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Parish-Church Cathedrals, 1836–1931: Some Problems and their Solution

by P. S. MORRISH

Traditionally scholars distinguish English Anglican cathedrals of 'old' foundation and those of 'new', but since Henry VIII a further category has arisen comprising those established in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to serve newly created dioceses. These are often referred to as parish-church cathedrals because they mostly remained parish churches even after their elevation.[1] Their new status raised various architectual and organisational problems, and this essay

CA = Church Assembly; *CACCR* = CA Commission on Cathedrals, *Report*, London 1927; *CCC* = *Chronicle of Canterbury Convocation*; *CCR* = Church Congress, *Report*; Ch. Comm. = Church Commissioners, London; SCA = Southwark Cathedral Archives (Southwark Local History Library, MS 396); TD&C = Truro Dean and Chapter Archives (Cornwall County Record Office, Truro); WDA = Wakefield Diocesan Archives (West Yorkshire Joint Archive Service, Wakefield office, MS D.3)

I am most grateful to the owners and custodians of archives used for this paper; successive footnotes reveal their identity.

[1] The Cathedrals Measure 1963 (sect. 52) defines a 'parish-church cathedral' as one which is not a dean-and-chapter cathedral, but the phrase appears older in common parlance. These modern foundations comprise: Ripon (authorised in 1836); Manchester (1836, revised 1847); St Albans (1875); Truro (1876); Liverpool, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Southwell and Wakefield (1878); Birmingham and Southwark (1905); Chelmsford, St Edmundsbury and Ipswich, and Sheffield (1913); Bradford and Coventry (1918); Blackburn, Derby, Guildford and Portsmouth (1924), and Leicester (1925). Also, but not considered here, are two in the disestablished Church in Wales: Monmouth (1921), and Swansea and Brecon (1923). These dates must be treated cautiously because local difficulty, especially in raising endowment capital for its bishopric, could delay actual inauguration of a diocese, the first bishop of Wakefield, for example, not being enthroned until 1888. Truro Cathedral is ambiguous for though outwardly new, its south aisle remains a parish church (cf. 50/1 Vict., c. 12, 1887, and CAM 7/8 Eliz. II, no. 1, 1959): we shall treat it as a parish-church cathedral.

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concentrates on the latter, illustrating them with select examples. These problems deserve examination because there is little recent literature on them and some passing references may tend to mislead.

Two events define the period. In 1836 the first modern parish-church cathedral was created at Ripon. In 1931 the Cathedrals Measure provided for revision of all cathedral statutes within general guidelines, the outcome of a commission of enquiry which Church Assembly had launched in 1924 and which had reported in 1927. Moreover by 1931, albeit then unperceived, an era had ended in another respect because after a surge of creations in the 1920s, no more new bishoprics have been erected in England by the Anglican Church (despite various plans), though some territorial adjustments have been made between dioceses, notably the transfer of Croydon from Canterbury to Southwark. Throughout much of this period popular odium surrounded cathedral establishments, a residue from radical attack in the 1830s and 1840s upon all ecclesiastical corporations whose wealth, admittedly often mal-administered, critics had hoped to appropriate to other uses, whose neglect of duties had become scandalous, and whose quirky and outmoded ways Trollope gently satirised in his Barchester novels. The period saw a piecemeal and relatively unco-ordinated response to the problems which creation of these cathedrals involved, and that Church Assembly commission explicitly deplored the 'anomalous and confused' situation which had arisen.

Development of new cathedrals in this period was circumscribed by two sets of parameters. One set lay in the 1840 Ecclesiastical Commissioners Act which, among other provisions, limited the number of residentiary canons at existing cathedrals and hence, by implication, at any new cathedral. Thus it suspended canonries at next vacancy so that Canterbury, Durham, Ely and Westminster (the last not being a cathedral but included within the ambit of the act) should have six each, Winchester and Exeter five, St Davids and Llandaff two, and the others four. It regulated the qualifications and remuneration of capitular staff. It reduced the number of vicars choral and other minor canons, and required of those who remained that any benefices which they might hold should lie within six miles of their cathedral. It allowed bishops to appoint up to twenty-four honorary canons, a novelty distinct from those non-residentiary prebends which it disendowed, yet in practice afterwards tantamount to them.[2] Money saved by these changes would pass into the Common Fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, earmarked for parochial augmentation. The act long rankled among Anglicans and,

[2] Cf. Exeter Cathedral Library, Dean and Chapter MS 7181/52 (Bishop Robertson's charge, 1910). The excessive truncation of the chapters at Llandaff and St David's was reversed in 1843.

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almost sixty years later, H. W. Yeatman Biggs was unsparing in his criticism of it.[3] Nevertheless, four residentiaries besides a dean (or, later, a provost) became accepted as a norm for new cathedrals: fewer would be invidious, more unduly expensive.

The other set of parameters was not statutory but comprised that evolving body of opinion on the purpose of cathedral clergy (apart from their offering worship). Discussion of the role of these clergy complemented agitation for additional bishoprics because tradition expected bishoprics and capitular establishments to develop *pari passu*, and because creation of additional bishoprics might be impeded unless cathedrals and their clergy were portrayed more sympathetically. Furthermore, management of their real estate, the church building and its fittings, which was a characteristic responsibility of canons at ancient cathedrals, was normally mainly discharged at parish churches through churchwardens, who might not welcome supersession upon their church becoming a cathedral. The 1830s and 1840s heard much discussion of what beneficiaries of capitular preferment had been doing, were doing and ought to have been doing in return for their official emoluments. The outspoken Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter argued in Paleian manner that capitular preferments encouraged learning, attracted people of quality into the ministry, and provided dignity and hierarchy; but he also saw potentialities, and suggested that canonries be linked to teaching in seminaries and that capitular funds help support archdeacons and examining chaplains. He developed his ideas in a local context, linking retention of a fifth canonry at Exeter with a proposed second archdeaconry in Cornwall: this fifth canonry later contributed to the endowment of a cathedral at Truro.[4] Nevertheless the 1840 act mainly ignored duties and arguably even encouraged plurality and non-residence through its impoverishment of chapters. Moreover, an inadequate number of residency houses at some sees still allegedly militated against prolonged association of individual canons with diocesan affairs, and for some canons three months' residence still provided a working holiday from duty elsewhere.[5] Neither did the act necessarily foster theological or other

[3] *CCR* 1895, 596; cf. 1900, 98.

[4] Copy memorandum, Phillpotts to Peel, 24 Jan. 1835, Exeter Cathedral Library, MS ED/11/49; Phillpotts to Howley, 7 Apr. 1836, Ch. Comm., Book 112.02, sect. vi, 54; H. Phillpotts, *Charge to the clergy of the diocese of Exeter*, 2nd edn, London 1836, 24–31, and *Correspondence* [*with*] *the Commission of Ecclesiastical Enquiry*, London 1840.

[5] Cf. W. K. Hamilton, *Cathedral reform*, London–Salisbury 1855. For some anecdotal evidence of attitudes towards residence see M. C. Bickersteth, *Sketch of the life of Robert Bickersteth*, London 1887, 82–3; C. H. Simpkinson, *Life and works of Bishop Thorold*, London 1897, 65; F. E. Kingsley, *Charles Kingsley*, London 1899, 295–302. On the state of older cathedrals generally see also P. Barrett, *Barchester: English cathedral life in the nineteenth century*, London 1993.

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learning; Canon Sedgwick may have professed geology at Cambridge, but his Norwich colleagues were less productive.[6] Cathedral music, too, continued in a parlous state in many places.[7]

In recognition of these and other problems, Lord Derby set up a Royal Commission on Cathedral Churches in November 1852. It collected much important data and useful opinion. Bishop Phillpotts suggested that cathedral chapters should act as councils for their bishops, and Dean Pellew advised that canons should oversee church schools and be associated with seminaries, as Sidney Herbert had already suggested.[8] Deans being perceived as under-employed, the commissioners were tempted to merge deaneries and bishoprics in order to release funds for other purposes, but only as a last resort (ironically bishops of some new dioceses later acted as their own deans until locally raised funds for the endowment of a deanery became available). However, creation of additional dioceses, which was the main recommendation of the commission, proved uncongenial to the new prime minister, Palmerston, and the whole report was shelved.

Discussion about cathedral clergy continued, mainly restating tradition from which Barchester had strayed. Few pundits suggested any alternative system, and indeed some of them proposed new bishoprics at Southwell and Westminster partly because those places still had capitular establishments.[9] The view emerged that performance of daily offices, especially if choral, was central to cathedral life, and that since canonries gave time for study and good works, seminaries be attached to cathedrals, and canons supervise ordinands, train teachers for church schools, and oversee penitentiaries, orphanages and similar institutions. The aim was to establish a cadre of proactive senior clergy at the centre of each diocese.

[6] Cf. E. M. Goulburn, *The functions of our cathedrals*, Oxford 1869, 18. An earlier crisis over cathedral sinecures and clerical scholarship had provoked, in contrast, a substantial bibliography of publications by canons: F. R. A. Glover, *The fruits of endowment*, London 1840.

[7] Barrett, *Barchester*, ch. viii.

[8] *Parliamentary papers* (hereinafter cited as *PP*) 1854/5, xv. 35; A. C. H. Gordon, *Sidney Herbert*, London 1906, i. 105–8; *Hansard*, 3rd ser. cxii. 1410–12.

[9] Such proposals derived from Lord Henley (*Plan of church reform*, 3rd edn, London 1832, 46), the examples of Ripon and Manchester in 1836, and the inclusion of data on Southwell, Westminster, Windsor and Wolverhampton in the appendix to the first report of the Cathedral Commission (*PP* 1854, xxv. 457ff.). Other attractions of these places were architectural and, after further redistribution of existing episcopal assets had become less likely, the possibility of using their deaneries to support their putative bishoprics: W. Palmer, *Renewed enquiry* [*on*] *an increase in the episcopate*, London 1848, 19; C. Wordsworth, *On a proposed subdivision of dioceses*, London 1860, 43 (annexed 'Lay memorial'); *CCR* 1861, 58; *CCC* 1865, 1841, 2263; C. J. Burton, *Increase of the episcopate*, London 1867, 6–7. Failure to use the capitular parish church at Southwell for a cathedral before its chapter was dissolved pursuant to the 1840 Act attracted sharp criticism: G. M. Livett, *Southwell Minster*, Southwell 1883, 44, 48; J. H. Overton and E. Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth*, London 1888, 277–8.

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These ideas were especially publicised in a collection of essays edited by J. S. Howson, dean of Chester, issued in 1872, and in *The cathedral* (1878) by E. W. Benson, later archbishop of Canterbury, as well as in many pamphlets and reports.[10] Unfortunately discussion largely failed to anticipate problems which might arise if such organisations were superimposed upon an existing parish church. Nevertheless the debate was a vigorous response to the depredations of the 1840 act and to the introverted torpor satirised by Trollope; it drew some inspiration from the tenets and historicism of the Oxford Movement, and provided a potential programme for the future development of new cathedrals, yet, like liturgical and architectural fashions associated with the High Church tendency, many of these ideas were as much anchored in the past as focused on future need.

