplice and favoured the discontinuance of the black, or Geneva gown. Missionaries who found it too troublesome to carry both were advised to pack the surplice.¹ Against the objections of the Reverend H. J. Grasett, Strachan insisted that the surplice only was worn in the parish of Toronto and at St. George's Church.²

There appears to be a plot against the use of the Surplice during the Sermon at St. George's, but I can find no clue to ascertain its Origin, tho' I have little doubt from whence it comes. As the matter is not worth contention, and the Bishop of Montreal is against the Surplice, I shall be obliged to succumb, but it will not be easily forgotten.³

Bishop Mountain, in fact, denied that he had "any passion for the practice of preaching in a gown," although he preferred it.⁴ He was, however, prompted "by a desire that in doubtful matters, we should not be disturbed by any sudden changes or deviations from long-established custom, breaking out here and there, unconcerted among the Clergy and unauthorized by the governing authority of the Diocese." The Berean found no irregularities in the diocese of Quebec over the surplice, but had clearly been much disturbed by

¹ Strachan, Charge, 1844, p. 30.

² J. Strachan to H. J. Grasett, September 6, 1845, SLB 1844-49, p. 119.

³ J. Strachan to A. N. Bethune, October 7, 1845, OTT.

⁴ G. J. Mountain, A Circular Letter from the Bishop of Montreal to the Clergy of His Diocese, on Church Vestments [March 27, 1845] (London: F. and J. Rivington, 1845), p. 16.

attempts in England to make its use in preaching mandatory. If Bishop Phillpotts' determination in this matter

had succeeded, there can be no doubt but it would have strengthened the Tractarian cause beyond calculation, whereas its failure is a "heavy blow and discouragement" to it, for which we see reason to praise God who watches over that protestant character of the Church which has been acquired at the expense of the blood of many martyrs.

The appearance of the Berean in April 1844 was important for it was the only church paper printed in Quebec at that time. It was ably edited by the Reverend C. L. F. Haensel with a strong emphasis upon missionary news and the doctrine of justification. Its criticisms of Tractarianism were set within the broader context of its belief that religion was a matter of inner renewal. Concentration upon outward observance led only to Rome. An editorial² dealing with letters from a certain "Mikros," which pointed to "periodicals, books for children, . . . , the product of Oxford-minds, or minds deeply tinctured with Oxfordism" in circulation at the time, roundly attacked churchmanship which rested "upon the strength of punctiliousness in matters of outward observance while the question respecting a renewal of the heart is elbowed into a corner." Such Oxford "perversions" were merely in another guise "the old low Churchmanship which conceives of the Church as of the earth," preoccupied with the outward form of baptism rather than the new birth of conversion. It was generous in tone towards a "high Churchmanship which will not think of the Church separately from her Master's design with her as an ordinance for winning sinners from the power of Satan to God. . . ." High churchmen with "a regard to the security of our Protestant privileges" should be spoken of with respect.³

¹ Berean, March 13, 1845. ² Ibid., December 16, 1844.

³ Ibid., October 17, 1844.

To the Berean the Tractarians were "idle worldlings." It quoted with approval the assertion of the Episcopal Observer that "the gay, the volatile, the unthinking, are the first that are caught by these new doctrines and practices of the Oxford school."¹ "Make Christianity a round of outward observance and who would not be a Christian?"² Tractarianism, however, was not merely superficial; it was also destructive. It undid the good work of evangelical preaching, services and pastoral endeavour.³ Romanizing works, especially those published by James Burns, were to be hunted down, and a watchful eye kept "upon the ground where the seed scattered by Tractarians may spring up."⁴ The Tracts were attacked because of their

avowed object of propagating the views of those misguided men who have taken the lead in the alarming movement Rome-wards at the present day; and as this printed matter cannot so easily elude one's grasp as smooth-spoken Doctors and Professors may, we have adopted the term Tractarian to designate those dangerous opinions. . . .

The Berean disliked the name "Oxford Movement" as linking certain errors with a celebrated English university. Although there were no more Tracts after XC the authors were taken to task for reprinting them and using their pens with as much industry as before while avoiding the offending title.⁶

The Berean scrutinized events in England. The inscription, "Ye who enter this Holy Place, pray for the sinner who built it," over the western door of St. Saviour's, Leeds, the anonymous gift of Pusey, aroused Haensel's fear of episcopal sanction for prayers for the dead. It had not been stated that the inscription would be removed on the builder's death, and the Berean concluded

¹ Ibid., August 21, 1845. ² Ibid., December 16, 1844.

³ Ibid., May 7, 1846. ⁴ Ibid., April 3, 1845.

⁵ Ibid., October 17, 1844. ⁶ Ibid., August 15, 1844.

"that the circumstance was kept from the Bishop's cognizance by 'reserve'. . . ."¹ The Church shared its fellow newspaper's repugnance at prayers for the dead on the principle that the practice masked peoples' responsibility for their own repentance, but assumed that the prayers at Leeds would cease after the donor's death. Prior to that there was "nothing irreconcilable with Protestant principle, in the desire expressed by an individual who feels himself to have been, in a peculiar and grievous degree, a sinner against Almighty God, that his fellow-worshippers should pray for him."²

Not only was the Berean watchful about the increase of Tractarian error in England, but it was disturbed by its manifestations in the United States as dire warnings of what could happen to the church in Canada. The peace and harmony of church life was threatened. The Tractarians at Trinity Church, Nantucket, Massachusetts, had made no changes in their services despite episcopal requests, although they professed to hold an exalted sense of episcopal authority. "If Bishop Griswold had countenanced, and if Bishop Eastburn now would favour, the Romanizing novelties of the Rector of Nantucket, there would be all submission; but their Protestant disapprobation they may express as they please, their Tractarian Presbyter sets them at defiance."³ Another controversy that engaged the Berean's attention was that concerning Bishop B. T. Onderdonk of New York who in 1844 was brought to trial for moral turpitude at the instigation of certain evangelicals and suspended from office. Haensel was pleased that the bishop could no longer use his position to further his "romanizing work" or support the deviations of the New York Churchman, and that his "haughtiness has been succeeded by a fall."⁴ The

¹ Ibid., December 18, 1845. ² The Church, January 16, 1846.

³ Berean, August 15, 1844. ⁴ Ibid., June 26, 1845.

Church had always viewed him more kindly, praising his "affectionate patriarchal character"¹ in private and public life, and declaring on his downfall that he had been treated with unfair severity.²

The charge that the later Tracts had become increasingly Romanizing, which had led to their general condemnation, seemed to be fully substantiated by the secession of many held in high repute by the church during 1845. Newman's secession caused profound shock, although the readers of the Berean had been led to expect it during the course of that summer.³ The editor asked unknowingly after the predicted event in October how long the church would continue to tolerate Newman whose writings found such favour among recent converts to Rome.⁴ His defection was announced without elaboration on November 6, the delay owing to the time it took for the mails to reach Canada. The Berean, however, beat The Church to it by a week. The latter received word of Newman's fate with sympathetic understanding. Bethune sorrowed for "the calamitous change" overtaking "a very able and good man." Reasons were advanced for the secession centring on the secular usurpation of ecclesiastical authority.

To see . . . --clergymen reviled, insulted, deserted, because they sought to act up to their ordination vows, and to carry out the practical benefits of the system which our inestimable ritual embodies-- . . . --to see Bishops reviled, well nigh persecuted, because a more frequent or more general use of the surplice than of the gown was recommended, --to see exception taken to the collection of alms under the sanctifying influence of exhortations from God's holy Word, rather than, as in the haunts of the world, in the lobby or at the door, --to see the introduction, or non-introduction of . . . old usages revived by episcopal sanction and authority, made the test for adherence to the worship of our fathers, . . . to see all this, might shake weak or warped minds from their balance; create a dread that . . . even the blessing of God was withdrawn from us.

¹ The Church, February 16, 1839. ² Ibid., January 24, 1845.

³ Berean, August 28, 1845. ⁴ Ibid., October 16, 1845.

⁵ The Church, November 14, 1845.

Strachan judged Bethune's article on Newman "able and well composed but I should have been still better pleased, had you been more severe and less disposed to find excuses for him."¹ The Berean did not do so. "We had long looked upon him as an insidious foe within the Church, . . ."² It regretted that Newman was able to escape trial for what he had done.³

Newman's departure was deeply wounding to Anglican pride in the via media and The Church's apology for it could not suffice. "He has done incalculable mischief, and is quite inexcusable unless he be indeed mad. . . ."⁴ "The insidious proceedings of Mr. Newman & his Party, whose conduct appears to me a sort of insanity" would not be excused. "We are well rid of such men . . . I can easily conceive it possible for a learned and good man to continue a Roman Catholic . . . but I cannot conceive it possible for a man of sense to become a Roman Catholic."⁵ Strachan's severity was re-echoed in The Church. On July 3, 1846, Newman's doctrine of "developments" was attacked, and later it was asked how such a delusion could have entered "a scholar's mind, unless that mind had either utterly apostatized from its subjection to God, or (which was probably Newman's case) lost the healthy possession and exercise of the faculties with which God endowed it. . . ."⁶ Those who went over to Rome continued their fast slide downhill. The Church referred to F. W. Faber's The Saints and Servants of God: "Poor Faber! his fall, indeed has been very sad and terrible; --may it please a gracious God to restore the hopeless, deluded

¹ J. Strachan to A. N. Bethune, November 19, 1845.

² Berean, August 5, 1847. ³ Ibid., February 8, 1849.

⁴ Strachan to Bethune, November 19, 1845.

⁵ J. Strachan to H. Patton, November 10, 1845, draft, SLB 1844-49. Quoted in Moir, "Strachan and Newman," p. 225.

⁶ The Church, September 29, 1853.

backslider, and cause him to build upon the Rock of Ages, instead of Baal-like 'austerities' of a few crazed and morbid 'silly women'. . . ."¹

The church newspapers were quick to draw lessons from the secessions. Such generally bore out points of view previously entertained. The Church believed that a diligent reassertion of the true nature of the church would stop the drift to "an erring and cruel step-mother."² "Let the Church's rules, and system, and principles be but followed out; . . . and we hold it as our solemn conviction that there will, among the enlightened at least, be no more conversions to Popery." "W. H. R." thought it misguided to believe that the individual conscience could decide whether the church was right or wrong.³ The Berean saw the divine hand safeguarding the pure reformed doctrine of the Church of England.⁴ Those who supported the "perversions" high or low, learned or ignorant, were those who placed priestcraft before the workings of the Holy Spirit.

John Strachan's conclusion from Newman's secession was that it was no longer safe or expedient even to mention the Tracts. The church had been embarrassed and endangered.

I would suggest as little reference for a time to the tracts or movement which they have occasioned as possible, as well as to what are called Church principles--believe and act upon them, but abstain from bringing them markedly and with too great and apparent desire forward. They have now for a great while been admirably discussed and stated in your paper. Let the seed sown have space to germinate, and in the meantime give more copious extracts from Sermons and theological works in practical and devotional subjects. . . .

¹ Ibid., February 22, 1849. ² Ibid., November 14, 1845.

³ Ibid., "W. H. R." to Editor. ⁴ Berean, August 5, 1847.

⁵ Strachan to Bethune, November 19, 1845.

Newman's secession was traumatic for the Anglican church in Canada. Previous conversions to Rome had received little attention by comparison. After Newman's departure The Church remained relatively silent about those who seceded. The Berean was rather more anxious to point out the necessary end of flirtations with Romanism, and listed the errant clergy.¹ In April 1847 it quoted the Morning Post's estimate of the number of seceding Anglicans as seventy during the preceding eighteen months and hoped that John Keble, a "misguided man," and other Tractarians would reveal themselves in their true colours instead of hiding within the Church of England and eating her bread; their characters stood to gain.² It did not, however, wish dissenters to gloat while it reprimanded its Tractarian co-churchmen. When the Independent minister of Southampton, the Reverend J. Wilson, became a Roman Catholic it pointed out that it would be possible to make out a stronger case for "the tendency of Independency to Romanism; . . . than the corresponding charge so frequently made against the Anglican Church."³ Anglicans were not slow to point out that there were numerous converts to their church from Roman Catholicism, not to mention Protestant bodies.⁴

The secessions created a certain bias, not merely against Tractarianism, but against Anglicanism. Alexander Pyne in the Huron Tract encountered hostility towards the Church of England and apportioned blame.⁵ "This feeling of suspicion and hostility has originated from the advocacy of those principles put forth some years since by the Oxford Tract writers, as well as from the secession of many of the clergy of the Home Church, to Romanism." He was, however, no high churchman, his own persuasion being clearly apparent.

¹ Berean, November 27, 1845. ² Ibid., April 8, 1847.

³ Ibid., December 10, 1847. ⁴ E.g., ibid., November 27, 1845.

⁵ Pyne, Reminiscences, p. 48.

"Now, we are coldly and cautiously received as ministers, even by our own people, until they prove, by our individual teaching, whether we come amongst them to sow poison or truth--to preach salvation by 'the Church' or by Christ." The Reverend A. W. H. Rose in his The Emigrant Churchman in Canada also wrote of the difficulties of missionaries as the result of Tractarianism.¹ It has been suggested that the strength of evangelical protest against high church principles in the rural areas of Upper Canada owed something to the individualistic character of frontier life as opposed to the more orderly ideals of maturing communities.²

After the secessions of 1845 the Berean was convinced that the danger to the church was not from Protestant dissent "but from romanizing tendencies within her."³ It was "utopian to think that there would not always be dissent." The newspaper urged close surveillance over the machinations of the converts. F. W. Faber had wooed the two eldest sons of a pianoforte tuner over to Rome and should be watched.⁴ Parents were to scrutinize what their children were reading. One Sunday-school book in Quebec included a picture of the adoration of the host. Keble's Lyra Innocentium, although its poetry was of a high order and carefully constructed, was papist in parts.⁵ The Berean was apprehensive lest Gladstone, to whose theological principles it held strong objections, would have a bad influence upon the selection of a new principal for McGill University.⁶ The Church's attitude towards such events was less hostile. It claimed that the diverse membership of the

¹ A. W. H. Rose, The Emigrant Churchman in Canada, By a Pioneer of the Wilderness (2 vols.; London: Richard Bentley, 1849), 1, 194.

² Kenyon, "Oxford Movement in Upper Canada," p. 88.

³ Berean, May 7, 1846. ⁴ Ibid., March 12, 1846.

⁵ Ibid., September 3, 1846. ⁶ Ibid., May 14, 1846.

Canadian Evangelical Alliance, which was formed in 1845 to fight both Tractarian and unitarian influence, made it impossible to look for any good from it; "as well might we expect to gather figs of thorns, or grapes of a bramble-bush."¹ Rumours of "the excellent Mr. Keble" going over to Rome were thought calumnies, instances of party spirit being often stronger than truth.²

In Nova Scotia, Bishop Inglis' early favourable disposition towards Tractarianism changed, although it was not until 1846, considerably later than Strachan, that his antagonism became decided. The main factor in his change of attitude seems to have been not so much the direction of the Tracts themselves, or of the English high church writings,³ or the secessions, but the effects of Tractarian controversies in his parishes. Roman Catholics were on the offensive and Anglicans were confused.

Has not Dr. Pusey put himself, and have not his friends still more put him in a position, in which much of the power of his mind, and much of his deep learning are neutralized for good? The effect of the misdoings at Oxford, although there was much to engage affection at first, and much to win concurrence, has spread wherever our Church is known, or heard of. I found the poor fishermen and their wives at the little settlement on this harbour, where our ladies have built a pretty little chapel, in great tribulation because two crosses were on the outside of the building. This would not have been so fifteen years ago. I endeavoured to reason with them, and might have succeeded, had it not been for the acts of Romanists, who abound in the neighbourhood. They never pass our Chapel without kneeling and crossing themselves, and sometimes with prostration--but those would not have been used years ago--perhaps the most stinging part of the conduct of these Romanists is their telling⁴ these poor people that in a few years the Chapel will be theirs: . . .

In Yarmouth the previous autumn Inglis had encountered a split between

1

The Church, October 9, 1851.

2

Ibid., March 5, 1847.

3

J. Inglis to S.P.G., September 13, 1845, No. 320., "There is much that is very engaging in [H. E.] Manning's 'Unity of the Church' which makes me wish the book was less difficult and more popular."

4

Ibid., March 2, 1846, No. 326. This letter was written in the light of Pusey's February 1, 1846, sermon, The Absolution of the Penitent.

high and low in the congregation, but he "was assured that things were now improving, and I impressed upon the people to put down every feeling that could harm the Church in these difficult days."¹

New Brunswick also witnessed opposition to Tractarian innovations from evangelicals. Medley had the misfortune to arrive in his diocese during the uneasy summer that preceded Newman's departure, and was very suspect on account of his Oxford associations. Early in 1846 there was a strong protest against the Tractarian teaching of the Reverend James Hudson, trained at Trinity College, Dublin, but a graduate of King's College, Windsor, who was the missionary along the Miramichi valley. At a vestry meeting at St. Paul's, Chatham, on January 20, resolutions were passed which showed quite clearly what some church people thought of the Tracts, although the majority was six, in favour to four against. It was resolved,

that while we are firmly attached to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of which we are members, we gladly embraced the opportunity of expressing our most unqualified disapprobation and rejection of the "Tracts for the Times," the object of which Tracts has been to create discord and division, to revive exploded errors, and to introduce dangerous and unscriptural doctrine into the Church. . . .²

It was alleged that Hudson had confessed himself to be a Tractarian, and had "circulated tracts and books upholding their unscriptural and uncharitable doctrines. . . ." Bishop Medley replied in a letter of February 12 that he was "not aware that the Oxford Tracts, to which you have referred, are either lent or circulated by Mr. Hudson or by any clergyman in the Province."³

A special committee of four supported by a "vestry of seven and eighty others"

1

J. Inglis, Report to S.P.G., [January], 1846, No. 323.

2

Quoted in the New Brunswick Courier, June 27, 1846.

3

Ibid.

from Chatham protested against "a number of highly objectionable books" published by James Burns to be found in the parochial library.¹ They professed themselves shocked to have discovered that their bishop had purchased these and similar works on Hudson's behalf.

In the diocese of Quebec disturbance about the influence of the Tracts seems to have been minimal at this time. Although the Berean had protested against Romish literature in Quebec it never pointed its finger against any particular parish library. St. Peter's Chapel (St. Roch) was consecrated on October 20, 1844, to serve the poor, and in the 1860's was the centre of a controversy over such publications, but there is no definite indication of earlier trouble. The Reverend Jacob G. Mountain, however, at Harbor Briton, referred to "strange floating fears of Puseyism among some of my own."²

Bishop Mountain, preferring peace to rigid assertion of principle, knew how to bend and compromise. He was much helped by the unifying effect which a Roman Catholic majority had upon Anglicans. The later turns of the Oxford Movement upset him. Jasper Nicolls came from Queen's College, Oxford, in 1845 to be principal of Bishop's University, Lennoxville. He had voted in favour of W. G. Ward's book earlier that year, and had remained a supporter of Newman after the publication of Tract XC. Although in favour of preaching in the surplice, he had on his friends' advice adopted the gown. His congregation had been admonished that they came to church "to pray, not to hear sermons."³

Mountain wrote to his wife that although Nicolls might

have some leanings in Religion upon particular points acquired at Oxford, which are not in perfect accordance with my own views upon those points, --

¹
Ibid., July 11, 1846.

²
J. G. Mountain to J. H. Nicolls, August 22, 1848, QLB.

³
G. Nicolls to J. H. Nicolls, March 11, 1845.

we can hardly find in the present times any two people who in all points think perfectly alike, . . . and he and I can always cordially work together: in fact, I think he is closer to me upon the points in question than he was.

Bishop Mountain's acquaintance, however, with current Oxford theology was probably not extensive. His studies had been pursued in earlier times. He admitted to being out of touch in a letter to his son-in-law, Nicolls.

"We each know the productions of our own earlier steps in the ministry: you do not look back upon forgotten books. I do not know much of what are newly produced. The great standard works which pass down from age to age, --these-- of course, we both know something of."² He often asked Nicolls about recent publications: "Will you tell me when you next write, the title of Faber's book on Calvinism?"³

Increasing troubles over the development of ritual in England combined with past mistrust of Tractarians. On January 31, 1845, the dean of the Court of Arches had judged that the stone altar and credence table in the Round Church, Cambridge, did not fall within the meaning of the rubric. This reverse for the Camden Society which had provided the offending furnishings was duly noted by the Berean, though without comment. It did, however, later remark upon the strainings of high church clergymen in adjusting interpretations of the rubrics to suit themselves while retaining the labels and stipends of Anglican ministers. The preoccupation with outward form and arrangement, "the modern search for new things to be called old" had led to confusion and party badges. "The joiner and linen-draper often seem to act as important a part in the restoration of what is represented as churchmanship

1

G. J. Mountain to Mrs. Mountain, January 22, 1847, QLB.

2

G. J. Mountain to J. H. Nicolls, September 6, 1852, QLB.

3

Mountain to Nicolls, October 16, 1852.

as the men of learning in ancient language and theology."¹

Those who opposed "innovations" in services were faced with the problem of finding the means of bringing them to an end. One writer to The Church called for a meeting of the bishops to decide upon the meaning of the rubric, to enforce that decision, and to insist upon daily services in every church as well as Holy Communion on each Sunday. Then there would "be no further need of proceedings about Popery or Pusey," and clergymen could occupy themselves with "essentials" not "mummeries."² The conference of the British North American Bishops of September 1851, however, merely thanked God for the Book of Common Prayer, expressed "our entire and cordial agreement with the articles and formularies of our Church, taken in their literal sense," and an "earnest wish, as far as in us lies, faithfully to teach the doctrines, and to use the offices of our Church in the manner prescribed in the said book."³ The meeting recommended a synodical structure of government for the church. It did not, however, venture upon the perilous task of rubrical definition or establish any ultimate responsibility, whether of synod or bishop, in matters of doctrine or liturgy.

Another factor pushing anti-Tractarian reaction to extreme limits within the church in Canada was the growth of Papal Aggression in England. This made The Church take a much stronger anti-Tractarian stance than before. Having swallowed reports of a Jesuit secret plan hatched in 1824, it elaborated this to include the Tracts for the Times. Another stage of that scarcely rational fear of Rome which so much dictated Canadian attitudes to the Oxford Movement had been reached. The Tracts and Rome became

¹

Berean, April 2, 1846.

²

The Church, January 30, 1851, letter from "Priam" to "John Bull."

³

See Mountain, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, pp. 292-99, passim.

amalgamated in blind hatred and fear. One of the earliest fruits of the Jesuits' labours in the universities was the Tracts which unsettled men's minds and served to diffuse Jesuitical "poison," thereby being perverted from their early promise. Most of the writers had gone over to Rome proving

the Jesuit influence which originated such papers as Tract 90. Since then too, we have the open acknowledgment by Mr. Newman, now speaking as a Romanist, that he connected himself with the organization of "the Tracts for the Times" in 1833, so as to disseminate the views of Rome, because he says, "it was necessary to our (the Romish) position; . . ."¹

The only remedy against Jesuit influence was "a steady alliance to the spirit of our Catholic Church in both its doctrine and discipline."

Some churchmen found it possible to welcome the new attention being paid to church order, discipline and rubrics without giving the Tractarians their due credit. The Reverend H. C. Cooper at the 1847 meeting of the Huron Branch Association of the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto declared that such changes for the better were "neither Puseyite novelties nor the old Popish fictions." They were part of a natural development of the church in Canada. Other clergy, however, even after Newman's secession were still able to see the good in the Oxford Movement. The Reverend Arthur Palmer, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, said it was "attended with many beneficial results."²

In evangelical eyes to be a "Tractarian" was a very serious disability. The Reverend Samuel Brown Ardagh thought that Bethune's churchmanship disqualified him for the proposed Kingston bishopric in 1853. When it came to the strong Irish low church influence in the new diocese of Huron the attitudes which had been taken towards the Tracts become very relevant.

¹
The Church, January 9, 1851.

²
A. Palmer, On the Difficulties and Encouragements of the Christian Ministry: A Sermon Preached . . . 3 June 1847 (Toronto: Diocesan Press, 1847), p. 13.

In the party controversies of the 1850's and 1860's stands taken for or against them in the past became useful guidelines for distinguishing the opposition. The terms "Tractarian" and "Puseyite" once again became employed for purposes of vilification.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST GENERATION OF TRACTARIAN BISHOPS

It has been observed how little attention historians of the Oxford Movement have paid to the episcopal implementation of its principles.¹ In England Tractarians were almost completely excluded from the bench of bishops right through the turbulent days of the ritualistic controversies. Those who did become bishops encountered the resistance of entrenched conservatism. Canada, however, in common with other branches of the colonial church, offered a different situation more amenable to the application of Tractarian principles by enthusiastic and energetic bishops. John Medley, Francis Fulford and Hibbert Binney were of the first generation of Tractarians to have the oversight of Canadian dioceses.

The circumstances encountered by Strachan after his consecration were more favourable to the progress of the Oxford Movement than those which his immediate successors met when they became bishops. Secessions and Papal Aggression had not yet combined to make the Tracts odious. The threat to the church from the state, the "sects", and financial crisis rendered them attractive. Strachan brought his forceful personality into play in countering evangelical opposition to high church doctrine. Medley, Fulford and Binney were also of strong character, but they did not possess the experience of forty years in the Canadian church. An intimate knowledge of his clergy and local conditions strengthened Strachan's hold over his diocese. Bethune had

1

E. R. Fairweather, "A Tractarian Patriarch: John Medley of Fredericton," Canadian Journal of Theology, 6 (1960), No. I, 15. (Hereinafter referred to as "Tractarian Patriarch").

been his pupil at the Cornwall Grammar School. Abraham Nelles, Missionary to the Indians; and Adam Elliott of Tuscarora had received their ordination training under Strachan's supervision.

When Bishop Medley sailed to Canada for the first time in the summer of 1845 he was in a much more disadvantageous position than Bishop Strachan in 1839. The souring of attitudes towards the Tracts and unease over the secessions made him suspect owing to his known Tractarian connections. Medley had just served seventeen years in Henry Phillpott's diocese of Exeter; a place of refuge for many clerical supporters of the Oxford Movement.

After it was learned that Medley was to be the bishop of the newly created diocese rumour and speculation became rife in New Brunswick's political and ecclesiastical circles. Some expected the bulwarks of the church to crumble under his Puseyite teaching. Persons of different persuasions suspected that Medley would "disturb by garishness and unseemly forms and ceremonies, the religious convictions of all good Churchmen which had been inherited from their fathers, without spot or blemish, and which, they thought, it was their special duty to cherish and transmit unimpaired to their posterity."¹ The Legislature was imbued with a similar feeling. When Mr. Street moved on March 8, 1845, that Archdeacon Coster be granted a rebate of duties levied upon imported religious books, Mr. End desired to know if any Oxford tracts, "calculated to do harm," were among these, for if there were, the duties should not be returned. Mr. Brown was aware that Dr. Pusey's tracts had "almost openly acknowledged" the doctrine of transubstantiation and he thought the high church party intended to support that doctrine. "Mr. Boyd said that the present discussion did not originate

¹ G. E. Fenety, Political Notes and Observations (Fredericton: S. R. Miller, 1867), pp. 141-43.

with the Dissenters, but with the Churchmen themselves, who now appeared in the House as members of a divided Church. . . ." The resolution was finally sustained without a division, but had provoked an ominous display of religious bickering.¹

New Brunswick Anglicans were mainly of Loyalist stock and accustomed to a large measure of ecclesiastical independence. Their notion of the episcopal office was less exalted than Medley's. There had been no bishop in the Thirteen Colonies, and the bishops of Nova Scotia seldom visited this part of the diocese, exercising only a very loose control from Halifax. Certain episcopal powers had been taken over by the government in line with Loyalist Erastianism. Churchmen embraced democratic ideals, one being their freedom to choose their own clergy. There had as a consequence evolved a congregational type of church polity. Separate vestries were suspicious of outside interference from a bishop "lording" it over them and determined to assert their rights sanctified by custom and time. Unfortunately for the mission of the church, about which Medley was so concerned, the parishes were as loath to part with their money as with their privileges, although most of the province's wealth was controlled by Churchmen.

Generally, the laity of Loyalist descent were low in their churchmanship in tune with their views of the church. Their clergy, however, were much higher. It was probably because a high church bishop would command their overall support that one was chosen. Medley's selection must have owed much to the position of his friends Gladstone and Coleridge as treasurers of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. The Coster family was representative of Loyalist Anglican conservative high churchmanship. George Coster, archdeacon of New Brunswick from 1829, was rector of Fredericton. One brother was

¹

Ibid.

missionary at Carleton, St. John, and the other rector of Gagetown. Long before Medley's arrival Archdeacon Coster is reputed to have introduced the surplice in preaching, frequent communion, the offertory, observance of holy days, and daily services.¹ A visitor to Fredericton parish church in 1843, however, found no kneeling during the prayers and no responding by the congregation, the clerk making the responses. Services were dull, hymns being selections from Tate and Brady's metrical psalms.² It is, therefore, difficult to judge the effectiveness of George Coster's influence. His ill health would probably have hampered his efforts.

High church theology, however, had been encouraged in response to the attacks of Baptists and Methodists. Dr. Skeffington Thomson, rector of Christ Church, St. Stephen, tried to steer a middle course in his teaching,³ "to keep equally remote from the Latitudinarianism which recognizes no visible and defined church of Christ, and the ultraism of the Tractarian School." Yet he was constantly forced to re-examine church principles. The Methodists visited homes "asserting to the people that the church denied the new birth and spiritual regeneration." The church, he insisted, maintained these doctrines, but "referred its people to a different but a far more certain evidence of regeneration than the Sectarist, that is to the fruits, in a holy life, and not to the excitement of a moment." Thomson had written letters to parishioners advocating "the divine right and apostolic succession of the ministry, as it is supported by Holy Scripture, the concurrent testimony of

¹ W. Q. Ketchum, The Life and Work of the Most Reverend John Medley, D.D., First Bishop of Fredericton and Metropolitan of Canada (St. John, N.B.: J. and A. McMillan, 1893), p. 35. (Hereinafter referred to as Life of Medley).

² W. O. Raymond, "John Medley," in Leaders of the Canadian Church, ed., W. B. Heeney (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1918), p. 120. (Hereinafter referred to as "John Medley").

³ S. Thomson to S.P.G., January 14, 1845, S.P.G., C/CAN/F/29, f. 326.

the apostolic and primitive fathers and the church catholic (not popish) in every age."

Medley, however, found the church "in a very sad weak inefficient state"¹ when he arrived at Fredericton on June 10, and was unimpressed by the churchmanship he encountered.

The high church of this province is a miserable production--being high talk and low action in many quarters with great bitterness to dissenters. . . . Close to Fredericton is one church deserted--one more only three miles off, where the Sacrament has not been administered for three years. The Sunday School has only fifty children--and hitherto hardly any poor attend the church.

Several of the clergy Medley found deficient and wanting in attention to their duties. Dr. J. W. D. Gray did nothing³ and the best course for Dr. Skeffington Thomson was immediate retirement,⁴ although this did not occur until 1865. Medley's chaplain, the Reverend Richard King, complained to the S.P.G. in London that Dr. Edwin Jacob, the low church principal of King's College, Fredericton, was taking "your money for reading Prayers in his room."⁵

Medley discovered that the New Brunswickers were hard to fathom. Bishop John Inglis wrote to Edward Hawkins that nothing could have been happier than the impression made by him: "His first movements have been of great discretion"⁶ Medley, however, expected Loyalists to act and think much like Englishmen, and was disappointed. He lamented their desire "to assimilate

1

J. Medley to E. Hawkins, July 10, 1845, S.P.G.

2

J. Medley to E. Hawkins, June 26, 1845, S.P.G., C/CAN/F/29, f. 329.

3

Medley to Hawkins, July 10, 1845, S.P.G.

4

Medley to Hawkins, June 26, 1845.

5

R. King to E. Hawkins, n.d., [1845], S.P.G.

6

J. Inglis to S.P.G., June 17, 1845, copy NSHA.

all our institutions not to the mother but the daughter country [America] --i.e. to break up the parochial system."1 He was soon perplexed by what he took to be hostility. "It is true I have not ordered the surplice nor pulled down all the pulpits, nor turned to the East, nor crossed myself--nor refused to shake hands with those who offered me their hearty welcome--but what has stirred them up I cannot explain."2

Secessions to Rome were undoubtedly a major cause of Medley's problems. Through the early years of his episcopate he suffered the tension of awaiting the deleterious effects of secessions both in England and America about which he could do nothing. When he heard about possible defections to Rome in the United States he wrote: "If true, it will show that . . . Erastianism cannot be the reason there and it weakens that class of argument in England, I think. . . . Defection seems the great temptation now. God keep us all steadfast, in the faith and make us wise for Eternity."3

Following upon Newman's conversion the hostility towards Medley increased considerably. Instances of Tractarian "error" within the diocese became immediate provocations for criticism. There was considerable mistrust of services in Fredericton parish church, which served as Medley's pro-cathedral; of the offertory sentence and the prayer for the church militant at the end of matins, litany and ante-communion, according to the Prayer Book rubrics; of the disuse of the black gown; and of more frequent communion celebrations. English "innovations" caused alarm,

especially when we find that they, in whose minds this Rubrical Antiquity first dawned, are now within the fold of the Church of Rome, and are

1
Medley to Hawkins, November 22, 1847, S.P.G.

2
Medley to Hawkins, June 26, 1845.

3
Medley to Hawkins, December 3, 1849, S.P.G.

being fast followed by very many of their supporters! . . . With such an example before our eyes how anxiously should we watch the slightest approach to a pursuit which has led so many astray already. . . . The Laity of England have risen in their might and rescued the reasonable and long established forms of their forefathers from the reckless censure of an extraordinary few. Let Churchmen in this Province . . . follow such a precedent. . . .¹

Medley's biographer, W. Q. Ketchum, was relieved that Americans were free from such "folly which watches for the errors of Rome, under a cross on the altar, or a surpliced choir."²

The trouble over James Hudson's teachings on the Miramichi brought attacks by Thomas Hill, editor of the St. John Loyalist, upon Medley, who "will be too good and too wise to permit the church in New Brunswick to be broken up by insidious machinations of semi-papists, even though he himself should be a convert to their mummery and a disciple of Ward and Pusey."³ Some assaults aroused strong reactions. One defender of Medley found something "ludicrous" in the idea of his being a Jesuit. "He is so anti-Italian, so thoroughly Saxon, so John Bullish."⁴

St. John was the centre of evangelical opposition to New Brunswick high churchmanship. Its leader was the Reverend J. W. D. Gray, "a zealous clever useful man,"⁵ who had entertained hopes for the bishopric. He was rector of Trinity Church, the most influential parish in the province, which had refused for ten years to join the Church Society of the Archdeaconry of

¹ A Few Good Reasons for Adherence to the Forms and Customs of the Church of Our Forefathers (Fredericton: James Doak, 1846), pp. iii-iv. (Hereinafter referred to as A Few Good Reasons).

² Ketchum, Life of Medley, pp. 182-83.

³ Loyalist, July 9, 1846. Quoted in J. D. Purdy, "Church of England in New Brunswick, 1783-1860" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1954), p. 94.

⁴ Raymond, "John Medley," p. 124.

⁵ Medley to Hawkins, July 10, 1845.

New Brunswick under George Coster's leadership. Gray's views were to be expressed ably in the Church Witness of which he was editor. From 1850 to 1868 this newspaper opposed "Rationalism and Ritualism," "Popery and Puseyism," and, in particular, all attempts to establish a synod. Gray's attitudes mellowed with time, but not until the days of Archdeacon Brigstocke did Trinity Church come round to supporting Medley. The decision to have Fredericton rather than foggy St. John as the see city had been taken as a snub by the larger richer town.

Medley regarded himself as attached to no party in the church and was angered by internal squabbles which threatened her unity. "The odious cries of High-Churchman and Low-Churchman, with other more offensive names, must not be heard in our mouths, lest our own weapons be turned against ourselves."¹ "The truth is I will not be a party man, nor of any party but the Church."²

The building of the cathedral in Fredericton was Medley's chief project and the cause of much of the opposition which he encountered in the early days of his episcopate. The foundation stone of "the Mother of all the Churches in the Diocese" was laid on October 15, 1845. Medley's critics thought he was unjustifiably wasting money. Clerical donations were meagre, and Medley suspected that Gray was trying to "drive me to St. John. . . . Mammon is the god--and the sole opposition to the Cathedral arises from the votaries of Mammon." Medley, however, felt that he was receiving more support for his scheme from low churchmen, despite "the rock of Puseyism," than from "those who have usurped the name of High Churchmen" by whom he considered

¹ Medley, Charge, 1847, pp. 7-8.

² Medley to Hawkins, January 27, 1846, S.P.G.

himself "abandoned and betrayed."¹ Clearly they lacked his understanding of the role of the cathedral in the extension of the church's mission.

Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, represented the meeting point of Tractarianism and ecclesiology. As such it was the product of Medley's concern with aesthetics, one which J. M. Neale asserted the writers of the Tracts lacked. Medley saw that the renewed preoccupation with Catholic truth meant that its outward expressions in art and ritual should be taken seriously. In England Medley had been founder and secretary of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, and had written a tract, Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture. St. Andrew's, Exwick, built under Medley's influence in 1841 with its stone altar was an early realization of the principles of the Camden Society. Churches were to be in a straightforward Gothic style, to have distinct and spacious chancels, and to be without galleries and enclosed rented pews.

It was held by the ecclesiologists that a bishop and his cathedral were inseparable elements in any colonial missionary work.

The course of proceeding adopted for the conversion of any new district . . . was the mission of a Bishop and his clergy, the erection of a See, and the building of a Cathedral. This was not the result but the means of conversion. It was the first aggressive effort upon any new territory which was to be subsequently subdued to the Kingdom of Christ.²

The new bishop was not wont to minimize the importance of episcopacy, and Fredericton cathedral was a visible sign of the authority of the bishop. Bishop H. Southgate, rector of the "advanced" Church of the Advent, Boston, declared at the consecration ceremony on August 31, 1853, that it reminded people "that your Bishop, is your Head on earth, the Representative of the

¹
Ibid.

