

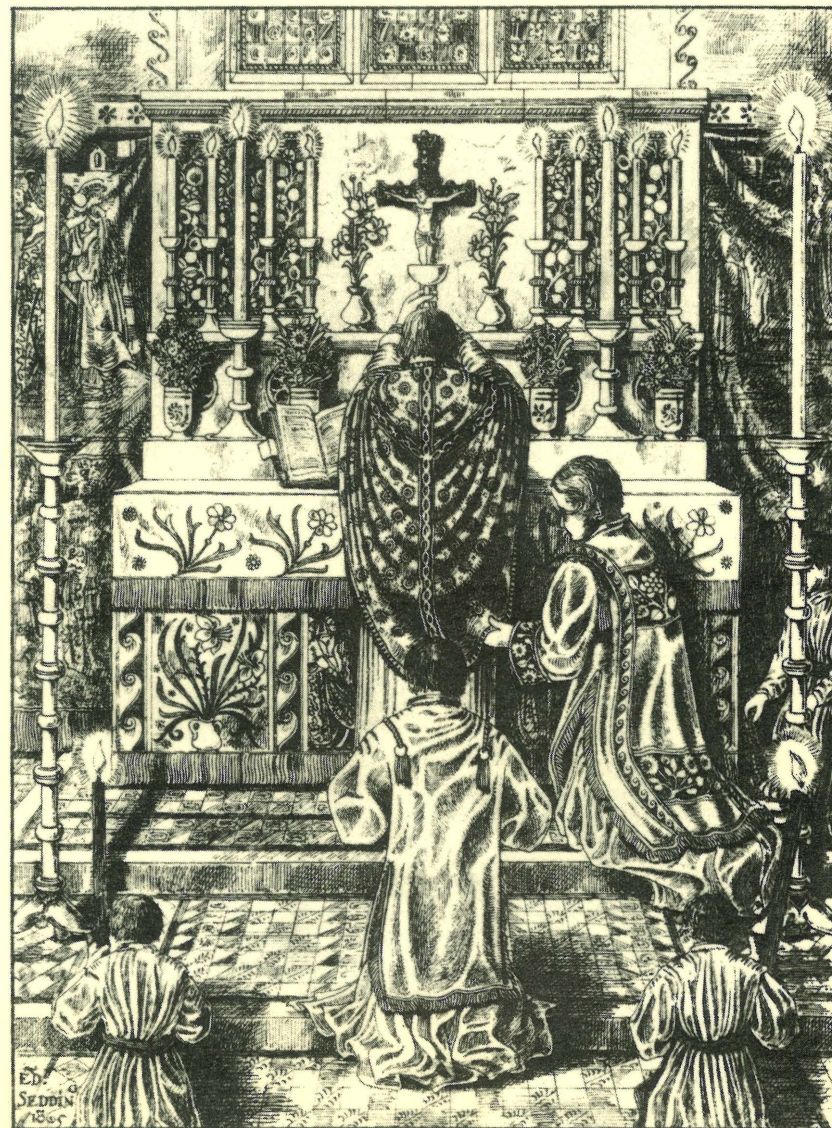
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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN NINETEENTH CENTURY BRISTOL

PETER G. COBB



BRISTOL BRANCH OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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The Oxford Movement in Nineteenth-Century Bristol is the sixty-eighth pamphlet to be published by the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association. Its author, Peter Cobb, read History and Theology at Oxford and is a priest of the Church of England at All Saints with S. John, Clifton. He was Librarian at Pusey House for a number of years, and he has published various articles on the history and spirituality of the Oxford Movement.

This pamphlet is larger than most others in the series as a result of a very generous gift from an anonymous donor.

The illustration on the front cover is taken from the frontispiece of the second edition, 1865, of F.G. Lee's *Directorium Anglicanum*, but the words *The Holy Eucharist* printed below the illustration have here been omitted. The illustration was drawn by Edmund Sedding who was honorary precentor of St. Raphael, Bristol, until his death in 1868. The *Directorium* was a very practical handbook of ceremonial for the Ritualists. R.W. Randall's personal copy is in the Bristol Record Office.

The picture of Dr E.B. Pusey is reproduced by kind permission of the Governors of Pusey House. The illustration of All Saints, Clifton, is taken from *A Tractarian at Work* by J.F. Briscoe and H.F.B. Mackay, 1932.

The author would like to thank the staff of the Bristol Record Office and the Central Reference Library for their courtesy and helpfulness while he was engaged in research for this pamphlet, and also the many individuals who generously shared their knowledge with him, especially Miss Elizabeth Ralph, Mrs Janet Whitehead and the Reverend David Cawley.

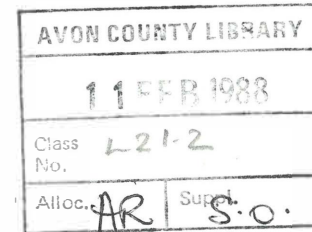
Mr Gordon Kelsey and the staff of the University of Bristol Arts Faculty Photographic Unit were extremely helpful with the illustrations.

The next pamphlet in the series will be *Bristol at the time of the Spanish Armada* by Dr Jean Vanes.

A list of pamphlets still in print is given on the inside back cover. Copies can be obtained from most Bristol booksellers, from the shop in the City Museum, from the Porter's Lodge in the Wills Memorial Building, or direct from Mr Peter Harris.

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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRISTOL

This pamphlet had its origin in a lecture given in connection with an exhibition at All Saints Clifton on the Victorian Church in Bristol in which I tried to set the establishment of that parish in the context of the changes in the Church of England which stemmed from the Oxford Movement. Much has been written on the Movement in Oxford¹ but there is no comprehensive survey of its spread into the parishes. In recent years there have appeared various local studies on different parts of the country² but the Bristol area has not been well served. There is surprisingly little on Bisley and Stinchcombe in Gloucestershire which were early influenced by the Movement.³ For Frome where W.J.E. Bennett was vicar for 34 years after causing riots with his ritualism at St.

1. The best popular introduction is S.L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement* (2nd edition 1932). The classic history is by a friend of Newman, R.W. Church, *The Oxford Movement, 1833-45*. (1891) reprinted in Chicago with an introduction by G.F. Best (1970). More recent works include M.R. O'Connell, *The Oxford Conspirators* (1969); G. Rowell, *The Vision Glorious* Oxford (1983) and *Tradition Renewed*, edited by G. Rowell (1986).
2. Notably by Nigel Yates: 'The Parochial Impact of the Oxford Movement in South West Wales' in *Carmarthenshire Studies*, edited by T. Barnes and N. Yates, Carmarthen, (1974), 221-47; *Leeds and the Oxford Movement*, Thoresby Society, vol. 55, no. 121 Leeds (1975); *Ritual Conflict at Farlington and Wymering* and *The Anglican Revival in Victorian Portsmouth* The Portsmouth Papers, Nos 28 (1978) and 37 (1983), and *Kent and the Oxford Movement* Kent Archive Office (1983). Also H. Miles Brown, *The Catholic Revival in Cornish Anglicanism* Privately printed St. Winnow (1980).
3. O.W. Jones, *Isaac Williams and His Circle* (1971) is the only substantial work. There is an excellent pamphlet more recently: M.D. Lambert, *St. Michael Bussage 1846-1986*. Stroud 1986.

Barnabas Pimlico, there is only a rather uncritical biography of Bennett himself.⁴ Nearer to Bristol, in Clevedon, Wraxall and Barrow Gurney, the Oxford Movement flourished under the patronage of the Elton and Gibbs families but little has been written about it.⁵ On Bristol itself there is almost nothing.

The term 'Oxford Movement' is used in a very broad sense to include not only the period when it was confined to Oxford itself but also the period of controversy about ritualism when it spread to the parishes. The 'Catholic Revival' is a more comprehensive description which is used in Anglican circles. It can be misleading but nevertheless 'Catholic' is used here of those people and practices which emphasise the continuity of the Church of England with the ancient Catholic Church of this land. The Roman Catholic Church is referred to as such.

In order to understand the significance of what happened in Bristol it is necessary to know something of the nature and course of the Movement at a national level. It is often seen as a reaction to the politicians' attacks on the Church and indeed is usually dated from a sermon preached on 14 July 1833 by John Keble (1798–1866) in which he accused his countrymen of National Apostasy because they tolerated the Government's suppression of ten Irish bishoprics. Seen in a wider context, it is part of the European Romantic Movement with its idealisation of the Middle Ages and its mystical view of nature. It led to a revival of the sense of the Church as a sacramental reality, a divine institution founded by Christ, its bishops successors of the Apostles rather than officers of the State. It was concerned with a deeper understanding of the sacraments especially of Baptism and the Eucharist. It urged the restoration of the public recitation of Morning and Evening Prayer in church, and more frequent and reverent celebrations of the Holy Communion. These views were put forward in a series of *Tracts for the Times* which is the reason those who accepted them were originally known as Tractarians. The Tracts came to an end in 1841 with No. 90 by John Henry Newman (1801–90) in which he argued that the Thirty Nine Articles were capable of a Catholic interpretation. Newman bowed to the storm caused by its publication and withdrew into semi-retirement. He was received into the Roman Catholic Church in October 1845 and the leadership of

4. By F. Bennett (1909). There is also a pamphlet *William James Early Bennett 1804–1886*, by G.T. Day, Frome, 1986.
5. There is a useful beginning in a booklet by Margaret Lady Elton, *The Church of St. John the Evangelist, Clevedon 1878–1978*. Privately printed 1978.

the Movement passed into the unwilling hands of Dr. Edward Pusey (1800–82), the Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford.

The theological and liturgical ideas which originated in Oxford were paradoxically given outward expression by the Ecclesiological Society which grew out of a Cambridge undergraduate club, the Camden Society, founded in 1839 by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb for the study and restoration of mediaeval churches.⁶

This was another aspect of the Romantic Movement, inspired by the work of A.W.N. Pugin. It advocated raised chancels, stone altars, reredoses and other mediaeval fittings, and the abolition of pews and galleries. Through its journal *The Ecclesiologist*, first published in 1841, it guided, if not dictated, the course of the Gothic Revival in England with its vast programme of church buildings and restoration.