Meanwhile Ripon and Manchester had fallen into traditional cathedral mode with relative ease in contrast to difficulties which were to arise later elsewhere. The parish church at Manchester may have had drawbacks, but Ripon Minster was venerable and large, and thus met popular criteria for a cathedral. Crucially, both churches were collegiate and so neither required new funds to endow deans, canons or other officers who were already in post and whom tradition normally expected at a cathedral. Ripon, indeed, was employing a precentor, organist, songmen and choristers accustomed to perform 'the usual cathedral service' on Monday and Thursday evenings, Saturday morning and evening, Sundays and holy days.[11] Moreover neither of their deaneries was to be compromised by having to support a bishop because both bishoprics were to be endowed by a country-wide redistribution of existing episcopal assets. Such circumstances encouraged selection of Ripon and Manchester as sees for new dioceses, unremarkably in the case of Manchester since it lay centrally to local need, but full of difficulty for Ripon because of its distance from the West Riding industrial area which it was intended to serve. Indeed, that isolation of Ripon emphasises the value which had been placed on its existing collegiality, for otherwise a more rational choice might have been Leeds or Bradford or Halifax.[12]

Promotion of Ripon was swift; its dean and canons were designated a cathedral chapter in August 1836 and in October they received a *congé d'élire* and letter recommending C. T. Longley as bishop.[13] The 1840 act later confirmed the deanery as crown patronage but required the six

[10] These discussions are described extensively in Barrett, *Barchester*, ch. xiii.

[11] Leeds University, MS Dep. 1980/1, Registrum F, 246–50. (These Ripon Chapter Act Books will be referred to as Ripon Reg. F, G, H etc.) In 1854 the choir at Ripon was reported to comprise six adult voices and ten choristers, not markedly inferior to some at older cathedrals: *PP* 1854, xxv. 27.

[12] Cf. P. S. Morrish, 'Leeds and dismemberment of the diocese of Ripon', *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 2nd ser. iv (1994), 62–97.

[13] Ripon Reg. F, 258–9, 262.

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residentiaries be reduced to four as vacancies arose; honorary canons appeared only after the number of residentiaries had been reduced.[14] The choir eventually undertook daily choral services though not without strain, a succentor being appointed in 1875 to help.[15] Nevertheless, Ripon continued in some old ways. The dean lived at the only house in hand, and the chapter had to lease property to meet the requirements of the 1840 act as to the residence of canons who, when not in residence, still had to live elsewhere.[16] Bishop Boyd Carpenter and his wife later appealed for £10,000 to provide more houses, but their appeal languished. The single house which had replaced the original leasehold in 1859 was subdivided in 1915, but only after the First World War did the chapter acquire additional property, a bequest partly defraying its cost.[17] Meanwhile the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had built a palace for the bishop in extensive grounds north of Ripon which Bishop Longley occupied in 1841.[18] Claustral life was exiguous. Moreover, having had no special role in the diocese of York before 1836, the chapter remained corporately aloof from many activities in the new diocese, though as individuals, successive deans and canons sat on boards and committees for various good causes. The chapter eschewed much educational activity. It helped modestly with the education of its choristers, but had no formal connection with the diocesan clergy school founded at Leeds in 1876 by John Gott, vicar of Leeds.[19] Bishop Boyd Carpenter launched a private seminary at Ripon in 1897, but Dean W. H. Fremantle discounted it because it was unconnected with any university; closed during the First World War, it was subsequently revived and translated to Oxford as Ripon Hall. Typically, too, in 1908 the Revd G. W. Garrod exchanged his headship of Ripon Diocesan

[14] Ripon Reg. G, 288, 290, 292–3, 316.

[15] Ripon Reg. H, 192; cf. *PP* 1854, xxv. 707.

[16] The house was refurbished in 1841 but the chapter acquired a replacement in 1859: Ripon Reg. G, 41, 98, 132, 260, 271.

[17] Ripon Reg. I, 219, 347, 415–6, 586–7; *Ripon Diocesan Gazette* i (1890), 73, 89, 106, 137; ii (1891), 153 (interim total reported as £533 18*s.* 0*d.*), 170. Some older cathedrals also had only one residence house for canons during part of this period: Barrett, *Barchester*, 32.

[18] *English episcopal palaces: province of York*, ed. R. S. Rait, London 1911, 27–8. The bishopric acquired a smaller and more convenient property in 1940, the original estate being sold to Dr Barnardo's: *Ripon Diocesan Gazette* (1940), 31. Some nineteenth-century bishops were keen walkers, not deterred by the distance beween residence and cathedral, but the absence of bishops from cathedral closes provoked some criticism: Bickersteth, *Robert Bickersteth*, 136; J. B. Atlay, *Life of E. R. Wilberforce*, London 1912, 122–3; *CCR* 1880, 362, 380.

[19] In 1854 the chapter reported only the musical education of its choristers (*PP* 1854, xxv. 330), and a school for their general education was not opened until 1876: L. Smith, *Story of Ripon Minster*, Leeds 1914, 271. On Leeds Clergy School see a brief historical resumé in its *Calendar for 1889*, Leeds n.d., 65–70. Ripon chapter brusquely informed the first Royal Commission, 'no endeavour has been made to establish a seminary … in connexion with the cathedral': *PP* 1854, xxv. 340.

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Training College and honorary canonry for a residentiaryship (though he was thereupon charged with supervision of religious education).[20] Bishop Longley and Bishop Robert Bickersteth condoned this aloofness by organising inspection of church schools on a ruri-decanal basis, and for many years diocesan inspectors were rural incumbents.[21] The chapter even kept the work of a diocesan missioner at arm's length, unlike arrangements in the diocese of Wakefield.[22] Lack of houses for canons was blamed for this aloofness and the 1927 Church Assembly commission accepted the excuse. However, the chapter's conservatism was deeply ingrained, for its canons had not even accepted responsibility for stated duties within their cathedral until 1913.[23] The cathedral did not match the vigorous church life of Leeds and other large towns in its diocese.

Extraneous factors delayed foundation of the diocese of Manchester until 1847. One important difference arose, however, for progress was soon compromised by the Parish of Manchester Division Act (1851) which, in the manner then favoured by evangelical opinion, used capitular resources to improve parochial ministry by annexing one new urban parish to each residentiary canonry. Thus, detrimental to the development of capitular ministry, canons became lawful pluralists also exercising parochial ministry, and though curates and minor canons helped them in both ministries, they could not unburden them of ultimate responsibility for either. The weight of population overwhelmed them all, the least of the four new parishes having initially some 10,000 inhabitants whilst people living in the whole ancient parish could still demand marriage at the cathedral.[24] The situation was unwelcome in both principle and practice: witnesses told the second Royal Commission on Cathedrals in the 1880s that the canons deserved relief, but that proved problematical because, if rescued from their parishes, they would have to be housed elsewhere, and that would be difficult since some canons' houses had been lost to street improvement and others let as shops. Moreover the cathedral precinct was not suitable for residential use.[25]

[20] H. D. A. Major, *Life and letters of William Boyd Carpenter*, London 1925, 161–5; W. H. Draper, *Recollections of Dean W. H. Fremantle*, London 1921, 129; A. M. Wilkinson, *Ripon College, 1862–1962*, Ripon 1963, 56. It might be noted that Bishop Knox preferred ordinands to benefit from the resources of the University of Manchester rather than to attend a local seminary: E. A. Knox, *Reminiscences*, London 1934, 266–8.

[21] Leeds District Archives, MS RDB 1, fo. 71; Bickersteth, *Robert Bickersteth*, 222. The Revd R. P. Daniell-Bainbridge, appointed diocesan inspector in 1877, was vicar of Pool-in-Wharfedale from 1879 to 1884 and later of Ainderby Steeple.

[22] *Ripon Diocesan Gazette* ix (1898), 69; *Ripon Diocesan calendar for 1900*, Dewsbury n.d., 68, 248.

[23] *Ripon Diocesan Gazette* i (1890), 73; ii (1891), 170; *CACCR* i. 43; CA, *Proc.* viii (1927), 375; Ripon Reg. I, 370, 375.

[24] *PP* 1854, xxv. 279ff.; J. M. Elvy, *Recollections of th'owd church*, Manchester 1913, 10.

[25] *PP* 1884/5, xxi. 287ff.; *CCR* 1886, 166; F. Engels, *The condition of the working class*, trans. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, Oxford 1971, 55–7.

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Further difficulty arose because both the bishop and the dean resided in superior suburbs.[26] There may be justification for ousting canons from ivory towers, but Manchester hardly set the best example: the annexations were repealed in 1926.

Prospects for further additional dioceses, and hence cathedrals, were not propitious in mid century. Political support was scanty since Palmerston and evangelical opinion gave priority to parochial development, and Gladstone could not interest all his supporters. Moreover the supply of collegiate parish churches in needy areas was exhausted, though Westminster Abbey remained a possibility to help in greater London. So ordinary parish churches or entirely new buildings had to be considered: the latter appeared too expensive. It also became clear that bishoprics and chapters would have to be endowed mainly, if not wholly, by untested public subscription since nothing would be forthcoming from either the Treasury or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and since redistribution of existing assets, as in 1836, had obvious limitations. Furthermore, with attention focused on whether or not to increase the episcopate, and the role of deans and canons remaining controversial or unclear, the danger arose that legislation for additional bishoprics, whenever it came, might dispense with cathedral chapters whose occasional duty of 'electing' bishops could be circumvented by letters patent. Indeed, the poor image of chapters hastened the failure of Lord Lyttelton's 1867 bill for additional bishoprics which Edward Cardwell declined to sponsor in the Commons, warning him that new episcopal palaces, deaneries and so forth on the old scale were undesirable.[27]

Under the leadership of Disraeli and his Home Secretary, R. A. Cross, the Conservative government proved sympathetic, and between 1874 and 1880 legislated for six additional bishoprics, each with an ordinary parish church as its cathedral. The question arose whether to provide them with chapters, but government fudged the point in its first project, St Albans, to avoid parliamentary trouble and because of the supposed cost. The St Albans Act thus created no cathedral chapter and simply authorised appointment of the bishop by letters patent until such time as a chapter might exist. Beresford Hope challenged this but R. A. Cross blandly replied that deans and canons might be the subject of later legislation.[28]

[26] A. Boutflower, *Personal reminiscences of Manchester Cathedral*, 2nd edn, Manchester [1916], 51; Knox, *Reminiscences*, 220–2, 262–4.