²
"The Cathedral System--No. 1," The New York Ecclesiologist, 2 (November 1850), 202. Quoted in Richardson, "Cathedral, Fredericton," p. 2.

Apostles, the Centre of your visible unity. . . . Your fellowship in the Church Visible attaches itself here, to him, as the point of your common union."¹

The cathedral was to set the standards for a spiritual renewal within the diocese. Medley expected its influence to combat "the slovenly neglect with which the Divine offices are often treated"² by teaching New Brunswick Anglicans the true spirit and intention of services inherited from England. "Reverential feeling, . . . holy self-denying action in the service of God . . . a calm repose of mind, . . . desires that breathe the airs of heaven," were to be set against "moral earthquake."³

The clergy were to be exemplars to their flocks. In his first Charge Medley urged them to conduct public prayers daily and not to be slovenly or affected when taking services. Preaching was to be simple in language and biblical. Pastoral visiting was to go beyond small talk about the weather. Clergy should set themselves apart from the agitations and excitements of the world. "Our great business seems to me to be, to teach men, not to study controversy, but to study holiness: . . ."⁴ Beauty and holiness went together. If the clergy could awaken their congregations to the beauties around them they would then value the liturgy of the church which "can no more be appreciated by a vulgar, irreverent and undisciplined mind, than the worth of a jewel can be valued by a swine."⁵ What Medley desired in spiritual character of the clergy he wished also of the laity. "The saintly character

¹ H. Southgate, The Sermon Preached at the Consecration of Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, N.B., August 31st., 1853 (n.p., n.d.).

² Medley, Charge, 1847, p. 10. ³ Ibid., p. 35. ⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁵ J. Medley, Good Taste. A Lecture Delivered by the Lord Bishop of Fredericton, before the Church of England Young Men's Society, of the City of Saint John, N.B., Friday, 23rd., January, 1857 (St. John, 1857), p. 23.

belongs to the Christian man and woman everywhere, not to the clergy as a class."¹

Medley was particularly concerned with the church's mission to the poor. His friend Pusey had given money for the building of St. Saviour's, Leeds, in a working class area. If the poor were to be encouraged to go to church, high churchmen generally agreed that pew rents should be abolished. There was to be no "injurious distinctiveness of exclusive rights."² In May 1846 Medley began the erection of St. Anne's Chapel, Fredericton, with free seats. These had been customary in England before the Civil War. Then "there was no . . . assumption of worldly superiority, no violent thrusting out of the poor into inferior places, still less banishing of them altogether."³ Open seats aided reverential feeling and promoted a sense of corporate devotion. High pews, Medley pointed out, distracted from the loftiness and perspective of Gothic churches. St. Peter's Church, Upham, remained unconsecrated for five years because it opposed free seats. A critic of Medley extolled this parish as a symbol of the necessity of fighting for the unchanged character of the Reformed Church. He condemned Medley's denunciation of rented pews as being contrary to popular feeling, habit, and practice.⁴ The free seats of Christ Church Cathedral were, therefore, another "novelty" which some people found hard to accept.

In Medley's understanding of the church's mission education played a vital part. Religion and education could not be divorced. For poor girls

¹ Medley, Other Little Ships, p. 7.

² The Church, March 19, 1842, letter from "Ossoriensis."

³ J. Medley, "The Advantages of Open Seats," in Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, I (Exeter 1843), 3.

⁴ A Few Good Reasons, p. iii.

Medley re-established the Madras Female School in Fredericton. It opened on May 18, 1846, with forty children, each bringing a penny a week. It was supervised by the ladies of the diocese under Medley's chairmanship. The church catechism was taught and money was given to provide a music teacher. The rector of Fredericton examined the children annually when prizes of clothing and shoes were given to those who showed "improved manners."¹ Medley also concerned himself with his cathedral Sunday-school where he would sing among the pupils "as though he were a child himself, standing in the centre of the group."²

Yet Medley's patient influence in educating his clergy and ordinands in accordance with the emphases of the Oxford Movement was probably the most productive. Pusey had envisioned cathedrals as centres of learning and had been instrumental in the founding of Chichester (1839) and Wells (1840) theological colleges. Medley placed much faith in the cathedral library as a means of raising clerical standards. It would enable the clergy to copy the method of the best Anglican sermons.³ The study of the Scriptures in the original tongues and of the casuistical divinity of Taylor and Sanderson was recommended.

In 1845 the Legislature limited the position of the Church of England in the University of King's College. Its governing council was opened to non-Anglican members and the bishop was no longer visitor. The chapel and the professorship of theology, however, stayed in Anglican hands, and Jacob remained as principal. Ordinands attended university lectures and then took instruction in Medley's house. After the complete secularization of King's

¹ Madras Female School, Minutes 1845-89, ND.

² Raymond, "John Medley," pp. 132-33.

³ Medley, Charge, 1853, p. 24.

College in 1859 and the removal of the aged Jacob it would appear likely that Medley's part in the training of his ordinands increased.

The cathedral had "the secondary and subordinate purpose of encouraging useful arts and sciences, . . ."¹ The standards of cultural taste were to be raised. In his first Charge Medley urged the study of church architecture and church music, and provided directions for church builders. He considered churchmen in the province "buried in profound ignorance of all Sacred Architecture."² Medley disliked churches resembling New England meeting houses, particularly for their Puritan associations. He wanted beautiful, useful and appropriate structures. On viewing a new church he told a leading parishioner that "when you build a church, build a church, and when you build a barn, build a barn."³

The cathedral breathed the spirit of Gothic romanticism. As the ecclesiologists in the early 1840's believed it was no weakness to imitate acknowledged perfection, Fredericton cathedral was to incorporate cherished features of English medieval architecture. The basic plan was that of St. Mary's Church, Snettisham, Norfolk, and the architect, Frank Wills, was sent there by Medley in 1845 to take the measurements of this appealing ruin. Elements from St. Andrew's, Exwick (west aisle windows); Selby abbey (east window); Canterbury cathedral (piers); Exeter cathedral (west door); and Malvern abbey (lantern), were combined in a highly eclectic building. It was not difficult to criticize ecclesiological excess. The Churchman's Friend painted a satirical portrait of a polished ecclesiologist, the Reverend Aston Bray, "a sort of walking embodiment of church principles,

¹ Medley, Charge, 1847, p. 35.

² J. Medley to C. Wray, October 6, 1845, L.

³ Raymond, "John Medley," p. 121.

got up without regard to expense," but bringing to mind uncomfortable associations of "the fast men at Oxford."¹

In 1846 Wills came over to New Brunswick. He built St. Anne's Chapel, Fredericton, in that and the following year. This has been called the first building in North America influenced by the principles of the Ecclesiological Society, although James Hudson's church, St. John the Evangelist, Baie des Vents, would appear to have prior claim.² St. Anne's resembled a medieval English country church. Wills included the controversial screen. The Ecclesiologist of February 1843 pronounced it "wholesome to remember the distinction which must exist between the Clergy and their flocks," although such a high doctrine of priesthood was resisted by some members of the Ecclesiological Society. A screen was proposed for Fredericton cathedral, but not erected. The Berean warned against Christianity becoming a "petrification," the rewriting of the divine law upon the hearts of men "back again into stone." It linked screens with popery. "A SCREEN must be fixed to separate the Priest and the sacrifice which he offers, from the people; and there must be an altar to suit; . . ."³

Wills' plans for the cathedral were much modified. In 1848 Medley met William Butterfield who produced plans for the east end. Ecclesiologists were reacting against the imitative principle towards a preference for

¹ "Church Matters at Clackington in 1875," The Churchman's Friend, February 1856.

² Richardson, "Cathedral, Fredericton," p. iv. The Church, February 5, 1842, quotes the Miramichi Gleaner, January 11, 1842, describing the reopening of St. John the Evangelist, Baie des Vents, after extensive alterations. This description was almost certainly furnished by Hudson. The church was Gothic in architectural style, lighted with mullioned lancet windows, and had a chancel and eastward facing open seats.

³ Berean, June 29, 1848.

originality. Wills departed for New York in 1848, becoming architect to the New York Ecclesiological Society. Further contributions to the cathedral, however, the credence and sedilia designs for example, were made by him. The Ecclesiological Society commended the cathedral's "own distinctive work of directly influencing the Church in North America, a work, the importance of which cannot be overstated."¹ In New Brunswick the construction of wooden churches in the Gothic style to replace the old "meeting houses" was encouraged. Bishop Medley's son, Edward, in his teens a pupil of Butterfield, built Christ Church, St. Stephen, consecrated in 1864. The chancel windows were by Butterfield.

The "dim, religious light" of Gothic architecture, however, was not to everyone's taste. The cross on the gable of St. Anne's Chapel made low churchmen nervous.² "And so we went towards Rome," one critic of Medley observed during the building of the cathedral.³ Gothic represented the passing of the old cherished ways of the Georgian church, and was therefore, for some, profoundly shocking. In Quebec the Berean stigmatized it as a regression to the medieval church.

Those fluted pillars and that fretted roof . . . were reared in those ages of the Church when the sound of the pure gospel never reached the people . . . fast bound in ignorance and superstition; the ages when the stained light through Gothic windows was substituted for the pure shining of God's blessed word of revelation!⁴

The opposition to Fredericton cathedral did not cease with its consecration. Evangelical suspicions and lack of money meant that Medley was

¹
The Ecclesiologist, 14 (October 1853), 352. Quoted in Richardson, "Cathedral, Fredericton," p. 112.

²
Raymond, "John Medley," p. 125.

³
Ibid., p. 121.

⁴
Berean, November 28, 1844.

unable to introduce a daily choral celebration of the Eucharist, "one of the first fruits of our Reformation, . . . [which had] remained in daily use, with more or less of beauty and carefulness, in our English Cathedrals."¹ He considered "nothing . . . more thoroughly congregational and heart stirring than a simple choral service." Medley desired to introduce a surpliced choir of men and boys in place of that of men and women, but desisted because he feared a split in the congregation. ". . . it is Popish. This brand answers instead of a thousand arguments, and will stick where there is no reason to be found."²

Medley, however, managed to raise standards of musical taste in the diocese. He was in almost constant superintendence of the cathedral choir throughout his episcopate. In 1845 he had written to the S.P.G. to ask, unsuccessfully, for money to bring an instructor of choral music with him. He pressed for a diocesan hymnal which was introduced in 1855. Early Tractarians had disliked vernacular hymns and congregational singing because of their nonconformist associations. Medley's espousal of them was part of a change in Tractarian thinking. Frederick Oakeley, incumbent of the Margaret Chapel, Marylebone, in co-operation with his organist, Richard Redhead, introduced Gregorian tones in 1843 as suitable for increased congregational participation, having previously employed single and double Anglican chants. Their choir was a small surpliced one of men and boys.³ J. M. Neale changed from disliking hymns to translating Latin texts for his Hymnal Noted (1851).⁴

¹ Medley, Charge, 1853, p. 6.

² Ibid., p. 8.

³ B. Rainbow, The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-1872 (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1970), pp. 15-25.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 90-94.

Medley had Exeter cathedral under S. S. Wesley to shape his musical outlook. Yet while he seems to have disliked Gregorian chant as Wesley did, he did not agree with the organist that the best congregational participation was through silent attention. Medley himself wrote a number of hymn tunes for Fredericton cathedral. He also composed several settings for the Te Deum and Benedictus after the manner of John Goss and George Elvey.

The building of the cathedral was a tribute to Bishop Medley's strength of character. The example of his life made a tremendous impact. Archdeacon Raymond believed that New Brunswick churchmen "learned to know the spirit of the original Oxford Movement, better than any history could teach it, in one who reflected what was best in it."¹ He was energetic and dedicated in his episcopal duties. Two months after his arrival in Fredericton Medley went on his first visitation tour, confirming seven hundred and ninety-five, consecrating four churches, and ordaining three priests and a deacon. He quickly became acquainted with all aspects of his diocese and accepted the possibility that he would die at his post. The missionary example of Bishop Selwyn moved him deeply. Both were unostentatious and self-denying in their lives.

Medley's high view of episcopacy made him very conscious of his role as the bishop. He did what he considered to be right without regard to consequences. He was not afraid of controversy. In February 1846 he told the vestry of St. Paul's, Chatham, which was complaining about the Reverend James Hudson's Tractarianism, that it was to keep to its own proper affairs. These concerned the practical business of the parish and not questions of doctrine.²

¹ Raymond, "John Medley," p. 102.

² New Brunswick Courier, June 27, 1846.

After a public meeting hostile to Hudson, Medley declared that "mere vague charges, such as 'exploded superstitions,' 'Tractarian heresies,' . . . cannot be supposed to be entitled to much consideration."¹ Medley could be brusque or downright rude, but the discerning perceived much kindness of heart. In Fredericton he was a commanding figure. One clergyman's daughter held that the three profound influences of her childhood were God, Queen Victoria, and Bishop Medley.²

In Montreal Bishop Fulford's arrival in his diocese during September 1850 was eagerly awaited in church circles. His Tractarian connections were not as obvious as those of Bishop Medley, although like him he was a friend of Henry Phillpotts. Fennings Taylor³ reports that enquiries had been made by the clergy as to whether Fulford had written or said anything on the "Hampden Scandal," or the "Gorham Question." The laity wished to know "if he were a large-minded as well as a right-minded man, . . ." Others wanted to know his politics. "The Bishop seemed neither to be a partizan nor a politician, but an earnest-minded minister of the church, who had no intention of presenting the Gospel in a mask, or of disclosing only one half of its true features." Fulford did not conceal his opinions when necessary, "but he did not deem it to be his duty to play the part of a garrulous prelate, . . ." A small coterie of low church clergy in the Richelieu area wanted to find out Fulford's party sympathies. Its leader was firmly put in his place, Fulford being "one of those calm Englishmen whom it was difficult to surprise and not easy to perplex." He was a firm man with a dry wit.

1

Ibid., July 11, 1846.

2

L. N. Harding, "John, By Divine Permission," in Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, 8 (December 1966), 76.

3

Taylor, Last Three Bishops, pp. 41-44.

Fulford was determined not to become involved in petty party wranglings. His theology was Catholic. Those who denied "the visible existence of the Church, as a body," rejected also her promised gifts, "the presence of God, the power of His sacraments, the assurance of final triumph, . . ."¹ The church was "the ground and pillar of the truth,"² The corporate mind of the church when gathered together in ecumenical council was far more potent than a collection of individual private judgments,³ Fulford took particular pride in his own communion. The secessions to Rome hurt him deeply. He was unsympathetic towards the language that Froude and Newman had used of the Reformation which had established Scripture as the test of the articles and formularies of the church and produced the Book of Common Prayer. The "unwarranted usurpation of authority" by the bishop of Rome had been thrown off by a church which had not originally received her ministry or ritual from Rome and had been styled Ecclesia Anglicana in Magna Carta.⁴ He quoted with approval Pusey's On the Truth and Office of the English Church, that "it is not without some great purpose of His love that God has so marvellously preserved the English Church until now."⁵ Fulford gloried in "the traditions of her past, her witness for primitive truth, her illustrious line of martyrs, confessors and doctors, . . ."⁶

¹ F. Fulford, "The Holy Catholic Church a Visible Body," Sermons of Diocese of Montreal, p. 11.

² Fulford, "The Witnesses for God's Truth," ibid., p. 56.

³ Fulford, "A Lecture on Some of the Passing Events and Controversies of the Day," . . . , " ibid., p. 293.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 298-99.

⁵ F. Fulford, Charge, Proceedings of the Eighth Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, Canada, June 19-20, 1866 (Montreal: John Lovell), pp. 12-14.

⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

Fulford was a practical and far-sighted bishop. He realized that his diocese contained clergy and laity of all shades of churchmanship and was prepared to allow liberty in matters he considered to be relatively unimportant. He declared: "[The Reverend Jacob] Ellegood I like the best by far and he will by degrees . . . gain influence . . . an active, sound Churchman."¹ He also appreciated, however, the Reverend William Bennett Bond: "Very low, but he is a good, sensible gentleman-like man, and has great weight with a miscellaneous collection of people who assemble at St. George's."² Fulford relied heavily upon both of these clergymen.

High churchmen, however, had cause to be grateful for the encouragement of Bishop Fulford. He had no reservations about the teachings of Jasper Nicolls and his staff at Bishop's College, Lennoxville. G. J. Mountain wrote to Nicolls that "the Bp. of M[ontreal] is quite willing and . . . fully pre-disposed to do anything in his power for the Coll. at home, and would be glad to co-operate with you in the task if you go."³ The Reverend F. G. C. Brathwaite was brought from England to work on the Upper Ottawa River. Fulford was friend and counsellor to the Reverend Edmund Wood. His hints "amounted to these, writes Mr. Wood, 'to be patient,' 'to be discreet' and 'to hold my tongue.'"⁴ Fulford and his wife stopped Wood from returning to England during the early days of his ministry at Christ Church Cathedral and at the mortuary chapel, Dufferin Square. They encouraged his opening of a boys'

¹ Quoted in J. I. Cooper, The Blessed Communion (Montreal: Archives' Committee, 1960), p. 72.

² Ibid.

³ G. J. Mountain to J. H. Nicolls, November 20, 1852, QLB.

⁴ F. D. Adams, A History of Christ Church Cathedral Montreal (Montreal: Burton's Limited, 1941), p. 80.

school in 1861. When Wood's "advanced" churchmanship came under attack in synod Fulford warmly defended him, although "reserved by nature and undemonstrative by habit."¹ He appreciated Wood's ministry to the poor.

Fulford's defence of Wood was based upon his extreme distaste for party quarrels. In common with G. J. Mountain, Fulford was resolutely opposed to the incursions of the evangelical Colonial and Continental Church Society into his diocese. The Society closely examined aspiring missionaries with questions which would have made obvious the taint of Tractarian influence upon them. Fulford regarded the Society as unduly assertive, narrow, and unrepresentative of the Church of England as a whole.

Early in his episcopate Fulford established firm priorities. The main task for the Anglican church was coming to terms with the Canadian situation, that is, standing upon her Catholicity without dubious and transitory state support. He shared Tractarian scepticism about the benefits of a church-state connection. It was necessary for the church to see to her own self-government, but the danger that she become isolated should be recognized and avoided. The various branches of the Anglican communion should meet together to discuss common problems.² Fulford, like Medley, was assiduous in cultivating good relations with the Episcopal Church in America. He was a moving force behind the convening of the first Lambeth Conference and was invited to preach at its conclusion. The quickening pace of the movements for Christian unity among Anglicans and non-Anglicans captured his enthusiastic interest.³

1

Taylor, Last Three Bishops, p. 121.

2

F. Fulford, "The Church One Body in Christ," Sermons of Diocese of Montreal, p. 46.

3

Fulford, "A Lecture on Some of the Passing Events and Controversies of the Day," . . . , ibid., pp. 301-02.

Fulford could see no use in disputes over what he considered to be secondary issues. He did not intend to divide his diocese on matters of ritual which would yield no productive results. In his Primary Charge he surprised an Irish clergyman present who had expected "materials for a difference" by refraining from mentioning current controversies, and caused another to remark: "I was troubled when I went to the Cathedral on the subject of the Gorham controversy and the Surplice question, but I was consoled as I came away that our new Bishop left the first difficulty to the Ecclesiastical Courts and that he evidently did not care a button about the second!"¹ In conversation with a missionary who was prepared to vary surplice, black gown and manner of service according to the capacities and prejudices of his various congregations Fulford told him that he would not interrupt his work, "but don't you ask me to approve of it officially, and I hope no one else will ask me to condemn it officially."²

Fulford, however, was in no way prepared to compromise the authority of a bishop. When the Reverend F. Wilson of St. John's Church, Huntingdon, published a questionable book on the Eucharist while still in deacon's orders Fulford censured him for what "was certainly a piece of vanity and presumption on his part. . . ."³ Fulford reacted strongly against the manoeuvrings of the Reverend Isaac Hellmuth. In the early 1850's Hellmuth planned to have his father-in-law, General Evans, build a church for him. This was to be upon Evans' own land on Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, which would consequently

¹ Quoted in Taylor, Last Three Bishops, p. 55.

² Ibid., p. 83.

³ F. Fulford to E. Hawkins, March 11, 1854, QMD, copies of Fulford's letters to the S.P.G. 1852-59.

be enhanced in value, while a church would be provided for Hellmuth.

Fulford's normal imperturbability broke down in a series of strongly worded letters, "construed into a discouragement of 'an Evangelical man'" by many.¹

Hellmuth knew "how to take advantage of every chance--an artful and knowing man--He wants to be Bp. of Quebec, by and bye, himself--. . . ."²

Like Medley, Fulford believed an impressive cathedral would enhance the episcopal office. Soon after his arrival he contacted Wills in New York. He, was, however, less inclined than Medley to push on against all financial difficulties towards the erection of a stone Gothic cathedral. Christ Church, Notre Dame Street, would suffice for the interim. When fire destroyed this in 1856 then Fulford chose Wills to be the architect of its successor.

Fulford did not share Medley's unswerving opposition to rented pews which the heavy costs of the new cathedral were thought to make expedient. There were also dean and chapter. Fulford was never the dominant figure in his cathedral as was Bishop Medley.

In Nova Scotia Bishop Hibbert Binney met in 1851 a situation very similar to that which Bishop Medley had encountered in New Brunswick. There was a strong body of low church opinion which was not going to be swayed by any advances in the direction of the Oxford Movement and was resistant to change. The Reverend J. C. Cochran, an old-fashioned evangelical, feuded with Binney over the question of the surplice when minister at Salem Chapel, Halifax. In retirement he provided a picture of earlier days at St. John's,

¹

I. Hellmuth, A Reply to a Letter of the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Montreal, and Metropolitan of Canada, Addressed to the Bishops and Clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada. To Which is Appended "The Letter" of the Lord Bishop of Montreal (Quebec: Middleton and Dawson, 1862), p. 11.

²

F. Fulford to E. Hawkins, October 8, 1861, QMD, copies of Fulford's letters to the S.P.G. 1860-67.

Lunenburg, where he was rector from 1824 to 1852. He remembered no such "article" as the "altar,"

nor do I find it in my Prayer Book, only the Lord's Table. I do remember a Pulpit, Reading desk, and even a "Clerk's" desk of no small dimensions, sometimes irreverently styled a "Three Decker:" on board of this the preaching was done in my day and nowhere else. And I had the honour of being the first to dispense with a clerk in whom were formerly embodied the responses of the congregation. . . . But I do confess, . . . after providing a Vestry in the Tower, there was generally a procession and recesson of myself alone, for change of vestments, after for years performing the operation behind the pulpit or under the stairs.¹

There was also a strong tradition of parochial independence opposed to episcopal powers. St. Paul's Church, Halifax, was attended by a congregation of wealthy merchants and businessmen resentful of what it considered dictation. Its previous sustained attempt to have the Reverend J. T. Twining as rector against the wishes of the government was a warning of what Binney might expect. A complication in the diocese was the insular pride of Prince Edward Island. Churchmen there in 1852 established a bishopric fund for a separate diocese.

An English clergyman, the Reverend J. B. Good of Pugwash, considered that Nova Scotia Anglicans were independent-minded and fitted no easy mould. Strong ties with the United States and with immigrant groups of Lutherans and Calvinists gave Anglicanism a certain breadth of character. He found himself forced into controversy "for the Nova Scotians are proverbially fond of discussing points of politics and religion [and] . . . inclined to latitudinarianism in their religious principles. . . ."² Another Augustinian, the Reverend E. H. Ball of Port Mulgrave, discovered Nova Scotians to be

¹ Church Chronicle of the Maritime Provinces, June 13, 1872. The newspaper ran from 1868 or early 1869 to 1877, illustrating a period of transition in styles of churchmanship.

² Occasional Papers, No. 37 (March 1859), letter from the Reverend J. B. Good, October 4, 1858.

lacking in that proper reverence in church to which he was accustomed at home. "Little regard is paid to the Church as the house of God, so that on entering I frequently find loud talk going on."¹

In 1851 members of the Church of England in Nova Scotia numbered just over ten per cent of the population, and there were at that time fifty-six clergy. J. B. Good regarded the Baptists as the most ignorant, bigoted and intolerant of the "sects," but like so many other nineteenth century high churchmen hated the Methodists. They were "insidious and dangerous."² The Reverend W. H. Snyder, the Tractarian rector of St. James, Mahone Bay, from 1852 to 1889, judged Lutherans and Presbyterians to be much more amenable. They "gladly avail themselves of the opportunity, of not only attending the Sunday Service, but, also of presenting their children for Holy Baptism."³

Anglicans after John Inglis' death were much preoccupied as to who the next bishop would be. The nature of their apprehensions was made clear. "Ruhamah" desired as bishop "one without any leaning to Tractarianism, and of true devotion of heart to God."⁴ A meeting of churchmen in Halifax on January 29, 1851, wanted no "pseudo Roman Catholic Bishop chosen," and some wished to choose their bishop themselves. The Reverend J. Snyder of St. Margaret's Bay attacked the congregationalism behind such an idea and advanced his understanding of the government of the primitive church, which should be "governed by its own spiritual, or ecclesiastical rulers." The

¹ Ibid., No. 103 (May 1867), letter from the Reverend E. H. Ball, January 30, 1867.

² Ibid., No. 37 (March 1859), letter from the Reverend J. B. Good, October 4, 1858.

³ W. H. Snyder to H. Binney, March 26, 1853, S.P.G.

⁴ Church Times, January 24, 1851.

upheavals of the sixteenth century had not placed the church upon new principles. "She did not begin to exist at the Reformation anymore than the face of a man begins to exist after it has been shaved."¹

Writers to the Church Times evidenced some confusion as to the nature of Tractarianism. "Laicus"² supposed the term must have some meaning. Probably the writers of the Tracts knew, but he did not, "and I believe that 99 out of a 100 in Nova Scotia, are in the same happy state of ignorance." If "Ruhamah" meant that those who were not evangelicals were all Tractarians "I for one feel that even a Tractarian may be a sincere Christian, . . . and do as much good, perhaps more, than one of an opposite designation." If Inglis had been a Tractarian he wanted another bishop like him. "Ruhamah" replied that Inglis had not been one. Tractarians were in a state of transition in their beliefs on their way to full acceptance of Roman doctrine. Their two main errors were their denial of the right of private judgment and their rejection of the doctrine of justification, "putting the Sacraments and good works in its place."³ "Protestant" also abhorred their belief in purgatory, the doctrine of the real presence, the mediation of the Virgin, and their embracing of tradition rather than the Bible.⁴ "Laicus" remained perplexed. "I have never read the Tracts for the Times, and never shall, and in them is contained I believe, the whole tenets of Tractarianism, which I have heard it said are nothing more than strict, strait laced observance of rubrical forms and ceremonies."⁵ A Tractarian of "Ruhamah's" description would not be able to remain in the Church of England without a violation of ordination vows.

¹ Ibid., February 7, 1851.

² Ibid., February 14, 1851.

³ Ibid., February 24, 1851.

⁴ Ibid., February 21, 1851.

⁵ Ibid., March 7, 1851.

The nomination of Hibbert Binney as John Inglis' successor does not appear to have sparked adverse low church comment. He was not the thorough Englishman as Medley and Fulford were. Binney had been born in Sydney, Cape Breton, where his father had been rector of St. George's, so although he had left Nova Scotia at the age of four for England and had an English education he could be welcomed back as a local son. He had been a tutor in mathematics at Worcester College, Oxford, and was not known to have indulged in theological controversy. Yet such was the horror of Tractarianism and the expectation of its imminent manifestation that many were prepared to see its influence in all of his acts. Binney's whole episcopate was coloured by the Tractarian question.¹

Like Medley and Fulford, Binney would never have claimed to be a member of a party within the church. He abhorred all party spirit as "destructive of genuine piety. Every party will run into extremes, and wherever this spirit prevails true Christian charity will be blighted, will droop and die."² He pointed out that opponents were closer to agreement in reality than they at first appeared. As the bishop, Binney was enjoined by the Prayer Book to be settler of all disputes.³ He held the highest view of the episcopal office. Some thought him an autocrat. "He would say just what he felt, and his words might cut, but it was from no hardness of nature nor unkindness of heart. He had the most overpowering sense of his own responsibility as chief pastor of the diocese. . . ."⁴ He was one of the new breed of conscientious bishops influenced by the evangelical revival and the Oxford Movement.

¹ Kent, "Binney, Tractarian Bishop," p. 122.

² H. Binney, Charge, 1854, p. 24. ³ Ibid., p. 14.

⁴ D. C. Moore, in Canadian Church Magazine and Missions News, June 1887.

Binney's episcopal pride was shown in a controversy with St. Paul's, Charlottetown, over the use of his bishop's staff at a wedding in 1872. The low church incumbent, the Reverend D. Fitzgerald, had taken offence and laid down certain preconditions for any further visits of Binney to his church. Binney was irate. "I must maintain the independence of my Office, and I dare not submit to the usurpation of either Priest or people interfering with my ministrations. A refusal to obey the lawful commands of the Bishop is criminal, in those who officiate under his authority; . . ."¹ Fitzgerald claimed that he acted by virtue of the trust placed in him by his congregation, "to oppose an innovation and to preserve the usages that had been and are held valuable. . . ."² Binney branded Fitzgerald a dictator and his congregation accomplices. He determined not to enter St. Paul's while Fitzgerald remained disobedient.³

Like Medley, Binney was very concerned to have a suitable cathedral for his official seat. St. Paul's, Halifax, was hostile, low church, parochial and had rented pews. It was also a wooden structure of the New England type, not a stone Gothic cathedral. In October 1864 St. Luke's Chapel, which had been set apart from St. Paul's, was elevated to be the new cathedral with a chapter of four canons and William Bullock as dean. Binney was fully exploiting the authority contained in his letters patent. In 1861 a chancel with suitable ornament and pointed arches in the Gothic manner had been

1

H. Binney to wardens of St. Paul's, June 10, 1875, copy in papers of T. E. MacNutt, Charlottetown.

2

D. Fitzgerald to H. Binney, July 9, 1875, copy in MacNutt papers.

3

H. Binney to D. Fitzgerald, July 15, 1875, copy in MacNutt papers.

added to St. Luke's. Binney, much concerned with architectural propriety, now had a cathedral "more suitable than any other Church in the Diocese. . . ."¹ He did not, however, possess the complete control of services at St. Luke's. This he desired of St. Peter's, Charlottetown, where he placed his chair to make it the cathedral church of the Province of Prince Edward Island and independent of the Reverend D. Fitzgerald's church. "I consider it very important that the entire control of one Church in each Diocese should be in the hands of the Bishop."² Its donors, however, wanted St. Peter's safeguarded by being placed under a board of trustees and Binney reluctantly signed the deed in 1872. Under the terms of this, the bishop had the right to use St. Peter's for episcopal acts at all times and for up to ten other services in the year, although not more than three of these could be on a Sunday.

Binney took his stand in his disputes with parishes in his diocese upon the authority of the church as a divinely founded institution.

The principles of the Church are immutable, Her doctrines admit of no variation, she is founded upon the Rock of Ages, and is not to be shaken by the storms of popular caprice or clamour, but there are details of internal order and arrangement which may be modified according to circumstances. It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places alike; . . .

The distinction, however, between matters of principle and those of secondary importance was not always very clear. Many were not disposed to acquiesce in the view that the bishop should be the sole judge of which modifications were permissible.

1

H. Binney, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy at the Visitation Held in the Cathedral Church of St. Luke, at Halifax, on the 3rd. Day of July, 1866 (Halifax: James Bowes and Sons, 1866), p. 4. (Hereinafter referred to as Charge, 1866).

2

H. Binney to G. W. Hodgson, November 19, 1872. Quoted in Kent, "Binney, Tractarian Bishop," p. 176.

3

Binney, Charge, 1854, pp. 4-5.

Like Medley and Fulford, Binney had a strong sense of the church's mission. He was prepared to allow considerable latitude in services which brought in the poor and those people who were traditionally nonchurchgoing. The Salem Mission Chapel was opened on September 2, 1855, with free seats. Binney himself gave money for the chapel. Without rented pews the poor would be able to give "the smallest coin" in collections if they had no more. They had "a right to enjoy the privilege of offering to God according to their ability as well as their richer brethren."¹ At Salem Mission Chapel there was no full choral service as congregational worship was desired.

Although Binney was not afraid to enter into controversy on behalf of Tractarian principles when necessary, he proceeded cautiously. He was especially careful right at the beginning of his episcopate. In 1851 the congregation of St. James Church, Pictou, informed him that "subtle innovations and Romanizing practices" in England were unknown in Nova Scotia and that it believed "any attempt to introduce them would be promptly discountenanced by your Lordship."² Binney expressed his opposition to "all inroads on the admirable services of our reformed Church," but told them "to follow the spirit and the letter of those directions which have been laid down . . . for public worship." Innovations which were not supported by the Prayer Book rubrics were not permissible, but Binney was prepared to authorize additions which could be sanctioned by them. Yet he realized that it was necessary to proceed slowly in face of the latitudinarian outlook of Nova Scotia Anglicans. The Reverend J. C. Edghill, chaplain to the Forces, incurred his displeasure by venturing too boldly upon a contentious topic during a sermon in his

¹
Church Record, December 17, 1862.

²
Church Times, August 30, 1851.

presence. "I revealed Jesus as Judge and I spoke of the comfort of submitting to his judgment in Confession. . . . The Bishop of N.S. looked, Oh so cross. . . . The Pill was not gilded enough."¹

Neither Binney, Medley nor Fulford wished to be thought of as embracing party views or affiliations. As Tractarians they considered themselves as asserting the Catholic principles of the whole church. As bishops they were at the centre of Christ's church on earth. Involvement in party squabbles would lower the dignity of their office and compromise their authority. They would become subject to suspicions of partiality and consequently be less effective as arbiters in disputes. Yet the wish of these three bishops to avoid party positions was coupled with their cautious efforts to encourage a higher brand of churchmanship. Their episcopates were of the greatest importance in the dissemination of the influence of the Oxford Movement in Canada.

1.

J. C. Edghill to G. W. Hodgson, December 11, 1868. Quoted in Kent, "Binney, Tractarian Bishop," p. 188.

CHAPTER V

THE TRACTARIAN THEORY OF THE CHURCH IN CANADIAN ANGLICANISM

Although many of the theological writings of the English Tractarians were reactions to particular controversies rather than systematic constructions, they presented overall a revived understanding of the nature of the church and her history. There were also such weighty contributions as R. I. Wilberforce's The Doctrine of the Incarnation (1848) which synthesized Tractarian teaching and voluminous patristic studies. Canadian additions to the theology of the Oxford Movement might appear at first sight meagre by comparison. Hollingworth Tully Kingdon, coadjutor bishop of Fredericton 1881-92 and bishop 1892-1907, an Englishman by birth and education, published God Incarnate in 1890. This has been called a milestone in Canadian theology, being the first work of such substance written here.¹ It was, however, hardly a product of early Tractarianism. Kingdon was a pupil of H. P. Liddon, a disciple of Pusey.

Medley, Fulford and Binney wrote little more than sermons and addresses during their Canadian episcopates. These were ad hoc by their nature. Taken together, however, they comprehensively articulated the Tractarian position. Yet many Oxford Movement sentiments were never printed but were influential nonetheless. James Beaven came from an English parish to become professor

¹ E. R. Fairweather, "A Milestone in Canadian Theology: Bishop Kingdon's 'God Incarnate,'" Canadian Journal of Theology, 4 (1958), No. 2, 101-10. (Hereinafter referred to as "Bishop Kingdon's 'God Incarnate'").

of divinity at King's College, Toronto, in 1843 and to share his patristic knowledge with his pupils. A. N. Bethune reflected the new awareness of church history in his lectures at the Cobourg Theological Institution which opened in January 1842. Some of these survive in manuscript form.¹ F. D. Fauquier, later bishop of Algoma; W. A. Johnson, the "ritualistic" founder of Trinity College School of Weston and Port Hope; and J. Langtry, the church historian, were among his pupils. E. H. Dewar published his German Protestantism and the Right of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in 1844 while chaplain to the British residents in Hamburg, Germany. This book was important for its presentation of current German philosophy to English readers and demonstrated the pitfalls resulting from the abnegation of ecclesiastical tradition. Strachan described it as well known to Canadian Anglicans.² Dewar began teaching at the Cobourg Church Grammar School in 1851 and was later rector of the parishes of St. John's, Sandwich (1852-59); of All Saints, Windsor (1857-59);³ and of Thornhill (1859-62). Strachan found him distant and reserved, unpolished in his manners, but "a good churchman, and well read, . . . one on whom I could at all times depend."⁴ In October 1855

1

A. N. Bethune, "Lectures on Ecclesiastical History," OTD.

2

J. Strachan, "Memorandum Giving a Short Sketch of the Life of the Rev. E. H. Dewar," OTA, Strachan Papers, no date package 8, personalia, describes it as such.

3

Despite ill health, Dewar played a notable part in the early development of Windsor. He built its first Anglican church, All Saints, which opened on September 10, 1857. Hopeful of rescuing the young from "grovelling pastimes," he was a founder in 1855, and president in 1857, of the Mechanics' Institute with its public library.

4

J. Strachan to A. N. Bethune, October 31, 1862, OTT, Strachan Letters, packet 4.

the first issue of The Churchman's Friend, edited by Dewar and the Reverend Adam Townley, appeared at Paris (later moving to Windsor). Its aim was to explain and defend in simple language "true Church principles." This newspaper illustrates the significant part played by religious journalism in the popular dissemination of Tractarian ideas.

In Canada the high church reassertion of the divine character of the church had preceded the reception of the Tracts for the Times. Yet although John Strachan believed that the essential nature of the church made her independent of the state, not its subordinate nor equal, he also thought it necessary that government support provisions for religion enacted by statute. Church and state were to be connected in the former's interests. Old-fashioned Canadian high churchmanship agreed with Strachan's pursuit of establishment and denounced all attempts whether in Canada or England to break the bonds between church and state.