The early Tractarians were liturgically conservative, usually celebrating at the north end of the altar, in surplice, scarf and hood. The second generation, however, began to introduce more ceremonial, to wear the traditional eucharistic vestments, to use lights and incense and to supplement the Book of Common Prayer with additional prayers usually taken from the Roman Missal. This growth of 'Ritualism'⁷ was widely opposed by the bishops and led to the setting up of a Royal Commission in 1867. Pressurized by the Church Association, founded in 1865 to fight ritualism, and urged on by Queen Victoria herself, the Archbishop of Canterbury A.C. Tait, and the Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, combined forces to secure the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874. Its real purpose was to put down ritualism, not to regulate it. In fact it hardened the opposition. Most Ritualists refused to recognise the authority of the court it created and in 1875 the English Church Union, formed in 1860 to defend those who were being persecuted, defiantly committed itself to maintaining six points of ritual – lights, vestments, incense, the eastward position, the mixed chalice and wafer bread. Five priests were imprisoned and their sufferings gained sympathy for their cause. The bishops soon used their veto to prevent cases being brought and the Act became a dead letter.

The Church Association then foolishly attacked the saintly

6. J.F. White, *The Cambridge Movement* Cambridge (1962).
7. J. Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain* Oxford (1978); L. Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder and the Ritualist Movement* (1982).

Bishop of Lincoln, Edward King, for his ritual practices. The Archbishop, Edward Benson, tried him in his own court and in a famous judgement in 1890 cleared him of most of the charges. The Archbishops, emboldened by the acceptance of this judgement, then went on to declare their 'Opinions' against incense (in 1899) and against the reservation of the Sacrament (in 1900). The bishops made a concerted attempt to impose these opinions on the whole Church. Another Royal Commission however, on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1906, declared the limits of the Prayer Book too narrow and so opened the way for its revision.

The transformation of the worship of the Church of England was perhaps the most significant effect of the Oxford Movement, but it was not the only one. It gave it an ecumenical vision of a reunited Church which it had scarcely had before.⁸ The Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom was founded in 1857 and the Eastern Church Association in 1863. Pusey himself published a vast three volume *Eirenicon* to further understanding between Anglicans and Roman Catholics.

Another significant aspect of the Oxford Movement was the revival of the religious life for both men and women.⁹ The first convent since the Reformation was opened in London in Regent's Park Village in 1845, one of the first sisters being Jane Ellacombe, the daughter of the vicar of Bitton. It proved more difficult to establish the religious life for men. Attempts were made by the eccentric and rather unstable J.L. Lyne, better known as Father Ignatius OSB, but the first enduring community was the Society of St. John the Evangelist, the Cowley Fathers, founded by R.M. Benson in 1863.

Besides the Church Union and the other societies already mentioned, various organisations were brought into being for mutual support or to promote certain practices and interests. The oldest was the Society of the Holy Cross, usually known from the initials in Latin as SSC. This was essentially a secular religious congregation formed by Charles Lowder and others in 1855, on the model of St. Vincent de Paul's Congregation of the Mission. Another was the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (CBS), set up in 1859 to promote devotion to the Sacrament and the observance of the Feast of Corpus Christi. The parishes spawned a

multitude of guilds and societies, some of which were organized on a national basis. The Guild of St. Alban, founded in 1851, was one such.

The study of the Oxford Movement in Bristol is largely concentrated on the nineteenth century as other movements increasingly influenced the Church in the present century. Geographically it is confined to the city of Bristol as defined by the boundaries of 1897 although that means that it excludes at least two Catholic parishes in the area, Frampton Cotterell and Winterbourne Down. It was not until 1835 that the boundaries of the mediaeval city were first extended. From then on Bristol expanded progressively in 1873, in 1895 and in 1897 until it was five times its original size. The population expanded too; between 1831 and 1901 it increased by 225%. This necessitated an enormous amount of church building; no fewer than 44 new Anglican churches were built in the reign of Queen Victoria. It was one of the factors which enabled the Oxford Movement to spread.

8. H.T.R. Brandreth, *The Ecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement* (1947).

9. The most comprehensive study is Peter Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*, revised by A.W. Campbell, 1964.



All Saints, Clifton

The first clear manifestation of the Oxford Movement in the area was in the parish of Holy Trinity Horfield, at that time outside the city boundaries. It is worth examining in some detail because it well illustrates the changes that took place in parishes influenced by the Movement and also because all the key figures in planting the seeds of the Movement in Bristol were present at the re-opening of the parish church in February 1847. It had been closed for services while the galleries, box pews and three-decker pulpit were removed and a new chancel built, largely at the expense of the incumbent, Henry Richards (Vicar 1828–64). As the preacher, the Archdeacon of Bristol, Thomas Thorp, said in his sermon on the occasion, “What had more the appearance of a synagogue had been converted into a church.”¹⁰ Every eye was drawn irresistably to the raised chancel glowing with colour from the stained glass made by Michael O’Connor who had had his studio in Bristol until 1845 and from the encaustic tiles by Mintons on the floor. On the south side were a sedilia, seating for the clergy, and a piscina, for washing the new plate, chalice paten and flagon, patterned on mediaeval models. The Communion table, which was in fact a moveable stone altar, was covered with a ‘gorgeous carpet’ (i.e. a throw-over frontal) of ‘rich green silk with gold fleur-de-lis and stars’ designed by the architect, William Butterfield,¹¹ on which stood a cross and two candlesticks. At the celebration of the Holy Communion the Epistle was read by James Woodford and the Gospel by Henry Eland. At Evensong that afternoon the sermon was preached by the Revd. Sir George Prevost, and on the following Sunday the preacher was Dr. Pusey. The reporters from the local papers were very impressed by the opening services and the transformed church. One of them wrote, ‘Our minds began to realise what the material fabric of our churches should be, a train of thought very consonant with the reverential manner in which all the services were conducted. We did feel that the English Church was neither a mere institution of three hundred years’ growth, nor formed by man’s device, but is founded upon the Holy Apostles, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone.’¹²

It was not, of course, just the appearance of the church which was changed. The services were multiplied and altered. Richards started daily Matins and Evensong as the Prayer Book directed.

10. *Bristol Journal*, 13 February 1847.

11. *ibid.*

12. *Bristol Mirror*, 13 February 1847.

He observed the seasons, marking Lent for example with sermons on Wednesdays. He celebrated the Eucharist every Sunday. He introduced 'early' Communion at 8 a.m. on alternate Sundays – on the others it was after Morning Prayer. He observed the weekday festivals such as Ascension Day by an early 6.30 a.m. celebration. He was very modest by later standards – his choir was not robed, nor did he wear vestments, not even a stole. Yet his wearing a surplice instead of a black gown in the pulpit 'caused some little flutter' we are told, especially among the military men from the nearby newly-built Barracks. It 'led to some difficulties between Mr. Richards and the War Office, which were happily removed after a short time by the intervention of Bishop Monk and Archdeacon Thorp'.¹³

The changes in the furnishings, decoration and layout of the church were typical of what was being advocated by the Ecclesiological Society. Its President was the first preacher, the Venerable Thomas Thorp (1798–1877), Archdeacon of Bristol from 1836 to 1873. He was a Cambridge man, and from its foundation in 1839 he took under his wing the undergraduate society which eventually evolved into the Ecclesiological Society. His own church at Kemerton near Tewkesbury, restored in 1849, is a model of what the Society wanted all churches to be like.¹⁴ He helped found what was virtually a local branch of the Society in Bristol in 1841, the Bristol and West of England Architectural Society, which for a time monitored the work of the Gloucester and Bristol Diocesan Church Building Society.¹⁵

Oxford was represented by Pusey and Prevost. Pusey was the only one of the triumvirate of original leaders who had any personal link with Bristol. From 1838 his two daughters were at school in Clifton with their mother's old governess, Miss Rogers, who with her sister ran a school for young ladies at 3 Royal York Crescent. Their mother died in 1839 so Pusey frequently spent part of the Christmas and Easter vacations in Bristol to be with them. During the early 'forties he preached quite often at Clifton Parish Church, St. Andrew's, and indeed, with Miss Rogers, gave it an

east window in memory of his wife. His influence was considerable. One of the curates, George Prynne, later vicar of the ritualist church of St. Peter, Plymouth, actually began hearing confessions as a result.¹⁶ After Newman's secession, Pusey was no longer welcome at St. Andrew's, Clifton, but he continued to preach at Horfield.¹⁷ Pusey and the Richards had become friendly through their children. Richard's daughter Helen was Lucy Pusey's best friend at school and through her came to aspire to be a nun. Both of them died of consumption before they could do so, but Helen's cousin Charlotte joined the Devonport Sisters in 1849. As Pusey also preached on a single occasion each at St. Paul's, Portland Square and at St. James' Horsefair he might be called the Apostle of the Movement in Bristol.

George Prevost (1804–93) contributed ten pages to one of the Tracts written by his brother-in-law, the poet and hymn writer Isaac Williams. He had been the incumbent of Stinchcombe in Gloucestershire since 1834 and was joined there by Williams in 1848. Together with Thomas Keble, the younger brother of John, who was vicar of Bisley for nearly fifty years (1827–1875), they were known as the Bisley School. They were more moderate and conservative than Newman and Pusey and disliked the later developments of the Revival. It is probably significant that George Madan who established the High Church tradition of St. Mary Redcliffe¹⁸ when he was vicar there from 1852 to 1865, had been Prevost's neighbour at Cam before he moved to Bristol.

At the Eucharist to celebrate the re-opening of Holy Trinity Horfield, the Epistoler and Gospeller – as the Ecclesiologists called them – were two local priests James Russell Woodford and Henry George Eland. These were really the key men in establishing the teachings and practices of the Oxford Movement in Bristol.