[27] Cardwell to Lyttelton, 12 June 1867, Lyttelton papers, John Rylands University Library of Manchester.

[28] *Hansard*, 3rd ser. ccxxii. 1175; ccxxiv. 508. An influential public meeting in London three years later, with the earl of Devon in the chair and Archbishop Tait as the main speaker, significantly stressed the value of and need for more bishoprics without touching on deans and canons: *Guardian*, 20 Feb. 1878, 273–4. The supposed cost only rested on informed guesswork, but speaking to Lyttelton's 1869 bill, also for additional bishoprics,

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A second fudge in the same act concerned any vested interests in the parish church upon its becoming a cathedral: these were simply saved without further guidance. The need for a bishop had proved paramount. A precedent thus having been set, Cross was unwilling to diverge from it when he tackled Truro next; he acknowledged pressure from his party not to concede too much, and even the informal committees of churchmen who advised him gave no formal lead on either fudged issue.[29] These fudges together with continued debate on chapters in general and with special difficulties at Chichester, persuaded W. R. W. Stephens, later dean of Winchester, to write a pamphlet, *Cathedral chapters considered as episcopal councils* (1877), in which he discussed the ancient advisory role of diocesan chapters. However, the more general Bishoprics Act (1878), which authorised four more additional bishoprics, only differed from previous legislation in its formulation. Moreover subsequent legislation for yet more new bishoprics preserved the fudges by adopting the formula of adding further schedules to the 1878 Act as the principal act.

In view of this unsatisfactory legislation, bishops inaugurating new dioceses had to tackle as best they could any problems arising from either saved rights or conflict between cathedral need and parochial interest. The potential for conflict was manifold. Too stiff an exercise of their several rights by patron and incumbent could clash with the interests of bishop and diocese; existing musical staff might have to be humoured; managerial disputes might arise with parishioners and churchwardens over the fabric and defrayment of running costs attributable to non-parochial functions; and how and by whom worship might be conducted for diocesan purposes could give yet more trouble. Harmonious co-operation was vital.[30]

One key to harmony was ownership of the advowson to the parish-church cathedral. In some cases it already belonged to the bishopric whose diocese was to be divided, and hence it passed to the new bishopric, as at Wakefield, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Birmingham. Otherwise advowsons are acquirable by gift or purchase; the new bishopric might be given it, as at Truro, or it might be bought, as Rochester, anticipating future development, purchased that to St Saviour, Southwark, in 1883.

Archbishop Thomson of York had suggested that provision of a dean, canons and other officials would cost the promoters of a new diocese as much again as endowment of its bishopric: *Hansard*, 3rd ser. cxcv. 1338; cf. Bishop Ridding's later view, *CCR* 1886, 146.

[29] H. Jenkyns to Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 1 June 1876, Ch. Comm. file 1837/i; Cross to Disraeli, 5 June 1875, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dep. Hughenden, Box 94, B/xx/Cr; minutes of meeting on needs of Canterbury province, 6 Apr. 1876, Lambeth Palace, Tait papers 47/73; minutes of meeting on needs of York province, 4 May 1876, Ch. Comm. file 57971/i.

[30] Cf. *PP* 1883, xxi. 41; copy letter Eden to Donne, 3 Nov. 1908, WDA 10/2; *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* xiv (1908–9), 170–1.

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Other new bishoprics had less success: the crown retained its patronage to St Albans (and by prerogative erected a deanery in 1900), and at both Sheffield and Bradford patronage lay with a corporate body which frustrated immediate change.[31] The advowson to St Mary, Truro, designated cathedral for Cornwall, proved troublesome. Having acquired it from his father for £600 in 1871, the Revd C. F. Harvey presented himself to the living in April 1875 and then offered to sell the advowson to a competent church authority, but Bishop Temple deprecated sale and warned E. W. Benson, bishop-elect of Truro, that the rector was 'vain & wrongly ambitious and wishes to make a good thing out of the position for himself; and the Bishop must not let him'.[32] Benson persuaded Harvey to give the advowson to the bishopric, yet tension between them persisted over whether Benson had offered a *quid pro quo*. Harvey maintained he had been offered either a residentiary canonry or a more remunerative living; Benson denied this and sought confirmation of his version from Archdeacon Phillpotts, then wintering on the French Riviera. Phillpotts agreed that no bargain existed but nevertheless advised that Harvey be given a better living when one became available. This Trollopian situation was resolved by Benson's successor who presented Harvey to Probus in 1885.[33]

Once his church had become a cathedral the incumbent could find his status painfully uncertain even though his legal rights as incumbent were saved, and, as Benson remarked to the second Royal Commission on Cathedrals, if the incumbent exercised his rights fully, all characteristic cathedral work would cease.[34] The incumbent might fulfil some dean-like functions but initially without canons and lacking any distinctive title which the situation craved. Moreover, since 1840 the presumption had been that deaneries of new cathedrals would be crown patronage but, as we have seen, patronage to the living of what became a parish-church cathedral did not necessarily belong to the crown, and some were in episcopal gift. Merely to vacate the living was no answer for that would perpetuate the original problem and add others. One title for such beleaguered clergy was excluded; normally they would not be considered

[31] *CACCR* ii. 167, 245; cf. A. Hansen, *One small corner: a history of Bradford diocese*, Bradford 1994, 67. The purchase of the advowson to St Saviour, Southwark, cost the bishopric £7,000 exclusive of the expense of private legislation: 46/7 Vict., cap. xi, 1883.

[32] Temple to Benson, 6 Dec. 1876, TD&C 1/4. On the background to this advowson, see memorandum dated 6 Oct. 1881, ibid. 14/22.

[33] Archdeacon Phillpotts to Benson, 11 Jan. 1882, TD&C 14/40; Harvey to Benson, 5 Aug. 1882, 14/65; Burch, deputy registrar, to Benson, 21 Nov. 1882, 14/72. The living at Probus was later reputed to be worth £394 in contrast to £107 at St Mary, Truro: *Crockford*, London 1906, pp. cxxxi–cxxxii. Fraternal whitewash rather than episcopal vitriol distinguished the brief reference to this episode in A. J. Mason, *Memoir of G. H. Wilkinson*, London 1909, ii. 59.

[34] Benson to Cathedral Commissioners, 20 Jan. 1882, *PP* 1883, xxi. 88.

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papabile, at least for that area.[35] The immediate emollient was an honorary canonry, which Harvey received at Truro in 1878, but it was unsatisfactory because other clergy in the diocese might have the same honour for very different reasons.

Accommodation of the incumbent could become more difficult once residentiary canons were envisaged. To award him the deanery would require not only normal legislation for a chapter but also, perhaps, adjustment of patronage and more adequate endowment. At Truro tension with Harvey and financial implications persuaded Bishop Benson to tell his diocesan conference in October 1877, 'the decanal stall may… bide its time until men and funds to be governed demand a governor', and he repeated the point in a letter to Archbishop Tait a few weeks later.[36] Though Benson wished to defer a deanery, the Truro Dean and Chapter Act (1878) nevertheless authorised its eventual creation, but made no immediate provision for the incumbent: the first residentiary was appointed in the same year. None of this eased Harvey's position. The capitular statutes which Benson then drafted proved cautiously vague about the incumbent; the bishop would act as dean in plurality until a separate deanery could be endowed, and Harvey personally was confirmed in his rights as rector, yet connection of his rectory with the proposed sub-deanery was not absolute but conditional upon the bishop's discretion. Harvey got nothing more than his honorary canonry. Translation of Benson to Canterbury in 1883 and despatch of Harvey to Probus cleared the air. Hence, amongst other provisions, the second Truro Dean and Chapter Act (1887), based on Benson's draft statutes, made the bishop temporary acting dean until a deanery could be endowed, and awarded a canon's stall and the title 'sub-dean' to the incumbent of St Mary's who would thereby preside at meetings of the chapter in the absence of the bishop-dean.[37] These new arrangements lasted until 1960 when, a separate deanery having been endowed, the dean became *ex officio* rector in place of the rector being *ex officio* a canon and sub-dean, and patronage to St Mary's passed to the crown. Paradoxically, therefore, the bishopric having once acquired the

[35] Almost the proverbial exception to prove the rule, the Revd N. D. J. Straton who as vicar of Wakefield had been prominent in the agitation for a diocese in south Yorkshire, was consecrated bishop of Sodor and Man in 1892, four years after the first bishop of Wakefield had been appointed; Straton was later translated to Newcastle. Vicar of St Philip, Birmingham, and suffragan bishop of Coventry, E. A. Knox was promoted to Manchester in 1903 apparently to force the pace towards a see of Birmingham, and J. N. Quick, suffragan bishop of Sheffield, moved to Jarrow shortly before Sheffield became a see. The Church in Wales coped differently and C. A. H. Green, archdeacon of Monmouth, became the first bishop of that title in 1921.

[36] E. W. Benson, *The cathedral*, London 1878, 159; Benson to Tait, 20 Nov. 1877, Lambeth Palace, Tait papers 53/131.

[37] Benson's draft statutes, *PP* 1883, xxi. 50ff.; cf. 50/1 Vict. c. 12, 1887.

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advowson to facilitate cathedral development, completion of that development now involved the bishopric in surrendering that patronage.[38] The interim had proved lengthy but the arrangement had had advantages: it allowed successive bishops to lead early development; it did not offend royal prerogative since the bishopric was, in effect, crown patronage; and it gave the rector distinction and some authority within the cathedral and chapter.

It is worth refocusing here a recent remark that Benson 'appointed himself dean of his pro-cathedral'.[39] Of course, such direct action would have been quite improper because it would have offended royal prerogative. Benson had no great initial need for such plurality because he could readily direct capitular development through his ordinary canonical authority, and because the 1878 Truro Dean and Chapter Act had given him patronage to the stalls and the role of visitor to the chapter. It is not denied that Benson's draft statutes proposed this plurality, but not for episcopal aggrandisement, only as a temporary expedient until sufficient funds should be available to endow a deanery, as his statutes and the 1887 Act both noted. Moreover, by the time that act had sanctioned the plurality, Benson was no longer bishop of Truro.[40]

Progress which Truro and a few others made towards a chapter of residentiaries highlighted the predicament of those incumbents of parish-church cathedrals who were merely awarded honorary canonries. Common sense suggested that something ought to be done, yet nothing was done until the 1920s when the Church Assembly Commission suggested they might be given the title 'provost'. The origin of this suggestion is unclear, but two analogies stand out: first, the Scottish Episcopal Church used the title, though not invariably, for the chief dignitary of a collegiate church, and, secondly, heads of some Oxbridge colleges enjoyed it. Church Assembly initially rejected the title, but reversed its decision after the crown had initimated that it would not accept 'dean' because not every living of a parish-church cathedral was in its patronage. Those favouring 'provost' noted that it did not imply crown patronage and that new titles could betoken new ideas, but others feared that it was undignified, might be misconstrued as inferior and that all heads of cathedrals should be equal.[41] However the title was accepted

[38] CAM 7/8 Eliz. II, no. 1, 1959. This rearrangement of patronage is what Newcastle had avoided earlier at the cost of its putative dean becoming a provost: 47/8 Vict., c. 33, 1884; *CACCR* ii. 180; CAM 21/2 Geo. V, no. 7, 1931 (Schedule 2).