The Church pointed out the problems of any "Catholic Christian" being adverse to a union between the two.¹ First, it would presuppose the inherent evil of the state. Second, it would concede that it was impossible for the church to Christianize the state. Last, the pretensions of rival sects and heresies would be allowed. Bethune told his students at Colby that it was the infidelity of the French Revolution that had prepared the way for concerted opposition to establishments.² Religion allied to a state possessed the advantages of strengthening the sanctions of law and of "promoting a general subordination." It was no good to blame Constantine's establishment

¹ The Church, December 13, 1844.

² Bethune, "Lectures on Ecclesiastical History," No. 22, p. 317.

of Christianity for its corruptions. These had begun long before, even in apostolic times.¹

Adam Townley, whose manners and bearing did not appeal to Strachan, was Wesleyan Methodist superintendent of the Yonge Street circuit until 1839 when he applied for Anglican holy orders. Both before and after his change of allegiance he strongly advocated the principle of establishment.² He called the union between church and state in England an indissoluble marriage.³ It was demanded "by the honour of Christ" and laid down as a principle by Scripture, although he later urged the church in England to be influential in the appointment of her bishops lest she become more Erastian than Prussia.⁴

Medley's questioning of the merits of establishment both in England⁵ and Canada was therefore a marked departure from such a school of thought. He brought with him to New Brunswick the indignation of the men of Oxford against state interference in church matters provoked by the Irish church

¹ Ibid., No. 23, pp. 332-33.

² [A. Townley], Ten Letters on the Church and Church Establishments in Answer to Certain Letters of the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, by an Anglo-Canadian (Toronto: Commercial Herald Office, 1839), gives his viewpoint as a "Church Methodist."

³ The Church, August 3, 1855, A. Townley, "Our Mother Church in Her 'Chains.'"

⁴ A. Townley, The Late Celebration of the Holy Communion in Henry VIII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, to the New Testament Revision Committee, and the Action of the Upper House of Convocation Thereupon (Paris, Ontario: private printing, 1870).

⁵ Medley, however, thought that there was something to be said for an established church in England. "It enables her to diffuse the benefits of religious instruction, . . . far more systematically and extensively than could otherwise have been done." J. Medley, The Episcopal Form of Church Government; Its Antiquity, Its Expediency and Its Conformity to the Word of God (3rd. ed.; St. John, N.B.: Avery, 1845), p. 41. (Hereinafter referred to as Church Government).

crisis. Changing circumstances had rendered notions of establishment stultifying.

When the government, as a government, acts on the belief that one religion is true, the Church thankfully embraces the protection of the State; but when the government adheres to no one religion as true, or which is the same thing, to all alike, the Church can only ask permission to act independently on her Master's command, and carry out her own principles, which are certain to expand in due time.

Medley saw his view confirmed by the growing reluctance of English statesmen to accord the church in Canada any special privileges.

Like Medley, Fulford thought that pretensions to establishment muffled the church's voice. Unencumbered by any connection with the state this could be raised "in defence of the 'Truth as it is in Jesus, . . .'"² He regarded problems relating to the union between church and state in England as secondary in importance. Dogma was the primary concern. Binney, although he wanted all impediments to self-government for Nova Scotia Anglicans removed, was much more frightened than Fulford at the increasing prospects of disestablishment at home. Nearly all English institutions were linked to the church. "Whatever might be the consequences to the Church, to the State they would unquestionably be most disastrous."³

The Oxford Movement provided the doctrine of apostolic succession current among Canadian high churchmen and many evangelicals with new emphasis and elaboration. The validity of Anglican orders and the invalidity of others

¹
Medley, Charge, 1847, p. 23.

²
Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, Canada, June 16, 17, and 18, 1863 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1863), p. 7.

³
H. Binney, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy at the Visitation Held in the Cathedral Church of St. Luke, at Halifax, on the 6th. Day of July, 1870 (Halifax: James Bowes and Sons, 1870), p. 5.

was a key factor in Anglican claims to superiority over competing denominations. Every link in the chain of episcopal succession from St. Peter to the present day was known.¹ From the manner of consecration it was impossible that such a transmission of authority should fail.² For some churchmen, however, apostolic succession was so obvious an assumption of the Prayer Book that they felt no pressing need to make reference to it. A writer to the Halifax Church Times blamed reticence for a weakening of the Anglican position.

The true nature of the Apostolic Succession and of the Church of the Scriptures, has not been properly kept before the people, and so they are at a loss to know which Church to obey, when the confusion of sects opens their eyes to see that there must be such an authority somewhere upon earth.

Apostolic succession had not paved the way for what the correspondent believed to be the popish practices of Tractarianism; chaos caused by the "sects" and internal divisions had done that.

Bishop Medley, however, strongly reaffirmed the supernatural authority of the church as marked by apostolic succession. At the commencement of his episcopate those who seceded to Rome had wrestled with the question of the divine warrant for their ministry and come to their conclusion. "Those who have left our Communion have been induced to quit it, by being persuaded, that the Church . . . at the Reformation, was guilty of an act of schism, and that, in consequence, our orders are invalid."⁴ The Tractarians who remained in the Church of England stressed their belief in the validity of Anglican orders all the more. They saw it as one of the strongest arguments they had against the Roman Catholics.

¹ The Church, August 5, 1837.

² Ibid., May 2, 1840.

³ Church Times, April 4, 1851.

⁴ Medley, Charge, 1847, p. 12..

Yet Medley went far beyond "a skeleton outline of Apostolic succession, unaccompanied by the proportions of Apostolic doctrine and practice."¹ Tractarians declared that the authority of a bishop was apostolic in two ways. First, bishops were the descendants of the apostles. Second, they stood in their place as the bond uniting Christians to each other and to Christ. It was, Tract 52 pointed out, a proverb of the primitive church: "Without the Bishop do nothing in the Church."² Bishops were to be the guides to the primitive ways. "Our best Friend in His absence is likely to be well pleased with those who do their best . . . to keep as near to His Apostles as they can."³ Episcopacy could not be understood apart from a realization of the church as Christ's creation.

Medley spoke of her as "Christ's spouse." Christians were united in fellowship with Him, as living members of His mystical body. This "doctrine of Church-union," he asserted in a sermon on Ephesians 4:16, "is interwoven with the whole body of revealed truth, and is as much a part of that revelation, as the atonement and resurrection of Christ, the remission of sins and the life everlasting."⁴ To omit it was to maim the gospel. As the state had not made the church so was it not able to unmake her. Her claim upon men was an everlasting one "independent of all connection with the

1 J. Medley, A Charge Delivered in the Cathedral of Christ Church, Fredericton, to the Clergy of the Diocese, Assembled at the Second Triennial Visitation of John, Bishop of Fredericton (Saint John, N.B.: W. L. Avery, 1850), p. 8. (Hereinafter referred to as Charge, 1850).

2 Tracts for the Times, 52, p. 6.

3 Ibid., 4, pp. 3-4.

4 J. Medley, Sermon, The Union of the Members in Christ's Body, p. 8. Quoted in Fairweather, "Tractarian Patriarch," p. 21.

State, and of every other inferior consideration."¹ Desecrate and destroy a noble cathedral

still will the building itself be beautiful in ruins, . . . as long as any principles of order and harmony linger among mankind. And thus, strip the Church of England of what is so well calculated to attract the man of taste, to command the respect of the wealthy, and the love of the poor, . . . and it will not lose its claim on the community as a Church of Christ, holding fast the apostolic "doctrine and fellowship, with the breaking of bread and prayers," and adhering to the ancient discipline of bishops, priests and deacons.

The bishop in his cathedral was the sign of Christ's indwelling presence in the church. Medley's apologetic for episcopacy was grounded upon scriptural evidence. He found the authority of a single superintendent over presbyters and deacons laid down in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. God was "a God of order" and would not have left His church on earth "like a vessel without a rudder."³ As Fredericton cathedral neared completion Medley articulated his conception of the missionary function of a bishop. "Wherever there is a Bishop there is not only a centre of unity, but a rallying point for action. The Bishop, by God's ordinance, stands not alone. He has in himself the power to send, to increase, to multiply."⁴

Medley's high view of episcopacy had many supporters. The Church joined its voice to those of the Tractarians in denouncing the elevation of Dr. Hampden to the bishopric of Hereford as a scandal. Holy Scripture was searched for arguments for the divine origin of episcopacy. The Reverend J. H. Thompson at the consecration of his brother-in-law, J. W. Williams, as bishop

¹ Medley, Church Government, p. 41.

² Ibid., pp. 42-43. ³ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴ J. Medley, Two Discourses Preached in the Church of the Advent, Boston (Boston, 1851), p. 11. Quoted in Fairweather, "Tractarian Patriarch," p. 23.

of Quebec, in a sermon on Revelation 1:20 vindicated "most elaborately and exhaustively the Catholic interpretation of his text--viz., that the name Angel was the symbolical designation of the Bishops of the several Churches addressed."¹ Binney, as Medley had done earlier, quoted Calvin's support of the necessity of episcopal ordination, it being an apostolic command.²

Low churchmen might regard episcopacy as scriptural and good for the discipline of the church, but they offered criticisms and qualifications. The Berean opposed the new and needless "superaddition of baronial titles" for colonial bishops which rendered the church "neither pure nor stable."³ The Reverend George Mortimer thought episcopacy "necessary for the well or better being of a Church, but not essentially necessary to its very being itself."⁴ It was a Tractarian notion that ordination of a candidate, independent of his state of mind, conferred any grace not conveyed by Presbyterian or Methodist ordination, and must lead to Romanism. The minister could only be made fit for his functions by the Holy Spirit.

The Tractarians designated the alternative to episcopacy "mere voluntary ecclesiastical arrangement."⁵ They castigated the Methodists for this. "Ambition is the rock upon which Methodism has struck; and that it is the rock which is yet destined to shatter the man-constructed organization to atoms, cannot be reasonably doubted."⁶ Tractarianism sharpened the lines between Anglicanism and Methodism but the denunciations made by Churchmen

¹ Guardian, Supplement, July 15, 1863.

² Binney, Charge, 1854, p. 14. ³ Berean, December 7, 1848.

⁴ J. Armstrong, ed., The Life and Letters of the Rev. George Mortimer, M.A. (London: Aylott and Jones, 1847), p. 281.

⁵ Tracts for the Times, 4, p. 3. ⁶ The Church, March 6, 1851.

were similar to those in the past. Yet now Anglican polemic was delivered with a new emotion behind it. With a heated earnestness that was nearer in spirit to Methodism than high and dry Anglicanism the Reverend Charles Forrest wrote to his former principal, Jasper Nicolls, that the Methodists had established a religion of feelings "in the place of those convictions and principles which conduce to faith and obedience of the gospel of Xt."¹ There was also a sense developing that it was the duty of Anglicans to remedy the alleged errors of Methodists and other denominations. Binney regretted the prevailing system of sinking all differences, hiding whatever might offend the prejudices of a neighbour. "True charity is not manifested by leaving any in error, whether of a more or less serious nature, but by pointing it out with kindness. . . ."²

Schism was a curse to the church. Christ spoke clearly of one visible church, of visible unity.³ The problem for the Tractarians was that the visible undivided church of the early Christian era was no longer in existence. Newman wrote that it still might be apprehended by faith, Keble of a mystical union.⁴ Yet it was felt that justice still remained to be done to the church as One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. Tractarians came to hold the "branch theory," that the Latin, the Greek and the Anglican churches were the same church, distinguished only by secondary characteristics, while each one was the whole church in its fulness. Although, therefore, the Oxford Movement

1

C. Forrest to J. H. Nicolls, December 30, 1848, QLB, Nicolls Letters.

2

Binney, Charge, 1854, p. 13.

3

The Church, June 27, 1856.

4

See P. E. Shaw, The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church (London: Mowbray, 1930), pp. 19-20.

was in origin extremely insular, its understanding of Catholicity brought Anglicanism closer to Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism, and in this way fostered ecumenical dialogue.

In Canada the "restored Catholicity" of the Anglican church, accompanied by a fresh vision of Christendom, helped to bring a new tolerance towards Roman Catholicism. In 1865 Bishop Medley thanked God for such a change of attitude by his fellow churchmen.¹ A growing sense of community with the Eastern Church made the Anglo-Prussian Jerusalem bishopric increasingly odious to Canadian Tractarians. "Bishop Gobat has used his influence to subvert the authority of the Eastern Patriarchs . . . the Protestant clergy of Germany have always, to a man, reprobated the whole scheme; . . . it has only alienated from us the ancient and apostolic churches of the East, . . ."²

Tractarians did not abandon the vision of the reunion of all Christian churches, "gathering up the scattered fragments of the great human family in one body in Christ,"³ but its realization seemed afar off. The primary concern was with the Greek and Latin churches because plans for reunion must be founded on Catholic principles. Fulford was afraid that approaches towards the "dissenters" would involve "dangerous schemes of comprehension," and they should not be encouraged. The Anglican church must first manifest her own unity. Promising tokens of her present Catholicity were displayed in the revived churchmanship so apparent in the colonies.

1

Medley, Charge, 1865, p. 17.

2

The Churchman's Friend, August 1856, pp. 158-59.

3

F. Fulford, A Pan-Anglican Synod. A Sermon Preached at the General Ordination Held by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford, in the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford on Sunday, December 23, 1866 (Oxford: Rivington, 1867), pp. 12-13.

The Tractarian understanding of the Catholic nature of the church must not be thought the exclusive prerogative of theologians and clergy. High church journalism sought to popularize renewed attention to church principles. E. H. Dewar's The Churchman's Friend was a most effective attempt at spreading Tractarian teaching in memorable ways. Its great rival, The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, took fright.

The Romanizing principles which in the bare-faced editorials of the Church newspaper excite disgust and indignation, are instilled so cautiously and quietly in the tales and conversations of the Churchman's Friend, that they stir up no feelings of alarm, and are calculated to creep insidiously into the minds of the unwary, . . . the young and thoughtless.

The Churchman's Friend was very fond of the dialogue format. Such articles were in serial form to arouse and hold the reader's interest from month to month. A "Romanist layman" challenged a "Canadian clergyman" as to why Anglicans attended all sorts of meeting-houses if they regarded schism as a sin. He replied that such behaviour was decreasing as the revival of church principles progressed. The idea of the Catholic church had become lost in that of the established church. Schism was regarded as nothing more than the rejection of "tyrannical human enactments." Now that churchmen knew that no earthly power could make or unmake a church "they cannot but perceive that every act of schism is an act of rebellion against the divine Head of the Church, and therefore a sin."² A conversation between Mr. Secker, a Churchman, and Mr. Brown, a Methodist, contained a particularly succinct and forceful statement of Tractarian theology with proper emphasis on its incarnational aspect. The church has

1

The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, August 1, 1856.

2

The Churchman's Friend, August 1856, pp. 154-55.

had its succession of scripturally ordained clergy from the apostles unbroken; . . . it has never separated from any other church; . . . it has always retained those Holy Sacraments and the power of duly administering them, which Christ instituted as the only means whereby we could be admitted into his visible Church, and be retained as members therein; . . . it has always maintained the grand distinguishing truth of our holy religion, "God manifest in the flesh" . . . and, the vital doctrine, that faith in Him was the condition of salvation.¹

In a series of sketches, "Church Matters at Clackington in 1875," gentle fun was poked at a low church clergyman, Mr. Slowton, who felt considerable unease at the triumphant progress of Tractarianism around him. The bishop, an ecclesiologist and devoted to his flock, pays an unexpected visit to Mr. Slowton and his wife (who is sure the bishop is a Tractarian of "smooth words and plausible pretences") which pricks the rector's conscience as to his laxity.² The bishop preaches a sermon on church extension, and rebukes the "mockery of a loud but unreal profession of love to the Saviour."³

The Echo took The Churchman's Friend and Tractarianism to task, however, for preaching a religion of externals. It could not accept the Catholic position that God used ordinary things in His redemptive activity, symbolized by water and wine in the sacraments and supremely expressed in the Incarnation, and that matter was therefore not evil but good. It admitted the "fact" of an apostolic succession. There were three orders from the time of the apostles and sacraments were to be administered and preaching done only by those lawfully ordained.

But, in common with our Church, we do most strongly and decidedly abjure and protest against the monstrous Roman theory of an altar, a priesthood, and transmitted, sacramental grace; Christ in the priesthood, Christ in the sacraments, Christ by sacerdotal and sacramental transmission, instead of Christ dwelling in the heart by faith.⁴

¹ Ibid., December 1856, p. 35. ² Ibid., pp. 162-65.

³ Ibid., September 1856, pp. 175-77.

⁴ The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, August 15, 1856.

The Berean claimed that apostolic succession had been magnified by the Tractarians out of all reasonable proportion. They hypocritically denied the "new birth," "and . . . the indwelling of the Spirit, by a manifest anxiety to lay hold upon something plausible as a substitute." The Christian spirit was stifled by outward observance. "The Sacraments become everything, and Christ nothing!" Faith in Christ was "essential to the profitable use of the Sacraments."¹

The Tractarians saw themselves as avoiding extremes. They embraced the view of the Anglican church as the via media. Truth lay midway between Rome and Geneva. The danger was, however, that the conviction of always being in the right might lead to complacency and inertia. Medley was aware of such perils, but forcefully advocated the middle way. "Unlike Rome we are never, for the attainment of unity, to sacrifice truth; unlike Geneva, we are never to seek for truth to the neglect of unity; lest, as she has done, we let go both."² The best way to appreciate the Anglican position was to study church history which placed it in perspective. "How necessary it is just now," Medley told his clergy in 1847, "that we should know something of the whole controversy between Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and Puritanism on the other, and seize the independent yet Catholic tone of our great English divines."³ Bethune informed his pupils at Cobourg: "Nothing can more forcibly demonstrate the truth of our holy religion than the recorded accounts of its

¹
Berean, April 17, 1845.

²
Medley, The Union of the Members in Christ's Body, p. 19. Quoted in Fairweather, "Tractarian Patriarch," p. 20.

³
Medley, Charge, 1847, p. 30.

progress, and triumph under every difficulty and discouragement. . . ."¹

To understand the Catholic faith it was necessary to go back to the apostles and the maintenance of their tradition in the primitive and undivided church. The orthodox Fathers illuminated the apostolic system, although it could not be claimed that every patristic opinion was part of it. But the rules approved by all primitive councils, the rites and formularies found in all primitive liturgies, and the interpretations and principles thereof accepted by all orthodox Fathers demanded absolute adherence. With proper study and care the term "Catholic" could be brought to its right meaning and not be calmly allowed "to be wrenched away, and made to denote something of which it is in truth the direct opposite."²

Bethune included a strong diet of the Fathers in his teaching at Cobourg. The Tractarians had turned away from "the teachers and oracles of the present world."³ Bethune did not deny that the writings of the Fathers contained many defects and imperfections as those of ordinary authors did, but this was no sound reason for wholly rejecting them or for denying their corroborative authority. They were unimpeachable "witnesses of the authenticity and genuineness of the Sacred Scriptures, the New Testament especially. . . . They serve, too, to settle the true reading of the New Testament. . . ."⁴ The Greek and Latin Fathers and ecclesiastical history

¹ Bethune, "Lectures on Ecclesiastical History," No. 1, p. 2.

² The Church, October 5, 1848, letter, "A Protestant Catholic" to the Editor.

³ Tracts for the Times, 6, p. 3.

⁴ Bethune, "Lectures on Ecclesiastical History," No. 1, p. 9. It is not clear from the evidence whether Bethune's acceptance of the Fathers' testimonies was as uncritical as those of the English Tractarians tended to be. It is also uncertain as to whether Bethune's interest in the Fathers antedates the Oxford Movement, being part of old-fashioned high churchmanship.

were part of a curriculum at Cobourg which placed strong emphasis upon apologetics. The evidences of religion, biblical criticism, the Thirty-nine Articles, liturgy and church government were other constituents. In the patristic section of their August 1845 examinations the students were confronted with extracts from Lactantius, Cyprian, Tertullian, Basil and Irenaeus to translate and upon which to answer questions.¹

James Beaven had come to Toronto two years after his publication of a substantial work, An Account of the Life and Writings of St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, and Martyr. The Church of June 23, 1843, reviewed it and noting also the part played by the "judicious" Bethune at Cobourg welcomed the revived study of the Fathers in Toronto diocese. When King's College was closed in 1849 Beaven went on to be appointed to the professorship of metaphysics and ethics in the University of Toronto, later in University College, resigning in 1871. Although the president of the University of Toronto called him "a stupid dry old stick,"² his fellow clergy respected him for his integrity and great learning in church matters.

The Tractarians felt estranged from what was commonly regarded as "Protestant." Their view of history made them unable to accept the Reformation as a great divide or watershed for they looked to the principles of what they considered to have been the golden age of the church and evidence of their continuation. If the Prayer Book was the glory of the Reformation it was also firmly rooted in the past and could serve as the focus for Anglican unity. Bishop Medley, in contrast to Froude and Newman,

¹ Details about these examinations appeared in The Church, August 22 and 29, 1845.

² Quoted in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume X, 40.

was never abusive about the Reformation. He designated, somewhat unfashionably, the Church of England "both Protestant and Catholic,"¹ but lamented that the Reformation had ushered in "loose and unscriptural principles" from abroad equally inconsistent with both Scripture and antiquity; misunderstandings about the true nature of church unity; ambiguities concerning the scope of private judgment as opposed to reliance upon tradition; and "a totally different theology," liberal Protestantism, "false in principle . . . vicious in taste," which "pervades and leavens the religion of whole masses of our people."² The Reverend J. B. Worrell of Smiths Falls declared that the Reformation had been early upset by division and had encouraged a schismatic spirit.³

The Church resented disparagements of the Reformation and pointed out that the English Reformers desired to return to the earliest and purest days of the church.⁴ It reflected high church anxiety as Tractarians such as Ward, Faber and Newman began to idealize the Middle Ages and ceased to venerate the apostolic virtues of the seventeenth century divines because of their anti-Romanism. The revival of the religious life was linked with medievalism and The Church strove to reassure its readers that monasteries on a Romish pattern, abolished at the Reformation, were not about to be re-established in England.⁵

¹ J. Medley, The Reformation, Its Nature, Its Necessity and Its Benefits (Fredericton, 1847), p. 21. Quoted in Fairweather, "Tractarian Patriarch," p. 19.

² J. Medley, Sermon, How Are the Mighty Fallen! (Exeter, 1840), p. 17. Quoted ibid.

³ J. B. Worrell, A Sermon, Preached in St. George's Cathedral, Kingston, on Tuesday, June 21st., 1864 (Kingston: Canadian Churchman Office, 1864), p. 10.

⁴ The Church, September 29, 1853.

⁵ Ibid., March 17, 1843.

Those who agreed with the rosy picture of the Middle Ages painted by F. W. Faber before his secession were ignoring historical facts. "So enamoured are they of the cordial hospitality of the monastery refectory, that they forget--in a sort of romantic excitement--to ask themselves whether the services of the Convent chapel supplied a provision equally ample and nourishing for the wants of the soul."¹ The Berean had no illusions but that monks abstracted themselves from the world to worship with vain repetitions.²

Enthusiasm for the medieval embraced a philosophy of ecclesiastical history which profoundly disturbed churchmen of all kinds. It shook the notion of the immutability of the church. Ward and Newman had begun pondering in the early 1840's the idea of development. If the Church of Rome was to be seen as exclusively Catholic then it was necessary to justify its obvious departures from primitive times. Newman found that an understanding of the church's commission to develop and expand revelatory truths met his need. The Church believed this opened the way for "the mutilation and corruption of Christianity . . . the overthrow of revealed truth and triumph of infidelity."³ "The Church of Christ developing, -- growing into perfection, expanding to maturity, during the Dark Ages! How could such a delusion have ever entered into a scholar's mind, . . ."⁴ Medley thought that the theory of development was a speculation of much boldness and ingenuity, devised to justify the retreat of the seceders, and told his clergy that Roman Catholics generally did not approve of it.⁵

¹ Ibid., October 12, 1848. ² Berean, February 25, 1847.

³ The Church, July 3, 1846. ⁴ Ibid., September 29, 1853.

⁵ Medley, Charge, 1847, p. 12.

Despite a certain potential to the contrary, Tractarian views of the church were essentially static. The apostolic faith, enshrined in the creeds, was to remain for ever. Chrysostom's words prefixed to Tract 34 illustrate the value placed upon tradition: "He who is duly strengthened in faith does not go so far as to require reason and cause for what is enjoined, but is satisfied with tradition alone." Scripture, the source of God's revelation, was part of tradition, but this fact was violated when the Bible was interpreted according to individual predilections. E. H. Dewar's German Protestantism was a scathing attack on German liberal Protestantism likely provoked by the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric. He argued that Scripture could be interpreted by recourse either to the principle of church authority, "Catholicity," or to that of private judgment, "Rationalism." Any joint undertakings with other churches, on the lines of the Jerusalem bishopric, should be clearly based upon the former way of thinking.¹

. . . my object is to show, that the principles of Rationalism, once admitted into a Church, the pure faith must sooner or later cease to be the faith of its members, and the wildest speculations of fancy, the most degrading superstitions, the most deadly heresies, false philosophy, materialism, scepticism, will by turns occupy the place which ought to be filled by the faith which was once delivered to the Saints.²

Dewar, competent in the German language, traced increasing error through Wolff, Kant, Schelling, Hegel, and the Neo-Hegelians. He contrasted the melancholy state of religion in Germany with that in England where Catholicity was upheld.

The Churchman's Friend presented the kernel of his thought to its readers.

The right of private judgment really means that a man may hold his own opinions without becoming, as formerly, amenable to any earthly tribunal; but there is a far higher tribunal. . . . Remember that we are to appeal to nothing but the recognized teaching of the Church in her formularies and articles.

1

Dewar, German Protestantism, pp. 6-7.

2

Ibid., p. 14.

3

The Churchman's Friend, May 1856, p. 111.

Dewar's position was extreme. There was not, as in Newman's Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church (1837), room for a middle way between authority and reason which would have been afforded by recourse to personal moral experience in the interpreting of Scripture. The church's tradition was also regarded as uniform, no distinction being made between its primary and secondary streams.

Evangelicals bristled at what they viewed as attempts to place tradition on the same footing of authority as the Bible. Such could lead only to Rome. The secession of the Reverend Edmund Maturin and his apology proclaiming the infallibility of his new communion, The Claims of the Catholic Church (1859), were taken as proof. A writer to the Church Record thanked God that Maturin's former parishioners could compare Scripture with tradition for themselves and contrast the history of the primitive church with that of Rome.¹ The Reverend J. W. D. Gray observed:

No man of common sense, with the New Testament in his hand, whose intellect is not darkened by the profound folly of supposing that he is not to use his reason in matters of religion; but must surrender himself ever, . . . to the guidance of the most fallible of all the fallible associations, can doubt the corruptions of the Church of Rome. They are written with a pen of iron, upon her forehead.²

High churchmen themselves were beginning to suspect that preoccupation with the revived understanding of the church had diverted attention from the Bible. "I believe," Provost Whitaker of Trinity College wrote to Henry Roe, "we should be all better Christians and better Churchmen, if we knew more of the wondrous, tho' neglected teaching of Holy Scripture."³

¹ Church Record, February 24, 1859, letter of "Wickliffe."

² Ibid., May 5, 1859.

³ G. Whitaker to H. Roe, May 16, 1867, OTT.

By the 1860's Tractarians and evangelicals were allied in defence of the inspiration of the Bible. The publication of Essays and Reviews (1860) had put them in a panic. Edward Dewar had sounded an early warning about the progress of biblical criticism. In 1856 he no longer idealized the condition of the church in England. She was still in bondage to a hostile or indifferent legislature. "But, worse than all, there is a leaven at work within the church, the consequence of the abuse of the right of private judgment, and the immediate offspring of German Rationalism, . . ."¹

Dewar denounced F. D. Maurice, Benjamin Jowett and Rowland Williams for subverting belief in the inspiration of Holy Scripture and traditional reverence for it. In February 1864 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England cleared Williams and his fellow contributor to Essays and Reviews, H. B. Wilson, of the charge that their description of the Bible as "an expression of devout reason" and their denial of the eternal punishment of the wicked were contrary to Anglican formularies. Canadian high churchmen thought this a calamity. Bishop Lewis said that the Scriptures not only contained the word of God but were the word of God: the sole human element was the ink, paper, and imperfections of translators and transcribers.² Like Pusey and Denison he upheld eternal damnation.³ Tractarians at this time were rigidly opposed to the abolition of the compulsory use of the Athanasian creed with its damnatory clauses. The Church had reminded objectors to the creed of Christ's declaration to Nicodemus.⁴

1

The Churchman's Friend, August 1856, p. 158.

2

J. T. Lewis, Address, in Journal of the Third Session of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Ontario, June 21-23, 1864 (Kingston: Canadian Churchman Office, [1864]), p. 228.

3

Ibid., p. 224.

4

The Church, March 3, 1853.

For the Tractarians church tradition prepared the mind to receive and appreciate biblical truth. It served as guide, interpreter, evaluator and systematizer. The key fact to which it bore witness was God's redeeming self-revelation in Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh. That is one reason why the Oxford Movement took church authority so seriously. Incarnation, church and sacraments were regarded as the inseparable components of the divine plan. R. I. Wilberforce in his Doctrine of the Incarnation called the two sacraments, baptism and Eucharist, the extensions of the Incarnation. Edward Dewar's language was thoroughly suffused with the mystery of the union between man and deity. He was overjoyed that the clergy attending the Toronto synod of 1856 displayed signs of a return to the "scriptural and catholic verities . . . of Christ the salvation of the world, chiefly in and through His Church, Priesthood and Ordinances; in a word, of the Church as the great sacrament of Christ in the world."¹

The Tractarians differed greatly in their doctrine of the sacraments. They altered and developed their views. In 1848 R. I. Wilberforce considered baptism equal in value to Communion and similar in effect; five years later he drew strong distinctions between them, for Christ was objectively present in the eucharistic bread and wine but not in the baptismal water. Yet the men of Oxford were in agreement that the sacraments had been neglected and that they should be elevated to their rightful and primitive importance. Dewar blamed the evangelicals for

... of the Church, which is the Body of Christ, as if it were an empty name--of His Sacraments as if they were ritual ordinances--of the whole wondrous and mysterious scheme devised by God's wisdom and mercy for the restoration of fallen man; as if it were solely a matter of internal feeling.

1

The Churchman's Friend, June 1856, pp. 126-27.

2

Ibid., February 1856, p. 59.

The Church likewise lamented "that depreciation of the Sacraments of the Church into mere inefficacious and beggarly signs and elements which is one of the errors of modern divinity."¹

Controversy between high churchmen and evangelicals upon baptismal theology had preceded the Oxford Movement but was heightened during the 1840's by consciousness of the demands of Catholicity. Pusey acknowledged that the gift of God in baptism could only be retained by faith, but judged "the desire to uphold . . . the doctrine of justification by faith, practically obliterates the truth that our justification is imputed to us, not through the feelings, but through Baptism; . . ."² The Tractarians followed the schoolmen in arguing that, since infants had committed no sins, unconditional regeneration was indissolubly linked with infant baptism. In Canada evangelical clergy meeting at F. L. Osler's condemned The Church's espousal of Oxford principles on baptism.³ The Berean said that the evidence showed infant baptism to be spiritually ineffective.

However regularly baptized, and trained up in strict Churchmanship, the child, we know, shows depravity and not grace uppermost; and the bunches of birch-twigs and other instruments of castigation . . . would cry aloud if they had voices, against the assertion of any spiritual renewing in the child at its baptism.⁴

High churchmen on the other hand, were approaching the sacrament with increased veneration. The Reverend W. H. Snyder at Weymouth, Nova Scotia,

¹
The Church, June 5, 1841.

²
Tract 67 (2nd. ed.; London: J. G. F. and J. Rivington, 1839), p. 20.

³
Henderson, "John Strachan as Bishop," p. 229.

⁴
Berean, June 1, 1848. This was in connection with the Gorham affair.

rejoiced that more parents were bringing their children to "the laver of regeneration."¹ Provost Whitaker wrote to Henry Roe that he was sure that baptism developed a child's moral qualities in tangible ways as well as producing a spiritual change of an inward kind.² High churchmen feared that the logic of the evangelical viewpoint ended in adult or believer's baptism and increased opportunities of poaching by other denominations. They were energetic in teaching infant baptism. The Reverend J. Ambrose of Bristol, Nova Scotia, reported to Bishop Binney that "in Caledonia, sound interest is being awakened in the matter of infant baptism, a sacrament hitherto much neglected, or rather denied. I have, however, in that, as well as in many other parts of this parish, baptized children of Baptist parents."³ He emphasized the inward and spiritual grace of baptism and the responsibility of the church for those newly baptized.

In baptism the child was grafted into the Body of Christ. The context of the sacrament was the church. Its administration by laymen was denounced by Adam Townley. "A salvation being possible without baptism; the principal ground of defence, for the lawless and dangerous usurpation of lay-baptism, fails; did it even possess the efficacy which, contrary to all revelation and analogy, has been strongly attributed to it."⁴ Churchmen influenced by Tractarianism vigorously opposed its administration in private houses except in circumstances of dire necessity. The custom of private baptism was

¹ W. H. Snyder to J. Inglis, January 4, 1842, S.P.G.

² G. Whitaker to H. Roe, December 4, 1871, OTT.

³ J. Ambrose to H. Binney, April 3, 1854, S.P.G.

⁴ The Church, August 31, 1855, article of "A. T."

unrubrical and such ceremonies were only attended by a momentary solemnity.¹ Bearing in mind the need for strict attention to the laws of the church the Reverend C. P. Emery of Maple Grove, Canada East, vowed: "I never will baptize except in Church, . . . neither will I baptize if the child is not brought at the proper time, and with sponsors."² A new country did not excuse irregularities. Baptism was to be uniformly administered during divine service. When matins, litany and Communion were combined in the early 1840's it was difficult to attach baptism to matins as formerly, so The Church suggested it should be performed during evening prayer. When this was too late a special baptismal and catechetical service was thought suitable.³

With regard to the Eucharist early Tractarians were conservative in their teachings. They were concerned with magnifying the sacrament's importance rather than delving into its doctrine. Generally they followed the Receptionist tradition held by such divines as Hooker, Taylor and Waterland which emphasized the real presence of Christ not in the sacrament itself but in its worthy recipient. Froude, however, seems to have approximated to the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Pušey's departure from traditional high church doctrine came with his 1843 university sermon which The Church found unintelligible.⁴ From then on he expounded an objective presence of Christ in the elements by virtue of their consecration. He oscillated between calling the eucharistic presence an undefinable mystery

¹ The Church, November 9, 1839.

² Occasional Papers, No. 34 (November 1858), letter from the Reverend C. P. Emery, August 12, 1858.

³ The Church, August 30, 1844.

⁴ Ibid., August 11, 1843.

and attempting to define it.¹

Canadian high churchmen were loath to venture upon the subject of the real presence in public, although in private they were more forthcoming.

Medley declared: "The Church of England advises us to lay all such curious questions aside, to receive the mystery (a word applied to both Sacraments in our offices) faithfully, to teach it plainly, but to leave the manner unexplained."² He wrote to his friend Cecil Wray that "how, where, when and what, are questions unsuited to the region of belief, . . ."³ The Churchman's Friend recommended silent meditation upon the gifts of the sacrament as more profitable than doctrinal dispute.⁴

The muddle into which Archdeacon Denison threw the church underscored the wisdom of this approach. Denison had been found guilty on August 12, 1856, by a court at Bath under the archbishop of Canterbury's chairmanship of contravening Articles XXVIII and XXIX. A keen supporter of Pusey, he had been charged with teaching that the real yet spiritual presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist should be contemplated with adoration. Medley was in agreement with Wray against Keble, Pusey and Denison on this question.

I worship Xt not so much in the Sacrament, as at the Sacrament. The whole service is an act of devotion. But I cannot stop to divide that act into logical sequences, and say, now I begin to adore. This over-refinement⁵ distracts one's mind, and withdraws it from the simplicity of faith.

¹ W. H. Mackean, The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Oxford Movement (London: Putnam, 1933), pp. 173-75.

² Medley, Charge, 1850, p. 27.

³ J. Medley to C. Wray, March 20, 1857, L.

⁴ The Churchman's Friend, October 1856, p. 9.

⁵ Medley to Wray, March 20, 1857.

The wicked as well as the faithful, Denison taught, partook of Christ's body and blood in the elements. Pusey agreed, Keble did not. Medley told Wray: "When our Saviour says 'He that eateth me, even he shall live by me,' He must mean . . . that there is no eating Xts body and blood without faith. The wicked it seems to me have not the instrument of reception within them."¹

Medley's doctrine appears to have been clearly Receptionist.

I hold that the Presence is with us . . . I should be sorry to think . . . the Bath adjudications mean to deny, nor would I assume that they had denied the Real Presence. . . . The bread is only one medium, that of conveyance, but unless man be a mere machine, there must be another within the soul, the medium of reception.²

In a note attached to his letter to Wray, Medley observed that Christ was "really and objectively present in this Holy Mystery and offering to me His very Body and Blood for my spiritual Food." By "objectively" he meant that Christ was "an object of faith and worship at the Eucharist before He is received by the communicants."

Henry Roe understood "objective presence" very much in the same sense as Medley did. George Whitaker thought that Roe in using this term admitted a presence to all worshippers irrespective of their spiritual state.

I certainly think that both Justin and Irenaeus are witnesses for this objective presence. And if this be conceded then arises the great importance of regarding this presence as something impersonal--a gift of Christ--not Christ Himself--and so, however divine and life giving--not an object of that adoration which can be directed only to a personal subsistence.³

1

Ibid. The Churchman's Friend, January 1857, p. 50, believed that Christ was really present in the sacrament but that "He immediately withdraws upon the approach and contact of the wicked, . . ."

2

Medley to Wray, March 20, 1857.

3

G. Whitaker to H. Roe, September 27, 1867, OTT.

In 1867 Whitaker criticized the idea of a personal eucharistic presence in Keble's On Eucharistic Adoration, commenting that it was "at least suspicious that Keble's earliest authority . . . is not earlier than the middle of the fourth century--and that he has to give up the liturgies altogether."¹ Six years later Whitaker had moved closer to Pusey's position and no longer spoke of the necessarily impersonal nature of Christ's gift.

