

**Cathedrals and Change in the Twentieth Century:  
Aspects of the life of the cathedrals of the Church of England  
with special reference to the Cathedral Commissions of 1925; 1958; 1992**

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## Abstract

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*Cathedrals and Change in the Twentieth Century; Aspects of the life of the cathedrals of the Church of England, with special reference to the Cathedral Commissions of 1925; 1968; 1992*

Date of submission: 2011

Four commissions considered cathedrals during the nineteenth century. The first two gave them their modern structure: a dean, a small number of stipendiary, residentiary, canons, a larger honorary body. But the principal achievement of these commissions was negative; their emphasis was on the removal of wealth. The second two sought to give new corporate and diocesan life to these ancient bodies. Their aspirations, however, never achieved parliamentary enactment. Thus in the early twentieth century there was will for the reform; the establishment of the Church Assembly presented more auspicious circumstances in which to attempt it.

The thesis falls into two related parts.

The first traces institutional change across the twentieth-century - change which can be measured by the statutory outcome of the proposals of the three commissions which sat during the century. It will be argued that all three were clearly products of their times, showing the influence of context: of social (and technological) change and of the mind-set of the Church: the first two, reflecting that Church, were conservative and respectful of inheritance and tradition. The last, in an age socially, politically, administratively, ecclesiastically, much changed, was radical. It showed less respect for tradition and a greater susceptibility to external factors: markedly to contemporary management theory.

Constitutions regulate a life. The second part explores aspects of that life. All the aspects reviewed helped to form, and were in turn re-formed by, the Commissions and the consequent Measures. First among the subjects examined is the fundamental, defining, relationship, that with the bishop and the diocese. Other chapters discuss the force of external, social, change in shaping and moulding the work and witness of cathedrals, and their methods and standards of pastoral care. The ecumenical movement, though scarcely noticed by the first Commission, was already a factor in the work of a few cathedrals. The 1990s commission assumed, and its Measure provided for, ecumenical involvement. The first commission noted the fact of dissension within cathedrals and between them and their bishops; such troubles were the immediate cause of the last commission; the final chapter examines publicly prominent episodes of dissension.

Throughout the century, in their witness the cathedrals responded, sometimes profoundly, to a context of change; their historic constitutions and the independence they conferred enabled the cathedrals to conduct a richly varied public ministry. The, frequently decisive, force of personalities, especially of deans and provosts, in producing that ministry, is emphasised.

The progress of the parish church cathedrals from, early in the century, scant institutional life to, by its end, parity with their ancient counterparts, is traced.

The main text is supported by appendices, including two respectively providing biographical notes on those mentioned in the text, and definitions of specialist terms.

#### Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning

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## Acknowledgements

My interest in cathedrals has extended over most of my life. In my teens their architecture fascinated me; later the life and witness of the corporations living in those buildings has also held me – almost literally when, for two periods of my ministry in the Church of England, I have been a member of cathedral foundations: Chichester where I was a priest vicar between 1968 and 1970, and Manchester where I was a leasehold residentiary canon between 1978 and 1986. I must express my gratitude to those two cathedrals for the opportunity to share in their corporate life.

Many people have helped me in the course of the preparation of this thesis; I am most grateful to them all.

They include those listed in the bibliography who have provided recollections and opinions either by interview or correspondence; there are others to whom I have spoken whose words, although not directly used, have yet helped in the construction of my picture of the cathedrals.

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Not only has Marguerite, my wife, borne with my preoccupation with the cathedrals, she also has encouraged and supported my work.

## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the text

AEC: Association of English Cathedrals  
ARCIC: Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission  
BCC: British Council of Churches  
BMA: British Medical Association  
CA: Church Assembly  
CACTM: Central Advisory Council for Training for the Ministry  
CEMS: Church of England Men's Society  
CM Cathedrals Measure  
HMC: Head Masters' Conference  
LC: Lambeth Conference  
PPU; Peace Pledge Union  
UGC University Grants Commission  
WCC World Council of Churches

Bibliographical abbreviations used in the notes are listed above the bibliography

A Biographical Appendix provides details of the lives of persons mentioned in the text  
Specialist terms are explained in the Glossary

Christ Church Oxford is *sui generis*, a fact recognised by the commissions; it is mentioned only in passing in the thesis.

## **Part I**

The Constitutional development of the cathedrals

## Introduction

*Annales* historians designate social practices which scarcely change over centuries *la longue durée*; for almost a millennium, such unchangingness characterised the institutions of the English secular cathedrals. In the later eleventh century, chapters existed in northern France: canons, each with his own prebend, living in houses round the cathedral, worshipping together; at their head an emerging system of dignitaries; before 1100, the Normans had brought the model to England.<sup>1</sup> French chapters remained recognisably in this lineage until suppressed in 1790.<sup>2</sup> The Reformation left the English secular foundations institutionally untouched; cathedrals in need of chapters received constitutions different only in detail. In the twentieth century, the English secular cathedrals still resembled the French chapters and their common Norman forebears. In the 1980s, locked in controversy, the canons of Lincoln could invoke, with no sense of incongruity, an 'Award' which Bishop Alnwick made to their predecessors in 1439.<sup>3</sup>

The English cathedrals rarely experienced change save when imposed. In the nineteenth century, utilitarian reform and population explosion came together to deprive them of most of their endowments, reduce the number of stipendiary canonries, create new, larger, honorary bodies. Not until the late twentieth century did the chapters actively seek change.

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The presence of the bishop's *cathedra* defined a cathedral. A further characteristic was the status of *matrix ecclesia*: the mother church of the diocese;<sup>4</sup> thus St Richard at Chichester called his cathedral 'the mother and mistress' of the churches in the diocese.<sup>5</sup> Relationships with the bishop and with his diocese were intrinsic relationships. But long before the twentieth century they had become formalised, frequently distant, sometimes acrimonious. Cathedrals, symbols of episcopacy, had become independent establishments.

In the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries a climate of change - of religious renewal, of social, political, and technological advance - exposed cathedrals to scrutiny as never before; it challenged torpor and demanded new responses. The question, 'for what purpose do cathedrals exist?' was asked repeatedly. In the nineteenth century four commissions, and in the twentieth century three, pondered it.

The first part of this thesis will examine the latter three. The factors leading to each will be traced, their procedures examined, their principal recommendations summarised. The work of none emerged unmodified from the Church's deliberative assemblies. The discussions which led to the most significant modifications, and points which, though unsuccessfully, were contended, and which reveal

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<sup>1</sup> Hill and Brooke, 22, 25f

<sup>2</sup> McManners, 1999, I, ch 14; McManners, 1969, 39

<sup>3</sup> Hardy 1990, appendix I

<sup>4</sup> ODCC art 'cathedral'

<sup>5</sup> Greenaway, 11



significant mind-sets, will be noted. Formative contexts, in church and society, will be suggested. From the work of each commission emerged a legislative Measure.<sup>1</sup>

In themselves, constitutions are lifeless things; cathedrals are living communities. The life of the cathedrals both shaped the Measures and was modified by them. The second part of this thesis examines that life. The chapters range beyond regulative constitutional constraints, but illustrate the relationship of life and regulation.

#### *Definitions by the commissions of 'cathedral'*

Each commission reflected on the nature of a cathedral.

In the 1927 report<sup>2</sup> the first emphasis was upon 'witness to the things unseen and eternal' and on continuous worship; references to the *cathedra* and to the role of 'mother church' follow in a curiously unemphatic way. The report referred also to cathedrals as schools and homes of religious art and music, and to the corporate life of the chapter. In 1961<sup>3</sup> the focus on the bishop was firmer: cathedrals were 'the visible counterpart of the episcopal system' and natural loci for episcopal services. Other functions were consequential or secondary, though collegiate worship, the arts, and learning were stressed. The earlier report referred only allusively to encouragement to clergy and people to visit; in 1961, visits, pilgrimages, special services, diocesan and secular, secured greater note. The 1994<sup>4</sup> report was emphatic: 'their essential purpose...[concerns] the organisation of the mission of the Church in the world'; the cathedral is 'the seat of the bishop and a centre of worship and mission'; 'mission is organised into diocesan units governed by bishops'.

The changing emphases may be related to contexts: the first report was consciously continuing the work of Victorian commissions to which the recovery of collegiate life was paramount. The increasing mobility of society was making an impact on cathedrals in the 1920s; at Chester Bennett exploited it evangelistically, turning visitors into pilgrims. By 1961, so general was mobility that visitors were to be 'welcomed...helped to see the spiritual purpose of a Cathedral'; cathedrals were 'an evangelistic agency...[which] might be of considerable importance.' But the phrases remained tentative. In 1994, church and context had changed. The bishops were freshly determined to be leaders. Changes in their manner of employment made the clergy more dependent on them. Thus the church was increasingly centralised and its centre was the diocesan administration. In society, the observantly religious were a small minority. From this, exacerbated by ill-judged speculation by the Church Commissioners, issued a financial crisis.<sup>5</sup> Coincidentally, a resurgent and forceful

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<sup>1</sup> See Glossary

<sup>2</sup> CCI, 9f

<sup>3</sup> CML, 4

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 3f

<sup>5</sup> See Lovell, 1997; Robbins, 2008, 451

evangelicalism became dominant giving a sharp edge to the vocabulary of mission and commitment; the 1990s were declared a 'Decade of Evangelism'.<sup>1</sup> This context definitively shaped the proposals.

### *The membership of the Commissions*

In 1925,<sup>2</sup> at first eight clerics balanced eight laymen; the later addition of four further clerics but no laymen gave the clerics preponderance. Four of the original commission were diocesan bishops (one an archbishop), two deans, two residentiary canons; later five were bishops, four deans, three residentiary canons.

The Commissioners of 1925 were the most distinguished of the three commissions. They included a prominent writer; historical scholars, two of them among the most learned medievalists of the day; representatives of the various kinds of cathedrals; cathedral administrators; men eminent in relevant studies – architecture, music, historic libraries. There was a quixotic Church Assembly proceduralist. The Commission's origins<sup>3</sup> ensured a strong representation of those competent in cathedral and ecclesiastical finances. The Parish Church cathedrals were probably underrepresented.

The background of the members was socially elite: the preponderance of Oxford and Cambridge graduates, and of the products of the major public schools, reflects the ease with which the Church could then draw on the upper classes.<sup>4</sup> With the exception of Bennett and Nicholson, few were far-seeing or forward looking. On the contrary, many were traditionalists; Pearce and Whittingham were reactionary. Although the management of daunting houses was a recurring complaint to the Commission, the membership did not include a woman. And if, among the clerical members, some had been the incumbents of parishes, none was while serving.<sup>5</sup> The lack tended to suggest the distance between cathedrals and dioceses.

In 1958<sup>6</sup> the clerics were one diocesan bishop, three deans, two provosts, one residentiary canon, and one non-residentiary canon. Measured by academic performance, the Commission was not powerful, certainly not the equal of the earlier commission. It lacked an architect, a professional historian, an architectural historian, though Evans and Judd possessed knowledge in the latter spheres. There was no organist or architect; no equivalent of Newbolt; only Peter Kirk, scarcely a 'worthy', suggested any wider interest. Libraries lacked an advocate. Ecclesiastical lawyers were conspicuous, as befitted a commission constructed in anticipation of adjustments to constitutional legalities. Graham contributed financial expertise, a *sine qua non* in the event. The Church Commissioners were essential; Sir James Brown represented them at almost every meeting. This was

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<sup>1</sup> LC 1988, resolution 43; Coleman 221

<sup>2</sup> See appendix 1A

<sup>3</sup> See below 19f

<sup>4</sup> Appendix 2A

<sup>5</sup> Scott was a partial exception; parishes were, unsatisfactorily, annexed to the Manchester canonries. (CCII 95)

<sup>6</sup> Appendix 1B

the smallest of the commissions, an indication, perhaps, that a comparatively modest task was envisaged.

In a church in which the advance of modern evangelicalism had not begun and in which Anglo-Catholicism was still strong, the number of low-church members was striking. The representation of parish church cathedrals was weighty, as was, in the form of Dillistone and Graham, that of modern collegiate foundations. The representation of the ancient cathedrals appears weak: Christopherson and Evans represented the New Foundations; only Judd, a non-residentiary, canon came from the Old Foundations. After the publication of the report the commission was strengthened by the addition, from the ancient cathedrals, of Marcus Knight and RB Lloyd, a recognition that the task was broader than had been envisaged.

Dillistone was the only theologian, and, it may safely be said, alone among the members was possessed of an adventurous mind; his temperament and manner were, however, cautious and unforceful. The commission was markedly 'Oxbridge' in complexion,<sup>1</sup> Goff, from Dublin, being only a partial exception, and Graham, a non-graduate, the only total exception. Among the laity Oxford and Cambridge were equally strong, while Fawdry, a diocesan secretary, was drawn from ex-military ranks: a class not uncommon in the Church Assembly at that time. Mildred Rawlinson was a bishop's wife, a worshipper at a parish church cathedral, and a forceful woman in her own right.

The slender representation of the Old Foundations may have been fortuitous, and the balance of churchmanship in part the outcome of an anxiety sufficiently to represent the parish church cathedrals, the constitutions of which, it was perhaps anticipated, would require close attention; many of them, by patronage or less formally by tradition or episcopal patronage, were in low-church hands.

In 1992<sup>2</sup> the clergy were one diocesan bishop, another bishop with wide experience though by then a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, a dean, a provost, a residentiary canon (both soon to be deans), and an individualistic, if conservative, historian. The laity included a sociologist with educational interests and theological knowledge; and strong representations of structural care and conservation. Spheres newly acknowledged were tourism and 'heritage', and management. There were high-powered spokesmen for accountancy and finance, areas in earlier commissions left to the Ecclesiastical and Church Commissioners.

Some of traditional balances survived: the dean of an ancient cathedral, the provost of a parish church cathedral. The preoccupation of the earlier commissions with the Old and the New Foundations seems not to have mattered, raising the suspicion that certain historic distinctions were foredoomed *ab ovo*.

Apart from Norman and McClean, an assessor, the Commissioners, like their predecessors in 1958, were academically undistinguished. Lady Howe thought the membership, assembled before she

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix 2B

<sup>2</sup> Appendix 1C

accepted the chair and without her influence, deficient in experience of 'life'.<sup>1</sup> There was no national 'worthy'.

The public schools, broadly defined,<sup>2</sup> remained strong, though the actual schools represented were not of the standing of the earlier ones; only two members were from Clarendon schools; the increased representation of other schools is marked. There is a similar diversity of universities. The erosion of the traditional relationship between the church and the upper classes is apparent: the secularization of those classes, an increasingly meritocratic society, and perhaps the hostility of the then government to the concept of *noblesse oblige*, were probably factors. Howe reflected a society greatly changed since 1960.

Representatives of corporate accountancy, managerialism, and tourism, alongside the more predictable architect, musician, historian, and clerics suggest a commission assembled not only to deal with the issues proposed by the deans,<sup>3</sup> but to think beyond the constraints of tradition. The choice of Lady Howe as chairman also suggests a close attention to corporatism and to management. When members of the Commission visited Winchester the dean reflected 'she had a sharp mind and her questions were very much to the point'; 'she brought to the enquiry a secular model of management'.<sup>4</sup>

The first commission was entirely male,<sup>5</sup> the second contained only one woman. A female chairman would have been unthinkable in 1925, and probably in 1958. In 1992 there were two women: Lady Howe and Dr Storkey. The latter possessed academic expertise serviceable to the Commission; she also represented a currently prominent type of churchmanship.

Commissions can be constructed in order to produce a particular outcome; an outcome may, on the other hand, result from the assembling of those judged likely to contribute usefully to the subject. The Lang Commission bears the aspect of the latter: a gathering of the best-equipped minds the church could gather. The Williams Commission had the appearance of a group summoned for a specific narrow task. The Howe Commission has the aspect of the assemblage of minds and experience designedly radical and contemporary.

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<sup>1</sup> Howe

<sup>2</sup> Measured by membership of the HMC

<sup>3</sup> Appendix 3, 3

<sup>4</sup> Beeson 1997, 152

<sup>5</sup> Lang was not opposed to the presence of women in such bodies: he was 'most anxious' to have a woman on the 1935 Church and State Commission. (LPL 2884:150)

## Chapter I

### The Commission of 1925 and the Measure of 1931

#### *Nineteenth century background*

The Royal Commissions of 1832 and 1835 stripped the cathedrals of what was considered superfluous wealth. From that process emerged the bones of the modern cathedral: a chapter consisting of a dean and three or four residentiary canons and, beyond, a larger honorary body with honorific titles. The commissions of 1854 and 1885 attempted, without success, to clothe these bones in the flesh of a richer collegiate life.

The last can scarcely have had high hopes.<sup>1</sup> Three times 'the press of [Parliamentary] business' had denied its proposals legislation,<sup>2</sup> and was to deny it to its final report.<sup>3</sup> The Commission's work was not, however, futile; its concerns recurred in subsequent discussion of cathedrals, and its influence on the Lang Commission was marked.<sup>4</sup>

The commissioners emphasised the diocesan context of the cathedral; they wrote of 'the grand conception of the Bishop of a Diocese working from his cathedral as a spiritual centre',<sup>5</sup> and sought to promote 'earnest and harmonious cooperation' of cathedral with both bishop and diocese. They endeavoured to add clarity to the relationship with the bishop; and envisaged increased helpfulness to him in the work of the diocese.<sup>6</sup> They proposed the assimilation of the constitutions of the New Foundations to those of the Old Foundations; their objective being to establish everywhere a Greater Chapter, a diocesan body to give counsel to the bishop.<sup>7</sup> They recommended the reform of the 'duties and capabilities of Deans and Canons' as 'centres of spiritual light and life in the Diocese': the 'practical value' of the cathedrals would be enhanced by a 'more prolonged residence' by the canons, and by the allocation to them of diocesan duties by the bishop.<sup>8</sup>

Cathedrals were enduring financial distress. The protection their fabrics, problems of stipends and housing, and, during an agricultural depression, falling capitular incomes, demanded that 'the question of an increase of capitular resources from property in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners must be fairly dealt with.'<sup>9</sup> The prevailing division of the patronage, some canonries being held by the bishop some by the Crown, was beneficial; it would become more so with redistribution, so that 'in each Cathedral...the Crown and the Bishop should divide the patronage'; they

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<sup>1</sup> Cf Report 1885, 16.

<sup>2</sup> In 1882, 1883, 1884: Report 1885, 14

<sup>3</sup> Rawnsley, 288f

<sup>4</sup> 'we have had the Reports of [these Commissions] before us' CCI, 8

<sup>5</sup> Report 1885, 16

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 4

After 1840, at the New Foundations the links between the new honorary canons and the cathedral were nominal; the non-residentiaries of the Old Foundations had closer links with their cathedrals. At York they and the residentiaries together formed the governing body.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 4

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 5, 6f, 8

prepared a list of proposed exchanges.<sup>1</sup> They sought for the cathedrals internal cohesion: the direction of cathedrals should be 'entirely vested in one body'; the minor corporations should be abolished.<sup>2</sup> Statutes were chaotic, and in need of reform.<sup>3</sup> They prepared a draft set for each foundation.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Discussion of cathedrals in the early twentieth century*

Demands for reform were strong in the early twentieth century. A weighty group,<sup>5</sup> which addressed 'the Leaders of the Church of England' in support of Church Reform, believed that popular suspicion of the Church's good faith would persist 'until it reforms its financial system... Will the National Mission Committee', it asked, 'deal promptly and boldly with the disproportionate expenditure on Cathedral Bodies?'

A committee of the National Mission of Repentance and Hope<sup>6</sup> suggested that the cathedral should be a 'spiritual metropolis', with influence throughout the diocese; its clergy including 'scholars and students of Theology, to put at the disposal of the Church the best thought and learning of the time'. A cathedral city should be 'a place where vigorous spiritual and intellectual life is exploited'. '[I]n every way, the unity of Bishop, Cathedral and Diocese should be secured'. The relations of the bishop and the cathedral should be 'more intimate'. The bishop should have ordinary jurisdiction<sup>7</sup> within the cathedral; he should be able to preach and 'perform all the ordinances and ceremonies of the Church whenever he may think proper, and to require the use of it for any special service in which he himself takes part'. He should be able to take 'joint counsel' with the Dean and Chapter, and at least once a year a greater chapter - dean, residentiaries, non-residentiaries and archdeacons - should meet under his presidency, as a 'counsel of advisers' to him. Statutory reform was necessary; a 'strong committee' should construct a set of model statutes, in non-essentials permitting local variants, but defining the 'powers and position' of the bishop; the powers, duties, and residence of the dean; and the powers and duties of the residentiaries and the conditions and length of residence - which should be for eight or nine months each year; diocesan or, with the bishop's agreement, university, work should count, parochial livings were incompatible with cathedral duties. They prescribed for practical matters: an annual architect's report; accounts annually audited by a chartered accountant; the bishop and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should see both. The Minor Corporations should be abolished, and the holders of minor offices should be 'in the position of curates, with reasonable security of tenure'. Lay-

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 3f; quotation 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 4

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 4f

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 15

<sup>5</sup> *Guardian*, 15 March, 1917, 218. Signatories included J. Adderley, EW. Barnes, HG Jones, CCC Bardsley, EA. Burroughs, GF. Fisher, AA. David, JOF. Murray, CF. Garbett, Peter Green, GE. Newsom, HRL Sheppard; StCGA Donaldson, Tissington Taplow; Guy Warman

<sup>6</sup> Committee IV, on Administrative Reform, 14-16

Members included Edwyn Hoskyns, Louise Creighton, TC Fry, H. Rashdall, Tissington Taplow, W. Temple, JEC Welldon

National Mission; see Wilkinson 1996, esp 70-90; reports 80-90; Robbins 2008, 133-5

<sup>7</sup> See glossary

clerks should be available for any service in the cathedral and liable to dismissal for unsatisfactory work. All such minor officers, together with the cathedral's permanent working staff, should contribute to a pension scheme helped by chapter funds. The patronage of the Crown had many advantages to cathedrals; but it should be better distributed among them.

The Life and Liberty Movement devoted one of its leaflets to bishops and cathedrals;<sup>1</sup> the appointment of bishops by cathedral chapters was 'one of the reforms most urgently needed': the current 'leave to elect'<sup>2</sup> and the unrepresentative character of chapters rendered elections unreal. The bishop and his chapter were 'out of definite touch with each other': the former lacked control of his cathedral; he was unable even to preach there without the approval of the dean; he should recover his 'rightful position' as 'head and president of the chapter'. Thus would an 'essential reform' have been accomplished. The chapters themselves 'should be hives of industry and activity, and not centres of repose.' But the 'average' visitor's impression was that 'the object of [the cathedrals'] existence is to bring back memories of the past rather than to be an active spiritual force in the life of the Diocese today.' Canonries should cease to be 'retiring posts for men who have done good service..., but are past the age when vigorous work can be expected'. Deaneries and canonries should cease to be freehold; each canon should 'watch over' some part of the Church's activity in the diocese and canons should be obliged to live in their cathedral cities for nine months each year. These proposals would, they suggested, 'effect a revolution' and 'restore [the cathedral] to the place of honour which it once held'. Life and Liberty also produced a leaflet highlighting issues in the essay: the *nonne* in their questions leaves their convictions in no doubt: 'would it not be of value as an advisory council for the bishop?' that the greater chapter should be revived. '[I]s the present position satisfactory, in which the dean has control...usually in complete independence of the bishop?'<sup>3</sup>

The membership of the National Mission committee was not radical; Life and Liberty a little more so. But the emergence of calls for reform in such groups is indicative of their currency in influential circles

Church newspapers also discussed cathedrals. In 1909 an editorial in the *Church Times* concluded that they were institutions which betrayed their best expectations: 'Why does Barchester nearly always return a Radical member?' Four residentiary canons 'of vague ecclesiastical opinions' executing 'trimestrial duties'- 'what influence do they exercise on the life of the Church?' 'Stalls', the writer thought, 'are usually bestowed upon men whose energies are already spent, merely as a kind of superannuation'; and 'Deaneries and those Canonries of which the Crown is the patron, are seldom presented to apart altogether from political considerations.' 'We think' he concluded, 'the times call for a new kind of organisation of diocesan worship, thought, and work, which the cathedral church and close as we have known them...can never bring about.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Life and Liberty* a

<sup>2</sup> See glossary

<sup>3</sup> *Life and Liberty* b

<sup>4</sup> CT 13 March 1909 333f

In 1913 the paper returned to cathedral reform.<sup>1</sup> After the Victorian changes the cathedrals were 'more even...the private chapels of a few old gentlemen. Episcopal authority was not restored. Nepotism still flourished'. Nonetheless, there were improvements: the influence of Deans Church and Gregory, and of Canon Liddon, was now 'almost everywhere.' Cathedrals were 'a purged institution and very fairly efficient'; indeed, the writer now feared the opposite danger. 'An efficient cathedral was not necessarily one the officers of which are perpetually rushing about. There is a spiritual lesson in placid awe and solemn beauty.' Such a cathedral - a mother church - should be a 'centre and focus of missionary zeal, of conciliatory deliberation and devotion'; it should be open daily 'from dawn to sun-down'. It needed an 'adequate staff of clergy, not a minor canon and the canon-in-residence.' Its Sunday worship should be 'the pattern worship of the church' and its music should advance beyond that thought 'so pretty' in late Victorian times, to the 'more ancient and devotional model [which] is waiting for revival'. And 'if splendid ceremonial is in place anywhere it is in these august and immense temples of God.' 'Something more is wanted' the writer added tartly, than a string of choirboys and one or two M.A. hoods.' Cathedrals needed to be delivered from the taunt that their worship resembled a dried pea rattling in its pod.

Two letters followed.<sup>2</sup> One questioned the exemplary character of St Paul's, a cathedral where '[t]he diocesan spirit' and 'the foreign missionary spirit' were 'still singularly absent from the regular daily round of cathedral life'. The other traversed familiar ground: the canon should hold no benefice but his canonry, should reside for at least nine months, should serve diocesan needs. That 'Anglican anomaly', 'the Canon in Residence', and his 'scant residence...[from which] he derives so comfortable and ample an income', should be abolished. A daily sung Eucharist would be an 'elevation of the spiritual life', would 'stir up' a response.

The *Church Times* was partisan; high-church and provocative. But when allowance is made for *parti pris*, the editor and his correspondents iterate criticisms which recur: the system of residence was degraded; the diocese neglected; worship, devotion, study marginalized.<sup>3</sup>

A memorandum by three distinguished deans<sup>4</sup> tilted at the fashionable misapprehension 'that a Cathedral is intended to be a sort of standing Council to assist the Bishop in his work', that was a confusion of settled Norman constitutions and earlier missionary conditions, when the bishop gathered his staff round him at the central church. Now, 'the Chapter is not specially well qualified to act as a representative Council of the Diocese', that would come from very different elements; the assigning of particular canonries to 'special diocesan duties' was 'futile'. The trio, however, accepted the popular

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<sup>1</sup> CT 8 August 1913, 172f

<sup>2</sup> CT 15 August, 1913, 197

<sup>3</sup> For *Guardian* on cathedrals see 17f below

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, Savage, Burns



desire concerning the bishop's rights 'of preaching, ordaining or confirming...whenever he may desire to do so, provided he gives due notice'.<sup>1</sup>

The contention that the bishop should be head of his cathedral, and that deaneries should be abolished or modified, had a pedigree stretching back to mid-Victorian times. Henry Alford proposed that bishops should be deans; AC Tait that, if they were also suffragan bishops, deans would become 'more distinctly useful'.<sup>2</sup> EW Benson, deeply committed to cathedrals,<sup>3</sup> disagreed: of 'episcopal propositions to...[promote] bishops to be deans' he said '[l]et us trust we have heard the last'.<sup>4</sup>

Early twentieth-century bishops occasionally glanced longingly back to the lost ideal. The bishops of Worcester lived at Hartlebury Castle, some twelve miles distant from their cathedral. In 1917, the bishop's place of residence was being discussed. The bishop said

If the cathedral were really the Bishop's 'cathedral'...if the central church were his central workshop, if he...were the real pastor of the chief church – ordering its services, bringing his best men to preach...then there is no doubt that the Bishop should be on the spot – if legislation should ever turn Deans into Bishops, then the right theory of the Bishop in relation to his cathedral would be restored, and the Episcopal Dean would have to reside in the precincts.'<sup>5</sup>

Yeatman-Biggs's tone was mild and optative; Winnington-Ingram's was direct. He was, he told the Church Reform League, a 'convinced believer in the cathedral system'; he wanted cathedrals to be 'centres of life at the centre of the diocese'. But 'Deans he would abolish'; gradually, the dean had become head of the cathedral and the bishop had no rights at all in his own *sedes*, sometimes could not even preach there without the permission of the Dean and Chapter. 'The system ...could not be justified from any point of view of catholic custom and tradition.' The abolition of deaneries and the application of their endowments to the foundation of bishoprics 'would...[make it] possible to restore the Bishop of the Diocese to the position he ought to have in relation to his cathedral church'.<sup>6</sup>

Winnington-Ingram was not alone in bruiting the abolition of deaneries. One member of the committee of the National Mission envisaged the possibility, and sought at the least the restraining of decanal independence.<sup>7</sup>

But there was resistance. In the *Guardian*, an anonymous letter defended deans and criticised bishops;<sup>8</sup> residentiary canons were 'certainly superfluous'; they received £350 to £400 for three months' residence, together often with 'the best livings in the Diocese...Hundreds would thereby be

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<sup>1</sup> P&RII, 244-6

<sup>2</sup> Barrett 1993, 38

<sup>3</sup> Eg Newsome 1959, 171

<sup>4</sup> Benson, 1878, 43

<sup>5</sup> *Guardian* 7 June 1917, 440

<sup>6</sup> *Guardian* 28 June 1917, 505

<sup>7</sup> Douglas Eyre, 'Administrative Reform'. He also favoured the discontinuance of the Crown patronage of canonries.

<sup>8</sup> '[are] there no negligent Bishops as well as negligent clergy? Too many 'cling to office until almost too feeble to crawl'.

saved for poorer clergy.<sup>1</sup> For Sir Lewis Dibdin, the reorganisation of the Church's financial resources was urgent, the war had 'more than halved' clerical incomes, including those of cathedral dignitaries. But to the latter he offered retrenchment: 'the needs of cathedrals...can be, at least to some extent, met by economy in the number of canons.'<sup>2</sup>

Headlam was a weighty defender of deaneries. Making bishops deans was an 'ill-considered policy': cathedrals needed heads whose duty was the 'services and life of the Cathedral', who 'may not have very heavy work, but who [are] always present'. Deaneries have been 'occupied by those who, by literary and intellectual distinction, have much weight in the thought of the day.' If, in some recent appointments 'commonplace characteristics of activity' had been in evidence, there might be a return to 'men whose contribution to the work of the Church has been that of intellectual thought rather than of popular preaching.'<sup>3</sup>

Rashdall<sup>4</sup> also added further weight to the case. The 'popular scheme...that Bishops should be Deans of their own Cathedrals' was 'entirely on the wrong lines'. Bishops lacked the time to attend to the details; the presence of another would therefore be necessary and 'there seems no reason why the working head of the most prominent church in the Diocese should be deprived of as much power and independence as belongs to the humblest vicar...and be reduced to the position of the Bishop's curate.' Direct episcopal headship he thought 'an insidious attempt to increase episcopal autocracy and to extinguish all independence on the part of the clergy'; in deaneries, a 'dignified office' to which the bishops did not appoint, there was independence. He reiterated, though in very moderate terms, the changes to which he had had subscribed in 1919:<sup>5</sup> the location of ordinary jurisdiction should be clarified (he did not say that it should be acceded to the bishop), and the bishop should have the right to use the cathedral for episcopal occasions.

Although the union of bishoprics and deaneries was unmentioned in the questionnaire of the Properties and Revenues Commission, respondents from York and Peterborough also scouted the suggestion.<sup>6</sup>

In July 1917, Archbishop Davidson sought the views of Armitage Robinson. Robinson defended deaneries and their independence on the ground that men such as Rashdall, Henson, and himself, whom 'you did not make bishops', might occupy deaneries; they 'gave a man leisure to think'; and, if wisely chosen, deans were 'an effective permanent opposition to the episcopate, not individual bishops, but critics of and checks on general episcopal policy'.<sup>7</sup>

In 1918, *The Guardian* made similar points. The patronage of the Crown, it observed, was frequently 'as beneficent actually as it is indefensible logically': deaneries enabled the Crown to 'honour

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<sup>1</sup> *Guardian*, 2 August 1917, 584

<sup>2</sup> Church Congress, 1919, 247, 250

<sup>3</sup> Headlam *Revenues*, 43f

<sup>4</sup> P&RII, 240-43

<sup>5</sup> He was a signatory of the National Mission Report.

<sup>6</sup> P&RII, 120; 118

<sup>7</sup> Jasper, 1967, 35; Robinson to Davidson.

and elevate clergy who for a multitude of reasons deserve honour and elevation but could not be made bishops'; 'dignities' for men of 'power and influence' who did not feel called to the episcopate were important.<sup>1</sup>

Moderate reform, then, was widely agreed; yearning for the primitive polity widely dismissed. The latter was nonetheless strong enough for the Lang Commission to record that 'we do not agree...that the distinctive office of dean might be dispensed with as superfluous.'<sup>2</sup>

If cathedrals were bishops' churches they must also be diocesan churches. Reformers urged that cathedrals should recover the ancient status of diocesan centres, and their clergy that of diocesan ministrants.

Some, we have seen, saw a revived greater chapter as a representative group of diocesan clergy advising the bishop, and thought that the cathedral's life should quicken that of the diocese. Robinson, Savage, and Burn argued that the prebendaries of the Old Foundations formed a link between cathedral and diocese: they had stalls, preaching turns, participation in the election of a bishop, at some a vote in the election of the capitular Proctors in Convocation. The cathedral was 'the Central Diocesan Church'; its worship 'the bond of the spiritual unity of the whole community'; its clergy 'men of power and prominence' whose influence 'may radiate out into all the Diocese.'<sup>3</sup> Yeatman-Biggs's ideal was that 'all the diocesan work [might] flow into the cathedral and out from it';<sup>4</sup> Winnington-Ingram's that if '[e]ach of the canons [were] assigned some definite work in the Diocese...Cathedral bodies would soon become a real force in the church life of the Diocese.' The Sub-dean of Coventry thought 'Diocesan officers working from the cathedral...directly under the Bishop are now indispensable', suggesting the offices of Diocesan Missioner, Director of Education, Messenger to Industry.<sup>5</sup> Spheres for the canons' 'watch' over parts of the church's life in the diocese, *Life and Liberty* suggested, were learning, devotion, pastoral life, educational needs, missionary activity.<sup>6</sup>

Practicalities tempered such ideas. Lacey thought that the Crown's patronage of all the canonries at Worcester made the attachment of diocesan work to them difficult, and tended 'to dissociate the cathedral from the diocese'; in the aloofness lurked 'something wrong'.<sup>7</sup>

Rashdall disliked the association of stalls to such diocesan tasks as diocesan missioner or schools inspector; men frequently undertook such work at a younger age than they became canons, and the talents required were not necessarily the same: 'you would probably very often not get the best man for the particular job or the best man for the canonry, while many men who ought to be Canons would not become Canons at all.' He was unenthusiastic about increasing the rights of the Greater

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<sup>1</sup> *Guardian* 13 June 1918, 450

<sup>2</sup> CCI, 15

<sup>3</sup> P&RII 244-6

<sup>4</sup> *Guardian* 7 June 1917, 440

<sup>5</sup> *Times*, 8 January 1920

<sup>6</sup> *Life and Liberty* a

<sup>7</sup> *Times*, 13 January 1920, 8 (letter)

Chapter: 'the division of authority' already made 'the smooth working of the institution difficult', a further authority 'would lead to further confusion', and so large a body would be 'too large for dealing with the details of the administration.' The suggestion that preaching turns for the honorary canons would strengthen the diocesan connexion he dismissed; proponents of the idea were also 'in the habit of insisting that one of the functions of the Cathedrals is to provide preaching of a high order...older clergymen...not appointed primarily on account of their preaching capacity...cannot possibly reach any very high average of preaching power.'<sup>1</sup>

The Cathedrals Commission Report brought such discussion to a conclusion. But the future chairman had already developed a policy. In 1914, Lang had told his diocese '[m]y ideal is that the Canons Residentiary should be men who are able to give their whole time to the Minster and to some branch of the work of the Church in the Diocese'.<sup>2</sup> In 1910 AD Tupper Carey had already taken up 'a new type of Canonry'; he was 'to arouse a new sense of the interest, [in] the obligation of the missionary work of the Church.'<sup>3</sup> In 1917 a suffragan went to a canonry. '[D]iocesan work is quite a good use for the canonries', Lang wrote to Wilfrid Parker.<sup>4</sup>

#### *The Commission of 1925*

The immediate catalyst for the commission of 1925 was not the demands of reformers but the determination of the newly formed Church Assembly to investigate the historic properties and revenues of the Church. In the autumn of 1920, a Commission of Enquiry was established.<sup>5</sup>

Its terms included the cathedrals,<sup>6</sup> and its enquiries<sup>7</sup> found financial problems, and attendant difficulties, at most.<sup>8</sup> It was, the commissioners concluded, 'highly desirable' that cathedrals should not be dependent on the fluctuations of landed property and tithe rentcharge. Delicately, they wondered how 'well adapted' chapters were to the management of property.<sup>9</sup> Those responsibilities, they recommended, should be transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commission; in return, cathedrals should receive a dependable income.<sup>10</sup> Wide-ranging enquiries<sup>11</sup> had revealed problems, already the commonplaces of would-be reformers, far beyond the commission's brief.<sup>12</sup> To determine the income for each cathedral required 'minute enquiry'; a new commission examining the 'constitution and

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<sup>1</sup> P&RII, 241; 243

<sup>2</sup> YDG, 1914, 159

<sup>3</sup> Lang 1945, 21-23

<sup>4</sup> LPL 2883, 166

<sup>5</sup> CA 1920, 80

<sup>6</sup> P&RI, 6

<sup>7</sup> For its working methods P&RI, 7f

<sup>8</sup> Accounts submitted (P&RII, 214-239) revealed fourteen cathedrals in deficit; one exactly balanced; eight in surplus. Some surpluses were small: Hereford £1.0, P&R, II, 224

Attendant difficulties: egs fabrics: P&R, I 32 para 103f; fluctuating stipends and houses: P&RI, para 24

<sup>9</sup> P&RI para 105

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 106

<sup>11</sup> Their questionnaire: P&RII 206-11

<sup>12</sup> Egs: freehold minor canons; canonical pluralism, musicians; the education of boys; obsolete statutes

requirements...of each cathedral' was necessary. Within its purview would fall also the wider matters their enquiries had revealed.

A major recommendation of the Properties and Revenues Commission had been the reform of the Ecclesiastical Commission and Queen Anne's Bounty: a prolonged task. The Assembly resolved to dispatch lesser matters first. Thus, fortuitously, to the fore came the cathedrals<sup>1</sup> - 'in one sense the largest part of the reconstruction of the Church's financial system'.<sup>2</sup>

On the last day of the sessions Dr Charles Harris proposed that the Commission be instructed 'to consider the best means of promoting...[Chapters] regarded as centres of learning'.<sup>3</sup> Davidson was reluctant: '[i]t was rather going beyond what was in the minds of those whose business it was to consider the Revenues of the Church'.<sup>4</sup> Fastening on the word 'consider', he said the topic 'should not be definitely regarded as part of their terms of reference', only as 'the subject of a letter to the commission'.<sup>5</sup> Thus glossed, the motion was carried.<sup>6</sup>

#### *The Commission's working methods*

The commission worked carefully; there were twelve meetings of the full body, five lasting two days;<sup>7</sup> all cathedrals were visited by sub-commissions: groups of five Commissioners, plus representatives of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and of the particular cathedral. The visits lasted two days;<sup>8</sup> a wide-ranging questionnaire<sup>9</sup> gathered memoranda in advance.<sup>10</sup>

#### *The Commission's recommendations*

The Commissioners professed conservative presuppositions: they would 'accept and respect' the long history of the cathedrals, and would change 'only things which have become merely archaic, which hinder the development of work and worship, which are inconsistent with modern needs and conditions'. Cathedrals, they affirmed, 'are not a *tabula rasa* on which some new ideal or theory of cathedral life may be imposed'.<sup>11</sup>

They adhered to their dictum almost perversely. They esteemed the constitutions of the Old Foundations 'best fitted for the life of all our cathedrals at the present time and ... in the future'.<sup>12</sup> Unnamed, but their *beau ideal*, was York. There, as in medieval times, the entire prebendal body governed. Now, echoing the radicalism of their predecessors in 1885, they affirmed that the whole

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<sup>1</sup> CA 1924, 288

<sup>2</sup> Davidson, *ibid*, 289; 292

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 368

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 370

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 370

<sup>6</sup> Appendix 3; 1

<sup>7</sup> CCI, 7

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 8

<sup>9</sup> CCII, 3-15

<sup>10</sup> CCI, 8

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 13

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 15

chapter should be 'the responsible governing body' of all ancient cathedrals, Old and New Foundations alike. It should meet regularly for business and devotion; the dean and residentiaries would be 'a standing committee' with executive administrative powers.<sup>1</sup>

They emphasised the importance of the dean, whose office demanded 'the full thought and energy of an able and devoted man.'<sup>2</sup> Residentiary canonries, of which there should usually be four, should cease merely to be preferment; each should have some office or function in the cathedral and should 'give [his] whole time' to those duties. There should be 'special provision' for the traditional duties of the precentor and chancellor and treasurer.<sup>3</sup> The fourth canon might 'promote evangelistic work in the diocese and overseas.'<sup>4</sup>

Collegiality should be strengthened; the residentiaries should be 'whole-time residents' who, beyond their periods of close residence, should attend the services.<sup>5</sup> They should be debarred from benefices and other work incompatible with this; suffragan bishoprics or archdeaconries, the report reluctantly conceded, might be necessary exceptions.<sup>6</sup> Conscious that chapters were 'apt to become [bodies] of very elderly men' unlikely to 'inspire or direct...the revived life of our cathedrals', they proposed retirement at seventy.<sup>7</sup>

If honorary canons were to acquire increased responsibilities, they should be 'men who will add strength to the chapter', and the bishop's patronage exercised accordingly. They also should reside within the diocese, demitting office on ceasing to do so.<sup>8</sup>

A 'not always edifying' history characterised the relations of bishops and cathedrals. The bishop's position, generally 'ill-defined and unsatisfactory', should be clarified: statutes should be revised so as to assert his 'rightful position'; obscurities in the right of Visitation should be explained. The diversities of Ordinary Jurisdiction, they found, defied systematization,<sup>9</sup> and contented themselves by asserting the bishop's right to hold ordinations and confirmations and other special services, and to preach and celebrate after notice. But they safeguarded the chapter's control of services, 'regular or exceptional'.<sup>10</sup>

Relations with the diocese should be 'real, close, and continuous'. The cathedral should be an exemplar: a 'centre of religious life' with 'a high ideal of worship...to quicken the religious life of the people', by preaching and teaching. The duties assigned to each canonry should have diocesan dimensions. The extended responsibilities of the honorary canons would increase the interest of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 15 see also summary recommendations i and vii (39f)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 15

<sup>3</sup> Somewhat glossed, especially the treasurership: given responsibilities for finances and fabric. See glossary

<sup>4</sup> CCI, 15f; perhaps the chairman's influence may be discerned here, see 19 above

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, recommendation ii (39)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 19f

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 16

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 17. The bishop should have dispensing powers; and power to confer emeritus titles.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 18

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 18f; recommendations x, xi

diocese in the cathedral. Pilgrimages, intercession for the parishes, special services, would give reality to the concept of the mother church.<sup>1</sup> They shrank from recommending the abolition of admission charges, but hoped that cathedrals would be 'freely open.'<sup>2</sup>

Music inevitably demanded their attention. Despite 'straitened resources' 'almost every cathedral' did its utmost. But organists deserved greater recognition than often they received, and stipends should be raised.<sup>3</sup> The organist, they wrote cautiously, should choose the music 'under the general supervision of the precentor or other representative of the chapter.'<sup>4</sup> The chapter bore a responsibility: one, their investigations revealed, not always very satisfactorily discharged, for its choristers, both during and after their time of service; their 'general education' should be the chapter's responsibility, wherever possible in a choir school.<sup>5</sup>

The corporations of minor canons were 'interesting and picturesque survival[s]', 'merely archaic.' They should be dissolved, their property should pass to the cathedral's 'general resources'; freeholds should cease.<sup>6</sup>

As bidden, they pondered the advancement of theological study. They had already recommended that one canon should promote 'religious study and education'.<sup>7</sup> In many dioceses there were scholarly clergy; the bestowal of honorary canonries on such men would encourage the pursuit of study among the clergy and would increase the chapter's interest.<sup>8</sup> They suggested that chapters able to do so might appoint a 'research fellow', for a fixed term.<sup>9</sup> Whatever the difficulties, the benefits from existing connexions between cathedrals and universities favoured retention.<sup>10</sup> In cathedrals with new universities nearby professorial canonries should be encouraged.<sup>11</sup> Closer links between cathedrals and theological colleges they viewed with less enthusiasm, though they contemplated the foundation of theological colleges under the aegis of cathedrals in areas without any provision.<sup>12</sup> Thus they showed their 'sympathy with the desire to make the cathedrals more effective as centres of religious learning'.

They agreed with their predecessors that chapters should be delivered from the responsibilities and the economic vagaries of estate management: as the spiritual work of cathedrals increased

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 19-21

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 21

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 24

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, recommendation xii

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 24; recommendation xiii; schools: see 98f below

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 42, recommendation xix.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 27

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 27

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 27. Bell had suggested a canonry for a learned member of a foreign church in communion with the Church of England (CCII,89). The dean of Peterborough had suggested the linking of a minor canonry with 'post-graduate study'. Ibid, 156

<sup>10</sup> At Oxford, Ely, Durham, Rochester. Henson proposed grandiose plans for remaking the Durham chapter with Regius chairs, on the model of Christ Church, Oxford. (CCII,184-7)

<sup>11</sup> CCI, 28. eg Birmingham where, the bishop suggested, should the university establish a faculty of theology, there should be 'one or two' canon-professors. (CCII, 268)

<sup>12</sup> CCI, 29. They instanced Carlisle and Exeter.

canons should be free to attend to it, and should receive a dependable income, a fixed sum.<sup>1</sup> The payment of stipends by the division of the residue after other costs had been met, the practice at some cathedrals, should cease. They desiderated a scheme shared among cathedrals for the payment of pensions.<sup>2</sup>

Financial stringency cramped the cathedrals, which needed 'greatly increased material resources' in order to take their 'rightful place in the spiritual life of the Church and Nation':<sup>3</sup> the money allotted in the nineteenth-century was inadequate; benefactions, 'once so plentiful', had virtually ceased. The condition of fabrics was dire: over the five years ahead they estimated that £500,000 was needed. Appeals beyond the diocese, even to the United States, they thought unsatisfactory, their frequency tending 'to confuse, and sometimes to irritate the public mind.' They suggested a general appeal for cathedrals, perhaps from the two archbishops, to the nation, the Empire, the United States.<sup>4</sup> But such an appeal could only be for fabrics. The needs of worship and work also pressed. For these, it would be 'natural' to look to the Ecclesiastical Commission, whose revenues 'came from the cathedrals'. The augmentation of poor benefices should not be hindered, but the cathedrals might have a 'foremost place' in 'any additional resources'.<sup>5</sup>

The commission saw a fundamental difference between the ancient cathedrals and the modern cathedrals.<sup>6</sup> Most of the latter, lacking 'authoritative guidance', had made *ad hoc* provision for management. The Commission proposed a constitution.<sup>7</sup> The incumbent should be dignified by the title provost and have the precedence of a dean.<sup>8</sup> The bishop should have the rights of bishops with ancient cathedrals; in addition he should remain the Ordinary;<sup>9</sup> it was desirable that he should be patron.<sup>10</sup> Parish church cathedrals had no chapter. The Commission proposed a diocesan chapter, 'with no authority over the cathedral...at the service of the Church, under the bishop, in the diocese', links with the cathedral would include participation in the election of the bishop.<sup>11</sup> The Commission also proposed a second body, a cathedral council. The bishop should be president; the provost, representatives of the diocesan chapter, the cathedral Parochial Church Council, the diocesan laity, members. It would lack executive power; it was 'to advise and to co-operate'.<sup>12</sup>

Many of their proposals would require detailed work; the redrafting of statutes, the securing of legal permissions, of Measures of the Assembly, of Acts of Parliament, would be necessary. Their task

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 25

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 26

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 32, 34

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 33

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 33

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 14. Modern cathedrals such as Liverpool, with a collegiate establishment, were exceptions.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 21

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 43

<sup>9</sup> I.e. the cathedral would continue to be treated as a parish church: eg alterations to fabric or fittings would require a faculty.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 43; Recommendations xxi, xxiii, xxii

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, xxiv, xxv, xxvii

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, xxix, xxx (44)



had been to 'enquire and report'; in order to execute they proposed a Permanent Cathedrals Commission. It would be appointed by the Church Assembly, so as 'to emphasise...that the welfare of the cathedrals is the concern of the whole church', and that the 'the authorities of each cathedral have a responsibility...to the whole church.'<sup>1</sup>

### *The implementation of the proposals*

Before a Measure was achieved, the Report had to pass through the quasi-parliamentary procedures of the Church Assembly. There, substantial modifications rendered its most controversial proposals anodyne.

The most consistent critic was GKA Bell. From the first<sup>2</sup> he set out to reduce the powers of the proposed commission, and to deny the honorary canons governing status. The new constitution would impose uniformity on local variety; would authorise the non-residentiaries to 'determine the policy' and then to return to 'the main work of their clerical life', leaving an 'executive' to implement their decisions 'with a full sense of responsibility not shared by their [non-residentiary] friends'. After the introduction of a retiring age for residentiaries, an older body would determine the work of a younger body. Cathedrals were places 'where experiment not possible in parish churches could be made.' '[N]ot unnaturally', men in parishes might be 'shy of identifying themselves with an experiment which yet it might be in the interests of the Church as a whole should be made in the cathedrals.' At a time when some cathedrals were associating the laity with their work, he bemoaned the report's silence.<sup>3</sup>

The Measure was debated in July and November 1928, Bell, now the spokesman of the deans, returned to the attack. The Measure evinced a disregard for history and tradition, showed tendencies 'to parliamentary legislation rather than to church legislation' and 'to depend on schemes made by central authority for other people'. Of the Permanent Commission, now the 'crux of the Measure', he harboured 'the gravest suspicion': 'the extension of central bodies' was subversive of the diocesan and provincial authority of the church. In the Report, the commission had powers only 'of a very general kind': to confer, to advise, receive accounts. Now the 'whole emphasis was changed': it was to 'frame schemes', to 'take such steps as might be necessary to secure that those schemes...should have effect as law'. In the Report, the chapters were the initiating authorities; now the Commissioners were, perhaps, applying 'a certain amount of pressure on the chapters.' The Commission, he concluded, would be 'a body far more powerful than the bishop as visitor', 'a perpetual source of irritation in the cathedrals.'<sup>4</sup>

The deans' second *bête noir* was the enlarged governing body. Bell had, he emphasized, no desire to deny a closer association of the honorary canons with the cathedral; he had indeed already

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, xxxi, xxxii (44f)

<sup>2</sup> The debate to 'receive' the report; November 1927

<sup>3</sup> CA 1927, 357-60

<sup>4</sup> CA 1928, 144-7

established closer links at Canterbury, but they were consultative and devotional. The proposal now made would confer on most of the members 'powers without responsibility'<sup>1</sup>

On both counts, Bell secured weighty support.<sup>2</sup>

He had already discussed with Lang and the Members in Charge<sup>3</sup> the possibility of making the commission temporary and, while giving the honorary canons 'a very definite and constitutional' association with the cathedral, leaving the dean and chapter as the governing body.<sup>4</sup> He had been assured, he told the Assembly, that these amendments would not be regarded as 'fatal to the Measure.'<sup>5</sup> To incorporate the honorary canons, the deans now proposed a 'general chapter'. But Bell was adamant: only with the assent of the Members in Charge to a temporary commission would he support the vote of General Approval.<sup>6</sup>

His tactics succeeded. In the closing speech, Lang emphasised that a clause of the Measure required 'the consent of the governing body': '[t]herefore it was quite impossible for the commission...to impose its will arbitrarily on any dean and chapter'. As to the permanence of the commission 'he would say himself that the commission should act for seven years'.<sup>7</sup>

The draft Measure embodied the deans' triumph.<sup>8</sup> A term of between seven and twelve years was set to the life of the commission;<sup>9</sup> the cathedral chapter was to be constituted 'for certain purposes as a general cathedral chapter...for other purposes as an administrative chapter...as at present constituted'. '[T]he consenting body', the present chapter, should determine the powers of each.<sup>10</sup>

Thus the status and the independence of the Old and New Foundations were preserved.