[39] Barrett, *Barchester*, 38. He is nearer the truth on p. xvii.

[40] Canon Donaldson correctly lists Bishop Wilkinson as first dean and Harvey's successor as first subdean: A. B. Donaldson, *The bishopric of Truro*, London 1902, appendix IV.

[41] *CACCR* i. 43; CA *Proc.*, viii (1927), 443–6; xi (1930), 46–52; xii (1931), 24–8. On the Scots usage see *Dictionary of the older Scottish language*, ed. W. A. Craigie, Aberdeen 1931– , *s.v.* 'provest'.

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by a meeting of such incumbents in the spring of 1931 and the Cathedrals Measure provided accordingly, except where prior legislation had arranged otherwise.[42] The duties of provosts would be defined by commissioners revising the statutes of the relevant cathedrals, but the measure implied that provosts should be treated as if they were deans.

Parochial music staff might have quasi-contractual rights deserving respect, and in any case musical talent needs to be fostered. Immediate adoption of daily sung offices could be impractical if, unlike Ripon and Manchester, a parish-church cathedral inherited an organist and voluntary choir normally available only for Sunday duty, and doubts arose whether such cathedrals could ever make choral progress.[43] Moreover, the potential cost of daily choral services was uncertain, and powers which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had received in 1866 to subsidise music were neither mandatory nor universal. Progress at parish-church cathedrals varied. At first Truro could not afford weekday sung offices which it estimated would cost £1,400 annually, but by 1903, when its new nave had been completed, it was offering choral evensong on Wednesdays and Saturdays.[44] The Church Assembly Commission later discovered that Bradford, Bury St Edmunds, Newcastle and Wakefield provided choral service only on Sundays, and that St Albans managed a weekday choral evensong only on Saturdays; it also learned how the local labour market hampered release of lay clerks for weekday duty at Truro but facilitated it at Birmingham for evensong.[45] Weekday choral services were not the only way in which any cathedral could influence church music in its diocese; precentors, organists and choirmasters could undertake outreach, as Precentor Donaldson did in Cornwall through a diocesan choral association. Also, if supported by an orchestra and augmented by soloists and female voices, choirs might perform major choral works creditably and profitably.[46]

[42] Copy of privately printed memorandum by incumbents of parish-church cathedrals, 1931, SCA 281.

[43] CA, Commission on property and revenues, *Report*, London 1924, ii. 127.

[44] *PP* 1884/5, xxi. 479; *Official yearbook of the Church of England for 1903*, 47.

[45] *CACCR* ii. 43, 124, 167, 181, 240, 299, 316.

[46] Donaldson, *Truro*, 269–71. As precentor Donaldson was also secretary of the Truro Diocesan Choral Union, and Benson's statutes specifically charged the precentor with diocesan responsibility for advancing church music: *PP* 1883, xxi. 47–76, tit. 4.ii. Newcastle, Wakefield and Southwark had extensive concert programmes: *CCR* 1899, 430; *Musical Times* 1899, 48; WDA 26/2 (choir minute books including press-cuttings of concerts, 1901–26). Though the augmented Newcastle choir gave seasonal concerts, for example Spohr's 'Last Judgement', its vicar admitted in 1900 that daily choral service was not affordable: *Newcastle Diocesan Gazette* i (1897), 181; *CCR* 1900, 108. Before either parish church had become a cathedral, the choirs of Wakefield and Southwark had had sufficient resources to sing illustrative excerpts for lectures on church music, their repertoires extending from the mid sixteenth to the mid nineteenth century: *CCR* 1886, 223–36; 1904, 511–27.

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Two examples highlight the problem of music. In 1888 Wakefield inherited a voluntary choir, paid organist and honorary choirmaster, but lacked funds for their development. Bishop How even started in the wrong key when he warned against using music for its own sake and expressed personal satisfaction with daily offices being said.[47] The collection at his enthronement was intended for the support of daily services, but upon investment it yielded about £3 a year in the 1890s whereas for Sunday services alone the organist received £70 annually (raised to £100 in 1906) and the choir cost about £50, otherwise defrayed from normal collections and occasional sources. Small endowments supported its choristers, but in 1906 poverty cut the foundation to six choristers and sixteen adult voices: it remained a Sunday choir.[48] The proto-chapter at Southwark, however, resolved upon daily choral evensong. It replaced its parish organist with the more capable Dr Richardson in 1896 at a salary of £200 though weekday services were still said pending an appeal for funds and negotiation with St Olave and St Saviour Grammar School over choral scholars. Daily choral evensong began on 12 June 1899, even though the precentor reported that funds in hand, including £72 from the Grammar School, fell short of the estimated annual cost of £373.[49] Faith prevailing, weekday choral evensong continued, and Sir Frederick Wigan, hop merchant, endowed twelve choristers in 1905; by 1937 the choir endowment stood at nearly £7,000.[50]

Promotion of a parish church also touched its churchwardens, lay officials unknown hitherto in cathedrals. Acting for their parish, churchwardens are responsible for most of the fabric and fittings of their church, and for provision of necessities for use in worship. So long as the parish of a parish-church cathedral exists, however exiguously, churchwardens are appointable unless and until statutory provision is made to the contrary. As their minute books show, the churchwardens of All Saints', Wakefield, remained active after 1888, and those of St Philip, Birmingham, symbolised their continued involvement by processing at Bishop Gore's enthronement.[51] Even so, their work could become more difficult as

[47] *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* i (1889–91), 4, 91.

[48] WDA 22/1 (churchwardens' minutes, 1 Nov. 1888, on enthronement collection); 22/10 (churchwardens' accounts, passim); 22/3 (churchwardens' minutes, 2 Aug., 6 Sept. 1906, organist's salary); 26/2 (choir minutes, 22 June, 28 Dec. 1906). Its voluntary choir had earlier contained 24 adult voices: *Wakefield Diocesan Calendar for 1890*, 68. See also J. W. Walker, *History of the old parish church, now cathedral*, Wakefield 1888, 198.

[49] Chapter minute book 1896–1901, SCA 162, fos 20, 22–4, 30–1.

[50] Ibid. fo. 410 (inserted appeal leaflet). See also SCA 303 (Declaration of trust for Wigan Chanters). A schedule attached to the Southwark Cathedral Measure (1937) shows the general choir endowment fund at £5,093 17*s.* 4*d.* and a further Chanters' Fund at £1,886 7*s.* 10*d.*

[51] *Birmingham bishopric: a brief history*, Birmingham 1905, 17, 24–5, 27–8. Although

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diocesan interests began to intrude. Goodwill might prevail: St Mary's, Truro, promptly made their restoration fund available to the project for a new cathedral, and, with the aid of a subsidy, the 'chapter' of archdeacons and honorary canons at Newcastle persuaded the churchwardens of St Nicholas to provide more shelves in their library.[52] In the longer run, however, it would be unjust to expect a parish to bear through its churchwardens additional expenditure attributable to cathedral status, whether it were repairs to an extended building or provision for non-parochial services. Bishop Benson raised such matters with the second Royal Commission on Cathedrals in 1882, and his influence may be detected in the provisions of the 1887 Truro Dean and Chapter Act which, having incorporated the chapter and invested it with the fabric, empowered it to raise a cathedral sustentation fund. The act also reserved the south aisle for the parish but subjected the wardens to episcopal regulation to avoid unseemly conflict. Hence a Truro Cathedral Union was launched with agents in each Cornish rural deanery to collect funds to meet cathedral expenses.[53] At Wakefield the churchwardens retained their position but were less well supported. Their bank pressed for a reduction of an overdraft, and after the diocese had agreed in 1910 to make an annual grant of £150, the deficit was reduced from £211 to £84 by April 1911.[54] Similarly in the 1920s, Chelmsford diocese was subsidising its parish-church cathedral with £300 annually towards running costs and for an additional curate.[55] If its cathedral is the 'parish' church of a diocese, such support is only fair. However, vesting the fabric of a parish-church cathedral in a chapter did not extinguish the parish: it added a layer of authority rather than replacing one by another. The Cathedrals Amendment Measure (1934) condoned this confusion since it allowed schemes to identify any part of a cathedral as parochial, thus preserving churchwardens in their enclaves.

The other fudge, whether and how to create chapters, troubled bishops, many of whom deferred the matter either upon principle or because of the cost: where progress was made it was not uniform, as some examples of

Ripon Minster acted as a parish church its Jacobean statutes gave it a constitution akin to that of Westminster Abbey, management of the fabric being wholly the responsibility of the chapter to the exclusion of churchwardens.

[52] *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 18 Jan. 1878, 8; *Newcastle Diocesan Gazette* i (1897), 20–1, 114; (1898), 117.

[53] *PP* 1883, xxi. 41; 50/1 Vict. c. 12, 1887, sect. 12; cf. *CCR* 1895, 601 (remarks by Donaldson). The Union raised up to £500 annually in the 1890s: Donaldson, *Truro*, 283.

[54] WDA 22/3 (especially minutes of 5 Feb. 1907, 2 Apr. 1908, 4 Mar. 1909, 30 Apr. 1911); *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* xii (1906–7), 214; xiv (1908–9), 32; xv (1909–10), 256; xxvii (1921–2), 5, 52, 76; xxviii (1922–3), 135. Cathedrals of older foundation were also in dire financial straits towards the end of the century, but this was due rather to agricultural depression: Barrett, *Barchester*, ch. ix.

[55] *CACCR* ii. 86, 240.