I think we may implicitly believe in a mysterious connexion between the sign and the thing signified, independently of reception, though certainly with a view to it, without presuming to localize a heavenly gift the nature of which utterly transcends our thoughts. . . . I confess to an increasing dislike to argue about the Eucharist. All language seems to break down in reasoning on that subject. The word "objective" I fancy has had its day.²

Canadian high churchmen, however, fully agreed that the Eucharist was central to the life of the church and should be celebrated frequently. The Tractarians had reproduced Bishop Beveridge's (1637-1708) The Great Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion in Tracts 25 and 26. A writer to The Church of April 7, 1843, claimed that his understanding of the need for weekly rather than monthly communion sprang from this treatise. All Christians deserving of the name should welcome "frequent distributions of the Bread of Life." Infrequent communion, Bethune declared, increased indifference to it.

. . . if it was not uniformly regarded as a mere outward memorial which it was of no consequence to omit, as being unattended with the slightest internal efficacy, it would from this rareness of celebration, come to be viewed as an awful mystery by which the simplicity of godliness was thought to be depressed rather than assisted.³

Bishop Binney attacked preachers who dwelt upon a substitutionary doctrine of the Atonement to the exclusion of the responsibilities and privileges of the

¹ Whitaker to Roe, August 19, 1867, OTT.

² Whitaker to Roe, April 7, 1873, OTT.

³ The Church, June 5, 1841.

sacraments. The word without the sacraments was as insufficient as the sacraments without the word. But "he who is always speaking of the Sacraments will probably lead his flock to regard them, as ends rather than means, . . ."¹ Binney thought that communion only two or three times a year demonstrated how Christian love had waned since the days of the primitive church when the sacrament held the most prominent place in its worship.²

In its sacraments and services Christ was alive in His church. Townley told his parishioners at St. James Church, Paris, that although they believed in Christ they did not believe in Him as revealed through His church.³ In apostolic times Jesus' promises to dwell in His church and to send His Spirit through her ordinances had been taken seriously. The church was "the mould for recasting the divine image and likeness on the soul of man; . . ."⁴ She had lost her influence because she had relaxed her rules and requirements and consequently rendered her liturgy less powerful in effect. Renewed obedience to the Prayer Book and its rubrics would precipitate the rout of Dissent.⁵

Conservative high churchmen regarded attention to the rubrics as very important. William Bullöck said that he did not approach the rubrics with a superstitious punctiliousness but that he did not consider the clergy or laity had the right to omit or alter them.⁶ Henry Roe contended that the Reformation was not a radical revolution but a gradual process of purifying and restoring

¹ Binney, Charge, 1854, p. 16. ² Binney, Charge, 1858, p. 28.

³ A. Townley, The Church the Channel of Personal Holiness (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, [1856]), p. 14.

⁴ Worrell, A Sermon, Preached in St. George's Cathedral, Kingston, on Tuesday, June 21st., 1864, p. 13.

⁵ The Church, November 21, 1840.

⁶ Church Times, August 11, 1848, article by "W. B."

in which the old Prayer Book was revised while its primitive and scriptural character was maintained.¹ Granted the Catholic nature of the Prayer Book, high churchmen were disposed to take its provisions as they stood.

Evangelicals accused them of exalting the Prayer Book as the standard of doctrine and denigrating the Thirty-nine Articles because they were found uncomfortable. "... they are in error who maintain that the Prayer Book is an authentic exponent of the doctrines of Scripture; and we use the Prayer Book as it was meant to be used, when we employ it for purposes of worship, but the Articles, as the Church of England standard of sound doctrine."²

The Churchman's Friend countered such attacks. Anglicans followed "the wise and Holy Fathers of the Anglican Reformation; hence we are not men of the Articles, or of the Ordinary, as separated from each other, but of them as a blessed whole."³

The Tractarian understanding of the church and its sacraments placed high importance and value upon priesthood. The Reverend C. P. Emery now at Pakenham, Canada West, wrote:

I have always worked with an uncompromising spirit, with the feeling that I was a Priest of Christ's Church. This thought has ever sustained me, and still does, when I should otherwise be completely prostrated. . . . We have to hold our position among this people as Christ's Priests, and not as their paid servants, if we are to succeed.⁴

¹ H. Roe, Two Sermons on the History and Scriptural Authority of the Book of Common Prayer (Montreal: John Lovell, 1862), pp. 9-36, passim.

² The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, November 3, 1854.

³ The Churchman's Friend, November 1856, p. 18.

⁴ Occasional Papers, No. 97 (October 1866), letter from C. P. Emery, March 19, 1866.

For James Hudson the celebration of Holy Communion was the chief function of his ministry. At Ludlow, New Brunswick, he reported being much moved by the sight of fifteen people kneeling on the bare floor of the house of a converted Roman Catholic waiting to be made one body with Christ.¹ On the side of W. H. Snyder's tomb at Mahone Bay are the dates of his priesthood, 1837-1889; a chalice in relief; and the single word, "PRIEST."

John Keble had served as an exemplar for what a Tractarian clergyman should be. James Hudson's obituary in The Mission Field of 1871 firmly linked the two men.² "A Life inwardly and outwardly devoted to God has power among men. . . . Such virtue went forth from . . . Hursley, not only throughout England, but also through our colonies; . . ." A letter from Medley extolling Hudson was quoted.

I have never known a more earnest self-sacrificing man. . . . He often slept on the floor of his churches whilst in progress, superintending every detail himself, and even assisting to haul the timbers. . . . St. Andrew's, Newcastle, . . . he designed himself. In it he lately erected a memorial, at his own expense, to "our Poet, Pastor, Priest," John Keble.

The lives of Hudson and Keble show how much the Oxford Movement was concerned with the mission of the church. W. S. Darling understood that for the Tractarians "the deeper the anxiety for the souls of men, the more fervent their desire to extend [the church's] ministrations, because they believed that she was organized by the Redeemer Himself to be the instrument of applying to them the blessing of His Salvation."³ Bishop Binney forcefully told his

¹ [J. Hudson], Report in The Mission Field, 3 (London: Bell and Daldy, 1858), 188.

² Ibid., 16 (1871), 235.

³ The Church, April 5, 1855, W. S. Darling, "On the Unpopularity of Religious Truth. No. X. Anglo-Catholicism."

clergy what tasks the Tractarian understanding of the church led to in practical terms.

They who are walking in the ways of this world estranged from God, must be converted to His Service, the hearts set on things below must be turned to heavenly things, they who are in darkness must be enlightened, . . . they who are asleep must be awakened, to those who are dead life must be imparted.

1

Binney, Charge, 1854, p. 18.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRACTARIAN PRACTICE

1840-1861

In matters of ritual the early Tractarians tended to be conservative. At the Holy Communion Newman consecrated at the north end of the altar and Pusey refused to wear any vestments other than surplice and plain stole. Yet in line with a renewed emphasis on the sacraments and the discovery that the Prayer Book made provision for daily services and weekly communion important practical changes did take place in the frequency of services at Oxford. Newman began daily morning prayer at St. Mary's in 1834. Weekly communion was introduced three years later, although to Pusey's distress Christ Church Cathedral retained a monthly celebration.

Archdeacon Coster introduced daily services in Fredericton during the early 1840's, and Bishop Medley continued these. In Toronto, however, high churchmen were unhappy that St. James Cathedral did not have them.¹ The Church extolled the importance of daily prayer in churches, at the same time admitting that not many laity could be expected to attend week-day services.² The Churchman's Friend regretted that saints' days were not properly observed and blamed the clergy for keeping their parishioners away on every day except Sunday.³

There would appear to have been general reluctance on the part of clergy

¹ The Church, January 30, 1841, letter from "A Catholic."

² Ibid., December 18, 1846.

³ The Churchman's Friend, February 1856, p. 59.

to conduct daily services. The opening ceremonies at Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, on October 27, 1847, were attended by sixteen clergy in surplices, including the high church incumbent Henry Scadding, and were stigmatized by the Banner as "miserable mummary entirely opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, . . ."¹ Daily services, however, were not commenced until Holy Week 1857. They were also held from that year till 1863 in the Holy Trinity school for boys and girls in a small chapel on the upper floor. Fresh from the strict regimen of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, the Reverend Charles Daniel at Thorold, Canada West, found church life lax. He must have been unaware of the situation at Holy Trinity Church which he had visited in the spring of 1864 on two different Sundays.

I do not know of one church in this diocese [Toronto] where daily service is the custom. There is no reason that I can see why we should not have daily service in this parish: . . . The church, however, is shut up from Sunday to Sunday, except that we have Evening service on Saints' Days. There seems to me to be very little personal religion among our people, but of course this parish is my only means of judging. I cannot help thinking that if the system of the Church were fully and faithfully² carried out, it would tend to raise the tone of the Church people here.

In Quebec diocese daily service was maintained at All Saints Chapel, Quebec, at Bishop George Mountain's request, from the cholera epidemic in 1849 to the Mountain family's removal to Bardfield in 1858. Henry Roe at St. Matthew's, Quebec, began a tradition of daily service from August 13, 1860, at 7:00 a.m. in summer and 5:00 p.m. in winter. Bishop's University, Lennoxville, was the only other place in the diocese where daily services were held at this time.

¹ Banner, November 5, 1847. It was a semi-religious weekly newspaper (Presbyterian).

² Occasional Papers, No. 86 (February 1865), letter from the Reverend C. A. Daniel, October 25, 1864.

In Montreal diocese the Reverend Frederick Wilson conducted a daily service at St. John's Church, Huntingdon, during his brief incumbency, 1853-54. The Reverend Edmund Wood had daily services in the new St. John the Evangelist's Free Chapel, Montreal, from its opening on March 10, 1861.

Tractarians believed that frequent communion did not cheapen the sacrament but increased devotion to it. Before 1847 the Eucharist was celebrated only monthly at the various churches in Toronto, but Scadding originated a scheme shortly after the opening of Holy Trinity whereby there was weekly communion in the city. On the first Sunday of the month it was held at St. James Cathedral, on the second at Holy Trinity, on the third at Trinity in the East, and on the fourth at St. Paul's. Holy Trinity did not start a weekly celebration, at 8:00 a.m., until Easter 1858. In Montreal before the opening of St. John the Evangelist Holy Communion was held at the cathedral and St. George's on the first Sunday of the month, "Sacrament Sunday," and elsewhere no more than five or six times a year. St. John the Evangelist had weekly celebrations from the beginning and a monthly choral Eucharist with simple plainsong at noon. Daily communion was not inaugurated until Advent 1868 when Wood gathered together a minimum of eighteen laymen, three for each weekday, to serve as the nucleus of a congregation.

It was customary in the 1850's and 1860's to have one long service commencing at 11:00 a.m. with matins, followed by the litany and ante-Communion. The idea that matins was the central service was very slow in dying. Bethune had suggested that litany and Communion be at 11:00 a.m., an hour after matins,¹ but this was not followed. Large numbers attended Holy Trinity for the morning service on November 14, 1847, but there were only twenty-eight communicants. Scadding remarked in his diary that "it was a sad sight to see

¹

The Church, December 5, 1845.

so many men leave the Church when 'all things were ready.'¹ In subsequent months, however, the number of communicants steadily rose; fifty-two, sixty, sixty-two, and eighty-two on Easter Day.

High church clergymen saw participation in the Eucharist as the sign of a true faith. Progress made them buoyant. The Reverend John Ambrose wrote to Bishop Binney in 1855 that three times as many people communicated in New Dublin at Christmas than in the previous year.² St. Augustinians reported back to their old college with pride at the establishment of weekly communions. C. P. Emery at Maple Grove wrote that ". . . it is our great privilege to partake of the Holy Communion every Sunday, and now and then on Saints' Days. Since this has been the case, we seem to get on much better; there appears to be more life amongst us."³ He was very willing to administer communion when necessary in private.⁴ Depression struck when parishioners paid scant attention to exhortations concerning more frequent communion. The Reverend J. Griffiths of Sandy Cove, Digby, told current Augustinians:

It is much to be regretted, that the duty of communicating is so lightly regarded here by those who profess to be members of our church; . . . I often bring the subject before the people, feeling that I am bound, as a minister of the Gospel, to put them in remembrance of, and to urge them to perform their duties, whether they do so or not.

¹ Quoted in T. A. Reed, "A History of the Church of the Holy Trinity, 1847-1910." Typewritten MS, OT.

² J. Ambrose to H. Binney, December 26, 1855, S.P.G.

³ Occasional Papers, No. 34 (November 1858), letter from the Reverend C. P. Emery, August 12, 1858.

⁴ Ibid., No. 74. (November 1863), letter from Emery, September 23, 1863.

⁵ Ibid., No. 27 (March 1858), letter from the Reverend J. Griffiths, December 10, 1858.

Clergy paid increasing attention to the preparation of candidates for confirmation. In 1855 the Reverend W. H. Snyder at Mahone Bay presented thirty candidates to Bishop Binney: by 1859 the total was eighty-three. Binney, declared that "of all the departments of the Minister's work, there is probably none, in which a more direct, and more abundant, return is obtained, than in the preparation of Candidates for Confirmation."¹ The growth of the railway in the middle of the century meant that the bishops could perform their functions with more ease and frequency.

High church clergy expected their parishioners to regard the services of the church with the reverence and seriousness due to Christ's body on earth. Bishop Medley prohibited W. Odell from attending Holy Communion because he was not "in love and charity" with his neighbour. He had fought a duel with a Mr. Jones and refused to make any public declaration of remorse. Jones was contrite and after six months was readmitted to the sacrament.² Under the lead of Tractarians, priests increasingly bristled at the laxity of dissenters and stiffened in their resolve to enforce church principles. James Hudson refused to bury a child of the Ullock family baptized by a Presbyterian minister. Medley supported Hudson as being within his rights according to the Prayer Book, but because it had been a case of necessity thought he could, without scruple, have buried the child. A furious group of low churchmen and dissenters viewed Hudson's conduct "as an arbitrary act of usurped power, perfectly consistent with the expressed motives of the Tractarians in the Mother Country."³ The Church pronounced itself reluctant to discuss the

¹ Binney, Charge, 1858, p. 19.

² Medley, "Annals," p. 22.

³ New Brunswick Courier, July 11, 1846.

Miramichi troubles, but set forth some astringent comments nevertheless.¹ Clergy had generally read more about doctrinal matters than laymen and were more likely to be right than they. The taint of worldly considerations affected them less. In condemning Hudson's teachings the Miramichi laity should admit the possibility that what they regarded as novel and heretical was really Catholic and scriptural. Christians should "raise society to that standard of unity and obedience which the Church presupposes, and not . . . degrade the Church to the level of the world's perversity and sin."

The laity might well find themselves confused by theology, but the outcome of the Oxford Movement's quest for reverence in the development of ritual was readily perceptible. The hostile could interpret novelties in ornament or ritual as concrete evidence of a drift to Rome. A doctrine might be accepted whereas its expression in symbol would be opposed. In Toronto diocese various factors combined to make ritualistic advance a contentious issue in the 1840's. Irish immigration imported an austere "Anglo-Calvinist" influence which was particularly strong in the area around London where Cronyn was rector. The growing political influence of French Canadians was seen as part of an increasing popish threat. Moreover, in a church not far removed from pioneer days and circumstances of extreme simplicity, ritual innovation was very striking and perhaps disturbing.

In 1849 The Church observed that increasing numbers of Anglicans were bowing at the name of Jesus, turning east at the creed, and rising up at the doxology at the end of sermons.² Churches acquired bells, communion silver

¹ The Church, July 24, 1846.

² Ibid., November 30, 1849.

and stone fonts. James Beaven designed the font at Holy Trinity Church, Toronto. Archdeacon Bethune had told the clergy in his 1847 Visitation Charge that "a sense of duty in holy things, would forbid the employment of vessels adapted to the common uses and conveniences of life."¹ Loving care was to be lavished upon the furnishing and adorning of churches. Hassocks were provided so that worshippers could kneel during the prayers. Edifying symbols appeared in churches. A writer to The Church requested the meaning of the letters "I.H.S." that he had been seeing. He was assured that there was "no Italian craft or device in this venerable monogram. . . ."²

The emblem which provoked most consternation for its Romish associations was that of the cross. Henry Scadding defended its use on top of St. James Cathedral.³ At St. Margaret's Bay, Nova Scotia, the Reverend J. Stannage found himself accused of having a cross on one of his churches and altar-cloths embroidered with the symbol.⁴ The Berean in an article on churchyard crosses made its disapprobation plain. The church "sets before us the Cross of Christ in the Gospel written with the gift of inspiration, not in wood, brass, silver or gold; [and] . . . in the grave, it will not be the cross made by the workman's cunning, but the atonement once made for sinners that will secure our repose."⁵ Even The Church objected to the presence of a cross on the communion table. An editorial of July 17, 1847, agreed with the bishop of Exeter that the mind was thereby diverted from contemplating the transcendent

¹ Quoted in Thompson, "Alexander Neil Bethune," p. 174.

² The Church, January 14, 1848.

³ Ibid., November 23, 1839, letter from H. Scadding to the Editor.

⁴ Church Times, May 17, 1856, letter from J. Stannage to the Editor.

⁵ Berean, March 20, 1845.

benefits of Christ's sufferings to a mundane preoccupation with the sufferings themselves.

The Tractarian emphasis upon the Eucharist and the Gothic revival focused attention upon the altar. By 1850 the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto could envision no other style than Gothic as suitable for church building. Churches were to be "grave and substantial" structures with a chancel, nave, stone font, vestry, tower and porches.¹ Altars at the focal points of such buildings invited ornament. Clergy set about beautifying existing sanctuaries. The Reverend Francis J. Lundy, rector of St. Andrew's, Grimsby, Canada West, presented a pair of candlesticks to his church. On their first appearance a parishioner strode down the aisle and blew the candles out. A vestry meeting of June 9, 1850, resolved that Lundy be requested to remove the candlesticks from the altar.² One of the complaints of the Lay Association of Quebec against high churchmen in 1858 was "the Romish practice of using lighted candles by day-light."³ Evangelicals feared the implications of the new attention paid to the altar and its ornaments. They opposed "the assimilation of the communion-table to an altar in form and material. . . ."⁴ Solid stone structures covered by altar-cloths were suspected as being preparatory to the introduction of superstitious practices.

¹
"Recommendations by the Church Building Committee of the Church Society, in Regard to Churches and Their Precincts." Quoted in The Church, April 11, 1850.

²
The History of St. Andrew's Church, 1794-1969 (Grimsby, Ontario: n.p., [1969]), p. 18.

³
G. J. Mountain, A Letter Addressed to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Quebec, in Relation to Certain Recent Proceedings Connected with the Initiation of Synodical Action in the Diocese of Quebec (Quebec: Mercury Office, 1858), p. 27.

⁴
Berean, December 16, 1844.

The Berean considered the word "altar" unrubrical and savouring of the Roman doctrine of the mass.¹ Possibly because of a dread of eucharistic adoration it refused to print a letter from "A Pew-Holder" who wanted his churchwarden to have pulpit and reading-desk placed so as to afford the best view of the communion table.² The Church thought the term "altar" not improper and remarked that it had been changed to "table" in the Prayer Book as a concession to groundless Puritan prejudice.³ It protested against Lushington's consistory court judgment in England (December 1855) concerning St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and St. Barnabas, Pimlico, which forbade altar-cloths and the lighting of candles as not positively enjoined by the rubrics.⁴ Medley complained that the judgment hit

at the reverence due to the Sanctuary, and at the right of a congregation under due authority to judge for themselves in these matters and I think much must be left to men's tastes and feelings. I do not wish to make a bed of Procrustes for my Puritan neighbour to lie on, neither do I wish to lie on his bed. I presume, however, that such liberty be within the tenor of the Rubric--which I think is the case.⁵

In Canada there was one notable parochial controversy over an altar. This was in 1854 at St. Peter's Church, Cobourg, where Bethune was rector and his former pupil, W. A. Johnson, assistant. The new St. Peter's was being built and several young men gave to Bethune a carved white oak altar embellished with symbols of the Passion. He approved of it and had it installed before the opening service. Three weeks later the altar was defaced by vandals. An argument ensued as to whether the donors or the rector should make the repairs. Dissidents in the parish accused Johnson, unjustly,

¹ Ibid., June 20, 1844. ² Ibid., August 26, 1847.

³ The Church, October 10, 1845. ⁴ Ibid., January 25, 1856.

⁵ J. Medley to C. Wray, March 20, 1857.

of having designed and carved the high church altar himself. It was removed and after some years reappeared in Johnson's church, St. Philip's, Weston.¹ Such a dispute would probably have gone further in England. Canada had no system of church courts to which the opponents of ritual could bring their complaints. Bishops like Strachan were sympathetic to the revived churchmanship and hostile to party squabbles.

Concern for the dignity of the sanctuary turned the minds of high churchmen to thoughts of surpliced choirs. They were the custom in the cathedrals and college chapels of England and some Tractarians thought that if they were introduced into parish churches the beauty of services would be enhanced. They considered sung responses more devotional than those which were said and the voices of boys more pure in quality than those of women. Frederick Oakeley formed a surpliced choir of four or five boys right at the beginning of his incumbency at the Margaret Chapel in 1839. Holy Trinity Cathedral, Quebec, followed the old English tradition, maintaining a surpliced choir from its consecration in August 1804 until 1845 when a choir of men and women singing from the gallery was organized as a replacement. It is likely that members of the congregation had become frightened at what had begun to resemble a Tractarian ceremonial practice. McGill University lost its surpliced choir along with its Anglican connection in 1848. Medley contemplated introducing a surpliced choir at Fredericton cathedral but hesitated to do so, fearing inevitable accusations of popery. Other clergy were similarly circumspect. Not until August 1864 did the Reverend E. Wood venture to vest his choir on the occasion of his sister's marriage to the

¹ Details in F. K. Dalton, "A Biography of the Reverend William Arthur Johnson (1816-1880), Clergyman, Artist, Architect, Scientist, Teacher," p. 5. Typewritten MS, 1963, OTG.

Honorable John Hamilton who donated the surplices. Assured that there were no crosses embroidered upon them, Dean Bethune of Montreal then permitted the regular wearing of surplices by "Wood's minstrels" at the military services which St. John the Evangelist held on Sunday afternoons. When W. S. Darling at Holy Trinity, Toronto, followed Wood's example on June 28, 1868, there was an immediate stir. The Globe remarked that "the white shirted choristers, . . . , seemed not to feel quite at home in the new work and their new dresses."¹

The developments in church music as a result of the Oxford Movement were remarkable. Clergy opened their Prayer Books with fresh eyes to observe that parts of the service could be "said or sung." Singing was far preferable to a hurried and mumbled dialogue between parson and clerk, but the raucous bawlings of metrical psalms by village choirs with more vanity than talent affronted sensitive ears. The demand for reverence coupled with a veneration for ancient ecclesiastical tradition fostered an interest in Gregorian chant. On December 16, 1842, The Church welcomed the New York publication of Gregorian and Other Ecclesiastical Chants. This collection was in use at St. Mark's College, Chelsea, where the choir of student teachers was under the direction of the Reverend Thomas Helmore who was the chief force behind the Anglican choral revival. James Beaven's migration to Toronto was important because he brought the new English enthusiasm for plainsong with him. Bethune became "acquainted with the small portion of it sung in the chapel of King's College, in the versicles before the psalms, after the creed, and before the collect for the day, . . . [and was] convinced that it is by far the most beautiful music in existence; . . ."² A writer to The Church praised the evensong held by the

¹ Globe, June 30, 1868.

² The Church, October 29, 1847.

Toronto Church Society on February 17, 1848, at St. Peter's, Cobourg, for being, as he believed, the first full choral service held in the diocese. He did, however, regret the absence of plainsong which he regarded as manly in contrast to the flimsy strains of Anglican music in Canada due to unmusical clergy and female choristers.¹ The introduction of Gregorian chant and renewed interest in such composers as Gibbons, Byrd and Tallis received a further significant stimulus when William Stephen Vial, a pupil of Thomas Helmore, came to Canada. From July 1, 1857, to October 1, 1859, he was organist and music director at Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, where he formed a boys' choir.

Both Anglican and Gregorian chants encountered opposition. "Chanting has been sometimes stigmatized as one of the marks of the Beast, and even now many persons may be found who think singing metrical versions of the psalms and hymns much more devotional."² It was, however, Gregorian plainsong which was regarded as a badge of party. It incurred the general odium directed against Puseyism. The Leader complained that the officiating cleric at Holy Trinity had turned his back upon the congregation during the creed and that the choir had intoned portions of the service usually said. "The boys . . . [are] near the reading desk and their carelessness and inattention together with the sing-song style they have fallen into are the subject of great displeasure among individual members of the congregation."³ Edmund Wood was a trained musician, a pupil of J. B. Dykes, and the possessor of a fine baritone voice. At the mortuary chapel, Dufferin Square, on Christmas Eve 1859 he introduced

¹ Ibid., February 25, 1848, "N." to Editor.

² Church Record, February 15, 1860, letter from "Clericus."

³ Leader, December 22, 1859.

the first choral evensong held in Montréal. He was particularly fond of the Gregorian tones. In the new St. John's Free Chapel he quickly taught his choir the Merbecke setting of the Eucharist. When he began intoning the services at the Free Chapel somebody called out: "Is there no one here who will bleed this bleating lamb?"¹ General public excitement was aroused. An old man called out to Bishop Fulford on the street: "My Lord! Wood don't read so bad." Dean Bethune asked Wood when taking services in the cathedral to change to "a preaching tone."

Many high churchmen welcomed plainsong because its simplicity made it suitable for congregational singing. Lively services in which everyone took part competed strongly with those of dissenters and brought in new worshippers. The spiritual and ennobling power of music was seen as a vital adjunct to the church's mission to the poor. Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, was founded for the immigrants flooding into Macaulay Town, an industrial area of the city. The mortuary chapel and St. John's Free Chapel in Montreal were for those unable to afford the pew rents at the cathedral. The Montreal Advertiser reported the inauguration of St. John's and commented that

no one who attended on Sunday morning could fail to remark the heartiness with which those portions of the service allotted to the "people" were taken up by all the congregation. The Psalms for the day, the Te Deum, an anthem, and other hymns, were thoroughly well sung by the choir, which we believe, with the exception of the children was made up for the most part of mechanics and artisans. . . .²

There was a tendency, however, for such "advanced" churches to attract not just the poor but the wealthy and fashionable to whom a change from dull services was welcome. The congregation of St. John's in its early years

¹ French, ed., "Matters of Parochial Interest," p. 159.

² Quoted in the Guardian, April 17, 1861.

included important British army officers such as Colonel Garnet Wolseley (later viscount and commander-in-chief of the British Army) who was a sidesman and Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Windham (in 1865 appointed governor of Nova Scotia). Lord and Lady Montck were also worshippers.¹ Provoked by the observation of the Church Witness that the Salem Chapel, Halifax, was frequented by the most fashionable congregation in the city, the Church Times retorted that the chapel was certainly intended for the poor but the rich could not be turned away.² Non-Anglicans were also drawn to more uplifting services. E. H. Ball at Port Mulgrave, Nova Scotia, found that dissenters, attracted by the singing, liked to come to his church in the evening. "To be able to in some degree teach singing, cannot be over-estimated as a means of doing fresh good, by such as have charge of districts like my own."³

Some pockets of resistance to the new fashions in churchmanship proved particularly strong. At King's College, Windsor, little changed in the life of the chapel until John Dart became president in 1875. The Tractarian professor of mathematics, John Bainbridge Smith, was bitterly disappointed with the services when he arrived in 1847. He complained to Ernest Hawkins about the shortened daily services, the defective table of lessons used, and other irregularities. Hawkins was moved to investigate and John Inglis replied that

. . . I will take the first opportunity that may occur for making enquiry into all your points, but I dare not make the opportunity, for we are so combustible that a spark might cause an explosion. The Lord's Supper ought to be administered oftener than four times a year in the Churches, but I have much doubt of doing so in the College Chapel. . . . I would gladly encourage a sermon in the College Chapel every Sunday evening, but

¹ Centenary Book of the Parish of St. John the Evangelist Montreal 1861-1961 (Gardenvale, P.Q.: Harpell's Press, 1961), p. 4,

² Church Times, November 3, 1855.

³ Occasional Papers, No. 103 (May 1867), letter from the Reverend E. H. Ball, January 30, 1867.

the Professor of Divinity has a Lecture at that time, . . . by direction of the Statutes.

In the diocese of Toronto at this time the public mind was especially sensitive to imputations of Tractarian influence in educational institutions. The Baptist Register of July 27, 1843, alleged high church practices at Upper Canada College. "An Ex-Collegian" rejoined in The Church that "the prayers read morning and evening . . . , are such as all denominations of Christians can join in, and have never been objected to by any."² Despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that Scadding and his assistant at Holy Trinity, William Stennett, were classical masters there, the school cultivated a conscientious non-partizanship. The Church commented that the boys read the Bible for little more than the purpose of literary criticism. "No distinctive doctrine can be pointed out or expounded; nothing offensive to the Romanist or the Unitarian must be uttered."³

The chief furore, however, revolved around the Diocesan Theological Institution at Cobourg. There were daily chapel services, chanted twice a week and on holy days. These and the high church tone of the theological teaching came under increasing criticism from a small group of evangelical students. In September 1845 Isaac Hellmuth asked for Strachan's permission to depart for Montreal. Strachan agreed to his request feeling he was rather too low a churchman for his diocese. J. H. Ede also withdrew. Soon a rebellion led by Marsh and Ellis broke out much to Strachan's consternation. In England the Record of November 20 published an article of W. Carus Wilson attacking

¹ J. Inglis to E. Hawkins, March 20, 1849.

² The Church, August 4, 1843. ³ Ibid., January 30, 1851.

the Institution and quoting Hellmuth as designating it "a hotbed of Tractarianism." In response Strachan wrote to Wilson supporting his professor of theology, Bethune, whose views, he asserted, were derived from the standard ecclesiastical authorities long antedating Tractarianism. Granted the reprehensible extravagancies to which the Oxford Movement had declined there was no clergyman in the diocese who deserved the imputation of being a Tractarian. No other tests than the ones provided by the church were required of candidates for holy orders in Toronto diocese.

We have no sympathy with Romanism . . . , which suffocates or conceals the truth under a mass of corruption and falsehood. . . . To attribute therefore Tractarian principles to me or any of my clergy in the odious sense in which the expression is used, is a calumny so groundless, and unjustifiable, that we must wonder that any man activated by the fear of God should venture to assert it.

The Record's accusations were taken up by W. H. Boulton, mayor of Toronto, in a letter to Bethune concerning the incorporation of the theological college.

I again ask you whether . . . you officially explained the doctrines of apostolical succession and baptismal regeneration and then told the assembled students that unless they held or could hold such doctrines they had better retire to the ordinary pursuits of life, for they never would be ordained by "the Bishop of Toronto."

Robert Shanklin, ordained from Cobourg as travelling missionary at St.

Catharines in 1845, spoke against the Tractarianism at the Institution. When he disavowed his charges Strachan ordained him priest.³ Criticism of the

¹ J. Strachan to W. Carus Wilson, January 19, 1846, copy, S.P.G.. Strachan's letter to the Record, January 16, 1846, is in his Letter Book 1844-49, OTA, pp. 154-56. This amends J. D. Purdy, "John Strachan and the Diocesan Theological Institute at Cobourg, 1842-1852," Ontario History, 65, No. 2 (June 1973), 123, n. 49.

² W. H. Boulton to A. N. Bethune, March 28, 1846, OTA, Bethune Letters (1830-78).

³ "Narrative of Shanklin," Strachan Letter Book 1844-49, OTA, pp. 199-200.

theological school came mainly from low churchmen in the western part of the diocese. Cronyn said it had insufficient funds and that standards were too low. Bethune wrote: "I do not think that our Theological Institution has many opponents eastwards of Toronto, and sound and right-thinking men could hardly fail to see and appreciate the reasons for its maintenance. . . ."¹ On May 22, 1846, there appeared in The Church a letter of support for Bethune signed by seventeen former students including F. D. Fauquier, J. Mockridge and J. G. D. Mackenzie. This denied the existence of any party spirit or colour at Cobourg. The controversy soon petered out. It is, however, true that among the forty-five men produced by the Institution before it merged with Trinity College in 1852 there was a significant enough proportion of high churchmen to make it influential in spreading the ideas of the Oxford Movement in Canada.

Attitudes towards evidences of Tractarianism hardened in the wake of Papal Aggression. Anti-papal sentiment was enflamed in Montreal by Alessandro Gavazzi, previously a Roman Catholic monk, who now fanatically denounced his former communion and regarded Tractarians as Jesuits in disguise. During his lecture at the Zion Congregational Church on June 9, 1853, a group of Roman Catholic Irishmen stormed the building. The ensuing riot caused the Montreal police force to take fright and summon the Cameronian militia which fired into the crowd. A small book by F. Wilson expounding his high view of the real presence appeared with unfortunate timing just after this incident. Fulford sent a copy of Wilson's tract to his friend Ernest Hawkins "as it has created considerable offence here . . . all one side given fully, without the

1

A. N. Bethune to J. Strachan, May 3, 1847, QTA, Strachan Papers 1794-1891, p. 92.

corrections, and so justly open to animadversion."¹ Fulford requested an elucidation of his position from Wilson who denied that he held the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation as some had asserted.

In answer to the prayers of priest and people, the Holy Ghost imparts an invisible, sanctifying energy to the Sacramental elements, by which, in power and effect, though not in substance, they become to the faithful the flesh and blood which they represent. . . . I do not mean to imply that the Body and Blood of Christ are at any time so absolutely present in the elements, as to be independent of an act of faith in the communicant when receiving them.

Whether owing to Fulford's dissatisfaction with his conduct or the effects of a skin disease which made Canadian winters unbearable for him, Wilson left St. John's, Huntingdon, in March 1854. His parishioners had found no fault with his church services or teaching and lamented his departure. In his farewell letter Wilson told them that his endeavours to keep before them the church system in its true colours, his daily services and commemorations of God's departed servants were strictly rubrical. "In one word, since I came among you, while I have scrupulously avoided the least appearance of going beyond the teaching and ritual of our Prayer Book, I have at the same time earnestly endeavoured by God's grace not to fall short of it."³

Within the context of increased anti-popery there was at this time a hardening of the lines between high and low church Anglicans. Low churchmen were reacting more strenuously to the growing implementation of Tractarian practice and principle. The "sects" regarded the Oxford Movement as a backdoor

1

F. Fulford to E. Hawkins, March 11, 1854.

2

F. Wilson to F. Fulford, January 3, 1854; QMD, copy in Fulford's Letters to S.P.G., 1852-59.

3

F. Wilson to churchwardens, March 30, 1854, QMD, copy in Fulford's Letters to S.P.G., 1852-59.

through which the threatening evils of Roman Catholicism could become rampant in Canada. In 1851 the Baptist Christian Observer of Toronto in its campaign against Church of England pretensions to establishment pointed out:

We have abundant evidence that Puseyism is spreading in this colony. The senseless mummeries practised under the name of Religion!--the wearing of gowns and bands in the streets, for the avowed purpose of gratifying the mental tendencies of the Episcopal Bishop!--the open advocacy, . . . of that ruinous fallacy, baptismal regeneration!--all testify as to the leanings of the Anglican clergy in the Province.

As a consequence of such attacks Anglican evangelicals pursued two courses. First, they more vehemently opposed Roman Catholicism. The papist was placed in the company of "the Socinian, the Infidel, the lawless, and the profane" by the Young Churchman.² Second, low churchmen followed the example of other denominations and vented their anger against Tractarianism. They did not wish to be thought of as condoning covert popery within their own Communion.

The surplice was the occasion of renewed controversy. In 1855 the Reverend Saltern Givins preached in the surplice at a confirmation at St. James, Kingston, and provoked strong evangelical criticism. Givins was stung into writing to the Echo saying that he had not wished to give offence but that he did not regard the surplice as a badge of party or as something important.³ The Halifax Church Times commented that "we think we listen with equal complacency to the truth of the gospel enunciated in either robe, . . ."⁴

¹ Christian Observer, May 1851. Quoted in F. A. Walker, "Protestant Reaction in Upper Canada to the 'Popish Threat,'" Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 18th. Report (1951), 99.

² Young Churchman, February 15, 1851. Quoted ibid., p. 98.

³ Reprinted in Church Times, October 27, 1855.

⁴ Ibid.

At Guysborough, Nova Scotia, somebody stole the Reverend W. G. T. Jones' surplice.¹

Party warfare tore parishes apart. In 1855 W. A. Johnson, now assistant minister at St. Paul's, Yorkville, was accused by a member of his congregation of heresy. It was alleged that Johnson was circulating Tractarian literature supporting baptismal regeneration, prayers for the dead, the eucharistic sacrifice, confession and penance. The Echo entered into the fray.

Mr. Johnson's mode of conducting the service excited notice. The peculiar manner in which he knelt on the floor of the Chancel, at a distance from the Communion Table was thought extraordinary. His unusual manner of consecrating the Elements at the Lord's Supper, seemed significant of something different from the ordinary view of that ordinance. Preaching on the necessity for a credence table, and such like things. The impressive introduction of allegories from the fathers intended to revive the scholastic theology which has done such injury to the church; preaching against the Toronto University as a School of the Devil; the introduction of Tractarian Catechisms and Tracts; sneering, sarcastic, and defying replies to written remonstrances; all these things, with private teachings, and conversation, among the people corresponding thereto, produced the usual effect of distracting, dividing, and troubling the congregation.²

The Echo, it was noted by The Church, failed to mention that Strachan unreservedly exonerated Johnson of all charges against him.³ At Niagara the evangelical curate, the Reverend H. D. Reynolds, accused his rector, the Reverend Thomas Creen, in 1856 of being a liar, adulterer and drunkard and refused to assist him in his services. Strachan forthwith suspended both clergymen. Reynolds regarded himself as a martyr to his anti-Tractarian principles for having denied apostolic succession by refusing the sacrament at the hands of an unworthy minister. In such a way a personality conflict had

¹
Church Record, February 15, 1860.