But capitular autonomy was not yet entirely safe, and Bell, although by then a bishop, was again the champion of the chapters. The traditions of each cathedral were at risk: 'the rights of the dean and chapter should be preserved...they, and not the bishop, should be the controlling authority.'<sup>11</sup> Behind his anxieties was a campaign by Whittingham, the bishop of St Edmundsbury, to strengthen the bishop's authority. He had already added a note to the report, arguing that the rights proposed for the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 145

<sup>2</sup> Three former commissioners: Baillie (ibid, 158); JA. Bell (ibid, 164); Savage (ibid, 273), and two other deans, Stuart (ibid, 372) and Ford (ibid, 380); also Dibdin (ibid, 161)

<sup>3</sup> See glossary

<sup>4</sup> Bell to Lang: LP 4, 312-4; Lang's reply ibid, 317; Members in Charge to Bell, ibid, 319

The debate had to be conducted on the text of the Measure; 'it would have been in a high degree improper' for the Members in Charge to enter into 'understandings' with Bell or the deans corporately before the debate. Lang: CA 1928, 393

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 391

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 392f

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 395

<sup>8</sup> CA 264A, dated May 16, 1929

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, CL, 5

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, CL, 5

<sup>11</sup> CA 1929, 464

bishop were insufficient.<sup>1</sup> In the initial debate he sought for the bishop the 'deciding voice' when the chapter planned changes in the services of the mother church.<sup>2</sup> Now, in the Appointed Committee, his casting vote had defeated an amendment securing the chapter's control of services and fabric.<sup>3</sup> There also he had made a 'very subtle attempt' to insert into that amendment the words 'subject to the bishop's rights as visitor or otherwise'.<sup>4</sup> Whittingham had an ally in EH Pearce.<sup>5</sup> The bishop of Winchester (Woods) thought the wording adopted by the revision committee 'might be invoked as excluding the bishop from any really effective share in the services of his cathedral'; whereas 'one of the chief points of the whole Measure' 'was to restore the bishop properly and reasonably to his place as bishop of the cathedral church and the cathedral as his throne'.<sup>6</sup> That wording left decisions concerning 'services, fabrics, fittings, ornaments, furniture, and monuments' to the administrative chapter, though with 'due regard being paid to the position...by statute or tradition, of the bishop'.<sup>7</sup> Sir Thomas Inskip thought 'due regard' so ambiguous that 'what was left for the administrative chapter only the draftsman of the clause could tell'. Perhaps Duncan-Jones caught the desired nuance: 'there was a certain amount of wisdom in leaving the position somewhat vague...everybody should be consulted but not in such a way as to make it impossible for executive action to take place.'<sup>8</sup>

On another front, Lord Phillimore, proclaiming himself 'jealous for the power of the Assembly', claimed that the body was 'too young' to dispose of powers as the Measure proposed: 'let the Commissioners prepare schemes, or Measures, to be dealt with by the Assembly'.<sup>9</sup> CE Douglas proposed an amendment designed to bring the Commissioners under the control of the Assembly.<sup>10</sup> Under the Measure, revised statutes went to the Ecclesiastical Commission and thence to the Privy Council; the Assembly did not see them. But 'nothing' he averred, should be done 'contrary to the public opinion of the church people of the country.' Unavailing, the Members-in-Charge resisted: the Assembly would become swamped in the examination of statutes.<sup>11</sup> Cecil's first attempt to compromise Douglas dismissed.<sup>12</sup> A later proposal incorporated the control for which, with characteristic tenacity, contended.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> CC I 36

<sup>2</sup> CA 1928, 364f

<sup>3</sup> Robinson to Lang LP 4,344

<sup>4</sup> Savage, CCC, July 1929, 125

<sup>5</sup> Robinson to Lang LP4, 344. It is perhaps noteworthy that both were low-church at a time of Anglo-Catholic ascendancy.

<sup>6</sup> CA 1930, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 35

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 38f.

The right of the non-residentiaries to consultation was uncontroversially added; (37)

<sup>9</sup> CA 1929, 153f; quotation 154

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 467f

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 268f

<sup>12</sup> CA1930, I 21-24; 24-26

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 391-393.

The Assembly also secured control over the Commission's dealings with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. HL Fosbrooke argued that increasing demands were being made on the Ecclesiastical Commission: 'it was surely unwise...to create a new demand upon the funds...when, admittedly, those funds were not sufficient to meet their original necessities.' Though important, cathedrals were 'not so pressing as the claims of some of the underpaid clergy and of their unprovided for widows and orphans.' He did not wish to deny any help to cathedrals, but he wanted the Assembly to 'retain some check upon the grants to be made.'<sup>1</sup> Cecil countered that the Assembly was unsuited to such 'administrative functions.'<sup>2</sup> But Douglas supported the amendment: when the Assembly gave a power it must see that that power was properly used, and 'would retain the right... to step in.'<sup>3</sup> An amendment made grants 'subject to the consent of the Assembly'.<sup>4</sup>

Bell had already seen the need for vigilance on yet another front. 'Much must depend on the personnel of the proposed Commission...the House was not likely to give Final Approval...until the names of the Commissioners were seen and approved.'<sup>5</sup> The membership did indeed prove contentious. A list of names was suggested by Lang.<sup>6</sup> But the Assembly felt that it had been treated badly: a list coming with the weight of the Archbishop's office put them 'in a very invidious position'; they needed longer to consider.<sup>7</sup> The voice on this occasion was that of Alfred Mitchell, an evangelical layman. He noted omissions: there was neither a historian nor an architect, and 'due weight' had not been given to 'the consideration of the sympathies and opinions of the whole church. The Commission presented something in the nature of a partisan character.'<sup>8</sup> Robinson, a Member-in-Charge, had already proposed an increase of the Commission's size. The increase provided the opportunity to appease Mitchell. That AH Thompson should be the historian was almost inevitable.<sup>9</sup> However, 'though no narrow party man' he was an Anglo-Catholic; his nomination 'would annoy Mitchell'.<sup>10</sup> But the nomination of Beresford Pite would appease him. Pite was both an architect and a 'fervent evangelical'.<sup>11</sup>

Douglas enjoyed yet another small, partial, victory. With the abolition of the minor corporations, 'hundred of years in history were compulsorily, with one sweep of the pen, to be done away with or

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<sup>1</sup> CA 1931, 34f

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 35

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 36. Other speeches: 36-43

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 55

<sup>5</sup> CA 1929, 464

<sup>6</sup> By letter; he was ill.

<sup>7</sup> The names were announced on the Tuesday morning; the Assembly must decide by the Wednesday. (CA 1930, 48)

<sup>8</sup> CA 1931, 46-48. Another member, EW Crossley, echoed the point about 'every section of the church'. (ibid, 48)

<sup>9</sup> He possessed 'more knowledge [of cathedrals] than any man living': Dean Cranage to Lang, LP 5 13

<sup>10</sup> Ibid,

<sup>11</sup> Lang to Temple LP 5 81

alternatively reconstructed at the entire discretion of the Cathedral Commissioners.<sup>1</sup> The minor canons were unrepresented on the Commission or the Assembly, and unlike bishops and chapters, lacked *locus standi* when schemes were drawn up. They were to become subject to 'terms of service, duties and remuneration' drawn up by the chapters; their position 'would actually be worse than the position of an assistant curate. They could be employed by the month or by the quarter and could be dismissed without the bishop's consent.'<sup>2</sup> The archdeacon of Wells and the bishop of Lincoln supported him.<sup>3</sup> Douglas's amendment, permitting reconstruction rather than dissolution of the corporations, was carried.<sup>4</sup>

Thus heavily amended, the Measure was passed unanimously by the Assembly in February 1931.<sup>5</sup>

### *Assessment*

The influence of the Royal Commission of 1885 on the Lang Commissioners was marked; the latter recorded their constant reference to the reports of that commission, and to that of 1852-5, and to memoranda derived from the former. Its draft statutes, they thought, 'still have value' and 'might well be considered' by the revising commission they now proposed.<sup>6</sup> But parts of the inheritance, notably the subsumption of the constitutions of the New Foundations under those of the Old, and the abolition of the Minor Corporations, proved controversial. The parliamentary time table frustrated the earlier commission; the diminished erastianism of the Church Assembly was an insufficient emollient for that Assembly to be allowed to authorise a permanent commission.<sup>7</sup>

In other ways, the thinking of the commission resembled that of the earlier commission. Thus the 1885 commissioners claimed to have 'regarded the Cathedral and the members of the Cathedral body with reference...perhaps chiefly to the interests of the Diocese of which the Cathedral is the Mother Church.'<sup>8</sup> In 1927 the Commissioners thought the relation between cathedral and diocese 'ought...to be real, close and continuous.' '[E]verything possible should be done to make the cathedral a centre of diocesan life.'<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the earlier commissioners were anxious to secure to the bishop 'his legitimate position and influence'; the 1927 Commissioners thought 'all existing statutes should be revised, so as to recognise and secure as clearly as possible the rightful position of the bishop.'

'[W]e have recognised in all cases, directly or indirectly, a Diocesan Chapter which may be summoned by the Bishop for purposes of Diocesan consultation,' the 1885 Commissioners wrote.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> CA 1931, 1 53f

<sup>2</sup> CA 1930, 44

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 54, 56

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 57

<sup>5</sup> CA 1931, 167

<sup>6</sup> CCI, 7f

<sup>7</sup> The 1885 recommendations: CC1885, 17; appendix: Cathedral Statutes Bill

<sup>8</sup> Report 1885, 3

<sup>9</sup> CCI, 19

<sup>10</sup> CC1885, 4

the parish church cathedrals the Lang Commission proposed 'a diocesan chapter, consisting of the bishop and the canons (stipendiary and honorary)...This chapter should have no authority over the cathedral, though the cathedral would be its centre, but should be at the service of the Church, under the bishop, in the diocese.'<sup>1</sup> It did not adopt the proposal of 1885 for the ancient cathedrals; it did, however, suggest that the chapter it proposed for all of them 'would enlarge the interest of the diocese in the work of the cathedral and ensure that the needs of the diocese were not neglected in that work'.<sup>2</sup>

In these ways, the later Commission may almost be said, with due adjustments for changed times, to be the fulfilment of the earlier one.

The Commission's deference to an inheritance was congruous with the Anglicanism of the day. The years between the wars were something of a high-water mark for Anglo-Catholicism,<sup>3</sup> with its emphasis on tradition. Anglo-Catholicism was strong on the Commission: Lang, Bennett, Frere, Hamilton Thompson. The emphasis on collegiality in capitular worship is marked, especially in the sub-commissions of which Frere, a religious, was a member. But the report's traditionalism was not sterile or antiquarian: the Commissioners' conviction that the secular cathedral constitutions 'are best fitted for the life of all our ancient cathedrals at the present time, and, so far as we can judge, in the future',<sup>4</sup> was rooted in contemporary need.

Such reinterpretations of the cathedral inheritance were not unchallenged in the commission: within its deliberations there was another kind of traditionalism: some, especially Savage (a learned medievalist) and Canon Bell, were opposed to the kind of developments Bennett and Frere and Nicholson proposed,<sup>5</sup> seeming to be content with the manner in which cathedrals conducted themselves. But the future lay with the imaginative work of a new generation of deans.

Among the achievements of the commission was the revision of the statutes of all cathedrals. The undertaking was necessary: some were untouched for centuries.<sup>6</sup> And the abolition of the minor corporations, and the stipulations concerning residence, were advances. But the process was conservative and evolutionary; the new statutes manifestly emerged from their predecessors.

The Williams Commission was to learn that the prohibition on offices incompatible with canonical residence was only partially accomplished. That commission was to learn also that, in the sphere of finance, their predecessors' achievement was limited. The transfer of the remaining estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in exchange for regular predictable income relieved the chapters of work for which they were ill-equipped, but, thirty years later, the cathedrals were still impoverished.

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<sup>1</sup> CCI, 21f

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 20

<sup>3</sup> Yates, 351-64

<sup>4</sup> CCI, 15

<sup>5</sup> See below 101f

<sup>6</sup> See below 99

The parish church cathedrals were enhanced by the commission's work: for the first time they received constitutions; an attempt, through the Councils, at tangible relationships with their dioceses; and their chief clerics received the quasi-decanal status of provost.

## **Chapter II**

### **The Commission of 1958 and the 1963 Measure**

The work of the Cathedrals Commission was completed in 1942. Thereafter, the requests of cathedrals for alterations to their statutes were dealt with by *ad hoc* sub-commissions, each requiring a Measure which must traverse the Church Assembly, Parliament, the Privy Council. In 1958, the members of one such commission concluded that weaknesses were showing in the 1930s Measure. Discussion in the Standing Committee of the Church Assembly led to the belief that another comprehensive review was necessary.<sup>1</sup> In November 1958, the Assembly resolved accordingly.<sup>2</sup>

#### *The shaping of the Commission.*

The composition of the commission, we have already observed, suggested restricted objectives.<sup>3</sup> The circumstances of its construction offer a clue to this.

The membership was recruited between the debate in the Church Assembly which requested a Commission, and the commission's first meeting.<sup>4</sup> The archbishop, Fisher, delighted in administration and mistrusted ideas. The tone of his archbishopric was authoritarian and conservative. The Fisher papers afford no evidence that he influenced the selection of the members, but the assemblage bears the characteristic stamp of his years.

The members were chosen by the standing committee of the Church Assembly; but Williams, the chairman, may well have been influential in guiding the choice. Certainly, the assemblage bears the mark of a chairman who, like Fisher, was conservative. In his own diocese, he promoted low churchmanship: he appointed four provosts of Leicester; all products of Ridley Hall or St John's College, Durham. In earlier years he was an evangelical;<sup>5</sup> later 'his Churchmanship was of the broadest'.<sup>6</sup> The complexion of the membership bears the stamp of Fisher and Williams.

#### *The Commission at Work*

The Commissioners did not visit each cathedral. They did, however issue questionnaires to deans, provosts, and organists; the secretary investigated the finances of the cathedrals.

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<sup>1</sup> CA 1958, 419-21; two speeches allude briefly to the causes of discontent.

<sup>2</sup> Terms: Appendix 3, 2

<sup>3</sup> See above 9f

<sup>4</sup> ie 11 November 1958 and 23 February 1959

<sup>5</sup> CT 16 February 1979: Giles Eccleston

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, unsigned.

The deans' corporate response<sup>1</sup> covered by now familiar ground: the collegiality of the cathedral body, and its focus in worship, the *Opus Dei*; the diocesan dimension: the 'mother church', an awareness 'greatly increased' by easy travel; they added a new dimension: requests for special services from secular organizations. They set out to refute prevailing opinions that a concentration on 'activities which obviously benefit the diocese' was desirable; that collegiality was dispensable; that the daily sung services were 'of little value today' and made 'undue demands upon limited financial resources'. To accede would 'dissipate all the riches of a great tradition'; would seriously handicap the cathedrals in the two functions in which they could help the contemporary church: welcome, and the setting of high standards in worship. Cathedrals were 'schools of sacred music', guardians of 'a unique expression of the national genius': its loss would be 'a disaster and a reproach directed at the church by the whole musical fraternity.' Music was 'an essential contribution to worship' and an example to the choirs of the diocese.

Cathedrals were also 'schools of sacred learning', their libraries 'among the most important in England.' Cathedrals, in a busy church, were 'the last hope for clerical learning and ought to be used for that purpose.' Between some cathedrals and universities there were already close associations, others, situated close to modern universities, had 'a great opportunity' to help them.

Cathedrals were 'more accessible than ever before': visitors came throughout the year, in 'great numbers' in summer. The 'spiritual atmosphere' could have a 'lasting and often a converting effect'; the daily choral service, whether attended or simply overheard, was 'a valuable evangelistic agency.'

They reported problems.

Choral establishments were precariously poised: organists were inadequately paid; lay-clerks' duties were part-time, and supplementary 'musical work' was 'harder to come by'; free secondary education had made scholarships for boys 'less attractive'; where preparatory schools were few, choir schools could profitably expand, others were 'a serious expense'; organs were costly: few cathedrals could accrue funds for 'periodic overhaul'.

Chapters lacked the means to support their libraries. Proper care was wanting, cataloguing in 'serious arrears', opening hours, perforce, 'unduly limited', modern standards of organisation were unattainable.

Visitors were both an opportunity and an anxiety. Rotas of clerical chaplains and bands of trained guides provided useful links with the dioceses, but pastoral care was the chapter's duty, and canons 'fully occupied with external duties' 'were not free to take part in this work.'

The canonries were abused. Bishops placed in them senior diocesan officers, all with demanding work leaving little time for the cathedral, beyond periods of residence. The Church Commissioners had begun to provide stipends for suffragans and archdeacons, but the episcopal 'habit' of making canons of them 'persists'. Bishops should 'put the needs of the cathedral first':

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<sup>1</sup> CAA/1955/6/13



'willingly' would some deans 'be a canon fewer', if they had enough to serve the cathedral and contribute to learning, and 'all had time to share corporate life and worship.' Canons competent in finance and in the responsibilities of the libraries were needed. The stipends of canons ill-matched 'wholly disproportionate', though sometimes historically important, houses.

Together with official residences, the fabrics of the cathedrals were 'the chief cause of anxiety to every dean.' At most cathedrals there was 'not enough money to do even the routine work', some had 'only a few hundred pounds a year' for the care of the fabric; a major crisis meant an appeal, and an appeal meant competition with the claims of the diocese. They received nothing from the state nor from the Historic Churches' Fund.

Victorian 'financial surgery' had been 'much too drastic', together with the levels of commutation, unchanged since, and, they understood, unlikely to be changed. Yet the Church Commissioners income derived largely from the historic revenues of the cathedrals; that they should increase payments to them 'as of right, not of charity', was 'only just'.

The provosts' memorandum<sup>1</sup> began positively. 'One or two parish church cathedrals do not accentuate the parish aspect of their nature: but, for most, there is that adventure in ecclesiastical genius which exists when approach is made towards the solution of the co-existence, in one building, of the different functions of a cathedral and a parish church.' Opportunities were preaching; 'great companies' of visitors, 'some of whom might be regarded as modern pilgrims'; music, a 'constructive experiment' in parish church cathedrals: 'one of the most potent opportunities for reciprocal cross fertilisation' between the cathedral tradition and 'new ways for the offering of music'; 'the penetration by religion of the community's art forms': drawing, poetry, painting and sculpture.

There were also problems. The 1931 Measure ordained a complex of controls. The Cathedral Council had the bishop as chairman; the relationship was 'not without its difficulties on both sides': 'in practice [it has] sometimes fallen into disuse.' The chapter was 'essentially a diocesan institution', its functioning was 'variable'; some possessed 'much power', others none: 'sometimes they are all ignorant of the actual problems of the place.' The Parochial Church Council was 'sometimes almost left out of account', elsewhere it bore 'much of the responsibility.' Satisfactory administrative staff and 'some kind of meeting point' for the 'interlocking strands of administrative control', were desiderata.

The provosts were frequently drawn into 'diocesan and civic committees', but few had 'enough priests...to do the cathedral's work properly': yet the 'normal parochial ministry' 'needed a mature, whole-time priest.' They echoed the deans: 'too frequently [residential canonries are] used by the bishop for ordinary diocesan purposes.' Choral foundations varied. Few could pay the organist 'what he should receive', or, in order to maintain week-day services, provide lay-clerks with houses, or with supplementary 'gainful employment'. An 'adequate school' nearby, sympathetic to the daily demands of cathedral worship, was the 'good fortune' of few. Staff of other kinds was no easier. Vergers must be physically fit; 'in present circumstances, they must have a genuine vocation': few could pay 'the right

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<sup>1</sup> CAA/1955/6/13

man even half what he would earn' elsewhere. '[N]ew money' was essential to develop the opportunities offered.

Inevitably, buildings caused anxiety, especially 'those in smoke ridden surroundings.' There was a national shortage of skilled masons; fuel bills were enormous; bells and organs were expensive to maintain; 'adequate and worthy equipment' was expensive; the care and maintenance of libraries, ancient or modern, and 'attention to (and even supervision of) scholars, readers, and transcribers' presented 'many difficulties.' The need for additional money, not restricted to 'living agents', was a necessity.

These inadequately provisioned foundations, the provosts pointed out, served 'the greater part of the industrial population of England.'

The Cathedral Organists Association<sup>1</sup> thought the musical health of the Old Cathedrals better than in living memory: standards of performance were high; where there were choir-schools boys were plentiful, and the schools were of a good standard; between chapter, organist, and lay-clerks personal relations were 'better than ever before'; visitors, gramophone recordings, and broadcasts meant the level of appreciation was higher than it had ever been. But 'this appearance of prosperity was deceptive.' Economic hardship had forced the closure of some schools; inadequate payment had brought about a sharp decline in applicants for lay-clerkships, vacancies were frequently unfilled; the financial rewards of the organists themselves would be greater elsewhere: 'love of church music' held them.

Few of the new cathedrals had endowments. The recruitment of boys was a problem everywhere: non-fee-paying schools rarely accommodated the demands of cathedral choirs, and the cathedrals, forced to recruit from a number of schools, were in 'impossible competition' with nearer local churches, which made less heavy demands on boys. Choir-men were generally amateurs, 'some few' were 'nominally paid'; without honoraria and travelling expenses their presence at week-day services was impossible. Amateurs were 'not always reliable' and 'in some large industrial cities, diminishing.'

A further memorandum,<sup>2</sup> accentuated the problems of music. At a meeting of a group of deans and organists the latter had said that their salaries should compare with those of 'top rankers' elsewhere in musical life - 'as indeed, if the cathedrals are to be able to call on the best talent, they must do'. Pensions were a serious anxiety: they recalled recent instances of organists ill-served: Sir Percy Hull, the distinguished and long serving organist of Hereford, offered £100 a year; Dr CH Moody for whom Ripon provided only by public appeal; GH Heath Gracie who summoned the press when offered no pension after twenty-five years' service at Derby.

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<sup>1</sup> CAA/1955/6/13, 26 October 1959

<sup>2</sup> CAA/1955/6/13; submitted, January 1960, by SJA Evans

The Commission was conceived in tranquillity. The first meeting approached the commission's terms of reference<sup>1</sup> with complacency: '[t]here was not any immediate or desperate need for a reform of the law, but the present system was found to be restrictive and unsatisfactory in certain respects...There was no strong demand for a radical revision of the system'.<sup>2</sup>

The mood at the next meeting changed. They had begun to investigate the revenues of cathedrals; the findings caused consternation. The secretary of the commission set out the problem;<sup>3</sup> his tables showed that, collectively, the cathedrals were insolvent. More radical proposals than were contemplated when the Commission was set up might be necessary.<sup>4</sup>

Emergency action was proposed to the Church Assembly on 14 July. The Measure of 1931 had authorized the Commissioners to make 'Section 20' grants to cathedrals; their application was restricted to 'living agents'. Even as the Commission sat, Sir James Brown told the Assembly, 'the situation was very serious', more serious than 'many deans and certainly many people in the Church recognized': the income of 'very few' cathedrals matched their expenditure, and some with credit balances were dependent on 'voluntary offerings and gifts which might fluctuate.' In order not to prejudice any recommendations of the Commission by 'allowing something serious to happen in the meantime', he asked for an annual increase from £100,000 to £150,000; '[i]t would all go to living agents.' At the close of the debate, he underlined the gravity of the situation: 'professional advice' received by the Church Commissioners was that, if 'something was not done quickly', a 'financial crisis' would ensue: 'debts were being run into which could not possibly be met'.<sup>5</sup> The Bishop of Leicester told the Assembly that it was useless for his Commission 'to spend time preparing an elaborate legal framework for the cathedrals if much of it was likely to be invalidated because of financial problems.' The crisis forced them to interpret their terms of reference broadly: they wanted to prepare a Measure likely to be put into practice 'because in line with financial possibilities.'<sup>6</sup> The award was made.<sup>7</sup>

Thus the Commission was enabled to proceed in a deliberate fashion. They met representatives of the deans and provosts;<sup>8</sup> the discussion added colour to points already made.

There was frustration with the consequences of episcopal pluralizing of the canonries. Sykes depicted the four residentiaries at Winchester: three were also diocesan officers, 'so there was only a Dean and one Canon unless one of the others was in residence.' Porter Goff, observing the tendency to 'use cathedrals to staff diocesan positions', allowed there was value in the links, but some appointments 'must be solely concerned with the cathedral.' Evans added that, while cathedrals should

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix 3; 2

<sup>2</sup> CAA/1955/6/12; first meeting 23 February 1959; minute 4b, ii

<sup>3</sup> CAA/1955/6/13, C13. See Appendix 4

<sup>4</sup> CAA/1955/6/12, meeting 1st May 1959; minutes 10e;11

<sup>5</sup> CA 1959, 210f; 215

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 211f

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 212

<sup>8</sup> CAA/1955/6/12; minutes of third meeting, 2 October, 1959

make a 'real contribution' to the diocese, they should not merely be 'stipends for diocesan officers.' Graham spoke tellingly of 'a feeling of isolation and continual struggle against penury.'

The discussion of financial privation was inevitable. There were hints of relief from the Church Commissioners - linked, however, perhaps for the first time, to the introduction of the methods of business efficiency. The Chairman emphasized the need 'very clearly' to present 'the *raison d'être* of cathedrals if a request for money was to be made' and Sir James Brown added that 'it should be stated what the task of the cathedral was'.

At their fifth meeting,<sup>1</sup> the commissioners set their faces against sensationalism or causing scandal: the references to figures, agreed at the previous meeting, should be 'reconsidered', 'especially, the reference to the net debit balance should be omitted.' But cathedral finance, and related issues, again dominated the discussion. The representative of the Church Commissioners once more emphasised the seriousness of the position: some cathedrals which were in credit escaped deficit by neglecting necessary work; others were in deficit because they were undertaking work. Some were concealing their true position by such devices as using legacies as income; Mrs Rawlinson thought money raised by Friends organisations was similarly used.

Brown asked whether more liability should be laid on the laity of the dioceses. Graham, who had a flair for fund-raising, thought they were already helping, Goff, no doubt reflecting his own disenchanting experience of the diocese of Portsmouth,<sup>2</sup> said that the community supported the cathedral but 'the diocese qua diocese did very little.'

The need for business-method was reiterated. Brown impressed on the Commission the reluctance of the Church Commissioners 'to divert more money to the cathedrals'; there would be a 'better case', he said, if there were 'some real measure of stabilization': administrative reforms, including lay administration, were necessary. Prompted by Goff, he agreed that some kind of Cathedral Council (after the manner of the parish church cathedrals) would provide the necessary lay control. Carey interposed his belief that he 'did not think that the Dean and Chapter usually had sufficient business capacity for the circumstances of today,' and Evans conceded that some cathedrals 'had a considerable management problem.'

Discussion divided the cathedrals. The parish church cathedrals which already had lay involvement valued it: at Portsmouth the Council was of 'great value', 'both the Treasurer and the clerk were churchmen of great authority', at Leicester a recently created 'administrative chapter' had 'succeeded the administrative duties of the council.' Evans, on the other hand, was sceptical: much of the chapter's business was 'day to day work'.

Brown thought that it would be difficult for the Commissioners to meet the cathedrals' rising costs 'except for living agents.' They would be chary, he thought, of undertaking responsibility for the dilapidations of houses. The Measure restricted the Church Commissioners to the maintenance of

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<sup>1</sup> CAA/1955/6/12; meeting of 29 January 1960

<sup>2</sup> See 199 below

clerical houses; but a house might at one time be occupied by a cleric, at another not. Only control by the Commissioners would enable them to manage them. Evans was reluctant: the appearance of a cathedral close 'could be destroyed for financial reasons'; transfer would 'give the Commissioners power of control over the life of the cathedral.' At Gloucester, with loans from the Commissioners, they had begun reorganising the houses of the Close. The Commission agreed not to commit itself to a policy of transfer at that stage.

If at that meeting the review of problems created a sombre air, at the next<sup>1</sup> the clouds lightened. There was a letter from Sir James Brown: 'a favourable answer' to a request to the Church Commissioners for help might be most likely 'if the Dean and Chapter could be recognised as having a cure of souls.' Specifically, the Commissioners 'might be asked' to provide the stipend of the dean and two canons, which 'seemed to be a reasonable minimum' for both ancient and parish church cathedrals. But a condition followed: 'if it were accepted that on principle there was no difference between them.' The Commissioners might also 'stabilize' their commitments under Section 20. This would, he concluded, bring the chapters into the 'general system for standard stipends and a fair differential could be maintained.' Cathedrals could pay their canons more than the Commissioners' rate, and employ additional canons, but the cost was theirs, or their dioceses. Williams thought that, if the Section 20 grants were to be stabilized, the plight of the poorer cathedrals should not be forgotten; they 'would benefit less than the richer'.<sup>2</sup>

Echoing a debate of the Lang Commission, they thought that it was 'probably desirable' that provosts should be called deans; Williams would raise the question with the Prime Minister's Patronage Secretary.

Brown also suggested that cathedrals 'might be governed by rules passed by a more simple procedure than the present statutes.'

At this meeting, the essentials of the Commission's proposals, although later modified in detail, were delineated. With them the Commission was ready to report. Their report was presented to the Church Assembly in February 1961.

### *Cathedrals in Modern Life*

Throughout, the spirit of the Commission's dealings with the Assembly was strikingly more eirenical than that of the earlier commission. The report was released at that moment in order to ensure that the Measure which would follow was likely to be acceptable to the Assembly.<sup>3</sup>

Compared with those of 1927 and 1994, the report was slight. The introduction reported the impact of the financial crisis they had uncovered: their original concerns became 'subordinate to the financial questions urgently presenting themselves to almost every cathedral;' statutory reform was

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<sup>1</sup> CAA/1955/6/12; meeting of 25 May 1960.

<sup>2</sup> Cf the Provost of St Edmundsbury who bemoaned the injustices their origins and the consequent manner of distribution did to parish church cathedrals: CA 1962, 301

<sup>3</sup> CML 3.

'useless' without 'the financial provision...to meet the stipends and expenses of the various officials described.' Thus 'a number of meetings [were] almost wholly concerned with the problems of Cathedral finance.'<sup>1</sup>

The report was drafted by Williams.<sup>2</sup> At the fourth meeting he read a statement 'of what he considered to be the purposes of a Cathedral based on the Memorandum from the deans and provosts'. It was acclaimed as expressing the general view of the commission;<sup>3</sup> it became the report's fine opening statement of the purpose of cathedrals.<sup>4</sup>

The report went on to speak of the impact of the contemporary world on cathedrals: the visits of pilgrims, tourists, school-parties and societies, all with evangelistic potential; the 'possibility of great diocesan services', and the requests from secular organisations,<sup>5</sup> which 'look [to the Cathedral] as the most natural venue.' 'Far from being outmoded' cathedrals were 'living centres of worship' as never before. It glanced at the 'special services' which the particular gifts and skills of individual members of chapters offered and at the 'the artistic quality of Cathedral worship', supremely displayed in music. It moved to the need to evolve. '[A]t least a century' of adaptation was not complete; schemes were necessary 'to bring cathedrals into more efficient relationship with the modern world', but *conservatively*: 'all that is good in the Cathedral tradition is [to be] retained in so far as its retention is practically possible and not inimical to other tasks with which the Church is confronted.'<sup>6</sup>

The logic of the introduction led by progressions to the central problem of finance. 'The Commission has come to the conclusion that the Cathedrals of England cannot sufficiently discharge their duties unless...their income is made to cover their work more adequately.' They reported the findings of their questionnaire. 'Most of the Parish Church Cathedrals are just in credit balance...but a large number of them are in urgent need of financial provision to bring their work up to a proper level of effectiveness.' Excluding fabric costs, some calculated their needs to be between £1,000 and £4,000 per annum.<sup>7</sup> Ancient cathedrals could not ignore the needs of fabric: '[t]his is probably why a much larger number of ancient or large-scale Cathedrals record fairly heavy debit balances even on their annual accounts.'<sup>8</sup> 'A distinguished representation' of cathedral organists had demonstrated to them that 'their salaries were running at about £300 p.a. less than they ought to be' and assistant organists and lay-clerks were proportionately ill-paid. There was a need for pensions. A 'sound basis' 'probably needed about £750 per cathedral p.a. more'.<sup>9</sup> Vergers were 'another serious problem.' As services

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>2</sup> CAA/1955/6/12 Minute 37; fifth meeting

<sup>3</sup> Minute 29, fourth meeting

<sup>4</sup> CML, 4-6; quoted Appendix 3, 5

<sup>5</sup> Here they echo the deans; eg Sykes, a newcomer to the cathedral world, expressed surprise at the number of non-diocesan bodies asking for services. (Appendix to second meeting)

<sup>6</sup> CML, 5

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 7

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 7f

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 8

increased some Parish Church Cathedrals with only one verger were 'seriously handicapped' and the verger was on duty 'almost literally from dawn till late at night'.<sup>1</sup>

Maintenance of, and living conditions within, houses, 'some palatial in dimensions', presented another difficulty. Capital for 'modernising and rationalising' 'is not usually available'; problems descended 'from generation to generation'.<sup>2</sup>

They summarised: 'comfortable affluence' was 'quite impossible', but cathedrals needed an 'equilibrium', enabling them to 'plan the whole of their work constructively'. Only small economies were possible;<sup>3</sup> 'we do not believe that there is extravagance or that we can usefully make any general recommendations to this end.' There was, they said, 'no one solution' to the problem. They hoped to 'spread the load', so that cathedrals did not become 'an intolerable burden on any one source of income'.<sup>4</sup>

In the spirit of this aspiration they moved to suggestions.

Help from the Church Commissioners must be confined within 'the broad heading of the cure of souls'. In anticipation of what was to follow, the introduction to the report had already argued that '[w]e are convinced that Cathedral Chapters do indeed have a share in the cure of souls...in a very real sense the Dean and Chapter are associated with the Bishop in his Diocesan cure of souls... The cathedral Chapter assist him in the total pastoral care of the whole diocese...It is on these lines and not through any legal fictions that the position of Cathedral clergy in relation to the cure of souls can best be established'.<sup>5</sup> Their first proposal was that the 'basic requirement' was 'one Dean or Provost and two Canons wholly or mainly devoted to the work of the Cathedral': the Church Commissioners, accepting the case argued, would undertake full responsibility for these stipends. They would also continue 'a large part' of their present grants to cathedrals. Provided the endowments which had hitherto supported members of the chapter could legally be released, the cathedrals would receive 'an average [annual] improvement' of £3,300.<sup>6</sup>

The report emphasized the confinement of the beneficiaries to cathedral work. Certain tasks assisting the bishop in the diocesan cure of souls were permissible: the care of ordinands and the recently ordained; advising the bishop or the clergy; but '[w]e are quite clear that these two Canons ought not to be Suffragan Bishops, Assistant Bishops, or Archdeacons' nor the holders of substantial diocesan administrative or secretarial posts. Thus, by the attachment of financial strings to canonries, was the desire of the Lang commission achieved and the bane of deans remedied. The Commission emphasised that the restrictions they imposed were of necessity; they did not criticise 'the symbolic and indeed theological value of the leading clergy in a Diocese being gathered in a corporate

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 8

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 8 (both the foregoing paragraphs)

<sup>3</sup> The secretary had written a paper suggesting economies (CAA/1955/6/13, C13)

<sup>4</sup> CML 8

<sup>5</sup> CML 6. The argument was apparently Williams's. Peart-Binns 1984, 65  
Residentiary canons technically were without the cure of souls. See glossary

<sup>6</sup> CML, 9

fellowship around the Bishop's *Cathedra*.' But canons largely engaged in diocesan work should receive only proportionate pay or housing from the cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

The reported turned to the Parish Church Cathedrals.<sup>2</sup> After reviewing the great variety in their modes of governance, it pronounced the Lang Commission's Cathedral Council 'unreal and unsatisfactory...too large a body and meets too seldom and its members may have too little knowledge of or too little interest in the cathedral'. Sometimes, the Parochial Church Councils had 'more real power than the Cathedral Council.' But neither is really suitable; often 'a small unofficial body...has been found to be an effective answer.'<sup>3</sup>

They proposed 'a new kind of Cathedral Council': the Provost, the residentiaries, representatives of the honorary canons and the Parochial Church Council, and laymen. The canonical chapter would continue, but there was a need 'for a larger body...containing laity': a body akin to the Colleges of Lay Canons already existing at some parish church cathedrals, 'honorary and advisory and not executive.' The 'dual nature' and 'dual control' of parish church cathedrals created problems: the unification of control in the Cathedral Council would be most advantageous; the Parochial Church Council would be subordinate to it. Inevitably worshippers at cathedrals had 'curtailed' rights, those rights would be further curtailed in order that the cathedral's work should benefit.<sup>4</sup> The Commissioners stressed that they did not wish to be unduly prescriptive; they based themselves on evidence given and on their own experience (on this commission the representation of these cathedrals was strong) but they were emphatic: '[t]here should be one principal executive body with a comprehensive authority in the Cathedral and that body should be a Cathedral and not a parochial one.'<sup>5</sup> The chairman should be the provost. His visitatorial role forbade the bishop membership.

That provosts should become deans would reflect 'the equality between cathedrals.'<sup>6</sup>

They were content to leave the administration of the ancient cathedrals where the Measure of 1931 had placed it, in the hands of the administrative chapter. They did, however, observe that 'a clerical body is not necessarily the most effective one for the management of property and the administration of funds.' Noting that many cathedrals had expert advice in such matters, they suggested that their Measure should include 'permissive powers' for the Chapters to delegate authority to an Estates and Finance Committee.<sup>7</sup>

The law concerning cathedral property was 'complex', 'obscure', unsatisfactory'; they proposed simplification: cathedrals should have 'full powers to deal with property including Residence Houses, but subject to the consent of the Bishop and the Church Commissioners in all dealings with real property'. Houses should be vested in the chapter, and the houses of the chapter, organists, other

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 9-11

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 12-14

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 12

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 12f

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 13

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 14

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 14



members of staff, should be brought under a dilapidations scheme which the Church Commissioners were willing to administer. The paying of premiums, by 'somebody', would be necessary, but the scheme would 'bring at last to the Cathedral clergy the same kind of relief that has been brought to the parochial clergy'.<sup>1</sup>

The fabrics of the cathedrals defeated them; the chapters 'must be left to struggle with their problems, drawing as fully as possible upon local or national interest in the building itself'; 'no possible scheme' could provide adequate cover. But a mindset is revealed in their agreement that 'State aid for fabrics was not desirable.'<sup>2</sup> They did propose one measure of 'temporary relief and succour to Cathedrals in urgent need, particularly those Cathedrals which do not have obvious and overwhelming architectural merit.' Their Cathedrals Fabric Equalization Fund was a 'compulsory savings scheme'. Each cathedral should subscribe £500 per annum, bringing in a total of £21,000 each year. If, annually, half were distributed, every cathedral would benefit within twenty-one years. They hoped the 'less hard-pressed cathedrals' would co-operate: it would help the poorer cathedrals, enabling them, as they became beneficiaries, to undertake 'urgent major work.'<sup>3</sup>

The statutes of the cathedrals, the commission's *raison d'être*, came last in their report, and were treated perfunctorily: '[t]he present system of making alterations is cumbersome and we hope to include in our Measure provisions for its improvement.'<sup>4</sup>

#### *The report in the Church Assembly*

The Assembly debated the report in February 1961.' As a whole', Williams conceded, their plans might appear to be 'a number of ingenious dodges rather than a re-thinking of the cathedral arrangements for the country.' He asked Assembly 'to pause before abandoning possibilities which might seem less than the radical cure which it would be good to have. There were signs that some of the things that cathedrals had stood for were beginning to go by the board under the pressure of modern life.' 'If they did not want cathedral life in England to become only a memory they had to tackle the problem, and the Commission suggested that this was a good way to start.'<sup>5</sup>

Criticisms followed. Dean Milburn attacked the Fabric Equalization Scheme: 'what they were invited to do was not to bestow any money or other help but to invite, or rather compel a group of corporations to enter into a scheme of mutual insurance which, so far as his researches had gone, not one of those corporations wished to go in for.' He turned their proposal that each cathedral should have a finance committee against them: such a committee might question entering a scheme 'of which the main purpose might be to finance deficiencies elsewhere.' He criticized the proposals for capitular houses: between a cathedral and a diocese there was the difference that a diocese had 'hundreds of

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 14f

<sup>2</sup> Minutes, third meeting, appendix II

<sup>3</sup> CML 16

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 16f.

<sup>5</sup> CA 1961, 138-142

houses' and cathedrals half a dozen. Many cathedral houses were cared for by the cathedral architect and builders under the clerk of works. '[I]t was to be hoped that any dilapidations scheme would be worked out so that the repairs might be carried out simply and naturally, with as little intervening administration as possible.' He regretted the absence of any reference to sacred learning, to access to the historic libraries of cathedrals, or to the possibility, as new forms of training for ordination were established, of 'the nucleus around the cathedral.'<sup>1</sup> He concluded by depicting the recent history of cathedrals as one of depredations. In a century during which inflation had been 'he supposed' seven hundred percent, 'their annuity' had increased by thirty-one percent. The estates and revenues taken from the cathedrals in the nineteenth century were now used 'in the interests of the church at large': 'it might not be far out to say that 8s in the pound could be attributed to cathedral funds', the cathedrals meanwhile received from the Church Commissioners '7¼ pence in the pound a year.' But he asked the Assembly 'to support the report 'in general terms', 'in the assurance that in so doing they were performing an act not merely of charity but of justice.'<sup>2</sup>

The deans and provosts had discussed the report before the Assembly began. Wild, their spokesman, said that, in general, they approved the proposals. They had doubts, however, about the scheme for house dilapidations. The report said 'somebody would have to pay the annual premiums'; but some cathedrals kept 'qualified staff'; they should be allowed to continue their own work. They 'rather doubted' whether the Fabric Equalization Fund was 'worth while for what it would produce'; '[i]t might make it harder to raise money locally.' They 'noted with regret, but without surprise, that the Commission had failed to find a complete solution for the problem of maintaining the fabric of Cathedrals.' The deans' memorandum had told the Commission 'this was a main cause of anxiety to every dean.' The report said 'they must be left to struggle with their problems, but was this really to be the Assembly's last word?' Finally they were 'not attracted by the idea that all the existing statutes of Cathedrals should be swept away and a common form...substituted, leaving it to Cathedrals to make local rules by by-law': it would be 'just for the sake of administrative tidiness', 'a great deal of history and tradition which was still of value' would be thrown away. They repeated a suggestion of Bell's thirty years before: a serviceable model was the Oxford and Cambridge Act of 1923, which governed colleges, and under which they 'were able to alter their statutes.'<sup>3</sup>

A lay-administrator<sup>4</sup> added force to the deans' points; the return paid to his chapter by the Commissioners over one hundred and thirty years was 'derisory'; there were anomalies in the restriction of the responsibility accepted by the Commissioners for clerical housing: what was the effect of a lay-occupied flat in a clerical house?; the Fabric Equalization Scheme was 'admirable', the richer helping the poorer, but he doubted its practicality. He professed himself 'astonished' by the absence of

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<sup>1</sup> Such a college existed at Worcester 1952-69

<sup>2</sup> CA 1961, 142-4. See also Milburn's article about the injustices done to cathedrals: *Times* 21 December 1961, 11.

<sup>3</sup> CA XLI 154

<sup>4</sup> Leybourne (Durham)

any reference to cathedrals as 'seats of learning' or to their 'magnificent libraries'. He had also 'heard a rumour' that the Commission intended to 'produce a common form of statute for all cathedrals.' If practicable, it was undesirable: it would 'ignore all the historic associations of the Cathedrals and their commitments. They required some simplified method of amending the statutes.'<sup>1</sup> The Dean of York<sup>2</sup> criticised the absence from the commission of a representative of the Old Foundations; a legitimate grievance.<sup>3</sup> DWE Harrison from 'one of the poorest' cathedrals, spoke approvingly: although the report 'did nothing about' and 'really could not meet' the problems of the fabrics, it 'could help churches like his to meet the necessary outgoings if the cathedral was to do its work.'

In 1960, Colonel Madge had prompted the commissioning of Leslie Paul to write the report which came to mark an epoch in the pastoral organisation of the Church of England.<sup>4</sup> Madge was single-minded, and throughout this debate speakers betrayed nervousness lest the waters of cathedral reform should be muddied by an amendment which he had threatened. To Madge, the Cathedrals' Commission was plainly trenching on the ground of clerical payment and deployment, and the proposed Measure treated the cathedral clergy 'in isolation and without any real consideration of how these Cathedral clergy were integrated into any general plan of employment.' The proposals concerning the ancient cathedrals 'seemed intentionally to have avoided' their pastoral relations with their immediate neighbours. Cathedrals with associations with universities or theological colleges 'might justifiably be maintained as a college of theologians or scholars' but he decried the staffing levels proposed elsewhere: two canons and 'a minor canon or two' with no pastoral cure beyond the precincts'. He pressed for 'close consultation between the Cathedrals Commission and CACTM,<sup>5</sup> in order that the reform of cathedrals should be 'correlated and integrated' with the wider reform of the clerical work-force.<sup>6</sup> The chairman, Archbishop Fisher, immediately counselled caution; Madge's line 'seemed to him to be pastoral reorganisation and not the concern of the cathedrals.'<sup>7</sup> The dean of Bristol told a cautionary tale. When in Sheffield he had been 'responsible for a good deal of the reorganization of the centre of the city.' A 'devoted layman' told them it was a great mistake to leave no parish church near the cathedral in the Don valley: 'You will never get the kind of people who live there to worship happily in a Cathedral if it really is going to have Cathedral services at all.' The cathedral did indeed fail to attract those people. 'How much more difficult for ancient cathedrals...to draw the folk who lived in the centres of their great cities into the tradition of cathedral worship.' '[I]t was impossible for a cathedral to compete with parishes which had been long established in the ancient cities where

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<sup>1</sup> CA 1961, 146f

<sup>2</sup> Milner-White

<sup>3</sup> CA 1961, 156

<sup>4</sup> See Paul, 1964; also Welsby 131-7

<sup>5</sup> The body to which his 1960 motion had been directed; see glossary

<sup>6</sup> CA 1961, 148-50

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 150

the Cathedrals stood.’<sup>1</sup> Williams repeated the hope he had already voiced that the Assembly would reject the ‘impossible procedure of having to draft the Measure along the lines of this pastoral reorganization in consultation with CACTM.’<sup>2</sup> At the close of the debate, Madge, sensing that the Assembly was ‘not entirely with him’, did not move his amendment.<sup>3</sup>

In his closing speech, Williams defended the Fabric Equalization Scheme. He wanted it ‘put before them in more precise terms so that they could see what it really meant.’ And they would consult all cathedrals. If the scheme had not their good will, ‘he had no doubt that that part would be omitted or much modified.’ Libraries, he conceded, were ‘an unfortunate omission’; they ‘did not actually emerge with sufficient prominence to get a place in the report’; they ‘probably should have done.’ That they planned a common form of statutes was an ‘ugly rumour’, ‘just one suggestion... there was no need for anybody to be worried about that at present,’ ‘they had not committed themselves in any way.’ He did not, however, forswear the possibility. He concluded with an assurance that the Commission were ‘fully alive to’ the desire, voiced by many speakers, for the survival of ‘diversity and variety’ in cathedral organizations. The Commissioners were anxious for ‘the greatest degree of autonomy, variety and independence’ in order that each cathedral should ‘have its own special ethos and life.’ But, he warned, ‘it was impossible’ for central, public, money - such as that of the Church Commissioners - ‘to be granted without some degree of control and guidance.’<sup>4</sup>

The report was received and the Commissioners resumed their deliberations, in which the debate was not ineffectual. They asked the deans and provosts whether the proposed Fabric Equalization Scheme ‘would be unacceptable to a large number of cathedrals’; the secretary reported to Williams complaints concerning the ‘lack of representation of cathedrals of the Old Foundation’. When the Commissioners met for the eighth time in June 1961<sup>5</sup> they were told the dean of Exeter<sup>6</sup> and Canon RB Lloyd were to join them.

Their task now was the drafting of a Measure. It should require, they resolved, at each cathedral a dean (or provost) and two canons. Once the Measure was passed, this enactment should take effect ‘immediately’, and ‘override’ any contrary provisions in the statutes of cathedrals; Commissioners’ payment of the three would begin at the same time. Existing statutes would otherwise remain in force everywhere until revised, a process for which a time limit should be set. Cathedrals should consider shortening and simplifying their statutes, relegating ‘omitted provisions’ to bye-laws. Monies liberated from stipends should augment capitular revenues. The dilapidation scheme would be discussed with the cathedral authorities. At most cathedrals, the chairman had found an ‘unfavourable’ response to the Fabric Equalization Fund; it was abandoned.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 155

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 139f 158

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 159

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 157f.

<sup>5</sup> For what follows: Minutes of eighth meeting. (CAA/1955/6/12)

<sup>6</sup> Marcus Knight; suggested by Evans

The conversion of provosts into deans was ill-timed; the appointment of the first dean of Guildford was controversial.<sup>1</sup> Williams told the Assembly that 'the Guildford incident produced an unfortunate climate in which such a matter had to be considered.'<sup>2</sup> The Commission had already abandoned the pursuit:<sup>3</sup> the Prime Minister's Patronage Secretary had advised that individual cathedrals must pursue such conversions in the course of revising their statutes. In the Assembly, Williams repeated the advice - any cathedral individually could seek the change, 'but', he added, with a reference to Boulton's fate, only 'if it was ready to offer up its provost on the altar of this particular negotiation'.<sup>4</sup>

At the tenth meeting also Sir James Brown proposed the abandonment of the dilapidations scheme in favour of a compulsory fund at each cathedral. The Church Commissioners 'might be prepared' to make a 'substantial once and for all grant' for this.

The minutes of these meetings suggest that the Commissioners reacted sanely to the debate. Although, as will be seen, controversy lay ahead, they had placed themselves well to present a Measure the Assembly was likely to accept. There is a contrast between the prevailing of common sense in 1961 and the laborious debates in which the Lang Commission became mired. Partly this was because there is little sign of the internal divisions which characterized the earlier commission;<sup>5</sup> partly, perhaps, because the commission lacked a member possessed of the quixotic and forensic cleverness of Lord Hugh Cecil goading it on; partly also because, although the Assembly was not without its constitutional guardians, such figures were few and they did not intervene greatly in these debates.

The Measure was presented to the Assembly, for 'general approval' in July 1962. Williams<sup>6</sup> reported the matters which had been jettisoned, and emphasized the advantages of the Measure.

He stressed that they had 'simplified the law': thirty-eight provisions, some dating from the reign of Elizabeth I, were replaced by 'a convenient pamphlet'. Changes in the government of the older cathedrals were minor; but parish church cathedrals had received 'the most thorough treatment': they would now have 'a compact administrative authority able to act quickly and competently'. Lay participation in financial and property administration was compulsory for parish church cathedrals; provision for the possibility was required in the statutes of the old cathedrals. He stressed that the help coming from the Church Commissioners would ease financial burdens.