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new cathedrals show. In vigorous traditionalist reaction to both popular odium and Trollopian satire, Bishop Benson believed that chapters were necessary, provided that their duties were carefully defined. Conveniently for him and for Truro, Bishop Phillpotts had not only secured retention of that fifth canonry at Exeter, but had also covenanted in 1863 to pay £10,000 privately to establish a seminary in the old diocese of Exeter and had then bequeathed his own library to that institution: Benson sought all this for Truro. Having put his ideas to his diocesan conference, Benson pressed Archbishop Tait for funds from the Exeter canonry, initially to support a chancellor to train ordinands and a missioner to evangelise throughout the diocese.[56] His pressure paid off, and despite some opposition in the Commons which alleged that canons were obsolete and useless, the 1878 Truro Chapter Act authorised a dean (£1,000) and four residentiary canons (£300 a year each), transferred about £1,000 a year from Exeter upon suppression of its fifth canonry, and allowed public subscription to augment that source. Financed separately, the seminary was opened in October 1877 with the Revd A. J. Mason as tutor, but public subscriptions to help endow the chapter came in slowly, and Exeter money was encumbered until 1897 with annual payments to the archdeacon of Cornwall. However sufficient was soon in hand at least to appoint Mason as the first stipendiary canon (missioner) in 1878. The Revd G. H. Whitaker succeeded him as tutor, honorary canon and honorary chancellor, but endowment of his canonry, and of a precentor, was not affordable until 1885. The fourth canonry (sub-deanery) was filled *ex officio* in 1887 by the Revd J. H. Moore, new rector of St Mary's. All these residentiaries had extra-mural responsibilities as well as capitular ones. Also in 1887 the chapter was incorporated and with parochial goodwill effectively took charge of St Mary's, then being rebuilt and extended as a cathedral. If there was a mistake behind this outwardly smooth development it was to have run concurrent appeals in the wake of the collapse of local mining – one to endow the chapter and one to rebuild St Mary's. The latter had the higher public profile, its progress being more obvious, and it flourished at the expense of the other. Hence the Church Assembly Commission noted the inadequacy of capitular endowment at Truro, and indeed continued delay in founding the deanery justified that criticism.[57]

No sooner had Benson begun to develop Truro than that future date for discussion of chapters which Cross had envisaged, came forward.

[56] Benson to Tait, 20 Nov. 1877, Lambeth Palace, Tait papers 53/131; Benson to Commissioners, 3 Jan. 1877, Ch. Comm., file 1837/ii.

[57] The most detailed account of the development of the chapter is still in Donaldson's *Truro*. On parliamentary criticism in 1878 see *Hansard*, 3rd ser. ccxli. 844; Bishop Wilkinson took the fabric appeal to London and the national press: Mason, *Wilkinson*, ii. 94, 121–3; *CACCR* ii. 316.

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Prompted by unease over the variety and apparent obsolescence of cathedral statutes, by those fudges, and, perhaps, by Stephens's pamphlet, Bishop Goodwin moved a Cathedrals Bill in 1879 to revise the statutes of all cathedrals of new foundation. Archbishop Tait opposed it because it did not go far enough, but they agreed that an enquiry might be useful; Lord Beaconsfield concurred and later that year appointed the second Royal Commission on Cathedrals.[58] Not to be sidelined by this erastian development, the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation appointed a parallel committee in 1880. Neither enquiry focused exclusively on parish-church cathedrals, but the Lower House urged development (or revival) of the dual system of diocesan and cathedral chapters, and recommended specific duties for residentiaries, including a canon–treasurer for diocesan finance.[59] The Royal Commission also recommended the dual system but would add rural deans and clergy proctors in Convocation to the traditional membership of diocesan chapters, and vaguely hoped that recently created cathedrals would develop in line with others.[60] Neither report had any immediate effect on government and so other bodies, especially Church Congress, applied pressure. At the 1894 Congress, Bishop Creighton stressed the centrality of cathedral worship to diocesan life, and explained Bensonian ideas on capitular organisation and work; presciently, Archdeacon Robeson noted the importance of lay involvement in cathedrals. The 1895 Congress heard H. W. Yeatman Biggs further rehearse Bensonian ideas.[61] Indeed, translation of Benson to Canterbury in 1883 had given his ideas, perhaps spuriously, added prestige, and three of the four new dioceses authorised in 1878 (Newcastle, Wakefield and Liverpool) were soon actively considering chapters; local circumstances held back the fourth, Southwell.

Like Truro, the chapter at Newcastle was endowed partly by transfer of assets from its parent chapter, Durham, and partly by public subscription (comparison with Truro was voiced explicitly from time to time in Northumberland).[62] Since Durham was wealthy and had retained more than four canonries, Bishop Lightfoot and Bishop E. R. Wilberforce obtained legislation in 1884, similar to that for Truro, to use some Durham assets to help Newcastle endow a chapter.[63] Meanwhile bishops of Newcastle assembled an informal one: Wilberforce had more than

[58] *Hansard*, 3rd ser. ccxlvi. 381–8.

[59] *CCC* 1881, 280–1; and appendix, 'Report on cathedrals'.

[60] *PP* 1882, xx. 17.

[61] *CCR* 1894, 27–57; 1895, 594–614. Bishop Yeatman Biggs's paper is notable because in the following year his diocesan, Bishop Talbot of Rochester, founded the so-called chapter at Southwark.

[62] Cf. *Newcastle Diocesan Gazette* ii (1898), 152.

[63] *Hansard*, 3rd ser. cclxxxix. 1541–3; Gladstone favoured the bill and Bishop E. R. Wilberforce was inclined to the Liberal cause (Atlay, *Wilberforce*, 118, 137), hence its relatively easy passage.

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gastronomy in mind when he regularly invited the vicar of St Nicholas to lunch, and his successor, Bishop Jacob, held six-monthly meetings of a group comprising his archdeacons and honorary canons to discuss progress and vote thanks to benefactors.[64] Wilberforce's priority had been parochial improvement but Jacob turned to capitular needs. Durham funds only sufficed for two canons but a breakthrough occurred in 1899 with the gift of £10,000 from Thomas Spencer; hence two canonries were gazetted in 1900 and two more in 1905 after expiry of a life interest at Durham.[65] These canons were to advise the bishop on diocesan matters, to perform offices at the cathedral and to act as missioners throughout the diocese, duties which somewhat confused traditional roles of diocesan and cathedral chapters.[66] A deanery project, however, stumbled and was eventually abandoned in favour of a provostship.[67]

Partly to endow chapters, as at Truro and Newcastle, by transferring assets had attractions, not least the example of self-sacrifice; it also complemented the practice by which a parent bishopric normally gave a small subsidy to its daughter upon a diocese being divided. The approach appealed to Bishop Ridding, who sought help for a proposed chapter at Southwell from those of Lincoln, York and Lichfield, and to Archdeacon Donne who suggested that chapters at York and Ripon might help endow stalls at Wakefield.[68] Neither plea elicited a positive response since those old chapters had no surplus canonries, and since circumstances at all older cathedrals precluded adoption of this expedient without statutory compulsion.

At Wakefield, Bishop How and Bishop Eden envisaged a chapter of 'headquarters staff' with diocesan functions and minimal invasion of parochial interests at the cathedral; the ethos was management rather than collegiality. Morever Wakefield chapter relied wholly on lay generosity for its endowment. Initially Bishop How disregarded the possibility of canons but two years later, admitting his need for help, appointed the Revd D. M. Wauchope, as diocesan 'chaplain', or missioner, to develop spirituality among the clergy and to supervise lay readers.[69] Not all of his

[64] Ibid. 116–17; *Newcastle Diocesan Gazette* ii (1898), 5–6; iii (1899), 98–9; cf. L. Creighton, *Life and letters of Mandell Creighton*, London 1904, i. 251, 275.

[65] *Newcastle Diocesan Gazette* i (1897), 4–5; *A social history of the diocese of Newcastle, 1882–1982*, ed. W. S. F. Pickering, Stocksfield 1981, esp. chs ii, vi, vii, ix.

[66] For its statutes see *London Gazette* (1900), 8101–2; (1905), 8219; cf. *Newcastle Diocesan Gazette* ix (1905), 121; x (1906), 30, 44–5.

[67] Bishop Jacob wished to transform the living of St Nicholas into a deanery (*CCR* 1900, 31–2) but a bill to this effect, having passed the Lords, failed in the Commons in three successive years (1903, 1904, 1905), victim of those politico-sectarian squabbles which were delaying bishoprics for Birmingham and Southwark. See also n. 38, above.

[68] *CCR* 1894, 55; L. Ridding, *George Ridding*, London 1908, 166–7; *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* x (1904–5), 133–4.

[69] Ibid. i (1889–91), 8–11, 176, 250.

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clergy approved of plans to endow residentiary canonries, the Revd W. W. Kirby, rector of Barnsley, publicly arguing that it would be monstrous to raise capital for them.[70] However the diocese became sufficiently interested not only to invite Archdeacon Madden from Liverpool to lecture on the role of cathedrals, but also for gifts to reach the bishop in trust for capitular purposes. These gifts prompted the vicar and churchwardens of All Saints', Wakefield, anxious for their own needs, to seek clarification in Chancery, the court ruling that, subject to some provisos, such money might be used to endow canonries.[71] As at Newcastle, the tide turned with a single gift: in 1908, M. E. Sanderson of Kettlethorpe Hall, Wakefield, bequeathed £60,000 together with the net residue of his estate to the bishop in trust for the purposes of the Church of England. He gave no mandatory definition of those purposes but recommended residentiary canonries.[72] Bishop Eden sought advice from Sir Lewis Dibdin and the Revd W. H. Frere, then Superior of the Community of the Resurrection; Frere supported Eden's proposal for a headquarters staff comprising the two archdeacons, a missioner and a diocesan 'instructor'. The vicar of Wakefield, the Ven. W. Donne, conceded that the bishop might act as dean provided the vicar remained responsible for the parish church and its services. Eden also enquired from Lord St Aldwyn (R. A. Cross) about legislation, but party politics being unpropitious, Eden executed a deed on 5 June 1909 to finance an interim chapter with Sanderson money, pending its incorporation; it was to comprise the two archdeacons (£700 each, plus £50 in lieu of a house), the vicar of Wakefield (£200 as canon), and a missioner (£140, augmented from other sources).[73] Both archdeacons were intended to relinquish parochial duty, but only the archdeacon of Halifax did so: Donne luxuriated as canon, archdeacon of Huddersfield and vicar of Wakefield, thus reducing the size of the chapter by his plurality. In addition to their several existing duties the canons were allocated diocesan responsibilities for promotion of theology, for church-based educational,

[70] *CCR* 1895, 613.

[71] *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* xi (1905–6), 83, 143; xii (1906–7), 167; xiv (1908–9), 153–4. See also churchwardens' minutes, 4 Mar. 1909, WDA 22/3. At the time he gave his lecture, Archdeacon Madden was a member of the executive committee for the construction of Liverpool Cathedral.

[72] Copy of Sanderson's will, WD 11/3/3.

[73] Copy letter, Dibdin to Eden, 11 July 1908, ibid. 11/3/6; memorandum from Frere and copy letter, Eden to Donne, 3 Nov. 1908, and letter Donne to Eden, 6 Nov. 10/2; Lambeth Palace, Davidson papers, vol. 154, fo. 235; *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* xiv (1908–9), 170. The military analogy ('headquarters staff") was not unique; prayer for the Church Militant prompted its use, of course, and in 1868 the Revd T. Hayton referred in a critical passage to archdeacons and rural deans as 'staff officers': *Letters of Thomas Hayton*, ed. J. Donald (Buckinghamshire Record Society xx, 1979), 152. A fair copy of Bishop Eden's deed does not survive in WDA, but a draft dated 27 Mar. 1909 does (WDA 11/3/6), and its substance is rehearsed in a schedule appended to the printed statutes of Wakefield Cathedral issued in 1937 (WDA 10/5, pp. 19–22).