²
The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, April 4, 1856.

³
The Church, April 11, 1856.

escalated into a party battle.¹

The efforts of high churchmen to enforce Prayer Book rubrics which had fallen into disuse were resisted as innovations by evangelicals. This was the case at St. Paul's, Halifax, in 1859 when the rector, the Reverend George Hill, resisted the attempts of Bishop Binney to have the offertory properly performed. Binney asserted that "in all ancient liturgies we find an oblation, or solemn offering, of the bread and wine to God."² He was against the slovenly custom of putting the elements on the altar before the start of the Communion instead of bringing them from a credence table after the presentation of alms. Hill considered the credence table "symbolic of certain dogmas held by the Church of Rome,"³ particularly the concepts of priest, altar and the sacrifice of the mass.

Church journalism played a large part in the battles between high and low during the 1850's. From 1851 The Echo replaced the Berean as the combative voice of the evangelical point of view. "Its editorials pressed for the uprooting of error in a time of crisis for the church. ". . . we shall not consult our peace. . . . Never were the defilers of our faith readier for their unholy work than at the present moment."⁴ The Echo considered it its duty to seek out and expose the evils of Tractarianism. It challenged W. S. Darling "to point out where he is authorized, much less commanded, to practice those

¹ See H. D. Reynolds et al., The Niagara Church Case (Toronto: Maclear, 1857).

² Binney, Charge, 1858, p. 31.

³ H. Binney, A Pastoral Letter Including a Correspondence between the Rev. George W. Hill, and Himself (Halifax: James Bowes and Sons 1866), p. 6. (Hereinafter referred to as Correspondence between the Rev. George W. Hill, and Himself).

⁴ The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, December 28, 1855.

turnings to the east, and displayings of crosses in the . . . Church of the Holy Trinity."¹ It warned its readers against the Churchman's Diary published by Masters of London which gave details of appropriate colours of altar-cloths and vestments. The newspaper feared the introduction of "the hell brewed poison of the confessional as a part of our wives' and daughters' daily food."²

The Church accused The Echo of narrowness and bigotry. It claimed an utter loathing for party divisions and noted how Romanists, radicals and infidels were united in their opposition to the Anglican church. 'Could not a broad spectrum of opinion within the church be tolerated? "If we have reason to believe that a man is honest and true in the main; that his heart is, every pulse of it, with the Church; . . . is not this enough? . . . And must he be, to exactly square with our views, high Churchman or low Churchman, Puseyite, or Evangelical?"³ The Echo's invective against the via media and its fraternizing with dissent provoked an astringent response. The Church lamented its rival's lack of activity in fighting for a satisfactory settlement of the clergy reserves question. It wondered at The Echo's inability to perceive beneficial results from the Oxford Movement.⁴ The sniping between the two newspapers worsened as the 1850's progressed. The Church's fortunes declined under the impact of the strong competition of The Echo and the failure of favoured causes such as the clergy reserves and a privileged position for the Anglican church. The Church complained that its advocacy of scriptural truth

¹ Ibid., December 21, 1855. ² Ibid., November 24, 1852.

³ The Church, August 18, 1853.

⁴ Ibid., April 26, 1855.

increased the subscription list of The Echo and diminished its own. Its last issue appeared July 25, 1856.

The Echo feuded with The Churchman's Friend which it regarded as a mischievous publication. It resented the caricaturing of evangelicalism in the "Clackington" serials and the tendency to minimize differences with Rome.

We behold our "mouthpiece" agape; we fancy that we can see him swallowing without any apparent effort auricular confession, Penance, indulgency [sic], absolution, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, Holy water, extreme unction, prayers in a dead language, masses for the dead with bells and candles, crosses and credence tables, altars and incense, miraculous images and relics, piscenies [sic], pictures and popery in every guise, whether of Doctrine, Practice, or Paraphernalia.

The Churchman's Friend retorted on one occasion: "We are accustomed to violence, and abuse from The Echo, and can bear it with tolerable equanimity, but we beg that he will have some regard for Truth."²

In the Maritimes also at this time increased party feeling was reflected in the church press. The Halifax Church Times aimed at being non-partizan. It considered the Berean a useful paper but disliked the divisive tenor of its spirit and teaching. Although an evangelical, J. C. Cochran, became editor in 1852, he endeavoured to "avoid as far as possible all controversy, all party names, and a party cause, altho' in times like the present, this is no easy matter."³ Yet the necessity of rebutting the opinions of the Church Witness drew the Church Times into conflict. Contrary to the belief of "our esteemed brother of St. John," high churchmanship did not contain all the seeds of

¹ The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, January 18, 1856.

² The Churchman's Friend, March 1857, p. 95.

³ Church Times, September 25, 1852.

Puseyism: many high churchmen were fierce opponents of popery.¹ When William Gossip returned to the Church Times as general editor in 1855 its tone towards its competitor became less charitable. It denied charges of being Puseyite or Tractarian and, in the same breath as it called the Editor of the Witness a partizan, designated parties "unseemly excrescences upon the fair proportions of the Church."² It was also much annoyed at the Witness' opposition to the principle of synodical action which, by contrast, it embraced, wholeheartedly.³

The elections for bishops of the new dioceses of Huron and Ontario provided two notable occasions for party excitement and journalistic agitation. In June 1857 Benjamin Cronyn was elected as bishop of Huron over A. N. Bethune by twenty-two to twenty clerical votes and twenty-three to ten lay votes. No record as to who voted for which candidate exists but many clergy expressed decided preferences beforehand. Fourteen had previously declared their support for Cronyn, eight of these being graduates of Trinity College, Dublin. The eleven clergy on record as favouring Bethune were either his or Strachan's former pupils.⁴ It is tempting to characterize the Huron election as a contest between Irish low churchmanship and the high churchmanship of Strachan and

¹ Ibid., January 29, 1853. ² Ibid., February 2, 1856.

³ Ibid., January 3, 1857.

⁴ S. W. Horrall, "The Clergy and the Election of Bishop Cronyn," Ontario History, 58, No. 4 (December 1966), 217-20. Horrall's figures must be corrected on account of his overlooking of a letter in The Churchman's Friend, October 1856, p. 16, from the clergy and five laity in praise of Bethune. This would give three more clergy (A. Jamieson, F. G. Elliott and A. Williams) as definite Bethune supporters to be added to the eight listed by Horrall. The error in saying that E. H. Dewar was born in England also upsets the statistics.

Bethune, but this would be to oversimplify. Cronyn disliked the theology of Trinity College, but he also disagreed with Strachan's institution in terms of the financial and academic wisdom of its independence of the secular University of Toronto. Another factor in the election was dissatisfaction with Strachan's commutation scheme with regard to the clergy reserves.¹ It has been suggested that democratic ideals from the United States caused the neighbouring western part of Toronto diocese to reject Strachan's Tory politics.¹ Perhaps it would be nearer the truth, however, to see the defeat of Strachan's former pupil as owing much to a desire to be fully independent of Toronto by parishes growing larger, wealthier and more conscious of their rights. Cronyn's clerical supporters were mainly early arrivals in the diocese and therefore served those maturing communities. The chief dynamic, however, of the election contest was provided by party warfare. Bethune's approval of the Tracts in The Church came back to haunt him. The Reverend C. C. Brough asked what explanation the committee in favour of Bethune could give of his "oft expressed palliations of the teachings of Dr. Pusey, 'The Tracts for the Times' and tractarians, who have long since gone to Rome?"² He also raised the issue of the Cobourg altar and that of the exodus of ordinands in 1845 from the Diocesan Theological Institution. Adam Townley

1

F. Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 265.

2

The Episcopal Controversy; Being a Series of Letters Written by the Respective Friends of the Ven. Archdeacon Bethune, D.D., and Dr. Cronyn, Rector of London; the Two Candidates for the Bishopric of the Western Diocese (London, G. W.: Free Press Steam Printing Office, 1857), p. 9.

replied that Bethune would

have been a traitor to the church not to have rejoiced to see the vigorous defence which the first numbers of these Tracts made of the doctrines of the Gospel as ever taught in the Primitive and Reformed Anglican Church. The Church of England had been, ever since the great Puritan Rebellion, more or less afflicted with the incubus of Calvinistic error; awfully dishonoring God by teaching that he formed the vast majority of the human race to be inevitably damned; . . . Calvinism had also done much to drive Christ out of His own Church, by treating the ordinances instituted by themselves as "beggarly elements," . . . ; hence every true believer in the teachings of the Prayer-book rejoiced to see earnest and learned men at Oxford trying once more to reform the Church, . . . ; but when some of these Tract writers began themselves to wander from the pure simplicity of the Gospel and uphold many of the dangerous errors of Romanism; THEN, the Archdeacon, with other sound Churchmen, both at home and here, refused any longer to have anything to do with the Tractarians!¹

The Reverend Ephraim Patterson, rector of St. James, Stratford, and a former student of Bethune at Cobourg, in his rejoinder to Brough reminded him that he had previously praised Bethune's editorship of The Church during the period 1837 to 1841. When Bethune resumed his editorial duties in 1843 he hardly ever mentioned the Tracts.² The Churchman's Friend laid Bethune's claims upon the bishopric before its readers and while it desired to say nothing unkind or disrespectful of Cronyn was harsh about his Calvinistic theology.³ Dewar had earlier asked Strachan to nominate directly a candidate for clerical and lay approval in order to forestall Cronyn's likely election. Dewar was among a group of generally high church clergy soon to leave Huron diocese,⁴ although in his case the wish to move to a place where he might be more influential in

¹ Ibid., p. 14. ² Ibid., pp. 39-40.

³ The Churchman's Friend, May 1857, p. 113.

⁴ Listed in R. T. Appleyard, "The Origins of Huron College in Relation to the Religious Questions of the Period," (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1937), p. 47.

church affairs long antedated Cronyn's election.¹ The new diocese did not become the exclusive preserve of evangelical clergy, however. Townley and Patterson remained, as did other Bethune supporters including G. J. R. Salter at St. George's, Sarnia, and F. Mack at Christ Church, Amherstburg.

The election of John Travers Lewis as bishop of Ontario in 1861 against A. N. Bethune provoked much ill feeling. Strachan told the loser: "It can be conceived in no other light than the triumph of a faction."² His policy of only appointing for the eastern districts clergy well-disposed to Bethune had failed.³ Yet Lewis' victory was not a straightforward evangelical success. The new bishop was a high churchman. Strachan informed Ernest Hawkins that "there never was . . . , any personal feeling against the Bishop of Ontario, because I knew, that his Churchmanship was sound, and all I could desire."⁴ The contest had been very much that of Irish clergy supporting a fellow Irishman on account of his country rather than his theological opinions. Lewis' youthfulness also attracted the votes of the young and independent-minded. Fulford wrote to Hawkins:

I think Lewis will make a very good Bishop only he has been elected by the canvassing and manoeuvring of an Irish party--and in opposition to most of the elder clergy and some of the best, who supported Bethune; and he will have some difficulty to get out of their trammels.

I

J. Strachan to E. H. Dewar, December 10, 1855, OTA, Strachan Letter Book 1854-62, p. 106.

2

J. Strachan to A. N. Bethune, June 20, 1861, OTA, Bethune Papers (1835-78).

3

Henderson, "John Strachan as Bishop," p. 494.

4

J. Strachan to E. Hawkins, April 26, 1862, S.P.G., C MSS, Ontario.

5

F. Fulford to E. Hawkins, October 8, 1861, QMD, copy in Fulford's Letters to S.P.G., 1860-68.

The Canadian correspondent to the Guardian judged that the few low church clergy in the new diocese had also sided with Bethune as the lesser of two evils.¹ In many cases, as in that of Lewis, to be Irish and evangelical were not the same thing.

Bishop Lewis was a strong defender of Trinity College, Toronto, against Cronyn's charges of Romish teaching by Provost George Whitaker. He was a fierce opponent of Calvinism and roundly attacked its doctrine of predestination in his first Ontario synod address in 1862. Trinity College had been denounced as dangerous

in my candid opinion, ostensibly on the ground of its having a tendency towards Rome, but really because it has not a tendency towards Geneva. The attack on Trinity College is an outbreak of that party spirit which has afflicted the Church since the time when Augustine gave to the world his daring speculations on God's predestination!²

Lewis believed that Cronyn launched his attack in the summer of 1860 on very dubious grounds rather than waiting for more substantial ones because he was prejudiced against Trinity College from the very start.

Cronyn's criticisms of Whitaker's theological teachings covered an exceedingly wide range of issues.³ Whitaker was accused of teaching that Miriam was the divinely appointed type of the Virgin Mary who was an instrument in bringing mankind to heaven. Cronyn quoted a letter from a Trinity College

¹
Guardian, July 10, 1861.

²
Acts of the Provincial Parliament Relating to Synods, etc., and Journal of Proceedings of the First and Special Sessions of Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Ontario. Held in Kingston, 9-11 April, and in Ottawa, 5-7 November, 1862 (Kingston: William Lightfoot, 1863), p. 82.

³
Two Letters to the Lord Bishop of Toronto in Reply to Charges Brought by the Lord Bishop of Huron against the Theological Teaching of Trinity College, Toronto. By George Whitaker, M.A., Provost of Trinity College. To Which is Prefixed the Letter of the Bishop of Huron to the Members of the Executive Committee of the Synod of His Diocese (Toronto: Rowsell and Ellis, 1860), pp. 9-13.

clerical graduate relating that the provost

certainly gave us to understand, while discoursing on the interest the saints took in our spiritual welfare, that he thought that they pleaded with God for us. He did on one occasion make use of these words or words very much like them, "This is one of the losses which we sustained," or "Things which we lost at the Reformation," . . .

Cronyn said that the church did not speak of two great sacraments, leaving people to infer that there were lesser sacraments. Whitaker replied at length to these and other charges.¹ He asserted that he had often said that the single error of Mariolatry constituted an impassable gulf between Romanism and Anglicanism. He was opposed to prayers for the dead and thought the invocation of saints presumptuous. He used the term "sacrament" of baptism and Communion only, "and I should reprove any young man under my care for applying it to any other rite. So far am I from teaching the students of Trinity College to 'toy' with the so-called sacraments of the Church of Rome." Cronyn on several occasions had referred to a manuscript known as "The Provost's Catechism" which, he alleged, was handed to divinity students on entry to the College and contained a series of Whitaker's unorthodox doctrinal statements to be learned by them. Whitaker explained that his lectures had been copied by his pupils and handed on to others.² The students were merely saving themselves the trouble of copying down Whitaker's reportedly rather dull lectures as he delivered them.

¹
Ibid., pp. 22-30.

²
"Notes of Lectures by the Provost of Trinity College Toronto Delivered in the Year 1859-60 and Compiled by Beverley Jones from Original and Traditional Notes," OTT, bears out Whitaker's explanation of the "Catechism."

The controversy over Whitaker's teachings reverberated down through the 1860's and 1870's and was central to the party disputes in the diocese of Toronto. Nothing could be settled, no conclusions drawn, because the teaching of the Church of England was susceptible of many interpretations. Both Whitaker and Cronyn could and did cite very good Anglican authorities in favour of their views, although the former was much more rigorous in doing so. In the ritualistic controversies that shook the diocese under Bishop Bethune, however, Whitaker possessed the advantage of not being a ritualist. E. H. Dewar pointed out that if W. J. E. Bennett and B. King in England were Tractarians Whitaker was something else. No pupils of Trinity College had ever adopted the ceremonial observances of St. Barnabas or St. George's in the East.¹

The immediate provocation for Benjamin Cronyn's attack on Provost Whitaker had been a motion introduced into the diocesan synod of Huron on June 20, 1860, by Adam Townley asking that Trinity College be more strongly supported. This had been roundly defeated. It was criticized by Cronyn at the synod of the following year on the grounds that it was brought forward at the bishop of Toronto's suggestion against the bishop of Huron's wishes and that the "highest eulogiums" had been passed on Trinity College.² This was a clear example of how synodical meetings could be occasions for party strife.

¹ E. H. Dewar, Plain Words for Plain People: an Appeal to the Laymen of Canada, in behalf of Common Sense and Common Honesty, Being a Review of the "Strictures" on the Two Letters of Provost Whitaker (Toronto: Rowsell and Ellis, 1861), p. 7.

² A. Townley, A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Huron: in Personal Vindication; and on the Inexpediency of a New Diocesan College (Brantford: Courier Office, 1862), p. 3.

In Huron diocese where low churchmen were in the majority evangelical opinion was not opposed to the synod. It was hoped that it would be instrumental in implementing evangelical principles. In September 1858 the Huron synod had adopted a constitution which was identical to that of Toronto, it being stipulated that no measure could be brought forward for approval without the assent of the bishop. The veto made high churchmen in the diocese very uncomfortable. Elsewhere, evangelicals being in a much less favourable position numerically, synods were viewed with suspicion by them as a Tractarian plot to overthrow the established order of the church and bring in popery. As the Huron diocese would be in a minority in the proposed Provincial Synod there was reluctance to attend it and hostility to Fulford's position as metropolitan. It appears, therefore, that low churchmen did not so much oppose synods in principle as in practice.

Certainly the Oxford Movement was important in reviving interest in synods, although the situation of the Church of England in Canada had pointed to the usefulness of such institutions before. English Tractarians regarded the reintroduction of Convocation as a means of counteracting Erastianism. It was the high church Samuel Wilberforce who pioneered the reactivation of the Convocation of Canterbury in 1852. There was sound precedent for synods in the practice of the primitive church. Binney cited the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15).¹ Professor J. H. Thompson of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, saw in synods the revival of that corporate action which was the strength of the church before the usurpation of Rome and state interference with religious freedom. "All law is indeed of God. But to the acts and decrees of the Church

¹ Binney, Charge, 1854, p. 7.

He has given a higher sanction than even to the laws of man, inasmuch as that sanction is a spiritual one."¹

Evangelicals opposed synodical action on many counts,² but they disliked most the power given to the bishop by the grant of a veto which recognized his right to vote as a separate order. In this matter they came into conflict with the Tractarian emphasis on episcopacy. This question aroused great heat in the formation of the Toronto, Nova Scotia, Montreal and Quebec synods. The Echo said the veto smacked of Laudian absolutism.³ St. George's, Halifax, regarded the veto as the main purpose of Bishop Binney in wishing to establish a synod.⁴ In Quebec the Lay Association founded by Jeffery Hale opposed the proposed constitution of the synod which declared no resolution to be valid without the concurrence of the bishop and the majority both of clergy and laity. Hale wanted a committee of twelve appointed by ballot at a public meeting to frame the constitution, the clergy having no right to vote by order in this instance. He was supported by the Reverend E. W. Sewell, rector of Trinity Church, Quebec, a member of a distinguished Loyalist family which had brought democratic ideas from the United States.⁵

¹ J. H. Thompson, Sermon, The Condition of Christ's Presence with Church Synods (Quebec: William Stanley, 1858), p. 7.

² See W. W. Davis, "Bishop Binney and the Nova Scotia Diocesan Synod," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, 3, No. 2 (December 1956), 5, for a list of formal objections to the synod from St. Paul's, Halifax.

³ The Echo, and Protestant Episcopal Recorder, April 11, 1856.

⁴ Church Times, September 23, 1854.

⁵ Report of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Bishop, Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Quebec, Held at the National School House, Quebec, on the 24th. June, 1858 (Quebec: Mercury Office, 1859), pp. 7-10.

The Lay Association held up the American Episcopal Church as a model because bishops in their diocesan synods, with the exception of Vermont, did not possess a veto. It wanted the veto reduced to a power to reserve for reconsideration.¹ In Montreal at the first meeting of the synod in June 1859 the Reverend W. B. Bond said that neither Scripture, history nor precedent supported the veto. Those who were in favour of it declared that without it the synod would be deprived of its episcopal character and be reduced to the position of a Presbyterian assembly. Fulford maintained that without full episcopal power there was no synod. The veto gave the bishop no arbitrary power but the same ability as clergy and laity possessed of opposing a measure approved by the two other orders.²

Low churchmen suspected that high church bishops would use their authority in synod to make the church Tractarian. Medley was a prime target for these suspicions. His support for Gladstone's attempts in 1852 and 1853 to have enabling legislation passed in Parliament for the establishment of synods in the colonies provoked alarm in Fredericton. Gladstone was attacked for his belief in

Transubstantiation etc.--and my co-operation in introducing by this bill all the errors of the Popish Church. The people generally took fright and though not believing all, thought that some great revolution was to be effected by a coup de main--so five out of six parishes have pronounced against Synods and the obnoxious Bill. All the vilest slanders are weekly copied here and circulated.³

The Church Witness stated that

¹ Address to the Laity of the Diocese of Quebec from the Church of England Lay Association (2nd. ed.; Quebec: Middleton and Dawson, 1859), pp. 16-25, passim.

² Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, Canada, June 7 and 8, 1859 (Montreal: John Lovell), pp. 14-21, passim.

³ J. Medley to W. E. Gladstone, February 10, 1853, Gladstone Papers, CCLXXXVII, 44374, f. 15.

we do not affirm, that seven Bishops of the Church of England have united in the dark and dangerous design, to introduce, by means of Synods, some of the grossest errors of the Church of Rome; but we do affirm that the probable effect of the introduction of Synods amongst us, at present, notwithstanding the privilege to be granted to the Laity, would be to augment the powers vested in the Colonial Bishops; and that these extended powers would, in any instance where a Bishop happened to favour the principles adopted by the late Oxford School, be used to the prejudice and not to the benefit of our truly Protestant church.

Medley did not wish to divide his diocese and so he desisted from introducing a synod and denied wanting one. When opposition declined in the course of time and the British Colonial Office declared that the letters patent of colonial bishops conferred no legal jurisdiction Medley went ahead with his scheme.

In Quebec low churchmen exploited fears of popery to try and prevent the setting up of the synod. They were, however, unable to attain the success in delaying the event achieved in Fredericton. Mountain, supported chiefly by Henry Roe, refused to bend. He denounced "parliamentary tactics, certain stratagems of party, certain engines of policy adroitly wielded by practiced hands."² Roe was in 1858 accused by Dr. Gilbert Percy, lecturer at Holy Trinity Cathedral, Quebec, of Romanizing because he distributed tracts by Robert Nelson and introduced Oxford novelties into his congregation. Roe defended the tracts and said that he had carried on services at St. Matthew's as he found them.³ The following year Roe was charged with eliciting Roman confessions from Mrs. Gibson when she was sick, questioning her as to stealing, swearing, malice towards neighbours, murder, adultery and bad treatment of

¹
Church Witness, March 16, 1853.

²
Proceedings of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Quebec, 6-8 July 1859 (Quebec: Mercury Office, 1859), p. 18.

³
H. Roe, A Letter to the Congregation of St. Matthew's Chapel, Quebec; in Answer to the Rev. Dr. Percy's Letter on "Tractarianism" (Quebec: P. Sinclair, 1858), pp. 6-21, passim.

parents. Her husband complained that such questions were improper. Roe denied to Bishop Mountain these interrogations and spoke of an "organized system of espionage" designed to discredit him.¹ At St. Matthew's there was a riot during the 1859 Easter vestry occasioned by the election of delegates to the first diocesan synod. Roe ruled that only bona fide members of the congregation had the right to vote and was physically attacked in the chair by members of the Lay Association. The vestry book was seized from Robert Magee, vestry clerk, torn to pieces and burned in the stove. Magee wrote to his parents in Ireland:

Now this scandalous outbreak has originated with that party calling itself
Evangelic, but it has gone far towards making me more of a Churchman,
 because those men are striking at the very foundations of our Church
 Government, in seeking to deprive the Bishops of that authority in the Synod
 which for ages has been confided in them.

It is clear, however, that the accusation that synods were a Tractarian measure sometimes masked considerations unrelated to theology. The wealthy laity of St. Paul's, Halifax, feared losing power in church matters to the bishop and the representatives of the poorer country parishes. The rich parishes suspected that they would have to sell off their glebe lands and pay into a common fund. In March 1856 the vestry of St. Paul's decided to dismiss its two curates, William Bullock and Edmund Maturin, because they had attended a meeting to draw up a constitution for the synod without the consent of the parishioners. Binney had earlier written to Hawkins:

1

H. Roe to G. J. Mountain, February 19, 1859, QQD, B. 15.

2

Documents in QQD, folder 21, case 3, unbound MSS.

the truth is that the opposition to the Synod is a mere pretext, serving as a ground for appeals to particular prejudices, by a clique who have long exercised too much influence in Church affairs, who were a thorn in the side of my predecessor, and wish to tyrannize over Bishop, Clergy and Laity. They know that when the country parishes have a voice, their influence will be greatly impaired, and hence their determination to try all possible means to impede our Synodical action by exciting suspicions, and propagating misrepresentations.

Moreover, while low church clergy might view the synod as a threat to their theological principles they were haunted by the spectre of being purged from their parishes and losing their jobs.

Thus the charge that synods were Tractarian covered a variety of concerns that made the squabbles surrounding their establishment and functioning particularly protracted and bitter.

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H. Binney to E. Hawkins, April 24, [1855], S.P.G., papers of bishop of Nova Scotia, Volume 2 (1850-59).

CHAPTER VII

THE CONTROVERSIES OVER RITUALISM

1861-1900

The period 1861-1900 was one of organization and consolidation for the Anglican church in Canada. New dioceses were created to meet the needs of church growth and expansion in the east; Algoma in 1873, Niagara in 1875 and Ottawa in 1896. The setting apart of Algoma diocese represented a developing awareness of missionary responsibility. The year 1883 saw the foundation of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society followed five years later by the "Wycliffe Missions" which merged with the Canadian Church Missionary Society in 1894 to form the Canadian Church Missionary Association. The grouping and regrouping of such bodies was a part of the church's attempt to organize itself so as not to be swept away in the complexity, diversity and gathering speed of post-Confederation Canadian society. Both high churchmen and evangelicals were impressed with the merits of coherent action in the furthering of their respective causes. In the 1870's in Toronto the Church Union came to represent the viewpoint of the former in a determined battle with the Evangelical Association, later the Church Association. On a national scale, however, the movement of Anglican organizations was towards consolidation. The establishment of the Provincial Synod of Canada in 1861 was followed by that of Rupert's Land in 1875. After preliminary discussion of principles at Winnipeg in 1890 the dioceses of the two provinces joined together in the first General Synod three years later. The only Canadian diocese which did not participate was

that of Caledonia. Diocesan and provincial synodical structures remained. The formation of the General Synod was seen chiefly as a solution for the financial problems of the church in the West by bringing the resources and energies of the East to bear upon them. An important consequence of church consolidation was the diminution of party warfare. A forum had been provided where high and low churchmen could meet and discover that they were of a common mind about the larger issues facing the church.

In 1893 the archbishop of Canterbury ceased to be the primate of Rupert's Land. This was another important stage in the lessening of Canadian dependence upon the church in England. Bishop Medley stubbornly refused to apply for S.P.G. monies and Bishop Bond refused to accept John Cragg Farthing as a minister in his diocese because he believed Englishmen performed poorly in Canadian conditions. A conscious rejection of things English was part of a new spirit of independence. The church was now much more forward looking and concerned with making its own way in tune with the growing impact of the ideas of Darwinian science about progress. The quest for establishment had involved a looking back to an illusory golden ideal of the imperial church. With the agonizing over the clergy reserves a past memory and with a definite ruling from Whitehall that it possessed no jurisdiction over the Canadian church one can sense a certain feeling of relief among churchmen. Bishop Binney told his clergy that "we are slow to divest ourselves of old prejudices: we cling to old associations, and we have been afraid to walk alone."¹ He considered that the decision that the bishops' letters patent were invalid was salutary because it had jolted Anglicans out of a complacent acceptance

¹ Binney, Charge, 1866, p. 27.

of their ambiguous position. Bishop Lewis rejoiced that the colonial churches had been emancipated from all fetters on their progress.¹

Churchmen felt keenly about anything which put them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis other denominations. The total Anglican population of the country at the time of the first General Synod was under fourteen per cent. Methodists were still seen as anxious to capitalize upon divisions in the parishes. The Reverend C. V. Forster Bliss, incumbent at Eganville, Ontario, wrote to Canon A. S. Spencer, secretary of the diocesan synod, that they

counted on a split when I came because of high church practices etc., . . . Our vestry was so united and harmonious that I believe the following day there was great confusion in the Methodist camp, and the Presbyterians now fear that their congregation will be the loser, instead of ours.

Anglican views of Roman Catholicism tended to be more charitable once the odium aroused by the Papal Aggression crisis had subsided. This change of attitude was in large measure due to the more liberal stance taken by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec in its efforts to curry favour with a liberal reforming legislature. Hostility, however, remained a small way beneath the surface. A writer to the Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette in 1860 accused Rome of fighting "against Gospel light as well as civil liberty-- against the welfare of the immortal soul, as well as the progress of human civilization; . . ."³ Ten years later, however, there was much more in Roman Catholicism about which Anglicans could take offence. The ultramontane

¹ Journal of the Fourth Session of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Ontario, 20-22 June, 1865 (Kingston: Canadian Churchman Office, [1865]), p. 290.

² C. V. Forster Bliss to A. S. Spencer, Holy Week, 1894, OKD, Spencer Letters.

³ Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette, February 1, 1860.

principles tenaciously embraced by Bishop Bourget of Montreal began to take hold throughout Canada. This trend reflected the increasingly uncompromising outlook of the papacy as evidenced by the 1870 decree of papal infallibility. Confederation also had highlighted the minority position of Roman Catholics in the enlarged Canada and underscored the policy held by the Quebec hierarchy of preventing any process of absorption into a Protestant culture. High churchmen reacted by being far less sympathetic to Roman Catholicism. In the 1850's H. T. Kingdon journeyed to Italy to try the power of reason upon his eldest brother, George, who had seceded to Rome. He returned home confident in the superiority of his arguments, still good friends with George. Later, when he had become a bishop and his brother a cardinal in the curia, his disposition changed. He had all pictures of George removed from his house and refused to speak of past arguments with him. He was horrified when in 1894 the sub-dean of Fredericton cathedral, Finlow Alexander, suddenly became a Roman Catholic and published a letter declaring he had never preached a word as an Anglican at variance with the teaching of his new communion.¹ Tully Kingdon had come to enjoy theological discussion with those who had always been Roman Catholics but converts he could not abide.² Anglo-Catholics sought to rebut papal pretensions. The dogma of infallibility was unknown in apostolic times and was not suggested by any of the great ecumenical councils but was a Jesuit doctrine opposed by most Roman Catholic divines.³ Henry Roe

¹ H. T. Kingdon to S.P.G., January 15, 1895, S.P.G., CLR/NB2.

² A. Sturdee (Bishop Kingdon's daughter), interviews 1972.

³ J. M. Davenport, Papal Infallibility: "Catholic's" Replies to "Cleophas," Refuting the Vatican Dogma (St. John, N.B.: J. and A. McMillan, 1885), p. iii.

denied that Anglican orders were defective in form or intention. The Church of England was not a "mere disorganized crowd, a helpless, shepherdless flock of sheep."¹ Low churchmen believed that the increased militancy of the papacy revealed Rome in her true colours and that attempts at dialogue with her were futile and dangerous. It is no coincidence that their opposition to high churchmanship, particularly in its more ceremonial expressions, grew very bitter during the 1870's following upon the first Vatican Council. They regarded ritualism as leading to the Roman Catholicism which they so detested. The former did not differ from the latter in nature; it was a half-way house.

The Evangelical Churchman asserted that England provided perfect examples and dire warnings of the consequences of ritualism. There, eucharistic vestments, crosses, wafer-bread, mixed chalice and incense were stages on the slippery slope downwards to a full maintenance of the Roman doctrine of the mass. The same pattern was about to be reproduced in Canada. The newspaper noted a procession, surpliced choir and Gregorian chants at a recent confirmation in the chapel of Trinity College School, Port Hope, and characterized them as part of the common ritualist anti-Reformation course.² England certainly presented ritualism in a more extreme form than in Canada. In London there were in 1869 fourteen churches where vestments were worn and eight where incense was used.³ In Canada this same year only one church, St. John the Evangelist, Montreal, possessed a chasuble, of plain white linen

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H. Roe, The Continuity of the Church of England and the Papal Encyclical Apostolicae Curae (Quebec: Morning Chronicle Office, 1897), p. 6.

2

Evangelical Churchman, July 6, 1876. This newspaper began its career in 1876 and finished it in 1900, during most of which time it was edited by the Reverend J. P. Sheraton, principal of Wycliffe College.

3

For these and other relevant statistics see Chadwick, Victorian Church, Part 2, pp. 318-19.

acquired in 1868. Not until 1905 did Archbishop Bond grant Wood permission to have incense.

English ritualists were extremely aggressive. Historical research which proved how elaborate the ornaments sanctioned by the Prayer Book rubric were, namely those current at the time of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, encouraged them. They fought all the harder for Anglo-Catholic ceremonial in the face of persecution by mobs, bishops and the Church Association. The Association had been formed in 1865 by Protestant churchmen to combat ritualism through legal action. The Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 did not alter the law on ritual but did overhaul the machinery of the ecclesiastical courts and thereby facilitate the prosecutions of ritualists. Five clergy were imprisoned for their failure to appear before the courts or obey them. Anglo-Catholic churchmen did not regard the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as binding because it was a state court. The Evangelical Churchman in 1890 listed its decisions on the controversial "six points" of high church ritual (eastward position, eucharistic vestments, altar lights, mixed chalice, wafer-bread and incense) and stated, with some inaccuracy, that these had been declared illegal.¹ In November of the same year, however, Archbishop Benson of Canterbury delivered a judgment in the case of the bishop of Lincoln, Edward King, that was highly favourable to the ritualists. The broadness of the formularies of the Church of England was again forcibly underlined. It had also become very clear that in matters of ceremonial it was the episcopal opinion which counted most. Bishops contemplated enactments on worship with distaste since they feared these would be disobeyed.

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Evangelical Churchman, April 17, 1890.

They were offended by the spectacle of their clergy in court or in jail and became accustomed to using their power of veto under the Public Worship Regulation Act to halt proceedings. Wary incumbents let their diocesans decide what was right. Anti-ritualists were annoyed and frustrated by a developing episcopal authority being turned against their endeavours at litigation, and the outbreaks of rowdiness which occurred in ritualist churches at the end of the century were of a kind that had not been seen in nearly fifty years.

Canadian Anglicans commented on English ritualism very much in accordance with their own types of churchmanship. Benjamin Cronyn was "humiliated and grieved beyond measure" when he visited A. H. Mackonochie's parish of St. Alban's, Holborn, in October 1867.¹ The ceremonial there was characterized by the full "six points." On March 28, 1868, Mackonochie's undue elevation of the elements, his use of incense and his practice of mixing wine with water during the celebration were pronounced illegal by the Court of Arches and that which it allowed, the celebrant's kneeling during the Prayer of Consecration and altar lights, was subsequently forbidden by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Church Observer, representative of Montreal evangelicism, found the result of the case gratifying. "It must be plain now to the ritualistic party that there is no Anglo-Roman limbo between our Reformed Church and the Papacy. . . . Anglican ritualism, as far as its being upheld by legal quibbles is concerned, has received its death-blow."² The prevailing

¹ Minutes of the Eleventh Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Huron, Held in London, June 17-19, 1868 (London, Ontario: Prototype Printing House, 1868), p. 276.

² Church Observer, January 20, 1869.

high but non-ritualistic kind of churchmanship at Bishop's College, Lennoxville, condemned Mackonochie for imprudence and indiscretion in upsetting the church at large and for breaking trust with his friends and supporters by conducting controversial services.¹ The Dominion Churchman represented a similar viewpoint. It thought that English Anglicans had good reason to be disgusted by the behaviour and practices of certain clergymen which were inadequately authorized by the Prayer Book, canon law or church tradition.² It was relieved in 1877 that chasubles and wafer-bread had made little headway in Canada.³ G. J. Low writing in the newspaper said he would "be extremely grieved to see reproduced in this country the Mariolatry, the worship or 'cultus' as they call it of the Saints, the worship of the Host, for such I fear it practically is in some churches of the old country."⁴ Although such dangers were very real, he thought the worst way of meeting them was by raising false alarms:

There was, however, a strong body of Canadian Anglicans which was extremely appreciative of English ritualism. Robert Harris, the painter, whose artistic and spiritual life was so closely connected with St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown, went to church at St. Alban's, Holborn, on Advent Sunday 1876. He was moved by the glorious singing and the preaching of the Reverend A. H. Stanton whose facial features he considered especially fine.⁵ Some moderate

¹ Lennoxville Magazine, September, 1868, p. 430.

² Dominion Churchman, January 25, 1877. This newspaper was founded by Frank Wootten in 1875 and was representative of an Anglicanism which espoused the via media of the Prayer Book. It disliked church parties and extremes on both sides. Its name was changed to the Canadian Churchman in 1890.

³ Ibid., June 21, 1877. ⁴ Ibid., September 7, 1876.

⁵ Some Pages from an Artist's Life (Charlottetown: Robert Harris Memorial Gallery, 1937), p. 16.

Canadian high churchmen became firm supporters of the ritualists when they were enabled to have a closer acquaintance with them. The Reverend John Stannage visiting England in 1869 to raise money for Ontario College reported back home that ritualism

does not appear to be such a heresy as I had, with others, feared it was, and that it can be borne with by charitable and unprejudiced people. And if it is as they tell me, that it has raised the tone of piety in thousands, and even the middle classes . . . , are now being reclaimed, it is not a thing to be despised. I have this very evening seen about one thousand, nearly all working men, heaped together in this Church, and all heartily chanting and responding. . . . The fact is Ritualism of the highest type was once ordained by God Almighty to the Jewish Priesthood, . . . , and so long as it does not lead us to any greater heresy than greater reverence for the special divine presence in public worship, and more piety towards Him who gives Himself to us, and renews His covenant with us each time we draw near to Him in the Holy Communion, I can only say that I could wish all our people would drop their prejudices against it, and no longer give a bad name to a good thing. And yet, so long as those prejudices exist to any great extent I would not force it upon any congregation.