Woodford (1820–85) was a protégé of Archdeacon Thorp.¹⁹ Through his recommendation he became second master at the Bishop's recently established school, Bishop's College in Park

13. F. Bingham, *Horfield Miscellanea* Portsmouth [1906]. Bingham is the source for most of the information about the fittings and services of the church.

14. N.M. Herbert. 'Archdeacon Thorp and the rebuilding of Kemerton Church' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 90 (1971), 192–215.

15. C. Crick, *Victorian Buildings in Bristol* Bristol (1975) 18; J.F. Nicholls and J. Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present* Bristol (1881–2), vol. 2, 283.

16. A.C. Kelway, *George Rundle Prynne* (1905), 16.

17. H.P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (1894–8) vol. 3, 138; The Church-Goer [Joseph Leech], *Rural Rides* vol. 2 Bristol (2nd edition 1847) 221 ff.

18. J. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century* Bristol (1887), 341.

19. For Woodford, see entry in *Dictionary of National Biography* and also *In Piam Memoriam Jacobi Russell [Woodford] . . . Notices, Records and Sermons* reprinted from *The Guardian*, 1885.

Row. He was ordained to serve as a curate at St. John the Baptist, City, although he also frequently officiated at St. Nicholas, which his rector, George Barrow, held in plurality. He was secretary of the Bristol and West of England Architectural Society from 1842, before he became incumbent of St. Saviour's, Coalpit Heath. The commission to build the church there, no doubt through the Society's influence, was given to William Butterfield who was highly approved by the Ecclesiologists. It was his first Anglican commission and its success probably led to his appointment as architect for Horfield.²⁰

In 1848 Woodford moved into Bristol itself and became the first incumbent of St. Mark's, Lower Easton. The new church was built and consecrated in May 1848. Henry Richards gave the stained glass in the great wheel window at the west end; Eland was the preacher. Here at St. Mark's, Woodford established the first Catholic Revival church in the city. A contemporary churchman acknowledged 'it is hardly too much to say that he laid the foundation of revived church work in Bristol.'²¹ The focus of the church was a richly vested altar; the windows were filled with stained glass; the walls were stencilled with illuminated texts; the Litany and psalms were chanted by a surpliced choir; the whole building was elaborately decorated on festivals with garlands and evergreens.

There is a graphic description of the Dedication Festival in 1850 in the *Bristol Times* (18 May 1850) which says of the ceremonial, 'it was the most minute and elaborate we ever witnessed in an English church' and goes on to claim 'we believe St. Mark's is pre-eminent in Bristol for the great perfection to which the visible performance of public worship is brought upon those archaeological and ecclesiological principles recently revived.' The ceremonial and music and Woodford's preaching – he was nicknamed 'The Lion of St. Mark's' – drew people from all over the city. The *Bristol Times* commented that seats on a Sunday evening were 'often occupied by a majority of families from Clifton and other parts'.

St. Mark's was one of four churches in the East end of Bristol, all built within a few years of each other, and all in the Catholic tradition in varying degrees. The others were St. Simon, conse-

crated a little earlier at the end of 1847, St. Jude consecrated in 1849, which the *Ecclesiologist* describes rather patronizingly as 'one of the most ritually complete churches we have yet inspected' where there was 'choral service' twice a day²² and a monthly eucharist,²³ and St. Matthias on the Weir consecrated by the Bishop of Madras in 1851.

Woodford stayed at St. Mark's only seven years. He moved on to be vicar of Kempsford, south of Fairford, where he commissioned G.E. Street to restore the church. He later became Vicar of Leeds in 1868 and Bishop of Ely in 1873. Typical of the ecclesiologist side of the Movement, he was a great builder and restorer of churches all his life. He was also interested in church music, contributing several hymns to the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861, including a translation of one of Aquinas' great eucharistic hymns *Adoro te devote*.

The other noteworthy Bristol priest at the re-opening of Horfield church was Henry George Eland (1812–82). He spent the whole of his ministry from 1838 until his death, in Bedminster, first as priest in charge of St. Paul's and then from 1852 as Vicar of St. John's Bedminster. He is a rather shadowy figure, but he was as important for the Movement in the south of the city as Woodford was in the east. After his death it was said at a Church Union meeting that 'his life during the last forty years in Bedminster parish has been synonymous with the history of the Oxford Movement in Bristol'.²⁴ There is a delightful passage by the Church Goer (Joseph Leech) recounting a meeting with an old lady on Rownham ferry as he was going to St. Paul's. She assured him that Eland was 'such a nice man, a most estimable, painstaking conscientious clergyman . . . high church in paying all due reverence to the Rubrics and regulations of the Church, evangelical in an unremitting labour for the eternal well-being of the charge committed to him.' Eland had evidently started to 'ecclesiologize' the church, which had been consecrated in 1831. 'A handsome font' had been placed near the entrance and, more notably, 'a handsome altar screen on correct principles' had recently been erected, although its effect was spoilt 'by the interposition of a wooden tower,' i.e. a three-decker pulpit, in the middle of the chancel. He also had a choir of twelve boys from the

20. His first church was the Highbury Chapel built for the Congregationalists, now St. Mary Cotham.

21. F.M. Alleyne *All Saints' Clifton* Bristol [1893], 50.

22. *Ecclesiologist* 11 (1851), 257.

23. *Bristol Journal*, 3 November 1849.

24. *Western Daily Press*, 22 December 1882.



St. John, Bedminster

National School, not wearing cassocks and surplices, but 'clad in brown Holland and black belts.'²⁵

When he became vicar of St. John's Bedminster, he immediately set to work to build a new and larger church, demolishing the Stuart building which stood on the site. It was ready for consecration in August 1855, but a violent controversy broke out over the stone reredos behind the altar which had carvings representing the Crucifixion, Nativity and Ascension. To quote Latimer's *Annals of Bristol*,²⁶ 'The "Evangelical" clergy in the city vehemently protested against the introduction of an ornament which they termed of a papistical character . . . Excited meetings were held and newspapers abounded with acrimonious correspondence.' J.H. Monk, Bishop of the diocese from 1836 to 1856, was 'painfully embarrassed' and although he refused to believe that the carved figures were likely to become 'objects of idolatrous worship' he 'earnestly and affectionately' requested the vicar and churchwardens to remove the reredos. The senior churchwarden, Robert Phippen, a former mayor refused 'in an intemperate letter'. The Bishop repeated his request, again to no avail, and then rather than debar the parishioners from their church any longer, proceeded with the consecration 'the occasion being seized by the High Church clergy to make a demonstration of their local strength.'

At St. John's Eland soon introduced a surpliced choir – and eventually started what was far more significant, a daily Mass. St. John's was also the scene of what Father Benson, the founder of the Cowley Fathers, called the 'first of our modern missions' in Lent 1862. It was led by Benson himself and Charles Lowder. Lowder is regarded as the typical Ritualist slum priest, vicar of St. Peter's London Docks (1866–80) but from 1846–51 he had been curate of Tetbury in Gloucestershire. The highlight of the mission was a midnight visit by Eland and Lowder to a local coalmine, where Lowder preached underground.²⁷

1845, the year that Newman became a Roman Catholic, is usually regarded as a turning point in the history of the Catholic Revival in the Church of England and as the end of the first phase, the Oxford Movement in the narrow sense. In fact, 1850 was a

25. *op.cit.* vol. 1 (2nd edition 1845), 159–65.

26. *op.cit.* 331. cf. C.H. Norton, *Bedminster Parish Church* Privately printed [Bristol] (1934), 4.

27. [Maria Trench], *Charles Lowder* (1881), 195 f; M.V. Woodgate, *Father Benson of Cowley* (1953), 56.

much more critical year and a year when Bristol was at the centre of events. It was the year of the Gorham Judgement, a decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on a matter of doctrine which to Catholic Churchmen was an intolerable interference on the part of the State in Church affairs, and which led to a further and larger wave of converts to Rome. It was also the year of what was called Papal Aggression, the setting up of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, including a Bishop of Clifton. This caused a tremendous reaction and a good deal of opprobrium for the Tractarians. The situation was not helped by the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, who in the so-called Durham letter denounced the Oxford Movement as a fifth column in the Church of England.

There were of course local repercussions. Bishop Monk, who is said to have shown 'partiality to the High Church protagonists',²⁸ in replying to an address from the clergy about the setting up of a rival diocese in Clifton, used the occasion to give a warning about 'the introduction of a few obsolete forms and ceremonies into some of our churches, which, though indifferent in their own nature are generally thought to bespeak favour and inclination to Romanism.' He admitted they were due to 'the warmth of pious and devotional feeling' and quite 'consistent with abhorrence of the idolatrous parts of the Romish system' but cautioned those in favour of them against arousing suspicion.²⁹ The Bishop was a model of restraint compared with the new Dean of Bristol, Gilbert Elliott, who at a meeting of clergy on 6 November 1850 attacked the Tractarians vehemently for doing the work of the Roman Catholics. 'What hope' he asked 'have we to countervail this direct effort to lead to Rome if the Bishops will not interfere? Is it not high time that the Tractarian treason should no longer be permitted to train converts to Rome, that Tractarian presumption should no longer be permitted to ride rough shod over the really faithful and mourning servants of the church?'³⁰

The very day the Dean was stirring up the Protestants against the Tractarians, Dr. Pusey himself was preaching in St. James Horsfair in aid of a fund to pay the expenses of daily choral services there. The Bishop on learning that he was to come had

written to the incumbent J.H. Woodward 'requiring that he might not be permitted to do so.' Woodward went to see him at his palace in Stapleton (now Colston Boys' School) and asked whether proceedings would be taken if Pusey preached. The Bishop said 'no' but that 'he would be better pleased if his request was complied with.' In the event there was no incident when Pusey preached either in the morning or in the evening. The church was crowded with people, including the Jewish Rabbi and some Quakers and Roman Catholics but Pusey preached a 'very beautiful, scriptural and eloquent sermon' with no reference to any controversial matter.³¹ Unfortunately Woodward and two of his former curates became Roman Catholics the following year and that confirmed all the suspicions of the Protestants.³²

Many of the followers of the Oxford Movement felt that it would be advisable to make some kind of anti-Roman declaration to prove their loyalty to the Church of England. Even Keble thought that 'a *very moderate* but quite real disavowal of Rome' was necessary. But Pusey would have none of it. It was no part of the faith as understood by the Church of England. She had not included such in her articles. The move to make such a declaration had to be opposed. 'I fear that it will be a hard struggle; but it is of very great moment. It is one to determine the whole course of the movement.'³³

The first round of the battle was fought out in Bristol at a great meeting of the Bristol Church Union at the White Lion in Broad Street (where the Grand Hotel now is) on 1 October 1850.³⁴ The Bristol Church Union was 'the mother of the Church Union system' as the historian of the English Church Union called it.³⁵ It was founded as early as 1844, originally for the purpose of defending Church Schools against State interference. George Anthony Denison, Archdeacon of Taunton and Vicar of East Brent, was a leading light in it. In the following years similar Church Unions sprang up in different parts of the country and all affiliated themselves to the Bristol Church Union. Moreover people joined it from all over the country, including Pusey and Keble.