The debate revealed continuing anxieties about finances and fabrics. The dean of Durham, again the deans' spokesman, noted it.<sup>1</sup> The Provost of St Edmundsbury - 'the Cinderella among the

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<sup>1</sup> Prominent in *The Times*, (see *Times* index: May and June 1961). Walter Boulton, the pro-provost, had done much preparatory work for the cathedral. His resignation was necessary in order to enable the establishment of the deanery. He was not then appointed, as was widely expected, to the deanery. For Boulton see biographical appendix

<sup>2</sup> CA 1962, 296

<sup>3</sup> 2 February 1962 (CAA/1955/6/12) tenth meeting

<sup>4</sup> CA 3 July 1962, 296

<sup>5</sup> See 101f below; also note the eight notes of dissent, CCI, 36-38

<sup>6</sup> CA 1962, 296-9

cathedrals' - acclaimed the Measure; there was gain for a cathedral such as his, with lower levels of [Section 20] funding from the Commissioners than, for instance, Canterbury, yet having to pay comparable rates for comparable work - vergers, cleaners, minor canons.<sup>2</sup>

The main focus of the debate was the provisions concerning canons. The Archdeacon of York thought the chapter of every cathedral should include an archdeacon: an 'ombudsman', an intermediary between the cathedral and the diocese.' Of the *requirement* for lay advice at parish church cathedrals and the *permissibility* of it at the older cathedrals he said 'he would hate to think that cathedrals should be the last ditch of clericalism.'<sup>3</sup>

The deans generally welcomed the Measure;<sup>4</sup> 'the jungle of old laws' swept away, the alleviating of the financial problems of inflation, the insistence on canons without extraneous responsibilities - this last would permit a 'resident canon theologian', a return to 'their important function as centres of sacred learning.' It also offered 'new possibilities where cathedrals were close to the modern universities'.<sup>5</sup> Wild welcomed especially the wide interpretation which had been given to 'engaged exclusively on cathedral duties'<sup>6</sup> for the Commissioners' canons: it would enable bishops to appoint canons who would 'give assistance' in dioceses in various ways.<sup>7</sup>

But there were dissidents.

The dean of Carlisle<sup>8</sup> thought it 'a great ideal' that 'all cathedrals should be schools of learning and leisure', but, 'realistically', '[w]ere there enough scholars and first class men?' In some dioceses such men could only be attracted to the cathedral if the canonry were linked with other work. Carlisle had three canons: one by statute was an archdeacon, another director of education: '[b]oth...were putting in full duty in the cathedral in addition to their other duties.' The new requirement might mean some cathedrals would attract only 'old men nearing retirement who were not a great loss to the dioceses...canonries might be regarded as their reward'. For each cathedral he would like a dean and two canons' stipends 'without strings'; 'let the local chapter and the bishop decide whether...[they] were to be attached in any other way.'<sup>9</sup> Williams had foreseen such criticisms. To one industrial cathedral, he told the Assembly, 'the thought of two full-time canons was a return to the conditions of Trollope.' This was 'Trollopianism in reverse.'<sup>10</sup> A layman revealed this cathedral to be Birmingham. He

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 303. They had hoped the Commissioners would be enabled 'to make loans... for repairs, or release of capital endowment, on condition of repayment...over a number of years.'

<sup>2</sup> CA 1962 301f

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 304f

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 303f

<sup>5</sup> Instances of direct residential involvement are few: egs are RH Preston, WM Merchant.

<sup>6</sup> Cath. Measure 1963, CL, 9

<sup>7</sup> CA 1962, 608

<sup>8</sup> Du Toit

<sup>9</sup> CA 1962, 305

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 297

wondered whether, in a diocese where manpower was short, two canons was not 'a premature move' when archdeacons and directors of education were excluded from canonries.'<sup>1</sup>

Some cathedrals with parishes, the Bishop of Manchester<sup>2</sup> conceded, might need two canons, at others they would not be fully occupied. 'It might be said...a cathedral [was] in fact a school of sacred learning. He supposed it was possible for certain men to sit in a canonry and do nothing but read, and occasionally write, and do their residentiary duties, but his experience had led him to think that one canon devoted exclusively to cathedral duties was normally ample.'<sup>3</sup> 'Cathedral duties' were 'far from clear': could a canon, for instance, arrange a 'big clergy convention'? The bishop and the administrative body might disagree. He guessed the intention was to provide a base for scholars: but the available pool of scholars seeking canonries was small. It would ultimately create 'difficulties' between bishops, chapters, and the Church Commissioners.<sup>4</sup> The Bishop of Carlisle<sup>5</sup> counselled against being 'carried away too easily' by 'a fine picture of the nobility of a cathedral service'. He had visited several cathedrals and seen a 'fine choir and procession' and 'a service rendered magnificently with eight or nine robed clergy'- and 'fewer than fifty people in the congregation.' 'Yet he had to tell his people that the greatest problem confronting the Church was the shortage of clergy and their right use.' They should 'not be carried away by high falutin pictures which did not represent reality.' He would be happy with one cathedral canon but, he allowed, some might need more.

This onslaught caught the bishop of Leicester unawares. He had not expected 'these fundamental matters' to be raised as though there had been no earlier opportunity; they had 'reached a decision on them twice.' Now at Revision 'he did not think there was the least chance of the commission reconsidering the main principles or even the wording of that particular clause.' If the Assembly did not want it, it could say so, but, he continued, with a hint of a threat, 'it would need a new commission to produce something different at this stage.' The provisions of the Measure required the bishop to respect 'the spiritual and pastoral independence of the cathedral.' A bishop might call on a canon 'for some form of service' but 'an independence' also 'had its part to play in the total impact of the Church upon its area and the nation.'<sup>6</sup>

Williams received support. The Reverend Michael Bruce deprecated Greer's 'attack on the whole structure'; the need was for 'first-class minds who could give their time to thinking how to present the Christian religion to intelligent men'. The 'most hopeful feature' of the Measure was its 'provision for real canons' 'not spare-time clergymen to do any odd job they might be called upon to do.' He urged the Commission 'to be firm'.<sup>7</sup> The dean of Gloucester thought that Manchester might only want one

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<sup>1</sup> WH Griggs; Ibid, 305f

<sup>2</sup> Greer

<sup>3</sup> A curious argument from a bishop who had already appointed a rising young scholar (RH. Preston) to a stall.

<sup>4</sup> CA 1962, 612f.

<sup>5</sup> Bloomer

<sup>6</sup> CA 1962, 614

<sup>7</sup> Bruce, ibid, 613

canon, but many cathedrals 'were developing a pastoral work among the thousands of people who came', and trying to make the cathedral 'a spiritual force in the diocese.' This was not possible 'by people who had an outside job.'<sup>1</sup>

The debate moved into the examination of the Measure clause by clause. In the course of it, a further attempt was made to amend the clause governing the commitment of the two canons. The Archdeacon of Doncaster<sup>2</sup> attempted to remove the requirement of the Church Commissioners' approval from the provision for the exceptional use of the two canons for diocesan purposes: 'decisions on matters...which concerned the deployment of diocesan man-power should rest with the diocesan authorities.' 'There was a danger...of over-centralisation, and they should leave to those responsible in a local situation the duty of planning the resources of the church.'<sup>3</sup> The bishop of Birmingham<sup>4</sup> joined in, he suggested that the word *primarily* would lead to fewer difficulties than the word *exclusively*.<sup>5</sup> Williams replied that the Commission had discussed the wording exhaustively; 'the legal side' urged 'exclusively', 'and then ease it', rather than 'primarily' 'and be vague about possibilities for the future.' They had already tempered 'the difficult associations of exclusive'. It was true, they had left 'the administrative body...as the ultimate judge, but they were committed to that...[by] giving the cathedrals an adequate team to do their job.' 'They had definitely included pastoral duties in the diocese, and if attention was paid to that phrase many of the objections would fall away.'<sup>6</sup>

The clause was passed without amendment.

The resistance was not yet ready to admit defeat. At the next stage - 'Further Revision'- in February 1963, the bishop of Carlisle tried once more. '[A] principle was involved...to which the Assembly should give serious attention': the Church Commissioners should not control the canonries. The clause gave them 'a share in determining...pastoral duties' in the cathedral and the diocese. That introduced an 'undesirable' new principle: such control should remain with the bishop and the chapter. It was dangerous that 'the people who provided the money determined the pastoral duties of the holder of a particular office.' He would have liked the Church Commissioners to have provided 'an allocation equal to the stipends of the dean and two canons, and trusting the cathedral authorities to administer it as they thought best'; it would have been more helpful to have had it as diocesan stipend fund money. 'He abhorred undue centralisation'<sup>7</sup>

Again the bishop of Birmingham supported him. What criteria did the Church Commissioners possess to decide whether a particular priest was doing a pastoral job which was necessary? Even if they had the criteria, had they the qualifications to make a judgement in the light of the points to be considered? Such matters should be in the hands of the bishop and the local chapter: if there was to

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 614

<sup>2</sup> P. Bostock

<sup>3</sup> CA 1962, 618

<sup>4</sup> Leonard Wilson

<sup>5</sup> CA 1962, 620

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 620

<sup>7</sup> CA 1963, 74f



be a further safeguard it should be 'another pastoral authority', the archbishop of the province.<sup>1</sup> The Archdeacon of Carlisle supported his bishop: the 'desire to limit the pastoral work of two of the canons to the cathedral church exclusively', in 'days of shortage of clergy' was a 'grave error'.<sup>2</sup>

Others defended the Measure, among them the bishops of London and Grimsby, the latter arguing that the role of the Commissioners was 'a protection for the dean and chapter'. He recalled an occasion when a former bishop of Lincoln had announced at the Diocesan Conference that a member of the cathedral chapter was to become a suffragan bishop also. The dean had protested publicly: the dual office would impose 'undue pressure' on the chapter.<sup>3</sup>

There was a touch of exasperation in the Williams's reply. Twice, the clauses had been accepted by the Assembly, they represented 'years of work'; the bishop of Carlisle had tabled his amendment the day before - 'twenty four hours against twenty four months.' He then again dealt with the point re-iterated by Bloomer, whose archdeacon's speech, he said, as he closed, was 'revealing': the diocese of Carlisle did not want two canons. If that was so, they need only have one. 'It was a malaise in the attitude of the diocese of Carlisle to the Measure which he felt lay behind the amendment which had emerged at the last moment.'<sup>4</sup> Bloomer was defeated.

The Assembly passed to consider the remaining clauses. None threw up discussions of importance, though one of a certain piquancy. Mr OWH. Clarke sought to discourage the conferring of the title 'emeritus'.<sup>5</sup> A short exchange ensued in the course of which the bishop of Southwark<sup>6</sup> defended the usage on the ground that 'unless you could bribe people with some title it was difficult to get them to retire.'<sup>7</sup> Williams, more generously, suggested it was 'a kindly act of grace, at a sad and costly moment in a man's life'. The amendment was lost.

When all the clauses were despatched the Measure, in defiance of precedent, passed immediately, during the same group of sessions, to Final Approval. The speed, Williams explained, was because '[t]he desire on the part of the cathedrals for its passing was very great.' Delay until the Assembly met in June would mean that Royal Assent was impossible before December, a loss of six months; should there be a General Election, the loss would be of up to a year.<sup>8</sup> The Church Commissioners' money could not begin to flow towards the cathedrals until the Royal Assent was given. The loss was of £200,000 per annum; payments could not be made retrospectively.

Final Approval was granted. The detailed revision of the statutes of all the cathedrals followed.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 75

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 76

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 76

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 76

<sup>5</sup> Presciently arguing that '[t]he present tendency towards emeritus titles might lead to 'organist emeritus', 'churchwarden emeritus' and all the rest of it.'

<sup>6</sup> Mervyn Stockwood

<sup>7</sup> CA 1963, Clarke:81; Southwark: 82

<sup>8</sup> The dissolution of Parliament also dissolved Convocation, and therefore the Assembly; necessitating elections.

<sup>9</sup> See 51 below

## *Assessment*

The Commission was a conservative body and its report, focussed on administrative tidiness and the correction of anomalies, was a product of the church of Archbishop Fisher. We might recall Ramsey's judgement on Williams at the time of the latter's death: 'the best – the very best of the Church of England (and...with emphasis) – as it was.'<sup>1</sup> The words are not inapposite to his report on cathedrals.

At least to the extent that the Commission's origin lay in the amending of the 1931 Measure, the Lang Commission was the matrix of the Williams Commission, and its principal achievement, beyond immediate financial rescue, was the consolidating of the collegial ideals of the earlier commission.

Save for the suggestion that residentiary canons might provide advice on 'pastoral or sociological or industrial questions',<sup>2</sup> the report is untouched by novelty. It does, however, show marks of its own age in other ways. When the Lang Commission reported, economic depression ensured that cathedral fabrics received major attention only in inescapable necessity. The Second World War and the years following were likewise unpropitious. Only in the 1950s did economic well-being begin to be felt, and then it was accompanied by a degree of inflation. The effect on cathedrals may be gauged by the rising sums allocated to the Section 20 grants. When first made they totalled £18,000; in 1952 they rose to £50,000; 1954 £75,000; 1955 £100,000; in 1959 £150,000.<sup>3</sup> The Commission's horizons may be judged limited, it dealt with only a restricted range of problems,<sup>4</sup> but the restrictions became a source of strength. After a period of neglect, the practical needs of the cathedrals were pressing: historic fabrics; 'living agents' whose conditions were outmoded; lay workers of every sort paid below what they could command in the secular world.<sup>5</sup>

There was a potential, and more radical, context. During these years, sociologists were beginning to study the churches. The Paul Report, already mentioned, drew on that work.<sup>6</sup> Of any of this the commission showed scant awareness.<sup>7</sup> During these years, Managerialism also became established.<sup>8</sup> The Church Commissioners were a conservative body, but, the statements of Brown suggest,<sup>9</sup> one aware of the demands of business efficiency and eager for increased lay control and therefore of greater financial and managerial experience; the requirement for lay financial competence

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<sup>1</sup> Peart-Binns, 1984, unpaginated prefatory page

<sup>2</sup> CML 10

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Brown CA 1959, 210

<sup>4</sup> See the debate initiated by TLF Royle (CA 1968, 440-452); see below 51

<sup>5</sup> Cf Norman Sykes to the commission: 'It is difficult under the present conditions of a welfare state to look vergers in the face when paying them an uneconomic rate of salary.' (CAA/1955/6/8: Winchester); cf earlier, Southwark where the Lang Commission found the retirement of an 'aged verger with the implied promise of £2 a week; but the chapter could only provide £30', and had to seek private contributions. CCII, 24

<sup>6</sup> See Paul, and also Rudge; Coxon, Beveridge: bibliography. Paul acknowledged access to Coxon's unpublished work.

<sup>7</sup> One reference, CML 10

<sup>8</sup> Growing acceptance of the technique is suggested by OED citations: the earliest (1942, 1952) place the word in inverted commas; the next (1973) does not.

<sup>9</sup> See above, 35

was at least in part met. But, after Brown's words, the recommendations concerning management were surprisingly slight.

The work of the social scientists and the Managerialists cast a forward shadow; they came into their kingdom with the Howe Commission.

In its response to the impact of its context, the Commission was pragmatic and its legislation was pragmatic. Its achievements were, however, great. An, almost routine, reform of statutes became, finally, a large rescue-exercise. The desire of the bishops of Carlisle and Manchester and Birmingham to redirect the money into their dioceses were doomed because they refused to recognise that the purpose of Williams's 'series of ingenious dodges' was at least partly to liberate monies (some £3,300 per annum to an 'average' cathedral) for the general needs of the cathedrals. 'I suppose', he said later, 'it has provided the Cathedrals of England by now with a total sum running into millions of pounds.'<sup>1</sup>

The Commission's achievements went beyond immediate rescue, however urgent. The Lang Commission established the requirement that residence should be continuous. The evidence collected by the Williams Commission was, overwhelmingly, that its hope that canonries would not merely be stipends for diocesan officers was misplaced. The insistence of the Commission, and the leadership of Williams, as he fought off the assault of a group of bishops, two of whom at least were formidable, that two canons should serve the regular life of the cathedral, was an achievement, the benefits of which to the collegiate and ministerial life the cathedrals continue to the present day.

Two further achievements deserve notice. The Commission initiated a revision of statutes, one which moved further than had the Lang Commission from the historic formularies. Now there was to be a common structure, but one which cathedrals could modify, and add traditional local colour to, by the appending by-laws. The move was to be invoked as precedent by the more drastic reformers of the 1990s.

Finally, the report made progress for the parish church cathedrals. The futile diocesan councils and the inadequate PCCs were supplanted by a new council, pertaining to the cathedral and attempting to link cathedral and diocese, clergy and laity. In some ways it is again a precursor of the councils created by Howe.

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<sup>1</sup> Peart-Binns, 1984, 65

### Chapter III

#### The Commission of 1992 and the Measure of 1999

With the passing of the Measure in 1963, the cathedrals experienced a period of constitutional quiescence. In 1968, Williams was able to report the completion of the revision of the statutes of individual cathedrals.<sup>1</sup> Mr TLF Royle, appended a debate to Williams's report. He wanted 'a vibrant, visionary, prophetic, loving, mother-church militant here on earth' and he spoke of 'with-it' cathedrals; he urged them to evangelism and he suggested that headphones imparting antiquarian information should 'at the same time [be] about the uniqueness of the Christian message'.<sup>2</sup> Speakers were not unsympathetic, but after ten years of reform there was no stomach for more change; the motion was lost.<sup>3</sup> In 1976, a short Measure<sup>4</sup> amended the provision made in 1963 for revising the constitutions and statutes of the cathedrals and, in order to facilitate the procedure, created a permanent Cathedral Statutes Commission.<sup>5</sup> Even so, change remained laborious; the procedure was rarely used.<sup>6</sup> Not until 1990 was the tranquillity shattered: then, so urgent were their financial needs, that chapters were brought to surrender part of their autonomy to an external body, the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Cathedrals in travail*

By then also the troubles of some cathedrals were in the media.

At Exeter the Head Verger, a Justice of the Peace, was imprisoned in 1990 for having, since 1983, stolen £47,868.<sup>8</sup>

Salisbury was beset by acrimony. In 1989 the Chapter proposed lavatories between the south transept and the chapter house. The chairman of the Royal Fine Art Commission declared that the commission was conducting a 'running battle to preserve Salisbury cathedral from the depredations of its dean and chapter'.<sup>9</sup> The dean retorted as tartly.<sup>10</sup>

Traffic in the Close was a problem. In 1991 a report, commissioned by the chapter, concluded that a road touching the meadows was the least damaging resolution. The bishop's wife told *The Times* it 'would ruin this unique and beautiful part of the close'.<sup>11</sup> The dean was again obliged to defend

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<sup>1</sup> CA 1968, 438

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 440ff

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 139; 452

<sup>4</sup> CM 1976

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 1(1)

<sup>6</sup> H&R 68f

<sup>7</sup> The Care of Cathedrals Measure 1990 section 1

<sup>8</sup> CT 7 December 1990, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Lord St John of Fawsley; *Times* August 21, 11; 29, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Dickinson; letter to *Times* 6 September, 15.

<sup>11</sup> *Times* 27 February 1991; the Bishop's House was in that part of the Close. The debate continued in correspondence and a leading article in *The Times* until May.

his chapter: the suggestion that money used to buy a house was from the appeal fund <sup>1</sup> was 'improper and defamatory', and the purpose of the road was to close the medieval gate, not 'to boost revenue from tourism' and to import 'coach loads of elderly Americans'.<sup>2</sup>

The establishment in 1991 of the first girls' choir in an English cathedral added to the chapter's costs: £500,000 was needed to endow the girls' scholarships.<sup>3</sup> To *aficionados* of English cathedral music the move was abhorrent.<sup>4</sup>

The demand for 'fixed donations' introduced some years before was effectively an admission charge which 'produced more letters of protest than any other'.<sup>5</sup>

The chapter sought the bishop's guidance - a mistake: Baker's views about cathedrals proved to be austere and unworldly, even unrealistic. He visited formally in September 1991.<sup>6</sup> His Charge<sup>7</sup> scoured the Chapter. '[T]he temptation is to see [a cathedral's] cultural drawing power as a major means of financing its work. As soon as that happens, the need for money begins to control decision-making and to determine priorities.'<sup>8</sup> Charging was wrong and the pursuit of state-funding was wrong: 'for the Church to look to the State as a regular source of funding...is a mistaken and potentially dangerous policy. It is not healthy...to be beholden to or dependent upon the centres of worldly power.'<sup>9</sup> The cathedral was 'hyperactive': 'noise, movement, and disturbance' were frequent; the building's atmosphere was 'being lost'.<sup>10</sup> The transmission of the *Antiques Road Show* 'was crossing the wrong side of even a broad and hazy line'.<sup>11</sup> '[T]he financial needs of the Cathedral appear to have taken over to such an extent that the overwhelming impact on the visitor is of appeals for money. The re-siting of the 'ticket kiosk' in the north porch, together with an exit turnstile, 'on historic, aesthetic and practical grounds...would...say something utterly false and contrary to the real vocation and meaning of a church'.<sup>12</sup> A new separate visitors' centre and restaurant would degrade the Cathedral 'to a landmark which enables the Chapter to reap the benefits of the souvenir and tourist trade rather than the City'. The development of the refectory blurred 'still further the true image of the cathedral'.<sup>13</sup> He was 'unhappily aware of the lack of material displaying the Church's mission'.<sup>14</sup> History and geography

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<sup>1</sup> The chapter had recently exchanged contracts on a house and orchard costing £350,000 which would facilitate the scheme: proving, it was said, that their minds were made up. In fact the purchase was only a necessary safeguard, should the road plan be adopted: Duke of Grafton, *Times* 25 March 1991, 13

<sup>2</sup> *Times* 25 March 1991.

<sup>3</sup> *TES* 1 March 1991, 3

<sup>4</sup> Mould, 268, 9

<sup>5</sup> Baker, 4

<sup>6</sup> Baker, 2

<sup>7</sup> Baker, bibliography

<sup>8</sup> Baker, 3

<sup>9</sup> Baker, 5. The dean had been prominent in the cathedrals' quest.

<sup>10</sup> Baker, 8

<sup>11</sup> Baker, 9

<sup>12</sup> Baker, 17

<sup>13</sup> Baker, 18

<sup>14</sup> Baker, 19

made the cathedral 'the prisoner of the Close': 'Cathedral people are very ready to welcome the world if the world will come to them, but not so ready to forget the cathedral and go to the world.'<sup>1</sup> He disliked continual appeals;<sup>2</sup> and he deprecated the expenditure on new vestments and minor, inessential, improvements. 'What', he demanded, 'do these seemingly endless demands say about Christian priorities?' And the cathedral, he claimed, should identify with a diocese which had 'to thin its budget.' There should, he enunciated, 'be no new public appeal for the next five years.'<sup>3</sup> The 'quality of preaching', was questioned: for some worshippers the sermons did not 'engage with their real concerns.'<sup>4</sup> Junior staff and volunteers felt that senior staff failed to listen; the cultivation of a 'sense of partnership' was needed. Some of the clergy were insufficiently attentive to the staff, and, the bishop asked, '[w]hy do not the clergy wait behind after Evensong to greet the visitors?'<sup>5</sup>

The Chapter responded on 5 May 1992.<sup>6</sup> They began dismissively: the bishop had written 'thirty-one closely typed pages of evidence, argument, ideas and philosophy and it is neither practical nor judicious to attempt to debate the many points of detail which it raises.' Their replies, restricted to just over five pages, were confined to the Charge's substance - Baker's sixteen 'key recommendations' - in which his 'wide-ranging' reflections were 'not necessarily reflected.'<sup>7</sup> The procedure enabled them to avoid a direct reply to his implied suggestion that their vision was obscured by commercialism.

Some recommendations they accepted: senior staff should give more time 'to being with those who serve the cathedral.'<sup>8</sup> The full force of other, major, recommendations, they ignored. Thus Baker urged that the 'controlling principle in developing the cathedral Church and its environs should be that of enhancing the active mission and ministry of the cathedral and of making its character as a living, working Church [the] fact that comes across at once to all who visit'. The response seems weak: there was 'need for improvement in [this] area'; and they had plans for a display - 'on the conclusion of the spire appeal later this year' - which would 'incorporate the active mission and ministry of the church as dominant themes.'<sup>9</sup> Other recommendations they questioned. Baker's alternative to the preoccupation with fundraising and state aid and admission charges was to make the cathedral a part of the total diocesan budget; he proposed that by 2015 the diocese should 'accept the aim of the cathedral's financial independence'. The chapter were 'unconvinced by the practicality of such a move'<sup>10</sup> which does, *prima facie*, appear idealistic. Some recommendations they dismissed. Baker suggested that they should 'express [the cathedral's] identification with the life and needs of the City district and

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<sup>1</sup> Baker 24

<sup>2</sup> For the Cathedral School, the repair of the cloisters, the endowment of the girls' choir, the saving of the water meadows, the implementation of consultants' plans to control traffic.

<sup>3</sup> Baker, 26-8

<sup>4</sup> Baker, 29

<sup>5</sup> Baker, 22

<sup>6</sup> Salisbury D&C, 6

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 5

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 2

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 1.

County'; 'they encourage and support links with local authorities', they replied, but 'they would resist attempts to make the cathedral the civic church of either the City or the County...Its appeal and function are wider.'<sup>1</sup> Sometimes they agreed with him, but meant something slightly different; thus they repented of nothing in their past expenditure when they said it 'remains the guiding principle of [their] financial policy to serve the essential preservation of the building and the effective prosecution of the Church's primary mission, and that all other expenditures, including those of the basic duty of hospitality, be strictly subordinated to these two aims.'<sup>2</sup>

These exchanges were public; the Bishop released the Charge to the press, and that and the Response were summarised in the *Church Times*.<sup>3</sup>

The bishop swiftly repented of his forthrightness. He expressed his remorse to his Diocesan Synod: 'occasionally words run away with me, and I have to reflect more.' 'I want to say publicly that I believe the cathedral is greatly blessed in its leadership, especially in its dean, and that he and his colleagues...wrestle with tremendous problems, and there are no easy answers to those.' He gave, he said, total support to the Cathedral and had trust and confidence in its leadership; the Charge was 'intended to advise and help.'<sup>4</sup> At Christmas he sent Christmas cards and letters 'to as many as possible of you who are connected with or employed by the cathedral'; he expressed his 'deep unhappiness' that the charge came across 'as disappointingly negative and condemnatory'. 'I say once more I truly am sorry that... [I]...have distressed or injured you. I hope...you will find it in your hearts to forgive.'<sup>5</sup>

Others joined in. Robert Key thought a group was 'finding every way to knock the dean and make life difficult. It is distressing to see such division among the leaders of the Church...it doesn't really help when they are on a collision course.' It was hard, he added, to see how the bishop's criticisms fitted in with his idea of the cathedral as a community asset.<sup>6</sup> The failure to recognise the dean's achievements 'saddened' Reginald Askew. If the 'Trollopian calm' of the Close suffered, it was 'perhaps a price worth paying.' He testified to the dean's 'profound and attractive spirituality [from which] the close benefited greatly.'<sup>7</sup> Canon Ian Dunlop defended the chapter against charges of profiteering; they were 'trying, sometimes desperately, to raise money' to maintain their 'marvellous and sacred building'.<sup>8</sup>

Constant publicity, the sense of an iconoclastic, commercially motivated, chapter, unworthy guardians of a beautiful close, reports of discordant relations between the bishop and his cathedral,

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 4

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 5

<sup>3</sup> CT:18 October 1991 (Charge), 22 May, 1992 (Response). Other newspapers reported the Charge eg *Times*, 18 October, 1991, 6

<sup>4</sup> CT 25 October 1991,1

<sup>5</sup> CT 20 December 1991, 3; under the headline 'Bishop's renewed sorrow'.

<sup>6</sup> CT 25 October 1991, 1. Baker had argued for the close as a 'civic asset'. (Baker, 25)

<sup>7</sup> Letter to CT 1 November,11

<sup>8</sup> *Times* 23, October, 1991

and of a visitation apparently mismanaged: whatever the truth, such publicity was unpersuasive of a cathedral well run, or of harmonious personal relations.

During the 1980s the Chapter of Hereford had a rising overdraft; by 1989 it was £220,558.<sup>1</sup> An appeal for £1,000,000 for the fabric, launched in 1985, was not achieved until the end of 1991.<sup>2</sup> In 1987 a 'major firm of accountants' estimated that £7,000,000 was needed 'to secure the future of the cathedral and to enable the chapter to develop its assets properly'.<sup>3</sup>

Already, in 1985, the chapter were considering the sale of 'an important object'.<sup>4</sup> Sotheby's valued the cathedral's treasures in 1986. The library, inadequately maintained and inaccessible to scholars, was valued at not less than £10,000,000. But the Mappa Mundi,<sup>5</sup> they decided, had less integral connexions with the cathedral.<sup>6</sup> Unanimously, in January 1988, they resolved to instruct Sotheby's for its sale: 'it is the intention of the dean and chapter to set aside a substantial part of the proceeds...towards the provision of a new building for the secure housing of the chained library and its worthy display to the public.' By September they had decided on public auction; their plan was to be made public in December. But on 16 November *The Guardian* and *The Independent* revealed it.

The outcry was immediate. A petition which gathered 11,000 signatures suggested the strength of local outrage. Sir Roy Strong resigned from the appeal committee, saying 'this is one of the most terrible and vulgar ideas I have ever come across'.<sup>7</sup> In Parliament Lord St John of Fawsley denounced sale at public auction as a 'flagrant breach of trust', and Lord Blake thought the chapter was taking 'a lazy way out'; they should launch an appeal.<sup>8</sup> Sir Patrick Cormack urged Michael Alison, the Second Church Estates Commissioner, to 'take the initiative in summoning all parties to try to keep the Mappa Mundi in situ'.<sup>9</sup> A discordant voice was that Richard Luce: 'we have to preserve the policy of market forces in all this, to allow trade across national boundaries.'<sup>10</sup>

Substantial sums from the National Heritage Memorial Fund saved the treasures of Hereford cathedral.<sup>11</sup> The chapter's goal, £7,000,000, was not achieved; financial needs continued over the years ahead.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tiller, 189f. The account which follows is based on the summary in Tiller whose statements are frequently substantiated by reference to the Chapter Acts. He was a member of the Hereford chapter at the time.

<sup>2</sup> Tiller, 188f

<sup>3</sup> Tiller, 190

<sup>4</sup> Tiller, 189

<sup>5</sup> For Mappa Mundi see Harvey

<sup>6</sup> Tiller, 190

<sup>7</sup> Tiller, 193

<sup>8</sup> *Times*: St John, 7 December 11; Blake 22 December, 10

<sup>9</sup> *Times* 29 November. When the news broke, Lord Gowrie, the chairman of Sotheby's, had been trying for a year to sell the whole of the cathedral's treasures to the nation. He wanted the British Library to open a branch in Hereford. Tiller, 191f.

<sup>10</sup> *Times*, 2 December, 8; surprisingly, Minister for the Arts

<sup>11</sup> Some £3,000,000, including £1,000,000 with gift aid from Sir Paul Getty (Tiller, 193f) They are now worthily displayed. Tiller, 194ff

<sup>12</sup> Tiller, 195.



Thus was Hereford cathedral thrust into the news. The precarious finances of a cathedral which, unlike Salisbury, was not on the popular tourist routes were highlighted; long exposure in the news and correspondence columns of *The Times* revealed the consternation with which the arbitrary powers of such a body were viewed when that body was also the custodian of historic treasures.<sup>1</sup>

But, beyond Herefordshire, the outrage was largely confined to those sections of the public which cared about heritage. For a wider public, it was eclipsed by the infamy which came to Lincoln. There, the root was not cultural vandalism, but the contradiction between bitter human dissension and the ideal of a collegiate body whose *raison d'être* was Christian living and worship.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1970s and 1980s the Chapter saw their ownership of one of the four earliest copies of Magna Carta as trusteeship; and they exhibited it twice in the United States, in 1976 for the bicentennial, in 1987 for the celebration of the signing of the American Constitution; in 1988, it went to the Expo exhibition in Brisbane. The second American trip raised approximately £200,000 for the cathedral; at Brisbane the cathedral lost £40,000. The chapter professed themselves untroubled by the loss: exhibiting Magna Carta was intrinsically justifiable, and would draw visitors to Lincoln; taken together, the two exhibitions were profitable.

These expeditions had all involved members of the chapter in long absences from Lincoln. The Australian expedition had been arranged hastily: Davis, who planned it, took his wife, his daughter, a friend of hers, and two other women. There were murmurs of jobbery about the composition of the group, and reports of hedonism from a member who was dismissed and returned early. The travels of Magna Carta were not the only occasions for capitular absence from Lincoln. Nurser's past experience in America and Australia marked him as an internationalist. His ecumenism, and his desire to increase social awareness and involvement in civic and political discourse within the churches, led to a focus on Europe, and to absences. Davis, an Australian, went to Lincoln from an appointment at the World Council of Churches in Geneva. That, and the British Council of Churches, continued to claim his time.<sup>3</sup> Past experience in Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity also led to commitments and to journeys.<sup>4</sup> A concern for the poorer peoples of the Pacific Islands led to further absences.<sup>5</sup>

Fiennes also travelled; the presence of a descendant of a signatory of Magna Carta accompanying the charter impressed Americans, and Lincoln cathedral profited. He also enjoyed the USA; his travels were an escape from the frustrations of Lincoln; a 'life-line'.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In fact as the episode progressed, the absolute power of chapters to dispose of treasures was ended by the Care of Cathedrals Measure

<sup>2</sup> Except where another source is given, this account depends on a lengthy article (CT 25 July 1997, 13-15) covering the entire period until the resignation of Jackson. In the opinion of the Venerable C. Laurence, (to the present writer) a residentiary canon at the time, it was 'thorough and fair.'

<sup>3</sup> Egs CL, 3 May 1982, 9 June 1983

<sup>4</sup> Eg a consultation about Charismatic Renewal and its impact on the Churches. (CL, 3 December 1981)

<sup>5</sup> CL, 14 January 1979; 7 September 1980; 7 March 1982

<sup>6</sup> Fiennes interview

It is possible to assess such a chapter affirmatively. Ecclesiastical appointments for clerics whose range and experience equipped them for a broader ministry than a parish permits were few; the canonries enabled able men to develop legitimate interests; cathedral and diocese, to say nothing of the wider church, profited: Davis, for instance, used his travels educationally in Lincoln.<sup>1</sup>

But a different assessment was also possible. A cathedral is a college; its collegiality is realised in residence and worship; its life also requires administration. Only extraneous responsibilities compatible with such duties are legitimate. At Lincoln, so extensive was the wider ministry, that the cathedral was in danger of looking neglected; little more than a base from which these interests were pursued.<sup>2</sup> Canon Rutter rarely travelled and was pastorally faithful, but he was increasingly incapacitated.

Phipps, who appointed the canons, had spent a decade at Coventry with its international ministry; it may be assumed that he subscribed to the former view of a canonry. But in 1986, two years before Fiennes retired, a new bishop, RM Hardy, came to think the chapter self-indulgent: its members preoccupied with their personal avocations, neglectful of the cathedral's life; 'its life and worship has no longer been their prime concern.'<sup>3</sup> A new dean, he believed, should bring order to the chapter:<sup>4</sup> 'I want a bastard for a dean,' he said.<sup>5</sup>

Thus there came together a style of ministry which the Chapter had developed within a constitution which made both that and internal dissension possible, and a bishop desirous of reform. Friends of the Prime Minister are said to have told her of the cathedral's problems.<sup>6</sup>

Hardy has denied that he sought the man who was appointed, of whom, he claims, he knew nothing until his appointment.<sup>7</sup> That man was Brandon Jackson. Jackson was an evangelical entering a liberal-catholic chapter, a provost accustomed to power becoming dean of a cathedral where authority was dispersed. His reputation at Bradford was turbulent; the abrupt, unexpected, dismissal of a successful cathedral organist<sup>8</sup> early in his time there was only the most conspicuous of a number of erratic decisions. At Lincoln, he believed himself called to bring a wayward chapter to heel; Mrs Thatcher, he claimed, had told him that his task was to get the canons out. "There will be blood on the carpet before he has finished" he would report her as having said of him.

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<sup>1</sup> CL, 7 September 1980

<sup>2</sup> Hardy, 1990, 508

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 508

<sup>4</sup> Hardy interview

<sup>5</sup> CT *ibid*,

<sup>6</sup> Beeson 2004, 226. Jackson is said to have said she knew from 'two very influential [Lincolnshire] biddies': Kathleen Major, medievalist, and Margaret Wickstead, whose father had taught Thatcher Latin for Oxford entrance. *Guardian*, Weekend Supplement 23-24 March 1991, 4

<sup>7</sup> Hardy interview

<sup>8</sup> Keith Rhodes; see T&A 17 July 1981

His strategy was 'my simple, straightforward attempts to grasp the reins of Lincoln Cathedral from the tight hold of the Subdean<sup>1</sup> (aided and abetted by his three colleagues) and place them...in the hands of the Dean and chapter, the Dean presiding and taking the proper lead required and expected of his office.'<sup>2</sup> He was supported, even urged on, by the bishop: 'you will have to move fairly smartly when you arrive to look into Rex's activities. He is inclined to be a fixer and to ride over folk.'

Jackson's first stratagem, a technique he had used at Bradford,<sup>3</sup> was to enlist the press: John Whale was told of his belief that he had a commission; other journalists received innuendoes: that Davis was extra-maritally involved, that the Precentor was fond of small boys. Jackson discussed with a journalist from the *Church Times* the possibility of calling in the tabloids; the journalist dissuaded him. To Whale, he accused Davis of peculation: the Australian expedition had been a holiday for his family and friends; the chapter more generally were spending on themselves money subscribed for the upkeep of the cathedral. The *Church Times* investigated the stories and published<sup>4</sup> an article depicting the Magna Carta episode as mismanaged. The canons reported the *Church Times* to the Press Council.<sup>5</sup>

They also asked the bishop for a formal visitation of the cathedral. Hardy, after an informal approach had led to further acrimony, this time between himself and Davis, concluded that he must visit formally.<sup>6</sup>

He received the canons' desiderata for the Visitation and Jackson's counter-charges. He set out his own reconciliatory ambitions.<sup>7</sup>

The visitation cost the Church Commissioners £20,000.<sup>8</sup> The bishop's Award criticised the Subdean for losses in the Australian expedition, and the canons generally for their attitude to Jackson 'even in the light of his abusive attitude'; it pronounced the 'proper conduct of [the cathedral's] life and worship' apparently subordinate to 'their own interests with little regard for their commitments here';<sup>9</sup> it judged their conduct on occasions 'reprehensible'. Hardy doubted their 'ability or willingness...to put aside their personal feelings and attitudes.' Therefore he asked each of them 'very seriously to consider his position as a residentiary canon.'<sup>10</sup> The dean did not escape criticism for his 'abusive attitude'; for exceeding his 'supervisory authority', for acting unilaterally in capitular matters and interfering in the work of canons; for 'intemperate and extravagant' language, in written and verbal

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<sup>1</sup> Davis was also Treasurer. He visited Jackson before his arrival in order to explain the dean's limited powers and his own responsibility for finances. Hardy 1990, 312

<sup>2</sup> Jackson in Hardy 1990, see Appendix 8, below

<sup>3</sup> 'He often used the press to make statements or accusations public; in this way innuendoes became public – and were unattributable. Although incapable of substantiation, they ensured that 'the damage was done.' M. Henson

<sup>4</sup> CT 19 January 1990

<sup>5</sup> Hardy 1990, 115

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 105

<sup>7</sup> Appendix 8

<sup>8</sup> Hardy, 1990, 112

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 508

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 520

submissions to the visitation.<sup>1</sup> There were, Hardy concluded, 'serious faults on both sides': in the canons' discharge of their duties, in the dean's response.<sup>2</sup> They and the dean, he thought, 'had conducted themselves shamefully in the media.'<sup>3</sup>

During the months that followed, the campaign to unseat the canons intensified. The bishop wrote, formally suggesting that they should resign; none did. The dean then wrote, urging on each his departure and proposing, as he saw it, suitable routes of escape for them. His action was undoubtedly *ultra vires*, and, in the case of Davis, pastorally insensitive, referring to his wife's residence in London and his daughter's illness. The letter reached *Private Eye*: the first glimpse by the wider community of the manner of Jackson's campaign.

He remained unrelenting. He asked the Fraud Squad to investigate the Australian visit. On 18 January 1991 the officers asked to see the bank-account of Davis's daughter:<sup>4</sup> she had died, aged twenty-six, three weeks before. The investigation revealed no irregularities; there was no prosecution. Legal advice had suggested that to attempt to remove the canons, if successful, would prove costly.

The services of a counsellor, Brian Thorne, were then invoked: futilely, since Jackson declined to co-operate.

By this stage, Jackson was becoming disenchanted with the bishop, whose failure to despatch the canons he thought a betrayal. Equally, Hardy's sense of urgency was cooling: Jackson was not an ideal ally for a bishop anxious to avoid scandal. On 1 January 1992 the canons issued a statement entitled 'Why we have not resigned': they were guilty of no offence; divergent views concerning office should be material for discussion not suppression. Over a year before, the bishop had said 'we were at an impasse'; 'this seems to us to be a matter requiring further discussion' they now, belatedly, replied.

Slowly, the tension dissolved. When he could do so without appearing to be driven out, Nurser left. Later, Laurence resigned his canonry but retained his archdeaconry. Only Davis remained.

Throughout, publicity and the press were actively courted: Jackson's collusion with the *Church Times*; the leaking to *Private Eye* of his letter to the canons; his readiness to hold press-conferences.<sup>5</sup> The bishop was anxious to establish confidentiality during the visitation; he failed to achieve it, and even found a television crews had been admitted to the cloister.<sup>6</sup> Throughout, the travails of Lincoln were national news. This seemed to the deans and provosts collectively to endanger all cathedrals and made Lincoln the immediate catalyst of the Howe commission.

### *The complaints of three deans*

The reported utterances of three deans, Fiennes, Beeson, and Lang, contributed to the perception of cathedrals as in need for change.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 331; 332

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 504

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 507

<sup>4</sup> Money collected in Australia was conveyed to England through her bank-account. Hardy 1990, 229

<sup>5</sup> Also below, 201.

<sup>6</sup> Hardy 1990, 114-7

Late in 1988 Fiennes delivered the St Hugh's Day lecture to the Greater Chapter at Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> He deprecated the freedom of the bishop to appoint to the canonries without consultation; his temptation was 'to fill a gap of a diocesan nature rather than [appoint] a person who will fit into the cathedral'. The outcome was a 'group ministry ...without any attempt to relate the members to each other, or to genuine job descriptions'; 'a recipe for disaster.' A canonry was promotion, but to a 'curate-like' status from which 'there is no escape route, no promotion pattern'. Further, the canon had a freehold 'into which he may sink, and it is this that finally destroys both the system and the man.' The abandonment of the freehold for canonries, and mandatory consultation before appointments were made, were essential. There were divergent demands for loyalty: to the *Laudum*,<sup>2</sup> and to the dean. When cathedrals were quiescent these demands 'meant little'; when they were alive they 'suddenly become important': 'the organisational structure as set out in the Statutes and by custom is almost unworkable.' Fiennes referred, without elaboration, to 'our present divisions' and to stresses, but he told his audience a suggestive story. On the day on which the use of *Series 3* was permitted, *Series 2* was first used in the cathedral; 'it was then that I sat through a very remarkable sermon...which finished "Dean Dunlop, the man of taste, rejected this service. Dean Peck, the man of prayer, rejected this service. It has remained for the present Dean to introduce it.'<sup>3</sup>

Fiennes's own frustration and his belief that the constitution of his cathedral was flawed were evident; the lecture was printed.

In 1991 Beeson preached before the University of Oxford. His sermon was also printed and his lament similar to Fiennes's: 'the cathedrals of England occupy a strategic position in the church's engagement with the secular world'. Consequent pressures - raised popular expectations, visitors, financial needs - stretched 'statutes, customs, traditions, and people' 'to breaking point' and an 'inherited organisation is often quite unsuitable'. Withal '[t]he priority of the spiritual, the intellectual and the pastoral must be maintained.' To achieve this, the clergy should cease to be 'amateur financiers and shop-keepers'; and lay administrators and accountants should be admitted to full capitular responsibility.

A dean was subject to 'checks and balances' 'and any leadership he may feel driven to give...can be stultified at any time by an adverse vote in Chapter.'<sup>4</sup> But '[e]ffective leadership and management' was needed to protect cathedrals from 'the millstone' of the 'maverick and the indolent'. And, if collaboration and the winning of arguments were necessary, so also was 'a more effective balance of responsibility.'

Appointments were a linked problem. The Crown's, he thought, showed 'a great deal of care'; but to bishops, canonries were a tempting reward for diocesan worthies, for able clerics in unsuitable positions, for diocesan officers. 'The question of whether or not such men have anything to contribute

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<sup>1</sup> Fiennes 1988

<sup>2</sup> See glossary

<sup>3</sup> Preached by Rutter.

<sup>4</sup> Cf Fiennes 1988: 'the Dean as "Primus inter pares" has much responsibility and no authority.'

to the mission of the cathedral, or are capable of working as a team, is rarely asked.' Consultation and the capitular right of veto should become mandatory. The freehold inhibited movement, 'sometimes well beyond the point at which [deans or canons] can make a useful contribution to the work of the cathedral.' He advocated leases long enough for a canon to 'absorb [the traditions] and make a substantial contribution'; thereafter a dean or canon could move to new work 'with satisfaction and dignity.'<sup>1</sup>

A year later, John Lang, the Dean of Lichfield,<sup>2</sup> addressing the Cathedrals Choirs Association, reported that his first years at Lichfield had been 'the unhappiest of my whole working life.' But 'my colleagues and I overcame our difficulties' and by the time of his speech he thought himself, he claimed, 'the luckiest man alive', such were the 'extraordinary possibilities' of the post and 'the talent and dedication of the people he worked with.' Some cathedrals were 'full of anxieties and frustrations', places where 'deeply destructive forces may be at work.' At a cathedral where the dean and the bishops were at loggerheads, or where the chapter were quarrelling, 'trouble and unhappiness' throughout the institution was almost certain. The freehold was 'an anachronism'; no one now 'has a right to that kind of job protection'; he would willingly surrender his own. At Lichfield there was talk of 'the secrets of the chapter':<sup>3</sup> 'a lot of nonsense': there were none beyond the discretion necessary in any well-run business. He had been told the head-verger was 'nosey' about the chapter; but there was no staff meeting and the head-verger did not know, as he needed to, what lay ahead.

The notion of 'servants', and of the chapter as 'a class on their own', was 'preposterous'. Cathedrals were not colleges with members and servants but 'enterprises' with specific goals which were known to all and towards which all were working. If the chapter saw the cathedral as an enterprise, then the members saw themselves as 'having a job like everyone else' and asked what the enterprise seeks to achieve'; servants became 'trusted colleagues as able or more than themselves'; they should be taken into confidence and encouraged to engage in the planning. '[W]e are due for reform,' Lang concluded; in the reform, they should seek 'to retain what is good and to change what is bad for the better.'

Much that Lang said may have been sensible. But to speak thus to the Cathedral Choirs Association, on an occasion reported by the church press, revealed an apparently low esteem for capitular harmony, and an unconcealed disdain for his colleagues and for his cathedral's institutions. Lichfield was a quiet cathedral of modest attainments.<sup>4</sup> A member of the chapter in those years considered that Lang arrived at a provincial cathedral expecting of it the standards and methods of a senior officer of the BBC, adding that he was never an easy colleague.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Beeson 1991

<sup>2</sup> CT 15 May 1992, 9

<sup>3</sup> At installation the dean and residentiaries declared 'I will not reveal the secrets of the chapter.' Lichfield Statutes, Schedule B, 20f.

<sup>4</sup> Eg in 1992 Lichfield ranked 26th in order of visitors; of cathedrals with impressive buildings only Ripon and Southwell were lower. H&R 223

<sup>5</sup> WJ Turner

The troubles at the cathedrals described above were an acknowledged 'immediate stimulus' for the request for a commission.<sup>1</sup> The three deans' utterances intensified the climate for reform, the more so because none was from a cathedral attracting untoward publicity when they spoke.

#### *A wider context*

The government was intolerant of intermediate agencies. 'There is no such thing as society', the dictum of the Prime Minister, was implemented by the demolition of the structures by which public institutions had been administered.<sup>2</sup> public-spirited men and women were supplanted by businessmen and accountants whose expertise, it was said, equipped them, better than professionals and socially responsive representatives of the community, to run institutions. Chapters, with only limited lay advice and without lay votes, could scarcely fail to attract disapprobation.<sup>3</sup> Evaluation, openness, accountability, transparency, became vogue-words. Chapters, reluctant to publish their accounts and secretive, were dissenters; their procedures exposed them to dangers.

Thus the social, economic, and political climate was conducive to reform.

So was the ecclesiastical climate. A new archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, was evangelical, and, fashionably, in the age of 'conviction politics', 'convinced'. He was disposed to introduce managerial structures into church administration.<sup>4</sup> As he took office, the church was frequently said to be in disarray.<sup>5</sup> The response under Carey was the development of a new episcopal resolve to corporate action; there was a new emphasis on the collegiality of the episcopate, on the uniformity of action of the *House* – a word suggestive of a will for cohesive action in the Synod - of bishops. Modifications to the parochial system had eroded the clerical freehold; a consequence was a stronger episcopal grip within each diocese. Cathedrals ill-fitted this climate of increased episcopal power: '[t]here is I believe some probably unconscious anger at cathedrals on the part of bishops, because the major church in their dioceses is not 'theirs'...the bishop not only feels that he has no control - he actually has not.'<sup>6</sup>

#### *Moves towards reform*

Collaboration among cathedrals was still unofficial and limited. The deans' meetings were only of deans; those attending had no formal authority to speak for their chapters. Provosts were admitted late.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, 1f.

<sup>2</sup> Eg changes in the health service, local authority roles in education, the UGC.

<sup>3</sup> Point made by Arnold

<sup>4</sup> The Church Commissioners were reformed; the Archbishops' Council established a new managerial hierarchy. Briefly Robbins, 1998, 451f

<sup>5</sup> For the grievances of some, see GV Bennett, *Crockford Preface* 1987, reprinted in Bennett 1988

<sup>6</sup> Carr email

<sup>7</sup> GE Gordon claimed to have been invited to join the deans only once. CA 1968, 449. Lewers, letter: 'It was not long since Provosts were admitted to the august company'; 'they soon established themselves however, and became officers of the conference.'

The fabrics of the buildings were an imperative: disbursements from the public purse were essential, but 'could be a major threat to our independence', especially if 'on English Heritage terms'.<sup>1</sup> But, reluctantly, the deans acquiesced; submission to the Cathedrals Measure, 1990, deprived the chapters of 'sole responsibility for their cathedrals'.<sup>2</sup>

A number of deans and provosts<sup>3</sup> foresaw demands for investigation, and viewed without relish the possibility of enquiry by the Synod; a working party was set up, chaired by Carr. From it emerged the Association of English Cathedrals, but 'the deans on the whole were not enamoured of the thought of an overarching body with authority to represent them', and the Association was at first strictly confined to dealing with English Heritage, to which no response should go unless every cathedral chapter had been consulted. But slowly, the cathedrals, finding the arrangement advantageous, came to trust it, and the agenda of the meetings widened.<sup>4</sup>

The deans continued to fear investigation, whether by Synodical motion or even by Royal Commission. In October 1990, when the deans and provosts met, Beeson and DL Edwards emphasised that 'there is at the moment one subject above all others claiming attention, namely the crisis at Lincoln and its implications for the rest of us'; 'it is obvious', Beeson reflected, 'that if the cathedrals do not put their houses in order others will press reforms upon us...The cathedrals have few friends in the General Synod, where they are seen as non-conforming, uncontrollable elements in the church's life, and some will see these public scandals as a golden opportunity to bring us to order.'<sup>5</sup>

The deans and provosts remained conscious of pressures: the relations of bishops and chapters; and the 'political question': 'how we evaluate the present climate. If there are various bodies with an interest in cathedrals (legitimate or not)...[they are] unlikely to be satisfied with any approach that appears to ignore them.'<sup>6</sup>

A further working party, again chaired by Carr, emerged.<sup>7</sup> It discussed the benefits of an Archbishops' Commission. That would have public credibility and 'would also be a means of giving proper weight to the needs and ideas of those being investigated'. A Royal Commission apart, it alone would possess an authority which might make possible some discussion of patronage with the Crown. Thus they were agreed on recommending a commission. But a request for a commission 'would need to derive authority from some source': the deans and provosts conference represented not the cathedrals but its members; but their recent creation, the Association of English Cathedrals,<sup>8</sup> they believed, had established itself as possessing 'sufficient authority to authorise a commission on their

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<sup>1</sup> Carr 2006; also Moses 2007

<sup>2</sup> Beeson, 1997, 74

<sup>3</sup> Carr, Dickinson, Furnell

<sup>4</sup> Carr 2006

<sup>5</sup> Beeson 1997, 95

<sup>6</sup> D&P Second Report, 6, 3-5

<sup>7</sup> H&R, 2; Beeson 1997, 96

<sup>8</sup> Hereafter AEC; see glossary



behalf.' 'We therefore recommend that the Conference of Deans and Provosts formally invites the AEC to set up a commission'.