Stannage claimed that he had gained further enlightenment concerning ceremonial on another visit in 1876 when he discovered in what were considered low churches many things which the Church Association in Canada was so anxious to represent as popish.²

By English standards the advances of ritualism in Canada during the period from the first Provincial Synod to the fourth which met in September 1868 and ventured upon a full discussion of the whole topic were unremarkable. St. John the Evangelist, Montreal, presented by far the nearest approximation to English Anglo-Catholicism. Altar cross and altar lights accompanying the introduction of eucharistic vestments had followed the use of coloured stoles

¹
Canadian Churchman, November 10, 1869, letter from the Reverend J. Stannage. The life of this newspaper extended from 1862 to 1870. It represented the church principles of Bishop Lewis.

²
Dominion Churchman, August 31, 1876, letter from the Reverend J. Stannage.

and altar frontals. In his preaching "Father" Wood recommended sacramental confession, encouraged spiritual preparation for Easter communions and began a three hours' devotional service on Good Friday. At Holy Trinity, Toronto, this service was not held until 1872 and it was 1870 before chasubles and lighted candles were introduced at the 7:00 a.m. celebration.

Canadian high church clergy generally set about raising standards of churchmanship in line with that pre-ritualistic tradition which was sober and cautious. The lack of very basic notions of reverence, particularly in the countryside, focused their attention upon elementary practical matters of pastoral concern. The Reverend J. P. Richmond at Leeds, Canada East, was shocked to discover in 1863 that a man had been buried by his friends without any service or enquiry as to his having been baptized or not. Former incumbents had tolerated that kind of irreverence, something he was not prepared to do.¹ Holy Communion was still much neglected. Archdeacon Scott of Dunham pressed for more frequent communion in Montreal diocese during the 1864 synod.² When weekly celebrations were established in a parish the next step was usually a raising of the dignity and heartiness of services through a more careful attention to church music. Such was the course of action pursued by the Reverend E. S. Medley when he became rector at Christ Church, St. Stephen, New Brunswick, in 1865. A genial, conscientious man, Medley was organist, choir-master and composer.³ In some churches the moderately Tractarian Hymns, Ancient and Modern, first published in England in 1861, made its appearance.

¹ Occasional Papers, No. 76 (February 1864), letter from the Reverend J. P. Richmond, November 5, 1863.

² Proceedings of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, Canada, Held in the City of Montreal 21-23 June, 1864 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), p. 17.

³ F. W. Vroom, Christ Church St. Stephen, N.B. (New York: Thwing Company, 1913), pp. 23-24.

Wood introduced it at St. John the Evangelist, Montreal, during the early 1860's and its use began at St. Matthew's, Quebec, in 1867. A Church Hymn Book, published for the diocese of Toronto by Henry Rowsell in 1862, borrowed heavily from it. Darling's lively choral service at Holy Trinity, Toronto, on Sunday evenings earned the praise of the Reverend Charles Daniel: " . . . the heartiness of it contrasts well with the conversation between the clergyman and clerk at the so-called cathedral, where you hardly hear a voice besides theirs."¹ In the chapel of Trinity College, Toronto, the Eucharist was celebrated chorally for the first time in Canada West on November 23, 1866, the Reverend R. Sandars being celebrant and the Reverend Charles Badgley, deacon.² Usually the surpliced choir was the outward sign of the renewed understanding of the importance of the music in church. Yet where circumstances were unfavourable to the introduction of a higher ritual, many clergy influenced by the Oxford Movement were content to preach Catholic doctrine without ceremonial accompaniment. Adam Townley's St. James, Paris, did not have a surpliced choir until 1913.³

The Victorian fondness for elaborate ornamentation was not lacking among Canadian churchmen when they came to build and decorate their churches but it was severely tempered by chronic lack of money. St. Alban the Martyr, Ottawa, held its first service on October 22, 1865, in the dingy court room of the Court House. Its rector, Thomas Bedford-Jones, was adamant in his opposition to pew rents, and a large deficit slowed and simplified the erection

¹ Occasional Papers, No. 80 (June 1864), letter from the Reverend C. A. Daniel, April 9, 1864.

² Guardian, January 17, 1866.

³ Centenary 1839-1939. St. James' Anglican Church Paris, Ontario (n.p.: [1939]), p. 9.

of a new church. In England there were more funds available to meet the task of providing additional town churches necessitated by the pressures of rapid industrialization and population growth. Such churches afforded ritualistically inclined incumbents greater scope for innovation than the older parishes with established traditions. Canada was at a less advanced stage of economic development. The expansion of Toronto did not force serious church extension until the 1870's and 1880's. Then the challenge of ministering to the needs of the outlying areas of the city met the sobering chill of a world-wide depression.

Yet although Canadian ritualism was less spectacular than that in England, this did not prevent controversy. Bedford-Jones discovered that much of the storm over ritual at his church in 1866 and the following year was occasioned by simple misunderstanding. Many people were led by the name of the church into the confusion of attributing the extravagances of the worship at St. Alban's, Holborn, to St. Alban's, Ottawa. Mr. Justice Day assured Bedford-Jones that he was "the best abused man in Canada." Parishioners, ill-informed about ritualism, allowed their prejudices to carry them away. A banner bearing the legend "Head of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" caused offence because the word "Catholic" came at the top and seemed to be the most prominent. After her Easter communion a young lady remained to smell the flowers adorning the court room and was horrified to find they were made of wax, the essence of popery. Small innovations left mouths agape. In Lent 1866 Bedford-Jones changed the crimson altar cloth for one in black with an embroidered cross of gold in the centre and caused a sensation.¹

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T. Bedford-Jones, "How St. Alban's Church, Ottawa, Had Its Beginning under the First Rector," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, 3, No. 3, (May 1957), 8-9. (Hereinafter referred to as "St. Alban's, Ottawa, Its Beginning").

In a letter of February 2, 1875, to the Toronto Globe, he strongly denied being a ritualist. "If I were compelled to find any term that would best suit the position I hold . . . , it would be that of 'Evangelical High Churchman.' I declare that I care nothing for any accessories to our public worship but such as conduce to reverence and heartiness."

Bedford-Jones' friend, Henry Roe, who referred civil servants migrating from Quebec to Ottawa to St. Alban's, was caught up in the continuing controversy over preaching in the surplice. Roe requested Bishop George Mountain in February 1862 that he be permitted to discontinue wearing the gown when preaching at the cramped St. Matthew's Chapel. "From its extreme inconvenience, it has now become ludicrous, for I now change my dress twice over, (from white to black before the sermon, and from black to white again after the sermon), literally in the midst of the congregation."¹ Mountain considered that the particular circumstances of Roe's case merited a dispensation from the diocesan rule.² Low church opinion was offended. In the following year Jeffery Hale offered a large sum of money to St. Matthew's on the condition that services be conducted on evangelical principles, scrutinized by a board of trustees. Bishop J. W. Williams refused a donation on such terms.³ In his 1866 Charge Bishop Binney instructed his clergy to wear surplice and stole, declaring that the Prayer Book neither authorized the black gown nor the vestments introduced by extreme ritualists in England.⁴

¹ H. Roe to G. J. Mountain, February 26, 1862, QQD, B. 15, p. 112.

² G. J. Mountain to H. Roe, March 3, 1862, QQD, B. 15, p. 113.

³ Journal of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Quebec, July 5-7, 1865 (Quebec: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1865), p. 43.

⁴ Binney, Charge, 1866, pp. 6-7.

The Reverend George Hill of St. Paul's, Halifax, listed this injunction among the many complaints against his diocesan.¹ Binney maintained that his viewpoint was the only defensible position against ritualism on the one hand and laxity on the other.² Out of regard, however, for the age and inclinations of the Reverend J. C. Cochran at Salem Chapel Binney was prepared to bend a little and enjoin that the surplice be worn at communion services only.³ Cochran refused to compromise, becoming a hero in many parishes which prized defiance towards episcopal authority. The rector of such a parish, the Reverend James Robertson of Wilmot, pointed out that although the issue of the surplice was of no great importance in itself and should be left to the discretion of individual ministers it had come to be seen as the badge of the ritualist party which, guided by Bishop Binney, was seeking to control the diocese. The real cause of the troubles of 1866 in Nova Scotia was the synodical movement. The order for using the surplice in the pulpit was "a mere incident, which caused the explosion--the spark applied to the mine which had been already surcharged with combustible."⁴ Cochran removed himself and a few of his followers from Salem Chapel and founded Trinity Free Church on Jacob Street, which opened on December 12, 1866. There had been a similar low church split away from Holy Trinity, Toronto, during 1865 in the short-lived mission chapel of St. James near Teraulay Street.

¹ Binney, Correspondence between the Rev. George W. Hill, and Himself, p. 5.

² Ibid., pp. 16-17.

³ H. Binney to T. W. Bullock, January 12, 1867, S.P.G., D. 27.

⁴ Report, J. Robertson to T. W. Bullock, December 31, 1866.

Small innovations were viewed with the utmost suspicion during the mid 1860's because of the fear that they heralded the introduction of ritualism on an English scale. In their search for a new incumbent in 1862 the parishioners of Trinity Church, Digby, Nova Scotia, were disturbed to hear reports that the most likely prospect, John Pearson, held high church views on points of doctrine and ceremony which might "offend the feeling of those who cherish a strong veneration for the church of their fathers."¹ William Bullock, a former rector, told the churchwardens to close their ears to evil gossip about Pearson for "many of my old parishioners must remember the fabulous stories of my Romish tendencies, . . ."² Pearson, however, was not selected. In this he was fortunate as the forces of mistrust and parsimony combined to deny the successful candidate, the Reverend H. L. Yewens, a formal induction.³ At Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Jasper Nicolls wondered where such ritualistic customs as bowing at the name of Jesus and standing for the offertory might lead as he observed them spreading among his students.⁴ Some members of the congregation of St. Peter's, Brockville, were angered by the "artificial and unnatural" intoning of the exhortation, confession, absolution and prayers at the Ontario Clerical Association evensong held there in October 1866.⁵ The 1867 vestry minutes

¹ Trinity Church, Digby, Vestry Minutes 1862-92, letter from J. H. Jones, churchwarden, to W. Bullock, August 26, 1862.

² Ibid., letter from W. Bullock to churchwardens, September 2; 1862.

³ V. G. Cardoza, A Short History of Trinity Anglican Church, Digby, Nova Scotia (n.p., 1967), p. 11.

⁴ Carrington, Anglican Church, p. 144.

⁵ St. Peter's, Brockville, Vestry Minutes 1858-1907, OKD, entry for October 13, 1866.

of St. James Church, Kingston, recorded the parishioners' objection to the "room" on Division Street, All Saints Chapel, because of a credence table placed inside the communion rail and "the introduction of a mode of conducting our services not heretofore used in Kingston."¹

Low churchmen remained vigilant against doctrinal error. C. Wurtele, a lay delegate to synod from Trinity Church, Quebec, objected in June 1861 to certain publications contained in libraries connected with St. Peter's Chapel. The synod decided not to receive his petition which was accompanied by extracts from the offending works relating to the saints, priestly absolution and purgatory.² The following year Charles Hamilton excited some disquiet by preaching the doctrine of the intercession of saints. Bishop George Mountain thought the times unripe for such teaching but refused to censure it.³ Benjamin Cronyn maintained an unremitting attack upon Trinity College. "Nothing is left in support of the Bishop of Huron's unhappy and baseless accusations but the revolting dregs of a barren imagination," John Strachan wrote to J. Travers Lewis in 1862.⁴ At a meeting of the Corporation of Trinity College on September 29, 1863, a resolution was passed by a majority of thirteen to eight expressing confidence in the soundness and scriptural character of Provost Whitaker's doctrinal opinions. Cronyn and six

¹ A. J. Anderson, The Anglican Churches of Kingston (Kingston: n.p.; 1963), p. 81.

² Romish Error Propagated in the Church of England at Quebec, and the Right of Petition against It Denied by the Synod (Quebec: Middleton and Dawson, 1861), pp. 5-38, passim.)

³ G. J. Mountain to C. Hamilton, December 22, 1862, QQD, B. 15.

⁴ J. Strachan to J. T. Lewis, October 30, 1862, S.P.G., C MSS, Ontario.

others of the Corporation signed a solemn minority protest.¹ The opening of Huron College on December 2, 1863, with Isaac Hellmuth as first principal, provided Cronyn with a theological college entirely under his control and removed a prime reason for his hostility to Trinity College. Three years later Henry Landor, a layman of St. Paul's, London, Canada West, claimed that

Genevan principles maintained with Popish intolerance govern . . . the Church community here, and there is no escape from them. . . . It is a warning to the few old incumbents in this Diocese who do not hold . . . [such] views that no promotion or honours will ever fall to their lot. . . . We are not men of extreme opinions, we are no High Churchmen in the usual if in any sense of that phrase, there are no such men in Canada.

Men like Landor were in a mood to resist what they considered evangelical narrowness and bigotry. Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and Trinity College were growing in self-confidence and claiming against their critics that they were not mere theological seminaries but universities. Therefore they were capable of a general leavening of Anglican sentiment in Canada.³ James Bovell, professor of natural theology at Trinity College, whose views of the real presence had been attacked by Cronyn as Romish in 1860 fully articulated his position on the Eucharist and ritual in his letters of 1867 to another detractor, the Reverend John Fletcher.⁴ Christ "is at and in His Holy

¹ The Protest of the Minority of the Corporation of Trinity College against the Resolution Approving of the Theological Teaching of That Institution (London, C.W.: Dawson and Bro., 1864), pp. 2-10.

² H. Landor; The Fearful Condition of the Church of England, in the Diocese of Huron as Shown in the Speeches of the Bishop of Huron, Delivered in the Vestry of St. Paul's, London, Canada West on Monday, 2nd. April, 1866 (Hamilton: Spectator Steam Press, 1866), pp. 36-38.

³ Guardian, February 3, 1864.

⁴ J. Bovell, Letters, Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Fletcher and Others, Framers of a Series of Resolutions on "Ritual" (Toronto: T. Hill, 1867), pp. 4-57, *passim*.

Eucharistic Feast, although with carnal eyes we see Him not. He is the Object of our adoring love." Doctrine was more important than matters of ritual over which men should be charitable. Anglicans should exercise restraint over the introduction of altar lights and incense because imputations of excessive ritualism led to the confusion that they believed in the Roman Catholic definition of the real presence. Provost Whitaker could not in conscience endorse the practices of the ritualistic movement which he feared might provoke a Puritan reaction against all attempts to make worship more decent and reverent. The neglect, however, of a moderate ritual was sinful for spiritual worship was not attained "by forgetting how Almighty God has constituted us, and attempting, without the body, to worship aright the Creator of the body."¹ The message to the evangelicals was plain: high church theology and English-style ritualism were to be carefully distinguished.

In September 1866 the election of A. N. Bethune as coadjutor bishop of Toronto after Whitaker's withdrawal as a candidate demonstrated the strength of clerical high church opinion in the diocese. Among the laity also there was considerable support for both Whitaker and Bethune, although the most moderate of the high church contenders, Archdeacon T. Brock Fuller of Niagara, enjoyed their chief favour. It is remarkable that Henry Grasett gained as few lay votes as he did clerical given the militant evangelicalism of the 1870's.² Whitaker, however, was soon complaining to Roe of a fresh attempt

¹ G. Whitaker, The Office of Ritual in Christian Worship. A Sermon Preached at St. George's Church, St. Catharines, on Wednesday, April 4, 1866; before the Clerical Association of the Rural Deanery of Niagara (Toronto: H. Rowsell, 1866), p. 4.

² Globe, September 22, 1866, gives the full results.

to bring Trinity College into disrepute on the part of Orangemen disgruntled by the results of the episcopal contest.¹ The Church Standard retaliated through effective use of irony to ridicule low church ritualistic phobias, pew rents, Dean Grasett, and the "Calvinistic Clique" busily debating whether as a suitable memorial to Bishop Strachan "to select a town-pump, or a Little Bethel, as the monument best representing their narrow proclivities,

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Provoked by the advances of ritualism in England and fearful of similar innovations in Canada, low churchmen began to press for the enactment of regulatory canons on worship in the diocesan synods. The main body of high churchmen could support general resolutions in synod condemning extreme and unauthorized ritualism in England,³ but attempts to legislate on particulars in Canada frightened them. Their position between low churchmen on the one side and ritualists on the other was ambiguous, tenuous and difficult to articulate. They dreaded the prospect of further polarization of church opinion and a clash between extremes over issues best settled with tolerance and common sense. The possibility of diocese at variance with diocese over ritual and the church in Canada drifting away from the church in England was offensive to their sense of Anglican Catholic unity and communion. George Whitaker was disturbed by the news in the spring of 1867 that the anti-

¹ G. Whitaker to H. Roe, May 16, 1867, OTT.

² Church Standard, January 1868. This is the only issue preserved of a newspaper replacing the Observer of Toronto of which no copies survive.

³ See, for example, Journal of the Fifth Session of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Ontario, Held in the City of Kingston, November 20-23, 1866 (Kingston: Canadian Churchman Office, 1866), p. 393. (Hereinafter referred to as Journal, Synod of Ontario, 1866).

ritualists of Toronto had drawn up a canon on vestments to be presented before the June synod. He told Roe that he and his friends intended to meet it by an amendment declaring it to be ultra vires.

and a matter to be left, at all events, to the consideration of the Provincial Synod. We mean, however, in guarded language, to express our concurrence with the two Convocations at home in their condemnation of extreme and unauthorized ritualistic practices--and if people would only keep their temper--and restrain their tongues--I think we might get through safely--but there are angry impulsive men on both sides.

The course of action outlined by Whitaker prevailed at the synod and a motion was carried that the subjects treated in the canon were beyond the scope of a single diocese and that a memorial be sent to the Provincial Synod to provide an adequate canon for the Ecclesiastical Province. This was to guard against those innovations condemned by the English hierarchy: chasuble, alb, cope, tunicle, altar lights, incense, wafer-bread, elevation of the elements after consecration and the encouragement of non-communicants to remain during the celebration.² Whitaker thought Lewis' action in ruling at the August Ontario synod that a motion on ritual was irregular without referring it by amendment to the Provincial Synod was unwise and impolitic.³

In the immediate shadow of Bishop Fulford's death which had, to Binney's regret,⁴ made Benjamin Cronyn senior bishop of the Province memorials and petitions concerning ritual were read to the Provincial Synod on September 11,

¹
G. Whitaker to H. Roe, May 16, 1867, OTT.

²
Journal of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Toronto, 11-14 June, 1867 (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1867), pp. 50-58.

³
G. Whitaker to H. Roe, August 19, 1867, OTT.

⁴
H. Binney to [unknown recipient], September 14, 1868, NsHK, W. I. Morse Collection.

1868.¹ Some churchmen believed that ritualism remained an outward threat, others that it was already a reality in Canada. The majority of a committee on ritualistic practices appointed by James Beaven, prolocutor of the lower house, thought that synodical intervention was premature on account of an absence of specific complaints and should await English legal decisions. The minority led by Isaac Hellmuth opposed delay. In the debate following, several clergy pointed to the danger of ritualism, leading to Romanism. T. B. Fuller considered it sensible that if one's neighbour's house were on fire one should look to one's own and cited instances of how Roman Catholics regarded ritualism as working in their favour. There was strong support for a canon removing ambiguities in the Prayer Book rubrics in the belief that the Synod possessed sufficient authority to enact it. On September 15 the house of bishops sent a message to the clergy and laity requesting a conference with them and expressing a fear lest the Synod by any legislation deviate from the Church of England as a whole. English judicial decisions against elevation, incense, the mixed chalice and wafer-bread should be accepted, whereas no enactments should be passed concerning altar lights and vestments because these questions were sub judice. At the resulting conference Bishop Lewis stated that attempts of the Synod to repeal the rubrics of the church, which it had no right to do, would make it the arena of doctrinal strife. Professor D. Wilson, a staunch low churchman, resented what he considered the interference of the bishops. The Synod should legislate on popish ritualistic practices before it was too late. Canadian churchmen

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The Debates on Ritualism in the Provincial Synod of the Church of England and Ireland, Held at Montreal, September 9th. and Following 9 Days, 1868 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868), pp. 6-68, passim.

had for too long waited on England and the inadequate ineffective judgments of the Court of Arches. T. W. Walsh, a Huron lay delegate, expressed his horror at seeing the choir of St. John the Evangelist, Montreal, robed in white surplices, entering and leaving in procession, turning to the east and bowing at the glorias. Several of the Huron clergy, however, made conciliatory speeches and offered if necessary to relinquish the use of the black gown in preaching if that would make for greater harmony in the Church. Among the high churchmen at the Synod not one defended the fullest expression of ritualism as found in England. The Reverend W. S. Darling was by far the most sympathetic towards it of their number. He attempted to place it in its best light and urged a spirit of liberty and toleration in matters of worship. He regretted the tendency of low churchmen to attach so much importance to trifling points such as the number of buttons on a cassock. He would willingly join with them in denouncing anything illegal but protested vague charges against what was authorized by law. The rubrics and legal and historical precedent sanctioned the wearing of eucharistic vestments which the Provincial Synod had no right to overturn. Darling stated that while churchmen present bothered themselves with unsubstantiated cases of illegal ritualistic excess there were on every side of them manifold defects both in worship and doctrine. Many of those who derided him taught the repulsive doctrine of Calvinistic election. There were excesses in English ritualism but all movements were marked by such and ritualism with all its good effects had fewest of them. He implored the Synod not to enact a canon. His viewpoint prevailed and nothing more than a resolution was passed, with unanimous assent. Elevation, incense and the mixed chalice were declared illegal and together with wafer-bread, which was judged unrubrical, were forbidden within the

Ecclesiastical Province. The Synod went no further than expressing its disapprobation of altar lights, copes and chasubles coupled with a determination to prevent their introduction.

Conservative high church opinion appeared pleased with the compromise reached. The staff and students of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, lamented that Francis Fulford's guiding hand had been removed at a critical juncture but congratulated the Synod on its moderation at the termination of a weary contest.

The vestments may be the legal right of the Church, but none are more earnest in deprecating their use, than those to whom the malice of the world has endeavoured to affix the stigma of the name of Ritualist; and this good, at least, has, we believe, resulted from the Synod, that it has proved the moderation and true Christian earnestness of many who had been suspected of seeking rather the propagation of their own individual views, than the spread of Christ's truth.

Henry Roe, writing in the Guardian as "B. C. L.", claimed that the public mind had been calmed and progress made in killing the spirit of faction. The leaders of the low church party, however, had mostly been exposed as men with petty minds. They refused to give up the black gown as a goodwill gesture to high churchmen as they had promised when they saw that the resolution forbidding extreme ritualism was certain to succeed, whether they surrendered anything or not. A few of their followers, however, had been magnanimous and sacrificial. The low church party was not in a majority but did hold the balance of power.

But all moderate Churchmen felt that the time was come to do something; and the old, earnest High Churchmen, who in years past had borne the burden and heat of the day, were the most earnest and resolved for some decisive action against the insidious designs of that calling itself par excellence the Catholic party which is doing its best to make the English Church the narrowest and most bigoted of sects.

¹
Lennoxville Magazine, October 1868, p. 479.

²
Guardian, October 14, 1868.

Evangelical opinion was generally unfavourable towards the outcome of the Synod. The resolution which had been carried said nothing about the eastward position, altar-cloths, chanting or genuflecting. Because it had been judged beyond the authority of that body to legislate on ritual the whole responsibility for action had been passed back to the bishops. This was where it had been and where it was destined to remain. The problem for evangelicals was that the Canadian episcopal bench was mainly composed of high churchmen.

"Layman" complained to the Church Observer: "Our Bishops are not desirous of insisting on uniformity or conformity, and I think they are the more reprehensible especially in this country, where we have no State power to interfere with the Church government of this Ecclesiastical Province."¹

The newspaper believed that the Provincial Synod was still the only proper instrument for dealing with ritualism which was making definite advances in Canada. It attacked its contemporary, the Church Advocate of Montreal, for an article on festive decorations, ". . . very namby pamby, . . . well worth the consideration of those liberal minded people who cannot see any distinct Romish tendency in the pantomimic freaks and fancies of Montreal ritualists."²

As in England Canadian bishops, high and low, were reluctant to delegate authority in matters of worship and were not averse to seeking practical developments of their powers. The General Synod of 1893 expressed itself competent to deal with all aspects of doctrine, worship and discipline. The Reverend W. T. Noble writing to the Evangelical Churchman was alarmed lest a

¹
Church Observer, February 10, 1869.

²
Ibid., January 14, 1869. No copies of the Church Advocate survive.

majority of unscrupulous high churchmen might attempt to disrupt the church in a Puseyite direction.¹ Bishop Lewis on the contrary had been opposed to the Synod because he thought it would hand over the management of the church to the low churchmen for a generation. "There is not a High Church Diocese west of Kingston--and some eastward are shaky. I desire therefore for matters to remain in statu quo till God gives us a deliverance."² The Evangelical Churchman and Canadian Churchman, however, were both more positive towards the synodical scheme. In practice the Synod did not interfere with ritualistic questions. The Canadian Churchman had pointed to "a growing sense, on the one hand, that ritual is, beside doctrine, a matter comparatively unimportant, and, on the other, that greater diversity of ritual should be tolerated and even encouraged."³ Meetings of the Synod were to encourage mutual toleration and respect.

Few decidedly low church bishops brought their opinions to bear upon the manifestations of Canadian ritualism during the period 1869-1900. Ashton Oxenden, elected at the age of sixty-one to be bishop of Montreal and metropolitan, came to Canada from England in 1869 determined to suppress ritualism which he viewed in English terms. He consequently believed it to be more widespread and advanced than it actually was in Canada. St. John the Evangelist, Montreal, was put under a ban and Oxenden refused to visit or administer confirmation there. Altar lights, vestments and the sign of the cross were given up. In June 1871 the Reverend Augustus Prime, deacon at the

¹
Evangelical Churchman, September 7, 1893.

²
J. T. Lewis to A. Spencer, October 15, 1891, OKD, Spencer Letters.

³
Canadian Churchman, January 30, 1890.

church, had his licence suspended for six months by Bishop Oxenden because he had circulated an Anglo-Catholic tract which, among other things, encouraged sacramental confession. Edmund Wood staunchly supported Prime,¹ and the threat of a civil lawsuit caused Oxenden to remove his inhibition. Such episcopal harassment reflected current tensions among Montreal churchmen. In 1869 there had been a dispute at Christ Church Cathedral along party lines over the conducting of services, the high objecting to Canon Balch and the low to Canon Loosemore.² During the 1871 diocesan synod Wood came under bitter attack and found few defenders. In 1876 objection was made to a processional cross borne before the choir at St. John the Evangelist on Easter Day and Oxenden forbade its further use. In the autumn of the same year he stopped Father Prescott, Society of St. John the Evangelist, from officiating at Wood's church. Prescott informed Oxenden that he had conducted retreats for several years without episcopal disapproval, castigating him as "a foreigner and irresponsible" in a letter to his own bishop in the United States.³ Oxenden was also suspicious of the teaching at Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and wanting a theological institution nearer at hand which would be under his immediate influence founded the Montreal Diocesan Theological College in 1873.

William Bennett Bond, Oxenden's successor, was low in his churchmanship but became increasingly kind and sympathetic towards Edmund Wood and his

¹ E. Wood, The Catholic and Tolerant Character of the Church of England, Is it to be Maintained? Together with a Correspondence with the Lord Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan, respecting "the Rule of Life," and the Suspension of the Rev. A. Prime, L.T. (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1871).

² Full Report of the Proceedings of the General Vestry Meeting of the Congregation of Christ Church Cathedral, Held on the 6th December, 1869 (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1870).

³ Quoted in French, ed., "Matters of Parochial Interest," p. 150.

school. St. John the Evangelist had coloured vestments at the daily communions from the early 1880's and Bond walked behind the restored processional cross. Bond's election as bishop of Montreal in October 1878 had thrown high churchmen into depression but Henry Roe praised their speedy resolve to give their bishop loyal support,

such as becomes those who believe in the Church as a Divine society, and in its Episcopate as receiving its authority from the Holy Ghost. The Diocese of Montreal cannot, and never will, be a purely party diocese; . . . A large proportion of the clergy are of the old "historical" High Church school. The best of the laity are strongly conservative, and averse to party spirit.

Roe did, however, lament that Tractarian clergy, particularly those connected with the cathedral, had tended to leave the diocese.²

Within the Ecclesiastical Province as a whole the bishops were generally favourable towards the Oxford Movement. Huron remained strongly evangelical under Cronyn, Hellmuth and M. S. Baldwin but the first two bishops of Algoma, F. D. Fauquier and Edward Sullivan, although low churchmen, were moderate in their opinions. Thomas Brock Fuller, bishop of Niagara 1875-85, was a determined anti-ritualist who spoke much of the virtues of the Reformation, yet he had a high view of the church and her sacraments. He emphasized in his Charges the primitive character of the Church of England and the necessity of strict rubrical fidelity.³ Before his election as bishop Fuller had become prominent in the Church Union.

1

Guardian, January 30, 1879.

2

Ibid., February 26, 1879.

3

E.g., Journal of Proceedings of the Seventh Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Niagara, Held in the City of Hamilton, Ontario, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 31st. May and 1st. June, 1881 (Hamilton: Ennis and Stirton, 1881), p. 32.

J. T. Lewis shared Fuller's devotion to early Christianity, his church principles being firmly grounded in the Caroline tradition of Irish Anglican theology as represented by James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh 1625-56.¹ While Lewis was at Trinity College, Dublin, there had been a revival of interest in Ussher led by Charles Elrington, regius professor of divinity. Ussher was a great exponent of the continuity of the church's doctrine and polity. He resisted Laudian uniformity and embraced a decentralized ideal of church polity, holding that men should work together towards a common mind with mutual toleration and respect. Lewis likewise deplored party and fanaticism. His first act after his consecration was to dissolve the Church Society for the whole church was itself a missionary society. Cronyn was representative of those Trinity College students who, influenced by W. B. Mathias, supported evangelical societies, while Lewis belonged to a succeeding generation which had turned against them. His Irish high church background, the tradition of John Jebb and Alexander Knox, made Lewis responsive to the Tracts for the Times. A copy of Tract XC with notes on points of fact made by him in the margin is in the Ontario diocesan library.

It was his principle to apply the touchstone of the primitive church to contentious issues. In his 1874 Visitation Charge Lewis judged that habitual auricular confession and private absolution could hardly be considered as essential to spiritual health when apostolic Christianity was silent regarding them. He expressed his satisfaction that there was increasing

¹ This interpretation of Lewis' churchmanship owes much to the unpublished research of K. C. Evans, late bishop of Ontario, OKD.

interest in the rite of Holy Communion.¹ He refused to indulge in indiscriminate denunciations of ritual which only became deserving of censure when contrary to law. Ritual was a powerful agent for the embodiment and perpetuation of great principles. "There is nothing essentially Romish in a grand Ritual. The Oriental Church, which, as against Rome, is thoroughly Protestant as ourselves, has a ceremonial which to us would seem excessive."² Lewis himself was not averse to a certain degree of ceremony. In 1887 he followed the lead of John Medley who had worn a white and gold mitre for H. T. Kingdon's consecration and ordered one for his own use.³

Lewis was never popular with evangelicals owing to his support for Trinity College, Toronto, and his later dislike of Wycliffe College, established by the Church Association in 1877. On March 1, 1895, the Reverend J. M. Snowden of St. George's, Ottawa, summoned a meeting of evangelical churchmen, charging Lewis with excluding Wycliffe graduates from his diocese. The allegation was denied but Lewis openly revealed his disfavour for a seminary whose foundation was unnecessary and was designed to flourish over the ruins of Trinity College. He stigmatized as a fiction one of Wycliffe's distinctive principles that episcopacy was conducive to the well-being of the church but not necessary for its very being.⁴ High churchmen welcomed his

¹ Journal of the Ninth Session of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Diocese of Ontario, Held in the City of Ottawa, June 7-9, 1870 (Kingston: John H. Parnell, 1870), p. 759.

² Journal, Synod of Ontario, 1866, p. 367.

³ J. S. Lauder to A. Spencer, July 21, 1887, Spencer Letters.

⁴ The Ottawa Malcontents and the Archbishop of Ontario (n.p., 1895), pp. 5-7.

plain-speaking because they feared a plot by Wycliffe men to start a simultaneous movement in every diocese before Easter so as to influence the election of synod delegates.¹

Despite the ire of evangelicals, Lewis was hardly such a strong defender of ritualism as Bishop Medley whose correspondence with Gladstone contained much criticism of the Public Worship Regulation Act.² Medley caused a stir at the 1878 Lambeth Conference with his strong speech denouncing it. In Canada he emphasized that ritualists performed worthy social work and that opponents of ritualism were bothering themselves unduly with non-essentials. One of his clergy, the Reverend H. W. Tippet, visited St. John the Evangelist, Montreal, and wondered if he should adopt the altar lights and sign of the cross which he observed there. Medley advised him not "to take up with any formal habit, unless it serves to express the worship of your heart, . . ."³

Medley, however, on account of his early arrival in Fredericton did not bring to the Canadian episcopal bench that distinct flavour of second generation English Tractarianism. The bishop who best did this was Andrew Hunter Dunn, bishop of Quebec 1892-1914, who came to Canada from the west London working class parish of All Saints, South Acton. This church drew large congregations with its colourful and innovative services. It was typical of the very highly organized late nineteenth century ritualistic parish with

¹

J. S. Lauder to A. Spencer, May 2, 1895, Spencer Letters.

²

E. R. Fairweather, "John Medley as Defender of 'Ritualism': an Unpublished Correspondence," Canadian Journal of Theology, 8, (1962), No. 3, 208-11.

³

J. Medley to H. W. Tippet, May 5, 1883, ND.

a plethora of guilds and societies to further the church's mission.¹

The energetic Dunn was shocked by the lethargic church life in his new diocese and immediately set about a programme of reform which disturbed the conservative.² He wanted daily services in the cathedral which were to be conducted in the appropriate manner by means of the reintroduction of a surpliced choir. Edifying points of ceremonial were to receive proper attention. Flowers, cross, vases and candlesticks should be placed on a retable above the altar and every church was to have a credence table so that the oblation could be correctly offered. Arthur Dorey, organist of St. Peter's, Sherbrooke, was dispatched around the diocese to raise the level of church music and increase congregational participation. The Reverend W. T. Noble of Trinity Church, Quebec, launched a vitriolic campaign against Dunn: "Verily Buddhism, Romanism, and Ritualism are fast approaching organic union. They all have their phallus worship, with rites obscene, which is the cross of Bacchus, the Babylonian Messiah."³ At the cathedral the majority of pew-holders opposed choral services and surpliced choir and so, as a compromise, these were confined to Sunday evenings and weekdays.⁴ Dunn was furious and entered into a long correspondence with legal authorities in England and Canada concerning his right to control the cathedral services.

¹ P. Jolliffe, Andrew Hunter Dunn: Fifth Bishop of Quebec: A Memoir (London: S.P.C.K., 1919), pp. 24-52, passim.

² Proceedings of the Synod of the Church of England, in the Diocese of Quebec, 30-31 May and 2 June, 1893 (Quebec: Morning Chronicle Office, 1893), p. 21.

³ W. T. Noble, An Open Letter to the Lord Bishop of Quebec (n.p., January 26, 1894), p. 3.

⁴ Minutes of a Meeting of the Pew and Sitting Holders of the Cathedral, Held Pursuant to Notice, March 26, 1894 (Quebec: private printing, 1894), pp. 8-16.

Their common opinion was that Bishop Dunn possessed no absolute authority in the matter as he required the concurrence of the dean and chapter. Dunn complained in his 1895 Charge that he was much misrepresented and misunderstood, denying that he was in any way a partizan or narrow in his views.¹

The troubles in Quebec illustrate some of the problems that bishops had in controlling their dioceses. Binney, Oxenden and Dunn all felt that their cathedrals were too independent. They were, however, strong determined leaders who maintained the initiative through their exercise of episcopal will. It is significant that the worst party battles over ritualism occurred in Toronto diocese during the 1870's when the gentle and academic Bethune was bishop. His indecisiveness and lack of political acumen permitted the tensions kept in check by John Strachan to break forth in a fury. Bethune formed the Church Union in 1873 to unite all churchmen in common Christian work. The practical effect was divisive because the organization was immediately associated with its English namesake and interpreted as proof of Bethune's ritualism.² Evangelicals refused to join it as he had hoped and it became the rival of the Evangelical Association. Bethune laid himself open to charges of inconsistency. A pamphlet, "Manual of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament," was discovered by a prominent evangelical, the Honourable W. B. Robinson, who showed it to friends who were offended by its high eucharistic language and thought the Confraternity a plot to convert the church to Roman Catholicism.³ A petition was sent to Bethune who denounced the

¹ Quebec Diocesan Gazette, 1895, p. 93. The Gazette, edited by the Reverend R. A. Parrock, Dunn's chaplain, was of great importance in spreading higher theological ideas throughout the diocese of Quebec.

² Globe, January 7, 1874.

³ Church Association Papers, Watchman, What of the Night? (Toronto: n.d.), p. 3.

organization and suspended one of its members, the Reverend C. T. Denroche, assistant at Holy Trinity, Toronto. In 1874 Denroche was reinstated without a word being said about the Confraternity. The evangelicals, now in the Church Association, expressed themselves dumbfounded.¹

Bethune showed himself unsure in the handling of controversy concerning the Reverend W. A. Johnson, now rector of St. Philip's, Weston, in the years 1873-75. A body of parishioners led by Thomas Smith and James Conron appealed to Johnson "to have a little mercy and not quite go all the way over to Rome."² On Christmas Day 1874 they noted with alarm Johnson's eastward position at the altar, his frequent bowings, his elevation of the elements and his making the sign of the cross twice over the head of each communicant.³ Johnson retaliated by attacking the Orange Society of which Conron was a member, and by declaring that he was "an old High Churchman, or Puseyite, or Ritualist, or Sacerdotalist, . . . , and . . . I tell everyone . . . that you might as well try stopping the Falls of Niagara with a pitchfork as to stop the flow of Ritualism all over the land."⁴ In 1855 Strachan had quickly transferred Johnson without condemnation to another parish, but Bethune hesitated until there was a full-scale outcry. He resorted to committees, and having suspended Johnson soon restored him to his charge.