Some 300 clergymen were present at the meeting. The anti-

28. G.M. Evans 'Half a cathedral – Half a Bishop' in *Friends of Bristol Cathedral Report and Notes 1968–69*, 10ff.

29. Letter dated 5 November 1850 published in *Bristol Gazette*, 7 November 1850.

30. *Bristol Mirror*, 9 November 1850.

31. *Bristol Mercury*, 9 November 1850. The sermons were published in Pusey's *Occasional Sermons 1832–1850* Privately printed Plymouth (1865), 9 and 10.

32. Latimer, *op.cit.* 321; *Bristol Gazette*, 15 May 1851.

33. *Pusey Rediscovered*, edited by P. Butler (1983), 351.

34. *Bristol Times*, 5 October 1850; *Bristol Mirror*, 5 October 1850.

35. G.B. Roberts, *The History of the English Church Union 1859–1894* (1896), 6.

Roman declaration was put by William Palmer. He was one of the original Oxford men to launch the Movement but had distanced himself from it when Newman assumed the leadership. He was supported by the pugnacious Archdeacon Denison and others. Beresford Hope, the founder of All Saints' Margaret Street in London, who later laid the foundation stone of All Saints' Clifton, put the case against it. Pusey and Keble also spoke against. When it was put to the vote the anti-Roman declaration was lost. The Bristol victory was decisive. There was an even bigger meeting subsequently in London, but it followed the Bristol Church Union's lead. The decision split the Bristol Union – Palmer and others formed the Bristol and Somerset Union – but it paved the way for the growth of the ecumenical movement.

The Oxford Movement had now taken root in Bristol but it was not until 1859 that the first of its more exotic flowers showed itself with the opening of St. Raphael in Cumberland Road. This was built as a mission to seamen by Robert Miles, one of the family from Leigh Court, who was a priest in Nottinghamshire. He installed as its Warden a young priest who was curate to one of his his neighbours Arthur Hawkins Ward (1832–1908). Father Ward was one of the great heroes of the Catholic Revival, but unfortunately there is no biography of him nor probably the materials for one.³⁶ He was friendly with many of the leading figures of the Movement, including Neale, Butler, founder of the Wantage Sisters and Machonochie, the controversial vicar of St. Alban's Holborn. He described T.T. Carter, the founder of the Clewer Sisters and virtually life-long president of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, as 'his spiritual father'. Lord Halifax, the President of the English Church Union, claimed that H.P. Liddon, Pusey's closest disciple and biographer, Canon of St. Paul's and one of the foremost preachers of his day, whose father lived for many years at 10 Saville Place Clifton, was an 'intimate friend of Ward'.³⁷ He quickly established St. Raphael's as a thorough-going

36. There is a brief ms. life probably by F.F. Irving at St. Agnes Convent Knowle; an account of his last days *In Memoriam* Privately printed (1909) by Mother Elizabeth Lloyd and Sister Caroline, and a booklet No. 20 in *Heroes of the Catholic Revival*; *Arthur Hawkins Ward* (1933) said to be by P.H. Leary His correspondence was destroyed in the blitz.

37. Liddon preached at one of the opening services of St. Raphael and 'frequently' in its early days according to Fr. Irving. After his father's death in 1869 he continued to visit Bristol. There is a letter to Ward, 17 January 1878, written from Brislington in J.O. Johnston, *Life and Letters of H.P. Liddon* (1904), 201.

Ritualist church. It had a daily Mass, an early Mass every Sunday and (from 1861) a sung Mass in place of Matins at 11. It was probably the first church in Bristol where eucharistic vestments were worn and incense used. Some of the ornaments were novel too – banners and processional cross, crucifixes, Stations of the Cross and a crib at Christmas. With its large choir St. Raphael's became well-known for its music. It had its own hymn book to which William Chatterton Dix, who was a member of the choir contributed various hymns including 'As with gladness men of old'. Works by Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert and Gounod were performed.

People came from all over Bristol to St. Raphael's and to St. John's Bedminster for what were called 'church privileges'. Many came from Clifton where all the churches were under the control of the very Evangelical Simeon Trust. But in 1862 a group of laymen got together with a view to providing a similar church in Clifton where the Prayer Book services could be celebrated with their proper dignity and where the seats would be free and unappropriated. One of them was Churchwarden of St. John's Clifton, Harrington Bush. It was only with the co-operation of the vicar of St. John's, H.G. Walsh, that the foundation of All Saints' was possible. He has been described as a 'High Churchman of the pre-Tractarian type',³⁸ who transformed his own church on Ecclesiological principles in 1865.³⁹ At the same time as he sanctioned the creation of All Saints' parish, he also agreed to another part of his parish being cut off to form St. Mary's Tyndall's Park.

It was, significantly, through the influence of J.R. Woodford, the former vicar of St. Mark's, that Richard Randall was asked to become the first vicar of All Saints, Clifton. He was a man of immense energy and organizing ability and totally committed to Tractarian principles as he understood them. He modelled himself in his preaching and pastoral work on Henry Manning whom he had succeeded as vicar of Lavington in Sussex. He had already been in trouble with his Bishop for his teaching and ritual practices and had only escaped prosecution through the intervention of his patron, Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

He immediately set about completing G.E. Street's magnificent church to the original plans and acquired costly and tasteful gifts with which to furnish it. He started the public recital of the daily

38. J.F. Briscoe and H.F.B. Mackay *A Tractarian at Work. A memoir of Dean Randall* (1932), 121.

39. Alleyne, *op.cit.* 51.

Offices which were sung as soon as the Choir School was opened, a daily Mass and two Masses on Sundays and Festivals. He organized parish retreats, quiet days and missions, set up guilds for men and women, classes for those being prepared for Confirmation and classes for those who were already communicants, and established a ward of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. He surrounded the Eucharist with all the dignity he thought the Church of England allowed, lights and vestments, music and ceremonial.

Mention must also be made of the third great ritualistic church in Bristol, Holy Nativity, Knowle. This began in 1865, as a wooden district church in Eland's parish of Bedminster with a former assistant of Father Ward's, H.M. Turton, as priest in charge. Work was started on building a permanent church, of which the chancel was dedicated in 1871. Turton had resigned in 1868 and was eventually, in 1874, succeeded by Robert J. Ives (1840–1920) who, together with his curate George Campbell Ommanney, later to be the pioneer of the Catholic Revival in Sheffield as vicar of St. Matthew's, really established the Catholic tradition of Holy Nativity. They had daily Masses, three on Sunday at 7, 8 and 11, the usual guilds, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, a Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the Holy Cross. They had the Three Hours on Good Friday, observed the Feast of Corpus Christi and also used Stations of the Cross. Holy Nativity seems to have specialized in floral decoration at festivals (at any rate descriptions of them have survived). In the 1881 magazine Father Ives wrote 'The decorations in the Baptistry were noticed and admired by all, the arums, azaleas and eucharist lilies on the rim round the base of the font were the finest blossoms that could be obtained, and a cross of large white camellias was placed in front of the font; just under the windows behind the font was a wreath of moss adorned with primroses and red camellias, placed alternately.'

One of the most controversial and important contributions of the Oxford Movement to the Church of England was the revival of the religious life. It was not long before some Sisters appeared in Bristol. In 1851 Bishop Monk invited the Devonport Sisters, the Society of the Holy Trinity, to come and work in the diocese. The formidable Lady Superior, Lydia Sellon, a protégée of Pusey, took two houses, 14, Lower College Green and Harford's Court near the Docks. The College Green House was exchanged for one in Park Row and that for a larger one near Royal Fort. It is not quite

clear what they did, whether it was caring for convalescents or training girls as nurses or composers. Certainly they set up a printing press because some of Dr. Pusey's books and sermons bear the imprint of the St. Michael's Hill Press. These sisters did not stay long; they moved on to Bradford-on-Avon in 1857.⁴⁰

Bedminster was also the scene of the activity of sisterhoods. In 1861 the Community of the Holy Cross from Haywards Heath worked there for a short time and in 1864 the Wantage Sisters arrived to do parochial and 'rescue' work for twelve years.⁴¹ 1864 was the year too when the eccentric Father Ignatius who was trying to revive the Benedictine Order in the Church of England, startled the Church Congress, meeting that year in Bristol, by appearing in his habit to speak of the missionary value of colleges of unmarried priests, i.e. monasteries. The new Bishop, Charles John Ellicott (1863–97), was President of the Congress and allowed him to speak although, as one of the local papers reported, the ensuing scene was of 'an exceedingly stormy character', but the Bishop then prohibited him from preaching in the diocese. That did not prevent him from speaking on monasticism to a crowded and noisy meeting at the Bristol Athenaeum that night.⁴²

The previous year some of Father Ignatius' admirers in Bristol had been organised as a Third Order under a Prior, Charles A. Dundas, who took the name Brother Cyprian. They were mostly young laymen and met in a room in Trinity Street near the Cathedral. During the Congress some of the clerical visitors went to Benedictine services there. Later, in March 1865, the Third Order moved to a disused workshop in Trenchard Street⁴³ where there were various incidents. On one occasion two of them tried to take part in a service when they were drunk and the Prior had to send for the police to remove them. Ignatius told them they must do penance in white sheets in the oratory, and when they refused, they were excommunicated 'amidst great uproar'. In 1865 the Third Order observed the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady. After Vespers, between one and two in the morning, they

40. T.J. Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (1965), 90ff, 108f, *Bristol Gazette*, 26 June 1851.

41. P. Anson, *Call of the Cloister* (1955), 253, 361.

42. *Bristol Mercury*, 15 October 1864; The Baroness de Bertouch, *The Life of Father Ignatius OSB* (1904), 193–9; *Report of the Church Congress in Bristol, 1864*.