The Association was therefore instructed 'to consult with the Archbishops and the Secretary-General of the General Synod with a view to the setting up of a Commission': there was one dissentient<sup>1</sup> and one abstention- 'a considerable achievement of consensus from 42 independent corporations, and, it may be added, a sign of their sense of urgency.'<sup>2</sup> In order to expedite the decision the Association in turn formed a working party<sup>3</sup> which suggested that the commission's task was:

To examine the work of the English Cathedrals in the following areas and, if necessary, propose such legislative changes as may be required for their continuing to contribute to the ministry and mission of the church in the 21st century.<sup>4</sup>

### *Setting up a commission*

Before the Church Assembly existed, enquiries were made by Royal Commissions.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, the Assembly authorized enquiries: it instigated the cathedral commissions presided over by Lang and Williams. With the Chadwick Commission<sup>6</sup> came a change. Although the consequence of a resolution of the Church Assembly, the report was 'of the Archbishops' Commission'; others followed.<sup>7</sup> Such a commission, analogous to a Royal Commission, was a 'useful concept': it reported to the archbishops and so was not immediately 'enveloped' in 'synodical process'; it did not run immediately into the 'stand off' between the houses of clergy and laity on the one hand and of bishops on the other. It allayed the deans' and provosts' fears of unfriendly investigation, and nervousness of synodical enquiry.<sup>8</sup>

The construction of the Commission was 'largely' Mawer's work<sup>9</sup> His position 'enable[d] things to happen'. He worked 'in consultation with myself and Archbishop John Habgood and the chair of the Dean's Conference'.<sup>10</sup> Mawer recalled that he wrote a paper before meeting the archbishops. His usual practice was to offer alternative names, and, although he does not recall this occasion, he assumes that he did so. He also consulted the cathedrals concerning the assembling of the commission. And he had 'slots to fill'- not simply the striking of a balance, for instance between the two provinces, but, if 'something useful' were to emerge, finding 'people with skills'. There were 'constituencies' to be represented; but 'people with no hinterland were useful' in ensuring 'forward movement' and 'getting an outcome.' Mawer emphasised the importance of the archbishops'

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<sup>1</sup> Evans of St Pauls (GS, 1994, 578 )

<sup>2</sup> Carr email

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 2.

<sup>4</sup> For the areas proposed see Appendix 3, 3

<sup>5</sup> The Selborne Commission on Church and State (1916) was the last.

<sup>6</sup> *Church and State* 1970

<sup>7</sup> *Faith in the City* (1985); *Faith in the Countryside* (1990)

<sup>8</sup> This paragraph Mawer, except where otherwise noted.

<sup>9</sup> Carey letter

<sup>10</sup> Carey letter

suggestions; as instances he cited Lewis, proposed by Carey, and Sheppard by Habgood. Carey added that a 'proper balance' was important: 'between Deans and Synod reps; Bishops and other clergy etc.' He also emphasised 'there was certainly no impropriety in the formation (i.e. political coercion or pressure from the Church traditions.)' The letter from the archbishops inviting potential members to join spoke of the desire for a 'strong commission', including a broad spectrum of expertise such as history, theology, architecture, finance, tourism, 'and so forth' together with representation of the bishops and of chapters; assessors would provide 'specialised knowledge and advice'.<sup>1</sup>

An Archbishops' Commission, with its resonances of a Royal Commission, permitted the search for such a chairman of the standing the Deans and Provosts had desired.<sup>2</sup> The appointment of Lady Howe was the outcome.

### *The working of the Commission*

Between July 1992 and 1994 the commissioners met eleven times; they sought written and oral evidence;<sup>3</sup> they divided themselves into sub-commissions, each of which visited a group of cathedrals for week-ends; they formed working parties which considered tourism and finance.<sup>4</sup> Their report is the most detailed and wide ranging of the three commissions. Their terms of reference are given in Appendix 3; 4.<sup>5</sup>

### *The findings of the sub-commissions*

The memoranda of the sub-commissions ('Notes for the Record') offer insights into the minds of those whom the commissioners met.<sup>6</sup>

#### *i. The bishops*

Some bishops mentioned the Roman Catholic model,<sup>7</sup> whether to dismiss it;<sup>8</sup> or, a few, to commend it. Carey, although not advocating it, approvingly reported a Roman priest whose 'key point' was that the separation of cathedrals from their bishops was 'foreign to Roman catholic theology'.<sup>9</sup> Waine thought the Commission would want to 'look at' the Roman model; Rogerson that the independence of the cathedral was 'detrimental'; if the bishop were dean the diocese would 'relate better'.

But few bishops sought direct control of their cathedrals; a majority, however, wanted stronger links, and greater authority over them. Many believed the cathedral should be incorporated within the

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<sup>1</sup> Commission papers

<sup>2</sup> Mawer

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 206-219

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 204f

<sup>5</sup> H&R, 1

<sup>6</sup> Unless another source is given; the following sections depend on these notes

<sup>7</sup> See glossary

<sup>8</sup> Eg Sheppard; Jenkins

<sup>9</sup> Note of meeting of Commission and Archbishop

diocesan synodical structure. Harland, arguing from Roman Catholic incomprehension, thought that the cathedral should be within that structure, and should be 'a major resource allied to the Bishop's mission'.<sup>1</sup> Turnbull observed that in the diocese the bishop was synodical; because the cathedral was not, he had difficulty in incorporating it 'in a living way into what is happening in the diocese.' Such themes – their own want of any real influence, the detachment of the cathedral from the diocese, the lack of synodical accountability - recur in the episcopal evidence. Thompson at Exeter struck a note of particular disenchantment: within the cathedral there was a 'culture of separation' from the diocese; the cathedral was 'insulated' from 'realities'; there was no sense of sharing in the mission of the diocese; it needed to discover its mission. At Ely, the bishop<sup>2</sup> thought geographical isolation and the 'stress' induced by the intensity of their own close proximity within the small city made the chapter defensive about precedents, difficulties, and slights of protocol. Westwood employed the hyperbole of a popular broadcaster: the structure of chapters and the decision making process were 'loaded entirely in the way of obstruction and negation', 'for the most part devised by the Devil in order to hinder Christian work.'

Other bishops felt uneasy in their cathedrals: Baughen, although welcome, was always aware that he was a guest. Nott acknowledged 'tensions' between himself and the chapter at Norwich; he did not always agree with the way the cathedral was run, but felt that he should not criticise but support.

A number of bishops continued to think visitation important, though most wished to modify its procedures. Harland thought the chapter ought to be accountable to the bishop as visitor, but that *qua* visitor he should be the 'bishop in council'. Turnbull thought visitation should be supplemented by annual reviews; Hope and Kemp desired the power to direct rather than merely to recommend. Some were uneasy; to Thompson visitation was 'not satisfactory', it needed 'sensitive handling'. Unsurprisingly, for Baker 'historic' visitation was 'outmoded', and Hardy felt the role made him judicial rather than pastoral.

A few bishops were anxious not to encroach upon their cathedrals: Harries was 'opposed to the tyranny of bishops'; at Christ Church there were checks which were 'suitable'; Oliver desired no increase in the bishop's powers because people were suspicious of bishops; Mayfield valued a 'healthy degree of independence' for cathedrals and feared that, if all appointments were leasehold, 'he would be able to interfere too much.'

Two bishops were dismissive of their cathedrals. Lunn denounced the 1931 measure as 'disastrous'. 'Are cathedrals needed at all?' he asked. He did not desire to take a lead at his cathedral, its closure would not at all affect the diocese or the parishes; it had 'no interaction' with either. Graham did not like the cathedral to appear to be 'privileged' against other churches, either as the 'mother church' or as the base for his ministry and teaching: privilege encouraged unhealthy attitudes concerning precedence and the assertion of rights.

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<sup>1</sup> See also 78 below

<sup>2</sup> S. Sykes

Most bishops felt that their cathedrals were constitutionally flawed. The belief that power was wrongly entrusted to a handful of men was widespread. Baughen thought 'the power of the Dean and canons is terrifying in its potential for misuse, and no other group in the Church of England seems to have such power...without checks and balances. This must not be so any more.' Some added that the independence of individual members of the chapter was a fault. Mayfield thought it wrong that the cathedral should be free to have no council or lay advice.

Most bishops favoured the introduction of some kind of lease, or the imposition of a fixed term, to the appointments of canons, some included deans, a few extended it to bishops.<sup>1</sup>

There was some unease about the power of the Crown. At Ely, S. Sykes described the appointment of his dean as 'brokered by Downing Street', without any 'open consultation'; efforts at 'team building', in such circumstances, were 'futile'. Nott was 'happy with' the help which came from Downing Street in a recent canonical appointment but concerned about the exclusive right of the Crown to appoint the dean: consideration should be given to the way in which the cathedral should develop; the Crown should consult the bishop more.

Some bishops emphasised the value of their cathedrals. Wells was a source of 'great spiritual strength' to the bishop, there was 'a great sense of unity between him and the cathedral clergy'. Mayfield's chapter supported his ministry; he was happy that it should have a 'healthy degree of independence'; it should be a centre of excellence. For Habgood the canonries were an opportunity: they should go to able men who would not get university appointments; some earlier mediocre appointments had been lost opportunities. The Minster should be a place of scholarship and a spiritual resource. It had a ministry to the 'unchurched', a fact which should exercise upon its worship a conservative influence, a predisposition toward the familiar.

It will be observed that most of the criticisms came from the ancient cathedrals, where the bishop's influence was least. Men who have risen to the top of their profession and are accustomed to influence, and even power, when invited to criticise institutions largely outside their control, are unlikely to remain silent.

## *ii. The chapters*

The commissioners met chapters corporately and the members individually; their testimony differs less from that of the bishops than might be expected. Carr was most disposed to defend the status quo. The cathedral was the church of the dean and chapter, and the 'model' worked well: the personnel of the chapter were of a high quality and ideas were generated. He resisted the idea that the laity were inherently better at, for instance, finance than the clergy. He also favoured the freehold.

Some cathedrals were aware that their relations with the bishop were uneasy. At Birmingham Berry thought that the bishop, Santer, saw the cathedral as a parish church which became a cathedral only when he was present. He felt isolated; he 'faced a lot of opposition emanating from the bishop and

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<sup>1</sup> Eg Ely, Hereford

felt very frustrated'; he had little support from the canons, who had diocesan appointments; his own interfaith work provoked 'strong opposition in parts of the diocese'. At Exeter the chapter bemoaned the disinclination of the bishop, unlike some of his predecessors, to use the cathedral as his devotional base; they were conscious that he was 'greatly separated from the life of the chapter'. It was felt to be a weakness at Chichester that the bishop, although frequently seen by members of the chapter, did not worship regularly in the cathedral. At Norwich, like their bishop, the chapter acknowledged 'significant tensions' between themselves and him. Almost inevitably, at Salisbury the chapter were defensive: the visitation had been 'badly handled', the bishop had been 'poorly advised', and, they were convinced, 'this particular mechanism for assessment is most unsatisfactory.'

Problems within chapters were also revealed. At two cathedrals canons were judged to have stayed too long. At Ely one was 'entrenched', leading the dean to reflect on the loss of status facing a canon returning to a parish. At Hereford the bishop thought one canon underemployed, the dean said he had refused all offers, he himself professed a desire for more work and was 'frustrated and angry' with his colleagues who, he said, resisted his requests. At Guildford a canon felt that the dean effectively ran the cathedral, the consequence was disharmony and great unhappiness and at Wakefield, what one canon called 'the provost's dominating style' and another his 'volatility' belied his lip-service to corporate action. At Southwell the provost, thought by one witness to be insufficiently firm, was trapped between rancorous canons. One would not speak to him directly; meetings with the two canons present were just possible, but the conflict was liable to blaze out, embarrassingly in the presence of members of the laity. At Lincoln, then in full travail, the dean contrasted his position with his previous status as provost of Bradford. There, he had 'authority to do the job', his relations with the canons were defined, he proceeded by consensus, he had a pastoral role; at Lincoln he had no authority, there was no mission strategy, and no staff. His own dogmatism emerges in his revelation that, although pressed to allow the St Hugh's Missioner<sup>1</sup> to use the cathedral, he had refused as 'he did not agree with the views of the present incumbent'. Jackson's isolation is suggested by the Precentor's opinion that, despite 'certain gifts', he was wrong for Lincoln,<sup>2</sup> where neither cathedral nor diocese favoured his evangelical style, and by the fact that the bishop had not appointed his chosen candidate to the precentorship.

There was a, perhaps unexpected, readiness to abandon the freehold. Resistance - Carr, FJ Hawkins, an unnamed canon at St Paul's - is rare. Some foresaw problems as the end of a lease approached, others felt that leases should become common only as they became widespread in the wider church. But most appeared to accept that non-freehold appointments should become the norm, certainly for canons, and, some thought, for deans also. Few of those interviewed were themselves subject to such limits.

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<sup>1</sup> A diocesan evangelistic officer

<sup>2</sup> The opinion also of the chapter clerk, a lay witness.

The freehold created problems at some cathedrals. Indeed, at Chester, the bishop claimed, in correspondence a canon had agreed a limit before appointment, but this condition was not incorporated in his legal mandate, and the canon now ignored it. Baughen thought that leases were sufficient for canons; they should rarely be renewable, so as to avoid the 'sedimentary effect' of canons remaining too long. A canon at Liverpool had been appointed on the understanding that he would perform certain educational duties in the diocese. There had, however, been a 'difference of perception' about his diocesan work, which he no longer performed. The chapter were concerned at the loss of a link between the diocese and the cathedral.

Chapters were wary of mechanisms for accountability. JA Simpson, although apparently acquiescent, confessed that he would find a governing body a restriction. The prospect of accountability to the diocese or the bishop was greeted without enthusiasm by Treadgold: it would be a 'pity'; Rone preferred a council to the diocesan synod.

Some within cathedrals knew that their historic structures were being found wanting. Shotter thought the lack of executive authority made for a 'very unstable management structure'. He deplored the fact that canons were not accountable to the dean, who, he suggested, in turn should be accountable to the bishop, thereby strengthening the relationship with the diocese. He was eager to 'remove the effective veto of each canon.' Others made similar points. The precentor of Chichester thought there was a need for a greater executive authority, and that the chapter should be viewed as a team in which the members had specific work. At Liverpool, two canons thought the cathedral had problems arising from defective management structures.

### *iii. The laity*

Lay representatives saw similar weaknesses. The lack of diocesan involvement was noted at Lichfield; the secretary of the Diocesan Board of Finance observed that to the problems created by the geographical location of the cathedral should be added the fact that, although the value of the dean's work in the cathedral was acknowledged, 'it was well known that he had no commitment to synodical government': there was no representation of the cathedral on the synod, and no financial relationship between the cathedral and diocese. Lichfield was far from uniquely the focus of such criticism.

The lay representatives of some of the cathedrals which had recently experienced scandals were critical of chapter management. At Exeter, the chapter clerk described the administration he entered as 'a mess'; either there had been an 'unwillingness to grasp the nettle' or a 'lack of knowledge': the 'situation was out of hand' and the clergy 'would not let those who knew how to, deal with it.' The problem of the head verger<sup>1</sup> was 'the easiest to resolve'.

The lay officers at St Paul's were unanimous that the financial troubles of the chapter had been due to inefficient administration and indecision. There had been no financial controls and therefore no accountability; weak appointments to administrative offices, and weak personnel and management

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<sup>1</sup> See 53 above

skills accentuated the problems. Despite improvements, the chapter still 'tended to luxuriate in discussion'; the need to 'sharpen up' decision making and to review the use of time remained. The 'financial acumen' of the canon treasurer was crucial.<sup>1</sup> There was a feeling that the Court of Governors, whose members were prominent in the City, was insufficiently used: a member thought the court did not 'really work': its advice was 'not hard edged enough.' She thought also that the chapter was 'not geared up to manage business'; it needed more city-advice; its processes were dilatory: it worked by consensus, was 'slow to decide'. The 'perception' was of five disparate personalities going in different directions; there was no strategic plan.

The organists of a number of cathedrals voiced anxieties. Colin Walsh at Lincoln reported that the lay-vicars, who took a pride in the cathedral, were 'underrated by the dean'; he was surprised to find their future and that of the choir school announced by Jackson in a sermon; a school manager himself, he was unaware of any discussion. Richard Seal at Salisbury was reported to have had a nervous breakdown the previous year owing to the additional work required by the girls' choir.<sup>2</sup>

Capitular autonomy did not escape. At Chichester, the Duke of Richmond reported that a tapestry had been put into the retro-choir 'with no forum for discussion'; another layman bemoaned a lack of consultation with the congregation about 'new ideas' in general.

These visits, if short, were intense; the snap-shots they afforded allowed the commissioners to glimpse cathedrals from a wide variety of points of view. Certain themes were sounded, some repeatedly. How greatly their visits influenced their deliberations is apparent from the recommendations of the report.

### *The Report*

The commissioners prided themselves on placing mission foremost; administrative reforms were vehicles to advance it, education and music its ancillaries. The cathedral's essence was to be the 'seat of the bishop and a centre of worship and mission.'<sup>3</sup> It could not live in independence of the bishop, 'the symbol of the unitary nature of Christ's mission to the world';<sup>4</sup> its mission and strategy should be part of the diocesan strategy. Prevailing arrangements 'do not always express ...coherently...that the cathedral is the bishop's church', often his involvement was 'personal and episodic, rather than structural'. Therefore his status required fresh consideration and his approval 'should play a crucial role as the setting for the cathedral's strategic contribution to the diocese.'

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<sup>1</sup> Expectations at St Paul's could be high. Once, the canon treasurer was questioned about the cathedral's accounts in the new Greater Council - by Mr Eddie George. (Moses, 2007)

<sup>2</sup> Assistant organist, to sub-commission. Seal's exhaustion does not indicate disinclination: he was the instigator of girls' voices in cathedral choirs. Mould, 268

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 4; the words taken from the Care of Cathedrals Measure 1990

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 4

The independence of cathedrals 'perpetuates practices...[eg] the maintenance of property rights...which no longer have relevance to their mission.'<sup>1</sup> Independence was, however, important: cathedrals had regional or national functions and responsibilities; but independence must be redirected to 'use it better towards the general ministry of the church'; it must be 'practical rather than an ideological', must be within 'a structure which involves precise accountability.'<sup>2</sup> The alterations they proposed assumed the priority of episcopal and diocesan strategy. Further, the relationship with the bishop and the diocese should be expressed in involvement in local ecumenism, in synodical representation, in 'regularised financial contributions to the diocese'.<sup>3</sup>

They looked for ways to create a relationship of 'interdependence' and inter-dependability.

They discounted the Roman model: the bishop lacked the time directly to preside over the cathedral, and interdependence 'might lose focus.' They proposed to incorporate the bishop in a way 'designed to show that his jurisdiction extends over the cathedral and its clergy, yet leaves them independent in the practical conduct of the cathedral's operation.' 'It also introduces an important new element of accountability.'<sup>4</sup>

To accomplish this, they devised a Cathedral Greater Council, of which the bishop would be the chairman. He and the dean would confer concerning its agenda, and he had the patronage of certain categories of representative: he was required to consult the dean and the administrative chapter concerning these; the report does not say that their agreement was necessary.<sup>5</sup> The bishop 'should be available' to give advice to the dean informally, and he should be consulted about 'strategy, policy, plans and major developments or other critical matters' concerning the cathedral, and its relations with the diocese or wider community.<sup>6</sup> The 'quasi-legal' procedure of visitation could not be abolished but should be needed less frequently. Its harder legal edge should be blunted: in pastoral cases by the establishing of a 'review' group, in legal cases by delegation to his chancellor.<sup>7</sup>

The Greater Council<sup>8</sup> was analogous with a University Council. Its and the chapter's spheres were distinct: the council's duty was to give advice; the chapter's to initiate proposals for overall direction and mission; the chapter would be 'legally responsible' to the council 'for the administration of the cathedral and its properties'.

The Council would approve the new statutes and future amendments, advise on long term policy, receive the annual budget plan, approve the annual report and accounts. It could call for a report from the Administrative Chapter on any matter concerning the cathedral and it could petition for the removal of a dean or a member of chapter. 'A major task' was 'to ensure that the plans and

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, 6

<sup>2</sup> H&R, 6

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 8

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 13

<sup>5</sup> H&R, 61f

<sup>6</sup> H&R, 66

<sup>7</sup> H&R, 66f.

<sup>8</sup> H&R, 60ff



objectives of the cathedral and the diocese complemented and supported one another.' The membership should 'reflect the different communities of interest which the cathedral exists to serve'. They should include representatives of the Administrative Chapter; elected representatives of the Cathedral community, the College of Canons, 'the wider diocese', the local community. Members 'would normally be communicant Anglicans'; the requirement was not absolute since ecumenical representation was desirable.<sup>1</sup>

The members of the Administrative Chapter<sup>2</sup> 'share responsibility for the spiritual life of the cathedral'; they were its managing body, and the dean, the residentiary canons, the Administrator, its 'executive group.' At least three 'independent members' would 'bring additional expertise and an external perspective' to its deliberations; one at least should be lay; the bishop would appoint after consultation with the Greater Council, and with the consent of the dean.'

The Greater Council<sup>3</sup> should approve the size and composition of the Administrative Chapter. With the bishop, it should secure a size which would 'ensure efficient decision making': 'there must be a balance between inside and outside'; the 'breadth of traditions within the Church' should be reflected.

The College of Canons, which replaced the former greater chapter,<sup>4</sup> would consist of all canons, clerical and lay, residentiary and honorary. It retained the 'purely formal' responsibility of electing a new bishop, and would elect two representatives to the Cathedral Council. Beyond that, the Commission resorted to aspiration. The sole real function of the college was to elect the bishop. Earlier commissions had depicted honorary canons as links with the diocese; now the Council was the principal link; the College of Canons existed because, not especially representative of the diocese, it was a legal necessity.

The Commission 'very much hope' the dean would be a member of the bishop's staff. He would be chairman of the Administrative Chapter and a member of the Greater Council; '[i]n lay terms he is the 'executive chairman'. In the chapter he would have a 'casting vote'.<sup>5</sup> Votes would bind members to the collective decision. With the dean, the residentiary canons<sup>6</sup> are at the heart of the spiritual life of the cathedral'; 'expected to worship, to teach and preach, to pastor and to serve.' They might have 'management tasks' in the cathedral and possibly 'substantial diocesan responsibilities'. '[T]wo full time canons is the irreducible minimum', together with the dean and other lay or clerical staff.

These changes were the heart of a new constitutional structure. Historical differences, they argued, lacked 'contemporary justification'; had 'ceased to meet contemporary needs': an inflexible legislative framework discouraged adaptation; independence could create 'an unacceptable gap between cathedral and diocese'; the authority which reposed in office holders was frequently

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, 61f

<sup>2</sup> H&R, 63f

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 60-62

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 62f

<sup>5</sup> H&R, 64

<sup>6</sup> H&R, 64

unaccompanied by accountability; 'paralysis and embarrassment ensue'.<sup>1</sup> The Commission therefore proposed a bonfire of the constitutionally obsolescent. A new 'model framework' was needed, 'supportive of achieving the desired roles and relationships', especially bridging gaps between the cathedral and the diocese; and it must be transparent: it should be clear to all, who was responsible for what, and to whom. The new framework should enable cathedrals 'to fulfil their many roles in the most efficient way possible', and be accountable: those with authority would be 'answerable for their use of it' and responsive to changing needs.

This, they claimed, would avoid 'existing deficiencies', yet was based on 'what is best' in these structures.<sup>2</sup>

A 'single broad system of governance for all cathedrals' could be flexibly adapted to suit local circumstances. The Commissioners' desire was 'to simplify and clarify existing organisation wherever possible'; their proposals would, they said, make arrangements for running cathedrals more easily understood both by insiders and outsiders, and would identify where responsibility and accountability lay.

Thus the distinction between 'dean and chapter' and 'parish church' cathedrals related to no 'contemporary feature of their role'; 'a new uniform model of cathedral organisation' would be established. The change would be symbolised in the use everywhere of the title dean.<sup>3</sup>

All existing cathedral statutes were jettisoned. Those statutes, they argued, had already undergone 'a gradual process of increasing central regulation and some degree of standardisation': a process reflecting the 'generally held view' that cathedrals and their governance were not purely local and internal but matters for the Church and the nation. The Measure of 1963 had required 'certain basic provisions' and allowed a 'degree of flexibility' concerning detail. The consequence was a mass of details, mostly untouched since 1963.<sup>4</sup> Now each cathedral would clothe a new skeleton.

Many cathedrals had already moved towards more professional management. Administrative improvement<sup>5</sup> exercised the Commission as much as constitutional reform. Expertise was likely to be lay; therefore a 'structure of accountability' would need to contemplate the relation of staff to the dean and chapter, membership of decision making bodies by senior staff, perhaps canonical status for them. Cathedrals would thus become a 'microcosm of the whole church', making 'maximum use of talent and ability' for 'the advance of the Kingdom.'

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, 57f

<sup>2</sup> H&R, 58

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 58ff

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 69

<sup>5</sup> H&R, 8f

Concerning 'Management Structure and Process'<sup>1</sup> they began by asserting that '[t]o adapt the methods appropriate in the management of enterprises in the secular world to the conduct of ecclesiastical institutions is not, in itself, a secularising undertaking.'

Some cathedrals were large organisations; all could benefit from 'current management thinking in public, commercial, and other sectors.' Already, cathedrals were 'increasingly professionalised', though the commissioners' visits suggested an 'uneven pattern of responsiveness' to modern practice, and, at some, 'management styles' were 'underdeveloped or even inappropriate to the ends sought.'

The mixture of clerical and lay, of paid and volunteer, made urgent the need for sensitivity to spiritual and vocational aspects as well as to 'sound financial and personnel considerations.' Lay expertise, '[v]iewed as ministry', was most effective, and therefore evangelistic, when professional skills were of the highest quality and were used most efficiently, measured by 'a scale of excellence which the secular world of business and enterprise would recognise.'

In a Christian institution, 'the right management structure becomes not an adjunct to the function of the cathedral, but something very near to its essential purpose.' At almost all cathedrals managerial improvements were possible. And, with the finances of most cathedrals 'finely balanced', 'the case for a close reconsideration, by each cathedral, of more efficient and effective use of resources is incontrovertible.'<sup>2</sup>

In the management structure, the Administrative Chapter<sup>3</sup> was fundamental: 'members should properly see themselves as the ecclesiastical equivalent of a board of directors', responsible for overall policy concerning management and administration and for superintending execution. The dean<sup>4</sup> should be 'unambiguous[ly]...head of the management structure', the 'executive chairman'; he should have 'sufficient authority' to 'exercise efficient leadership'. The residentiary canons<sup>5</sup> were accountable for decisions of chapter as whole, and for personal delegated responsibilities; 'in secular terms' they had responsibilities in 'executive line management responsibility'. Historic titles which might imply a responsibility which the holder had not been given should be abandoned 'in order to clarify the actual arrangements for management'.<sup>6</sup>

The 'increasing complexity' of a cathedral's work had already led many cathedrals to create the post of Lay Administrator;<sup>7</sup> 'efficient and effective management' required all cathedrals to have one, its occupant 'having the status of a residentiary canon'. 'Good financial management' they asserted, 'sustains all the practical activities of a cathedral.' The Administrator should have direct responsibility for finance except where a suitably equipped and experienced canon could act. The head of finance

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, ch7

<sup>2</sup> H&R, 75f

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 76f

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 77f

<sup>5</sup> H&R, 78f

<sup>6</sup> Some of their witnesses made this point: eg Woodcock (Exeter) thought the title 'Treasurer' misleading when applied to a canon.

<sup>7</sup> H&R, 79f

should be a qualified accountant and should attend all chapter meetings at which finance was discussed. The Commission attached high importance to proper accounting procedures;<sup>1</sup> many cathedrals were not using 'best current professional accounting.' The accounts constituted an important part of 'exercising improved accountability' and they should be the basis of effective financial planning and control. They should also be published and easily available locally.<sup>2</sup>

Most cathedrals, they believed, would benefit from changes to managerial structure.<sup>3</sup> Each should 'review its structure, following the principles indicated here'. But, 'the atmosphere in which a management structure operates' should reflect the fact that the cathedral served God: there was no place for 'a bureaucratic mentality'. They recommended 'walking the floor', informal contact between chapter and staff.

They turned to appointments.<sup>4</sup> Ideally, those of deans and residentiary canons should 'take...a common form': procedures for appointments of such importance should be 'readily understood' and 'the body of cathedral appointments [should be] seen and dealt with as a whole.' But the diversities of patronage<sup>5</sup> and the Crown's prerogative, forbade consistency.<sup>6</sup> They could only recommend an attempt to open discussions with the Crown 'about...the introduction of a single system of appointments to cathedral posts', and that bishops should involve the Council. They commend the practice, 'increasingly followed in...the secular world', of enabling future colleagues to comment on, and even to meet, 'leading candidates' for deaneries.<sup>7</sup>

They reviewed tenure.<sup>8</sup> They listed the disadvantages of freehold appointments, but recognised that change in cathedrals might have to be linked to changes in freehold elsewhere in church. About thirty cathedrals had some lease-hold canonries. They did not propose a uniformly leasehold system: 'a certain degree of continuity in the life of an institution' was desirable; most cathedrals needed a mixture. But all, including deans, should be 'capable of termination after a period of notice given by either party'. From the General Synod's review of freehold, they hoped, would come a reform which would enable a residentiary canon to move to 'more senior appointments' or 'into

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, 82f

<sup>2</sup> The commission found unavailability often commented on. (Notes of Record)

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 82

<sup>4</sup> H&R, chapter 8; 87-98

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix 7

<sup>6</sup> The Appointments Secretary was uncooperative: 'In view of the constitutional position of the Prime Minister in relation to the Sovereign I do not imagine that the Commission would expect to receive unsolicited views from here.' He would consider a request concerning 'points of fact'. Catford to the secretary 9 September 1992

<sup>7</sup> H&R, 87-90.

Mawer asked whether, in view of the 'narrow pyramid' of senior posts, that would endanger the 'credibility' of unsuccessful candidates. Davidson said that in secular employment it did not 'create undue problems'. They agreed to retain the suggestion adding words stressing its 'reciprocal value'. (Meeting 10; minutes)

<sup>8</sup> H&R, 93f

parochial ministry, without any sense of demotion.' Cathedral ministry, they hoped, would be seen as a 'distinct vocation' and not as 'a kind of reward or promotion.'<sup>1</sup>

Lay staff far outnumbered clerical; retaining lay loyalty was 'one of the glories' of the cathedrals.' But 'sound management of lay help' was essential; failure meant that 'God's gifts are being wasted'; and many tasks to do with worshippers and visitors, performed thus, diminished the 'effectiveness of the cathedral's mission'.<sup>2</sup>

A recurring theme in their visits was that 'the quality of personnel management in many cathedrals leaves much to be desired.'<sup>3</sup> Cathedrals appeared to be 'poor employers'; they were not making the best use of their staff's gifts; the manner of clerical employment provided little experience of the issues of employment. The report therefore set out 'principal areas' for improvement in personnel management, and details of procedures familiar in secular employment.<sup>4</sup>

They applied this to the organist:<sup>5</sup> there were 'personnel and management problems of career structure in cathedral music'. Frequently appointed young, cathedral organists had few opportunities for 'sideways movement'; long tenure of office resulted. They recommended in-service training and appraisal, and, to the consternation of the Cathedral Organists Association, suggested that contracts should include consideration of length of service.

Cathedrals depended on volunteers.<sup>6</sup> Their 'numbers, skill and dedication' impressed the commission; without them the response to visitors would be impaired. But it was paramount they made a 'positive' impression on visitors, few of whom met members of chapter but most met volunteers. They had a potential for witness: guides should set historical and architectural information 'in a Christian context', welcomers should not merely 'extract money', stewards should help the public to attend services, not simply forbid the entry of children or the unconventionally dressed. The roles assigned to volunteers therefore should be established 'with great clarity', and recruitment and training framed accordingly; characteristically, they emphasised and particularised sound management practice. Volunteers should know who was responsible for them, to whom they were accountable, to whom they had proper access.

### *The report in the Synod*

The Synod debated the report on 29 November 1994

Broad divisions emerged. The cathedral clergy were critical. Eric Evans, traditionalist, high-church, opposed innovative solutions. He had resisted setting up a commission; now he attacked the new powers proposed, 'in a very balanced church', for bishops. He opposed uniformity: 'everybody is being treated the same', but '[c]athedrals are not the same' He opposed an excess of 'discipline and

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, 14

<sup>2</sup> H&R, 101

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 101f

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 102-6

<sup>5</sup> H&R, 56

<sup>6</sup> H&R, 106-111; they counted some 9,900, H&R 101

accountability'; invoking the idiosyncratic but prophetic figure of Canon John Collins. He thought the quality of personnel would suffer; to reduce deans and canons to 'nondescript, mediocre, bureaucratic clones' 'would be contrary to the general good of the Church of England.'<sup>1</sup>

Campling welcomed a 'slightly increased' administrative chapter; but he was 'a little worried about the composition of the Council: Ripon would want the parish represented. Nor could he see why the bishop should want to chair it; the cathedral was 'not just the diocesan church'; it had 'local, a countrywide, a worldwide responsibility'.<sup>2</sup>

Arnold feared additional levels of 'accountability, structures, meetings, legislation and paperwork'. Did the proposals 'really derive from the evidence...so diligently assembled' or were they 'emanations of the political and managerial ethos of the late 1980s and early 1990s and could equally well be applied to ...the National Health Service, public utilities or the Barbican arts centre.' The report undervalued 'the human and communitarian elements in making social and religious organisms not only efficient but also effective and capable of discharging the purpose for which they exist.' The cathedrals as a religious community was underestimated in the proposals for the reform of governance. The report combined 'a realistic view of cathedrals and chapters and an idealistic view of bishops and dioceses.' 'Cathedrals did not separate from bishops, bishops separated from cathedrals'; and cathedrals 'developed a life of their own', and that remained 'no bad thing'. A coherent strategy not 'for greater uniformity but for greater diversity, not for assimilation but for differentiation', was needed.<sup>3</sup>

Furnell had been a member of the Commission and an early advocate of reform. He spoke now chiefly as chairman of the AEC, which had reservations. 'The outreach of cathedrals' was 'not necessarily' determined by relations to the bishop or the diocese, and their regional, national, and international roles were not dependent on those relations. Although the AEC welcomed the challenge to evangelism, the 'slight emphasis on card carrying Christians' was an anxiety. Cathedrals were 'not strangers to accountability'; between the bishop's roles in the council and as visitor there might be conflict. And a 'non-executive' relationship between the bishop and the cathedral should preserve independence 'within an emerging ethos of interdependence.' Tenure and patronage were 'both...the business of the whole church', it was 'less than satisfactory for a section of Church to be considered for change in isolation.' For all the 'positive and acceptable recommendations...[and]...useful data' in the chapter on finance, the Association regretted that the report 'does not necessarily move us forward': there was 'a disappointing silence' concerning funding and the Church Commissioners; they had expected 'an imaginative recommendation' concerning 'greater flexibility in application of Section 31 grants',<sup>4</sup> and in the way in which mandatory provision of stipends is disbursed by cathedral bodies'.<sup>5</sup>

The residentiary canons shared the deans' anxieties.

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<sup>1</sup> GS, 1994, 578-81

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 592f

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 598-600

<sup>4</sup> The stipendiary grants for residentiary canons negotiated by the Williams commission.

<sup>5</sup> GS, 1994, 583-5

Saward said St Paul's did not want a Greater Council: they had 'very few regulars'; their congregations were global; an elected council, 'from a tiny and probably very unrepresentative electorate', would be 'more conservative than the Dean and Chapter and a lot older'. St Paul's was unique; the Commission 'heard and ignored us on this point.' A uniform model for all cathedrals ignored the huge differences between, for instance, St Paul's and Bradford. He deprecated the downgrading of canons to 'canonical curates'. Cathedrals were 'a shop window for the church and the nation'. He besought the Synod 'not to hinder us in the job we are trying to do.'<sup>1</sup>

Two bishops ranged themselves on the side of greater episcopal authority and diocesan links. Carey was quick to dismiss Evans's jibe that cathedral reform was 'navel gazing': the report was 'about mission and service'. He reflected on the 'mission of the cathedral in the overall strategy of the diocese'. The report underlined 'the necessity for the diocese to have a strategy for mission in which the cathedral plays a part.' He sounded an evangelical note, urging music that 'is in tune not only with heaven but also with earth', and excellence 'perceived in contemporary music as well as in traditional'.<sup>2</sup> He acknowledged the 'impressive dignity and beauty' of major occasions in cathedrals, but he asked 'how much are [cathedrals] innovating and creating moments for worship and mission'? He welcomed the council: at present, the bishop had 'no executive role' in the cathedral, the council would provide 'an important strategic role in relation to his cathedral church, and perhaps for the first time, a proper working relationship with his dean.' He approved the managerial proposals: for cathedrals, 'increasingly important' in mission, 'it is essential...to establish structures of support and accountability, appropriate to the age in which we live.'<sup>3</sup>

For Harland, if the cathedral was the seat of the bishop 'it is the seat of his mission,' and '[t]here needs to be a better way than at present of expressing that.' Behind the distance between the cathedral and the bishop and his mission lay reasons, not to do with the gospel, but with 'inordinate, almost indecent, wealth' and political power. He thought the Council a 'very modest proposal' and he wanted greater involvement because 'I do not want to have to rely on the visitation'<sup>4</sup>

Kemp was less enthusiastic. He thought uniformity over-rated: 'the Commission has [not] paid enough attention to the difference that size and history make': the responsibilities of the chapter of Durham, York or Lincoln were 'significantly different' from those of a cathedral which was until recently 'simply a large parish church.' He approved the desired closer association of cathedrals with dioceses, but not at the cost of another layer of control, 'which will have its own expense.' The Commission had been 'too coy' about Crown appointments. Those with experience 'know how powerful the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 596-9

<sup>2</sup> The writer has been told that Carey's frustration when forbidden a steel band at his enthronement at Canterbury disposed him towards the setting up of the Commission. The position was shared by other evangelicals: Baughen, writer of 'songs' in the popular idiom, decried the narrow range of his cathedral's music. (Note of Record)

<sup>3</sup> GS, 1994, 581-3

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 593-5

[appointments secretary] is and how much what is done varies with the outlook of the particular holder of that office.<sup>1</sup> It was necessary to change to a system similar to that for appointing bishops.<sup>2</sup>

Two evangelical parochial clerics were critical of cathedrals.

Stanley was the more combative: 'cathedrals have in the past few years dragged themselves into the twentieth century.' But accountability and diocesan commitment remained insufficient. The financial section of the report gave no 'clear picture of what resources cathedrals had.' 'How many [cathedrals] publish their accounts?' That thirty-six percent of visitors had 'no church' was an 'enormous opportunity for evangelism.' The Report's emphasis on the need for evangelism revealed 'a gap - even a large gap - in the ministry of cathedrals'; often most prominent was the cost of running the cathedral; Christ's story should be emphasised. 'How I welcome', he declared, the recommendation that each department should ask: 'in what way is our work an invitation to people to consider the calling of Jesus Christ?' Cathedrals had opportunities 'to be on the leading edge of evangelism.'<sup>3</sup>

Mark Wilson, a former chorister of St Paul's, condemned 'the elitism of much cathedral worship'; he would be embarrassed to take his youth group or his under-thirties to 'most cathedral worship'. Excellence was available 'at the press of a button'; people gathered now to participate, 'our worship at all levels has to involve participation.' Striking a note unexpected from an evangelical, he expressed disappointment at the lack of any reference to religious communities: 'I do not believe that a professional choir is a substitute for that'; there should be 'a religious community to be the very heart of the spiritual life of their cathedral and also of the diocese.'<sup>4</sup>

Two laymen attacked central tenets of the report.

Lt Col John Crompton dismissed the Greater Council: a 'quango', 'an unattached body' 'not answerable to anybody and whose relation with the diocesan synod and the Bishop's Council is far from clear.' It was 'another layer of bureaucracy...generating unnecessary work and expense.' If the chapter needed oversight, it should be from within synodical system.<sup>5</sup>

Paul Rippon defended the deans; the 'bishops have enough influence in the church and I think that the deans and chapters have a valuable influence to contribute.' He favoured the publication of accounts 'but in the end Almighty God measures his accounts not in terms of balance sheets but in the hearts and minds of men and women, and there is too much of the imprint of business practice and accounting in this report.' There was a need for 'a distinct and separate light to illumine the nation...capable of speaking against the synodical correctness of our times'; '[o]ne Lincoln experience in a thousand years does not seem to me to be too high a price to pay for its preservation.'<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At least since the publication of Chadwick, *Ramsey*, Kemp knew himself to have been a victim. (Chadwick 1990,140; Kemp 169f)

<sup>2</sup> GS, 1994, 589-90

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 585-7

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 591f

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 598

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 601-3



Professor McClean brought the debate to a close. He attended most closely to criticisms of the chapter on governance: it needed to be read with the chapter on management, which contained 'some very important things' and had not been 'aired very much'. Flexibility, he insisted, was emphasised: 'in the composition of [the various] bodies...in the revision of the statutes to reflect local need, this is one of the things to which the commission attach some value.' He defended the introduction to chapters of members with differing types of expertise: 'the experience of members of Lady Howe's commission in various spheres of activity [is] that sharing your ideas with some colleagues with whom you do not work day in day out could be a very valuable and sometimes even a salutary experience and there is an important role for the non-executive members of the chapter.' He urged the Synod 'not... be put off by the fact that the idea is expressed in the language of contemporary management style.'

Cathedrals, he was aware, were 'very sensitive': they 'speak a lot' about relations with the bishop, the community, the wider church. 'The core idea of the Greater Council is that it earths those very relationships and enables people from a number of different sources to respond to, to own, and to approve, the strategy that underlies the work of the cathedrals.' The Bishop's Council, 'with its very wide range of roles', was not adequate and the existing Greater Chapter was 'not the appropriate representative body.' The bishop's chairmanship was not an 'essential feature' of the Council; but legal visitation was not enough.<sup>1</sup>

The motion for 'machinery to oversee the implementation of the Commission's report' was carried.

When the synod next discussed cathedrals in November 1996 a 'Follow-Up Group' had prepared a draft Measure. McClean, introducing the debate,<sup>2</sup> claimed that they 'kept to the spirit of the original report': 'cathedrals must relate to the general mission and ministry of the wider Church'; each 'need[ed] space' for its own ministry, but they 'should be accountable' for that ministry; they were to have 'interdependence rather than independence'. Historic distinctions were abolished; the chapter and the council remained *data*, but who the additional members of the former should be, how they should be appointed, whether the administrator should vote, were 'local questions'. The council would have legal powers over the constitution of the cathedral. To it the chapter must give account and must reveal its plans. There would be a 'framework for membership' for the council, but much scope for 'local needs and circumstances.'

He announced a *volte face*. If bishops were to chair the Council, the visitorship would be compromised, and the visitorship was not an archaism but an office on which the Synod had lately conferred powers concerning exemption from secular planning.<sup>3</sup> So, the Commission now proposed that the bishops should appoint the chairman and themselves be 'president of council' or 'whole

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 605-8

<sup>2</sup> GS, 1996, 900-905

<sup>3</sup> Care of Cathedrals Measure 1990

capitular body'; this would give them 'all the routes [they] needed into the life of the cathedral both formal (jurisdictional) and informal (pastoral).'

The tenure of office by canons had been discussed. The Measure now provided 'complete flexibility as to the appointment and tenure of canons under the constitution and statutes of each cathedral.'

Again, a clear difference emerged between the bishops and the deans.

Chesters vigorously defended the claims of bishop and diocese.<sup>1</sup> A 'unique relationship with its diocesan bishop' defined a cathedral; 'the symbolic place from which he presides and teaches'. '[I]t cannot be right...[for] the chapter or the council to pursue its own entirely separate mission or outreach apart from the bishop and the diocese.' To be the 'mother church', though unique in 'opportunities, situation and resources', it must be 'fully involved in diocesan plans'. He re-iterated the Howean axiom that 'a strategy having [the bishop's] approval should play a crucial role as the setting for the cathedral's strategic contribution to the diocese'. But the Measure 'veered away', thereby 'losing a symbol of the unity of the Church focussed on the bishop.' The role of president he disparaged, 'a magnificent kind of character who gives his good wishes rather than his involvement', introduced 'like some official brought in for his technical knowledge or as some kind of token to keep him happy.' Anglican 'checks and balances' he also dismissed: separations and divisions from the past, now mere 'guises.' If the bishop's role was to be Visitor, the office should be examined 'to see if it has substance'.

More eirenically, Hope<sup>2</sup> welcomed the provision for the wider community on the council: cathedrals served the Church and the nation, reaching groups beyond the church but instinctively believing 'this is their cathedral'. He would prefer to be 'more distanced' from the council than the chairmanship; some bishops would not. The commission had sought to avoid a 'rigid and totally inflexible blueprint'; he hoped for flexibility in the Measure. The retention of the visitorship was 'proper'; but he regretted the failure to prescribe periodical or obligatory visitations: '[w]hat... is the purpose...if there is no requirement or obligation to visit?' He regretted also the powerlessness of 'visatorial remarks or advice'.

Stancliffe<sup>3</sup> bemoaned the lack of a theological rationale of bishops and cathedrals in Howe. The Measure showed that the profession of interdependence was not seriously sought, the debate that there was no shared understanding; the relations of bishops and cathedrals required greater subtlety than they had elicited. The Measure, far from providing for a relationship of 'mutual support and underscoring', looked as though it would 'pull us apart'. Bishops and cathedrals needed the best model of collaborative ministry because a cathedral had 'a huge responsibility' for good practice for the Church at large and for the diocese.

Among the deans, Moses, a former provost, spoke approvingly: the single model would enhance the parish church cathedrals; the transformation of provosts into deans recognised the

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<sup>1</sup> GS, 1996, 907-10

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 914-7

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 925f

common identity of all cathedrals. But, although approving the closer relations with bishop and diocese, he thought there was the danger that cathedrals could be distracted from their evangelistic task into the 'priorities of bishops and of dioceses.' And the Anglican concept of dispersed authority was precious.<sup>1</sup>

Arnold asserted the need for independence more astringently. He regretted the inclusion of governance in the deans' original proposals; much of the work of the cathedrals needed independence.<sup>2</sup> And they were widely regarded as belonging to the whole church...symbols of unity of the whole community'. They did not rival dioceses, they supplemented them; 'a certain limited autonomy' was necessary: '[a] missionary church requires not a unitary and totalitarian system but a variety of ways of belonging'.<sup>3</sup>

Lewis<sup>4</sup> also thought 'the vision to seize new opportunities and give leadership [did not] ...only...reside in the bishops'. A bishop wanting closer, 'more direct control of the cathedral' would need 'a closer executive relationship'; 'it would be a denial of the place of cathedrals in the hearts and minds of the people of England to create a radically different relationship between the cathedral and the bishop', from that proposed in the Measure. The Synod would be wise to resist 'the inexorable centralising tendency that is abroad at the present time', in the church and elsewhere. Authority must rest with the bishop, but a '[w]ise judgement' would not destroy the relationship of many centuries between the clergy and the bishop. Cathedrals were 'strong centres of mission and excellence'; they desired to share in the bishop's ministry and witness and be under his authority; the Measure was 'the way forward' for their relationship.

Flexibility and variation, Professor Michael Clarke thought,<sup>5</sup> were important; they should not be stifled by over-prescription. He defended the Council, but thought care was needed to ensure that the cathedral was 'not constrained' by the need to refer to it 'at every turn.' He welcomed the removal of the chairmanship of that Council from the bishop; in his own work-place, the 'Visitor is the crux of government'; 'nothing', he urged, should be done to compromise that rôle. He approved the leadership given to deans, but mistrusted a clause which 'seems to give the dean a veto over certain matters'. Howe gave the dean only a casting vote; 'the collective will of the chapter' was important, the 'power of veto' endangered 'that collegial style of working': 'we [should not] not provide a charter for 1980s-style macho-management.'

Mrs Heather Morgan,<sup>6</sup> spoke warmly of the Council and the proposed management structures: 'we must be seen to be accountable', 'the discipline to be imposed by the annual cycle of proposals, budget and report and accounts' would improve 'internal management'. Declension from that troubled her: she detected a loss of administrative rigour - Anglican muddle 'does not impress the secular world', 'a management structure...which is clear and visible' was needed; it would also 'enhance

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 904-7

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 912

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 913

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 919f

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 917-919

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 920-922.

internal morale, efficiency and communications.’ She urged the need to keep the cathedral community committees in the ancient foundations, where there was no statutory provision for lay involvement, but where it was ‘crucial’, ‘a theological necessity’. It would be ‘good to have [it] affirmed’ as a statutory requirement’.

Speakers from two cathedrals decried provisions that would impose retrenchment on their lay representation. There was ‘anger and dismay’ at Coventry cathedral,<sup>1</sup> where the permitted numbers on council and chapter would be a ‘drastic reduction’; in the arrangements for the Transitional Council the cathedral laity were ‘not even mentioned.’ St Albans was a successful parish church and a diligent cathedral with statutes permitting ‘strong congregational representation’; lay representation, Archdeacon Leister complained,<sup>2</sup> would now be reduced. If flexibility within a single framework was proclaimed, why could there not be stronger lay representation on chapters already practising it?

Such criticisms had the support of Clarke,<sup>3</sup> who acknowledged important developments in the role of the laity at some cathedrals; ‘as little as possible should be done to constrain’ it; he urged ‘greater flexibility rather than reduced flexibility of lay representation.’

Roger Atkinson<sup>4</sup> thought Howe did not pursue diocesan integration sufficiently. The report had suggested that cathedrals should be part of the general authority structure of the church, but that worship, evangelism, management, and scholarship were best done in ‘a relative independence’. Would these things be done differently if cathedrals were brought ‘totally into the governance of the diocese’? Cathedrals should be ‘much more part of their diocese, more linked to the way in which the diocese runs and less independent’. He did not see that this would lead to ‘the diminution’ of work they were doing.

Two speakers were unreservedly critical.

Sir Patrick Cormack<sup>5</sup> believed that, almost without exception, chapters maintained the fabrics of cathedrals in a ‘wonderful way’ and that there was ‘almost universal excellence’ in liturgy and music. He had heard no ‘convincing arguments’ for the ‘extra bureaucracy’, nor for ‘upsetting the rich variations in our cathedral arrangements’ and he would not support the Measure. He was ‘not convinced even’ that provosts should become deans. He doubted whether any recent troubles would have been prevented by Measure, and whether it would advance the work and witness of the cathedrals.

Brotherton<sup>6</sup> said that the report of the Follow-Up Group had revealed that ‘a significant minority [of cathedrals] remained unhappy to a greater or lesser extent.’ He understood that many deans and provosts were ‘far from content’, and that the House of Bishops was ‘divided on the draft Measure’. The council was ‘an additional and unnecessary layer of bureaucracy’ with the potential to ‘introduce

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs Margaret Sedgwick; *ibid*, 910-12

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 926f

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 918

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 927f

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 922f

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 923f

ambiguity' and 'undermine the authority of the administrative chapter' and 'withdraw altogether the authority of the general chapter.'

Winding up the debate, McClean<sup>1</sup> was adamant that subscription to the Care of Cathedrals Measure constrained local variation concerning visitation. He defended accountability to the Council; the chapter's need to explain itself to another body would improve 'the clarity of thought and the quality of decision-making.' He would 'look at' the dean's veto; he saw it as part of a wider issue in the church regarding the combining of leadership and collegial decision making. To those cathedrals which would lose some lay representatives he offered only cold comfort; 'there are pluses and minuses. For the dean and chapter cathedrals it strikes the existing pattern in a very different way.' The laity would, he pointed out, be involved in the committees; he hoped for 'local creativity...in which laity can be fully involved.'

The Measure was carried.