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social and moral movements, for home and foreign missions, and for assistance to other clergy in emergency. To symbolise the diocesan scope of these duties the canons were not required to reside in Wakefield: except for the vicar of Wakefield, they were thus distanced from the parochial affairs of the cathedral, a separation of which the Church Assembly commission later disapproved.[74]

The outcome at Southwark differed from those dioceses, due in no small measure to Bishop Talbot's enthusiasm exceeding his prudence. Pundits having advocated fostering a corporate spirit in its putative area before creating any new diocese, Talbot erected a chapter at Southwark in 1896, nine years before the bishopric and diocese came into existence.[75] Heroic though this seemed in retrospect to Archbishop Davidson, it offended legal propriety.[76] The offence was four-fold. The creation was premature. Next, it lacked incorporation, essential protection once it began to hold real estate and money, and to employ staff. Talbot's use of a faculty may have been *ultra vires*. Lastly, the legality of his restriction of parochial status to the Lady Chapel was dubious and contrasted sharply with the statutory basis for the parochial status of the south aisle at Truro. Indeed, Church Assembly noted 'certain doubts and ambiguities with regard to the legal situation' and an official of the Cathedral Commission later observed, 'one may entertain some doubt as to the legal operation or consequences of [Bishop Talbot's] faculty and the statutes of the collegiate church, but... one must take them as having effected what they purport to effect'. The Chapter Clerk, A. W. D. Moore, endorsed that robust rider.[77] Talbot's organisation had sworn itself into existence at a celebration of Holy Communion on 16 February 1897 and became the *de facto* chapter of the cathedral in 1905. Both Talbot and his suffragan were initially circumspect about their creation: writing to persuade a former colleague to join them, Talbot referred to the organisation as a 'quasi-capitular body'. He also warned *The Times* against premature terminology, while Yeatman Biggs acknowledged,

[74] *CACCR* ii. 239. The initial arrangement was for the archdeacon of Huddersfield to become chairman of the Board of Missions and of the Diocesan Temperance Council, for the archdeacon of Halifax to supervise ordinands, Sunday schools and various other organisations, and for the missioner to retain that responsibility: *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* xv (1909–10), 111. On their surrendering parochial work see WDA 11/3/6 (copy letter, Eden to both archdeacons, 5 Feb. 1909). Donne was duly recognised as senior canon and therefore, in practice, as subdean: *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* xv (1909–10), 112.

[75] Cf. *Hansard*, 3rd ser. xciv. 239; *CCR* 1861, 58; *Guardian*, 13 Dec. 1899, 1756.

[76] Cf. G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson*, London 1935, i. 211.

[77] SCA 281 (bundle of individually unnumbered papers on the cathedral constitution, including letter S. E. Downing [Cathedral Commissioner] to subdean, 1 Feb. 1932, and copy letter, Moore to Cathedral Commissioners, 11 Mar. 1932); *CACCR* ii. 24. See also E. J. Heaton, *Origins of the diocese of Southwark*, Southampton 1950, 43–4; CAM 1 Edw. VIII & Geo. VI, no. 3 (1937), sched. 1.

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'there can be no legal cathedral till there is a diocese'.[78] Yet Southwark haplessly became the victim of its own success, references in *Crockford* and elsewhere before 1905 suggesting a status to which it still only aspired: even the clergy misled themselves.[79] The proto-chapter began with Talbot as dean, Yeatman Biggs as subdean, four other clergy, two laymen chosen for their business connections and the rector's warden.[80] Lacking endowment as a chapter, it supported most clerical members by plurality and although publicly subscribed endowment accumulated, the chapter continued to be partly supported in that way.[81] Duties which the clerical canons undertook in their capacity as canons were Bensonian; notably the missioner was responsible for a flying squad of junior clergy, accommodated in a clergy house near Guy's Hospital (later at Carshalton) to render help in any parish. As canon-chancellor the rector of St Saviour linked chapter and parish, while the creation of lay canons was a forward-looking and unprecedented attempt to widen involvement in the spirit of Archdeacon Robeson's earlier remarks to Church Congress.

The 1931 Cathedrals Measure called Southwark's bluff. Strenuous argument ensued as to the chapter's legal status, much of which might have been avoided had Talbot been more willing to follow precedent. The parochial church council, taking its stand on the 1931 measure, refused to support a proposal from the proto-chapter that the incumbent should not head the chapter. Successive bishops muddied this issue since Bishop Garbett, opposed to surrendering patronage to the crown, manoeuvred himself into supporting the title 'provost' whereas Bishop Parsons preferred 'dean' and sought some other role for the incumbent. Moreover the Cathedral Commissioners, trying to implement the 1931 measure, insisted on excluding laity from the chapter. Eventually new statutes were agreed, broadly in line with the requirements of the 1931 measure, but

[78] The first business meeting of the chapter had been held on 8 Dec. 1896 (SCA 162, fo. 12). For the formal inauguration see *The Times*, 17 Feb. 1897, 6. On the terminology see G. Stephenson, *E. S. Talbot*, London 1936, 122; *Times* 18 Feb. 1897, 8, and SCA 162, fo. 410 (copy of leaflet inserted in chapter minute book).

[79] *CCR* 1899, 48; *Guardian*, 7 May 1902, 647.

[80] The other clergy were Revd W. Thompson, rector of St Saviour, canon and chancellor; Revd R. R. Bristow, rector of St Olave, Southwark, canon missioner; Revd A. T. Edwards, vicar of All Saints, South Lambeth, canon and catechist; Revd S. M. Taylor, canon and precentor.

[81] An early appeal for funds, to meet an estimated shortfall of £400, appeared in *The Times*, 11 Jan. 1897, 6; cf. Stephenson, *Talbot*, 124, and Heaton, *Origins*, 36–7. In the early 1930s Canon Brook Jackson was also rector of St Mary Abbots, Kensington (outside the diocese), and Canon H. G. Moore was vicar of Wimbledon; at the same time two stipendiary canons without parochial cure also lived away from Bankside – Canon A. W. Maplesden, joint full-time director of religious education for London and Southwark dioceses who had an office in Westminster and lived at Guildford, and Canon F. A. Cockin, missioner, who presided over the clergy house by then transferred to Carshalton.

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implemented by separate legislation in 1937 to wipe the legal slate clean. Even so, these new statutes retained some forward thinking, responsibility for the fabric and finance being given to a cathedral council which included laity, thus allowing the cathedral chapter to focus on spiritual and pastoral matters.[82]

Southwark had imitators. Having been promoted to Worcester, Yeatman Biggs tried to repeat the experience at Coventry.[83] The contagion also spread to Leicestershire where in 1922 Bishop Woods of Peterborough established an organisation at St Martin, Leicester, in anticipation of a new diocese for that county, with himself as honorary dean and the Revd F. B. MacNutt, vicar of St Martin and a former canon of Southwark, as honorary sub-dean. Comprising both clerical and lay 'canons', this body resembled more an *ad hoc* committee steering a bishopric into existence than the chapter of an ancient cathedral. The clergy of this group eventually became a provisional chapter which was legitimised and incorporated in 1935. Even so, concurrent preferments, mainly parochial, still supported these canons, the converse of that relationship which had troubled Manchester.[84] Plurality may be economical yet it blurred distinctions between parochial and capitular ministry, and assumed that one person could adequately serve two duties at once.

The scenario at Liverpool was quite different; St Peter's parish church was inadequate for cathedral purposes and a new cathedral was built from scratch, benefiting not only from being untrammelled by parochial interests but also, as we shall see, from a lavish endowment provided by the sale of the site of that inadequate church.[85] Promoters of the bishopric agreed that, although needful, a cathedral chapter was not within their remit, yet they resolved to credit any surplus in the bishopric endowment fund to capitular uses.[86] Their scruple led to private legislation in 1885 to incorporate a cathedral committee, with much the same membership, to build a cathedral upon the opening of which the old parish church of St Peter would cease to be the pro-cathedral; the act also permitted

[82] These discussions may be followed in detail in SCA 151–2 (chapter minute books, 1930–3, 1933–7) and in SCA 281. The 1937 statutes appear in a schedule of the Southwark Cathedral Measure 1937.

[83] H. Yeatman Biggs, *The efficiency and inefficiency of a diocese*, London 1909, 15.

[84] E. S. Woods and F. B. MacNutt, *Theodore, bishop of Winchester*, London 1935, 134, 161–2, 172–7; *Times*, 20 Apr. 1927, 13; *London Gazette* (1935), iii. 4770; cf. VCH, *Leicestershire*, London 1958, iv. 366–7. The chapter authorised in 1935 comprised: Provost F. B. MacNutt, vicar of St Martin, Leicester; Canon F. R. C. Payne, chancellor and rector of Market Bosworth; Canon A. L. Wright, vicar of St Mark, Leicester; Canon G. W. Briggs, rector of Loughborough, and Canon S. T. Winckley, treasurer and master of Wyggeston Hospital.

[85] Cf. R. H. Malden, 'The church in the nineteenth century', in *Essays presented to Sir Humphrey Milford*, London 1948, 109.

[86] Liverpool Record Office, MS 283/BIS/2, 186, 187–8, 196–8.

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endowment and incorporation of a chapter.[87] Such projects would require public subscription, but W. B. Forwood, chairman of the Building Executive Committee, recalled that the public response was not 'cordial'. Moreover, Bishop Ryle was more concerned with evangelism, and unfortunately for the projected cathedral, the Liberation Society chose to rehearse his earlier hostility towards cathedral establishments in a book which it republished in 1894.[88] His successor, Bishop Chavasse, attached more importance to a cathedral, but, as Truro showed, it might be too sanguine to expect simultaneous public support both for a building project and for endowment of a chapter. So Chavasse obtained a new Liverpool Cathedral Act in 1902 which authorised a novel solution: once public worship had begun in the new cathedral (even if structurally incomplete), St Peter's would be closed, demolished and its site sold, the net proceeds endowing the chapter. This was an unusual development, and its eventual success contrasts with the contemporary failure of a Birmingham scheme which proposed to use some inner-city parochial assets for its bishopric. Construction of the new cathedral was put in hand, and in 1910 services began in its Lady Chapel, but the last service at St Peter's was not held until 1 September 1919; the city council then bought the site of St Peter's for £235,000 and by January 1923 agreed plans for Woolworth's store to be built upon it.[89] Funds thus being assured, Bishop Chavasse appointed two provisional canons in the late summer of 1923 and then retired on 1 October: his successor, Bishop David, continued the work.[90] The form of the chapter and duties of its canons were Bensonian but the relative lavishness of the foundation reflected its unusual financing.[91]

[87] 48/9 Vict. cap. li (1885).