43. S.D. Major, *New Illustrated Handbook to Bristol, Clifton and Neighbourhood* [Bristol] (1872), 73.

processed up the hill with lights and banners singing a litany into St. Michael's churchyard. This attracted a rather unruly crowd and the police had to break up the procession on its return in Park Row.⁴⁴ After several such scandals Father Ignatius tried to depose the Prior⁴⁵ but he repudiated his authority. The order then moved to Richmond Street in Montpelier where Brother Cyprian built an iron chapel, St. Augustine's,⁴⁶ set up a college and established a printing press which produced a short-lived ritualist paper *The Church Monitor*. On one occasion they were visited by an *episcopus vagans*, styling himself Mar Julius Bishop of Iona (Jules Ferrette) who celebrated the Orthodox Liturgy there using his own English translation for the first time.⁴⁷ The services at the chapel attracted 'a great number of profligate young people of both sexes' and 'after many unedifying scenes' the chapel was closed down in 1872 and the iron church presented to Eland who erected it as a mission church in Ashton Gate where it eventually gave place to the permanent church of St. Francis.⁴⁸

Another Order, the All Saints' Sisters, worked for a time in Bristol. A few sisters lived from 1871 to 1873 at 6, Buckingham Vale, and later at 2, Royal Park, amongst them Maria Francesca Rossetti, sister of the Pre-Raphaelites Dante Gabriel and Christina.⁴⁹ They helped in the parish of All Saints' Clifton running a small school and assisting with the women's guilds.

Bristol however, had its own Sisterhood, the much respected Sisters of Charity. Founded by Father Ward on the model of the French Sisters of Charity, the sisterhood started in 1867 when Elizabeth Lloyd and two others took possession of two little houses next door to the old Gaol near St. Raphael's. Elizabeth Lloyd did a six month novitiate with the Wantage Sisters but was not professed until 1869. She became Mother Superior and remained Mother Superior until 1917. She died in 1926 at the age of ninety one. A house and chapel were built next to St. Raphael's in 1879 and that remained the Mother House until 1893 when St. Agnes' Convent in Knowle, designed by John Dando Sedding replaced it. The Sisters worked first in Bedminster but withdrew in 1883 partly because of a disagreement with Eland's successor over

regular confession of which he disapproved. In October 1884 they resumed parish work in St. Jude's which they had first undertaken in 1869. In 1884 also they started work in St. Simon's.⁵⁰ The flowering of the Oxford Movement in Bristol stirred up deep and irrational Protestant fears perhaps best exemplified by an extraordinary incident at the Cathedral in 1876. The newly-built north porch had been dignified by statues of the four Latin Doctors of the Church and one of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The sight of a papal tiara and a cardinal's hat and the allegation by the *Bristol Times and Mirror* that the features of St. Jerome were those of John Henry Newman so incensed some of the people that 'one of the absurdest meetings that British citizens had ever attended' resolved that the images were an insult to English Protestantism and ought to be removed. Early one morning the Dean sent workmen to take down the Latin Doctors and actually to smash the statue of the Virgin.⁵¹

Bishop Ellicott (1819-1905) was frequently petitioned by 'aggrieved parishioners', often Non-Conformists or men who rarely worshipped in their parish churches. This happened increasingly after the formation of the Church Association in 1865. He tried to be fair. In a sermon on Ritualism which he preached in the Cathedral on 4 November 1866, he criticized what he called 'a growing disloyalty to our Prayer Book, and a scarcely concealed dissatisfaction with the principles on which it is based' and protested against 'novel and startling additions' to services, 'strange and unwonted usages' intended to express 'enhancements and developments of doctrine.' On the other hand he reminded his hearers of the many closed churches, infrequent celebrations of Holy Communion, 'our joyless Saints' days' and 'our poor and sparse companies of communicants', and urged them 'to live up more to the standard of our Church'. He generously acknowledged the 'self-denial and devoted earnestness' of the ritualist priests and admitted that 'whole congregations are now clearly expressing their sympathies with the widening developments' and urging them on. He perceptively realised too that the motivating force behind the movement was a 'desire for unity throughout Christendom'. But as he made clear in his Diocesan addresses, he

44. *Bristol Times*, 15 August 1865.

45. See letter from Fr. Ignatius in *Bristol Times*, 19 July 1866.

46. See S.D. Major *op.cit.* 80.

47. P.F. Anson, *Bishops at Large* (1964), 40; *Bristol Daily Post*, 1 October 1866.

48. Latimer, *op.cit.* 412ff.

49. G. Battiscombe, *Christina Rossetti* (1981), 156.

50. P. Anson, *Call of the Cloister*, 414ff. Other information from ms. life of A.H. Ward and material supplied by Mrs Janet Whitehead who is writing a history of the Sisters of Charity.

51. A. Gomme, M. Jenner, B. Little, *Bristol, an Architectural History* (1979), 427f.

required of his clergy obedience to the law: 'When the law is ascertained obedience must be rendered to it . . .' (1874). 'Obedience to the law will certainly then be required and very properly exacted' (1875). His fears were so exaggerated that he believed that there was an Anglo-Catholic plot to subvert the Church of England. In his Diocesan Address of 1875 he claimed, 'There is not one sensible and foreseeing man among us who is not inwardly aware that there is now, nominally within our Mother Church, a body of earnest men, not large but united, and interconnected, who deem it their most solemn mission to catholicize . . . the Church of this land, and, to prepare for a union, more or less formal, but no less real, with such of the Eastern Churches as are willing to accept their advances, and even with the Western Church itself.'

There was a real difficulty about the law. R.W. Randall (1824–1906) of All Saints' Clifton sincerely believed he was obeying it: 'As to Ceremonial. Obedience to the law of the Church has been our guiding principle, and the recovery for the Church of England all that she has preserved to us of ancient Catholic usages.'⁵² He and the ritualists appealed to the obvious meaning of the Ornaments Rubric in the Prayer Book which stated that 'Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past' and 'that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England . . . in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth' i.e. in 1548/49 *before* the first Book of Common Prayer. The obvious meaning however was not the meaning which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal even in ecclesiastical cases, attached to it. Randall tried to be law-abiding. He never used incense because the almost universal opinion of lawyers was that the Ornaments Rubric did not cover it. He ceased to light the candles on the altar in 1869 when Machonochie was condemned for it. But the crunch came with the Purchas Judgement in 1870 which declared vestments, the eastward position, wafers and the mixed chalice to be illegal. Randall wrote desperately to his patron Bishop Wilberforce saying 'If obedience is the sole condition of my remaining in the Communion of the Church of England, I can have no hesitation. I cannot obey.' He implored him to use his influence to prevent its enforcement. 'For the love of God, of His Faith, of His

Church, of our poor people, of our poor communicants who are saddened at the thought of what they may lose, who are asking us what they are to do, and beginning to whisper "where are we to go?" (this is simple truth) I implore you to protect the Catholic Party from this unrighteous exile from their lawful home.'⁵³ Bishop Ellicott 'solemnly entreated' him to obey the law as declared by the Privy Council, and when Randall refused, he determined not to ordain any one to work as curate with him or even to license any priest to act as curate, nor would he come and confirm in the parish. Randall remained defiant. He replied to the Bishop, 'I venture to say that there is no church in your Lordship's diocese in which the services are performed with a more exact obedience to the Church's laws than they are in the Church of All Saints'. The situation became more serious with the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874. Proceedings were started against Randall under the Act in 1877 and he contemplated resigning. Liddon and Pusey both wrote to beg him not to do so. 'I would gladly go to prison for you' Pusey told him. Fortunately the three aggrieved parishoners disappeared – one died, one turned out not to live in the parish and the last one refused to have any part in it. So the situation remained until 1889.⁵⁴

A.H. Ward at St. Raphael was not so fortunate, neither was R.J. Ives at Holy Nativity Knowle. They were more vulnerable as they were not incumbents. In 1877 'without a word of warning or remonstrance of any kind' Ward complained, the Bishop sent a 'peremptory command' that the whole character of the services which had gone on uninterrupted for twelve years should be changed – vestments, lights, mixed chalice, incense, Stations, crucifix, elevation at the Consecration should all go. Ward agreed to comply with the Bishop's demands except for vestments, lights and the mixed chalice. This did not satisfy the Bishop who declared his intention of acting in accordance with the decision of the 'Supreme Court'. Ward appealed to the Ornaments Rubric and said, 'It is in no spirit of defiance, but in settled conviction that I decline, in the circumstances, to comply with commands based

53. Bodleian Library Oxford. Wilberforce Papers, R.W. Randall to Bishop Wilberforce 6 March 1871. Wilberforce wrote to the Archbishop 9 March 1871 warning him of the possibility of 'a great schism'; R.T. Davidson and W. Benham, *Life of A.C. Tait. Archbishop of Canterbury* (1891) vol. 2, 94f.

54. Briscoe and Mackay, *op.cit.* Chapter IX. Randall himself published most of the correspondence between him and the Bishop in *Difficulties in Church Work* Oxford (1874).