It passed to a Revision Committee; there a mass of detailed proposals confronted the members.<sup>2</sup>

Clearly, Stancliffe touched a vulnerable point: they began by affirming the need for 'a proper understanding of the cathedral's theological nature and purpose' therefore they gave 'greater prominence' to the statement of the nature and work of a cathedral; it became a separate clause at the beginning of the Measure.<sup>3</sup>

Under the heading *One Model or Several*<sup>4</sup> the Committee, while professing its awareness of the ethos and 'history and traditions' of each cathedral, reasoned that the debate inaugurated by Howe had emphasised 'how much the cathedrals have in common and how far they are called upon to face common problems and issues in today's Church.' Therefore, '[e]arly on' the committee decided to adhere to the Howean 'single model'; they would resist 'exceptions for specific cathedrals.'<sup>5</sup>

For the Parish Church Cathedrals<sup>6</sup> some amendments had 'urged... [going] even further towards a single model' by removing or reducing the remaining differences between parish church and non-parish church cathedrals; 'it would be wrong', they concluded, to remove parochial status which at some cathedrals was real. They also decided against the abolition of the rights of the patronage trusts, which Lunn proposed.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 929-32

<sup>2</sup> GS 1219Y

<sup>3</sup> RC 2 [refs are to paragraphs]

<sup>4</sup> RC 13-15

<sup>5</sup> RC 23f; exceptions: 103-5; 152-4. Seeking exceptions were Durham (claiming analogies with Oxford); St Paul's; Coventry; Truro (which uniquely secured concessions)

<sup>6</sup> RC 16f

<sup>7</sup> RC 310

The standing of the bishop<sup>1</sup> continued to trouble some bishops. But the visitatorial role was 'essential', and the chairmanship, or membership, of the General Council was incompatible with it.

The relationship proposed between the functions of the Chapter and the Council had created anxieties.<sup>2</sup> The Revision Committee therefore proposed amendments to provide 'genuine accountability' for the Chapter, and, for the Council, a 'positive and constructive' role, stopping short of 'interference with the functions of the chapter'. Perhaps anticipating a criticism, they opined that the Council 'would not be a source of purely negative criticism': the Measure required it to 'further and support the work of the cathedral'.

They had devoted much time to 'appropriate provisions' to ensure that the dean was 'a part of the new chapter', enabled to act on its behalf, but not 'an entirely separate and possibly autocratic force.'

The prospect of lay members disquieted some chapters. But, the Revision Committee observed, other cathedrals which already had lay members within chapter were 'enthusiastic... and anxious to preserve it'. This they took to be 'an indication that, given good will on the part of all concerned', the change could 'work well'. It would not, they believed, turn the chapter into 'a body involved purely in managerial decisions, taken on a secular basis'. The phraseology of their defence – 'an indication', 'given good will', they 'believed' and hoped' – perhaps suggests some insecurity.

The closer integration of cathedrals with their dioceses was among the most ardent demands of reformers. Incorporation within the synodical structure was an aspect of this; but the mechanics, they concluded, must remain undecided until the Bridges commission on Synodical reform had reported.

Howe, having debated tenure of office, had concluded that all appointments should be 'capable of termination after a period of notice.'<sup>3</sup> The Synod accepted a private motion urging consideration of the possible employment of cathedral clergy on limited renewable terms.<sup>4</sup> They resolved to leave the decision to each cathedral; they were not 'duck[ing] the issue', the question was a part of the wider whole of the tenure of clerical office.

The Revision Committee reported to the Synod in July 1997. The debate was introduced by Mr Alan Cooper.<sup>5</sup> He asserted the Revision Committee's disposition to adaptability: the word 'flexibility', he claimed, 'peppers our report'. But 'before flexibility' he said, 'comes certainty'. They were 'concerned with governance'; their adherence to 'one model' was unyielding. From the start, he claimed, they had perceived 'threads of commonality...running through all the cathedrals': shared 'problems' 'worries' 'challenges', 'richness in diversity'. They had met a representative group of diocesan bishops; they

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<sup>1</sup> RC 18f

<sup>2</sup> RC 20ff

<sup>3</sup> H&R 181

<sup>4</sup> GS 1997, 932-7

<sup>5</sup> GS 1997, 299-303

sought 'to protect and respect' their position in the cathedral. They had met a group of deans and provosts, to whose 'blandishments' they did not entirely 'succumb'. In place of the old phrase 'the Dean and Chapter' they offered a new phrase and a new concept, the 'Dean in Chapter', with a 'duty to lead' and 'to govern and direct on [the Chapter's] behalf.'

There was a new order. The Chapter was 'a new body' which inescapably included lay-members. The Council would not 'run the cathedral', but would have 'a very real and worthwhile job to do': it would be 'a watch dog, ready, if necessary, to show its teeth', and it would have a lay chairman: 'a powerful signal' of a 'thread of laity involvement [which] runs throughout'. The College of Canons inherited the 'historic functions' which Chapters had had since 1533;<sup>1</sup> to those functions could be added contemporary ones: the college would be a 'convenient venue...to discuss matters...which impinge on the life of the cathedral'. The Transitional Councils were 'pivotal': they would implement the formation of constitutions and statutes.

Cooper's speech was humorous, at times flippant. But his affability could not conceal some difficulties. Arnold, juxtaposing futility and interference as the functioning of the Council,<sup>2</sup> had clearly struck home; Cooper invoked his words now, and added 'this is a task – a vital task – to be undertaken by others as well as the [committee], for it is critical to the whole enterprise.' The words betray the awareness of a weakness lurking in this central tenet of the reform. As he closed, he contrived an allusion to another elusive quest of reformers: '[t]he location of accountability and the defining of community cannot be precise but in many ways the concepts undergird all our proposals.'

The general response to the report, and to Cooper's speech, was favourable. Lewis<sup>3</sup> thought 'evolutionary and necessary change' had been accomplished in relation to bishops; accountability was visible; a new relationship was inaugurated between laity and clergy. And withal, that Anglican characteristic, dispersed authority, survived. Knight<sup>4</sup> observed that the diocese was the primary Anglican administrative unit, the bishop was the chief pastor, the cathedral the mother church. The Measure would formalize these relations. The council was pivotal to this and the cathedral would become 'part of the mission of the church in the diocese'

Not all who spoke were unreservedly acclamatory.

Mullins observed that the word 'ecumenical' occurred twice in the Measure. The Synod had earlier accepted a document which suggested that cathedrals 'could increasingly be understood as ecumenical resources': the new Council afforded 'the chance with the new constitutions of doing something systematic about that in every cathedral'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Appointment of Bishops Act

<sup>2</sup> RC 62

<sup>3</sup> GS 1997, 303-5

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 308-10

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 310f

Hanford,<sup>1</sup> representing the Ecclesiastical Law Society,<sup>2</sup> found all his representations<sup>3</sup> rejected. The Revision Committee, he said, showed a 'disturbing reluctance' to accept suggestions. He was uneasy about the 'sacred cow of the single model of government', and he saw little evidence of flexibility in the report. The Revision Committee had received suggestions from forty-three groups or individuals, and there were submissions from the cathedrals. Much was technical, coming from those with a working knowledge of the cathedrals. Of 140 points raised, thirty-six fell, eighty were 'simply rejected'. Only twelve were accepted, of which five came from the Church Commissioners. Hanford was 'suspicious'.

Cooper brought the debate to a close.<sup>4</sup> 'You cannot stay for ever debating points...thinking that you can meet everyone'. Only thus obliquely did he answer Hanford's charge that the Revision Committee's position was inflexible and unyielding.

The Synod moved into the consideration of the detailed revision of the Measure. Many clauses were uncontended; technical amendments to others provoked little comment.

Thus, in November 1997, the text went back to the steering committee for final drafting;<sup>5</sup> that 'final drafting and final approval' by the synod on 14 February 1998 ended the process.

McClean<sup>6</sup> recalled that the cathedrals had asked for the commission: 'I have some reason to believe that they are in general well content with the end result.'

Turnbull,<sup>7</sup> from an evangelical bishop's standpoint, saw achievement: the legislation equipped cathedrals to be places 'not afraid of the rough and tumble that ensues when the dynamic of the gospel challenges the blind complacencies of the world.'

The deans were less congratulatory. Arnold<sup>8</sup> offered one cheer '- 'withholding the other customary two'. The opportunity had been for 'the right reforms' to 'release us from burdens instead of adding greater ones than our sins.' He hoped that, earlier than 2025,<sup>9</sup> would come the next review. Then 'the unworkable principle' of one regimen could be abandoned. Howe had identified 'a specific problem' in the relationship of cathedrals with their bishops and their dioceses. He reiterated criticisms of the imposition of the Council as its solution. He also thought McClean's assessment of the response of the cathedrals 'over-optimistic': '[t]here is much more a sense of inevitability than universal rapturous acceptance.' The enlarged Chapters would be 'hybrids, half-way between the old oligarchic Chapters and the new parish church cathedral councils...a compromise which pleases no one' He continued to think the one-model a 'procrustean bed...which stretches the smaller bodies to breaking point and chops off the limbs of the larger'; two basic models would have been better. He closed suggesting that

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 306f.

<sup>2</sup> See glossary

<sup>3</sup> The present writer has noted ten

<sup>4</sup> GS, 1997, 312f

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 552

<sup>6</sup> GS, 1998, 27-9.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 29f

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 31-3

<sup>9</sup> When McClean predicted another commission would be due.



'as in universities, the quest for quality assurance is detracting from the delivery of quality'; it was time for Synod to 'stop worrying whether cathedrals were sufficiently accountable'.

Moses<sup>1</sup> believed that cathedrals had been 'extremely well served' in recent years, and they should be trusted. He noted that, during their cathedral visits, the members of Howe had found in local church representatives 'a good deal of ambivalence' about their cathedrals, but among local secular representatives 'unqualified appreciation.' This 'mismatch' ought to be acknowledged: cathedrals collaborated with their dioceses and their bishops but they 'stand to a quite unique degree on the boundary of church and community life and are in the business of primary evangelism'; this had been so because of their 'qualified independence' - 'the basis of whatever creativity they have shown'. He urged the synod 'not to domesticate our cathedrals....not so bureaucratize us that we lose our cutting edge'.

Having acknowledged various plaudits, McClean<sup>2</sup> made a last reply to Arnold, his weightiest critic: the Council enabled the cathedral 'to be fully responsive and responsible to a very wide constituency' - a wider one than the bishop's council, which Arnold favoured. Arnold also misunderstood the purpose of the new and enlarged Chapter. There was 'an important reality in that wider body of people - not ordained, not paid, but devoting a great deal of themselves to the service of the cathedral'. Howe had not 'simply thought of some new ideas in the abstract', it had tried to discern 'best practice' and to 'sense' 'the most promising style emerging in the actual experience of our cathedrals'. He asked for 'strong support' from the Synod.

He cannot have been disappointed. The thirty-four bishops and the 174 clergy were unanimously in favour; of the 186 of the laity who voted, three were against. There were no abstentions.

The Measure received the Royal Assent, and, on 20 June, became the Cathedrals Measure 1999.

#### *An Interim Measure*

Howe and the consequent legislative process coincided with other work which impinged upon its territory.

The Care of Cathedrals Measure (1991), baited with financial help, had recently given the State effective controls over the proposals of Chapters concerning the fabrics of the cathedrals, including ornamental and decorative changes and liturgical re-orderings. The importance of the Measure requires little emphasis; for the first time Chapters were subject to an external body. There was a delicate balance - potentially a tension - between conservation and the living church. Howe seized upon the prefatory statement of that Measure that in care and conservation 'due regard [shall

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 34f

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 36f

be had] to the fact that the cathedral church is the seat of the bishop and a centre for worship and mission.’ But, beyond hortatory asseveration, the reformers had little scope.

Other synodical enquiries also constrained the commission. The synodical representation of cathedrals, the system of appointment to canonries and deaneries, conditions of canonical clerical service or employment: all of these waited upon synodical reports. The church’s music had also recently been examined.<sup>1</sup> In all of these area Howe was free to utter aspirations – about the importance of mission, pastoral care, teaching, for instance - but it could not recommend formal change.

McClean was aware of this.<sup>2</sup> He spoke of the larger ‘vision’ of Howe, other aspects of which - worship, preaching, education, mission - had, he claimed, ‘had a marked, and will have a continuing, influence for good’ on the cathedrals. The Howe commission was certainly concerned to collect and disseminate ‘good practice’, an Appendix was devoted to examples.<sup>3</sup> But those examples are evidence that many cathedrals were already enacting what became Howe’s ‘vision’; and ‘vision’ cannot be imposed by legislation, and ‘good practice’ only in restricted spheres.

Thus the ground on which Howe and the Measure must be assessed is that on which it could effect change. In his final speech, McClean claimed that the commission had triumphed where earlier reformers had failed: ‘the different needs and traditions of our cathedral churches [were brought] within a single framework.’

His summary of the Commission’s achievements embraced many of the themes and words which had run as threads through the reform: ‘a system that would be supportive’, would bridge the gap between cathedrals and diocese, was ‘transparent, effective, accountable and responsive to changing needs.’ Reform had ‘free[d] cathedrals from the perception that their government is secretive, wholly clerical, unaccountable and unreformed.’ He hoped that it would equip the cathedrals for a generation or more. Dr Arnold, as has been seen, hoped for a swifter revision.

Dean Lewis’s assessment of the reform is of interest.<sup>4</sup> He had been a member of the Howe Commission and of the Revision Committee. At the outset, when the deans were debating the need for visible tokens of reform, ‘the view was...expressed that the issue would be more about power, influence and control and thus it has proved.’ The ‘Lay voice’ was at that time ‘rampant’, and the bishops were corralled into ‘The House’.<sup>5</sup> The deans, proposing a commission in order to counter bad publicity, were asking for one ‘for negative reasons’: ‘not the best way to affirm much good and positive work already being done.’

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<sup>1</sup> See *Church Music*: cathedrals discussed 215-227; Shephard was a member of both commissions

<sup>2</sup> GS 1998, 27-9

<sup>3</sup> H&R, 251-5

<sup>4</sup> Lewis letter

<sup>5</sup> See 62 above

A consequence of the accessibility of cathedrals to the secular world, he suggests, is that 'sometimes they are viewed with suspicion by the rest of the church'. This leads to 'mistrust by the Diocese and the desire to control them by the Bishops.' In Lewis's view, as bishops have 'lost national authority', they have 'looked for a new power base.' This 'surfaced strongly' during the Howe Commission, and 'became apparent in many Cathedrals' as new Constitutions and Statutes were in process of being drafted.<sup>1</sup>

He illustrated his contention that 'control' was a major issue by tracing the progress of the Council through the stages of the reform. It was 'non-negotiable'. Originally it was envisaged as the controlling body because 'Cathedrals are too important to be entrusted any longer to the Clergy alone.' The cathedral clergy on the Commission, and the two deans, himself and Furnell, on the Steering Committee and the Revision Committee, 'worked tirelessly' to resist the Council. But they 'met a determination that had come from outside the Commission simply described as 'we must get control of the cathedrals': it 'was both Episcopal and lay'. Lewis felt that their limited achievement was to contain the power of the Council; a body originally perceived as controlling, it had been restricted to advising, warning, and calling for reports. He believed that the unease was well-grounded, not least in resisting the demands for episcopal chairmanship of the Council – '[t]here is some evidence that... Chairmen of Cathedral Councils are meeting together to share experience and ideas'. The test of the powers – the 'teeth' spoken of in debate – of the Councils will come, in Lewis's judgement, 'if and when they voted for a change in the Constitution or Statutes'.

The Council, Lewis judged, was 'ill conceived': a gathering of 'probably very busy men and women with good brains' and 'no authority'. If they were to pass the accounts they would become responsible for them. Two committees, Fabric Advisory and Finance Investment Advisory, rendered the Council otiose in those spheres. There was a real danger of the Council seeking to exercise 'an authority it does not possess', or losing interest because it has 'almost no power and little authority.' Like Arnold, Lewis believed that in any future revision the Council would 'need to be reassessed'; though he feared that 'in the present climate of desire to control worse may yet follow.'

Neither Arnold nor Lewis is reactionary. The former, though critical of the thrust the reform took, was not opposed to the need; the latter was a participant in the reform, nothing in his speeches in the Synod suggests hostility. Yet both judged the Council severely. Dean Leaning<sup>2</sup> made the same point: the Council was a gathering of civic worthies, it had little effective business. Members report a sense of futility.<sup>3</sup>

Lewis did not depict the reform as without merit. Lay members, he believed, had 'proved to be beneficial' to the life of the cathedrals and 'in the interface with the secular world'. The requirement that cathedrals should appoint an administrator would probably increase the likelihood of 'good

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<sup>1</sup> And 'emerged rampant' during the review, 2004-5, of the Church Commissioners.

<sup>2</sup> Leaning

<sup>3</sup> Kent

management practice'; important at a time of increasing complexity in employment and health and safety legislation.

Lewis's fear of episcopal encroachment, potentially deleterious to cathedrals, was undisguised. Contemporary discourse gave the impression of the 'Bishop as Chief Executive, Diocese as the unit of Administration, and the churches of the diocese (including its cathedral) as retail outlets.' The tendency needed to be resisted: 'the bishop is best served by the model of interdependence and independence.'<sup>1</sup> He wrote of 'hearsay' evidence of regular, even weekly, episcopal encroachment, and quoted a bishop as having asked "When will I be able to choose the hymns to be sung in my Cathedral at Christmas?"

For those of Lewis's persuasion - a persuasion which is underlain by an Anglican tradition of dispersed authority - there was evidence of episcopal aggrandisement. In the debates and in submissions to the Revision Committee the bishop of Blackburn was eager to enfold the cathedral within the diocesan embrace.<sup>2</sup> Other bishops had earlier invoked the Roman model

Stephen Lowe, a diocesan officer and a 'part-time' residentiary, was also critical. The relationship of bishop and cathedral 'remains confused.' Howe had not simplified governance; it had 'confused improved representation with effectiveness': the Council had 'wide representation but limited powers'. The new ingredients had 'changed the dynamics' of chapters, but it was unlikely the 'ordained staff...[would] not meet...and prepare the ground for...chapter meetings'. Those 'non-statutory' gatherings of the 'Cathedral team' were likely to be very influential. He thought 'a further look at the way our cathedrals are run' would be needed.<sup>3</sup>

Carr was also sceptical. Cathedrals 'still have difficulties in finding their place in the constellation of the church'. To illustrate his point he told of a year when the cathedrals corporately forewent a proportion of their grants from the Commissioners, thereby freeing £400,000 for the wider church - in the same year the bishops claimed an additional £400,000 in expenses.<sup>4</sup>

Bishops were also dissatisfied. In 2007 Chesters wrote '[not] many of us quite realised...what a useless body the Cathedral Council has turned out to be.' He had 'yet to meet' a dean or bishop who was happy with its role. 'No one seems to know what to do with it.' He regularly attended the Blackburn Council, he added, in an unexpected twist, 'sometimes to protect the Chapter from the enthusiasm of the laity'.<sup>5</sup> Lord Carey thought the reform had led to 'modest gains', but he was 'personally disappointed'; 'the essential autonomy of the cathedrals was retained'.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf Kemp, 77: 'I deplore the current and increasing tendency to have the Church run on management principles. This must be resisted and the personal responsibility of the bishop protected.'

<sup>2</sup> 'I veer towards the Roman Catholic way...where the bishop is the equivalent of the dean' Chesters letter.

<sup>3</sup> Lowe, 62f

<sup>4</sup> Carr, 2004, 198; clearly deeply resented: he also told the story to the present writer

<sup>5</sup> Chesters

<sup>6</sup> Carey letter

In 2005, the resignation of the dean of Ripon brought to an end a troubled period in the life of that Cathedral.<sup>1</sup> At such a time, the Measure gave the Council a role, an opportunity to intervene. But, Chesters points out, not the Council but the Bishop resolved the difficulty.

#### *A changed Anglican mentality*

Between the first two commissions there was continuity: both were respectful of the past, both began from the assumption that only changes which were necessary should be made. Between those commissions and the next there are continuities: the reformers were able to claim that the homogenization of statutes was begun by Williams; and the council established by Howe bears some resemblance to that with which Williams invested the Parish Church cathedrals.

But, for all that, there is a marked difference of approach. The Howe commission did give the impression that cathedrals were a *tabula rasa* on which new ideals or theories were imposed. Thus the distinction between the Old and New Foundations was pronounced arcane,<sup>2</sup> both were abolished. The independence of canons and inherited statutes alike were abolished. On all a standard framework was imposed; and, for all McClean's profession of local freedom, qualified only by a central watch over 'prescribed issues', so prescriptive was the framework that there was freedom only in inessentials; cathedrals could, he informed the Synod, keep their '*Quinque personae*, Six Preachers, Peacekeepers, *Informatores Choristarum*'.<sup>3</sup> The obscurity of the instances is suggestive of the trifling nature of local freedom and of the unyielding determination of the reformers to maintain their central tenets, the enlarged Chapter and the Council.

The blaze of the bonfire of history and tradition was fanned by the watchword 'accountability'. The Commission was in thrall to contemporary management theory, its concepts extended far beyond a single word or concept; the sections of the report which were effective were heavily indebted to that sphere.

Beginning in the 1960s, great changes in society, and in organisation and administration, impacted upon the Church. The Williams report, scarcely noticing their early manifestations, insulated the institutions of cathedrals from them. The Howe commission exposed them to their full rigour.

A catalyst of this, noticeable in the debates on Howe, is the emergence, in various groups which in earlier times respected the place in the Anglican polity of the cathedrals, of a demand for a voice in the cathedrals. A number of bishops, among whom Chesters was foremost, were determined to strengthen their hold of the cathedrals, and, with little regard for forceful arguments concerning the wider hinterland of the cathedrals, to bind them to diocesan accountability and control. Lay members of the Synod were insistent that the walls of those clerical enclaves, the older cathedrals, should be breached; lay authority was to be achieved at every level of organisation and administration.

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<sup>1</sup> *Guardian*, 26 April 2005

<sup>2</sup> By McClean GS 1996, 902

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

While these campaigns were being waged, the *ancien régime* of the cathedrals fell almost without resistance. From within the cathedrals, few defenders arose. Even Arnold, probably the most distinguished critic and closest to a being a defender, did not question the need for reform. The cause, it would appear, was perceived to be lost beyond retrieval or was too embarrassing to embrace. An age, and an order, passed almost unmourned. McClean, anxious perhaps to appease a conservative rearguard, offered, we have seen, trifling cosmetic concessions. The rearguard never formed; only a flicker of resistance came from Mrs Morgan, who pleaded 'please do not make our beloved prebendaries extinct', but her application to them of the phrase 'ecclesiastical camels' suggests no more than that sentimentalizing of the past which McClean sought to indulge. With the passing of the Measure, historic differences, including some of the most important, became meaningless. The voice and vote of a lay volunteer became as influential in the new Chapters as were those of the *Quinque personae*.

In the last debate, Arnold sought 'not just to strike an elegiac note about things which are passing – the age of cathedrals as we have known them since the reformation should pass and give way to another age'.<sup>1</sup> It is nonetheless remarkable, and to those with any knowledge of Anglican history, wholly uncharacteristic, that a tradition should go unlamented.

It is as surprising that the clergy were ready to surrender not only the past but also its inheritance of tangible benefits: the members of Howe, as they toured the cathedrals, found a readiness among the cathedral clergy to exchange for the freehold less secure terms of employment. The idealism of this readiness is tempered by the fact that such a change was unlikely to apply retrospectively. But the fact remains that, in the debates in the synod, the desire to bring about change was reiterated on various sides. When Moses spoke of the 'qualified independence' of the cathedrals he added in passing that it 'used to be the birthright of every incumbent'; it was, as now entrusted to the cathedrals, 'an important part of that heritage', he said. He was speaking of the institutions, not of the individual clerics, and the argument, which would surely have been put forward in earlier days, that security made the clergy of the Church of England courageous and independent, morally, spiritually, and intellectually, was not heard in these debates again after the death of Eric Evans.<sup>2</sup>

Reforms as sweeping as those in the Measure of 1999, would not, it may safely be said, have been contemplated by the earlier commissions. Of course, none of the institutions abandoned is central to the order of the Christian church. But there is, nonetheless, a marked change in attitude among the clergy of a church which in earlier generations treasured traditions and an inheritance which in the 1990s became as jetsam. A clerical *esprit de corps* had gone; a new *mentalité* had emerged among the clergy.

Reasons may be adduced for this.

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<sup>1</sup> GS, 1998, 31

<sup>2</sup> See 76f above

The social composition of the clergy had changed: by 1990 few were the children of the parsonage-house, and comparatively few were drawn from the middle-class backgrounds from which their predecessors largely came. If clergy with such origins were, from childhood, imbued with that tradition, that strand of consciousness had gone.

Many of those now entering holy orders were middle-aged; holy orders was a second profession. They also were not heirs of a tradition, and their assumptions concerning employment were likely to have had a secular formation. It may be added that, if equipped with pensions from their earlier employment, their devotion to such particularities of clerical employment as the freehold might be less than that of those ordained early in life.

The last third of the twentieth century saw the rise to a position of dominance of an evangelicalism, the style of which employed the methods of popular culture in order to communicate and which was indifferent to the forms of tradition and, perhaps, ignorant of its bases. To those with these convictions, it might seem that little in the development of Christianity between the close of the New Testament and the work of Karl Barth was more than the traditions of men. To these, the inheritance of the Anglican centuries - an ordered liturgy, and, as 'church-plants' demonstrate, the parochial system - was neither valued nor comprehended. The incomprehension was the greater because many in holy orders came not with an inherited Anglicanism, but from secular backgrounds, whence, as the argot went, they had 'come to Christ' through the agencies of contemporary evangelicalism.

To Anglicans of this school, cathedrals constituted a problem. The ethos of the cathedrals - the formality and order, the musical sophistication and the evensong of the Book of Common Prayer - lacked the vitality and the spontaneity which they looked on as the quintessence of worship. The atmosphere of cathedrals was wanting in 'conviction', that *sine qua non* of a vibrant, evangelistic, church. But cathedrals were also successful, and therefore paradoxical: many speakers in the debates testified to their continuing power, in an age of religious recession, to attract congregations. Some speakers reprobated them for their success. Mark Wilson's attack<sup>1</sup> on the 'the elitism of much cathedral worship' ('cathedral congregations have become a Classic FM/élitist group, increasingly out of touch or sympathy with the majority of people in the parishes') has already been noted. His attack disregarded the failure of more than a small minority of even evangelical parish churches to attract comparably large numbers; and he did not discuss the connexion between the success of some evangelical churches and aggressive missionary techniques, and their targeting of specific groups in a way alien to the cathedrals. For whereas such churches set out, for instance in university towns, to identify groups on whom they focused, cathedrals, it could be said, went their own way - and the way happened to appeal to ClassicFM/elitists. Wilson's attack was open; coded variants came from evangelical bishops

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<sup>1</sup> See 79 above

who urged cathedrals to diversify the musical and cultural spheres in which they sought to achieve excellence.<sup>1</sup>

The *coup de grace* to tradition seemed to some to have been delivered by the church itself. At a time when the minds of ordinands were a *tabula rasa* the church failed to write upon them in an Anglican way. The age of the confessional university was over: academic theology was 'part of an international scholarly enterprise which has moved steadily apart from the churches.' Scholars in holy orders tended 'to bridge the gap between their work on early Christianity and their participation in the present life of the Church by a down grading of the values of Christian tradition. The most notable casualty', Dr Bennett thought, 'has been the study of ecclesiastical history which appears now to have a low priority on the agenda of theological faculties.' Such a development in the universities was no doubt inevitable and right. But, in these years, the Church of England tended to look upon such a degree, not as a preparation for entry to a theological college, but as the academic component of the course in those colleges in university towns: 'Anglican theological colleges...have now trained a whole generation of priests with a minimal knowledge of classical Anglican divinity or its methods.'<sup>2</sup>

Dr Edward Norman wrote in similar vein: '[t]he long succession of those who have considered the study of ecclesiastical history as an aspect of Christian ministry, is...becoming increasingly difficult to maintain. It is an important dimension to the current crisis of Anglican learning. Among those coming forward for ordination there are fewer whose gifts or capacities allow standards of intellectual training that are comparable to those in other professions'; as numbers of ordinands declined and theological colleges closed, the church 'has not, in general, felt able to accord as high a priority (or any priority at all) to the study of church history as it once did.'<sup>3</sup>

Falling numbers had, indeed, induced a state of panic and increasingly dominant in the theological colleges was evangelistic and practical training. The confessional inheritance and formation were largely abandoned.

In such a church, the collapse of an inheritance with roots in the church settlement of William the Conqueror was unlikely to provoke regret, or even a desire to ask what, in the zeal for reform, were losses as well as gains.

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<sup>1</sup> See above Carey and Baughen 78 and n. 2

<sup>2</sup> Bennett, 1988, 201

<sup>3</sup> Norman 1997, 400f



## **Part II**

### **Aspects of the life of the cathedrals**

## Introduction

The first part of this thesis described the constitutional development of the cathedrals during the twentieth century and set that development in the context of change in the church and in society. Constitutions recurringly re-shaped by the commissions which bestride the century were the regulative context of living communities.

This section turns to these communities. Underlying it is a series of case-studies.<sup>1</sup> Each examines a cathedral during a particular decanate or provostship. The subjects have been chosen because these are men and cathedrals whose interaction has made an impression extending beyond the local and the particular: some have pioneered new ways, some have been mirrors held up to their times, reflecting with exceptional clarity some movement in the life of the church or the wider community; some have illustrated weaknesses in the structures of cathedrals, or the vulnerability of those structures to the frailties of their custodians, or to a prevailing mind-set. Chronologically, the studies overlap. They therefore form a continuous sequence across the century. But these decanates or provostships are points of notability or of notoriety, cathedrals which have set trends and pointed the way forward, or exposed weaknesses. Frequently they also illustrate the continuing prominence of the cathedrals and their power, in a century of ecclesiastical regression, to attract. Because they are not necessarily typical other cathedrals have been freely drawn upon.

After an introductory survey of the cathedrals in the years after the First World War, further chapters examine, broadly chronologically, five aspects of the lives of the cathedrals. First, the relationships which constitute the *raison d'être* of cathedrals: those with the bishop and the diocese. A study of the responses of the cathedrals to an ecumenical century follows. As that century advanced, increasing ease of communication, the growing amity of the Roman Catholic Church, and the growth of 'twinning', introduced an international dimension to this topic. A chapter on the cathedrals and the community examines the ways in which cathedrals opened out to the society around, and the ways in which change - social, political, cultural - impacted on them; the closing section of this chapter notes a mood of self-questioning in the later decades of the century. A chapter on pastoral care and the cathedrals follows. Finally internal troubles which periodically beset the cathedrals are reviewed.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 5

## Chapter IV

### A preliminary survey

In the 1950s, a dean of Worcester told a cleric 'You must understand that this place is the private chapel of the Dean and Chapter.'<sup>1</sup> The story suggests an ambience. In the first half of the twentieth century many cathedrals were aloof.

The clergy were not subject to a retiring age, and, in the opening decades of the century, some ancient deans held office; Wace, Darby, Purey-Cust, Hannah. Canons could likewise be aged.<sup>2</sup> The average age of the chapter of Lichfield in 1930 was seventy-five; the dean was eighty, two of the canons were eighty-eight.<sup>3</sup> Reformers had demanded a retirement age be set. The Lang Commission wrote that 'one of the commonest criticisms...[is] that the chapter is apt to become a body of very elderly men some of whom...are no longer able to inspire or direct...the revived life of our cathedrals.'<sup>4</sup> The commission recommended that, unless deferred by the Visitor after consultation with the chapter, retirement be no later than seventy;<sup>5</sup> the Measure decreed seventy-five.<sup>6</sup>

Cathedrals struggled to sustain their music. At Chichester in 1926, the stipend of the organist, 'a man of high talent and true zeal', was £210, and the city did not 'afford him much opportunity of adding to his scanty emoluments'; the lay-vicars received £100 'if not £90'; annual expenditure on the music library was '£2 or £3'; lay-clerks at Carlisle received similar sums; those at Peterborough £80. At Hereford the lay-clerks were inadequately paid and part-time work increasingly difficult to find; the remuneration of organists generally was inadequate.<sup>7</sup>

The maintenance of a choir made the chapters responsible for choristers. The times of services ate into, or prolonged, the school day: Rashdall thought sung Matins at 10.0am ruined the boys' education;<sup>8</sup> at Peterborough the day lasted from 9.0am until 6.30pm, followed by preparation.<sup>9</sup> '[S]ome of the choir schools in 1913 were simply bad schools',<sup>10</sup> and educational attainments were low: the statement that 'the boys...are encouraged to remain on at school after they leave the choir' does not suggest high expectations;<sup>11</sup> 'the type of boy is very much of the elementary school-boy type', perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> WE Beck to W Purcell; Kemp 139

<sup>2</sup> Among the oldest and longest-sitting: G Austin, AJ Blencowe, WCE Newbolt, AJ Mason, TE Leeke, Bishop Trefusis, J Watson (*Crockford* 1926)

<sup>3</sup> K. Haworth. CA 1968, 446

<sup>4</sup> CCI,16

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, recommendation vi; 40

<sup>6</sup> CM 1931, 7, vii

<sup>7</sup> CCII: 80f; 204; 156; 295

<sup>8</sup> P&RII, 243

<sup>9</sup> CCII,157

<sup>10</sup> Mould, 2007, 231; the point is of wider application than the date suggests. Mould 229-242 surveys the changes in choir schools c. 1900-1930.

<sup>11</sup> CCII,157, Peterborough

'not even a good type of this class';<sup>1</sup> and at Norwich the Commission suggested changes conducive to 'a better standard of teaching and of education generally'.<sup>2</sup>

Corporations of vicars or minor canons existed at most historic foundations: statutory bodies (some included lay-vicars) independent of the chapter, with defined duties beyond which they could not be pressed; employed to sing, yet with life-tenure.<sup>3</sup> '[A] place in the offering of worship', the Lang Commission reflected, is 'a high responsibility, both artistic and spiritual, it ought not to be held when the holder...is no longer able adequately to fulfil that responsibility.'<sup>4</sup>

The statutes of some cathedrals were unrevised for centuries: at Hereford not since Archbishop Laud; at Carlisle scarcely touched since the Henrician re-foundation, and 'mainly obsolete and inapplicable'.<sup>5</sup> The extent of statutes was sometimes difficult to ascertain: St Paul's possessed 'no body of really authorised statutes'; at Chichester '[s]trictly there is no body of working statutes'.<sup>6</sup>

Fabrics were a continuous source of anxiety. The position was, indeed, 'especially serious...almost every cathedral stands in need of large expenditure':<sup>7</sup> at St Paul's 'acute',<sup>8</sup> at York of £53,000, at Lincoln, where £65,000 had lately been raised, of £21,000.<sup>9</sup> Fabrics and finances were intertwined. As cathedrals wrestled with the demands of the former, they struggled to survive on varying and meagre incomes.<sup>10</sup> Personal munificence, hitherto generous, had diminished.<sup>11</sup> The Lang commission thought 'financial anxiety...in the case of almost every cathedral...cramps activity and hinders progress'.<sup>12</sup>

In all, the picture suggests stagnant, struggling, institutions. The gloom was, however, far from unrelieved.

The Commission wrote of 'the good work now being done...the high ideals...almost everywhere...the chivalrous and often self-sacrificing efforts ...made to realise these ideals.'<sup>13</sup> These words were not obligatory niceties; Lang wrote privately in the same vein: 'the great trouble...is the lack not of ideals or of efforts, but simply of money'.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> CCII,203, Carlisle

<sup>2</sup> CCII,133

<sup>3</sup> Appointed before 1890: Chester: 1; Chichester 3 (one appointed 1868); Exeter 1, Lichfield 2; (*Crockford* 1926) Not strictly relevant, but comparable is Dr Jocelyn Perkins, Minor Canon of Westminster from 1899. He last sang a service twenty-eight years before his retirement in 1956. Fox, 1966, 374

<sup>4</sup> CCI, 24

<sup>5</sup> CCII, Hereford: 289; Carlisle: 200

<sup>6</sup> St Pauls: CCII, 35; Chichester CCII, 78

<sup>7</sup> CCI,32

<sup>8</sup> CCII, 34; see also Burns, 95f

<sup>9</sup> CCII: 34; 217 (footnote); 251. For details of Lincoln, Thompson 1994, 298-304

<sup>10</sup> CCI, 25

<sup>11</sup> CCI, 32

<sup>12</sup> CCI, 32

<sup>13</sup> CCI,32

<sup>14</sup> To Wilfrid Parker. Lockhart 297

To a degree, cathedrals remained centres of learning, they could indeed attract scholars of the first rank. Between 1921 and 1924, three deans were Fellows of the British Academy.<sup>1</sup> Other deans, if less academically distinguished, had scholarly achievements: Bate Burn, Kirkatrick, Savage, Selwyn. To these may be added deans with strong academic records who had given their lives to the public schools: Fry; Ford, Welldon. And there were canons who were scholars - Mason, Lacey, Srawley, Quick, were all distinguished. Cathedrals had powerful preachers in their chapters: numerous at St Pauls, Henson, Mitchell,<sup>2</sup> for instance.

Political considerations sometimes produced unusual deans. Ramsay MacDonald appointed two socialists: WE Moll, who was also an Anglo-Catholic, though, so severely was the appointment criticised, he survived only a year,<sup>3</sup> and Hewlett Johnson. Johnson was made of sterner stuff. In 1924, Ramsay MacDonald, abetted perhaps by William Temple, made this socialist vicar dean of Manchester, where he invigorated the cathedral.<sup>4</sup> In 1931 he sent him to Canterbury. He retired, after much controversy, aged eighty-nine, in 1963.<sup>5</sup>

All of these were the fruits of a system established in the nineteenth century. In spite of them, a pervading sense of inertia was strong. Haworth<sup>6</sup> said that those aged clerics at Lichfield had been inspiring parish priests thirty years before; but the fire had gone. The sense that a stall was a reward was strong, and survived long. In the 1970s, Kemp thought two of the residentiaries at Worcester looked on their canonries as retirement.<sup>7</sup>

But there were signs of new life. A new generation of deans brought renewal.

In 1916 William Foxley Norris, an Anglo-catholic, became dean of York. He transformed the worship of the Minster, enhanced the furnishings, linked it more closely with the diocese, undertook repairs to the fabric and the glass, and, a pre-requisite for much of this, improved the finances. He had the support of a vigorous Archbishop whose own convictions were Anglo-catholic, if cautiously expressed.<sup>8</sup>

FSM Bennett at Chester, GKA Bell at Canterbury, and AS Duncan-Jones at Chichester, all, as we shall see, quickened their cathedrals.

The work of each suggests that decanates define cathedrals: in each case a new dean made the impact, sometimes in the face of canonical or capitular reluctance.<sup>9</sup> The powers of some, at least, of these deans were severely restricted by statute; yet they carried their cathedrals along. For a canon to rejuvenate a cathedral was scarcely possible.

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<sup>1</sup> Robinson, Rashdall, Inge

<sup>2</sup> Thompson 311

<sup>3</sup> Escaping on expedient grounds according to Vidler, 52

<sup>4</sup> See Hughes 47-55

<sup>5</sup> See below 195-8

<sup>6</sup> Above 98

<sup>7</sup> Kemp, 169

<sup>8</sup> Cant, 541, 546ff

<sup>9</sup> Egs: Paige-Cox's opposition to Bennett, Bruce, 214f. The canons of Canterbury only 'with some reluctance' supporting Bell's commitment to drama. Pickering, 88f

Such deans were conscious of changed conditions, of technological advance, and of mass-tourism; they responded, pastorally and devotionally; they used it in order to advance the public ministry of their cathedrals and to expand their range. Thus they employed improved and rapid printing to produce attractive publicity; they drew in the developing media: broadcasting, film, the press; they welcomed the visitors whom ease of transport brought to them, giving a new reality to ancient concept of the 'mother church'.

At that time Anglo-Catholicism was the rising tide in the church. All were broadly in that tradition. Bell was perhaps least overtly so, but the changes he made in the services were broadly 'catholic'; and the enthronement of Archbishop Lang employed colour and ceremonial. Bennett's pastoral care was expressed in 'catholic' ways: the hearing of confessions, the concept of pilgrims, the daily Eucharist. The style which Duncan-Jones gave to Chichester cathedral – vestments, the Eucharist, the reserved sacrament - was equally catholic, as was Norris's at York.

Some of these men had wider interests, beyond the ecclesiastical, narrowly conceived. This is especially true of Bell, but also to a degree of Duncan-Jones whose musical knowledge was extensive, and who became authoritative about the conditions of Christians in Germany in the 1930s. None received a deanery as a reward for faithful service; they had the expectation of vigorous years before them: Norris was fifty-seven, Bell forty-two; Bennett fifty-four; Duncan-Jones fifty.

Thus, in an era when over many cathedrals hung a torpor, a handful of deans set new standards; their cathedrals were examples. From some of their innovations no cathedral finally escaped.

Moore Ede and Dwelly, neither Anglo-Catholic, also brought life to their cathedrals. The former was dean of Worcester from 1908 until 1934. He was a broad churchman whose social concern had established his name, and whose Liberalism led to promotion by Asquith. With the support of one canon, he sought at Worcester a cathedral whose message included a 'social element', closer relations with the city, a welcome for other denominations.<sup>1</sup> To Dwelly we shall return.<sup>2</sup>

At Lincoln the decanate of TC Fry, though marked by no great advance in the witness or worship of the cathedral, was remarkable for Fry's energetic response to a crisis in the cathedral fabric. Between 1921 and 1932, £120,000 was raised, much of it by Fry himself. By then an old man, he visited the United States twice, and he was in South America when he experienced the stroke which led to his death.<sup>3</sup>

But many cathedrals were becalmed. In some cases constitutions or personalities inhibited change. Temperamental conservatism could be strong. Moore Ede's predecessor had 'made it quite clear that there was nothing to do and nothing that even wanted doing.'<sup>4</sup> Savage's notes and his correspondence with Allen Bell reveal him as resistant to encroachments on the old ways and mistrustful of change: he wrote of 'the plight I was in, in the Sub-committee [of the Lang Commission]

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<sup>1</sup> Neville, 11

<sup>2</sup> See below 103, 104, 119, 142, 145f, 192ff

<sup>3</sup> Winterbottom, 1977, 49-54

<sup>4</sup> Neville 11

on which I served with these three faddists'.<sup>1</sup> If organists were not restrained he feared the subservience of 'the whole cathedral' to 'a repertoire of ancient music';<sup>2</sup> at Lichfield he 'much loved' the Victorian composers.<sup>3</sup>

One result of the foundation of new dioceses was a group of 'Parish Church' cathedrals. Little thought had been given to these. The dioceses were a response to rapid population growth, parishes were the priority; there were no resources for cathedral establishments. In Essex, Bishop Jacob said 'our pressing need will be the cure of souls, and buildings that are not absolutely necessary must wait'.<sup>4</sup> At Liverpool Ryle thought 'preaching the gospel to souls' far more urgent; this oft proclaimed conviction put at a disadvantage those who desired a cathedral.<sup>5</sup> One of the strongest voices in the foundation of the diocese of Guildford, Archdeacon Blackburne, 'ranked the building of a cathedral last among the tasks with which the diocese was faced'.<sup>6</sup> In these places parish churches became pro-cathedrals. Elsewhere, a parish church was more than an expedient. But selecting that church could be difficult. Bradford hesitated between the ancient parish church of the city and Skipton.<sup>7</sup> Chelmsford was one of seven contestants, chosen by diocesan vote.<sup>8</sup> Portsmouth did not finally resolve in favour of St Thomas, rather than St Mary's Portsea, until the diocese was three years old.<sup>9</sup> At Blackburn, the claims of the priory church in the county town were strong, but Lancaster was geographically peripheral to the new diocese; Preston was the administrative centre of the county, with good railway connexions, but the town was predominantly Roman Catholic. Good railway connexions, a site capable of development, centrality to the diocese, appear to have led Temple, from whose diocese the new diocese came, to choose Blackburn.<sup>10</sup>

Aspirations for uniformly collegiate, non-parochial, cathedrals for new dioceses occasionally surfaced; in the Lang Commission some thought 'the present position...may well be permanent in many cases', others that 'it is entirely transitional': the parochial status should cease or there should be a new cathedral on a new site.<sup>11</sup> Bennett appended a note urging that 'a parish church...should never be...more than a temporary expedient'.<sup>12</sup>

But, in most, a prominent parish church became the cathedral.

Until the Cathedrals Measure of 1931, the building chosen was little more than the parochial church it had been: it had no new constitution; its incumbent remained only the incumbent of the

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<sup>1</sup> Savage papers: Bell to Savage, 27 October 1927 B4/8/3/49. The faddists: Bennett, Frere, and Nicholson

<sup>2</sup> Savage papers B4/8/9/13

<sup>3</sup> Hodgson 51

<sup>4</sup> Hewitt, 44

<sup>5</sup> Smout, Ryle 3; Kennerley, 1991, 14f

<sup>6</sup> Winnett, pp 21; 45; 54

<sup>7</sup> Hansen, 1994, 13, 15

<sup>8</sup> Hewitt, 44; figures Moses (1996), 104

<sup>9</sup> Loudon, 87, 89

<sup>10</sup> Williams, 1993, 50f

<sup>11</sup> CCI, 22

<sup>12</sup> CCI, 38

parish. It housed the bishop's *cathedra*; honorary canons of the diocese were nominally attached; beyond official stalls, they had little standing in the cathedral. in 1926 Chelmsford seemed to a sub-commission to be, in all particulars save the housing of the *cathedra*, a parish church.<sup>1</sup> At Sheffield the emphasis was at first parochial; but, unusually among parish church cathedrals, four residentiary canonries were established under the Cathedrals Measure; they were filled by 1936.<sup>2</sup>

The 1931 Measure created for the incumbents the office of Provost,<sup>3</sup> which, together with the designation 'The Very Reverend', and gaitered costume, conferred on them the status and appearance of dignitaries; as we have seen, the Lang commission also constructed cathedral constitutions for these cathedrals.

After the First World War some began to extend their buildings: at Chelmsford the first bishop, Watts-Ditchfield urged expansion; some improvements followed his death, partly as his memorial.<sup>4</sup> Extensions at Sheffield were contemplated in 1919, but the death of the architect, Temple Moore, and the departure of the vicar frustrated the plan. Sir Charles Nicholson, who became architect, in turn prepared plans; but financial exigencies supervened and action was deferred.<sup>5</sup> In 1934 there was a renewed effort, and some progress, interrupted by the Second War, was made.<sup>6</sup> In 1963 George Pace prepared more modest plans; the work was completed to the designs of Ansell and Bailey in 1966.<sup>7</sup> Of the parish church cathedrals of dioceses founded in 1927, the extension of Portsmouth, begun in 1932, was halted by the outbreak of war; the cathedral was completed, in a markedly different way, in 1981.<sup>8</sup> At Blackburn work begun in 1938 was inevitably deferred; it was resumed in the 1960s; then the earlier plans of WA Forsythe were abandoned in favour of new, liturgically imaginative, proposals by Laurence King.<sup>9</sup> Other parish church cathedrals were untouched until after the Second World War: Bury St Edmunds until the 1960s;<sup>10</sup> Derby the 1970s;<sup>11</sup> Bradford the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>12</sup> Birmingham, Leicester, and Newcastle remained unextended.

The modern cathedrals were not without pioneering achievements, not least in the use of the laity. At Liverpool, in the 1930s and ahead of its time, Dwelly established a largely lay College of Counsel.<sup>13</sup> Lay canonries had been attempted at Coventry before the First World War, in anticipation of

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Act for the creation of the see did not set up a chapter, merely allowing the bishop to appoint twenty-four honorary canons.' CCII, 84

<sup>2</sup> Walton, 34, 45.

<sup>3</sup> CCI, 43

<sup>4</sup> Hewitt, 92f

<sup>5</sup> Walton, 34f

<sup>6</sup> Walton, 46

<sup>7</sup> Walton, 118, 138f

<sup>8</sup> Knowles, 2006, 4 ; see below, 114f

<sup>9</sup> Williams, 1993, 325, 327

<sup>10</sup> Pevsner and Radcliffe, 141

<sup>11</sup> Pevsner *Derbyshire*

<sup>12</sup> Leach and Pevsner, 150

<sup>13</sup> For early members see 142 below



the foundation of the see, but the attempt foundered;<sup>1</sup> they were established at Leicester and Southwark. At Portsmouth, Bishop Lovett envisaged them as order of 'men of local reputation who could represent the cathedral to the diocese and the diocese to the cathedral.' The Cathedral Commissioners, unwilling to extend the precedent, acceded only reluctantly. But lay canonries proved a valuable link between diocese and cathedral and a means to 'honour faithful service.'<sup>2</sup> In the 1990s they were prescribed, within the governing body, for all cathedrals.<sup>3</sup>

In the main, parish church cathedrals did not flourish in the years between the wars. Some were absorbed in building; the finances of most were exiguous: at Chelmsford, for instance, the diocese provided £300 for a 'curate for cathedral purposes', otherwise the parish was not recompensed; Bury St Edmunds received £150 from the diocese towards the cost of diocesan events; Bradford was in deficit.<sup>4</sup>

Two new dioceses had loftier ambitions. At Liverpool the second bishop, Chavasse, was seized of the need for a great central church.<sup>5</sup> The cause was popular; a public meeting in 1901 was unanimous.<sup>6</sup> During his episcopate, the Lady Chapel and the eastern limb were completed. It was not a parish church cathedral; it was a new foundation on a new site, and after the consecration of the choir in 1924, moves were made to establish a chapter with residentiaries and a dean, the latter appointed by the Crown. Chavasse's successor, David, made two appointments of great influence.

Charles Raven<sup>7</sup> soon returned to Cambridge, but he did not lose his interest in Liverpool. Not least of the achievements of the early years was the service on Sunday evenings at which the preaching – Raven's, Dwelly's, that of distinguished visitors, including Dick Sheppard, Studdert-Kennedy, Smuts, Maud Royden, and LP Jacks<sup>8</sup> – attracted great numbers, including the young, students among them.<sup>9</sup>

Frederick Dwelly<sup>10</sup> gave his life to the cathedral first as canon then, in 1931, as dean. If his roots were evangelical, his mature profession was liberal. In a low-church diocese, the traditional uses to which Anglo-Catholics applied colour and ceremonial were scarcely possible, and the Eucharist was not Dwelly's own devotional focus. He had already, in his parish and at the consecration, displayed immense attention to detail and imaginative skill in constructing acts of worship which caught the mood of the times. He was an aesthete and a stylist; the colours and flowing robes of the English Use

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<sup>1</sup> CCII,301, 303

<sup>2</sup> Loudon, 1995, 89

<sup>3</sup> CM, 1999; 4; 2; b

<sup>4</sup> CCII, 86; 124; 168

<sup>5</sup> Dillistone, 1985

<sup>6</sup> Kennerley, 1991, 14f.