Confusion and misunderstanding reached their height during the last year of Bethune's episcopate. In December 1878 the parishioners of St. George's

¹
Ibid.

²
Churchwarden's book, St. Philip's, Weston, entry for Easter Monday 1873, OTD.

³
T. Smith and J. Conron to commission of inquiry, December 28, 1874, OTG.

⁴
W. A. Johnson to commission of inquiry, January 30, 1875, OTG.

Church, Oshawa, refused to accept his appointee, the Reverend C. C. Johnson, as their incumbent. Chancellor Proudfoot of Toronto diocese was unable to give judgment for Johnson on the grounds that the bishop had failed to consult with the vestry of the parish in accordance with the ruling of the 1871 synod.¹ On February 3, 1879, Bethune died amidst controversy as to whether he had invited the Reverend W. J. Knox-Little, a prominent member of the English Church Union and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, to speak in Toronto. Some evangelicals preferred to exonerate Bethune and placed the blame for the invitation on George Whitaker, the leading high church candidate for the bishopric.

Bethune was unfortunate in that his episcopate coincided with a far more organized approach to party warfare by both low and high churchmen. Shortly after Bethune's death, Whitaker told Roe how much he deplored party tactics in the synod.

The ostracism of Low Churchmen has been practised by Clergy and Laity in the Synod against the advice and example of the Bishop. No one has ever charged the late Bishop, much less his predecessor, with any onesidedness in respect of the exercise of patronage--or of his privilege to appoint members of committees. The Church Association owes its existence, 1st. to the very unwise habit of making the appointment of Synod Committees a trial of party strength. The Low Churchmen played the game first in respect of the Delegates to the Provincial Synod, as you may see by a reference to the Reports, and the other party were foolish enough to follow their example.²

In 1871 and 1872 the low church laity elected twelve delegates, the most possible, to the Provincial Synod, all of whom were later to be members of

¹ H. E. Turner, "The Evangelical Movement in the Church of England in the Diocese of Toronto, 1839-79" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1959), p. 194, cites the Oshawa case as illustrating the effective limitations upon the bishop's powers of patronage.

²

G. Whitaker to H. Roe, April 24, 1879, OTT.

the Church Association.¹ This indicates the presence of lists of candidates, "tickets", ensuring that only those named upon them would enjoy support. The result was that for two years evangelical laity were able to compensate for their minority position, in contrast to their clerical brethren who being smaller in numbers were unable to operate a "ticket system". When high church laymen responded by adopting similar tactics not one low church layman was able to get elected as a delegate in 1873, 1875, 1876, 1877 and 1878. Reacting against these reverses, the Church Association established the Evangelical Churchman to propagate its views, and mounted a campaign in the parishes to swell evangelical strength in the synod. The new power of the low church party was apparent in the 1878 election of the honorary lay secretary when George Hodgins, a member of the Association, received 108 votes to his opponent's 86.

The party warfare waged in the church press of the diocese of Toronto heightened the clamour of the battle. The ironic and sometimes humorous Church Chimes, published during the years 1874-75, represented the Anglo-Catholic viewpoint. It claimed that the ablest English theologians were ritualists and that the Catholic revival had enriched the church in England, now no longer a vassal in an aristocratic establishment but a political power in a growing democracy. It was a mistake to speak of ritualists in Canada as being few in number and uninfluential because generally

the faith of the Priesthood of this country in the great verities of the Catholic religion is sound, and considering their many drawbacks and difficulties, the work, done by almost every Priest in the land is far in advance of anything required upon the average, from his brother in an English parish.²

¹ J. W. Knight, "High Church-Low Church Controversy in the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Toronto with Emphasis on the Episcopate of Alexander Bethune, Second Bishop of Toronto" (unpublished M.A. research paper, University of Toronto, 1971), pp. 36-44.

² Church Chimes, December 1874.

The Church Chimes characterized the evangelicals as presenting a dead level of spiritual flatness, whose

stronghold is in the rank of the British and Canadian Philistines, the well-to-do and vulgar bourgeoisie, . . . whose stolid material prejudices revolt against the supernatural. . . . There is no question about it, no need even to listen to a sermon by Dean Grasett to illustrate the fact. Evangelicalism is at this day the party of stupidity.

The Dominion Churchman was more moderate in its high churchmanship. It deplored quarrels over the length of the surplice and considered that narrow party watchwords had no place in religious journalism. Individual predilections were to be surrendered for the greater good of the divinely instituted church.² The newspaper's rival, the Evangelical Churchman, which it refused to mention directly in its columns, was not prepared to lose sight of the venom of ritualism through such a lofty perspective. Anglicans were mistaken if they thought that the question of ritualism was merely one of ceremonial.

These men who call themselves Ritualists hold doctrine in almost every particular in perfect unison with the Church of Rome. No true Churchman of any of the recognized parties--whether the "old High," the "Broad," or the "Evangelical"--could speak of the Reformation of the sixteenth century as do the Ritualists.

The Dominion Churchman's espousal of the via media aggravated a writer to the Evangelical Churchman and he urged it to declare its true colours as a defender of ritualism.⁴ The Reverend J. P. Sheraton's diagnosis of the root cause of the troubles of Anglo-Catholicism was the error of sacerdotalism, the belief that Christ was only to be found in and through His church. Either Holy Scripture was or was not the sole and supreme rule of

¹ Ibid., April 1875.

² Dominion Churchman, May 11, 1876.

³ Evangelical Churchman, June 29, 1876.

⁴ Ibid., March 15, 1877.

faith; sacerdotalism and evangelicalism could not both be true.¹ Clergy versed in the scriptural principles of the church were to be trained at Wycliffe College but it was crucial for the laity to realize their full potential as individual Christians. In 1879 the Evangelical Churchman pointed to an antagonism between the Puseyite Trinity College and the body of Toronto laity which stood by the old Reformation landmarks.² It portrayed the episcopal election of that year as a struggle between clerical absolutism on the one hand and the constitutional rights of the laity on the other.³

The election of Arthur Sweatman, a moderate evangelical, as bishop of Toronto on the twenty-fourth ballot was a compromise welcomed by both the Dominion Churchman and the Evangelical Churchman. Party squabbles so long protracted had led to a degree of exhaustion that encouraged Anglicans of all schools to unite under a man who proved to be a strong non-party leader. In return for voting on Sweatman's behalf the high churchmen demanded the disbanding of the Church Association, which was granted on condition that the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, later Wycliffe College, be allowed to continue. There appears to have been something of a reaction against advanced ceremonial. At a vestry meeting on August 4, 1881, only 8 as opposed to 122 of the congregation of Holy Trinity Church, Toronto, favoured further innovations in the services. After a series of meetings W. S. Darling was asked to withdraw from active work, giving his assistant, John Pearson, sole charge. On September 20 Pearson announced the abolition of the

¹ Ibid., November 23, 1882.

² Ibid., February 13, 1879.

³ Ibid., March 6, 1879.

communion hymn, the singing of the Benedictus and Agnus Dei, wafer-bread, mixed chalice, vestments and altar lights. The choir resigned in a body and there was a large exodus from the congregation. Soon, however, the choir was replenished and new worshippers attended the church, attracted by its central location.

The trend, however, in the new parishes of north and west Toronto was towards a more advanced churchmanship, and this remained the case. In 1873 the parish of St. Matthias had been set apart, Richard Harrison becoming rector two years later and introducing vestments, wafer-bread, mixed chalice, vested choir and servers. Fasting communion was taught and confessions were heard. St. Matthias had free pews and catered mainly to the poor who attended it well and heartily joined in the singing under F. G. Plummer's direction.¹ St. Thomas Church, Seaton Village, was dedicated on March 14, 1875, with J. H. McCollum, a conservative churchman, as its rector. Not until the arrival in 1888 of the Reverend John Charles Roper, an Oxford graduate, did St. Thomas, now on Huron Street, acquire vestments and a reputation for high ritual.²

Elsewhere in Canada, also, churches with advanced ceremonial tended to be on the outskirts of expanding urban centres where the industrial poor lived. St. Peter's, Charlottetown, was situated in the West Bog, the least desirable part of the city. The Mission Church of St. John the Baptist, Saint John, New Brunswick, opened in 1882, was on dingy Paradise Row near the railway station built on a lot where the fish market had been. A high ritual was thought to capture the imagination of workers with little beauty

1

R. F. Palmer, History of St. Matthias' Church 1873-1973 (n.p., 1973).

2

J. Pye, "History of the Parish of Saint Thomas, Toronto." (Typewritten MS, 1971).

in their lives, and incense served the practical function of masking the odour of unwashed clothes and bodies. Such parishes, however, enjoyed the support of upper middle-class Anglicans with a social conscience who most often lived outside their boundaries. In Montreal many of the congregation of St. John the Evangelist journeyed in from Westmount and students like William Osler, who had been influenced by W. A. Johnson and James Bovell, came down from McGill University. There were, however, exceptions to the rule that the high churches were to be found in the towns and cities. At Christ Church, New Ross, Nova Scotia, vestments were introduced by the Reverend William H. Groser who became rector in 1879. This was probably in reaction to the predominantly Baptist character of the area. In his registers Groser felt compelled to justify any deviation from the practice of infant baptism in church.

As far as the conducting of services was concerned, the main new influence of the Anglo-Catholic revival during this period was in the direction of making worship more relevant to the practical needs of the church's mission. The Church Chronicle of the Maritime Provinces made a plea on January 18, 1872, for tolerance in allowing additional services with appeal to the young. Later in the same year it welcomed the amending of the Act of Uniformity to permit shortened week-day and special services.¹ In 1869 Provost Whitaker had been alarmed by W. S. Darling's introduction of processional hymns at Holy Trinity. Darling had reached the conclusion that the Anglican liturgy was hardly perfect and that the reading of the exhortation at every matins and evensong bordered on the absurd.²

¹ Church Chronicle of the Maritime Provinces, September 26, 1872.

² Church Observer, September 1, 1869.

In many parishes it was the laity who were directly responsible for advanced services. At St. Paul's, Charlottetown, Edward Jarvis Hodgson and a group of friends who had connections with the Oxford Movement in England were disappointed at the cold and cheerless worship conducted by the Reverend D. Fitzgerald and persuaded William Cundall to donate the land for St. Peter's.

Please God it may be different at St. Peter's. We know all will be seated alike, the rich and the poor together. We hope that a Congregation may be formed there who will not object to an earnest, hearty, joyous Service, although the words in which part of that Service be expressed be the words of Wesley or Whitfield.¹

The service books of St. Peter's reveal a steady record of Catholic progress. On Christmas Eve 1869 the Reverend G. W. Hodgson revived the ancient practice of midnight communion for the first time in Canada. Three years later a rood screen was erected. At Easter 1889 during the incumbency of James Simpson a white cope was worn in procession and for a solemn Te Deum, the first occasion on which a cope appeared in a church of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada. The following year a black cope was worn at the funeral of Thomas Webb. In St. John, New Brunswick, the Mission Church was endowed by Sarah Hazen who thought the worship at St. Paul's, Portland, uninspiring and stipulated that the new church under the Reverend J. M. Davenport should have a surplised choir, daily morning and evening prayer, daily communion and a sisterhood as soon as possible.² St. Barnabas Church, Ottawa, established in 1889 in a poorer western district of the city, had a small and struggling congregation. This, Martin Maynard informed his rector, T. Bailey, would be increased through a "six point" ritual which was adopted during Advent 1895.³

1

E. J. Hodgson to D. Fitzgerald, December 5, 1867, St. Peter's archives.

2

History of the Mission Church of S. John Baptist (St. John, N.B.: private printing, 1932), p. 18.

3

Memorandum of M. W. Maynard, April 1928, OTG,

Parishioners who disliked ceremonial additions to their church services had several courses open to them. When members of the congregation of St. Thomas Church, Belleville, took offence that the Reverend John Burke, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, read certain portions of the service with the side of his face towards them and insisted upon a box-shaped altar without legs, they complained to their bishop. Lewis, however, supported Burke.¹ In some parishes dissatisfied worshippers pressured their rectors to resign. At the Church of the Ascension, Hamilton, there were objections to the Reverend E. P. Crawford's eastward position at the altar and to a sung doxology at the offertory. On Ascension Day 1891 a special service with surpliced choir provoked a riot in the church. A subsequent vestry meeting reduced Crawford's salary to one dollar a year and voted, with only a single dissident, to cut off fuel, gas and water supplies to the church and initiate legal proceedings to force Crawford and his wife from the rectory. In July 1892 the Church of the Ascension was in need of a new incumbent.² On other occasions it was the parishioners who departed. At Christ Church, St. Stephen, New Brunswick, the Marks, Grimmer, Maxwell and other old-established families objected to the high churchmanship of the Reverend E. S. Medley, particularly to his extempore preaching which they rather strangely considered popish, and withdrew to form Trinity Mission in 1870.³ Those who remained were businessmen, farmers and labourers. At Trinity Church, Digby, Nova Scotia, those who opposed the Reverend John Ambrose and wanted his low

1

J. T. Lewis to churchwardens, April 19, 1876, vestry minutes 1818-78, St. Thomas, Belleville.

2

M. H. Farmer, One Hundred Years. The Church of the Ascension Hamilton 1850-1950 (Hamilton: Kidner Printing Co., 1950), pp. 13-16.

3

Service register 1864-71, Christ Church, St. Stephen.

church predecessor, H. L. Yewens, reinstated seceded from the Church of England in 1876. They joined the Reformed Episcopal Church which had been founded three years previously by G. D. Cummins, assistant bishop of Kentucky, in protest against the Tractarianism of the American Episcopal Church. Their congregation flourished for a short time in Digby but many returned to Trinity Church and the others went to Presbyterian or Methodist churches. In Ottawa, also, there had been an Anglican secession to the "Cumminsites" which the Reverend Henry Pollard of St. John the Evangelist characterized as a happy event because "it took away a few discontented and certainly not very religious people, and left us united, and stronger than ever."¹

Towards the end of the century party conflict and blind animosity still remained. In June 1896 vandals broke into the Toronto churches of St. Thomas, St. Margaret, St. Matthias and St. Cyprian. At St. Thomas a stool was dressed in the rector's robes, the altar was smashed, and a set of red vestments stolen.² There had arisen, however, a much greater understanding between high churchmen and evangelicals based upon an appreciation of each others' contribution to the life of the church. In 1890 the Evangelical Churchman was attacking party spirit which prevented men from seeing the good in their opponents. Combining into parties was a necessary tactic but bitterness and rivalry were to be abhorred.³ Internal divisions within the Church of England were a terrible source of weakness, particularly when it

¹ Occasional Papers, No. 173 (May 1875), letter from the Reverend H. Pollard, January 7, 1875.

² Evening Star [Toronto], June 8, 1896.

³ Evangelical Churchman, March 6, 1890.

came to pursuing schemes for Christian reunion.¹ Evangelicals, also, were suffering from internal conflicts over doctrine which were diverting their attention from larger issues. "J. R." complained to the Evangelical Churchman that his fellow churchmen did not take baptismal regeneration seriously enough.² This was part of a great controversy over sacramental grace. Evangelicals became increasingly eager to hear what high churchmen had to say. They welcomed the Church Unity Conference held in Toronto during January 1893. The social work of Anglo-Catholic priests received marked appreciation. The Evangelical Churchman did not like the doctrine, discipline or the ritual of the Reverend Thomas Geoghegan, rector of St. Peter's, Hamilton, but it admired his concern with prison reform.³ On April 13, 1893, the newspaper printed an article by Herbert Symonds, rector of Ashburnham, Ontario, which articulated a new perspective. He wrote of the boredom of ringing the changes on evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement. The tendencies operating within Anglicanism were not confined to these or controlled and conditioned by them. Symonds was sympathetic towards the new and increasing school of biblical criticism and towards men who, independent of any church, were interested in the forbidding social problems of the age.

High churchmen were also changing their opinions and perspectives. They claimed that they were as evangelical as their brethren in all the essentials of the Gospel as well as being Catholic with regard to the apostolic principles of the Anglican church.⁴ In 1893 the Canadian Churchman

¹ Ibid., October 15, 1893.

² Ibid., March 3, 1892.

³ Ibid., August 14, 1890.

⁴ Dominion Churchman, January 29, 1885.

thought that ritualism was almost a dead issue about which few were alarmed.¹ If churchmen were mutually tolerant and tried to understand what was and was not important there was every prospect of harmony. Clergy should beware of unfortunate innovations, not speak of private confession as mandatory,² and be sensitive to the outlook of their congregations.³ The Canadian Churchman rejoiced at the demise of the negative low church, anti-ritualistic, side of evangelicalism and expressed gratitude that its positive aspects were being more generally taught. It singled out the emphases upon the person and work of Christ as Redeemer, the agency of the Holy Spirit in conversion and sanctification, and the absolute necessity of personal religion.⁴ When the Evangelical Churchman ceased publication in 1900 its rival, in an editorial entitled "the Survival of the Fittest," opined that this was because it no longer met the needs of the Canadian church.⁵ The Evangelical Churchman had been born out of the old party conflicts and should die away with them. A new era required a more comprehensive vision.

¹ Canadian Churchman, July 6, 1893. ² Ibid., April 27, 1899.

³ Ibid., August 31, 1899. ⁴ Ibid., May 22, 1890.

⁵ Ibid., June 28, 1900.

CHAPTER VIII

CATHOLIC EVANGELICALISM: SOME RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN CANADA

Second generation Tractarians cared much less for theological abstractions than did their predecessors. They embraced those positive principles of the English evangelical tradition which provided the dynamic for a deeper concern with the intellectual and social order. Such "Catholic evangelicalism" evolved a theology which in turn helped to shape the church's concept of its total mission and which had a bearing on many of its activities. The early Oxford Movement had contrasted baptismal regeneration and conversion but now they were perceived as a unified whole in the church's mission to the world.¹ The poor were to be won back to religion by worship that was colourful, beautiful and emotional, by a stirring combination of evangelical message and Catholic tradition. Anglo-Catholic clergy called their flocks back to the Bible and proclaimed the Eucharist as the great gospel service to draw all men together. The support of the working classes was perceived as an important element in the preservation of the church. If the poor could not be reached directly the middle classes were to be educated to discharge the responsibilities of privilege on behalf of those less fortunate, increasingly

¹ D. Voll, Catholic Evangelicalism (London: Faith Press, 1963), p. 121, questions Y. Brilioth's assertion in Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 36, that the Oxford Movement was from the beginning the second phase of evangelicalism. The conscious reception of evangelicalism was by second generation Tractarians.

the victims of industrialization. The power of the middle class could benefit the whole of Canada.

For most of the Anglo-Catholic clergy their social philosophy and their theology were heavily dependent upon the reality they found surrounding them. The work of the church in reaching out to the poor was demanded by the brutal evidence of destitution which they encountered. The chief force driving their consciences was a feeling of social guilt, the conviction that some act of reparation had to be made for the great inequalities of wealth, that sacrifice was required to hold society together. The call to be holy and self-denying was thoroughly evangelical.

In England slum priests embraced causes conducive to social reform. They were sceptical of authority, often strongly anti-clerical and much opposed to the principle of establishment. Bishops and the upper middle classes were targets for their scorn. Robert Dolling supported trades unions and organized labour, co-operating with Free Church ministers and Labour party officials. A. H. Stanton believed in socialism and pacifism, not popular causes. Ritualists looked to the Christian socialism of such broad churchmen as F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley which wanted the church involved with politics and the secular.

On the part of high churchmen this coming to grips with the world led to an attempt to articulate incarnational theology in the light of the theory of evolution and advances in biblical criticism. Such thinking produced the school known as "liberal Catholicism" whose leading English theologian was Charles Gore (1853-1932), later to be bishop of Oxford. He was the editor of its chief statement, Lux Mundi, a collection of essays published

in 1889, which was roundly attacked by the conservative H. P. Liddon as a betrayal of its Tractarian heritage. In line with the optimism of the Victorian age Gore met the problems of biblical hermeneutics through holding strongly to the idea of God's progressive self-revelation in the church. The Old Testament was not literal history but a record of man's spiritual evolution. Lux Mundi held forth a vision of an immanent God present in and through history, relevant to all aspects of human existence. There was no dichotomy between religion and science, faith and reason. The church could not survive by a simple assertion of its spiritual prerogatives as the early Tractarians had thought; it had to relate to the whole world, wrestle with common problems, and give evidence of a social conscience.

Shortly after their publication the essays received a very positive Canadian review from the Reverend E. C. Cayley, lecturer in theology at Trinity College, Toronto, who considered they combined intellectual breadth with Catholic truth. He stressed their continuity of thought with Tractarianism which, in his judgment, proved that the Oxford Movement was not backward looking. In 1833, he observed, the times demanded a practical church reformation to which the Tracts catered but what was now required was intellectual reconstruction which Lux Mundi provided.¹

In Canada liberal Catholicism was represented chiefly by H. T. Kingdon. John Travers Lewis and James Bovell were both high churchmen interested in the natural sciences but their biblical conservatism kept them, as it did Pusey, from accepting Darwinianism. William Osler spoke later of the perplexity facing Bovell, his teacher, friend and fellow-microscopist:

¹ Trinity University Review, May 1890, pp. 95-97. See also ibid., March 1892, p. 49.

Caught in a storm which shook the scientific world with the publication of the "Origin of Species," instead of sailing before the wind, even were it with bare poles, he put about and sought a harbour of refuge in writing a work on Natural Theology which you will find on the shelves of second-hand bookshops in a company made respectable at least by the presence of Paley.

Kingdon, however, showed that he favoured evolutionary theory in his book on the Incarnation and its sacramental implications, God Incarnate, published a year after Lux Mundi and praised by the Canadian Churchman² but subsequently forgotten.

God Incarnate displays an awareness of the necessity for a theological re-evaluation of the work of the Word occasioned by philosophical and scientific progress. Its treatment of the Logos is based on the Johannine doctrine of the full self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ who is love and the Word which creates all things. The Christian doctrine of creation was not in conflict with science. It was a foolish endeavour to seek out scientific gaps into which God could be fitted, for the Johannine vision overrode the need for a literal interpretation of Genesis. Faith did not commit men to the theory of a "special creation" in which plants and animals have continued in exactly the same way from an initial fiat. Despite some objections on scientific grounds, the current state of knowledge dictated that the right course was

to accept the theory of Evolution as the best solvent of all the phenomena which present themselves. . . . Scripture and Science point to the gradual advance toward the formation of man. There is an ascending scale of organism, advancing from general to the special, ever making more close approximations to man, until at length man was called into

¹ W. Osler, "The Master Word in Medicine" (1903). Quoted in H. Cushing, The Life of Sir William Osler (2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 1, 68.

² Canadian Churchman, October 16, 1890.

being, the end, the object, the climax of all. . . . It is no doubt a grander view of the power of the Creator, that a license of self-development should be communicated to the living creatures.¹

Man is the microcosm in which God fulfils His purpose for the universe.

The Incarnation was not due to man's sin but was part of the eternal plan.

Kingdon, following the two-nature Christology of the Chalcedonian definition, desires to present a balanced view of the Word as fully human and fully divine. He warns against an error coming more and more to the fore that "would suggest in some way that our Blessed Lord somehow laid aside His attributes or essential character as God, which He resumed at the Resurrection and Ascension, . . ."² This notion of a complete kenosis or self-emptying sprang from a strained interpretation of Philippians 2:7 to which St. Irenaeus' comment (Adversus Haereses, 3, 19) that the Word remained "quiescent" was the corrective. Here Kingdon parted company with Gore and the liberal Catholics who were entertaining the idea of kenoticism.³ Although God Incarnate has been characterized as displaying the usual Tractarian lack of philosophical sophistication, it has been praised as a very positive contribution to the development of the liberal Catholicism of its day.⁴ It displays an awareness of the contemporary scientific milieu and a willingness to face the problems posed by biblical criticism and contemporary thought.

¹ H. T. Kingdon, God Incarnate (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1890), pp. 32-35.

² Ibid., p. 79.

³ See C. Gore, The Incarnation of the Son of God (London: John Murray, 1891), pp. 157-62.

⁴ Fairweather, "Bishop Kingdon's 'God Incarnate,'" pp. 109-10.

Developments in Catholic thought were reflected in popular preaching. In his farewell sermon at the Garrison Chapel, Halifax, the Reverend J. C. Edghill declared: "We have ever tried to unite what is called the Evangelical system with the Sacramental system, which has seemed to us the great need of the present age."¹ Faith in the Holy Spirit was to be united with membership in God's church. When the Church Chronicle asserted that the Scottish Presbyterians had become weary of the "crudities and jejuneness" of extempore prayer and had made themselves ridiculous by using in their missionary work the black gown which they had previously condemned as popish, Edghill retorted:

I cannot see the evil of advocating free extempore prayer at Prayer meetings or the use of the black gown . . . at special or mission services. . . . How are we to gain for sinners the grace of Conversion? . . . Let us have . . . "Ranting Sermons," "Extempore Prayer" &c., if so be that God by any means would grant our people repentance unto life.²

Edmund Wood's preaching was very much in the Catholic evangelical stream. He urged those who wavered between sin and God to break the shackles binding them to the world by one determined effort. But he warned his flock to be patient because God turned round some suddenly as He did St. Paul but others slowly. In this process of conversion the Eucharist was man's great support.³ "The Blessed Sacrament is . . . a burning glass, to bring the Love of Christ close to us." Wood is careful to deny any approximation to the doctrine of transubstantiation. The real presence is not carnal but spiritual, and should be believed because it is biblical. "Yes: you can see, I go to

¹ Church Chronicle of the Maritime Provinces, April 10, 1873.

² Ibid., February 8, 1872.

³ E. Wood, sermon on "Conversion," 1882, MS, QMJ.

the Bible first: and, indeed, alone: for time will not let me add at length a proof from the early primitive church, or from Church History.

... " Wood did not believe in the power of intellectual argument to convince anybody not as yet believing in the real presence. "... argument will never convince you, prayer may: nay! prayer will. Do not read books or treatises . . . , but simply pray."¹

Wood's sermons are painstakingly composed but they do not sparkle with originality or depth of ideas. He read from his manuscript in church and would redeliver his old sermons after a suitable lapse of time. The ritualist clergy whether in England or Canada were not generally renowned as great preachers. They disliked secluding themselves in their studies and spending their time reading theology. It was for his pastoral work, his sacrificial life, that Father Wood was known. The Good Shepherd is the subject of the window which is a memorial to him in St. John the Evangelist. As confessor, director and spiritual adviser he set about recovering the lost sheep. He wrote an astounding number of letters of comfort and advice to those in need. Tales were told of his kindness, of his giving his best overcoat to a beggar, for he wished to minister to the body as well as to the soul. Being very athletic he was particularly popular with the boys in his school whom he would row over to St. Helen's Island for picnics and swimming. He and his assistant, Arthur French, won the respect of many who opposed their churchmanship by their ministry in the Montreal smallpox epidemic of 1885 in which over three thousand people died. They also waged war against the widespread practice of prostitution in the parish.

1

Wood, sermon on "The Real Presence," 1895, MS, QMJ.

The Reverend Thomas Geoghegan was interested in other outcasts of society, namely prisoners. He transferred from St. Matthew's, Hamilton, when St. Peter's was set apart in 1890 and accepted the challenge of building up a new church. St. Peter's soon had a surpliced choir and innumerable guilds. Geoghegan's social conscience was stirred by visits to the Hamilton jail and the city hospital. He purchased a house on Maple Avenue which became the St. Peter's Home for Incurables.¹ Geoghegan's evidence before the Prison Reform Commission of 1890 was well received by the Evangelical Churchman which approved of its sound basis in personal experience.² His views were progressive. He opposed restrictive by-laws which prevented recreation for the poor, emphasized the desirability of playgrounds, protested against the exploitation of female labour, and supported a programme of government financial aid for those coming out of prison.

The Reverend Gowan Gillmore came to the diocese of Algoma in 1883 from Ireland where he had loathed the intense divisions of social and church life. He served as missionary along the Canadian Pacific Railway line from 1883 to 1885, walking hundreds of miles from Blind River to Sudbury, Sudbury west to Missanabie, and from Sudbury east to North Bay. He ministered to construction workers amidst outbreaks of typhoid, made epic journeys on snow shoes and became an army chaplain at the time of the North West Rebellion. In 1885 Gillmore was appointed rector at North Bay where he wore a large silver cross round his neck, visited diligently, and was able by means of

¹ Church of St Peter, Hamilton, Ontario. Sixtieth Anniversary 1950 (n.p., 1950), pp. 5-38, passim.

² Evangelical Churchman, August 14, 1890.

his charm to make his high churchmanship acceptable among Orangemen.¹

Another travelling clergyman in the diocese of Algoma was the Reverend William Crompton who had been a licensed lay reader in Birmingham and Manchester. He had journeyed to Canada as a missionary out of a desire to practise self-denial, "what I ask others to do."² He was incumbent of Christ Church, Port Sydney, the mother church of northern Muskoka, 1876-77; priest-in-charge of St. Mary's, Aspdin, Muskoka, 1875-89, from which base he built twenty-two churches in the surrounding countryside. On August 15, 1886, the new stone church of St. Mary's was dedicated, the gift of an English lady made on condition that coloured stoles, frontals, vases, candlesticks, crosses and the eastward position be employed.³

The experience of English slum priests was invaluable in providing the wisdom and inspiration for Canadian high churchmen who were being brought face to face with the social strains being imposed by increasing industrialization and consequent urbanization. Workers, alienated from rural origins, encountered the deep spiritual anxieties of self-worth created by mechanization and factory routine. John Ambrose of Digby had been filled with admiration when on a visit to England in the winter of 1878-79⁴ he witnessed the work of the clergy led by the Reverend Charles Lowder at St. Peter's, London Docks. In January 1898 the Reverend Robert W. R. Dolling

1

E. Newton-White, Gillmore of Algoma: Archdeacon and Tramp (n.p., n.d.), pp. 15-76, passim.

2

Our Work, January 1883, p. 11, letter of the Reverend W. Crompton.

3

An Account of St. Mary's Church, Aspdin, Muskoka, Ontario, Diocese of Algoma (n.p., n.d.), pp. 1-4.

4

Our Work, January 1882, p. 23, letter of the Reverend J. Ambrose.

visited St. John's, New Brunswick, and conducted a mission, preaching daily at St. John the Baptist Mission Church from January 27 to February 5. A former helper of his at St. Agatha's, Landport, William Hays, had come to New Brunswick, received ordination, and was working as assistant to J. M. Davenport.¹ Davenport, who called Dolling "a wonderful example for our imitation," had himself worked in the slums as curate at St. Peter's, Vauxhall, London. At the Mission Church he found it difficult to build up a large congregation because "it is mostly of a floating description, for no sooner is a person confirmed and entered on the Communicants Roll than they go off to some larger commercial centre . . . and join another Church."² He was, however, fortunate in having a loyal body of solid middle-class trustees to support him.

The Canadian Anglo-Catholic clergy appealed to the upper middle classes for their support in the mission to the poor. In Ottawa, Thomas Bedford-Jones at St. Alban's had direct contact with the chief politicians and civil servants. Under his encouragement Sir John A. Macdonald became an Anglican, making his first communion on March 3, 1875. Bedford-Jones³ approved of the prime minister's fast before receiving the sacrament. The Canadian Churchman thought the lower middle classes were less amenable to having their consciences pricked.⁴ They had "neither poverty nor riches, but they are hard and intolerant to the one, and suspicious and intolerant of the other."

¹ C. E. Osborne, The Life of Father Dolling (London: George Newnes, 1895), p. 162.

² J. M. Davenport to P. Owen-Jones, January 21, 1907, NJ.

³ Bedford-Jones, "St. Alban's, Ottawa, Its Beginning," p. 21.

⁴ Canadian Churchman, November 10, 1869.

The Church Chimes criticized the evangelicals for their inertia in doing anything about the poor.¹ The Dominion Churchman made similar allegations.²

The evangelical movement was little concerned with the masses, and indeed tended to alienate them.

The chief new stimulus to the total Anglican missionary effort in Canada derived from the Tractarian revival of religious communities. They were important, on the one hand, for a purely religious or evangelical mission and, on the other, for the first faint stirrings of a social mission. During the 1840's in England sisterhoods, inspired by Newman and Pusey, were established at Park Village West and Wantage. T. T. Carter founded a sisterhood at Clewer in 1851, to be followed in 1855 by J. M. Neale's Society of St. Margaret, East Grinstead. As was to be the case in Canada the communities mainly began as small groups of ladies under vow helping a rector with his parochial work. They enabled him to extend the scope of his ministrations, to help to fill the gaps of social need. They encountered much prejudice but were fortunate in having the episcopal support of Samuel Wilberforce. Male religious orders proved more difficult to form. The communities of Newman at Littlemore and of F. W. Faber at Elton collapsed with their leaders' secessions. R. M. Benson's Society of St. John the Evangelist (the Cowley Fathers) founded at Oxford in 1866 was the first stable men's order. Such religious communities for men and women combined the romantic and devotional with the practical and pastoral.

¹ Church Chimes, April 1875. See supra, p. 238.

² Dominion Churchman, January 27, 1876. Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church, p. 291, comments that evangelicals seldom developed a social conscience which would allow them to "muck in" with the poor. They made a division between religion and the matters of this world.

The later development of urban pressures in Canada helped slow the introduction of religious communities wishing to alleviate poverty and hardship. When they were established the good results that they had accomplished in England counted to their credit.¹ In October 1872 the Reverend Charles Forrest of Merrickville, Ontario, a former pupil of Jasper Nicolls, told a diocesan conference of the desirability of sisterhoods.² "We need connecting-links between the Clergy and certain classes of our people." It was difficult to make contact with the young, the sick and the poor. There was no reason to think that such church work should be restricted to men for women were especially sensitive to bodily or mental suffering. Voluntary associations of ladies were unsatisfactory since "they are not naturalized to the work, are under no systematic guidance, are bound to no obligations to obedience or continual service, and are taken chiefly from the upper grades of society." The atmosphere of the drawing room found little acceptance among the poor. Nuns, however, had separated themselves from worldly pleasures and prospects and the miserable and suffering were able to receive them affectionately. Moreover, the establishment of sisterhoods would provide an admirable machinery for educational purposes, inexpensive and altogether churchly in its character.

The earliest attempt to begin a religious order for women in Canada was that of W. S. Darling in 1872. He made enquiries in England as to how he should proceed from Dr. R. F. Littledale who was an authority on the English communities. He went over to England and tried to persuade some sisters to

¹

E.g., Church Observer, October 20, 1869.

²

Proceedings of the Conference of the Clergy Held after a Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Ontario in Bishop's Chapel, Ottawa, October 22-25, 1872 (Ottawa: A. S. Woodburn, 1872), pp. 35-41.

come to Toronto, one of his visits being to St. Saviour's Priory. Darling discovered that none of the English sisterhoods was able to spare any of its members.¹ Encouraged by Bishop Bethune, however, who was sent a copy of the form used in receiving sisters by Bishop Horatio Potter of New York,² Darling formed the Sisterhood of St. John the Baptist in 1874. The convent was situated on Elizabeth Street, Toronto, where the nuns, including a Sister Sarah, held Bible classes and mothers' meetings, made wafer-bread and washed altar linen. These were very much functions concerned with church organization and maintenance. By 1876 seven had entered the community to try their vocation and four remained. "Many write. Some who would come, cannot. Some who could, will not. Some are willing but not suitable."³ The Sisterhood of St. John the Baptist soon disappeared, possibly with Darling's resignation from Holy Trinity in 1881. Perhaps the busy sisters had not learned to live together under rule and build up their spiritual life. Bishop Binney referred to the complaint that sisterhoods were so active that they had insufficient time for prayer, the real source of power.⁴

Darling's community, however, did provide experience and inspiration for the founding of the Sisterhood of St. John the Divine. After private and public meetings in 1881 and 1882 held by the Reverend O. P. Ford, the

¹ A Memoir of the Life and Work of Hannah Grier Coome (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 1-8. (Hereinafter referred to as Hannah Grier Coome).

² H. Potter to A. N. Bethune, January 26, 1874, OTA, Bethune Papers (1835-78).

³ Third Report of the Sisterhood of St. John the Baptist. Quoted in St. John's Messenger, 15, No. 2 (1933), 37.

⁴ Binney, Charge, 1884, p. 14.

Reverend J. Langtry, Provost Whitaker, Mrs. A. J. Broughall and Rose Grier, principal of the Bishop Strachan School for Girls, a general committee was set up to secure funds for a new order for women in Toronto. Miss Grier's sister, Hannah Grier Coome, a widow who had lived in England where she had attended the high church services at St. John the Divine, Kennington, was planning to join the Wantage sisters. After meeting O. P. Ford, however, she left in June 1882 for the Sisters of Saint Mary, Peekskill, New York, in order to be trained for the task of being superior of the projected community. She performed ward and operating room duties at Trinity Infirmary, New York, worked at St. Mary's School, and at a home for "fallen" girls.

On September 8, 1884, Mrs. Coome was professed as Mother Hannah for the Sisterhood of St. John the Divine and was by September 14 living with Sister Aimée in a small house on Robinson Street, in the parish of St. Matthias. The prime emphasis was upon the life of prayer. "The object of the Community is first, Personal Sanctification; second, Active Charity."¹ The sisters visited homes and provided free food. Their work involved a much greater philanthropic outreach than that of Darling's defunct sisterhood. Ogden Pulteney Ford who had spent 1883 at Cowley, Oxford, under Father Benson's supervision so that he could better direct the sisterhood was their first warden and chaplain. In 1885 the nuns established "St. John's Hospital" on the corner of Euclid Avenue and Robinson Street, the first hospital in Toronto to specialize in the care of women. A. H. Stanton of St.

¹ A Brief History of the Sisterhood of Saint John the Divine, Toronto and Willowdale, Ontario, 1884-1970 (n.p., 1970), p. 13.