[88] W. B. Forwood, *The Liverpool cathedral: the story of its foundation 1885–1914*, Liverpool 1925, 20–1; *Guardian*, 26 Oct. 1881, 1517 (leader on Ryle); Liberation Society, *The case for disestablishment*, new edn, London 1894, 92–3, 100–2.

[89] *Times*, 1 June 1900, 11 (Chavasse's enthronement sermon). A scrapbook of press-cuttings on St Peter's, compiled in 1927, now in Liverpool Record Office, usefully traces the closure, demolition and sale; select items of furniture and fittings from St Peter's were distributed to other churches in the area. The second act was also local and private: 2 Edw. VII, cap. ccxxxi (1902). On Birmingham see P. S. Morrish, 'The struggle to create an Anglican diocese of Birmingham', this JOURNAL xxxi (1980), 59–88.

[90] The pioneer work of Bishop Chavasse towards a chapter is rather discounted by the Ven. A. Costley White in his notice of Bishop David in *DNB 1941–50*. On Chavasse's appointments see *Liverpool Diocesan Gazette* xxi (1923), 68; *Times*, 26 June 1923, 15.

[91] The establishment authorised in 1885 had comprised a dean (£1,000 annually) and four canons (£300 a year each), but the sale of St Peter's allowed the first dean, F. W. Dwelly, to receive £1,500 rising to £2,000, two canons who would be barred from taking pluralities, £1,000 each, and two other canons not so restricted, at £300 each. Moreover the Liverpool cathedral statutes of 1931 also provided for vicars choral, lay songmen, choristers and an organist, all on the foundation, and for a cathedral school of divinity with four canons theologian each with an honorarium of £75 annually. These statutes appear in the *London Gazette* (1931), iii. 4525–30.

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By 1931 most new dioceses still had made no progress towards capitular cathedral organisation beyond honorary canonries. It is arguable whether no progress was preferable to a little, for at least inaction not only left options open for a different approach, should that become desirable, but also avoided tension between parochial and cathedral interests. However lack of Bensonian progress created a two-tier system, the apparently inferior new cathedrals resembling many of those in the colonies. A traditionalist such as the earl of Mount Edgcumbe, who was much involved with Truro, was scornful:

> in most of these cities there appears to be no cathedral establishment at all. There are honorary canons, varying in number from twelve to twenty-four, but no residentiary chapter. Except that special services are held from time to time in the cathedral, it continues to be the parish church and nothing more, under the control of the rector or vicar, by whom, with his two or three curates, the services are provided…. There are diocesan boards which under the guidance of the bishop, deal with diocesan work; but as far as I can learn they have nothing to do with the cathedral, and it is difficult to speak of the maintenance of cathedrals where no cathedral organization appears to exist.[92]

Various factors hampered development. The poor image of cathedral chapters had persisted, even among clergy; the dean of Bangor reminded Convocation in 1881 of the popular view of cathedral chapters as indulging in 'ease' and 'idleness', and the Revd N. Vickers hinted similarly with his rhetorical question, 'why this waste?', to Church Congress in 1904.[93] A lack of funds made bishops unwilling to push forward on too many fronts at once; the parochial needs of the London overspill area in south-west Essex took precedence over the creation of a cathedral chapter at Chelmsford, and the wealth of Birmingham was reported to rest mainly in Nonconformist purses.[94] At Southwell failure to obtain subsidy from other chapters, fear that a residential chapter might seem a self-indulgent retreat from urban Nottingham, and social division of the diocese along county lines, all militated against central institutions.[95] Further local research may justify Archbishop Lang's contemporary diagnosis that 'the great trouble about cathedrals is the lack not of ideas or efforts, but simply of money'.[96]

Lang may have been too sanguine about ideas since many critics of Bensonian principles tended not to produce rounded alternatives. Of course, diocese-wide tasks which residentiaries might have undertaken were not left undone, for archdeacons and honorary canons performed

[92] *CCR* 1894, 47.
[93] *CCC* 1881, 319; *CCR* 1904, 57; cf. H. W. Massingham, 'The nationalisation of cathedrals', *Contemporary Review* lx (1891), 367.
[94] *CACCR* ii. 86–7; cf. P. M. Bayne, *Some thoughts and memories*, Chelmsford 1939, 8.
[95] *Guardian*, 5 Oct. 1881, 1496–7; 28 Oct. 1891, 1748; *CCR* 1885, 250; *CACCR* ii. 117.
[96] J. C. Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, London 1949, 297–8.

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them; yet the separation of action from daily corporate worship, which that implied, weakened the link between work and prayer, and hence devalued the Bensonian *raison d'être* of a cathedral. On the other hand, those who sought an alternative to residentiaries had in mind efficiency, economy and greater lay involvement. At Bradford, Bishop Perowne relied on the clerical and lay members of ten sub-committees of his diocesan Board of Finance, and on two archdeacons, to manage the diocese without dutiful residentiaries; but the Church Assembly Commission was unconvinced and, indeed, reliance on boards rather than canons had had a cool reception at the 1894 Church Congress.[97] Critics of Bensonian orthodoxy became more strident in the 1920s: Bishop Headlam deplored the inflexibility of a Bensonian chapter, and Frere not only continued to press for a headquarters staff as opposed to claustral medievalism but also, as bishop of Truro, cruelly undermined his predecessors by observing, 'various expedients have been tried.... Probably the least successful are those which somewhat blindly followed the discredited lines of the past'.[98] Dean Bennett anticipated this paper by proclaiming the futility of developing cathedral functions in churches 'cumbered and embarrassed with all manner of parochial rights and traditions', a view which Bishop Green of Monmouth shared.[99] Moreover the apparent lack of pastoral disaster where cathedral chapters had not been developed encouraged the view that chapters were unnecessary, a point still argued in the 1960s.[100] Yet tradition has trumped its critics, and as a result of the 1931 measure, deans (or provosts) and canons continue to adorn Barchesters, old, new and modern.

Diocesan (or greater) chapters were a separate issue, and problems here did not stem exclusively from those fudges in the legislation of the 1870s. These chapters did not invade vested parochial interests, and the 1840 act had ignored them, but Stephens later demonstrated they were canonical though in desuetude, and the second Royal Commission and much church opinion recommended their revival. But if, as was then supposed, diocesan chapters were cathedral chapters augmented with select country clergy (prebendaries and honorary canons), then lack of a lawfully constituted cathedral chapter seemed to preclude the existence of a diocesan one. Bishop Benson tackled the matter. The first Truro Dean and Chapter Act only authorised creation of a cathedral chapter of

[97] Hansen, *One small corner*, 58–9; cf. *CACCR* ii. 166; *CCR* 1894, 47.

[98] A. C. Headlam, *The Church of England*, London 1924, 230–1; W. H. Frere, *English church ways*, London 1914, 73–5, and 'Introduction', to F. S. M. Bennett, *The nature of a cathedral*, Chester 1925, p. xi; CA, *Proceedings* viii (1927), 375 (Frere).

[99] Bennett, *Nature of a cathedral*, 66–70; cf. A. J. Edwards, 'Bishop Green of Monmouth', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* xxi (1971), 61.

[100] E. W. Kemp, *Counsel and consent*, London 1961, 224; *Diocesan boundaries... report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's commission on... London and the south-east*, London 1967, 36; CA, *Report of the cathedrals and new dioceses committee*, London 1969, 4–10.

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residentiaries, but Benson also instituted a diocesan chapter of both residentiaries and honorary canons, required to meet three times a year to consult on diocesan affairs. He thus gave his honorary canons a role as well as mere honour.[101] Such was the value of advisory bodies that similar but informal groups sometimes evolved, as at Newcastle, before the inauguration of formal chapters. Honorary canons, however, fared unevenly; those at Ripon and Southwark, for example, were vouchsafed only an annual meeting in diocesan chapter where their advice might be sought rather than proffered as of right.[102] Moreover, lack of progress towards formal chapters implied that some new bishoprics continued to be filled by letters patent, a more blatantly erastian procedure than 'election' and inimical to the spirit of the 1919 Enabling Act. Hence Lord Phillimore persuaded Church Assembly in 1923 to amend its Measure for a bishopric of Blackburn by including an unendowed 'provisional chapter' of those archdeacons, canons and honorary canons whose preferments lay within the new diocese, with the principal duty of 'electing' their bishop; neither the crown nor parliament demurred, though Sir Lewis Dibdin and both archbishops had opposed Phillimore in Assembly.[103] The 1931 Cathedrals Measure sought uniformity, particularly to bring diocesan chapters out of a legal limbo by requiring that new statutes for all cathedrals provide for both a diocesan chapter for general business, including 'election', and a cathedral chapter of residentiaries to administer their cathedral; as far as possible, despite provosts and residual parochial interests, the two tiers were to become one.

Parish-church cathedrals had another problem. As Archdeacon Robeson had hinted, democracy was knocking at the church door, and Bishop Yeatman Biggs argued that 'if the cathedral is to supplement and encourage the efforts of the clergy in the cathedral town, it would be well to constitute around it a permanent representative council of parish priests and laymen'.[104] Parochial church councils, instituted in 1921

[101] Donaldson, *Truro*, 107. There was some uncertainty about the validity of Benson's statutes because the 1878 act required their publication in the *London Gazette* whereas they appeared in *PP* 1883, xxi. 47–76. Benson had purported to give the right of 'election' to the diocesan chapter but the 1887 Truro Act appeared to give it to the chapter of residentiaries.

[102] Respectively in statutes of 1936 and 1937. At Liverpool, according to its statutes of 1931, even rural deans could attend the general chapter provided they were specifically invited by the bishop.

[103] CA, *Proceedings*, iv (1923), 43, 50, 192–202, 206. The draft measure for Blackburn had followed precedent, allowing appointment by letters patent until such time as a dean and chapter might exist. Phillimore's opponents argued that the context was too narrow for such a substantial change. The precedent having been set, however, subsequent measures for new bishoprics of Derby, Guildford, Portsmouth and Leicester, followed suit.

[104] *CCR* 1900, 98; cf. CA *Proceedings*, viii (1927), 366 (archdeacon of Leicester).