<sup>7</sup> Biography: Dillistone, 1975

<sup>8</sup> LDG: Sheppard, XI,7; Studdert-Kennedy I,4; Royden I,3. Smuts: *Two Letters*

<sup>9</sup> Dillistone 1975, 147f

<sup>10</sup> Biography Kennerley, 2004

attracted him. So traditional symbolism and colour, rich robes, dignity of movement,<sup>1</sup> excellence of music, were turned to the ends of liberal Anglicanism. His imaginative way with words, and with forms of worship; the close attention he gave to printing and format – these qualities gave the cathedral worship which, reaching over the pervasive drab evangelicalism of the diocese, appealed to the wider community, and beyond. Liverpool became a standard. From the mid-nineteen-twenties, he was in touch with others who cared about cathedrals: with Dearmer and Duncan-Jones;<sup>2</sup> with Bell concerning Lang's enthronement; with Lang about a service to mark the King's recovery of health;<sup>3</sup> with the bishop for the dedication of extensions at Chelmsford.<sup>4</sup>

At Guildford, Archdeacon Blackburne's temporizations<sup>5</sup> did not triumph. A Diocesan Conference in May 1928 set up a commission, and Lord Onslow offered land on Stag Hill. Maufe was appointed architect. As at Liverpool, the site, and a tower, gave the building a commanding position. From early days, Guildford was to have a collegiate cathedral on a new site.<sup>6</sup>

Cathedrals have not always escaped acrimony and sometimes public opprobrium.<sup>7</sup> The vagaries of patronage did not assist concord. All deaneries were Crown offices. The changes of 1840 left the patronage of canonries very unevenly distributed.<sup>8</sup> An outside agency introduced new blood; but that agency was unlikely to be concerned to construct a unified body. Even so, we have observed greater contentment with the exercise of Crown's patronage than with that of the bishops who could not be relied upon to place first the needs of the cathedral. However, as late as the 1990s, two chapters found the Crown uncooperative. At Worcester, when the chapter asked for a canon with liturgical knowledge they received an historian; at York the chapter's chosen candidate for the deanery was not appointed. The Archbishop, on the other hand, reported that he had been able to exercise influence in the appointment.<sup>9</sup>

The bishop's standing in his cathedral was defined by statute; except where a man such as Bennett thought otherwise, dealings were likely to be formal, even legally defined. The chapters of the new cathedrals developed a corporate *amour propre*. The result at Liverpool was unhappy.<sup>10</sup> At Blackburn Bishop Claxton<sup>11</sup> once met the chapter to discuss a matter; he afterwards suggested they should continue their business. 'Not in your presence, my Lord', he was told, and obliged to withdraw.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf the fourth bishop, Martin: 'go to Liverpool Cathedral...to see how to walk to the glory of God', Kennerley, 2004, 270

<sup>2</sup> Dearmer, 1940, 273; Duncan-Jones: Kennerley, 2004, 112

<sup>3</sup> Kennerley, 2004, 99f; 102

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 102

<sup>5</sup> See above 102

<sup>6</sup> Winnett, 45

<sup>7</sup> See ch IX

<sup>8</sup> Appendix 7

<sup>9</sup> Notes for the Record: Worcester; York

<sup>10</sup> Below 191-4

<sup>11</sup> Bishop 1960-72

<sup>12</sup> Williams, 1993, 324

With rare exceptions (the rancour at Liverpool, for instance, before the Second World War) cathedrals were quiet and restrained. Where there was vigour, it rarely challenged the established order. At the time of the General Strike, Johnson was strangely silent at Manchester.<sup>1</sup> At Canterbury the Chapter made gestures, including providing some food, towards the strikers.<sup>2</sup> Later, they commissioned Masefield's play with its political resonances.<sup>3</sup> In 1935, led by Johnson, they received a 'pilgrimage' to help the unemployed.<sup>4</sup> Dwelly's response to the depression of the 1930s seemed detached.<sup>5</sup> In the main cathedrals went with the essentially conformist spirit of the church and the age. Only a rare spirit such as Bell or Dwelly took up the call to ecumenical activity.

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<sup>1</sup> Hughes 50f

<sup>2</sup> Robbins, 1995, 312

<sup>3</sup> See below 140

<sup>4</sup> Robbins 1995, 320

<sup>5</sup> Below, 142f

## Chapter V

### The Cathedral, the Bishop, and the Diocese

Dioceses emerged in Mediterranean Christianity during the fourth century. They were small, typically a city and its hinterland. The bishop's church, where his *cathedra* stood, and of which he and his *familia* were the clergy, was the hub of the diocese. As the church advanced into northern Europe, dioceses became larger and bishops and their households itinerant. But cathedrals were static, they needed ministerial constancy. Thus chapters separated from episcopal households; one group became two. Over time, the newer group, under the leadership of the dean, became fiercely independent. By the later Middle Ages chapters were 'republics... anxious to limit [the bishop's] power in his [cathedral] church... [his] right to visit and correct... was disputed or limited ... to a merely formal visitation. Wise bishops hesitated to provoke the opposition of deans and chapters'.<sup>1</sup> Neither the Reformation, nor the legislation of the nineteenth century, assailed this autonomy; cathedrals entered the twentieth century fully possessed of an independence they had gained during the Middle Ages.

Intransigently autonomous Cathedrals were anomalies; we have seen the criticism they provoked in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In 1919 at Chester a new dean, FSM Bennett, was a moderate high-churchman whose earlier experience was almost entirely pastoral. A new bishop, Luke Paget, was a kindred spirit: Anglo-Catholic, a warm-hearted pastor, a man of deep devotion. When he was at home the cathedral was his regular place of worship and prayer; he was there early each morning, he celebrated the Eucharist weekly, he attended Compline in the evening.<sup>2</sup>

That the cathedral was the bishop's church and the central church of the diocese were convictions dear to Bennett. In his first sermon he enunciated that it was the bishop's home. A cathedral estranged from its bishop was a contradiction in terms.<sup>3</sup> The bishop should live near the cathedral:<sup>4</sup> Bennett achieved the transference of the episcopal residence to the deanery, whence he himself moved to a smaller house.<sup>5</sup> The cathedral 'simply cannot [be]... the Bishop's Church if he lives in a castle miles away, or a villa equally distant'.<sup>6</sup> Bishop and chapter should meet 'frequently and informally' in order to promote harmony, and they should make their daily communion together.<sup>7</sup> Paget 'identified with the vigorous new life', the worship, and the crowds of visitors: 'I was in and out of the Cathedral a good deal during the day... an influence is at work which knows no bounds', he said after a bank-holiday.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Thompson, 1925, 22,

<sup>2</sup> Paget, 230f

<sup>3</sup> Bruce, 3

<sup>4</sup> Bruce, 123

<sup>5</sup> Bruce, 218

<sup>6</sup> Bennett, 1925, 11f

<sup>7</sup> Bruce, 123f

<sup>8</sup> Paget, 231f

They did not always agree; but in a well-grounded relationship, Bennett thought, 'occasional little disagreements will merely add zest and piquancy'.<sup>1</sup> Whatever those disagreements, Paget's admiration for Bennett was unstinting; the dean had, he said, 'wonderfully linked up the life of the Cathedral with the life of the diocese'.<sup>2</sup> In 1930 he tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain the Lambeth DD for Bennett.<sup>3</sup> Paget's successor, GF Fisher, also admired Bennett and it was he who, emphasising the impact of Bennett's changes on all cathedrals, secured from Archbishop Lang his DD.<sup>4</sup> Lang himself had testified to Bennett's impact when he preached at Chester in 1923; the occasion, he said, had given him 'a new vision of what our Cathedral churches might be'.<sup>5</sup>

The Cathedrals Measure of 1931 required the revision of cathedral statutes, establishing for bishops something of the role moderate reformers desired for them. At Chester, 'in some measure', Bennett said, the revised statutes 'dethroned' the dean, but, he added, 'with the present dean's approval'.<sup>6</sup> He anticipated the new statutes by convoking a meeting of the greater chapter with the Bishop in the chair; they were 'making history', he proclaimed.<sup>7</sup>

In his first sermon also he invoked an ancient ideal by speaking of the cathedral body as the bishop's 'household'.<sup>8</sup> Diocese and cathedral, he said, belong together; the parishes should be linked to the cathedral in prayer. He was eager that the cathedral should embrace the diocese: it should be the bishop's 'great family House of God';<sup>9</sup> the symbol and expression of the feeling of 'brotherhood' which should characterise a diocese.<sup>10</sup> He strove to build up the relationship, to involve the parochial clergy in the activities of the cathedral: though with limited success; on special occasions, he would observe, only the seats reserved for the clergy were half-filled.<sup>11</sup> The cathedral prayed daily for the parishes in rotation, and the latter were invited to submit particular needs for mention.<sup>12</sup> The clergy were welcome to take parties of their parishioners round and to 'conduct little services, and sing hymns'.<sup>13</sup> It was a moment of satisfaction to him when, in 1922, the Diocesan Conference met in his newly refurbished rooms: '[a]s never before in its long history, the Diocese occupied the Cathedral for its Conference and obviously found the doing so wholly enjoyable'.<sup>14</sup> Bennett used the honorary canons to emphasise the concept of the cathedral not as the 'special property of a small corporation' but as a diocesan foundation. Hitherto the holders of 'an empty title and a stall', they became, with the

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<sup>1</sup> Bennett, 13

<sup>2</sup> Paget, 239

<sup>3</sup> Bruce, 220; LP 101, 121f

<sup>4</sup> Bruce, 220f.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce, 108

<sup>6</sup> Bruce, 137

<sup>7</sup> Bruce, 137

<sup>8</sup> Bruce, 7

<sup>9</sup> Bruce, 123

<sup>10</sup> Bennett, 10

<sup>11</sup> Bruce, 115

<sup>12</sup> Bruce, 126, 3

<sup>13</sup> Bruce, 126

<sup>14</sup> Bruce, 106

residentiaries, 'the Corporation of the Cathedral', the 'Dean and Chapter', with a role; but with responsibilities also: they must now share his 'discomfiture (not to say distress)' at the debt of £4,000 on the fabric fund, which he wished to liquidate before he retired.<sup>1</sup> When, in 1929, he formed the Friends of the Cathedral, he hoped, with an unfulfilled optimism, that parishes would become corporate Friends.<sup>2</sup>

New dioceses were established during the 1920s and the sense of 'the diocese' as a unifying entity grew. Chester, at the western end of its diocese, was not ideally sited to capitalize upon this. But advances in transport helped. Bennett took full advantage of this, both in his quest for intercourse between cathedral and diocese and in his response to tourism.

Bell strengthened the links between Canterbury cathedral and the diocese. The parishes were remembered daily in prayer.<sup>3</sup> The chapter, the honorary canons, and the six-preachers,<sup>4</sup> all pronounced unfavourably on the Lang Commission's proposal to enlarge the governing body; but meetings for 'devotion and consultation' and for 'advice' already took place. '[S]uggestions of criticism' about the work of the cathedral and its relations with the diocese, and informal and not binding votes, were possible.<sup>5</sup>

Chichester was led from 1929 by an Anglo-Catholic who was concerned that worship should be aesthetically pleasing. Duncan-Jones's ceremonial was rooted in a traditionalism which looked back to the English Middle Ages, and of which the English Use<sup>6</sup> and the *English Hymnal* were manifestations.

In the *Chichester Customary* the cathedral's liturgical observances were prescribed.<sup>7</sup> Some of the provision emphasised the relationship with the bishop, or the diocese: the receiving of the bishop at the west door before an ordination; 'admitting a dignitary or prebendary', 'after the death of the bishop or of a member of the chapter', 'a pilgrims office,' for use at the shrine of St Richard.<sup>8</sup> There was also a form for the annual procession to the shrine on St Richard's Day.<sup>9</sup> In 1933 a pageant, *The Acts of St Richard*, was written and performed in the Palace gardens.<sup>10</sup> In 1950 the pageant had a new form, with scenes from the saint's childhood enacted at the shrine.<sup>11</sup> Duncan-Jones's creation of a modest cult of Richard of Chichester was congruous with the sense of tradition in a diocese with an Anglo-Catholic flavour; it also drew attention to the cathedral, situated at the western end of a diocese one hundred miles long. Bell sought to use the dignitaries to serve diocesan needs,<sup>12</sup> and RJ Campbell performed

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce, 137. By 1934 it was only £500 (ibid, 235f)

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, 115

<sup>3</sup> Robbins, 1995, 319

<sup>4</sup> Six preachers: see art ODCC

<sup>5</sup> CA, 1928, 142-8

<sup>6</sup> See glossary

<sup>7</sup> Duncan-Jones, 1948

<sup>8</sup> Duncan-Jones, 1948, 16ff, 59ff, 66ff, 69ff

<sup>9</sup> Duncan-Jones, 1948 40

<sup>10</sup> Foster, 2007, 32f

<sup>11</sup> *Times*, 19 June, 1950

<sup>12</sup> Bell, 1948, 14-6

valuable work in the theological education of the clergy.<sup>1</sup> Bell hoped the Treasurership might be used to provide a 'minister of religious art in the diocese as a whole';<sup>2</sup> before Hussey became dean he had thought he might be that minister.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, at Liverpool, the auspices could scarcely have been better: a new cathedral, a liberal bishop who built up a chapter of able, likeminded, men, with whom he could work. Preparations for the consecration embraced the diocese: the clergy received a synopsis of the service, expounding the spiritual meaning of the ceremonies; throughout the night before, representatives of the Rural Deaneries successively kept vigil in the Lady Chapel.<sup>4</sup> David set out to use the cathedral as a diocesan resource: his plan for the care of the recently ordained was 'the first serious attempt in England' to establish systematic post-ordination study. The meetings were held at the cathedral. The greater part of the teaching fell to Dwelly and, perhaps, more particularly to Raven. A number of able young men were brought into contact with them. Ablest was AM Ramsey; others of some distinction were Tiarks and Harrison, evangelicals who served cathedrals and perhaps revealed Dwelly's influence in an abiding interest in liturgy.<sup>5</sup> The Lang Commission praised the burgeoning initiatives in more general theological education. It foresaw a 'school of theology centred in the cathedral' – whether permanently, or as a preliminary to a department of theology at the university.<sup>6</sup>

In November 1940 Coventry cathedral was effectively destroyed. The provost, RT Howard, immediately commanded a deeply Christian spirit. He recorded his gratitude that, in 1943, Gorton<sup>7</sup> became bishop: a bishop 'who shared my conviction that the cathedral should be closely related to the civic community, and that it should give visible expression to Christian unity by incorporating a chapel for all Christian denominations.' Gorton's influence and support were important. From his 'brilliant creative imagination' largely came the idea of a Christian Service Centre and a Chapel of Unity.<sup>8</sup> Both men were influential in the movement towards the rebuilding of the cathedral; the decisions which defined the new building functionally as well as architecturally and artistically were all made in Howard's years; they throw light on his and Gorton's principles.<sup>9</sup>

At an early stage, Howard was anxious that the new cathedral should 'play an important role in the moral regeneration of Britain, and reflect the more egalitarian conditions which he envisaged after the war. He wanted chapels dedicated to particular industries and activities, to 'link religion to the life of the city'. The altar was to be not inaccessible but 'a place of majesty'. Gorton added new emphases: a cathedral which was, as well as the locus of the Eucharist, 'a big space which can be used for a

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<sup>1</sup> Jasper, 1967, 74

<sup>2</sup> Bell, 1948, 17

<sup>3</sup> Bell to Fisher, 2 February 1955; Bishop of Chichester papers

<sup>4</sup> Kennerley, 2004, 79f; 85

<sup>5</sup> Dillistone, 1975, 145

<sup>6</sup> CCII, 225

<sup>7</sup> Biography: Moyle, bibliography

<sup>8</sup> Howard, 30; qualified by 'largely', 90

<sup>9</sup> Campbell is an extended account of the architecture.

preaching and community space',<sup>1</sup> a cathedral which could be a focal point: the base for 'a co-operative 'Christian social attack' on contemporary problems.'<sup>2</sup>

The Provost was the head of the cathedral body; the bishop, although possessing greater access than in an ancient foundation, was still, in theory, on the outside. It is striking that in these years the two worked together, not always agreeing, but collaborating, to rebuild the cathedral. Equally striking is the involvement of the laity: the congregation, and the diocese.<sup>3</sup>

Gorton's successor, Cuthbert Bardsley, was enthusiastic about the cathedral, and he set about building a team 'at the heart of the cathedral and the diocese.'<sup>4</sup> The appointment of a new Provost was crucial. HCN Williams was as remarkable a man as Howard and, as Howard had set the initial course of the cathedral and laid the path for its design, so Williams defined its ministry and witness, beyond his own tenure of office. He was born in South Africa, the son of a Dutch mother and an English father, the product of 'a home in which the Dutch-English divide had been bridged.' He was conscious, even at school, that his mixed origins placed him "'in the middle" and bewildered'. But 'Christians heal the wounds of history' was his mother's axiom: 'in time [it] became a Coventry text.' Before he went to Coventry he was Vicar of Southampton, rebuilding a church which demolished by bombing – work which 'clearly shaped' his approach to Coventry.<sup>5</sup> His first visit to the ruined cathedral and the words 'Father Forgive' brought the conflict and destruction 'into focus': 'I knew the direction of the rest of my life and ministry.'<sup>6</sup>

Other appointments linked cathedral and diocese. Phipps became diocesan Industrial Chaplain and cathedral curate. Williams liked him at once: 'the graciousness and kindness of which I was aware then never failed'.<sup>7</sup> Stephen Verney became Diocesan Missioner: from the first a member of the 'cathedral team'<sup>8</sup> and from 1964 a residentiary; throughout his responsibilities were closely linked with the new cathedral as a diocesan centre. Edward Patey became a residentiary canon with responsibilities for Youth and Education. It is noteworthy that, whether members of the chapter or not, the personnel formed a body: Williams was determined to disregard the hierarchical conventions of the cathedral tradition.

Williams always saw himself as an 'outsider'; he believed the status was an advantage, freeing him from 'the inflexible hold which tradition has on the Church of England' and enabling him to lead his cathedral to 'break new ground and try to redefine the role of a cathedral in the 20th century.' 'His great

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<sup>1</sup> Campbell, 24, quoting Gorton

<sup>2</sup> Campbell, 22

<sup>3</sup> See 168 below

<sup>4</sup> Coggan, 139, 142

<sup>5</sup> Campbell, 206

<sup>6</sup> Williams 1990, 2

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 4

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 12



desire was to make the cathedral the mother church of the diocese and to place it at the very heart of the city'.<sup>1</sup>

As at Liverpool,<sup>2</sup> the consecration of the cathedral was used to unite the diocese.<sup>3</sup> 'What God wanted' Verney wrote, 'was not just a consecrated Cathedral but a *consecrated people* living round it'.<sup>4</sup> The diocesan clergy met residentially in 1960; they were unanimous save for one dissident. But 'later that evening [he] came to understand that his objections had sprung from his own sense of insecurity' and the clergy were unanimous. It is tempting to wonder what psychological pressure may lie behind the anodyne 'came to understand': Verney was a devotee of small groups, a psychology of which was then becoming influential in the church.<sup>5</sup> He master-minded the diocesan programme in which they were important. Their object at Coventry was partly to form bonds between people, partly to instruct, in, for instance, the implications of baptism, partly to induce a spirit of united prayer and evangelism.

Bardsley, an eloquent evangelist, conducted a Mission. That was followed by forty days and nights of prayer while the Cross of Nails<sup>6</sup> passed through every parish, returning to the ruins of the old cathedral on the eve of the consecration of the new. The progress of the cross, 'symbol of forgiveness, new life...reconciliation between men and nations', was attended by much devotion: 'my personal impression was that this was more potent than the visit to the Mission'.<sup>7</sup>

Verney, assisted by Patey, was the strategist in all of this. The consecrated people, as well as the consecrated cathedral, was in the hands of the cathedral clergy.

Before the consecration, Williams found the diocese unresponsive to the cathedral. He contrasted the enthusiastic welcome he received when he first visited Coventry as the visiting speaker at a conference with the 'deafening' silence which greeted the announcement of his appointment: he 'had to personalise the new cathedral and ...there was still widespread and bitter antagonism...among the clergy'.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the entire team tried, seizing opportunities to talk about the cathedral in parishes and schools; between October 1958 and the end of 1959 Williams spoke ninety-seven times in the diocese. He was welcomed, 'only in the Rural Deanery Chapters of the clergy did I meet the old hostility.' In retirement, he said his inability to bridge the gap between the cathedral and the clergy 'still brings a great heaviness to my spirit'.<sup>9</sup> It was a rare failure in reconciliation.

To Verney the outcome of the bishop's mission was that 'the diocese became a person, a body alive with the spirit';<sup>10</sup> whether this was more than an optimistic assessment of a passing moment of

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<sup>1</sup> Coggan, 144

<sup>2</sup> Above 110

<sup>3</sup> See Verney, summary Coggan, 154-8

<sup>4</sup> Verney, 13

<sup>5</sup> Below, 165, n.8

<sup>6</sup> Below, 146

<sup>7</sup> Verney, 37-44

<sup>8</sup> Williams, 1990, 5

<sup>9</sup> Williams, 1990, 47f

<sup>10</sup> Verney ch 5; quotation 35

euphoria may be doubted. A cleric gave Hugh Dickinson, the cathedral's Adult Education Officer,<sup>1</sup> 'some advice': 'on no account attempt to set foot in my parish.'<sup>2</sup> In 1975 Bardsley, an optimistic man, spoke of finding ways to prevent or erase 'potential difficulties in mutual understanding'.<sup>3</sup> For some, Williams concluded, the pretext for hostility was the Chapel of Unity, which high Anglicans thought should not be structurally attached to the cathedral.<sup>4</sup>

He was dismissive of conventional assumptions about the diocesan role of cathedrals. An annual diocesan service with representatives of an organisation was not a 'uniting and creative influence'; the bond was 'illusory and unreal.' To be 'strong and real and creative', annual services must be expressions of regular pastoral ministry by the cathedral in the diocese. If no member of the cathedral staff had contact or interest, and youth work was conducted in the face of discouragement in difficult parishes, 'the point of [a youth] service is just a little difficult to discover, and the reasons given to justify it are not convincing.' But if a member of the cathedral staff was active in promoting the use of the cathedral in training youth workers and its rooms were used, a youth service 'expresses a working bond of concern and interest between the Diocesan centre and the Diocese itself.'<sup>5</sup> Every organisation in church life and many outside would be enriched if they 'could look to their cathedral' for support rather than for 'an isolated annual service'. The cathedral must be the base for 'an outgoing pastoral organisation' before a diocese can be expected to have anything to express in an annual service; it must be 'creating and strengthening a diocesan consciousness before it offers itself as a place where that consciousness can be expressed.'<sup>6</sup>

Portsmouth, we shall see, had experienced vicissitudes; they were rooted at least partly in the personality of a provost.<sup>7</sup> Towards the close of the century, another personality made Portsmouth an exemplar for the relations of cathedral and bishop and diocese.

In 1975, a new bishop, Gordon, thought that canonries, including those financed by the Church Commissioners, should 'be used creatively by appointing men with skills that could be used widely within the diocese'; by 1984 the Directorships of Ordinands and of Religious Education, and the Advisership for Social Responsibility were all attached to cathedral appointments. Thus a cathedral which had made only a slight, sometimes a negative, impact in its diocese 'came to be seen as involved in the ministry, mission, and social action on a diocesan scale.'<sup>8</sup>

Among those appointed to canonries was one who was to become almost a second founder. DS Stancliffe arrived in 1977. The appointment was characteristic of those made by Gordon: Stancliffe came from beyond the diocese, and his responsibilities were in part in the cathedral and in part in the

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<sup>1</sup> 1969-78

<sup>2</sup> Dammers, 65

<sup>3</sup> Bardsley, 14

<sup>4</sup> Williams, 1990, 51f

<sup>5</sup> Williams, 1964, 29

<sup>6</sup> Williams, 1964, 29f

<sup>7</sup> Below, 199

<sup>8</sup> Loudon, 96

diocese. Music, architecture - he was an 'architect *manqué*'<sup>1</sup> - and, although he was not a liturgical scholar, the practice of worship, were among his interests. He was thus well-equipped for the office of Precentor: he was 'not only a Precentor who could conduct worship, but a liturgist who understood the principles of worship in relation to the place in which it was offered.'<sup>2</sup> That sentence is the key to his work at Portsmouth. He was not a theologian but art and architecture and music were immensely important to him, and his knowledge of them was extensive;<sup>3</sup> the interaction of these and worship was to be the sphere in which he was to be influential.

The relationship of Stancliffe, effervescent with ideas and visions, and Nott, conservative and cautious, was not easy.<sup>4</sup> Stancliffe quickly made an impression. He 'began to take responsibility' for major occasions, including the innovatory diocesan Confirmation services, and the 'stational'<sup>5</sup> liturgy which inaugurated the Portsmouth association with the church in West Africa. He had diocesan roles: lay training and ordinands; that he should be a member of the Diocesan Advisory Committee was almost inevitable.<sup>6</sup>

Nott retired in 1982, closing a ministry ecclesiastically and politically conservative,<sup>7</sup> and on both counts congenial to the congregation and the wider community. Stancliffe, Gordon told the congregation, was his inevitable successor.<sup>8</sup> His appointment, at the age of forty, brought a comparatively young man to senior office; Gordon expressed the hope 'that he would continue the work of making St Thomas's the cathedral of the diocese.' As he assumed office structural problems loomed. They were his opportunity.

Already, his imaginative diocesan services had exposed the liturgical insufficiency of the building; now he could not merely to complete it and provide additional seating, but fulfil his vision for it as a liturgical space. In the years that followed there were the pains of fundraising,<sup>9</sup> but Portsmouth cathedral was, at last, brought not just to completion but to a completion in which the place in which worship was offered was attuned closely to the nature of that worship.

Led by Stancliffe, the Cathedral Council determined that there should be an 'overall solution to the needs and opportunities of the building'. It should be more than 'functionally appropriate', not merely providing for 'liturgical and more community based demands', but embodying a vision which would 'enable [it] to make a positive and confident statement about the Christian faith'.<sup>10</sup>

Thus the brief presented to architects did not content itself with practical requirements. Nicholson's nave from the 1930s was to remain uncompleted, there was to be no great increase in the

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<sup>1</sup> Platten

<sup>2</sup> Loudon, 1995, 97

<sup>3</sup> Platten. See also Stancliffe, 2008

<sup>4</sup> Knowles

<sup>5</sup> See glossary

<sup>6</sup> Loudon, 97

<sup>7</sup> Knowles

<sup>8</sup> Knowles

<sup>9</sup> Loudon, 99f

<sup>10</sup> Loudon, 147

volume of space, but the space acquired was to be significant space. '[T]o feel included' was difficult for those in the nave; the scheme presupposed the worship of the bishop as the father of his diocesan family gathered with him to offer worship.' Even when worship was not taking place, the building should 'exhibit a clearly-patterned succession of spaces': 'casual visitor and regular worshipper alike' should see in them 'the key stages of the Christian journey into faith.' The scheme must 'draw the building together', so that it is not 'a series of disconnected spaces'. The heart of the vision was 'of the worshipping life of the cathedral as embodied in a distinctive or particular cathedral liturgy.'<sup>1</sup> 'Only the Paschal Vigil could provide the model of that foundational liturgy from which all else would derive, so the architect's brief consisted of nothing other than a description of that act of worship.'<sup>2</sup>

In order to enter the choir, the worshipper, or visitor, must pass through a dark, narrow, space, a structurally inevitable consequence of the earlier development of the building. A stroke of inspiration led Stancliffe to place 'the tomb-like font' in that dark place, symbolizing the Christian progression.<sup>3</sup>

The quire was to be the worshipping heart of the cathedral; there, altar and lectern, the twin foci of Word and Sacrament, complemented one another; and counterpoised to north and south were the pulpit and bishop's sedes; the locus of preaching and the defining symbol of the cathedral and of the bishop's unifying diocesan status.

Not only did Stancliffe seek to embody the cathedral's function in architectural and liturgical symbols, he was eager also to affirm the status of the bishop in the cathedral and the status of the cathedral in the diocese:<sup>4</sup> The 'prime objective' of the cathedral, he wrote, was to 'support and reflect the ministry of the bishop'; it was the place where he performed diocesan liturgical ministrations: ordinations, synodical services, the commissioning of Readers, the Blessing of Oils: occasions when he was always the celebrant, as he was at one Eucharist at Christmas, on Ash Wednesday, throughout Holy Week, at Easter. Stancliffe emphasised especially the services of Baptism and Confirmation held on seven or eight occasions during the year. At these, the cathedral was 'clearly functioning as the Bishop's church', drawing together parishes throughout the diocese, and giving to those who attended an 'experience of stational worship they could never have in their own churches.'

The cathedral used its regular worship to forge links with the diocese. '[O]nce a term' the Parish Communion of a parish of the diocese would be the 9.30 cathedral Eucharist. Then the parish priest would celebrate and, frequently, preach; thus parishes were helped 'to feel that it is their cathedral as much as ours.'<sup>5</sup>

Appointments were made in a way emphasizing the 'close and fruitful' relationship of the bishop and the cathedral; there was full consultation; candidate and chapter met before a formal offer: 'a great strength in providing a team of people who can work with the Bishop and with one another.' The three

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<sup>1</sup> Stancliffe, 1995, 148

<sup>2</sup> Stancliffe, 2008, 264

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 265; illustrated 264

<sup>4</sup> Knowles; Platten; Fenton

<sup>5</sup> Stancliffe, 153.

residentiaries with 'major departmental responsibilities' attended part of the Bishop's Staff Meeting; the bishop, especially through his concern for Church Music, was in 'regular contact with the Precentor and the Organist.'<sup>1</sup> As at Coventry, there were no 'rigid boundaries' in 'levels of the cathedral's work'. 'With a close relationship with our Bishop, our ministry in the diocese...is as important as what we do in and from the cathedral itself.'<sup>2</sup> The phrase 'the mobile cathedral' was a favourite of Stancliffe's, concisely expressing his belief in the diocesan activity of the cathedral staff.<sup>3</sup>

If all of this had a shadow, it was the frequent absences of canons and the Provost from the collegiate life of the cathedral.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, it was a deliberate effort to recover the bishop's historic *familia*. Stancliffe gave a high priority to his own responsibilities in that *familia*; his membership of the bishop's staff was 'pivotal', and he was assiduous in attendance at its meetings. He compared his role there to 'an archdeacon without portfolio,' Knowles to 'a diocesan Queen Mother'.

Portsmouth cathedral was 'well represented' on deanery, diocesan, and General Synod. It voluntarily paid its full diocesan quota, an undertaking which 'improved dramatically' relationships with the diocese.<sup>5</sup> In return, the diocese paid for the Precentor and his house: a recognition of the time the cathedral clergy gave to diocese. Mutual generosity, Stancliffe reflected, was conducive to a better relationship than the mutual exchange of bills.<sup>6</sup>

Stancliffe was an enthusiast for the constitutions given to the Parish Church Cathedrals by the Cathedrals Measure of 1963. Under that Measure, Portsmouth was governed by a Council, the constituents of which were drawn from the Chapter, the College of Lay Canons, the parochial establishment, the archdeacons, a nominee of the bishop; the Provost was chairman. This Council determined 'key matters of policy and expenditure', set the budget, took from the clergy the 'ultimate responsibility of financial control.' Between meetings the Provost, together with the residentiaries, the Administrator, the organist, the Precentor, 'works out and implements day-to-day running'. Such a constitution made the cathedral 'more accountable to and more closely linked with the fortunes of the diocese as a whole' than were the older cathedrals.<sup>7</sup>

Stancliffe was fortunate in his times: from 1985 his bishop, Timothy Bavin, was an Anglo-Catholic. Bavin acquiesced, to a degree that another bishop might not have, in the schemes of a provost of polished manner and forceful resolve.<sup>8</sup>

This is not to say there was no resistance, no animosity. The churchwardens, others in the congregation, and, in the wider community, the Member of Parliament,<sup>9</sup> thought the work on the

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<sup>1</sup> Stancliffe 1995, 156

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 147

<sup>3</sup> Ibid 147

<sup>4</sup> Fenton

<sup>5</sup> Howe recommended an annual 'balance of payments' statement between cathedrals and dioceses, and a balancing quota payment if necessary. H&R 172

<sup>6</sup> Stancliffe, 1995, 157

<sup>7</sup> Stancliffe, 1995, 146

<sup>8</sup> Knowles, Platten, Fenton; Loudon, 1995, 98

<sup>9</sup> Fenton; Fairfax

building costly and wasteful. And, in a congregation accustomed for more than thirty years to the Irish Protestantism of Goff, and then to the conventionalism of Nott, acclaim for Stancliffe's richly symbolic Anglo-Catholicism was not unqualified. But Stancliffe was unperturbed by such criticism. His work was of a single piece. His liturgical emphasis, rooted in the centrality of the Eucharist, his highly symbolic development of the building, were rooted in Catholic soil; his perception of the integral relationship of the cathedral to the bishop and his diocese expressed a high doctrine of the episcopate. In it, the aspirations of a line of reformers, reaching back beyond the work of the Lang commission and of Bennett at Chester into the nineteenth century, reached, in one cathedral, a fulfilment. It also placed Portsmouth in the vanguard: as he left Portsmouth, the Howe Commission was demanding between all cathedrals, their diocesans, and their dioceses the kind of symbiosis he had achieved at Portsmouth.

Portsmouth was not associated with the diocesan outreach to the alienated working classes, work which became linked with some cathedrals in industrial centres. At Sheffield, ER Wickham, in England the pioneer of Industrial Mission<sup>1</sup> became, in 1951, a residentiary canon, a status enhancing his innovative work.<sup>2</sup> Phipps was soon to link Coventry Cathedral and industry;<sup>3</sup> Atherton, closely concerned with Industrial Mission, retained responsibilities when he became a residentiary at Manchester; Chelmsford appointed to a chaplaincy JD Jones, whose duties beyond the cathedral were in Industrial Mission.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hastings, 439, 444f

<sup>2</sup> Jowett: Wickham

<sup>3</sup> See 111 above

<sup>4</sup> JD Jones

## Chapter VI

### Cathedrals and the churches

'Cathedrals belong to a common Christian heritage, and in that sense belong to everyone, they are natural venues for shared Christian worship'.<sup>1</sup> The Howe report was the first to note ecumenical activity in the cathedrals: such activity goes back beyond the Lang commission. It is, indeed, strange that that report contains no reference to ecumenism: the Lambeth Appeal to All Christian People was Lang's brain-child; he was vigorously prosecuting the quest in the 1920s.<sup>2</sup>

George Bell, while chaplain at Lambeth, helped to shape the Appeal;<sup>3</sup> he went to Canterbury in 1924 a dedicated ecumenist. The seven-hundredth anniversary of the arrival there of the Grey Friars in that year presented an early opportunity: the Roman Catholics collaborated in a programme of events, of which the last was 'a combined tea-party on the Franciscan lawn'.<sup>4</sup> If that activity was fraternal rather than ecclesial, in November he told the Chapter that he had invited the Reverend JD Jones to preach.<sup>5</sup> Jones was an ecumenically active Congregationalist; Bell saw the invitation as symbolic: an out-working, deliberately undertaken, of the Appeal.<sup>6</sup> A small French Protestant Congregation worshipped each week in the cathedral crypt; Bell invited Wilfred Monod to give an address.<sup>7</sup> (Not until 1977 did the chapter agree that the French Pastor should be invited regularly to robe in processions on festivals.<sup>8</sup>) Almost at the end of his time at Canterbury, the ecumenical commitment he and Lang shared was manifest in the presence in the procession at the latter's enthronement of 'Representatives of Other Communions'; among them members of the Scottish Churches, the English Free Churches, the continental reformed churches; the Old Catholics, and Armenian, Russian and Greek Orthodox; only Rome was lacking.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1920s, the Lambeth Appeal inspired Cardinal Mercier to convoke the Malines Conference.<sup>10</sup> Armitage Robinson was among the Anglicans. While still at Cambridge, Robinson had largely facilitated the establishment by the Benedictines of Downside of a House of Studies attached to his college.<sup>11</sup> At Wells, his association with Downside was close: he shared scholarly interests with Abbot Butler, and with Dom Hugh Connolly; to the young Dom David Knowles he proposed collaborative work.<sup>12</sup> Robinson would go over to Downside, sometimes staying overnight or longer. He would then attend the conventual high mass, kneeling in a side chapel. The visits were reciprocated:

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, 20

<sup>2</sup> Lockhart ch XXIII, esp 273-9

<sup>3</sup> Jasper, 56f

<sup>4</sup> Robbins, 1995, 311; Jasper, 1967, 37f

<sup>5</sup> Robbins, 311

<sup>6</sup> Methuen, 238-41

<sup>7</sup> Robbins, 311.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 335

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 315; also *Processions*, 6

<sup>10</sup> For Malines Conversations see Barlow 1996

<sup>11</sup> Taylor, 26f; Knowles 1963, 299f

<sup>12</sup> Taylor, 62

'young monks from Downside Abbey would arrange to drop in [at Wells] for Evensong hoping just to see him enter...and occasionally hear him read a lesson'.<sup>1</sup>

The Malines Conversations were not official, but Archbishop Davidson knew of them; Robinson's association with Downside was personal, but certainly known to Davidson, whom he took there at least once.<sup>2</sup> Relations between the two churches were then unpropitious. At such a time, links between the dean of an English cathedral and Roman Catholics, in England and abroad, were noteworthy.

Elsewhere, the more predictable relations with the Free Churches developed. In 1921 and 1922 the Convocations of Canterbury and York passed resolutions authorising the implementation of the Lambeth Appeal.<sup>3</sup> At Liverpool the response was enthusiastic. When the building was consecrated in 1924, the special services included one for Free Churchmen, at which the preacher was Henson: a fitting choice; Henson had addressed non-episcopal churches in England and Scotland, once in defiance of Gore.<sup>4</sup> At the 'Service of Records', six months after the Consecration, the bishop proclaimed his vision for the cathedral. 'Take care' he told the Subdean (Dwelly), 'that thanksgivings are offered for the public work of men and women engaged in disinterested service, no matter of what nature or religion.' The Chapter were 'to make good proof that this Holy Place is a holy place for all people'. The Greater Chapter should 'endeavour to assist and be assisted by every man who pursues unflinchingly the quest for Truth, which is the quest for God. Let our searching of Holy Scripture be brave and free...our ministrations [shall not] exclude anyone who, bound by contrary allegiance, declares himself to be loyal to the church's creed and claims its services.' 'This is a great building', he declaimed; it was to be open to 'all men of good will without regard to creed or manner'.<sup>5</sup>

Such words, enunciated by the bishop, but doubtless written by Dwelly, gave abundant ecumenical scope: preachers at the 8.30 Service were 'ministers of various denominations', laymen without institutional Christian commitment.<sup>6</sup> The widely-drawn phrases of the Service of Records did not, *prima facie*, exclude Unitarians, and among those who preached were LP Jacks and Laurence Redfern. Ecumenism so liberal tested the boundaries of the Lambeth Appeal, and David argued to the northern bishops that Unitarians fell within its compass.<sup>7</sup> His arguments did not prevail; the bishops restricted the invitations to Trinitarians.<sup>8</sup> There was much acrimony.<sup>9</sup> Thereafter, Dwelly narrowed his ecumenical horizons; invitations to Free Church ministers ceased: 'he did not wish them or the Cathedral to be further hurt by controversy or the possibility of legal proceedings. Such invitations...were now a matter for the Bishop'.<sup>10</sup> Dwelly professed to be protecting the Cathedral and

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor, 62, 57

<sup>2</sup> Knowles, 1963, 334f

<sup>3</sup> Text in Bell, 1924, 100ff

<sup>4</sup> Chadwick 1983, 215-7; summary in Turner, 2000, 112;

<sup>5</sup> Service of Records

<sup>6</sup> Dillistone, 1975, 163

<sup>7</sup> Turner, 2000, 117

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 119

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 119f; below 193f

<sup>10</sup> Wilkinson, 1985, 71



the Free Churches; it is difficult not to judge his reaction piqued. Certainly local ministers were 'bewildered and angry.' Not until 1937 did reconciliation begin. Then, a meeting between some ministers and Dwelly, and a shared broadcast service, started the process.<sup>1</sup>

In other cathedrals ecumenism was better judged. In the 1930s, relations between the churches in Coventry were good, with 'much co-operation in social service', united services in the cathedral, 'important joint pronouncements on the practical application of the Christian faith', close friendships between 'leading clergy and ministers';<sup>2</sup> 'it was the normal custom for members of the Church of England and the Free Churches to pray together' Howard told Convocation'.<sup>3</sup> Whilst in India, Howard had seen 'the spiritual resources of Hindu poetry', and moved away from a narrow evangelicalism. In after-years he was a liberal evangelical and his work at Coventry before the war was influenced by Dwelly.<sup>4</sup> In the background were the conversations stimulated by the Lambeth Appeal. Rapprochement with the Free Churches was a part of Howard's ecclesiastical *milieu*.

The first visitors to his house on the morning after the destruction of the cathedral were the Bishop, and Ingli James.<sup>5</sup> James had already preached in the cathedral, the first Free Church minister to do so; now he was 'the first of Richard Howard's friends to call...Nobody else at that moment could have brought the quality of compassion which the cathedral's provost most needed.'<sup>6</sup> Clearly, the affinity between the two men was deep. How far the influence of James's pacifism contributed to the development of the reconciliation which became the cathedral's *leitmotif*, cannot be known. But ecumenism, ecclesial reconciliation, was to be prominent in the reconstruction of the life of the cathedral.

Howard was grateful for, in Gorton, for a bishop who was an ecumenical ally.<sup>7</sup> From the start, the Free Churches were involved in the formulation of a plan. Leslie Cooke 'took a leading and constructive part in the consultations with the Bishop and myself', and the Free Church Federal Council of Coventry was 'fully-consulted' and wholeheartedly consented.<sup>8</sup> The scheme was published in 1944. Among its proposals 'a Christian Centre of service to the community' was 'an essential part of the Cathedral scheme': an endowment fund to staff the cathedral and the centre; an invitation to the Free Churches to 'full partnership' in the centre which would be 'jointly staffed'; the erection of a Chapel of Unity attached to the cathedral, belonging to 'the Free Churches and the Anglicans', were envisaged.<sup>9</sup> Gorton's statement stressed that the times were 'the church's great chance'. Outsiders, he said, sensed incongruity in Christian division: 'the Christian Church exists to break down barriers'. The

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 71f

<sup>2</sup> Howard, 1962, 30

<sup>3</sup> CCC 1946, 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Times*, Nov. 4, 1981,12

<sup>5</sup> Howard, 1962, 19

<sup>6</sup> Binfield, 258

<sup>7</sup> Howard, 1962, 42

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 30

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 30f

Centre would 'provide leadership and the linking up of workers, and...create a Christian public opinion and action beyond the bounds of the parish....In a Christian social attack Anglican and Free Churches in Coventry are already fully co-operative in will. Give that co-operation an instrument. Who is going to say it is wrong?' '[W]e do not', Gorton emphasised, 'go beyond our Anglican orders...This scheme provides for co-operation.'<sup>1</sup> Gorton primarily addressed Anglicans; William Temple added national weight: the proposals, he wrote, were 'a visible sign of visible means of practical action'.<sup>2</sup> The leaders of other denominations addressed their own people: locally EB Stringer, and LE Cooke; nationally those with senior positions in their denominations.<sup>3</sup>

Inevitably, some did gainsay it. Some Anglicans thought the Chapel of Unity established 'full intercommunion'; some that it 'ought not to be an integral part of an Anglican Cathedral'.<sup>4</sup> Some Free Churchmen thought it was 'no true Chapel of Unity' without full intercommunion. But Howard persisted. Although not solving every problem, the chapel was 'a real step forward in the direction of Christian unity. It expressed the fact that in many matters the unity between the Church of England and the Free Churches, though incomplete, is already fundamental.'<sup>5</sup>

A constitution was agreed by Anglican and Free Church bodies. Among its provisions one related 'every department of the life of the general community to the life of the Church and the strengthening of co-operation between Anglicans and the Free Churches'; and to working towards 'complete reunion'. The 'Joint Council', the governing body, of equal numbers from each side, had full administrative control over the Chapel and the Christian Service Centre.<sup>6</sup> On the fifth anniversary of the destruction of the cathedral an inaugural service was held in the ruins; 'thousands attended'.<sup>7</sup> In 1946 an appeal was launched; it raised some £80,000 in six months.

Then disaster struck. The buildings proposed for the Chapel and the Centre were bound to Scott's designs for the cathedral. When those were abandoned the appeal foundered and with it was lost the endowment for the work of the Centre, and for the wardens, responsible for the spheres of concern: home, education, industry, education, industry, music, the arts, healing. '[I]ndefinitely postponed', the Christian Service Centre was never resurrected.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 31f

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 32

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 32

<sup>4</sup> In 1946 the Convocations were eager to examine the scheme; the bishops demurred. (Ibid, 33); the attack was renewed, unsuccessfully, in the Church Assembly in 1953. (ibid, 33f) Debates: CCC 1946, 81-99 (clergy) 152-6 (bishops); CA 1953 124-44. The debates reveal the degree of mistrust among some Anglicans.

<sup>5</sup> Howard, 1958, 33

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 34

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 35

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 35f

A temporary Chapel of Unity was established in a crypt which had survived; it prospered and became 'a place of pilgrimage'; visitors came 'from every continent'; for many groups it became a place of worship.<sup>1</sup>

Ecumenically, the Harlech Commission<sup>2</sup> included E. Benson Perkins.

Among the warmest of the welcomes Provost Williams received were those from the four principal non-Anglican churches in the city centre: Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational. Williams, however, soon became critical of his inheritance. In 1945 there had been, he thought, 'starry-eyed euphoria'; the first meeting of the Joint Council after his arrival was ill attended and a spirit of 'lethargy and disinterest' [*sic*] pervaded; there was no programme of inter-church activity. The Service Centre was not even included in Spence's plans. There was no fund-raising in the Free Churches; high Anglicans were suspicious. With the departure of three of the four Free Church ministers whom he first met, interest declined: their successors were 'to say the least, antagonistic to the cathedral.'<sup>3</sup>

The laying of the foundation stone of the Chapel broke the apathy. There was an emphasis on youth: the stone was laid jointly by Williams's daughter and the son of Hugh Jones who conducted the ceremony. Young people from churches throughout Warwickshire formed much of the congregation.<sup>4</sup> The flow of money, however, did not improve; the debt on the chapel was written off in 1966. But there was increased interest. A local teacher of German, William Rose, 'who felt deeply about Anglo-German reconciliation', had facilitated the use of the interim Chapel of Unity by the German Lutherans of the area; these Lutherans became the most enthusiastic supporters of the new chapel; and Rose became its unofficial warden. In 1962 a fraternity of the Taizé Community settled in Coventry; one of its members succeeded Rose as warden. He was a man of strong character and he 'took command of the chapel's programme, to the great delight of everyone.' The Taizé brothers withdrew in 1970 and a Congregationalist, Geoffrey Beck, who succeeded, 'held the post with great efficiency' until 1978. Then a committee assumed management of the programme and regular services were established.<sup>5</sup>

Williams assessed the Chapel unenthusiastically. It had caught the imagination of the press: 'more has been expected of it than it was ever expected to provide.' But it was frozen in time. The sense of unity generated by the pressures of war led to 'an honest declaration of intent to try to preserve that unity in days of peace. It was 'unfortunate' that the original intention - that from the Christian Service Centre a Chapel of Unity would 'eventually grow', a unity of worship out of a unity of service - was reversed, and the Centre not built. Also, the ecumenical movement had progressed 'a very great deal further than was thought possible'.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 36f

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 38. Harlech Commission: below 167

<sup>3</sup> Williams, 1990, 49-51

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 52

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 53

Yet, he allowed, the chapel had 'proved to be a meeting point for prayer and study, and above all things for the creation of strong mutual trust between the Christian leaders of the community, without which ecumenical discussions invariably fail.'<sup>1</sup> Later he added other benefits: the chapel's value to the small groups who used it as 'an ongoing witness, a symbol of what is hoped and prayed for'; the involvement of the Roman Church; its usefulness to expatriate German Lutherans.<sup>2</sup>

It may be that the chapel was frozen in the hopes of the 1940s. It was, nonetheless, a noble effort, dependent for its success, as so frequently noble efforts are, on striking the note of the moment and on the interaction of humans of vision and determination. Howard and his Free Church counterparts clearly matched the hour. Williams, with different aspirations, steered Howard's legacy along a different course.

Edward Patey, had spent 'important and informative years' in ministry to the young, thus 'hon[ing] his skills as an ecumenist, and as a champion and friend of young people, particularly the disadvantaged.'<sup>3</sup> In 1958 he became a founding member of the chapter at Coventry.

In 1964, Patey moved to Liverpool. The times were auspicious; the Second Vatican Council had opened the Roman Catholic Church to ecumenism. Patey first met Father Austin Smith in Toxteth.<sup>4</sup> His 'great opportunity', however, was the building of the Roman Catholic Cathedral: 'the developing relationship between the two cathedrals [was] among the happiest experiences I have ever enjoyed.' He 'quickly made friends' with the Administrator, Mgr Tom McKenna, and the Anglican cathedral 'gladly saluted' the Consecration, an event which brought Patey 'much personal happiness.' Archbishop Beck, in response, reflected on the aptly named Hope Street which linked the buildings.<sup>5</sup> Collaboration followed, including an Ecumenical pilgrimage to the Holy Land, led by Patey and McKenna, and Patey's membership of the Administrative Committee of the Metropolitan Cathedral and the Administrator's presence at the annual residential staff meeting of the Anglican cathedral.<sup>6</sup> When the latter was completed, at the dedication Archbishop Worlock symbolically handed to Patey a copy of the Jerusalem Bible, 'a token of friendship and the commitment we share to the Word of God'. In earlier generations, a 'public declaration of unity in mission' between Anglicans and Romans would, Patey reflected, 'have been impossible'<sup>7</sup> and Archbishop Worlock wrote in the *Liverpool Echo* that the two were now 'not seen as rivals' but as "sister churches".<sup>8</sup>

One culmination of the collaboration was the visit of the Pope to the Anglican cathedral in 1982. There, on Whitsunday, 3,000 non-Roman Catholic Christians received him with 'warmth, affection and

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<sup>1</sup> Williams, 1964, 105f

<sup>2</sup> Williams, 1990, 53f.

<sup>3</sup> Obituary CT

<sup>4</sup> Obituary *Times*

<sup>5</sup> Patey, 87

<sup>6</sup> Patey, 88

<sup>7</sup> Patey, 89

<sup>8</sup> Patey, 90

spontaneous joy'. The Pope extended 'Christian greeting' to Anglican, Methodist, United Reformed, Baptist, and Salvation Army leaders, and led the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, in which the congregation in the Metropolitan cathedral, to which the service was relayed, joined. The ecumenical leaders then followed the Pope to the Metropolitan cathedral, where they, in turn, were 'warmly applauded' as they entered.<sup>1</sup>

The episcopal collaboration of Worlock and Sheppard was widely publicised.<sup>2</sup> But when Sheppard arrived in 1975, Patey's links with his Roman counterparts were already strong: 'he was a great ecumenist – long before the Sheppard/Worlock scenario.'<sup>3</sup> He was conscious of the limitations: social issues created 'no great difficulty', but there was 'little real advance at the theological level', the 'crunch issues'; and he longed for shared Eucharistic Communion between the two cathedrals. Even so, he rated the progress made highly: a changed atmosphere, and in the Pope's visit 'a contribution of lasting significance.'<sup>4</sup>

Events invested the collaboration of the two cathedrals with an aura of glamour. But Patey was determined that 'less powerful Christian communions should have a fair share of the publicity', though, he recognised, he was, 'only partially successful': the 'mitre-wearing leaders' were a greater attraction for the press.<sup>5</sup> When he arrived in Liverpool he became chairman of the Council of Churches: a 'hopeless task': 'a city-wide council with every congregation represented in its membership' was impossible. The Roman Church and 'the more extreme Protestant groups' were aloof; some Baptist members said they would leave if the Romans joined. Structures which circumvented the difficulties were developed;<sup>6</sup> the dean and the cathedral were prominent in them. When a Merseyside Churches Ecumenical Council was created, Patey became the chairman of the Executive Committee; when the first full-time ecumenical officer was appointed, the meeting was held in Patey's office at the cathedral, with Blanch and Beck proposing and seconding the appointment of a Baptist Minister; the inaugural service was held in the cathedral.<sup>7</sup>

As Patey resolved, the Free Churches shared in ecumenical events. In 1977, for instance, for the Queen's Jubilee, a 'great united service' used both cathedrals; civic and church leaders processed between the two, led by the Salvation Army Band. The occasion was 'a 'huge encouragement to our ecumenical endeavours.'<sup>8</sup> A year later, when the Queen attended the final dedication of the cathedral it was 'entirely right' that she should devote the rest of the day to projects, Anglican, Roman, and United Reformed, chosen by the various denominations.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Patey, 99,100

<sup>2</sup> Sheppard, esp 168-80

<sup>3</sup> Riley

<sup>4</sup> Patey, 102-4

<sup>5</sup> Patey, 94; Sheppard shared the desire: Sheppard, 166

<sup>6</sup> Patey, 91-95

<sup>7</sup> Patey, 92f

<sup>8</sup> Patey, 96

<sup>9</sup> Patey, 97

Liverpool sectarianism was not extinct, and rapprochement with the Roman Catholic Church led to spectacular eruptions: during much of Patey's decanate the Orange Order and other groups maintained a campaign directed at him and the cathedral.<sup>1</sup> In April 1967 a Roman Catholic bishop preached at a service in support of local charities; Patey received 'highly critical letters'; one was from the Protestant Ministers Fraternal; while denying that they were 'religious bigots', they averred that 'a Roman Catholic...in a Protestant pulpit is not a "charitable act" or a "loving gesture" but a rejection of the Apostles' doctrine'.<sup>2</sup> In the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity a Roman preacher 'provoked even more protest': it was 'another betrayal of the Reformation and Protestant principles which made our nation great.' Thereafter, every Roman Catholic preacher in the cathedral provoked accusations of 'betraying the Gospel and the Church of England.' Patey thought the opposition 'seemed to be increasingly aimed at [him] personally', and when Archbishop Beck preached, a press statement from British Constitution Defence Committee asserted that 'the Dean of Liverpool is determined to ignore the feelings of Protestant Evangelicals'. When Cardinal Willebrands preached during a later Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, there was 'severe disruption' inside the cathedral.<sup>3</sup>

The Provincial Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Institution of England asked to celebrate Reformation Day in the cathedral. Unanimously, the Chapter refused: the cathedral did not keep Reformation Day, and, so different were the two bodies' perceptions of Christianity, such a service 'would blur the issues' and 'compromise' both. Much publicity followed, including the imputation that the cathedral was 'built by Liverpool Protestants to be used by Liverpool Protestants'; protests were made to the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Mayor. As a gesture, the Chapter suggested a meeting: a small group representing the Order, Roman Catholics, the Free Churches, meeting 'privately and in confidence' to discuss 'the significance of Protestantism in contemporary church life.' '[U]nder no circumstances', the Orange Order replied, 'would we meet with Roman Catholics.'<sup>4</sup>

Members of the order then began to attend the Sunday Eucharist, wearing their sashes, and sitting together near the front. Some joined in, some received Holy Communion, others sat 'passively'.<sup>5</sup> Then, the chapter learned, the order proposed to take over the cathedral during Choral Evensong and hold their own service, and, if the cathedral or the police tried to eject them, resist. On Sunday 6 December 1981, two thousand Orangemen marched into the cathedral, wearing their regalia, and accompanied by their accordion band. Their minister conducted a service. The occupation was unopposed; the cathedral Evensong proceeded in the Lady Chapel.