Alban's, Holborn, and the Reverend Alfred Gurney of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, visited them. In the summer of 1885 Mother Hannah was at Moose Jaw nursing soldiers wounded in the North West Rebellion. In May 1889 she moved with three professed sisters, five novices and a postulant to a new convent and hospital on Major Street where until 1912 the community worked among the poor of Seaton Village, in the parish of St. Thomas. "Poverty at all times reigns in the village, and at this time is emphasized by the great depression in all businesses and trades."¹ Despite such projects as a dispensary for free medicines and the delivery of invalid dinners, the sisters could only scratch the surface of hardship.

In Montreal, the pattern of sisters being attached to high church parishes was repeated. At St. John the Evangelist Sisters Sarah (Sarah Watts Smith) and Alice of the American Community of the Holy Cross performed parochial work. In 1881 Sarah joined the Society of St. Margaret in Boston and returned with Sister Josephine to St. John's the following year. In May 1883 St. Margaret's Home for incurably sick women was opened.² During the smallpox epidemic of 1885 Sarah and Josephine, aided by other sisters from Boston, were put in charge of St. Saviour's Hospital, Montreal. St. Margaret's Nursery was opened on St. Urbain Street in 1887, having accommodation for twenty women and forty children, and was the origin of the Montreal Baby and Foundling Hospital. The sisters, however, lacked sufficient funds to maintain this venture for long.

Financial problems also plagued the sisterhood at St. John the Baptist

¹ St. John's Messenger, Advent 1893, pp. 6-7.

² St. Margaret's Home: Seventy-Five Years 1883-1958 (n.p., n.d.), pp. 1-27, passim.

Mission Church, St. John, New Brunswick, which began in 1891 through the efforts of Sister Paula (Mrs. J. V. Thurgar). She had been a valuable lay worker at the church prior to her departure to England in 1887 to be trained by the Community of the Holy Name, Malvern Link. She and other sisters from this community, Elizabeth, Eunice and Edith, lived in the wooden mission house beside St. John's. In a few years the nuns had to be withdrawn as there were insufficient funds to maintain them.

The Community of the Sisters of the Church which had been established in England by Emily Ayckbown in 1870 commenced Canadian work in 1891.

Sisters May and Frederica with two other sisters and eight orphans came to Toronto, first landing at Montreal where they were welcomed by Father Wood.¹ Their chief emphasis was upon education but they opened depots for new and second-hand clothing and mission houses in Toronto and Hamilton. They looked after many orphans from their Kilburn Home already in Canada and in their Toronto house provided a dormitory for them.² The sisters were well received and shopkeepers gave them discounts.

The founding of religious communities for men proved as difficult in Canada as it did in England. In 1879 O. P. Ford became priest-in-charge of Woodbridge and Vaughan. He was joined by two other clergy and they started to live a common life in the same house. They said the seven daily offices and kept a simple rule. When Ford returned from his year at Cowley in 1884 the men began holding their worship in a chapel located in the brick parsonage beside Woodbridge church. The community continued for two years

¹ A Valiant Victorian: The Life and Times of Mother Emily Ayckbown 1836-1909 of the Community of the Sisters of the Church (London: A. R. Mowbray 1964), pp. 117-18.

² Our Work, March 1891, pp. 98-100.

and then died. The expansion of the parish required too much work and Ford was preoccupied with the beginnings of the Sisterhood of St. John the Divine. Not until 1927 when the Cowley Fathers established their Canadian Province with its centre at Bracebridge, diocese of Algoma, did this country have its own Anglican monastic community.¹

The Society of St. John the Evangelist, however, after initial reverses began a mission house, in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1871.² From this centre and from England the fathers were able to play a vital part in conducting retreats and parish missions throughout Canada. The fact that they were itinerant in Canada at this time largely dictated that their energies be devoted to the task of spiritual renewal rather than the remedying of social ills. R. M. Benson had devoted much thought as to how missions could be most effective. He warned against the possibility of people being carried away by the romance of mission work without giving proper attention to the unglamorous effort involved.³ Benson did not expect easy results. "Disappointments are indeed only a practical name for life. . . . It is through disappointment that we attain to life eternal."⁴ He insisted on thorough preparation beforehand by incumbents. "A Mission

¹ St. John's Messenger, 15, No. 2 (1933), 38.

² R. C. Smith, The Cowley Fathers in America: The Early Years (n.p., n.d.), pp. 1-75, passim.

³ R. M. Benson to the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Oxford, Cowley St. John Parish Magazine, September 1871.

⁴ R. M. Benson to R. L. Page, Sunday after Ascension, 1896, SSJE, Benson Letters (1892-96).

Priest is really powerful in proportion to the corporate life of the community with which he is associated."¹

The Cowley Fathers conducted their first Canadian parish missions in 1871. Father S. W. O'Neill held a mission at Campobello July 23-30, while Father F. W. Puller was at Christ Church, St. Stephen, New Brunswick, celebrating daily communion, leading intercessions at noon, preaching sermons on death, sin, hell and atonement at 8:00 p.m., and instructing on such topics as baptism and confirmation at 9:00 p.m.² Benson, after journeying through the New Brunswick countryside speaking to workmen and lumbermen, joined O'Neill in Charlottetown. Together they conducted a mission at St. Peter's, Charlottetown, August 4-16.

Edmund Wood was impressed with the results of a mission held by the fathers at his church in the autumn of 1878. In a sermon he admitted to having had mixed feelings beforehand.³ "I feared experimentalizing with religion: I feared mere religious excitement which (when it had waned) might leave those who had been subjected to it, like those who use stimulants, in less spiritual vitality than they had before." Wood thought, also, that the parish had not been sufficiently prepared by prior visiting. Afterwards, however, he was delighted with what had been accomplished. The mission had filled the church for ten week-days with "young and old, rich and poor, gentle and simple." It had taught them the meaning and use of

¹ R. M. Benson, "Some Thoughts on Missions." Quoted in Cowley St. John Magazine, December 1887.

² Service register 1864-71, Christ Church, St. Stephen.

³ E. Wood, sermon, "After the Mission," 1878, MS, QMJ.

intercessory prayer, uncovered vocations to the ministry, forged links with the Society of St. John the Evangelist, and had removed misconceptions and prejudices, particularly concerning "the bugbear of confession." One conservative churchman had been surprised to find a religious like Father A. C. A. Hall preaching a gospel message he would have expected to hear in a Methodist church.

The retreats, quiet days and missions of the Cowley Fathers appealed to the widest range of society. In Ottawa during the late autumn of 1886 Father E. W. Osborne addressed 1700 men at the opera house, mostly civil service clerks.¹ During a mission at St. Matthias, Toronto, in 1887 Fathers A. C. A. Hall and H. M. Torbert led a procession through the streets to bring people in. At Perth, Ontario, early in 1899 Father E. W. Osborne held afternoon services on two Sundays for young women mainly employed in woollen mills. Afterwards, he conducted services for men "and I also went down one day at dinner time to the car shops of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and preached there."² There appears to have been little opposition on the part of low churchmen. The 1883 Halifax mission was an exception and had been preceded by rumblings of suspicion.³ The trouble centred on confession. Bishop Binney alluded to erroneous reports of a sermon by Father B. W. Maturin asserting that the preacher "ignored the elementary

¹ A. C. A. Hall to R. M. Benson, December 5, 1886. Quoted in Cowley St. John Parish Magazine, February 1887.

² E. W. Osborne to R. L. Page, January 22, 1899. Quoted in Cowley Evangelist, March 1899.

³ Davenport to Owen-Jones, January 21, 1907.

truth that God alone can forgive sins."¹ Binney elaborated upon the missionary's insistence that confessions were made directly to God, the priest being present as a witness and a helper. Private confession was by no means obligatory and was recommended as a remedial rather than a habitual practice. Binney demonstrated his support by coming to the cathedral three or four times a day during the mission.

The Cowley Fathers used the power of word and ritual in their religious mission to draw men to church. Beauty communicated spirituality. Anglo-Catholics increasingly emphasized the value of the arts in teaching people about God and in providing symbols of His immanence. They were at pains to rebut charges that appeals to the senses were effeminate, and therefore inferior.

"Now, why a man is less a man, I cannot for the life of me conceive, who has a soul appreciative of all beauty in art or nature; . . ."² Gothic architecture with its strong appeal to tradition provided the inspiration for devotion.

William Harris, brother of the well-known painter, while an apprentice architect in Halifax during the 1870's was also a member of the St. Luke's choir. On a choir picnic he had a vision of the boys singing in a large stone cathedral:

I firmly hope that the boys will always take a great interest in the idea of their membership of so old and sacred an institution as the Catholic Church; and that their choral services, both devotional as well as musical may ever be improving; and at some future time they may make the walls of a grand Cathedral ring with the praises of God. First come the worshippers, then shall the foundation stones be laid, and afterwards slowly and by degrees the lovely proportions of the beautiful fabric shall solemnly be reared and stand, with a sermon written upon every granite block, the lasting memorial of the devotion of God's people.³

1

H. Binney, Observations upon the Mission Held in the City of Halifax, November 11-22, 1883 (Halifax: George W. Baillie, 1883), p. 4.

2

Rouge et Noir, June 1882, pp. 8-9.

3

William Harris, Letter Book, n.d., MS in possession of the Reverend R. C. Tuck, his grandson.

Harris, ironically, was in later life to be denied the contract for All Saints Cathedral, Halifax, in favour of a New York firm of architects. His churches, however, in the early English style at such places as Crapaud, Milton, Souris and Indian River still account for one of Prince Edward Island's most characteristic charms.

Another means of communication which became more highly regarded for its didactic function in religious matters was the novel. The Reverend John Paterson Smyth, rector of St. George's, Montreal, commented upon the wide influence exerted by novel-reading upon morals and theology. The right book might serve as adviser, tutor, mentor, moralist and family chaplain.¹

Certainly the popular novel on account of its wide circulation could be more influential than a sermon once delivered from the pulpit. Such was the growth of religious fiction at the end of the nineteenth century that some wondered how soon there would be a glut upon the market and others considered that many of the novels published should have been issued as tracts.² Religious questions affecting the individual or society fascinated the Victorians. In They Two; or, Phases of Life in Eastern Canada Fifty Years Ago (1888) "Ex-Journalist" had one of the characters in her book declare that

she did not feel decided about the religious novel. Some of them left a good impression, and many of them were so weak as to leave none. So far as she herself was concerned, she had come to the conclusion that it was wisest for her to draw her religious instruction from the Bible and the pulpit, and her amusement from works like those of Dickens and Thackeray.³

¹ Canadian Magazine, 33 (1909), 417. ² Ibid., 23 (1904), 379-80.

³ They Two; or, Phases of Life in Eastern Canada, Fifty Years Ago, Written in 1875, by an Ex-Journalist (Montreal: Lovell, 1888), p. 83.

These remarks were made with tongue in cheek as They Two included many discussions of religious topics:

The influence of the Oxford Movement on the religious novel was very apparent in Canada and followed the same pattern as in England although at a slightly later date. Some novels took the opposition between high and low church as their main theme. For example, Committed to His Charge (1900) by Robina and Kathleen Macfarlane Lizars set in the parish of Slowford-on-the-Sluggard, probably Stratford, Ontario, describes the tensions between the high church party, generally bankers and non-Slowford people, and the old low church families who hate all changes proposed by the new rector, the Reverend Thomas Huntley.

The works of Henry Faulkner Darnell who was rector of St. John's, Canada East, 1861-83, and then incumbent of Zion Episcopal Church, Avon, New York, had a further purpose than entertainment. Among his novels were Philip Hazelbrook; or, the Junior Curate. A Study of English Clerical and Social Life (1886), and Flossy; or, a Child of the People (1889). They were of a genre of religious propaganda that had flourished in England in the middle of the century. In his preface to Philip Hazelbrook Darnell claims that the plot "was undertaken with no view to discriminate between church-members and non-conformists. . . . Intelligent and liberal members of all religious bodies may peruse every page of it and find nothing to wound their susceptibilities." It was an attempt to provide a faithful portrait of the Church of England and describe the efforts she was making to encourage better feeling between all classes of society. Darnell, however, derided those works of non-Anglicans which dealt with his church "in that flippant and superficial

style which so commonly covers ignorance of detail."¹ Philip Hazelbrook is not outspokenly polemical but fully explores the topics of community life in the clergy-house, church architecture, the style of the altar, the cross, the reredos, clerical celibacy, and the wearing of the cassock. The book is intended as a defence against charges of popery. It portrays the lives of three different clergy. Philip Hazelbrook is the model and energetic junior curate. The Honourable Walter Palgrave is the senior curate, wearing a cassock on and off duty, although it was apparent to the parishioners of St. Swithin's that their clergy were engaged in so much practical work as to make attire of minor importance. He is an ascetic and will not drink sherry. Archibald Mintern, the rector, is a gentlemanly scholar and a devoted parish priest. He is not hyper-ecclesiastical or a celibate, his only love having died early, but he does accept constant gifts of cassocks, a garment he found monastic and foreign.

Soon novels of the type written by Darnell gave way to those which reflected the impact of higher criticism, comparative religion and science, particularly the evolutionary theories of Darwin and Spencer. They are opposed to denominational squabbling, preoccupied with larger philosophical problems, are vague about statements of actual belief and centre upon a hero engaged in divesting himself of old beliefs and searching for the new.

The emphasis of Catholic evangelicalism upon removing misunderstandings and demonstrating the social relevance of primitive doctrine meant that Anglo-Catholics were greatly interested in the practical questions of education. There could be no divorce between education and religion. Bishop

¹ H. F. Darnell, Philip Hazelbrook; or, the Junior Curate. A Study of English Clerical and Social Life (Buffalo: Sherill and Co., 1886), pp. i-v.

Courtney of Nova Scotia preaching at the Bishop's College, Lennoxville, jubilee in 1895, spoke of the founders' object of "providing an education which should be saturated with Christianity, and that, distinctively Church of England Christianity, as distinguished from the Roman on the one hand, and each and all of the Protestant denominations on the other. . . ."¹

This, however, was hardly an exclusively high church viewpoint. What high churchmen wanted was religious education which would teach the beliefs of their particular school. After the secularization of King's College, Toronto, they knew it would be foolish to expect support from the state. They had to rely upon their own institutions to provide the future leadership for their church.

At Bishop's College the students learned of the Catholic nature of the church, studied the Greek and Latin Fathers and as pupils of Jasper Nicolls had direct contact with the spirit of the Oxford Movement. The library was well stocked with Tractarian writings.² Bishop Dunn fully realized how much the tone of his diocese depended upon clerical training and was at the university once a term to have a private interview with each divinity student and request him to read, sing and preach in his presence. Such visits were looked forward to with pleasure.³ Some of the young men, however, thought the religious regimen too taxing. "C. W. M." attacked compulsory attendance at chapel services: "You may cause a man to go to religious services, but

¹
Mitre, July 1895, p. 92.

²
D. C. Masters, "Bishop's University and the Ecclesiastical Controversies of the Nineteenth Century (1845-1878)," Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, 1951, 4.

³
Mitre, October 1893, p. 9.

you cannot make him pray."¹

In Nova Scotia Professor Sumichrast at King's College, Windsor, thought the divinity students showed little evidence of their vocation. He complained to Bishop Binney and the governors in 1872 that despite the claim of the university calendar that prayer was unceasingly offered there the students had been seen "in broad day reeling and cursing through the streets of Windsor." Binney replied that the small numbers and poor morale of the divinity students owed much to the differences of opinion unhappily existing in the church. The fact, however, that both high and low criticized the professor of theology probably meant that he was not far from a happy mean.² Under President Dart standards in the divinity faculty were raised. There were choral services, surpliced choir and Helmore's plainsong settings in the new Hensley Memorial Chapel opened in 1877.

In Toronto Trinity College continued to represent a high but non-ritualistic position. "A Resident Graduate" informed "Evangelical Graduate" that Provost Whitaker gave no hint of extreme doctrines and that there were no "various turnings at the Sunday services," only bowing at the name of Jesus and turning to the east at the creed.³ Joseph Gander of the Colonial and Continental Church Society refused to let his son Charles go to the "Church College" in Toronto and said he was needed too much at home to let

¹ Ibid., May 1899, p. 126.

² King's College, Windsor, N.S., Board of Governors. Investigation of the Recent Charges Brought by Prof. Sumichrast against King's College, Windsor, with Letters, Reports and Evidence (Halifax: James Bowes and Sons, 1872), pp. 13, 33.

³ Globe, January 18, 1874.

him go.¹ Trinity's reputation was far more extreme than the reality. The presence of Wycliffe College and the resulting tensions tended to have a polarizing effect upon the popular imagination. Some students, however, did enjoy being more controversially high church than their professors. The Trinity magazine remarked: "Note the irreverence of the Ritualistic 'Tug' [colleger] who makes light of solemn matters by wearing his cassock to chapel under his gown, in order to excite a theological discussion."²

The most direct application of Tractarian principles in education was in the area of secondary schools. In England Nathaniel Woodard's Public Schools for the Middle Classes (1851) stressed the importance of having a strong, educated middle class defending the established church. He proposed large public boarding schools to be staffed mainly by clergy, including particularly chaplains who were non-academic "because we think a greater degree of confidence will be inspired by a Clergyman who has nothing to do with teaching and punishing; . . ."³ The nurturing of souls Woodard regarded as of more worth than the benefits of a liberal education. Hurstpierpoint, his foundation, neglected the sciences, and artistic subjects like painting and handicrafts. The chaplain, independent of the headmaster (and in practice often in opposition to him), was to be a friend to the boys, interview them at least twice a quarter and hear their confessions which were

¹ Report of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1876, p. 38. Quoted in H. A. Seegmiller, "The Colonial and Continental Church Society in the Atlantic Provinces" (unpublished D.D. dissertation, Huron College, 1967), p. 387.

² Rouge et Noir, February 1882, p. 13.

³ N. Woodard, Public Schools for the Middle Classes. A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chichester (London: Joseph Masters, 1851), p. 24.

voluntary but encouraged.¹ Thomas Arnold had been as much a proponent of clerically dominated schools as Woodard but did not try to direct the religion of his charges as closely.

In Canada high churchmen championed the right of all Protestant denominations to have their own separate schools. John Stannage claimed that national education led to infidelity. "The very fact that no recognized religion of any kind is received or taught in the schools, and that even an atheist teacher can be licensed, . . . , is sufficient to prove the infidel tendencies of the whole thing."² O. P. Ford asserted at the Church of England congress of 1884, held in Toronto that Anglicans had a right to separate schools and that otherwise they could not secure religious instruction for their children.³

One solution was seen to lie in the church having its own private schools. King's College, Windsor, had a boys' school, established in 1788, as did Bishop's College, Lennoxville, with its origins in the foundation of Lucius Doolittle in 1836. Both schools shared the personnel and hence the theological colour of their university parent bodies. In 1862 the Reverend W. A. Johnson, dissatisfied with public education, began teaching his three sons in his house at Weston. Other boys soon joined and classes were moved to the deserted Musson tavern. Johnson applied to Trinity College to be

¹ K. E. Kirk, The Story of the Woodard Schools (London: Abbey Press, 1952), pp. 82-84.

² Canadian Churchman, December 16, 1863.

³ Authorized Report of Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Church of England in Canada. Held in the City of Toronto, Ont., Commencing October 14, 1884 (Hamilton: Spectator Printing Company, 1884), p. 74.

permitted to establish a preparatory school for the university, and on May 1, 1865, Trinity Collège School opened with nine boys dressed in Eton suits and top hats.¹ Charles H. Badgley, educated at Upper Canada College and Queen's College, Oxford, was appointed its first headmaster, staying until 1870 when he left to be rector of Bishop's College School, Lennoxville. Badgley directly brought Woodard's influence to Weston as he had been on the staff of St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, from January to December 1864.² Trinity College School adopted its motto, "Beati mundo corde." Badgley set the tone of the school with his ideas of discipline and schoolboy honour; pupils were taught to act like upper middle class gentlemen. "How the Head's black eyes would strike terror into us! That icy glitter."³ Johnson taught French, drawing, painting and religious subjects. He annoyed the headmaster by abstracting pupils like Osler to join him and James Bovell, the school doctor, in collecting specimens for microscopic examination. Johnson's presence was removed when the school with sixty boys in attendance migrated to Port Hope in 1868. Its clerical and high church character, however, remained. The Reverend Charles J. Bethune was headmaster 1870-91 and 1893-99, and the school under his influence educated three bishops (C. P. Anderson, L. W. B. Broughall and F. Du Moulin) and an archbishop (R. J. Renison). It also remained very English. The boys played cricket and rugby football and supplemented their diet in the "tuck."

¹ A. H. Humble, The School on the Hill; Trinity College School, 1865-1965 (Port Hope, Ontario: Trinity College School, 1965), pp. 1-48, passim.

² Hurst Johnian, 6 (1863-64), and 7 (1864-65).

³ P. Perry's recollections, Trinity University Review, June-July 1902, p. 110.

Like Johnson's school the origins of three important boys' schools were parochial. Edmund Wood began taking in pupils at St. John the Evangelist in 1861 with the aim of giving them an Anglican education and of supplementing his small stipend.¹ In 1866 the school moved to St. Urbain Street where it catered to the sons of those prominent in Montreal's civil and military circles. It developed into a choir school and this became its chief aspect as the number of pupils declined owing to the growth of private education in Montreal during the 1860's and 1870's. Financial problems arose as Wood admitted good but impecunious singers. He was headmaster from 1861 to 1879, but remained a very strong influence during the tenure of the Reverend Arthur French, 1879-99.² Under a subsequent headmaster, Charles Fosbery, the school moved in 1909 from St. Urbain to become Lower Canada College.

Another parochial school run by high churchmen was St. Peter's School, Charlottetown, the senior department for boys opening on January 7, 1872, and a junior school for boys and girls starting on October 15, 1875. The boys, as at St. John the Evangelist, sang in the choir. The senior school was a feeder for King's College, Windsor, and stayed open until 1907 when it closed for want of a sufficient staff. It was remarkable for the number of clergy it produced. One of the students, Walter Cotton, who graduated in 1895 became a monk of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, founded by Charles Gore. Thomas Hunt who graduated in 1882 was later lecturer in Hebrew and divinity at Trinity College, Toronto, and then professor of

¹ French, ed., "Matters of Parochial Interest," pp. 3, 9, and 149-57.

² A. Caverhill, "A History of St. John's School and Lower Canada College" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1961), pp. 6-35, passim.

divinity at King's College, Windsor.¹

Church schools had an advantage over secular ones in that they could rely upon a supply of low-paid clergy to run them. The Davenport School opened on September 8, 1891, at the Portland Manor, St. John, New Brunswick, with forty pupils, seventeen of whom were boarders. The Reverend F. F. Sherman, assistant at the Mission Church, was headmaster, a kindly man much interested in sports and games. The school, however, did not pay its way and had to be subsidized by Father Davenport until he was obliged to close it after Easter 1899.²

As far as education for girls was concerned the most notable church school which was not run by a religious order was the Bishop Strachan School, Toronto. It opened at "Pinehurst" in August 1867 and moved to Wykeham Hall on College Street in 1870. It was clearly under high church influence. John Langtry was a founder and the first chaplain. He taught mathematics and was called "big, beloved Father John." Dean Grasett and other members of the Church Association refused to teach at Wykeham Hall because they thought it was in the hands of ritualists. During Rose Grier's tenure as headmistress, 1876-99, the school blossomed. As Mother Hannah Grier Coome was her sister there were strong connections with the Sisterhood of St. John the Divine and three pupils joined the community.³

¹ The Jubilee of St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1869-1919 (n.p., 1919), pp. 25-28.

² M. L. Keith, "The Davenport School." Typewritten MS, n.d., in the possession of the Reverend J. N. Marks, St. John.

³ K. W. Clarke, "The Story of the Bishop Strachan School," Bishop Strachan School Association Bulletin, 37 (1949), 20-25.

Church schools for girls owed much to sisterhoods. The Community of the Sisters of the Church concentrated upon educational work in Canada.

"Religious schools are the great desideratum in a country where the public instruction is entirely secularized, and many parents find themselves forced (*faute de mieux*) to send their children to Romanist schools, where their love for the Church is lost."¹ The sisters established St. Mildred's School on Walmer Road, Toronto, and a school in Hamilton in 1891. By December of that year the school in Toronto had seventy-four pupils and the one in Hamilton eighty-one, mainly girls and a few small boys. The atmosphere of a religious order certainly influenced them. One girl was reported to have been asked by her brother to tear a sheet out of her exercise book, at which a boy of seven nearby said: ". . . you mustn't do that; it would crucify our Lord again."²

The Sisters of St. John the Divine were approached through the Reverend J. C. Roper of St. Thomas Church to undertake the task of running the Bishop Bethune College for Girls, Oshawa, which was in financial difficulties. This they performed from February 1893 to June 1932. On February 9, 1893, three apprehensive girls drew up in an ancient bus but were charmed by the sisters' reorganization of the school and their fear of "'that awful garb' soon subsided, though our manners and customs continued to be a source of amusement and astonishment." The pupils disliked most rising at 6:00 a.m. and having to eat their breakfast in silence. The curriculum was a lady-like combination of non-scientific subjects with an

¹. Our Work, October 1890, p. 367.

² Ibid., August 1893, p. 291.

emphasis on divinity taught by James Talbot, rector of St. George's, Oshawa.¹

The education offered by the Anglican church in Canada was very much directed towards the middle classes who wanted it and could pay for it. Through the education of people who were going to be in positions of authority the future of the Church of England in Canada would be assured. Above all, the children in the church schools had their consciences made sensitive to the needs of others, especially the poor. It was they who were going to provide the volunteer help for countless agencies for ameliorating social hardship. F. D. Maurice criticized the Tractarians in England for being too much identified with the aristocracy and landed gentry, too "chivalric and feudal."² It was the case in Canada that Anglo-Catholic clergy and laity related best to their own class. They saw society in a fixed and hierarchic form with their own function as paternalistic. They were not about to ally themselves with the workers to foment revolution and turn the social order upside-down. Their approach was highly individualistic. They dealt with poverty as they found it in their own rather unorganized ways and this meant that they frequently only scratched the surface of problems which were too big for them to solve. The slum priests, however, did not lose sight of their religious frame of reference, which is the reason they were concerned with individual sins and the task of converting souls to the things of God supported by church and sacrament.

¹ Hannah Grier Coome, pp. 153-79, passim.

² Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church, pp. 318-19.

CONCLUSION

The Oxford Movement in Canada was remarkable for the diffuse nature of its influence. It touched upon and permeated many aspects of Canadian life. Patterns of worship were transformed with the renewed emphasis upon the importance of the Eucharist and the desire that ceremonial be performed with dignity and beauty. The theological significance of the sacraments was re-evaluated in light of a fresh appreciation of the Church of England as a divine institution, spiritually independent, and in continuous line from the apostles. The test of primitiveness was thoroughly applied, opening up a new awareness of history and historical development. In the arts the concern with reverence initiated a revival of the Gothic style of architecture, seen in Wills' Cathedrals in Fredericton and Montreal, and a rediscovery of plainsong. The model of Catholicity combined with the sense that the apostolic nature of the church should be presented afresh to the people led to the re-establishment of religious communities as part of a mission to the middle classes and the poor. The power of the Oxford Movement in Canada owed much to the strong episcopal support it was able to command. This provided it with the apparatus and authority for extending its scope over so wide an area.

The ideas which flowed from Tractarianism had the dynamic force capable of development and adaptability to new times. The original reassertion of the church as Christ's Body developed into a remoulding of current forms of worship which understood these as relevant to a social

mission. What began as abstract and philosophical in nature became a movement deeply concerned with the part played by the Spirit in the world in the ongoing and cumulative work of human redemption.

In Canada a study of the impact of the Oxford Movement provides data for a re-examination of previously held assumptions. First, it is commonly believed that little theology was produced by Canadian Anglicans. Studies on the period have not generally indicated any wealth of such writings. Yet Dewar, Medley, Fulford, Whitaker and Kingdon all made important contributions. Although a pioneering community provided scant encouragement or leisure for academic pursuits, particular circumstances pressing in upon the church did elicit theological responses of note. It is true, however, that such theology was hardly indigenous or specifically Canadian.¹ It was heavily dependent upon English resources and readership.

Second, it has been said that the Oxford Movement did not have a profound effect upon the laity who were more concerned with social obligation than religious conviction.² It was, however, the laity who were behind the founding of such "advanced" churches as St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown, and the Mission Church, St. John, and who provided the essential continuity of support to make sure that they survived through difficult times.

Other generally held opinions have been found wanting. The Irish clergy in the nineteenth century have been seen not to be exclusively low church

¹ G. R. Cragg, "The Present Position and Future Prospects of Canadian Theology," Canadian Journal of Theology, 1 (1955), 6.

² Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, p. 124.

and hostile to the Oxford Movement. John Travers Lewis, Thomas Bedford-Jones, Edward Denroche, James Hudson and John Burke were all high churchmen, although of Irish origins. Irish churchmanship was not uniform but diverse. Again, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel did not send out missionaries to Canada of a single high church colour. They embraced both a Benjamin Cronyn and a James Hudson.

It cannot be denied that some of the consequences of the Oxford Movement were harmful and that the Tractarians are open to criticism. Their reassertion of the principles and prerogatives of the church sometimes made them proud, autocratic, fiercely individualistic, awkward and uncharitable. W. A. Johnson feuded with his parishioners, John Medley was brusque and tactless, and James Hudson refused to bury an unbaptized child. Episcopal and priestly pretensions were emphasized to the detriment of co-operation with the laity as equals and the establishment of more democratic methods of church government. The Tractarians pictured Canadian society in an essentially hierarchic and static way, based upon an idealized view of England to suit their own conservatism. Their rapport was with the upper middle classes who would best keep the church and the social structure safe and secure. The face that the Oxford Movement presented was frequently one set against change, progress and scientific advance.

Disruption and division among Anglicans was an immediate consequence of Tractarianism. Party warfare of the 1860's and 1870's, in particular, diverted the energies of the church to bickering about matters of outward ceremonial. The Catholic evangelical emphasis upon mission was delayed. Moreover, much rancour remained, often for a generation. Percy Pope, worshipper at St. Paul's, Charlottetown, writing in 1906, still was highly

critical of the cleavage that St. Peter's had caused on Prince Edward Island. "The bitterness and party spirit that was inevitably engendered soon extended to the country parishes and the result was to paralyze diocesan effort and to replace Catholicity by Congregationalism."¹

Some of the battles over ritualism appear superficial and hardly relevant to real problems. Disputes over stoles, altar lights, candles and incense often do not seem very edifying. It is, however, too easy to lose sight of the lax and lifeless condition of the church against which the Tractarians were fighting. There were also doctrinal issues of consequence involved. Evangelicals opposed ritualism because they disliked the high sacramental theology and exalted view of the church which lay behind it. It constituted a "sacerdotalism" which led only to Rome. In Canada neither Wood nor Darling went as far in their innovations as Anglo-Catholics in England. Both men employed ritual in a clearly defined context of what the church stood for and the importance of her mission.

The chief expressed reason for suspicion and hostility towards the Oxford Movement was its supposed approximation to Roman Catholicism. The Tracts were interpreted by their extreme critics as a popish plot to make the Church of England Roman Catholic. The crises of the Anglican secessions to Rome and Papal Aggression, English events, orchestrated the pitch and volume of the opposition. They gave shape and expression to Canadian fears of what effect a papist majority in Lower Canada might have upon the religious and political framework of a country developing towards

¹

D. A. MacKinnon and A. B. Warburton, eds., Past and Present of Prince Edward Island Embracing a Concise Review of Its Early Settlement, Development and Present Conditions (Charlottetown: B. F. Bowen and Co., 1906), p. 277.

nationhood. The Tracts often were not read before Anglicans ventured to comment upon them and therefore could the better provide a focus for general uneasiness concerning Roman Catholicism.

The position of the Church of England in Canada was far from secure. She was threatened by competition from other denominations; by financial problems and by divisions within. There was also a deeper angst about the very future of Christianity itself. Rationalism, atheism, materialism, industrialization, capitalism and scientific progress were disturbing imponderables. Anglicans complained of growing infidelity and of an increasing worship of mammon.¹ If any one thing threatened the church more than others it was change because the church represented an appeal to conservative forces. Many Anglicans thought that the Georgian church would last for ever. The Oxford Movement was susceptible of conflicting and confusing interpretations by contemporaries. On the one hand its appeal to the past represented an opportunity for a romantic escape from distressing reality. For Medley Tractarianism meant security, comfort and continuity with the stable institutions of English society. The cathedral at Fredericton was the outward symbol of this state of mind. On the other hand for people less susceptible to the romantic and aesthetic the Oxford Movement was distressing because it threatened change by moving the Church of England towards Rome and by introducing forms and ceremonies strange to ear and eye. It was a frightening deviation from the norm.

On a sociological level, any threat to the stability of the Church of England menaced the established social order. Here again the Oxford

¹ E.g., Evangelical Churchman, January 4, 1877.

Movement could be understood in conflicting ways. Its priestly and academic Sitz im Leben did not promise a revolution. In its second-generation missionary phase the movement held out the prospect of the middle classes being educated as bulwarks of the church and of the poor being kept safe from discontent through pastoral ministrations. A sense of legitimacy was given to the social order which promised cohesion and unity. Yet the aspects of Tractarianism which meant change inevitably embraced social change.

Strachan's bid for an establishment was contrary to the strong anti-establishment prejudices of many Tractarians. A wedge was about to be driven through the old alliance of Toryism and Anglicanism, the foundation of the Family Compact. In its later phase in England the Oxford Movement flirted with radical movements such as socialism and pacifism and this caused alarm that Canadian Anglo-Catholics might move in the same direction. They did not, but the fears remained that they would.

In looking at the Oxford Movement in Canada one is brought face to face with the relationship between what is Canadian and what is from outside foreign sources. These various influences exist in a dynamic creative tension. Strong links have been demonstrated between Canadian and English Tractarianism. The newness of many clergy to Canada meant a direct application of Tractarian ideas. Fulford knew Pusey and Newman, Medley was the friend of Keble and Pusey. Great similarities exist between the progress of the movement in both Canada and England, particularly in the distinction between its first and second phases. There is also an important United States influence to consider. Medley had close contacts with American Tractarianism through the Church of the Advent, Boston.

The Oxford Movement in Canada, however, did have distinctive features which marked its progress. It was supported in the first place by a high churchmanship which had been strengthened by the strong opposition of other denominations to Anglican claims. In England the development of Tractarianism certainly owed much to the growth of nonconformity and secularism which underlined the ambiguous position of a state church in an increasingly pluralistic society. In Canada, however, the position of the Church of England was even more tenuous and uncertain. Divergent responses were made to such difficulties. English Tractarians toyed with disestablishment because they thought that an independent church standing upon her own divine authority would be more effective, while in Canada there was a determined effort to secure a state connection in the quest for security. The failure of the Canadian bid for establishment led to further important differences between English and Canadian Tractarianism. Canadian high churchmen were not prompted by disgust with the union between church and state to secede to Rome. In Canada, as a consequence, only two clergy of note have been discovered to have joined the Roman Catholic church, Edmund Maturin and Finlow Alexander. An independent church also necessitated its having its own governing structure, a synodical government approximating to that in the United States but unlike England. Certain other factors were influential in the special development of Canadian Tractarianism. Roman Catholicism was much stronger than in England. This had the effect of making the Romanizing tendencies of the Tracts more odious and of inhibiting the adoption of ritualistic practices by high churchmen. The episcopal bench was markedly high church and gave the Oxford Movement its authority

and power. There was little need for Anglo-Catholics to be defiant or excessive. Moreover, the fact that Canada was not as economically developed as England made for lesser emphasis on ritualism. The more simple conditions of the frontier persisted.¹

The tension between English and Canadian aspects of Tractarian influence is paralleled by a tension between the evangelical and Catholic constituents of the Oxford Movement. Both Brilioth in his Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement (1934) and Voll in his Catholic Evangelicalism (1963) have in their different ways pointed to the debt that Tractarianism owed evangelicalism. Jasper Nicolls, W. S. Darling and Hibbert Binhey were all from evangelical backgrounds and training. J. C. Edghill and Thomas Bedford-Jones both made the point of calling themselves Catholic evangelicals, and can be seen as contributing to the evangelical cause. At the end of the nineteenth century it was becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish an evangelical from an Anglo-Catholic. High churchmanship for its part helped to transform low churchmanship to an evangelical churchmanship which took church and sacraments seriously. The earlier controversies had encouraged through mutual reaction the growth of both parties which were now coming together. Trinity College had inspired the founding of Wycliffe while the Church Association provoked W. S. Darling into further innovations at Holy Trinity. High churchmen always themselves disapproved of being regarded as members of a party. They were of the church and also very individualistic.

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See discussion of the frontier thesis in N. K. Clifford, "Religion and the Development of Canadian Society: An Historiographical Analysis," Church History, 38 (1969), 506-11.

The Oxford Movement helped to revive Canadian Anglicanism and remove the lethargy into which the old low churchmanship had fallen. Church services were more attractive, lively and devotional, although the general introduction of advanced ceremonial was impeded by financial stringency, evangelical opposition and the fear of Roman Catholicism. A clearer understanding that the church was of divine origin and that its tradition went back to the apostles was brought to churchmen, who thereby gained a stronger feeling of identity and purpose. The concept, also, that the Anglican communion was a branch of the Catholic church was an important factor in fostering ecumenism. In its government the church gained more confidence and security through the establishment of synods to meet the problems posed by independence, although the formation of the General Synod was delayed by party disputes. Such quarrels may have delayed the church's social mission, but the Tractarian concern with pastoral work and education overcame financial difficulties, promoting the founding of schools, universities, and religious communities, which have made a lasting contribution to Canadian life. These institutions provided a solid basis for a philanthropic mission to the poor, embracing countless good works which the Tractarians liked to hide from others through "reserve." But in religious terms the Oxford Movement provided above all a new genuine experience of God. While Tractarianism was caught up in the romantic and mystical it was at the same time assertive of God's immanence. God was made man in Jesus Christ and was active in church, sacrament and world. He was working out His plan through history in which the via media of the Anglican church was a special instrument.

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