52. Alleyne, *op.cit.* 12.



St. Raphael, Cumberland Road

upon the ruling of the Privy Council.' The Bishop therefore withdrew Ward's licence and inhibited him.⁵⁵

As a friend of Ward's remarked 'So the little Church on the Cut, so well loved by so many, was closed: the bell was silent, the stripped altar with its wreath of immortelles was left to tell its own tale of desolation. So it remained for fifteen long years. . . .'⁵⁶ It was not for want of effort on the part of its friends and sympathisers. Between three and four hundred of them attended a meeting at the Bristol Athenaeum on 7 May 1877 to set up the St. Raphael's League to continue its work and to pray daily for its reopening.⁵⁷ Then on 4 June there was a huge protest meeting under the auspices of the Church Union in the Victoria Rooms. The Hon. C.L. Wood, later Lord Halifax, the national President of the English Church Union, was present and read letters of sympathy from leading supporters of the Catholic Revival, lay and clerical. All the local sympathisers were there and many from further afield, like Archdeacon Denison, Fr. Lowder, V.S. Stuckey Coles and C.S. Grueber.⁵⁸ The Bishop however was adamant and received much support for his stand. The Bristol Protestant League sent him an address of thanks with the signatures of 1500 members and friends, and claimed that if a general canvas had been held they could have obtained treble the number.

Robert Ives fared no better. The Bishop was infuriated by this public support for Ward and when in 1883 Holy Nativity was ready for consecration, he refused to proceed unless Ives resigned and the baldachino which had been erected over the altar was removed. His conditions were reluctantly complied with. Fr. Ives went off to become parish priest at St. German's Roath, which under him became a great centre of Ritualism in South Wales, and a curate from All Saints', the Revd. the Hon. Albert Francis Algernon Hanbury Tracy, became the first vicar.⁵⁹

In the end the bishops realised that litigation was no way to settle the ritualist issue. Bishop Ellicott in his diocesan address in 1889 declared 'no action ought to be taken against anyone who, subject to the assent of the Ordinary, might have retained and put in use

55. A.H. Ward, *St. Raphael's Bristol: the Church closed by a Bishop* (1878), contains most of the correspondence between Ward and the Bishop.

56. [F.F. Irving], ms. life of A.H. Ward.

57. *Bristol Mercury*, 11 May 1878.

58. *Bristol Times*, 5 June 1878.

59. *The Church of the Holy Nativity 1865-1965*, Bristol (1965).

the ornaments referred to in the rubric'. The following year he publicly admitted that 'to come to any settlement of the ritual question by any definite enactments is hopeless and mischievous'.

He became reconciled with Randall, agreeing to license his curates and coming to confirm at All Saints' Clifton for the first time in 1889. He even gave him an honorary canonry. More surprising and certainly more magnanimous was his decision in 1893 to consecrate the church of St. Raphael and to institute Ward as the first incumbent. According to Fr. Irving who wrote a brief memoir of Ward, this happened 'through the intervention of an influential friend' whose identity is unknown. The Bishop sent for Ward. 'He referred but briefly to the events of 1878, only observing "The Holy Ghost has had much to teach us in the Church of England during these years that are past", and telling the Warden that he was able to regard him as a loyal priest in the Church of England though he might not be able to see all things eye to eye with him.'

In 1897 the diocese of Bristol was re-established as a separate entity from Gloucester with its own bishop. The new bishop, George Forrest Browne, was a more conciliatory man than his predecessor. He was told on coming to the diocese that it was 'divided with a cleavage which nothing would ever heal', but just before he retired in 1906 he claimed that this had 'not proved at all to be true.' He was firm but fair. While the law was under review, his policy was not to interfere with those parishes where vestments had been introduced before 1897, but not to allow their introduction in any other parishes. He admitted publicly that he thought it was fitting that a special vestment should be worn at the eucharist and that incense was not inappropriate.

Nevertheless he attempted to impose the Archbishops' 'Opinions' against Incense and Reservation in the diocese. He forbade the use of lights and incense from Advent Sunday 1899. All but one of the six churches in the diocese which it concerned, complied. The exception was St. Simon. The vicar, N.Y. Birkmyre, was defiant and there was not much the Bishop could do. Moreover, although he refused to countersign an Additional Curate's Society grant for the parish he told Birkmyre that because of his high regard for his work among the poor he would make up any deficit in the Curate's Fund out of his own pocket. He considered Bromby's modified use of incense at All Saints' Clifton 'a direct violation of my requisition'. He 'was shocked when he heard how much had been done [at the opening service

of the Church Congress in 1903] under cover of not burning incense after public worship had begun.' Yet he did nothing about it. Bromby's nephew, J.H.B. Mace, who followed Ward at St. Raphael stopped using incense altogether but when his successor complained that the congregation was dwindling because of it, the Bishop felt himself unable to object to his resuming a modified use of it. As for reservation, he told the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline that having questioned twelve priests he had ascertained that it did not exist in his diocese, 'at least in the 'full sense', by which he meant 'for the purpose of visiting and adoration.'⁶⁰

St. Simon under Nevile Birkmyre (1882–1907)⁶¹ had become one of the most ritualistic churches in Bristol. Birkmyre had joined the Society of the Holy Cross as a probationer in his undergraduate days in Oxford and had worked as a curate in both St. Jude and St. Raphael before becoming the parish priest of St. Simon. He very soon abolished pew rents and altered the church, erecting a choir screen and putting six candles on the altar. He started a weekly Sung Celebration and a daily Mass, established a ward of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and persuaded the Sisters of Charity to come and work in the parish. There was considerable opposition to him. The vestry meetings were 'riotous', and the churchwardens so suspicious that they demanded to see the letters of Orders of the visiting preachers he invited. The Bishop refused to license his curates. One, V.H. Hodgson, became a Roman Catholic in 1894, which must have added to Birkmyre's difficulties. Another, J. Hewison, had to remain a deacon until he went to another diocese. The opposition culminated in a Kensitite riot led by members of the local Protestant League and Wycliffe preachers at the early mass on 1 June 1902.⁶² Birkmyre was a Christian Socialist, chairman of the Bristol Social Union, and was known to vote Labour. He became something of a legend. His death was announced in the course of the first Bristol Anglo-Catholic Congress in 1923, and his memory recalled at the second in 1949 'as externally a stern priest, but a very wise and loving confessor and a great teacher.'

60. Evidence of the Bishop of Bristol in *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline* (1906), 509–16; Vol 4 Appendix A 6–12; G.F. Browne, *The Recollections of a Bishop* (1915), 374 f, 379 f.

61. Obituary in *Church Times*, reprinted in R. Nott *St. Simon the Apostle Bristol, 1847–1947*. Privately printed [Bristol 1947].

62. *Bristol Daily Mercury*, 2 June 1902.

Other churches became more Anglo-Catholic too. All Saints' Clifton, under its second vicar, H.B. Bromby (1892–1911), had the characteristic six candles on its High Altar, incense and Reservation were introduced and Requiems became more frequent.⁶³

St. Michael Two Mile Hill is said to have been Tractarian 'from the beginning'. It had vestments by 1890 but the Catholic tradition only began to flourish with the arrival of a former curate of Birkmyre's, A.E. Adams, as vicar in 1896. Almost immediately he instituted a weekly Choral Eucharist.

The number of churches in the Catholic tradition also increased through the building of daughter churches, some of which became parish churches. Not all these churches adopted the churchmanship of their mother churches. Other factors came into play, for example, patronage, the personality and beliefs of the priest in charge, the force of character of leading members of their congregations.

In East Bristol, St. Mark Easton had ceased to be a stronghold of the Movement when St. Matthew Moorfield was created out of it in 1873. Under T.H. Barnett, vicar from 1873 to 1915, who was more sympathetic to it than his two predecessors, four more divisions were made. St. Lawrence (1883), St. Thomas the Apostle (1889), All Hallows (1893) and St. Anne. The last grew out of a mission room opened in 1900; a permanent district church was not consecrated until 1926. Only All Hallows and St. Anne's were in the Catholic tradition.

St. John Bedminster was divided and the divisions further divided. Holy Nativity was taken out of the parish in 1883 and had two daughter churches very much in the same tradition; St. Martin, consecrated in 1901 and made a district church in 1906, and St. Katharine, Pylle Hill, licensed for worship in 1889 but never consecrated (now the Mosque). Like Holy Nativity St. Francis Ashton Gate began as a temporary church, Holy Cross Mission Church, in 1873. One of the early priests in charge was G.P. Grantham (1881–3), who had been a curate at St. Saviour's Leeds, the ritualist church which Pusey had built. He was a member of the Society of the Holy Cross and the English Church Union. Much help was given by All Saints' Clifton both in the work of the mission and in building the permanent church which was consecrated in 1887. The first vicar of St. Francis, Pitt Eykyn,

was formerly a curate of Thomas Keble junior thus forming a link with the Bisley School, but he left after only three years and was succeeded by Walter Fisher whose incumbency lasted 33 years (1886–1919). There was a daily Mass and linen vestments were worn in 1881. Vestments were not worn in the new church apparently, but the daily Mass seems to have continued. A Choral Eucharist was started on alternate Sundays in 1901.

The story of the Oxford Movement in Bristol has been largely the story of the revival of eucharistic worship and ceremonial because this was its unique contribution. It should not be forgotten, however, that this was seen as a means of mission amongst the rapidly growing population. Most of the churches involved were very poor. Those which were rich did help the poorer churches. Mention has already been made of the help All Saints' Clifton gave, but St. Mary's Tyndall's Park also gave assistance to St. Jude's parish.⁶⁴ Many of the churches also supported parochial church schools.