The Chapter obtained an injunction, restraining the defendants 'from trespassing upon the Cathedral Church...or from interrupting the services...or...holding services of their own without the

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<sup>1</sup> Patey, 105

<sup>2</sup> Patey, 105f

<sup>3</sup> Patey, 106f

<sup>4</sup> Patey, 108f

<sup>5</sup> Patey, 109.

authority of the Plaintiffs.<sup>1</sup> It was imperfectly observed. The Sunday during the following Week of Prayer was 'particularly difficult': '[a]nti-Roman Catholic and anti-cathedral leaflets and placards were displayed at the cathedral entrance,' one with the legend 'Christ gives us hope, Patey gives us the Pope'. Mgr Malone preached against a background of 'loud and continuous interruptions of a most offensive nature.'<sup>2</sup>

Then, the atmosphere began to change. Public opinion was against the extremists, the more so after protesters forced Archbishop Runcie to abandon an address in Liverpool Parish Church.<sup>3</sup> The Lord Mayor feared that the factiousness would redound discredibly upon the city, and perhaps, bring about the cancellation of the Pope's visit. The Grand Master of the Orange Order sought a meeting, and the Chapter desired reconciliation. The latter professed themselves ready to withdraw the injunction provided 'so far as you are able to control events [there is] no further irregular interruption or intrusion by your members'. A tranquil atmosphere during the papal visit enabled the Chapter to lift the ban, and to plan a service to which the Order was invited. That service made a 'deep impression': two-thousand Orangemen attended, the Grand Master read a lesson; the Lord Mayor was present; the Dean of Belfast, 'an old friend' of Patey and an Orangeman, preached a 'vigorous sermon'.

Yet Patey was disquieted. Before the service for the Orange Order, he preached, arguing that '[b]roken unity' demanded the dissipation of distance and ignorance. The Order, he said, had seemed to offer 'a change of mood - the beginning, I pray, of some kind of trust.'<sup>4</sup> His personal experience was painful; the guerrilla warfare 'took a great deal out of Edward and the rest of us...[his] nature was not a confrontational one and he wanted to be friends with everyone...But it was something we had to accept and do battle with in order to achieve the greater good.'<sup>5</sup>

The power of a dean is illustrated by the change which came over the cathedral when Patey retired. His successor, Derrick Walters, had notable achievements,<sup>6</sup> but ecumenism receded: 'the clergy at the Metropolitan Cathedral told [Worlock] that it wasn't the same as it had been when Edward Patey was dean.'<sup>7</sup> Anglican *amour propre*, the protection of the chapter's precedence, distance from the bishop, and the subordination of ecumenism, could come together. Thus when Sheppard wanted Worlock to walk beside him at an ecumenical event, Walters replied that Worlock had his precedence as a visitor: he should process in front of the chapter. Sheppard, he suggested, might abandon his own precedence and walk there with Worlock.<sup>8</sup>

Among the ancient cathedrals, the decanate of Oliver Fiennes was marked by ecumenical endeavour at Lincoln. During the nineteen-seventies, the chapter might be termed liberal catholic. The

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<sup>1</sup> Patey, 110f

<sup>2</sup> Patey, 111f

<sup>3</sup> Carpenter, 245f

<sup>4</sup> Patey, 113-6

<sup>5</sup> Bates letter

<sup>6</sup> See below 156

<sup>7</sup> Sheppard, 262

<sup>8</sup> Thomas

new generation of canons included eager ecumenists: de Waal of Dutch extraction, was a linguist and an ecumenist; Nurser, his successor, was interested in the impact of the churches within the European Community: the subject presupposed an interest in Roman Catholicism; Davis arrived from the World Council of Churches at Geneva. Fiennes himself was deeply committed to opening an introverted cathedral.

The chapter was fortunate in its clerical counterparts in other denominations. The Roman diocese of Nottingham was strong, vigorous, and open to ecumenical activity. In Lincoln, Fr Brian Dazeley, the parish priest of St Hugh's, came to feel that he 'belonged' when he went to the cathedral;<sup>1</sup> he conducted a study day on the Eucharist at Edward King House; and he preached at the Pilgrims Service for St Hugh in July 1986.<sup>2</sup> Three times the cathedral was host to the Diocese of Nottingham: in 1978, when the Roman Catholic bishop used it for a Mass,<sup>3</sup> again for a Mass in 1984 when the Bishop of Lincoln preached,<sup>4</sup> spectacularly in 1985, when Cardinal Hume visited the Roman diocese. On that occasion, the bishop of Nottingham's hope for an ecumenical occasion in the cathedral, 'especially given the rich tapestry of inter-church affairs over the last five or six years', was fulfilled: in preparation and execution Roman, Anglican, Methodist, United Reformed, and Baptist leaders contributed.<sup>5</sup>

Davis devised an innovative pastoral and ecumenical strategy to 'meet, help, and be involved with'<sup>6</sup> visitors. During August, members of a number of religious orders, Roman and Anglican, lived together in a 'Community of Communities'. Its genesis was in the plans made in 1982 to celebrate the 900th anniversary of the birth of Gilbert of Sempringham a year later. It was planned by an Anglican and a Cistercian and in 1982 lasted for one week.<sup>7</sup> In 1983 it was again for one week. Davis adjudged it 'a wonderful example of unity in the religious life'. There was a daily Sung Eucharist.<sup>8</sup> The religious themselves experienced a sense of the continuity of their life, 'singing Lauds in the huge Cathedral Church'<sup>9</sup> By 1985 the communal gathering was designated St Gilbert's Priory; a group of between three and five would share in 'the worship and ministry of the Cathedral', and Compline would be sung each night.<sup>10</sup> The community continued for some years.<sup>11</sup>

The seventh hundredth anniversary of the coming to Lincoln of St Hugh in 1186 was a major celebration. The principal responsibility fell to Nurser; he sought, not simply an historical observance, but one with the potential for spiritual and pastoral experience.<sup>12</sup> Among the events was a pilgrimage,<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dazeley interview

<sup>2</sup> CL, 3 April 1983; 13 July 1986

<sup>3</sup> CL, 26 February 1978

<sup>4</sup> CL, 25 March 1986

<sup>5</sup> CL, 13 January, 10 February 1985

<sup>6</sup> Fiennes CL, 9 August 1987

<sup>7</sup> CL, 19 September 1982

<sup>8</sup> CL, 4 September 1983

<sup>9</sup> CL, 2 October 1983

<sup>10</sup> CL, 16 June 1985; for the communities represented in 1985: CL, 28 July 1985

<sup>11</sup> CL, 4 May 1986; 27 July 1986; 24 August 1986; 9 August 1987; 10 July 1988

<sup>12</sup> Nurser CL, 12 January 1986

<sup>13</sup> CL, 8 September 1985



in September 1985, to Grenoble and the early Carthusian sites around. It was ecumenically led by Nurser and DH Farmer, and it incorporated the educational, the ecumenical, and the spiritual. In Lincoln a High Mass was presided over by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham in the Roman Catholic Church of St Hugh: a 'splendid start' to the year;<sup>1</sup> an ecumenical celebration of St Hugh, again by the Roman Catholic bishop in his cathedral 'touched' Nurser.<sup>2</sup> The climax was a service at which Archbishop Runcie preached; and at which all the dioceses which had been within the medieval Diocese of Lincoln, together with the dioceses of Bruges and Grenoble, were represented.<sup>3</sup>

Ecumenism was not solely directed Romeward. The Free Churches were involved in the visit of Cardinal Hume. A series of weekly Ecumenical Days of Prayer for Unity and Peace were held; a Methodist, a member of the United Reformed Church, and an Anglican used the forms of their own confessions.<sup>4</sup> One diocesan St Hugh's Missioner who was a member of the United Reformed Church<sup>5</sup> was assigned a prebendal stall.<sup>6</sup> On the tenth anniversary of the creation of his church, he celebrated the Holy Communion according to its rite.<sup>7</sup> The Reverend David Tripp, a Methodist, also celebrated the Eucharist.<sup>8</sup>

In 1988, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the conversion of John Wesley, the Methodists of Lincolnshire used the cathedral for a celebration. It was, Nurser remarked, 'marvellous' that they should own the cathedral as theirs. The chapter planned a commemorative plaque in the building.<sup>9</sup> In the same year Dr John Newton, a distinguished Methodist Minister, became a canon.<sup>10</sup> Ecumenical preachers included a local evangelical pastor,<sup>11</sup> and the pastor of the New Life Evangelical Church.<sup>12</sup> Twice the cathedral was made available for Pentecostal Praise: at the first the preacher was Bishop Richard Hare, an Anglican Pentecostalist, at the second a member of the Ichthus Christian Fellowship.<sup>13</sup>

Lincoln's ecumenical commitment was never more apparent than when the General Synod rejected the Covenant for Unity. In a defiant article, Nurser wrote that there was now no prospect of the Church of England uniting with either Rome or the Free Churches; so we must 'see how much we can do living together "in sin"'. 'There is little chance of Lincoln Cathedral changing its resolute commitment to Christian unity', he added; it would 'continue to welcome...all...who come to us in the name of Christ

<sup>1</sup> CL, 17 November, 1 December, 1985

<sup>2</sup> CL, 1 June 1986

<sup>3</sup> Other activities included DH Farmer addressing the Lincoln Theological Society (CL 1 December 1985) and a book by Farmer published by the cathedral (CL, 11 August 1985)

<sup>4</sup> CL, 12 February 1978

<sup>5</sup> The Reverend Richard Taylor. Appointed by Phipps; Tustin, 97

<sup>6</sup> The ecumenical occupants of stalls were not formally admitted to canonries. But specific stalls were allocated, and the occupants treated as though canons.

<sup>7</sup> CL, 3 October 1982

<sup>8</sup> CL, 15 July, 1984

<sup>9</sup> CL, 29 May 1989

<sup>10</sup> CL, 27 November 1988

<sup>11</sup> CL, 11 March 1984

<sup>12</sup> CL, 6 October 1985

<sup>13</sup> CL, 31 May, 1987; 30 April 1989

Crucified.<sup>1</sup> Davis wrote of his anger, and, invoking hallowed Lincoln precedent, cast EW Benson and Edward King in the role of pioneers in 'inspired lawlessness': a necessary precedent in the search for a way ahead in a time of 'ecclesiastical anarchy'.<sup>2</sup>

If ecumenism was less prominent at Alan Webster's Norwich than at Lincoln, he came having already brought ecumenical lecturers to Lincoln Theological College: Tripp and a Roman Catholic who gave 'eye-opening lectures'.<sup>3</sup> At Norwich, the Cathedral Friends heard a sermon from Kenneth Slack, 'one of the wisest and most influential of all English Free-Churchmen.'<sup>4</sup> David Ennals preached, though rather as a local parliamentarian than as a Baptist.<sup>5</sup> Webster told his congregation that the witness of the Church of England was compromised by the defeat of the Anglican-Methodist scheme.<sup>6</sup>

He revered Julian of Norwich and the annual commemoration in May 1973 was marked by an 'international and ecumenical Eucharist'; it 'created changed perceptions for all the churches': a Jesuit preached, a Methodist Chairman of District concelebrated, Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops together gave the blessing, a hymn, 'Rejoice in God's saints', was written by Fred Pratt Green, a Methodist. 'It felt as though the quarrels of centuries had been had been reconciled in shared and joyful prayer.'<sup>7</sup>

He invoked an ecumenical trend to advance the ordination of women: Roman Catholics, especially in America, France, Holland, and Germany, were 'thinking seriously; the Church of Scotland and the Methodists already did it'. In much of Christendom the question was becoming 'an open one.'

The ecumenism of Coventry assumed an international aspect. Howard traced this to two events.<sup>8</sup> The Empire Broadcast on Christmas Day 1946 began from Coventry Cathedral; Howard and a group of children, gathered in the temporary Chapel of Unity, exchanged 'Christian greetings' with a group of German children gathered with Father Mecklenburg, a Roman Catholic priest, in Hamburg. 'It was the first time since the war that there had been such mutual fellowship in public between Britain and Germany.' 'I stretch out my hand, Howard said, 'and put it into yours my brother...two words spring to my lips...the first word is "Forgiveness"...The second word is this, "New birth".' He went on to speak of a new spirit which included 'new pity for each other's suffering'. 'Your message of forgiveness and new birth', Mecklenburg replied, 'awakens an echo in my heart....If only we could [all] cast out bitterness and hatred and begin again, then I believe that our children...may live together in peace and brotherhood.'

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<sup>1</sup> CL, 25 July 1982.

<sup>2</sup> CL, 21 June 1982. The allusion is to Benson's Lincoln Judgement. See ad loc ODCC

<sup>3</sup> Obituaries of Webster: *Times*; CT

<sup>4</sup> DL, July 1973

<sup>5</sup> DL, January, March, 1977

<sup>6</sup> DL, November 1972

<sup>7</sup> Webster, 2002, 146f, hymn writer, *ibid*, 159

<sup>8</sup> Howard, 87f

In 1947 the Oberburgomaster of Kiel, which had been the base of German submarine warfare, invited a 'mission of friendship' from Coventry: the Mayor, a Trades Unionist, the Provost. The last assured a 'large meeting' of Roman Catholics and Protestants 'of our wish for Christ's sake to forgive and be forgiven all mutual injuries.' In token of this he gave the Provost of their 'wholly destroyed' cathedral a Cross of Nails; he received a piece of stone from the rubble of their cathedral. It was placed in the Chapel of Unity: 'The Kiel Stone of Forgiveness'.<sup>1</sup>

The numbers of visitors from Germany grew. Howard would show them the symbols of reconciliation:<sup>2</sup> the words 'Father Forgive', the Cross of Nails, the Kiel Stone, and 'a spiritual miracle would happen. Germans still bound in the fetters of war guilt would be suddenly set free'. In the 1950s local Lutherans began to use the Chapel of Unity as their place of worship; their pastor's initiative led to the German Churches raising the money for the stained-glass when the new chapel was built. The German President, Theodor Heuss, himself presented the money to Williams. In 1958 Chancellor Adenauer presented to Howard a cheque from the German Government for then appreciable sum of £4,250; it was 'an expression of the wish of the German people to help make good what a ruthless regime destroyed.'<sup>3</sup>

At the laying of the foundation stone, Free Church Ministers, including representatives of the German Evangelical Church, processed, and the Free Church Vice-Chairman of the Joint Council of the Chapel of Unity read the lesson. When the new building was consecrated, a representative of the German Evangelical Church processed and took part in the service: 'thus sealing our mutual forgiveness and fellowship in the one Body of Christ.'<sup>4</sup>

Williams was dedicated to the proclamation of forgiveness and reconciliation towards Germany. When, in 1958 at the German Embassy he received the gift of £5,000, most of the press was 'sober and reflective'. But the headline in one national paper was 'Provost of Coventry receives Blood Money'. In retrospect he was, he said, grateful: an entirely bland press would have suggested 'there was no problem of reconciliation to be addressed'. He resolved that an answer must be made, and made in Germany. So at Easter 1958 he went to East and West Germany. There, while being televised, he produced a Cross of Nails: '[a]s you Germans helped to make Coventry a symbol of hate and destruction, so now under the sign of the Cross of Nails, join hands with us to make it a symbol of reconciliation.' He returned with repeated invitations to speak in Germany, and to a 'stream of abusive letters from anti-German enthusiasts in Britain.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Howard, 88; Rose, ch 2

<sup>2</sup> Williams later spoke of Howard setting up symbols to convey the vision he had seen. Williams, 1990, 3

<sup>3</sup> Howard, 88f

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 89

<sup>5</sup> Williams, 1990, 36

Reconciliation and ecumenism continued. In 1961 sixteen young Germans spent six months in Coventry helping to restore the ruined vestries of the cathedral and Bishop Dibelius broadcast from the cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

In 1959, while he was lecturing in Berlin on Coventry's dedication to reconciliation, Williams was asked 'what about Dresden'? His enquiries about 'the German Coventry' led to a plan to proclaim there the reconciliatory message of Coventry. The project settled upon was the building of a hospital, 'since merely by existing and working as a Christian hospital it would go on witnessing to the Christian message of "healing wounds"'. Williams returned home to launch an appeal to maintain volunteers in Dresden.<sup>2</sup> The work was completed in time to be opened in 1967.<sup>3</sup>

There could be few better instances than that of Coventry in these years of a cathedral responding to the stresses of the twentieth century context.<sup>4</sup>

From Coventry's Benedictine origins came an invitation to the choir to sing at the twelve hundredth anniversary of the abbey of Ottobeuren; where Williams and then Dammers stayed. Coventry had been feeling its way towards a rule of life for the cathedral community, based on the Benedictine *stabilitas*. At Ottobeuren Dammers developed 'an absolutely clear vision' and wrote the first draft of the 'Common Discipline', 'to which, first, the staff must adhere'; we must 'verify in our relationships and lifestyle what we were trying to encourage in the congregational community.'<sup>5</sup> The development of the ideal drew on experience of communal life at St Severin Paris, and Ottobeuren.<sup>6</sup> It was offered to the congregation in 1967; some two hundred subscribed. In 1973, the group received the name 'the Community of the Cross of Nails'.<sup>7</sup>

Howard's distribution of Crosses of Nails had been 'more spontaneous than planned'.<sup>8</sup> In 1973 Williams resolved on a more systemized distribution. Those asking for Crosses were told 'we try first to establish effective contact with the Christian community in a particular place and then...to place with great ceremony a Cross of Nails to mark our fellowship with one another'; 'these contacts', he continued, involve particularly the joining together of young people, so that together they may use Coventry to see a vision of Christian reconciliation in our divided world'.<sup>9</sup>

Between the ideals of Taizé and of Coventry there are clear correspondences. Taizé brothers were residing at Coventry while the Discipline was developing;<sup>10</sup> Taizé was among the places visited with the Cross;<sup>11</sup> the influence of its rule was acknowledged.<sup>1</sup> If the Coventry community never

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 38

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 41

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 40-42

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, chs 9, 10 passim.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 93f

<sup>6</sup> Williams, 1984, 55

<sup>7</sup> CCA PA 2506/25/1/2; also Williams, 1984, 57-68

<sup>8</sup> Rose, 55f

<sup>9</sup> CCA PA 2506/25/1/2; Williams to F. Fritts, Indianapolis; a typical letter.

<sup>10</sup> Williams, 1990, 53

<sup>11</sup> Dammers, 66f

achieved the celebrity of Taizé, it did exercise an attraction. A 'Youth Chapter' was formed at the cathedral;<sup>2</sup> and the community spread internationally.<sup>3</sup> Suggestively, the greatest number of the centres was in the eastern sea-board and the mid-west of the USA: in the former, distaste among educated liberals for America's policies, in Vietnam, in Latin America, was unconcealed.

In 1967 the cathedral held an event entitled a 'Vision of Europe': 'a Christian vision of Europe committed to serve where once we ruled, under the patronage of St Benedict'. An impressive assemblage of speakers included Edward Heath, the heads of religious houses, Anglican and Roman, academics including the Roman Catholic David Knowles and Methodist Gordon Rupp.<sup>4</sup>

'Healing the wounds of history' continued. In Germany, in 1979 Canon Kenyon Wright took twelve young people from Coventry to Auschwitz where they worked with twelve young Germans, the first time the two nations had worked together in Poland.<sup>5</sup> There were relations with Lefkas, a Greek island, a 'disaster area of poverty',<sup>6</sup> Corrymeela, 'a perfect pendant to the earlier Dresden project',<sup>7</sup> Glencree and Londonderry<sup>8</sup> Calcutta,<sup>9</sup> Neve Shalom in Israel, and Shfar-Am among the Palestinians.<sup>10</sup> In the 1990s Provost Petty went to Hiroshima.<sup>11</sup>

If Coventry was the pioneer, other cathedrals followed. Lincoln, with Nurser and Davis, both internationalists, became for some years a centre of ecumenical internationalism. At Nurser's suggestion, Phipps established a tripartite association with the Roman Catholic dioceses of Bruges and Nottingham;<sup>12</sup> the cathedrals had especially good relations. Between Bruges and Lincoln there were exchanges of musicians.<sup>13</sup> These, if conventional, were valuable, Nurser thought.<sup>14</sup> And there were real relationships between the clergy: Fr Adelbert Denaux became a non-residentiary canon;<sup>15</sup> he preached regularly.<sup>16</sup> In 1984 when the diocese of Bruges was 150 years old, Nurser was present. He became an honorary member of 'the ancient guild of the Noble Confraternity of the Precious Blood, and took part in the "famous procession"'.<sup>17</sup> Fraternal interchanges became frequent. In 1980, the eight hundredth anniversary of the completion of St Hugh's Choir was celebrated. To a festival service which

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<sup>1</sup> Rose, 55; Williams, 1984, 55

<sup>2</sup> CCA PA 2506/25/1/8

<sup>3</sup> Williams, 1990, 94f. CCA PA 2506/25/1/2 includes local variants of the discipline

<sup>4</sup> Dammers, 74

<sup>5</sup> Rose, 97

<sup>6</sup> Rose, 77-9

<sup>7</sup> Rose, 79-87

<sup>8</sup> Rose, 87-90

<sup>9</sup> Rose, 90-95

<sup>10</sup> Rose

<sup>11</sup> Petty

<sup>12</sup> Tustin, 97

<sup>13</sup> CL, 2 December 1980

<sup>14</sup> Cf his comments on a visit to Neustadt, below 136

<sup>15</sup> CL, 31 October 1982

<sup>16</sup> Eg CL, 23 September ; 10 July 1988

<sup>17</sup> CL, 20 May 1984

the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh attended,<sup>1</sup> the Bishop of Bruges sent greetings.<sup>2</sup> Seminarians from Bruges, together with Anglican counterparts from Lincoln and Cuddesdon, provided a robed presence in the cathedral in the summer.<sup>3</sup>

Nurser's European interests and convictions led him, in 1987, to launch 'Christianity and the Future of Europe', an organisation to further the relationship of the national churches to the European Community. He saw Anglicanism as a broad reconciliatory agency. And a thread of Europeanism running through his contributions to the *Chapter Letter* kept the subject before its readers. When the cathedral choir was about to visit Neustadt, with which the city was twinned, he observed that 'local government, the schools, the sports teams,' had contributed; it was 'high time' the Christian Communities made their 'very special contribution to mutual understanding.'<sup>4</sup> The visit, which he accompanied, was a success: such visits brought credit to the Cathedral and the school, and they had the potential for 'the building in Europe of a true community.'<sup>5</sup> Deans ranging from Oulu (in Finland) to Gibraltar assembled in Lincoln; the meeting could, Nurser thought 'be of some importance in the growing network of European institutions': 'without 'people', the whole structure of 'European' political commitment fails.'<sup>6</sup> He rejoiced in 'the possibility...for good in the relationship that has grown up...between the Christians of west Flanders and of old Lincolnshire'.<sup>7</sup> In 1985 the choir was in Norway. Again the visit was 'an illustration of what is possible in international Christian fellowship by using cathedral links'; he added that they were 'living bonds of trust and affection to put alongside our common honouring of dead stonemasonry.'<sup>8</sup> Cathedrals, he thought, were 'naturals for overseas links': 'marvellous opportunities for people to get out of their home patch'. These opportunities derived from the universality embodied in the bishop whose cathedra they housed. When a meeting at Milan had established a Europe-wide association of cathedrals he said 'we cannot longer live as if our neighbours who do not speak English do not exist. We inherit a tradition of giving and receiving.'<sup>9</sup>

In 1983 Nurser arranged a conference to survey the twinings of English and European cathedrals; the Jumelage between Manchester Cathedral and the Basilique de S Sernin at Toulouse was, he judged,<sup>10</sup> by far the most important piece of work in the field. Its inspiration was a chance encounter in the cathedral. The dean, Alfred Jowett, met a French woman who had been seconded from Toulouse to Manchester University. Jowett, a former ecumenical officer, a dedicated educationist, and a devoted Francophile, sensed an opportunity. With the support of RH Preston, among whose academic interests was ecumenical ethics, and after meetings with Père Etienne Delaruelle, the

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<sup>1</sup> CL, 2 December 1980

<sup>2</sup> CL, 16 November 1980

<sup>3</sup> CL, 1 July 1979

<sup>4</sup> CL, 29 November 1981

<sup>5</sup> CL, 30 May, 17 June, 1982

<sup>6</sup> CL, 9 October 1983

<sup>7</sup> CL, 23 September 1965

<sup>8</sup> CL, 11 August 1985

<sup>9</sup> Nurser, *Friends*

<sup>10</sup> Nurser

woman's supervisor at Toulouse, a twinning was establishing between Manchester cathedral and the Basilique de S Sernin at Toulouse.<sup>1</sup> It was launched c.1970.<sup>2</sup> There were meetings during the winter in Toulouse and Manchester and, in the summer, residential conferences, alternately in England and in France. Both were important: study, when a new ARCIC document was published, in parallel (both sides had able theologians on hand: Preston in Manchester, Père Yves Denis in Toulouse), and the residential meetings. The latter were times of ecumenical fraternity, recalled with pleasure, both socially and religiously, by the participants.<sup>3</sup> 'L'ecumenisme de la fourchette' was highly esteemed.<sup>4</sup> Roman Catholics from the diocese of Salford, members of the Free Churches, and French Protestants in Toulouse, were drawn in.<sup>5</sup> In Manchester, a youth section, Les Jeunes, attracted some able young people.<sup>6</sup>

Other cathedrals have established successful links in Europe. Some, conscious of their Benedictine heritage, have made friendships with Benedictine foundations. Canterbury had historic links with Bec, whence Archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm were drawn; a plaque at Bec, erected 'par des Anglais' in 1930, records numerous links.<sup>7</sup> In 1966 the chapter gave a stone Canterbury Cross to the community to be placed in their church. In 1970, (the eight-hundredth anniversary of the death of Becket) monks and nuns from Bec joined in the singing of evensong and, after hesitations, a Roman Catholic mass was allowed in the Precincts on 7 July.<sup>8</sup> On the same day, a Benedictine academic, David Knowles, lectured in the cathedral<sup>9</sup> and, during the year, Père Jacques Leviste wrote for the Friends.<sup>10</sup> The decanate of de Waal (1976-1986) was a period of further ecumenical advance.<sup>11</sup>

Winchester established links with the abbey at Fleury, the French monastery whence ultimately the Benedictine community at Winchester came. A Benedictine inheritance, a respect for a rich spiritual tradition which is alive in the great monasteries, appears to be a stimulus to such links; thus York has links with Ampleforth.<sup>12</sup>

Such links are not confined within the Benedictine tradition. Chester, Benedictine in origin, has links with the cathedral at Albi, not a Benedictine foundation;<sup>13</sup> at Derby, the cathedral is involved in the civic twinning with Osnabruck; twinning guests attend a service in the cathedral during their annual visit.<sup>14</sup> Among the ancient secular foundations, the links between Chichester and Chartres are

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<sup>1</sup> Mallinson

<sup>2</sup> Sonya Jowett

<sup>3</sup> Mallinson

<sup>4</sup> Mallinson, quoting a French priest

<sup>5</sup> Personal knowledge

<sup>6</sup> Personal knowledge

<sup>7</sup> Personal observation

<sup>8</sup> Robbins 1995, 334f. July 7th: Feast of the Translation of Becket's relics to the shrine.

<sup>9</sup> Knowles 1970

<sup>10</sup> Leviste 1970

<sup>11</sup> de Waal

<sup>12</sup> Toy

<sup>13</sup> Smalley, 164

<sup>14</sup> Minton

noteworthy, and also spring from a civic twinning. Bishop Kemp was Anglo-Catholic and eager to promote relations with Roman-Catholic counterparts. He cultivated relations with Chartres. When, on a visit to Chartres, the cathedral choir was singing Evensong, Kemp was surprised to find himself installed as a *chanoine d'honneur* of the cathedral. After the revision of the Chichester statutes 'it was' he recalled, 'a pleasure to be able to return the compliment.' Chichester Cathedral later provided ecumenical hospitality when it was the scene of the installation of Cardinal Cormac Murphy-O'Connor while bishop of Brighton and Arundel as a canon of Chartres.<sup>1</sup>

Almost inevitably, as they used the technology of the age to develop international links, historical ties drew English cathedrals towards Roman Catholic Europe. This orientation reflected the changed atmosphere during the pontificate of Pope Paul VI (1963-1978). It was, in the Church of England and in the cathedrals, a time of liberal catholic ascendancy, a position to whose adherents such friendships were congenial.

There were also moves in other directions. The northern group of the European Cathedrals' Association brought together English cathedrals and those of other churches subscribing the Porvoo and Meissen agreements.<sup>2</sup> At Southwell, the presence of a retired priest who, since post-graduate days had had an interest in the church in Sweden, established an 'informal friendship' with Lund cathedral.<sup>3</sup> Arnold had a strong commitment to the Lutheran churches; he established links between Durham Cathedral and the Scandinavian churches.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kemp. 209

<sup>2</sup> GS 1996, 914. For Porvoo and Meissen see glossary

<sup>3</sup> Toy

<sup>4</sup> Arnold typescript



## Chapter VII

### Cathedrals and the Community

#### *Between the wars*

Because it is established the Church of England has civic and national roles which extend beyond its worshipping adherents. Cathedrals, prestigious diocesan centres, architecturally imposing, artistically rich, historically resonant, ceremonially impressive, have played an important part in this relationship during the twentieth century. They have also responded to the climate of the age in ways extending beyond the formal and the civic. The Howe Commission, for all its determination to bind cathedrals to dioceses, recognised their public role, and, indeed made provision for representatives of wider constituencies in the Council.<sup>1</sup>

This openness of cathedrals to a wider community may be traced back to the nineteenth century. During that century, St Paul's was the scene, for instance, for the national obsequies for Nelson and Wellington.<sup>2</sup> At the close of the century the west front was the backdrop for the service for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.<sup>3</sup> Provincial cathedrals equally could draw crowds. In 1885 the memorial services for General Gordon at Canterbury and Durham and Manchester were crowded.<sup>4</sup>

Beyond special occasions, cathedrals drew visitors; the railway and, later, the motor-omnibus extended the number and the social range of those whom cathedrals attracted. One indication of the widespread interest in cathedrals is the volumes, published by George Bell and Sons between 1896 and 1903, on the cathedrals. They met a popular need, and they no doubt both created and responded to a thirst for cathedrals. Before the First World War, the *Church Times* remarked on the delights of a 'sweetly sung evening prayer...for the motorist or cyclist to drop in at of a summer's afternoon'.<sup>5</sup>

Bennett reached into the local community. He was the founder of the Chester Branch of the Historical Association; a founder also of the Rotary Club; an active Freemason, in 1931 starting a lodge for men attached to the cathedral.<sup>6</sup> Eager always to advance the cathedral in the community, in 1928, with the agreement of the Mayor, he held the Armistice Service in the cathedral. In 1929 the arrangement was repeated on the plea of bad weather. Large numbers failed to obtain seats; correspondents to the local newspapers claimed that the ceremony was being transformed into 'an ecclesiastical function'. For once, his zeal for the cathedral misjudged the local mood, and he capitulated.<sup>7</sup> He sought to widen the base of support for the cathedral by, in 1930, founding Friends. By the end of 1932 there were 566, who donated approximately £600 in the first year, a figure which remained constant for some years. They never achieved as much as he hoped for; his ambition was a

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<sup>1</sup> H&R, 18; 61f

<sup>2</sup> For Wellington's funeral Wollfe, 2000, ch. 2

<sup>3</sup> Wollfe, 2004, 386f.

<sup>4</sup> Wollfe 2000, 85; note also York, 143 below

<sup>5</sup> CT 8 August 1913, 172f

<sup>6</sup> Bruce, 210f

<sup>7</sup> Bruce, 205f

thousand in the first year: unfairly to himself, he contrasted the achievement with the Friends of Canterbury and York, which had memberships of thousands.<sup>1</sup>

As he had at Hawarden, he set aside a part of the building for children, a practice he advocated to others.<sup>2</sup> He struck a note that proved popular: Children's Corners became widespread.<sup>3</sup> His pastoral care was evident: '[n]umbers of children in and out of a cathedral of course cause problems, but they are problems worth solving.'<sup>4</sup> He commended the allocation of chapels to particular organisations, some secular: 'civilians, soldiers, sea-men and air-men - women and girls and lads,' 'a good use for chapels...once perhaps the home of some medieval guild.'<sup>5</sup> The Refectory, which had been had been 'semi-roofless',<sup>6</sup> was 'potentially a great hall', of use to the cathedral, the diocese, 'the community as a whole': it would thereby fulfil another of Bennett's ambitions, the linking of cathedral and city.<sup>7</sup>

In the Victorian era, many cathedrals were either wholly or in parts open without charge. By the time Bennett went to Chester the practice appears to have ended everywhere.<sup>8</sup> At Chester, the removal of charges provoked some unease; the Precentor reported 'on the question of the crowds that frequent the cathedral'. Notices which ended 'may the Peace of God go with you' appeared, urging visitors to conduct themselves becomingly and to make donations.<sup>9</sup> The success of the change was apparent; the cathedral was now 'the one wholly hospitable cathedral in England, open everywhere to everybody on Sundays as well as weekdays'; 'orderly, reverent, and most appreciative' visitors crowded in; their donations exceeded the income from charges.<sup>10</sup> The local press enthused that there were 'benefits to local traders'. His son wrote a *Little Handbook for Pilgrims to Chester Cathedral*. The title enunciated the nuance - pilgrims not visitors - which Bennett desired; the sales figures show it to have been an immense success.<sup>11</sup>

The cathedral 'open and free' became a crusade for Bennett; the movement spread rapidly.<sup>12</sup> In his reports on the cathedral in the *Chester Diocesan Gazette* he chronicled the progress among the cathedrals toward the abolition of what in 1925 had become 'the obnoxious visitors' fees'.<sup>13</sup> The change which Bennett thus wrought, finally at every English cathedral, can scarcely be exaggerated.

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce, 114f

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, 43, 105; Bennett 50f

<sup>3</sup> Bruce, 154-7

<sup>4</sup> Bennett, 51

<sup>5</sup> Bennett, 49

<sup>6</sup> Bennett, 236

<sup>7</sup> Bruce, 105

<sup>8</sup> Bruce, 76-86

<sup>9</sup> Bruce, 11; Archdeacon (and residentiary canon) Paige Cox remained unhappy: Bennett 'likes to make the place a liberty hall... we are getting a bad name'. Bruce 215f

<sup>10</sup> Bruce, 12, quoting Bennett

<sup>11</sup> Bruce, 12

<sup>12</sup> Bruce, 88-93

<sup>13</sup> Bruce, 92f

The concept of the visitor as pilgrim differed *toto caelo* from that of the fee-paying client: 'a cathedral can[not] even begin to do its proper work until it has replaced visitors' fees by pilgrims' offerings.'<sup>1</sup>

'[O]pen and free' entry demanded pastoral provision, a priest to offer counsel. Especially upon 'gaitered dignitaries' he urged the wearing of a cassock, a garment making the wearer approachable by all, including children.<sup>2</sup> He set up chapels for devotion, and notices suggesting devout reflection.

Throughout, the strategy responded to context. Ease of transport increased tourism; Americans found the journey from Liverpool easy.<sup>3</sup> The importance of opening cathedrals between services on Sunday arose from his observation that that was the only day on which many were free.<sup>4</sup> The waning cohesion of 'Edwardian communities' and the 'decline of the urban parish' after the First World War were 'the cathedral's opportunity'.<sup>5</sup>

Bennett was a pioneer. Others followed where he led. George Bell was an eager learner, both visiting Bennett and corresponding with him.<sup>6</sup> Changes, some similar to Bennett's, gave Canterbury cathedral a warmer pastoral face. A colour-coded plan demonstrated the history of the cathedral's evolution to visitors;<sup>7</sup> Bell wrote pamphlets which expounded features of the cathedral;<sup>8</sup> women were permitted to enter, though not to attend services, without hats, a ladies' cloakroom was provided;<sup>9</sup> 'positive and invitational' notices replaced a 'plethora' of 'prohibitive' ones;<sup>10</sup> visitors ceased to be treated as 'trippers': in February 1925, admission charges were abolished, at first experimentally;<sup>11</sup> they were not reinstated. From Whitsunday 1924 the cathedral was open longer: on Sundays between services; on other days for an additional two hours.<sup>12</sup> A nave altar provided a devotional focus; the Lady Chapel was set apart for private prayer.<sup>13</sup>

Chester was provincial, Canterbury metropolitan; Bennett's experience was parochial, Bell's of the heart of affairs. Canterbury gave Bell peculiar opportunities. While at Lambeth, he had become convinced of the importance of broadcasting, and had become a friend of Reith. In June 1925, culture and worship came together in a commemoration of the death of Orlando Gibbons, the broadcast was so successful that others followed and, at Reith's suggestion, a permanent BBC line was placed in the cathedral. Broadcasts, approximately four each year, became the pattern;<sup>14</sup> they were, Bell said, to be

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<sup>1</sup> Bennett, 45

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, 126

<sup>3</sup> Bruce, 12

<sup>4</sup> Bruce, 93

<sup>5</sup> Bruce, 75

<sup>6</sup> Robbins, 1995, 310

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 310

<sup>8</sup> Jasper, 1967, 36

<sup>9</sup> Robbins, 1995, 310

<sup>10</sup> Jasper, 1967, 36

<sup>11</sup> Robbins, 1995, 310f

<sup>12</sup> Jasper, 1967, 36

<sup>13</sup> Jasper, 1967, 37

<sup>14</sup> Jasper, 1967, 40; Robbins, 1995, 312

'of a rather special character for broadcasting'.<sup>1</sup> Reith told Bell that the most encouraging cooperation was coming from some the cathedrals,<sup>2</sup> which were willing to hold special services on Sunday evenings.<sup>3</sup>

At Canterbury, Bell's life-long love of literature was demonstrated in the presence at Lang's enthronement of 'Artists, Poets, and Musicians.'<sup>4</sup> It was also realised in drama. Although an early attempt to stage a nativity play foundered, the Chapter agreed that 'under proper conditions' drama 'would be an entirely proper activity' in the cathedral, and 'empowered' the dean 'to make further enquiries.' John Masefield's play *The Coming of Christ*, which he commissioned, was performed at Whitsuntide 1928.<sup>5</sup> Masefield himself was the producer.<sup>6</sup> Bell recruited gifted artists;<sup>7</sup> he had to contend with 'the 'religious susceptibilities' of individuals and groups around him.<sup>8</sup> The outcome was a triumph for his diplomatic skills: the five performances in the nave, before six thousand people, were acts of worship. There was no charge, a voluntary collection raised £800. Bell reflected in later years that 'history was [then] made...the Poet and the Artist together re-entered the Church...I think I may justly claim that it was the combination of a lead from the Church of Canterbury with the response of the Three Kings of their respective arts...which started a new chapter in the history of English drama'. It was 'an act of religious dedication and inspiration, very proper to the Whitsuntide Festival.'<sup>9</sup> In these words, we glimpse the conviction underlying Bell's work: his belief in the activity of the Holy Spirit, beyond the customary doctrinal channels of word and sacraments and didacticism, in human creativity.

His plans grew bolder. He resolved to inaugurate an annual Canterbury Festival of Music and Drama.<sup>10</sup> The first would be in August 1929. In it, 'the best music and the best drama [would be] combined', and its 'special and intimate association' with the cathedral would recall 'the old inspiration which religion gave to art of all kinds and not least to drama and music.' *The Times* devoted a leader to the festival and 'a chorus of praise' followed.<sup>11</sup> Bell did not entirely escape criticism: in *The Coming of Christ* the Protestant agitator John Kensit 'detect[ed]...the insidious hand of Rome'.<sup>12</sup> But much that Bell achieved was ground-breaking.<sup>13</sup> This aspect of his work at Canterbury continued after his

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<sup>1</sup> Wolfe, 13

<sup>2</sup> Not all: St Paul's was 'particularly discourteous'; Wolfe 13

<sup>3</sup> Wolfe; 13

<sup>4</sup> *Processions*, 7

<sup>5</sup> Robbins, 1995, 132f

<sup>6</sup> Pickering, 91

<sup>7</sup> Charles Ricketts, costumes; Laurence and Rosalind Irving, actors; Gustav Holst, music; the 'Heavenly Host' (singers), Imogen Holst. (Pickering, 89f, 120)

<sup>8</sup> Jasper 42. Concerning some obstacles, not least the 'anti-war sentiments' and the representation of the Divine, Pickering, 91

<sup>9</sup> Jasper, 1967, 43

<sup>10</sup> Pickering, 95

<sup>11</sup> Jasper, 1967, 44

<sup>12</sup> Robbins, 1995, 313

<sup>13</sup> See then recent restrictions on the church and the stage Robbins, 1995, 313

departure, the greatest of the commissions was *Murder in the Cathedral*, presented in 1935. Bell remained a trustee of the fund.<sup>1</sup>

The plays could reflect the times: the shepherds in *The Coming of Christ* expressed 'strong anti-war sentiments' and 'Bolshevich opinions', and there was a 'sustained' attack on 'incompetent officers and pointless suffering'; in Bell's determination to defend the integrity of the text may be seen his acute social conscience.<sup>2</sup>

At Canterbury his brief decanate gave to the cathedral a new lustre. Capitalizing upon this, the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral were launched, with the support of the Chapter, and, not for the only time, with the help of the *The Times*. Liverpool already had a body of 'Cathedral Builders': eager to help but unable to make large donations, giving regularly through voluntary collectors; and the Bodleian Library had had Friends since 1925.<sup>3</sup> The Friends of Canterbury were the first at an ancient cathedral. Bell announced them in *The Times* on 20 July 1927.<sup>4</sup> Their object was the supporting of the cathedral: the needs of the fabric were urgent; their subscriptions, of five shillings, went to a special fabric fund. The members received an annual report, and there was an annual festival. The organisation was an immediate success: launched in July, by November it had 750 members and they were able to undertake the repair of the Water Tower; it cost £1,000. The life-long dedication of Miss Margaret Babington to the cause was essential.<sup>5</sup> Few cathedrals have not established Friends. Howe calculated an aggregate income of £1,474,000 and 53,000 members.<sup>6</sup>

At Chichester, Duncan-Jones set out to include the community in the cathedral. Early in his decanate, he visited the Sussex Folk Dance Club and joined in the dancing. At Whitsun Morris dancers were welcomed at the cathedral. 'Now I have seen Morris dancers walking round a cathedral in a religious procession, in their bells and baldricks', a correspondent wrote to him, 'I shall die happy!' <sup>7</sup> Folk dancing, on the lawn of the Palace, became a regular feature of the Whitsuntide observances of the cathedral.<sup>8</sup>

Pageants and tableaux, some intermixed with processions of the chapter, ensured that, for all his liturgical precision, worship in Duncan-Jones's hands was neither pure formalism nor mere antiquarianism. The Epiphany procession of the Three Kings drew children from beyond the regular congregation;<sup>9</sup> they carried lighted candles in procession, and a tableau representing the Kings was formed before the High Altar. The children were led by a group of recorder-players: members of the

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<sup>1</sup> Pickering, 96

<sup>2</sup> Pickering, 133

<sup>3</sup> Kennerley 1991, 86f; Bodleian Friends website

<sup>4</sup> Jasper, 1967, 39

<sup>5</sup> Robbins, 1995, 314. See also Pickering, 349f

<sup>6</sup> H&R 169, 111

<sup>7</sup> Foster, 2007a, 26f

<sup>8</sup> Barrett, 1994, 260; Jasper, 1967, 83 and illustration VI

<sup>9</sup> Eg Barrett, 1994, 261

Dolmetsch family,<sup>1</sup> pioneers in the revival of early music. The service illustrates Duncan-Jones's ability to attract people of high standards, and to use them within a pastorally conceived occasion for children.

The outreach, pastoral and popular, to visitors was imaginative: in August 1932 a 'Thanksgiving Service for Holidaymakers'; on the August Bank-Holiday 'An Hour of Music'; on New Year's Eve 1935 a Watch Night Service, 'the first known' in a cathedral; in January 1938 'talking films' instead of a sermon – again the first in any cathedral.<sup>2</sup> In 1951, a 'Festival of Sussex', with processions and tableaux of historical scenes, marked the Festival of Britain.<sup>3</sup>

Duncan-Jones was in many ways a pioneer. He used the technology of the age; he responded to the visitors whom popular transport brought to his cathedral; *The Times* frequently gave national publicity to events.<sup>4</sup>

The style which Duncan-Jones gave to Chichester may be set in a distinct sub-culture of the age. The English Use was intensely English; it accorded to the Rite of Sarum a (historically indefensible) pre-eminence; and it vehemently rejected all things Roman. The *English Hymnal* was equally emphatically English:<sup>5</sup> a strong preference for folk tunes is 'one of its most striking and original features.'<sup>6</sup> The literary editor was Dearmer and the musical editor Vaughan Williams. The combination of morris dancing and these liturgical badges of Englishness was not peculiar to Chichester: the same combination at Thaxted was much admired.<sup>7</sup> Folk dancing and folk music more broadly, which influenced Vaughan Williams and Holst and other musicians of the early twentieth century, may be set within a romantic, even escapist, quest for a pre-industrial past. A wider, populist, context is suggested by the topographical writing of the time: Arthur Mee's *Kings England* series;<sup>8</sup> the journeyings of HV Morton;<sup>9</sup> some publications of BT Batsford.

Duncan-Jones's Chichester, with its morris dancing, its liturgical preference for English music,<sup>10</sup> its ceremonial robes and gestures untainted by Roman innovation, its long ample 'English' surplices, its use of the *English Hymnal*, belonged within this milieu. But it was not an escapist idyll, unaware of the problems of the day; at Christmas 1932, for instance, gifts were sent to the half-million unemployed in the diocese of Durham.<sup>11</sup>

Yet, like Thaxted, Chichester was a place where, for a space, the dream seemed real.

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<sup>1</sup> See ODNB: Dolmetsch

<sup>2</sup> Foster, 2007 31

<sup>3</sup> Foster, 2007, 31f; 39

<sup>4</sup> Foster, 2007, 39

<sup>5</sup> 'The list of the Committee of the English Hymnal...is a typical sample of the weight which was on the Sarum side in those days' [c.1906] Hughes, 47

<sup>6</sup> Onderdonk, 191

<sup>7</sup> Noel, 104ff

<sup>8</sup> First volume, 1936

<sup>9</sup> The first, *In Search of England*, first published 1927

<sup>10</sup> See list of composers 'suitable' to accompany the Prayer Book: 'foreign composers are in brackets'. Duncan-Jones, 1948, xxf

<sup>11</sup> Foster 2007, 31

Duncan-Jones's death coincided with the death-knell of a culture, certainly inside the Church and, as the 1960s advanced, increasingly in society. In liturgy, the church turned to patristic rather than medieval precedent; in high art, contemporary movements, the introduction of whose products into his beloved cathedral would have made Duncan-Jones 'turn in his grave',<sup>1</sup> became established. In music, Britten and Tippett supplanted the 'cowpat' composers,<sup>2</sup> whom he, and Noel, approved.

To the impact of this at Chichester we shall return.

Liverpool was new, urban, constructing liberal traditions, and pursuing presentational elegance. How did such a cathedral respond to the tensions and demands of the interwar years?