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though mooted earlier, tried to effect that lay involvement at the parochial level, but the measure failed to take account of those parish churches which were also cathedrals, and amendment was needed in 1934 to resolve uncertainties as to areas of responsibility in such cases. As we have seen, the parochial church council at Southwark took a robust line when necessary. That at Ripon was more conciliatory; having co-opted the dean, its activities included such domestic matters as provision of a piano, heating the cathedral and painting a noticeboard at its west front.[105] Elsewhere a less formal approach to lay involvement had already been tried; at Wakefield, for example, an *ad hoc* committee of laity and clergy representing diocesan, cathedral and parochial interests evolved by 1907 to discuss matters of mutual concern, especially financial.[106] The usefulness of such committees ensured that the 1931 Cathedrals Measure explicitly permitted 'cathedral councils'. In that same year, however, Liverpool muddied the waters by establishing a so-called College of Stewards, lay communicants, partly appointed by ruri-decanal conferences and partly by the bishop and dean severally, both to keep order in the cathedral and to represent its interests in their respective rural deaneries; they were as much a channel of communication as an advisory body.[107] Such efforts at parish-church cathedrals to involve laity distinguish them from cathedrals of older foundation where capitular hegemony prevailed throughout this period. However, this tendency to superimpose various layers of authority upon parish-church cathedrals rather than to take the opportunity, which circumstances seemed to offer, of engaging in more radical reform, led to a ramshackle structure. Thus the Church Assembly Commission reported on efforts at Coventry where the bishop acted as dean and the incumbent as sub-dean, helped (or hampered) by canons, churchwardens, ancient vestry, local feoffees and a parochial church council: not surprisingly, the commission noted an 'anomalous and confused' situation.[108] Unfortunately, new statutes prepared for cathedrals pursuant to the 1931 measure could perpetuate such complexity, for in 1937 Wakefield was weighed down by a diocesan chapter, a cathedral chapter, a cathedral council and a parochial church council; new arrangements at Southwark were similarly elaborate.[109] Whether such organisation is ideal, or even viable, may be questioned. Despite Archbishop Lang's analysis, the situation revealed inability or reluctance to combine various ideas and interests into a single new structure: not until much later did the Church of England earnestly begin to agonise over management theory.

[105] Leeds Univ. Lib., MS Dep. 1980/1/157.1 (unfoliated minute book of Ripon Cathedral parochial church council, various dates up to July 1925).

[106] Cf. *Wakefield Diocesan Gazette* xii (1906–7), 214; xxvi (1920–1), 25.

[107] *London Gazette* (1931), iii. 4525–30.

[108] *CACCR* ii. 269–70, 301–2.

[109] WDA 10/5; Southwark Cathedral Measure, 1937.

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Problems which arose in the transition from parish church to cathedral may have seemed esoteric to the average worshipper: what might he or she have noticed apart from a titular change? In some respects there was little difference. Parishioners at Ripon, Southwark, Southwell and St Albans were already accustomed to a cathedral-like ambience and a bishop's throne completed the *mise en scène*. Smaller parish-church cathedrals tended to retain a parochial atmosphere though refurbishment at Newcastle and Birmingham, or subsequent works at Sheffield and Bradford, added space or dignity.[110] Grand building projects as at Truro, Liverpool and Guildford were the exception and obviously created a new environment. Even less change occurred in another respect because the liturgies in *The book of common prayer* were common to cathedrals and parish churches. Of course, a cathedral might strive for more decorum and better music, but both music and ritual were beholden to other influences than the mere status of a building, and some parish churches had musical establishments comparable to those of any cathedral.[111] Moreover if a parish-church cathedral lacked a chapter of residentiaries, processions of robed clergy could remain meagre affairs. The most notable change on Sundays may have been more variety of preachers for, whereas a parish church had to endure its incumbent and his curates (plus occasional visiting preachers), cathedrals might have elaborate preaching rotas, as at Wakefield where a monthly rota included the bishop and honorary canons.[112] However such was the nature of the episcopal office that bishops might not be seen or heard in cathedrals on every Sunday. Some evidence suggests that people habitually worshipping in parish-church cathedrals tended to regard Sunday services as parochial and weekday ones as cathedral; this was the understanding at Manchester,

[110] Newcastle had required structural repair and this was consciously related to expected cathedral status, but it then went on to indulge itself with new furnishings; Wakefield underwent substantial restoration before its elevation and so in 1881 only required additional vestry space, a throne and some small items of furniture; Birmingham was structurally sound yet received not only a throne and stalls to designs approved by Gore, but also electric lighting and modifications to its floor, the cost defrayed privately; even Liverpool spent £576 on minor works in its pro-cathedral, later demolished: *St Nicholas church: its history, restoration and reopening*, Newcastle 1877; E. B. Hicks, *The reredos in Newcastle cathedral*, Newcastle 1889, 9; Walker, *History of the old parish church* [*Wakefield*], 156, 159; Worcester County Record Office, MS box 2740/62 (memorandum by J. A. Chatwin, architect, 19 Dec. 1904, and letter from W. H. Carnegie to J. H. Hooper, 28 Dec. 1904); Liverpool Record Office, MS 283/BIS/2, pp. 155, 170. On subsequent works at Sheffield and Bradford see W. Odom, *Memorials of Sheffield*, Sheffield 1922, ch. iii; M. Jarvis and others, *The cathedral church… Sheffield*, Gloucester 1938, passim; Hansen, *One small corner*, 56–7, 73, 91–2, 131–2, 170.

[111] Cf. *Musical Times* (1914), 298; B. Rainbow, *The choral revival in the Anglican Church*, London 1970, 26–8.

[112] Cf. *Wakefield Diocesan Calendar for 1890*, Dewsbury n.d., 69.

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and the same may be inferred from the subsidy which its diocese gave to Birmingham Cathedral for weekday services.[113]

One might expect that having become a cathedral, a parish church might host more occasional services than hitherto, either on Sundays or on weekdays, but this was not necessarily so. Assize services did not move to a new see if the court sat elsewhere, as at Bodmin rather than Truro, and civic services depended as much upon a churchgoing corporation as upon an episcopal throne. If a new diocese contained more than one large town, ordinations might be held at each in turn and not solely at the cathedral.[114] Diocesan conferences and associated services might not settle in a new see if local circumstances made some other venue preferable, and Southwell conference usually met at Derby or Nottingham during Bishop Ridding's episcopate.[115] In one respect, however, ministry at parish-church cathedrals differed from that at ancient cathedrals. Not having cure of many souls, the latter were less often used for some occasional rites whereas the former continued to marry, baptise and bury their parishioners as busily as before.[116]

Architectural problems are a separate study, yet they link with questions of organisation. There was the problem of refurnishing chancels to provide stalls for dignitaries; but more importantly cathedral clergy had to live somewhere, and parish-church cathedrals in major cities could have difficulties because provision of a traditional style of close might be impossible. That raised the question whether capitular ministry is better served by claustral separation or by contact with everyday popular life: as Bishop Yeatman Biggs observed, 'the minute the Cathedral Close assumes, as alas! in old days it sometimes did, a superiority over its neighbours, and interprets "dignitaries" in the wrong sense, the usefulness of the cathedral to its town is, in these modern days, doomed'.[117] Manchester demonstrates how dispersal of colleagues throughout the community as a result of their parochial duties could lead to professional isolation, but city centres could be insalubrious for collegiate life. Railway viaducts overshadowed Southwark Cathedral which had as neighbours a brewery, a wholesale produce market and premises of hop merchants; so to support its canons by distant suburban livings had mundane advantage. Newcastle Cathedral faced a busy city-centre street, and in 1901 J. B. Atkinson gave the diocese two properties for residential use in quieter Grainger Park. By 1930 two of its canons lived in Jesmond and a third at

[113] A. Boutflower, *Personal reminiscences of Manchester cathedral*, 2nd edn, Manchester [1916], 35; *CACCR* ii. 299.

[114] In 1889 ordinations in the diocese of Ripon were held at Leeds and Bradford parish churches as well as at Ripon cathedral (*Ripon Diocesan Calendar for 1890*, Dewsbury n.d., 112), and in the same year in Wakefield diocese at Halifax and Huddersfield parish churches as well as at Wakefield cathedral (*Wakefield Dioc. Cal. for 1890*, 94–5).

[115] Ridding, *George Ridding*, 360: Buxton, Mansfield and Retford also provided one venue each. [116] Cf. Elvy, *Recollections*, 10. [117] *CCR* 1900, 96.

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Benwell, all congenially distant from the city centre.[118] Not only did Birmingham not proceed to a chapter of residentiaries, but its cathedral and rectory were surrounded by banks and other business premises which precluded affordable development. Some new sees were less clamorous, yet as Ripon and Truro found, neither suitable property nor funds to acquire any might be readily available; Truro was given one house.[119] Bradford, however, has reproduced the claustral atmosphere by developing a close on a disused graveyard around its cathedral.[120]

The Church Assembly Commission correctly noted and justifiably deplored the haphazard manner in which parish-church cathedrals had developed, yet it did not allocate blame. The interaction of various factors is nevertheless evident. Older cathedrals did not set a good example, popular odium persisting despite some local efforts at self-reform, and failure promptly or fully to implement the reports of either Royal Commission kept older cathedrals in the shadow of opprobrium. Chapters remained devalued. Shortcomings in the legislation permitted experiment by those who were forward-looking, or inaction by others, a point which did not go unnoticed.[121] That inadequacy was due partly to the reluctance of politicians to become too deeply involved in detail, which could so easily be denounced as meddling, and partly to the emphasis upon providing additional bishoprics which led to other dignitaries being discounted. Moreover, different schools of churchmanship gave no clear lead. Among evangelicals, Bishop Chavasse proved as much a protagonist of Bensonian ideas as his predecessor, Ryle, opposed them. Among High Churchmen, Bishop Benson, Bishop E. R. Wilberforce and Bishop Talbot evinced traditional approaches, but Gore did nothing at Birmingham and, in contrast to Benson's traditionalism, Frere and Eden adventurously sought in the concept of a headquarters staff an organisation which might be more attuned to contemporary need. Clearly, midcentury propaganda, culminating in Benson's *The cathedral*, did not move all hearts and minds: to heal the present by recreating the past has dubious efficacy. Lastly, lack of funds could hamper all parish-church cathedrals; development could be frustrated if there were no assets to redeploy or if, through poverty or disinclination or other priorities, laity were unwilling or unable to respond.

Between 1836 and 1931 circumstances and lack of central guidance precluded steady progress towards a uniform solution of common problems at parish-church cathedrals. The tragedy, perhaps, was not so much lack of uniformity during that admittedly experimental period, as the tendency after 1931, encouraged by such expostulations as Rashdall Hastings's posthumous 'Memorandum on deans and chapters' and guided

[118] *Newcastle Diocesan Gazette* v (1901), 81; *Crockford* (1930), *s.v.* the appropriate clergy.
[119] Donaldson, *Bishopric of Truro*, 281; *CACCR* ii. 316.
[120] Hansen, *One small corner*, 132.
[121] *CCR* 1894, 40–1.

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by the Cathedrals Measure, for traditional organisation to prevail with promiscuous addition of sundry novelties.[122] An opportunity for radical reform of all cathedrals slipped away. Creation of parish-church cathedrals involved more than just placing a chair in a chancel.

[122] CA Commission on property and revenues, *Report*, London 1924, ii. 240–3.

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