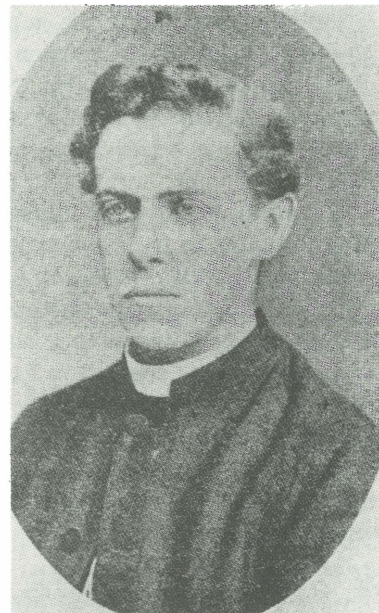
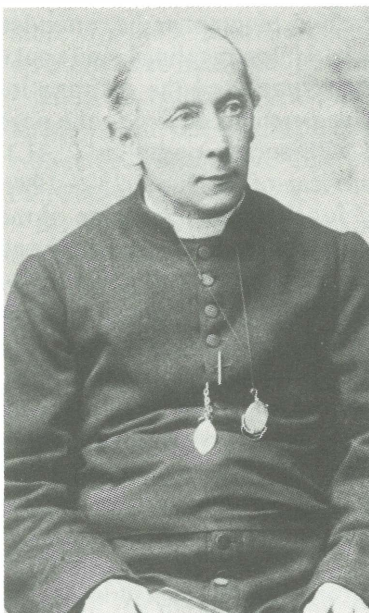
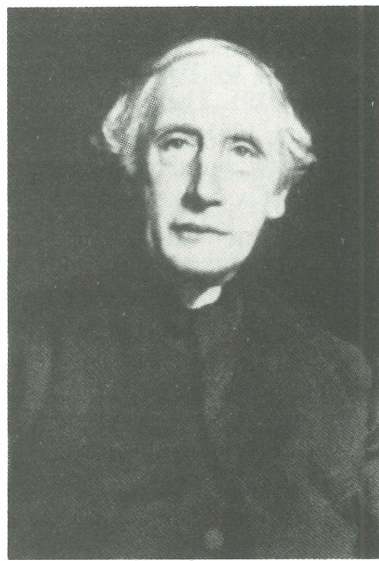
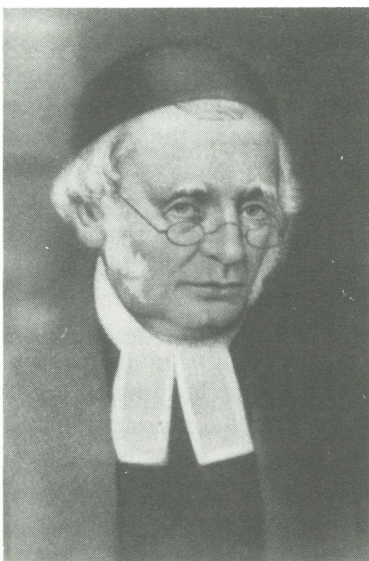
A few of the Anglo-Catholics were Christian Socialists. Birkmyre was one, but perhaps more suprisingly so was H.B. Bromby. According to his nephew and biographer he 'attended and took the chair at Christian Social Union meetings, and spoke out on social questions. He strongly supported the suffrage for women. He wished his people to give personal service to the poor and to become better acquainted with social conditions'.⁶⁵ H.J. Wilkins, who was curate and then vicar of St. Jude, 1889–1900, was even more active. He agitated for the implementation of the Housing Acts in the City, writing an appeal to the 'citizens and women of Bristol', '*What can I do to promote the better housing of the poor in Bristol?*' and succeeded in getting the Council to clean up parts of the City and to erect its own tenements on lines similar to Octavia Hill's scheme in London.⁶⁶ His efforts seem to have exhausted him. When the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith presented him in 1900 to the living of Westbury-on-Trym, whose patronage they had recently acquired, he disappointed them by not altering its churchmanship at all, devoting his energies to antiquarianism instead.

64. H. White, *S. Mary the Virgin Tyndall's Park* Privately printed [Bristol] (1934) 14.

65. Mace, *op.cit.* 118, 125.

66. D. Carter, *The Social and Political Influence of the Bristol Churches 1830–1914*. (M. Litt. thesis Bristol University 1971).

63. J.H.B. Mace, *Henry Bodley Bromby* (1913) 118, 130.



Top: Dr E.B. Pusey, R.W. Randall
Bottom: R.J. Ives, N.Y. Birkmyre

The ideals of Christian Socialism inspired a group of young men in London in 1894 to form the first Anglican Franciscan order, the Society of the Divine Compassion, amongst whom was Ernest Hardy who had been educated at Clifton College. Better known as Father Andrew, he was the first priest since the Reformation to be ordained in a religious habit. During the First World War several of the Franciscans came at different times to work in St. Jude's with Fr. C.H. Norton, who was also a Christian Socialist. The first was William Sirr who had been Superior for a time.⁶⁷ He was eventually released from the Society and became a solitary at Glasshampton. Brother Edward who subsequently became Superior also worked in the parish.

In conclusion we must attempt to assess the extent of the influence of the Oxford Movement on Bristol. It was very much circumscribed by the hostile exercise of patronage. The advowsons, that is the right to nominate the new incumbent, of about two thirds of the ancient city parishes were purchased by a group of prominent Evangelical business men who constituted themselves the Bristol Church Trustees in 1838. They ensured that the early sympathisers with the Movement, at St. James and St. Nicholas for example, were replaced by men who were against it. Moreover, they acquired the patronage of many of the new parishes which were created out of these ancient parishes, particularly the huge parish of St. Philip and St. Jacob which covers most of what became East Bristol. They were thus able to exclude followers of the Movement from these parishes from the start. Most of Clifton was likewise closed to the Movement through the purchase of the advowson of St. Andrew's by the Simeon Trustees. The patronage of most of the other parishes was exercised by the Bishop and the Crown, sometimes alternately. They were not so partisan but there was no consistency in their appointments. This explains the rather chequered history of St. Mark Lower Easton for example.

It is a common and justifiable criticism of the Oxford Movement that it was over-clerical. Its progress depended very much on the clergy, so that appointments of incumbents and to a lesser extent curates was crucial. Very conveniently contemporary opponents of

67. G. Curtis, *William of Glasshampton* (1947), 33f.

the Movement compiled lists of ritualistic clergymen.⁶⁸ 24 were identified in Bristol in 1877, who between them had worked in only 12 different parishes. By 1903 no fewer than 67 were listed but this number is very exaggerated. Thirty, the number of those belonging to one or other of the Catholic Societies, is a better guide. These thirty worked in a total of 28 parishes.

Membership of the English Church Union and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which was open to the laity as well as the clergy, gives some indication of the strength of support for the Movement. A branch of the ECU was started in Bristol about 1862.⁶⁹ Its membership, which at first was exclusively male, was small but it grew steadily, reaching about 500 by 1876 when the branch was re-organized. It became the Bristol District Union with four branches, Bristol, Clifton, Frenchay and Chipping Sodbury. In addition some parishes such as St. Jude, St. John Bedminster and St. Matthias had parochial associations. The Bristol branch was divided again in 1877 into the Bristol Central and Bristol South branches centring on St. Simon and Holy Nativity. By 1897 the total membership of the Bristol District Union was nearly 1,000. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament had four wards in Bristol by 1886, at St. Raphael, All Saints' Clifton, Holy Nativity and St. Simon, formed respectively in 1865, 1869, 1874 and 1883. Their total membership was 306.⁷⁰

Another indication of the extent to which the Oxford Movement influenced the parishes of Bristol is the frequency of celebration of the eucharist.⁷¹ The Visitation returns of 1861 show that out of 37 parishes only 2 had a weekly celebration; by 1898 according to *Wright's Directory* the number had increased to 41 out of 50. The increase in the number of parishes which had an early celebration and its frequency is even more telling because early celebrations were suspected of 'encouraging the superstitious notions of fasting communions'.⁷² In 1878 out of 57 parishes 26 had an early celebration, 9 of them weekly; in 1898 the corresponding numbers are 45 out of 50, 35 being weekly. Daily

68. See Appendix 1 and 2.

69. See *Church Union Gazette* passim and H. Marshall, 'Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement in Bristol' in *All Saints' Clifton Magazine* 1897, 255-9, 316-20.

70. *Report of the Twenty-fourth Anniversary Festival of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament* . . . 1886 xxiff.

71. See Appendix 3.

72. Bristol Record Office, St. Mark Easton Vestry Minutes, 1 March 1877.

celebrations however were rare. St. Raphael had one 'for the greater part' of the first phase of its existence 1859-78 and All Saints' Clifton from its opening. The following year 1869, St. John Bedminster began a daily celebration⁷³ although it was given up in 1883 with the change of incumbent after Eland's death. Only a few churches followed their example before the end of the century, Holy Nativity by 1872, St. Simon by 1883 and St. Francis Ashton Gate by 1897.⁷⁴

It was relatively easy to establish more frequent celebration of the eucharist. What was more difficult was to make it the main Sunday service and to celebrate it more solemnly with music, ceremony and vestments. The first church in Bristol to have both an early celebration and a weekly celebration, Holy Trinity Horfield, did not have a choral eucharist until 1896 and then it was only once a month. In 1878 there were choral celebrations at only seven churches and of these only two, at St. Raphael and All Saints' Clifton, were weekly. At St. John Bedminster, Holy Nativity, St. Simon and St. Jude they were once a month, at St. Matthias twice. These all gradually became weekly but by 1898 with a larger number of parishes in Bristol there were only 11 churches which had a choral celebration even once a month according to *Wright's Directory*.

The number of churches where vestments were worn and incense used was even smaller. At St. Raphael's both were in use by 1866 if not earlier. At All Saints' Clifton vestments were first introduced at weekday masses and at the early celebration on Sunday. By Easter 1869 they were used at all celebrations.⁷⁵ At St. John Bedminster the use of vestments was begun surreptitiously in 1872; they were used only at early celebrations and they were made of linen so that the chasuble was hardly distinguishable from a surplice.⁷⁶ By 1890 there were only seven churches in Bristol where vestments were worn, coloured ones at All Saints' Clifton, Holy Nativity Knowle and St. Simon; linen ones at St. John Bedminster, St. Jude, St. Matthias and St. Michael Two Mile Hill.⁷⁷ By 1903 the number had risen to 11.⁷⁸ As for incense, when Bishop George Forrest Browne tried to enforce the Lambeth

73. C.H. Norton, *op.cit.* 5.

74. Mathew's/Wright's *Bristol Directories*.

75. Briscoe and Mackay *op.cit.* 139; Alleyne, *op.cit.* 12.

76. C.H. Norton, *op.cit.* 5.

77. *The Tourists' Church Guide 1890-91*, published by English Church Union.

78. *Ritualist Clergy List* 1903.

Opinion against it in 1899, he found only four churches in Bristol using it: St. Raphael, All Saints', Holy Nativity and St. Simon.

We may conclude therefore that the most significant effects of the Oxford Movement on the Church of England in Bristol were the frequency with which the eucharist came to be celebrated and the number of early celebrations throughout the city. Imperceptibly it radically altered the whole ethos and conduct of the worship of the Church of England although the number of choral eucharists with vestments was very small. It must be said too that the Movement flourished in only a few parishes and the number of clergy really committed to its ideals was never large.

Appendix 1 *Ritualistic Clergymen in Bristol in 1877*

This list is based upon the *The Ritualistic Conspiracy* a list of clergymen reprinted from *The Rock* in 1877 denouncing them for their membership of the Catholic Societies. It has been checked against *Crockford's Clerical Directory* and the membership of SSC supplemented from J. Embry *The Catholic Movement and the Society of the Holy Cross* (1931). It reveals that in Bristol c. 1877 there were 21 members of the English Church Union, 7 members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and 8 members of SSC. Five had signed a petition to Convocation in 1873 requesting the appointment of licensed confessors in the Church of England.

Abbreviations

c.	Curate
CBS	Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament
ECU	English Church Union
P	Petitioner
p.c.	Perpetual Curate
Res.	Resident
SSC	Society of the Holy Cross
v.	Vicar

		ECU	CBS	SSC
Bamford R.	c. St. Mary Redcliffe 1878-80	/		
Birkmyre N.Y.	c. St. Jude 1874-75	/		/
	c. St. Raphael 1877-78			
	v. St. Simon 1882-1907			
	c. St. Raphael 1918-21			
Burnett M.	c. All Saints Clifton 1874-76	/		
	Asst. Master Bristol Grammar School 1876-81			
Capel H.B.	c. St. John Bedminster 1871-77	/		
Chase C.R.	c. All Saints Clifton 1874-76	P /		/
Coates A.L.	c. St. John Bedminster 1875-78	/		
Dunn J.	c. All Saints Clifton 1868-79	P /	/	/
Eland H.G.	p.c. St. Paul Bedminster 1839-52	/	/	
	v. St. John Bedminster 1852-82			
Hamilton J.	Res. 6 South Parade, Clifton.	/		
	p.c. St. Barnabas 1866-67			
Ives R.J.	c. Holy Nativity Knowle 1874-83	/	/	/

Johnstone C.H.	Retired to 39, Royal York Crescent, Clifton.			
	c. St. Michael Two Mile Hill 1846-48	P	/	
	v. St. Saviour Coalpit Heath 1848-74			
Kempe J.W.	c. All Saints Clifton 1872		/	/
Kerry W.	v. St. Jude 1864-83	/		
Kyle R.	c. St. Matthias 1876-77	/		
Mairis H.E.H.	c. Long Ashton 1864-78	/		
	c. St. Matthias 1878-1910			
	Res. Lyndhurst Villa, Redland Park			
Milne J.R.	c. St. Raphael 1874-76		/	
Myles J.P.	v. St. Matthias 1875-87	/		
	Missioner in Holy Trinity, St. Philip 1872-75			
Ommanney G.C.	c. Holy Nativity Knowle 1875-82	/		/
Pocock N.	Res. 5, Worcester Terrace Clifton	P	/	
	Fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford			
Randall R.W.	v. All Saints Clifton 1868-92	/	/	
Thornton G.C.	c. St. John Bedminster 1868-70	P		
Towle C.S.	c. St. John Bedminster 1871-73	/	/	
Ward A.H.	Warden of St. Raphael 1859-97	/	/	/
Wyatt V.P.				
	Asst. Master Bristol Grammar School 1869-89	/		
	c. St. Michael Bishopston 1870-72			
	c. St. Andrew Montpelier 1877-79			
	c. St. Saviour Woolcot Park 1879-89			

Appendix 2 *Ritualistic Clergymen in Bristol c. 1903*

This information is drawn from *The Ritualistic Clergy List* 3rd Edition 1903 published by the Protestant Truth Society. It lists 67 Bristol Clergy but this includes assistant curates at churches where only one of the ECU's ritual points was practised. Even the Dean is included as the Eastward position was used and candles were lit for purposes other than light at Holy Communion in the Cathedral.

There were 29 members of the English Church Union and another had resigned a little earlier. 11 were incumbents, 4 of the same two parishes, St. Raphael and St. John Bedminster. There were 13 members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, all also members of the ECU except one (F.T. Parker of St.

Aidan's Mission, Crew's Hole, a former curate at St. Paul's Portland Square 1891-93 and St. Francis Ashton Gate 1893-96). Only 3 (Birkmyre, Hephher and Mayne) are listed as members of SSC but 4 others are also known to have been members.

All members of ECU CBS SSC

Adams A.E.	v. St. Michael Two Mile Hill 1896-99	/		
	c. St. Simon 1889			
	c. St. John Clifton 1889-91			
	c. Christ Church City 1891-96			
Baghot De La Bere J	v. St. John Bedminster 1902-19			
	c. St. Mary Redcliffe 1899-1902			
Bailey R.C.	cic. Bedminster Down Mission 1903- (St. Dunstan)			
	c. St. Francis Ashton Gate 1899			
	c. St. John Bedminster 1900-02			
Barber F.J.	c. St. Jude 1898-1900	/		
Birkmyre N.Y.	v. St. Simon 1882-1907	/	/	
	c. St. Jude 1874-75			
	c. St. Raphael 1877-78			
	c. St. Raphael 1918-21			
Blackburne H.G.	Chaplain Colston's Almshouses			
	Minor Canon Bristol Cathedral 1895			
Boustead H.W.	v. All Saints with All Hallows 1891-1905			
Bromby H.B.	v. All Saints Clifton 1892-1911	/		
	v. St. John Bedminster 1888-1902			
Burder A.H.F.	c. Holy Trinity Horfield 1871-73			
	c. St. Barnabas 1875-80			
	c. Frampton Cotterell 1902-26			
Dunlop G.	v. Holy Nativity Knowle 1886-1905	/		
	c. Holy Nativity Knowle 1882-86			
Dunnett A.W.	c. Holy Nativity Knowle 1900-08	/	/	
	c. St. Matthias 1899-1900			
Fontaine J.	Chaplain City & County Hospital 1880-1921			
	c. St. Mary Fishponds 1882-3 1889-90			
	Vice-Principal St. Matthias Fishponds 1883-86			
Gent H.C.	c. Holy Nativity Knowle (St. Katharine) 1900-07			
	v. St. Simon 1907-13			
	c. All Saints Clifton 1913-27			
	v. St. Mary Tyndall's Park 1934-42			
Hephher Cyril	c. All Saints Clifton 1898-1903	/		
Hewison J.L.W.	c. St. Simon 1898-1903			

Holt V.	Minor Canon & Sacristan at Bristol Cathedral 1901-05 v. St. Nicholas 1905-12 c. Christ Church City 1899-1901 Resigned from ECU		
Mairis H.E.H.	c. St. Matthias 1878-1910	/	/
Mayne W.J.	Retd. 3, Miles Road Clifton c. St. Mary Redcliffe 1875-76 c. Holy Trinity Westbury on Trym 1900-04 c. All Saints Clifton 1904-19		
Oakden E.W.	c. Holy Trinity Horfield 1901-10 c. St. Michael Two Mile Hill 1897-99 c. St. Aldhelm Mission Bedminster 1899-1901		
Perkins C.E.	v. St. Matthias on the Weir 1887-1902 c. St. Matthias 1878-81		
Read J.H.	c. St. Michael Two Mile Hill 1899-1902 c. All Saints Oldland 1902-05 Res. 55, Alma Road Clifton 1906		
Rouse W.G.	c. St. Mary Fishponds 1897-1901 c. St. John Bedminster 1882-83 c. St. Simon 1893-95 c. St. Jude 1895-97	/	
Ruddock N.H.C.	c. Holy Nativity Knowle 1897-1905	/	
Scott A.N.	v. St. John Clifton 1899-1908		
Shoppee A.G.	c. St. Simon 1900-07	/	
Ward A.H.	Warden Sisters of Charity Knowle 1869-1908 v. St. Raphael 1893-97 Warden of St. Raphael 1859-97	/	
Watson H.F.	v. St. Raphael 1900-21 c. Holy Nativity Knowle 1886-1900	/	/
Wilkins F.	c. Holy Nativity Knowle 1897-1900		/
Wingfield H. de C.	c. Holy Nativity Knowle 1895-1905 (St. Martin) v. Holy Nativity Knowle 1905-13		

Appendix 3 *Frequency of Eucharistic Celebrations*

The followers of the Oxford Movement had a great reverence for the eucharist and were very concerned about the frequency and dignity of its celebration. Bishop Ellicott in his Primary Charge in 1869 revealed that the vast majority of the parishes in the united dioceses, 249, had a monthly celebration. In 57 parishes it was even less frequent, six times a year: in five parishes only three times. A mere 14 had a weekly celebration and 23 fortnightly. Such statistics as can be established show a steady increase in the frequency of celebrations, and especially of early celebrations.

Year	Number of Parishes	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	Early	Evening	Choral	Source
1861	37	2	6	28				Visitation returns
1878	57	24	21	12	26 (9)	20	7	S. Colborn <i>The Bristol Clifton and Suburban Church Guide</i>
1888	40	28	9		28 (20)	10	4	J. Wright & Co's <i>Bristol and Clifton Directory</i>
1898	50	41	5	2	45 (35)	12	11	" "
1908	58	54	4		53 (48)	13	14	Wright's <i>Bristol Directory</i>
1921	62	57	3		56 (52)	13	24	" " The last to give details

These figures are only approximate. The details are sometimes difficult to interpret with certainty. A few parishes had three celebrations a month. The figures in brackets are the numbers of *weekly* early celebrations.

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