When Frederick Dwelly was an incumbent in Southport he developed a style, and his informed attention to worship was noticed.<sup>3</sup> He became *Ceremoniarius* of the cathedral, 'planning and writing the services...conducting all the rehearsals' for the consecration.<sup>4</sup>

The services during the octave brought to the cathedral groups, some from far beyond the diocesan constituency: the Mersey Mission, Shipping and Sailors, Friendly Societies, Free Churchmen, social workers, business men, as well as Missionary Workers and Sunday Schools.<sup>5</sup> The services, all agreed,<sup>6</sup> were models of their kind; Dwelly was lauded:<sup>7</sup> 'the King said no service had ever before...made him realise he had a religious heart', David told him.<sup>8</sup>

The cathedral assembled a College of Counsel, a distinguished company who 'hither bring their contributions of wisdom and experience'. The recruits included the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Smuts, GKA Bell, John Masfield, Professor J. L. Myres, Martin Shaw, Lord Dawson of Penn.<sup>9</sup> Special services invoked the spirit of the age: AN Whitehead, DH Laurence, and Edward Carpenter were quoted; Isaac Newton, Florence Nightingale, Robert Burns, WG Grace, and the Lancashire Cricket Supporters, were mentioned.<sup>10</sup>

In 1937, the 8.30 drew 'the largest congregation'; frequently it was 'built round some social or international problem of the day'; groups which emerged from it reached beyond the cathedral. One, of unemployed men, met weekly at the cathedral to discuss the economic and personal aspects of unemployment. From that, the cathedral developed an interest in a school twenty miles away, which enabled the unemployed to make constructive use of their 'enforced leisure'. That school, in turn, attracted further interest in the Potteries.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dr Geoffrey Bushnell, quoted by Turner, 1992, 534

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Lutyens's phrase; see 'Elizabeth Lutyens', art in Kennedy and Bourne

<sup>3</sup> Kennerley, 2004, 53ff; 55f

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 84

<sup>5</sup> Kennerley, 2004, 78

<sup>6</sup> Almost: Henson thought the consecration 'a pageant of irrelevant medievalism'; Lockhart 216

<sup>7</sup> Kennerley, 2004, 90ff

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 91

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 169

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 185f

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 183

A broadcast talk provided glimpses of the cathedral's approach to social concern in 1937. Dwelly explained the search of 'our groups' for 'unity'. Special services 'affirm' 'the good for humanity' done by a branch of science, or 'the beauty that certain artists have brought into people's lives'. Thus the cathedral 'affirms' the 'creative spirit': 'we discover the unities, the worthwhile things'; the cathedral was 'helping to prepare for that new spirit that we believe is coming into the world.' 'Many of the problems of the day would be solved', Dwelly affirmed, 'if the outlook of scientists and artists could be fused in one creative vision.'<sup>1</sup> The high-flown phrases seem to echo Raven's rhetorical idealism; and the quest for 'unities' sounds Platonic.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the search was earthed in practical questions. As the cathedral pondered the responsibilities of the community to the unemployed, it asked the Bishop to gather trades unions and employers. Each began 'tied rigidly' to its own group's stance; but a 'vital truth emerged: ...we all had responsibilities for the unemployed man's personal welfare. Here was a unity.'<sup>3</sup> Dwelly avoided the pragmatic. The cathedral, he said, could 'give very few definite answers' but 'would go out with you and seek the true principles by which your attitude to life should be determined.' People, he continued, want 'definite answers' to problems: the church, though, cannot prescribe, but it should offer 'community seeking'.<sup>4</sup>

From a cathedral set in an intensely industrial area, such a response to the great issues of the 1930s seems tepid: a far cry from the practical concern which we shall see later in Canon Collins and in the decanates of Webster, Jowett, Patey, and Walters. And, in a reversal of expectations, when, during air-raids, the residents of neighbouring houses took refuge in shelters beneath the cathedral, the architect wrote to the dean, deploring conditions which, Scott thought, were 'a disgrace to the cathedral', and 'made me feel that I wanted to cry'.<sup>5</sup>

### *Cathedrals and War*

The Military Service at York grew out of the memorial service for General Gordon, and became 'one of the events of Yorkshire'. In 1909, 2,000 troops and 10,000 people were said to have attended. The pervasive militarism of the age provoked some bellicose sermons.<sup>6</sup> On Christmas Day in 1916, Canon Bell struck a note frequently sounded:<sup>7</sup> they were resisting barbarism for the 'sacredness of womanhood and childhood'. After the war, the popularity of Military Sunday continued: in 1925, 10,000 attended the service and 30,000 visited the Minster. The event was not abandoned until 1939.<sup>8</sup> In such a climate, the Yorkshire regiments responded readily to Foxley Norris, a dean with a strong desire to

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 183, 184

<sup>2</sup> Cf Wilkinson, 69

<sup>3</sup> Kennerley 2004, 184

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 185

<sup>5</sup> Kennerley, 1991, 146

<sup>6</sup> Chadwick, 1977, 310

<sup>7</sup> Wilkinson 1996, 64, 80f

<sup>8</sup> Chadwick, 1977, 319f



adorn the Minster; a series of regimental chapels gave the 'glow and glory of colour and gilding' which he desired and which Walter Tapper realised.<sup>1</sup>

At St Paul's, responses to the war were diverse. In 1915, on the steps, the bishop, Winnington-Ingram, indulged his 'militaristic inclinations'. But a tradition of reflective, subdued, services, originating in the Boer War, continued, in, for instance, commemorations of Edith Cavell and Kitchener,<sup>2</sup> and in 'heart-searching...memorial services', for nurses, guardsmen, cavalry, artillery, navy railwaymen, which gave 'a newly democratic note' to the cathedral's response to war.<sup>3</sup>

Cathedrals were natural foci for thanksgiving for peace. At York, 'within an hour of the news the Minster...was crowded out, a great multitude'. Lang 'was at S. Paul's on the next day when the King went there to give thanks: & the old place once again seemed to open its heart & beat with the heart of the people & Empire'. Then at York 'a mighty multitude: I've never seen the nave so full...the reverence & sense of awe with all the thanksgiving were evident.'<sup>4</sup>

The indulging of militarism was not unchallenged. Before the First World War, a pacifist group besought Purey-Cust, who had started the Military Service, to discontinue so martial an occasion. But this was out of sorts with the times and he refused.<sup>5</sup> In the years between the wars pacificism grew. At St Paul's, HRL Sheppard, embodiment of the Peace Pledge Union from 1934, was allowed by a reluctant chapter to hold a PPU service in the crypt. In 1936 Dwelly and the Principal Chapter at Liverpool resolved to express their disapproval of the policy of the Government towards Germany by omitting from the prayers references to Ministers of State.<sup>6</sup> In those years Dwelly appears to have gone with the mood for appeasement.<sup>7</sup> By 1930 his ally Raven was a convinced pacifist.<sup>8</sup>

Increasingly, during the 1930s, Duncan-Jones became an informed observer of the state of the German churches. His first assessment of National Socialism was naïve and indulged Hitler.<sup>9</sup> But he repented and 'fought boldly [against]...the evils inherent in National Socialism.'<sup>10</sup> He became an authority on the struggle of the churches in Germany, sometimes collaborating with Bell,<sup>11</sup> once a flying visit to Germany at the latter's behest.<sup>12</sup> In 1938 he was debarred from the trial of Niemöller; he 'he picked up a great deal of information about it.'<sup>13</sup> In that year he published a book which was received;<sup>14</sup> it secured his denunciation by Hitler as 'one of the enemies of Germany'.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cant, 1977, 546

<sup>2</sup> Wolfe, 2004, 387

<sup>3</sup> Burns, 95

<sup>4</sup> Lang to Wilfrid Parker Nov 24 1918; LPL 2883: 202

<sup>5</sup> Chadwick, 1977, 310

<sup>6</sup> Peart-Binns, 1985, 51

<sup>7</sup> See 145 below

<sup>8</sup> Dillistone, 211, 214

<sup>9</sup> Carpenter, 85f. See also Chandler 1997, 51; 52-58, esp 55f

<sup>10</sup> Foster, 2007, 41

<sup>11</sup> Foster, 2007, 41,43

<sup>12</sup> Jasper, 1967, 227

<sup>13</sup> Carpenter, 93

<sup>14</sup> Duncan-Jones, 1938

As war broke out, tensions between Bell and Duncan-Jones became manifest. Both were hostile to National Socialism; but their emphases differed and the differences went deep, down to their attitudes to the conduct of war, and to the nature of patriotism. They were visible in the cathedral. After an address to a congregation of soldiers, Duncan-Jones received a letter from Sir Gerald Templar asking for copies for distribution: 'that was such an address to the congregation of soldiers'. Templar added, 'I shall never forget the way you announced 'God save the King'.'<sup>2</sup> On the Sunday on which war was declared, 'The Dean in booming tones, with somewhat belligerent flavour, announced the outbreak of war.' By contrast Bell, 'quite on his own, walked from his throne and for a few minutes reminded the congregation that they were to be Christians, to have pity on their enemies, to have compassion, and throughout the war to have forgiveness in their hearts.'<sup>3</sup> In 1943, Bell spoke against the temptation to 'use our growing strength ruthlessly and in a spirit of vengeance.' The statement was received with hostility; and ten days before the annual Battle of Britain Service in the cathedral, Duncan-Jones wrote to him: 'for you to preach on this occasion is a challenge which will not make for amity and concord in the preparation of the observance.' Bell agreed not to preach.<sup>4</sup> In the years after the war, Duncan-Jones's patriotic vigour was turned against the Soviet bloc;<sup>5</sup> and he led the worship at the British Legion Festival of Remembrance.<sup>6</sup>

Dwelly preached at the 8.30 service at Liverpool on the day that war was declared. In a sermon not without patriotic rodomontade, he also said 'when we say 'Blessed' we mean the German people too – we must not confuse the German people with the Nazis', and '[p]acifism is no word for us now' but 'you and I rallied round' the Peace Ballot; he added; 'Oh don't regret it men and women.' 'We helped to hinder armaments and...men took advantage of us. It failed but it is not the failure of struggles for the right that are the cause of shame.'<sup>7</sup> During the war, he helped Germans held as prisoners of war;<sup>8</sup> and assisted Bell in the formulation of the case the latter presented in the House of Lords concerning the indiscriminate internment of aliens, accompanying him on his visit the camp at Huyton.<sup>9</sup> Kennerley thought these were not isolated cases.<sup>10</sup> In the fervour of war, such actions required moral courage.

Throughout the war, Dwelly 'ensured that the new Cathedral Church ...served the people of the district whether...the residents of the city or the thousands of servicemen who were to pass through the port.' 'What mortal man or priest could do to strengthen us,' Sir Max Horton said, Dwelly did. 'He

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<sup>1</sup> Carpenter, 87-90; quotation 88

<sup>2</sup> Carpenter, 70

<sup>3</sup> An ordinand at Chichester Theological College; Jasper, 1967, 86

<sup>4</sup> Jasper, 1967, 276

<sup>5</sup> Carpenter, 94ff

<sup>6</sup> Carpenter, 105

<sup>7</sup> Kennerley 2004 189-95; quotations, 191

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 205f

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 204f

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 206

encouraged the view that the officers and men should look upon Liverpool Cathedral as the 'Parish Church of the Western Approaches.'"<sup>1</sup>

In 1939, a divided chapter discredited St Paul's. War had the unexpected effect of creating 'a renewed sense of purpose and enhanced national standing'.<sup>2</sup> One photograph of the building surrounded by smoke assumed an iconic status.<sup>3</sup>

Several cathedrals were damaged in the war.<sup>4</sup> But Coventry suffered most; there on 14 November 1940 the cathedral and much of the city were destroyed. The event evoked differing responses.

The bishop said 'If the British Government were to decide that this form of attack will be used against German cities if it continues to be used against ours, it might well be morally justified...if we are not prepared for that we might have done better not to have begun resisting the Nazi aggression by force.'<sup>5</sup> The provost, on the morning after the raid, felt a 'deep certainty' that 'as the cathedral had been crucified with Christ, so it would rise again with him'. The next day he made the profession publicly:<sup>6</sup> 'we became aware as never before that God is Love, and that His Love is indestructible. He can make Good triumph over Evil.' The Empire Broadcast on Christmas Day began in the ruins. 'What we want to tell the world', he said, 'is this: that with Christ born again in our hearts today, we are trying, hard as it may be, to banish all thoughts of revenge'.<sup>7</sup> In January 1941 he caused their stonemason 'to build an altar of stones from the rubble on the site of the high altar and to set up behind it a cross made from charred beams found among the ruins....The effects of this...cannot possibly be estimated. The "Word of the Cross" was preached from now on in rubble and blackened wood'.<sup>8</sup> The Cross of Nails followed. The first was improvised from nails in the ruins: the material of those distributed so long as the supply lasted.<sup>9</sup> In 1948, the words 'Father forgive' were incised in large letters on the wall behind the altar.<sup>10</sup> Howard left the scriptural phrase incomplete; it was not to be expanded 'Father forgive those wicked Germans because I cannot' but 'we all have sinned...and we all need forgiveness'.<sup>11</sup>

Williams later experienced hostility,<sup>12</sup> remarkably, Howard, in the bitterest times, apparently did not.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, a few letters survive thanking him for his response to the bombing: 'it was good to

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 207

<sup>2</sup> Burns, 98

<sup>3</sup> Reproduced: Saint, 461

<sup>4</sup> Exeter; St Paul's; Manchester; at Canterbury damage to the cathedral was slight, to the precincts severe. Batsford and Fry, 43; 63; 112; 20

<sup>5</sup> Barry, 137–8

<sup>6</sup> Howard 20

<sup>7</sup> Howard, 22

<sup>8</sup> Howard, 22

<sup>9</sup> Howard 24f, Rose, 19

<sup>10</sup> Howard, 76f.

<sup>11</sup> Rose, 20

<sup>12</sup> See above 130

<sup>13</sup> No abusive letters survive in the cathedral archives

hear...your bit of Christian witness'; "The cathedral will rise again"...reminded me of the Easter message'.<sup>1</sup>

*Post-war cathedrals: reconciliation and protest*

Reconciliation, first with Germany, later on a broader international front, remained the Coventry *leitmotif*.<sup>2</sup> At other cathedrals also the emphasis became a major aspect of their work.

Doubtless the influence of Coventry on Patey was strong. At Liverpool, he embraced the *zeitgeist* of the 1960s; reconciliation, ecumenical in Liverpool's sectarianism,<sup>3</sup> cultural, communal, loomed large in his work.

On Remembrance Sunday there were civic and military observances in the 'neutral setting of St George's Hall'. The cathedral was free, he argued, 'to attempt a more obvious Christian statement'. The service was entitled 'Remembrance and Reconciliation'; the German Consul General and his staff were invited, the pastor of the Liverpool German Church took part. Patey defended the emphasis in the *Cathedral News*. The Christian duty was to remember victims 'on all sides' of 'past wars' and 'to be reconcilers and peacemakers' in 'human conflicts and suspicions which are the seeds of war.' Further, twenty-five years after the end of the Second World War, memories for those old enough were 'vivid and poignant', but to those under thirty-five were 'meaningless'. The cathedral 'welcome[d] various 'parade services': 'the Church has a ministry to all men and a particular responsibility to recall the sacrifices made in war within the Christian context of faith in the resurrection.' But to many young people they were 'puzzling'; suggesting that 'the Church is glorying in war.' To many of the young Jesus's teaching was 'plainly pacifist' and 'military-type services seem to contradict this.' It was 'not an entirely fair assessment', he added, but 'there is no doubt that it contains an element of truth.' Perhaps 'we Christians' are 'frightened to face up to the full implications of the teaching of Jesus Christ on the questions of peace and forgiveness. Remembrance Sunday gives us an opportunity to do this.'<sup>4</sup> The preachers who were invited illustrate his conviction: from Germany Martin Niemoeller, Eberhard Bethge, Pastor Fritzhermann Keienberg; from other places Philip Noel Baker, Pastor Michel Wagner; from 'war torn Belfast' the Bishop of Connor.<sup>5</sup>

At Manchester, the observance of Remembrance Sunday was minimal: a pause in the Eucharist at eleven for the two-minute silence. A pacifist dean was thankful to be able to leave the civic observance to St Anns, the city church, where the rector found such occasions highly congenial.<sup>6</sup>

At Norwich Webster sought to exalt reconciliation over militarism. He disliked the annual commemoration of Edith Cavell, which included a military band. When the canon who had conducted it left, he moved to secure the honouring of her memory each year in a less military manner, transferring

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<sup>1</sup> B. Pemberton; JD Jones (CCA,PA2056/17/7/8)

<sup>2</sup> See above, 129ff

<sup>3</sup> See above 125

<sup>4</sup> Patey, 76f

<sup>5</sup> Patey, 76ff

<sup>6</sup> Personal knowledge

the reading of prayers at her grave to Remembrance Sunday: 'as part of the national tribute to the fallen'.<sup>1</sup>

At St Paul's, Webster was dean at the time of the service after the Falklands campaign. It became a *cause célèbre*.<sup>2</sup>

The government desired a triumphalist note. Webster, Runcie, and the leaders of other denominations, all sought predominantly one of reconciliation; Webster had hoped that the Lord's Prayer might be said in Spanish. The clergy largely won, not least in prayers written by Dr Kenneth Greet, who had opposed military action, and in the sermon preached by the archbishop. Webster thought the occasion showed how ecumenical solidarity could 'make possible a stance independent of the government of the day'.<sup>3</sup> Many conservative MPs were outraged, the Prime Minister was said to be 'spitting blood'. She remained critical, though in studiedly moderate tones, when she spoke to Carpenter in 1995.<sup>4</sup>

These observances suggest within the church the emergence of a counter-cultural tendency (Webster and Jowett were pacifists.<sup>5</sup>) A small church, a consciously and distinctly self-aware group in society, a group esteeming inner integrity more highly than inherited national function; a body inclining, perhaps, more toward the 'peace movement' than toward the Cold War:<sup>6</sup> this church seemed to supplant the expectations of establishment. Patey's sympathy toward the young's 'plainly pacifist' reading of Jesus is defensible, but pacificism has never been predominant in Christian thought; Patey's Remembrance Sunday Services seemed to make his cathedral social critic or national conscience rather than establishment agency.

These later examples of the witness to reconciliation and peace inevitably assumed a political aspect, especially under a right-wing government. In other spheres, also, some cathedrals adopted a liberal, questioning stance, closer to the aspirations of progressive than of conservative politicians.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Post-war cathedrals: the local community*

In the second-half of the century cathedrals moved into more prominent involvement with the local community.

At most cathedrals an increasing range of civic services marked the year. Patey inherited a round which included Civic Sunday, the Assize, the Battle of the Atlantic.<sup>8</sup> He sought to breathe a new realism into them: 'special services of all kinds were given sensitive new shape and meaning.' He encouraged those seeking such services 'to take part in their planning and execution...Liverpool

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<sup>1</sup> DL, November 1974. Information from the canon, Mann.

<sup>2</sup> Webster ch 6; Carpenter, 1996, 255f

<sup>3</sup> Burns 390, quoting a typescript of Webster. (v. *ibid*, notes ch 34, n. 63)

<sup>4</sup> Carpenter, 1996, 255-261

<sup>5</sup> Webster: Mann; Jowett: personal knowledge; also 'Alfred Jowett' ODNB

<sup>6</sup> Cf *The Church and the Bomb* 1982; 'a strong anti-nuclear statement'. Hastings, 657f

<sup>7</sup> See eg Norwich 152, Portsmouth 153, below

<sup>8</sup> Patey, 53

cathedral became one of the most open of places where all sorts and conditions of people felt welcomed and wanted.’<sup>1</sup> To the regular round were added occasional requests:<sup>2</sup> anniversaries, centenaries, and jubilees; the visits to Liverpool of Conferences: the Royal Institute of British Architects, the British Medical Association, the Society of Chiropractors. Such services illustrate the need for cathedrals to take a ‘world affirming’ view of Christianity. At Manchester in 1983, the local committee of the BMA, requested a conference service in which Roman Catholics, the Free Churches, Jews, and Muslims could worship; religious leaders of all those groups took part.<sup>3</sup>

A range of responsibilities reflected the secular environs of all cathedrals: Portsmouth possessed ‘strong if formal’ civic links, the Provost was Chaplain to City and County Councils;<sup>4</sup> there was ‘participation in royal and VIP visits’; inevitably there was the Royal Navy, and later, the Mary Rose Trust whose Director, Dr Margaret Rule, was the cathedral’s archaeological consultant. Through the Development Trust and the Cathedral Businessmen’s Committee, links were established with professional and business life.<sup>5</sup> There were connexions with educational establishments, long-standing with Portsmouth Grammar School, innovative with the polytechnic-university, which collaborated in extramural ventures. The appointment of the chaplain<sup>6</sup> as an honorary cathedral chaplain drew the institutions closer,<sup>7</sup> and in 1993 the cathedral was ‘exploring setting up a common room’ with the University.<sup>8</sup>

Chelmsford made connexions with the new University of Essex. The retirement of the first, resolutely secular, vice-chancellor<sup>9</sup> presented an opportunity, which Moses seized. A Centre for the Study of Theology was established on the campus, under the cathedral’s aegis: a modern variant on the historic link between cathedrals and scholarship. The chaplain, Andrew Linzey, developed a pioneering theology of animal-rights.<sup>10</sup>

Lincoln offered its spaces to the community: ‘Lincoln Cares’ was a recurring exhibition and convention with films, discussions and music;<sup>11</sup> there was a Population Concern regional conference of senior school children;<sup>12</sup> ‘energetic girls and women’ performed a ‘Hippo Hop’, raising over £6,000 for ‘Children in Need’.<sup>13</sup> Exhibitions were numerous.<sup>14</sup> Some were ‘a little disconcerted’ when the nave

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<sup>1</sup> Bates letter

<sup>2</sup> See list Patey, 67

<sup>3</sup> The present writer constructed the service

<sup>4</sup> Though Stancliffe’s interest in these was slight: Fenton, Knowles, Platten; see 153, below.

<sup>5</sup> Stancliffe, 1995, 156f

<sup>6</sup> Dorbor interview

<sup>7</sup> Fenton interview

<sup>8</sup> Stancliffe, 1995, 157.

<sup>9</sup> Sloman

<sup>10</sup> Moses, 1996, 74-76

<sup>11</sup> CL, 23, June, 27 June 1982; 29 June 1986; 18 September 1988

<sup>12</sup> CL, 20 September 1981

<sup>13</sup> CL, 13, 27, November, 1988

<sup>14</sup> Eggs Royal Society for the Protection of Birds; children’s work inspired by St Hugh (CL, 4 May 1986); work by children with handicapped speech (CL, 17 May 1987); Rampton hospital (CL, 27 July 1980);

was used for congregational parties. Davis, having invoked historical and anthropological precedent, concluded 'our parties...are more than gatherings of like-minded people for a convivial time'; they broke 'the privatization of some modern worship styles': the parties in the nave were important.<sup>1</sup>

Webster was aware that cathedrals could seem 'remote...belonging to "them" not to "us", immune to challenges and tensions'. Norwich should be used 'for proclaiming and living out the Gospel today.'<sup>2</sup> He used the cathedral for secular, communitary, purposes. He attracted the young with 'One Thousand Norfolk Poets': schools were invited to encourage children to write poems, 'not about religion or even about the cathedral, but about whatever touched and moved them.'<sup>3</sup> All the poems submitted were displayed; 'thousands' visited.<sup>4</sup> Friday (lunch-time) Forums sought to 'involve the cathedral and the local community closely'. There were eight each year; well attended, by, among others, young professionals. A lively presentation gave the topics vitality: a role-play at a Friday Forum concerning the injustices of world trade evoked 'a happy memory of a formidable old lady of eighty in a large hat, who, cast as an Indian jute-worker, kept vigorously demanding a revolution.'<sup>5</sup> Other topics included the African National Struggle, when the panel included 'African Students'; 'When is force justified?' with a naval chaplain taking part;<sup>6</sup> 'Can we afford to help the Third World?'; Is the Church compromised by its wealth?; 'Financing the Welfare State.'<sup>7</sup>

He wanted the cathedral and its precincts to be accessible: The Close to be The Open.<sup>8</sup> Opening the Riverside Walk made it more open.<sup>9</sup> So did changes in the use of some houses. A sermon from a 'visionary housing reformer' led to an Abbeyfield House.<sup>10</sup> The 'care for those on the margins, young or old, was characteristic of Christ and should be characteristic of his Church':<sup>11</sup> in 1973 he founded the Norwich Night Shelter for destitute men. Local resistance held that 'Norwich had no social problems.'<sup>12</sup> It is the only achievement from the Norwich years which Webster recorded in *Who's Who*; it was, perhaps, the achievement he was proudest of.

Between 1964 and 1983, Manchester cathedral was led by Alfred Jowett.<sup>13</sup> It lay then beyond the city shopping centre; visitors were comparatively few. Jowett went out into the community. He was dedicated to the teaching of adults and he frequently gave courses for the University Extra-Mural department and for the WEA; his knowledge of English literature (the subject of his degree) made him

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'Lincolnshire at Work': one of the most important exhibitions we have ever hosted'. (CL, 19 October 1986)

<sup>1</sup> CL, 17 November 1985

<sup>2</sup> DL, December 1971

<sup>3</sup> In DL, August 1973

<sup>4</sup> Webster, 2002, 47

<sup>5</sup> CT, Duggan 4 October 1974

<sup>6</sup> DL, January 1975.

<sup>7</sup> DL, January 1977

<sup>8</sup> Webster 2002, 37

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 35

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 36

<sup>11</sup> DL, July 1972

<sup>12</sup> *Times* 4 September 2007

<sup>13</sup> Turner: Jowett; Atherton ODNB

an effective oblique apologist, employing a questioning approach to Christianity. He served on the City Education Committee (and the diocesan counterpart) and on the governors of the polytechnic. He was as forthright as Webster in proclaiming his convictions. In November 1966, when he was still comparatively new, he was chairman of a public meeting in the city seeking legislative change for homosexuals. He believed deeply in the importance of racial equality, and for two years he was dispensed from his decanal duties in order to advance it. He was eager to welcome the city to the building. A Sunday evening event in the Year of the Child (1979) which sought to draw in various elements in the community 'might justly be called multi-cultural, inter-faith, literary, and Jungian.'<sup>1</sup> The conversion of the Royal Exchange building was not completed in time, and the Exchange Theatre's first season took place in the nave; the Hallé Orchestra, under Barbirolli, played in the cathedral. He had the support of able and like-minded canons: RH Preston, FS Wright; GO Morgan, an aesthete, who organised art exhibitions in the cathedral; not least memorable 'War : The Pity and the Poetry of It', on artists of the First World War. Allied to Jowett's principled concern that the cathedral should serve society was a certain pragmatism: 'You can sit in here all day, but you won't get people in', he used to say.<sup>2</sup>

Williams at Coventry was more inclined to theorise, less inclined to reveal his political hand. Cathedrals, he believed, could serve urban needs which transcended parochial boundaries. In 'metropolitan area[s]' they 'alone are big enough', and should be 'flexible enough', to become 'centre[s] of reconciliation and communication for the new communities.' 'Cathedrals can and must discover their role as personalising and reconciling centres in the total community about them.'<sup>3</sup> '[C]reative community activities' to which they could contribute included LEA sponsored VI Form conferences helping the young 'to make sense out of life'; conferences concerning religious, moral, and sociological problems; industrial tensions, modern communication, the pressures in community life with moral and intellectual aspects - to these cathedrals could contribute. Their historic claim to be 'places of learning' was 'tend[ing] to be a little thin'; it could thus be justified; few things would better establish cathedrals as central to communities. Most cathedrals could contribute to so broad a field.<sup>4</sup>

Coventry cathedral was ideally placed: surrounded by social problems and opportunities; possessed of staff 'learned' in the way he envisaged - Patey in popular communication youth-work, Phipps in industrial matters, Verney in small groups with their opportunities for interaction and reconciliation. A room under the cathedral was set up as a broadcasting studio; it became the BBC's local station.<sup>5</sup>

Williams made his own way into the local community. He quickly came to admire the local government officers. Of many local politicians he thought less well; they encircled their officers with a

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<sup>1</sup> Turner: Jowett address

<sup>2</sup> Reiterated to the present writer

<sup>3</sup> Williams, 1964, 27f

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 45-7

<sup>5</sup> Williams 1990, 57



'conflicting mass of pressures...which defeated rational discussion with the political groups.' The 'turbulence of the industrial life of the city' was a 'minefield'; the two sides in 'permanent conflict'. He was grateful for the manager of the Employment Exchange, to whose joint committee for the two sides he was appointed, and whose 'Socratic Lunches' were glimpses of reconciliation in the perpetual conflict.<sup>1</sup> Of the city's MPs, he valued Richard Crossman's help with the cathedral's approaches to East Germany and Maurice Edelman's in setting up courses of cathedral lectures on social and political issues; both helped 'when we operated on the fringes of international politics.'<sup>2</sup>

Webster's political sympathies were unconcealed. In 1970, when a sermon by Ambrose Reeves at a United Nations Service was announced, Webster reflected more widely: 'the painful achievements of our own country may well be jeopardised if there is a polarisation between black and white', the tensions in South Africa could lead to a 'world-wide tension'; such a division between a poor black world and an affluent white one was 'wrong'. He commended the stance of Ambrose Reeves, Trevor Huddleston, Alan Paton and Gonville French-Beytagh. In November 1971, shortly after French-Beytagh had been sentenced to imprisonment, Webster wrote of 'the pathological thinking of the present rulers' of South Africa, and he announced a graphic enactment of the outworking of the Terrorism Act of 1967. A Friday Forum,<sup>3</sup> in the form of a mock trial, would explore the prescriptions of the Act.<sup>4</sup> Webster was charged with having allowed striking Post Office workers to meet in a building owned by the church. The trial was conducted by English lawyers, applying the South African Act. He was convicted and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. The audience, which included 'many lawyers', departed under 'no illusions that the laws in South Africa are much the same as those in this country.'<sup>5</sup> In May 1974, £100 was given from the donations to the Cathedral Treasury,<sup>6</sup> to assist the education of the children of Joshua Nkomo.<sup>7</sup> In 1972 a Zulu priest, Canon Midian Msane lived among them for two months. His people were 'a tough race who stood against the British and Boers before we conquered that country'. '[H]e will not', Webster warned, 'take the point of view of many of the people here whom he will meet'. We need, he added, to 'continue to question the morality of a civilization which depends upon the repression of so many black people.'<sup>8</sup>

During the same years Portsmouth progressed from right to left. Porter Goff was of a generation of Anglican clergy whose political conservatism was implicit, unstated. In 1966, as he moved towards the completion of the building, the foundation stone was laid by Lord Montgomery of Alamein: Goff saw the work as a war memorial. He was to learn painfully that the national, and certainly the clerical, mood

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 11

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 11

<sup>3</sup> Friday Forums: above, 150

<sup>4</sup> DL, Nov 1971

<sup>5</sup> DL, Dec 1974: summary of article in CT by Margaret Duggan.

<sup>6</sup> Treasury: see 181 below

<sup>7</sup> DL, May 1974

<sup>8</sup> DL, May 1972

had changed, and little more was achieved.<sup>1</sup> The retirement of his successor, Michael Nott, in 1982, closed a ministry, both ecclesiastically and politically conservative. In retirement, still in Portsmouth, he became prominent in the local Conservative Party.<sup>2</sup>

His successor was young and, in manner, less conventionally and understatedly middle class than patrician. Within the patrician, however, lurked something of the Whig. Those who worked with him are agreed that social progress was important to Stancliffe. After the completion of the building, five 'Focus Periods' each year set public issues before the congregation. Each was devoted to a topical social and or political question. In 1992 they included evangelism, the environment, prisons; in 1993 housing, Europe, war and peace.

Shortly before he left Stancliffe preached a sermon, reported in the national press, in which he called for 'higher taxes' and 'condemned the "selfish" Tory Party.' That party's conference he dismissed as a 'pantomime'; he would himself, he added, 'accept a lower standard of living in order that others may simply live.'<sup>3</sup> When, at the time of a General Election, his daughter displayed a Labour party poster in the window of her room, there were local complaints; Stancliffe defended her right to do so.<sup>4</sup> His coolness towards the civic role of the cathedral<sup>5</sup> was perhaps in part due to his distaste for a council long dominated by the Conservative Party.<sup>6</sup> The Liberal Democrats and Labour he found more congenial. But his social convictions were inspired not by secular political programmes but by Christian belief.<sup>7</sup> Portsmouth under Stancliffe was clearly left or liberal leaning. But it does not appear to have borne the strong impress of a left-wing leader such as Patey, and Jowett and Webster.<sup>8</sup>

We have seen the emergence of a counter-cultural tendency in some cathedrals. In the 1980s, a group of bishops, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Durham, and, with moderation and finesse, Canterbury, opposed government policy. In the cathedrals, Jowett, Patey and Webster were openly critical in ways that few of their predecessors earlier in the twentieth century would have contemplated.

There were some moves against this tendency. After Patey, Liverpool received Derrick Walters. In the early 1980s, the Prime Minister's appointment secretary customarily conducted widely before the appointment of a dean.<sup>9</sup> The Patronage Secretary at the time was Catford. Archbishop Runcie mistrusted him: he was part of a Prime Ministerial and 'evangelical plot to do down good Catholic liberals everywhere';<sup>10</sup> Thatcher's weapon of vengeance against a disobedient church. In fact Catford appears generally to have performed with proper detachment, though, for instance, the succession

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<sup>1</sup> Loudon, 1955, 93; see 202 below

<sup>2</sup> Knowles

<sup>3</sup> *Times* 12 October 1993

<sup>4</sup> Knowles

<sup>5</sup> See above 149

<sup>6</sup> If so, the coolness was mutual. The local authority responded tardily to the cathedral appeal because the cathedral supported 'the social policies advocated by Archbishop Runcie.' (Louden, 99)

<sup>7</sup> Agreed among former colleagues

<sup>8</sup> Politics did not greatly impinge on Stancliffe's public ministry: Platten

<sup>9</sup> Experienced by the present writer, at Manchester, 1983.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Brown in Platten 2002, 130

after Fiennes at Lincoln may have been political and was certainly evangelical.<sup>1</sup> Was Walters perceived as sympathetic to the government, a counterpoise to Sheppard's socialism? Was he a corrective to Patey's cultural and theological liberalism? These things he certainly was.<sup>2</sup> But, before their determinacy is assumed, we should note that financial acumen, desiderated by Patey in his successor, attention to administrative detail, the building up of the inner life of the cathedral, were Walters's capacities and were needed. A question remains, however. Sheppard was undoubtedly consulted; in normal circumstances his opinion would carry weight.<sup>3</sup> Bishop Henshall suggests that Sheppard 'did not have a high regard for Catford, and rather let it happen'; '[o]ddly he was not over-bothered about the appointment'; 'he was bothered about working positively and eirenically with whoever was appointed'. The procedure was 'very typical Sheppard'.<sup>4</sup> It may be that Sheppard did not foresee the appointment of one whose stance was so divergent from his own, one *prima facie* so unlikely to be sympathetic to the culture of Liverpool. And between a bishop prominently of the left and a Dean espousing the methods of the New Right perfect amity was improbable; '[i]t was obvious to all – and not in itself uncreative – that Dean and Bishop were at variance politically.'<sup>5</sup>

Walters was politically far from Patey, and within the cathedral he created a different atmosphere; the worship became conventional with a dean who loved the liturgical music of Bach and Haydn and Mozart,<sup>6</sup> whose preference was for the Prayer Book, and the Authorized Version.<sup>7</sup> His decanate was, however, notable for the transformation he wrought in the environs of the cathedral.

Throughout Patey's time those environs were desolate. Plans to improve them had foundered.<sup>8</sup> Only when, after the riots in 1981, Liverpool became the direct concern of Heseltine, did the prospects brighten. As Patey went into retirement, for the first time the auguries were good.<sup>9</sup> But, again, plans failed.<sup>10</sup> Derrick Walter, Patey's successor, said 'you can't ignore the context in which we're working. It is desperately important that we create jobs in the city because that's what gives people a sense of pride and meaning'.<sup>11</sup>

Walters was reared in socialist heartlands.<sup>12</sup> Human need moved him: '8 Women from Liverpool 8' had a vision of good housing, but no means to realise it. One of them 'turned up at the cathedral and asked to see him.' He responded; he 'believed in us and our project' and he possessed the knowledge

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<sup>1</sup> See 157, 183 below

<sup>2</sup> Cf the appointment of Routledge, conservative, to Webster's St Paul's; 200 below

<sup>3</sup> Cf Habgood 105 above

<sup>4</sup> Henshall

<sup>5</sup> Henshall

<sup>6</sup> Kennerley, 2004, 286. 'When the angels sing to God they clearly sing Bach, but for light relief they give him a bit of Mozart!': Walters quoted by Tracey

<sup>7</sup> Vincent

<sup>8</sup> Patey, 34f, 37

<sup>9</sup> Patey, 38-41

<sup>10</sup> Sheppard, 262

<sup>11</sup> Kennerley, 1991, 203, quoting Walters to a reporter.

<sup>12</sup> Eyre, *Guardian*, obituary Walters

and the acumen to guide them.<sup>1</sup> His theology of the Kingdom of God drove his commitment to the city and its citizen's lives.<sup>2</sup> But his methods were controversial. Calling himself a socialist, he embraced the enterprise spirit. Before the General Election of 1992 the *Church Times* commissioned articles commending the policies of the three principal parties. The paper had difficulty finding a cleric of standing to defend the Conservative cause. Although not looking on himself as a 'Thatcherite',<sup>3</sup> Walters wrote, anxious that the case should not go unheard.<sup>4</sup> A few bishops were well-disposed towards the government.<sup>5</sup> Walters was not merely sympathetic but a practitioner; a credible proponent.

His starting point was a demonstration that his convictions were a legitimate descent from the socialism of his father who 'believed in competition and in the market economy. He believed too that we should live in a compassionate society and he knew too that you can only share the rewards of prosperity if the rewards are there to share'. He went on to cast the mantle of his father's socialism over the Conservative leaders: 'like Margaret Thatcher and John Major [he] valued self reliance.' He turned to Liverpool: the leaders of all political parties 'care about Liverpool and its hurt'. But 'to translate caring into action depends on the creation of wealth....every penny has to be created by the private sector... [Christians] who vote Conservative next Thursday will do so because they believe a Britain with a Tory government is more likely to encourage individuals to create the wealth that makes compassion and caring possible.'<sup>6</sup> The socialism of the dean who could write thus appears to have worn thin; and, in a church which had become counter-cultural, was itself counter-cultural.

The tensions of the decade were manifest within Walters. His attempt to reconcile his own embrace of the monetarist economy with his father's socialism feels uneasy. He projected an executive's image: 'the long director's table', the television screen 'flashing the FTSE 100 Index', 'the air of business activity', his 'smart grey double-breasted suit',<sup>7</sup> the language of 'strategic planning, investment, contracts and margins'; yet beneath them were 'burning Christian convictions and a passionate commitment to what the cathedral stood for'.<sup>8</sup>

A consequence of policies which had protected 'wealth-creators' and devastated industry was communities with high levels of unemployment and low morale; communities where support from the minimised state was grudging and personal responsibility a politician's fantasy. Much of the diocese and the city of Liverpool comprised such communities. Neither the City Council nor the diocese might have been expected to warm to a dean who could place on an equality provision for the poor and weak and provision for the wealth-creators. But by 1992 Walters had demonstrated that the policies could be turned to the common good. 'Somehow he won, at the same time, the confidence of Mrs Thatcher's

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Remembrance'

<sup>2</sup> Eyre, *Guardian*, obituary Walters

<sup>3</sup> Emphasised by Joan Walters

<sup>4</sup> Joan Walters.

<sup>5</sup> egs refs to Baughen in Mawhinney; Westwood: biographical appendix

<sup>6</sup> Walters in CT

<sup>7</sup> Thomas interview

<sup>8</sup> Beeson, 2004, 220

government and Liverpool City Council'<sup>1</sup> and 'grudging appreciation in the Diocese, became something of a wonder at the end of his many schemes.'<sup>2</sup>

The achievement of the schemes was indeed remarkable.

In 1986 a Close was built. But economic recession supervened; the developers departed leaving 'a large building site.'<sup>3</sup> Walters then led the chapter in buying-out the developers' interests and 'brought the scheme to a highly successful social and economic conclusion.' In addition to the Close, there were, among other buildings, a court yard, social housing, the Media and Critical Arts department of the John Moores University and rented lodging for students of that University; Walters 'had the vision of a cathedral and university enjoying a close relationship.' A bank loan and Government grants of £200,400 were required to accomplish the work.<sup>4</sup>

Then, where the council had demolished an ill-designed, socially problematic, housing estate, sixty-five acres of desolation remained. Walters's wife taught in Toxteth, and brought home terrible stories of conditions. Walters's Project Rosemary was 'one of the largest inner-city regeneration schemes in the country'. A consortium, including the cathedral's charitable Estates Company, and with financial support from the Government, implemented it.<sup>5</sup> The cost was £75,000,000.<sup>6</sup> In all, he 'was involved in development schemes requiring £230 million of investment'.<sup>7</sup> He also established a 'Job Creation Scheme through which unemployed young people received training and some permanent employment.'<sup>8</sup> Liverpool Cathedral Estates and Project Rosemary had changed the face of the city and provided housing, health, education, work; and for the cathedral a safe and humane environment. 'No cathedral has done more for the city in which it is so magnificently set.'<sup>9</sup> The political disaffection of many senior clerics worked to his advantage: for proposals seen to vindicate Thatcherism, coming from a sympathizer, government funding came more readily.<sup>10</sup>

Contemporaneously to Bradford went a provost of conservative predilections. His patrons were the Simeon Trustees; it is unlikely politics were significant. Jackson was highly individualistic, but fervently evangelical; his social attitudes bear many marks of the social conservatism of that wing of the church. Much in his pronouncements must have been congenial to the governments of the 1980s.

He was a patriot and an autocrat for whom Mrs Thatcher was a heroine. Her leadership during the Falklands crisis 'made her lonely in the hour of crisis, an easy target for critics...she refused to capitulate, to weaken – and now we congratulate her.'<sup>11</sup> He contrasted her, 'taking a firm, unyielding

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<sup>1</sup> Sheppard, 262

<sup>2</sup> Riley

<sup>3</sup> Beeson, 2004, 221

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 221

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 221

<sup>6</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 6 April 2000

<sup>7</sup> *Times*, obituary Walters

<sup>8</sup> Thomas *Independent*

<sup>9</sup> *Times*, obituary Walters

<sup>10</sup> Thomas

<sup>11</sup> CN, July 1982

grip on the affairs of the nation' with 'James Callaghan's slack, laissez-faire socialism': 'she will not bend' he continued, 'to the lawless anarchy, so contemptuous of authority, [which] is so threatening the nation that a tough line in government is deemed necessary.'<sup>1</sup>

The Child Poverty Action Group displeased him; it was concerned only with 'the material aspects of poverty', whereas child poverty included 'the moral and spiritual poverty that afflict the children of our nation.'<sup>2</sup> He developed his criticism into an attack of a kind not uncommon from government ministers in the 1980s: there is 'not the slightest evidence that parents should be responsible to make the best use of the benefits they claim'; 'child payments were diverted 'towards parental self-indulgence in booze and gambling etc'.

The changed role of women was a symptom of social disintegration; the decline in family life was at least partly a consequence of the working mother: 'that a mother has professional training and qualifications is no answer to the call of growing children for their absent mother's time and attention'; fathers have their role, but 'a father is no substitute for a mother nor mother for a father'. The nation was 'systematically dismantling the family', by abortion, and 'ever easier divorce legislation.'<sup>3</sup> Material wealth 'can make a child as rich as Croesus and as poor as hell'. He saw a link with the national malaise: '[i]f these political extremists, government bashers, are still allowed to use such an organisation...for their own ends...then Christian Britain must rise up and unite!' A speaker whose speech was 'unimportant blather', showed 'not...a single ounce of compassion for poor children'; hers was a campaign to extract 'every claimable penny' from the system, 'and if that makes the government's economic problems all the greater, then three cheers for that!'<sup>4</sup> His condemnation of social attitudes was broadcast: the British were 'a tired nation besotted and bemused by welfare'; he contrasted the Asians 'grafting away all hours.'<sup>5</sup> In 1982, as unemployment rose, he asked 'Do I respond by rabble rousing, blaming the government, picketing the factory gates, scourging the bosses?' 'No', he replied, and continued, with overtones of the parable of the sheep and the goats, 'by feeding the hungry - from my own larder; giving drink to the thirsty - from my own supply; clothing the naked - from my own wardrobe; giving to the poor - from my own pocket; visiting the prisoner and befriending the stranger - in my own time; helping the unemployed - by sharing my own job'.<sup>6</sup> If noticed, such rhetoric, however jejune, can only have made him congenial to a government engaged in the substitution of an 'enterprise culture' for a 'dependency culture'.

Jackson was not entirely uncritical of the government: he wrote of 'the growing scandal of unemployment in Mrs Thatcher's Britain', and of 'a nation so deeply divided between the 'haves' and

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<sup>1</sup> CN, June 1980

<sup>2</sup> CN, June 1981

<sup>3</sup> CN, June 1983

<sup>4</sup> CN, June 1982

<sup>5</sup> CN, January 1981

<sup>6</sup> CN, April 1982

the 'have nots'.<sup>1</sup> He joined in the condemnation when the government attempted to discredit *Faith in the City*, which it 'ought to have welcomed'.<sup>2</sup>

### *Embracing the zeitgeist*

Marked changes came over British society in the early 1960s.<sup>3</sup>

The new cathedral at Coventry responded in varying ways. The liturgy was conservative. The precentor was Joseph Poole who, Williams at first thought, embodied 'every attitude in the church that aroused hostility in me'. Later a 'deep friendship and mutual respect' developed between them; Williams came to consider Poole 'the greatest liturgist in the Church of England in this century'.<sup>4</sup> The dialectic between Poole's mind, slightly pedantically conservative, and Williams's, lively and innovative, led, over the years, to frequent disagreements, but Poole's infinite care over the details of liturgy made every occasion, great or small, a faultless progression. The Eucharist at Coventry retained the order and dignity of English cathedral worship, yet with the symbolic involvement of the laity. Neither Williams nor Poole favoured the movement towards contemporary language; the Cranmerian liturgy, Williams thought, was 'still incomparably beautiful and effective'; and its 'absolute validity' was demonstrated by the 'intelligent and sympathetic presentation' of it at Coventry, where Dix's 'Four Action Shape' was articulated.<sup>5</sup> Such adherence to the Prayer Book made the Coventry Eucharist uncharacteristic of its age.

In music, Coventry was innovative. The first organist, David Lepine, founded and built up the choir in time for the consecration of the cathedral in 1962. The boys were drawn from local schools. Lepine responded to the 'appalling acoustics':<sup>6</sup> the ethereal tone, widely cultivated in the cathedrals, was eschewed. The 'continental' sound he adopted well-suited the acoustics, and perhaps, complemented the European outreach of the cathedral. Simultaneously, the founding choirmaster at Guildford, Barry Rose, also highly gifted, trained a fine choir similarly recruited, which first sang at the consecration in 1961.

The new building at Coventry attracted musical commissions, including a *Missa Brevis* by William Walton, and *Coventry Antiphon* by Herbert Howells.<sup>7</sup> The theme of reconciliation was proclaimed in the new building on an occasion of immense emotional and cultural power when, in the week of the consecration, the *War Requiem* of Benjamin Britten was first performed.<sup>8</sup>

While at Coventry Dammers was influenced by the contemporary trend for simpler living: that, and the Coventry Community of the Cross of Nails, prompted him, with others, to launch the 'Lifestyle

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<sup>1</sup> CN, September 1984

<sup>2</sup> CN, January 1986

<sup>3</sup> See McLeod, 2007

<sup>4</sup> Williams 1990, 5

<sup>5</sup> Williams 1964, 80, 67; liturgy described 65-7; see also *Communion*

<sup>6</sup> Smalley letter; Williams 1990, 55f

<sup>7</sup> website 'English cathedral Music: Coventry'

<sup>8</sup> Consecration 25 May 1962; performance 30 May

Movement' with the slogan 'live more simply that others may simply live.'<sup>1</sup> But Coventry did not espouse the *zeitgeist* of the nineteen-sixties. Williams deplored theological radicalism; one book<sup>2</sup> drove him to write of 'the cynicism eating away at the heart of the church.'<sup>3</sup> He thought much in the ethos of the times corrosive; there was a 'near collapse of hope' during the decade; meanwhile the church vacillated.<sup>4</sup>

His former colleague Edward Patey, by contrast, embraced the decade.

The Liverpool Patey entered was still under the shadow of its founding dean. Dillistone, Dwelly's successor, had made few adjustments to the social and cultural changes of the later nineteen-fifties and early nineteen-sixties.

Patey forged a theology which would underpin multifarious uses of the building. Words of Patrick Nuttgens,<sup>5</sup> he said, 'exactly expressed the two concepts which more than any others provided the basis for my exploration into the question how we can be best use this great building': '[i]n pursuit of the primary purpose of proclaiming the worship of almighty God', it must, 'reflect as accurately as possible the real hopes and fears, joys and sorrows of the community it seeks to serve.' This demanded 'a great variety of uses.'<sup>6</sup> They must 'take seriously' both the 'context of the Gospel' and the 'context in which it was to be made real'. To advance communal use, he deployed the argument that the building's spaces, spaciousness, and architectural distinction, carried them into a 'dimension beyond' themselves.

Thus all kinds of groups used the cathedral, and 'absorb[ed] the message of its architecture'. Local poets and folk singers, whose customary venue was the public-house, read and sang in the nave; their words and the building, they felt, 'married together in a concern for the needs of mankind.'<sup>7</sup> The Spinners, a folk group, performed to support the local Race Relations Council, interspersed were readings from 'sacred writings and philosophies of a number of world religions'; the large multiracial audience was 'rapt', and 'later spoke of a deeply religious experience'. That experience was felt across the spectrum; from Bach played by Yehudi Menuhin to a German electronic rock group, the cathedral afforded 'new dimensions' to performers and listeners: acoustics and architecture formed a 'setting...which makes every live performance a unique experience.'<sup>8</sup>

He saw also in the interaction with the various groups whom he drew into the cathedral an exploration of creativity. Some aspects of the curriculum of the Polytechnic did not fit easily into a service; but the celebration of the institution's first decade incorporated exhibitions of 'computer technology, laser beams, engineering work, fabric printing, dress making...electronic gadgets.' Patey

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<sup>1</sup> Dammers 60-65

<sup>2</sup> Peltz

<sup>3</sup> Williams 1990,13

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 13; 96f

<sup>5</sup> 'we are concerned not just with buildings but with the life of the buildings, inside and around them.... buildings have always more than one use'. (Patey 45)

<sup>6</sup> Patey, 45f

<sup>7</sup> Patey, 57

<sup>8</sup> Patey, 58



saw the displays as 'extensions' of the Benedicite<sup>1</sup> theme of the new west window; 'clearly [they] had a place in the overall theme of creativity.' The celebration for the Polytechnic took the cathedral further: it affirmed its openness to experience beyond the Christian tradition: there were readings from the Bible, 'Christian and Jewish', and 'the literature of Islam, Hinduism, and of Humanism....[it was] a creative meeting point between a Christian Church and a great secular institution, and I think we all drew spiritual power from the encounter.'<sup>2</sup> Cathedrals, he argued, 'must not rest content to justify their existence on the strength of past glories'; in each generation they must be 'centres of creative expression'; 'focal points for the hopes and fears of [their] communities.' Many were exploring the addition of creative arts and crafts to worship.<sup>3</sup>

He discerned a desire for 'worship and celebration'. '[A]t the height of the Vietnam war', at the Woodstock Festival 'thousands of young people' celebrated 'peace, justice, civil rights, a concern for ecology, the solidarity of being young.'<sup>4</sup> Woodstock inspired 'an all-night "happening" in the cathedral, when the British Ecumenical Youth Assembly was inaugurated in 1973. That event 'spoke to me more eloquently about the relationship between worship, celebration, community, and caring than any other event in which I had previously been involved.' For many present it was a 'converting experience', and it showed him 'how to use a vast building for a great variety of purposes which nevertheless had a single aim.' The cathedral's worship and celebration 'need not be imprisoned within a single cultural pattern'.<sup>5</sup>

In 1975 Tangerine Dream, a German electronic pop group, gave a concert. They were not essaying a religious experience: cathedrals, they found, provided the 'perfect acoustic' and an 'atmosphere more conducive to concentration'; 'our music...demands concentration.' Patey, having listened to their recordings, concluded that 'their music belonged to an entirely different world from that of the commercial "pops", and 'could be fittingly played in a cathedral setting.' The audience, mostly of 'student age', received a leaflet explaining that the chapter believed the 'musical style has something to say about the spiritual purpose for which this cathedral was built'; the group was 'genuinely creative'; and the cathedral stood 'for God the Creator...mankind...share with him in the creation of all that is beautiful and true.' The group were 'reconcilers', appealing to people with tastes from classical to rock: the cathedral stood for a Christianity which 'break[s] down barriers which divide people into opposing camps.' 'We hope you will enjoy tonight's concert for its own sake – and for the sake of the spiritual truths of creativity and reconciliation for which Liverpool cathedral has been built.'<sup>6</sup>

Traditional carol services possessed 'little appeal' among the young. The cathedral therefore decided to provide an annual Christmas service involving 'popular figures from the 'folk' and 'beat' world.' A television company proposed the recording of a similar event. The outcome was transmitted

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<sup>1</sup> See glossary

<sup>2</sup> Patey, 61

<sup>3</sup> Patey, 79; 61f

<sup>4</sup> Patey, 49

<sup>5</sup> Patey, 50f

<sup>6</sup> Patey, 59f

on Christmas Eve 1967. From popular entertainment came the Bee Gees, and Kenny Everett, who read from the Bible in 'scouse'; film, drama and music were used; the Liverpool Everyman Theatre played the Wakefield Shepherd's Play; the cathedral choir sang traditional church music; the young danced to the carols.

It was not, Patey averred, a 'gimmick'; their aim was 'to bring the good news...to a new generation' using 'the language and cultural idiom they would understand.' 'We attempted to present the truths of the meaning behind the Christmas story, and the consequences of man's rejection of those truths evident in world hunger, oppression and the nuclear threat.' There were, Patey allowed, problems: '[c]hurch going girls were as susceptible to the pop hysteria of that time as anyone, and this...shocked some of those present.'<sup>1</sup> The horror of traditional-minded viewers was swift. During transmission he received telephone calls 'asking me to 'get this blasphemy stopped'.' The church press responded tepidly; the secular press enthusiastically. He also received 'many encouraging letters, especially from those knowledgeable about young people and concerned that the Gospel should be communicated to them.'<sup>2</sup>

In the autumn of 1981, Bill Shankly, the manager of Liverpool Football Club, died. His 'inspired management' had made him 'a legendary character'; 'his personal integrity' and 'his ability to inspire young men to high ideals' were noteworthy. The club asked for a memorial service. It was 'conducted entirely by men from within the football world', with only a welcome from Patey and a blessing by the bishop. The atmosphere was of 'profound reverence and quiet attention'; it was 'one of the most moving occasions' of Patey's time: 'a real community event, but firmly planted in the Gospel.'<sup>3</sup>

More controversial was the recollection of John Lennon. The Lord Mayor asked for 'some kind of memorial service'. An 'immediate adverse reaction' led the chapter to delay in order to allow the 'rather hysterical emotion to die down'. Then 'A Festival of Peace' would use Lennon's words and music, arranged by the cathedral Director of Music for soloist and choir; and they would 'put all this firmly into a Christian context.' Some hoped that the cathedral could be 'pressurized into calling the whole thing off': there were appeals to the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury; the popular press was 'full of articles'; Patey was 'personally attacked' by the *Telegraph*; and 'not all those associated with the cathedral agreed with my colleagues and myself in our insistence that the service must go ahead.' 'Protests were thick and fast' but the Dean and I [Bates] held our nerve (backed by other members of the Chapter).'<sup>4</sup>

Such occasions were a response to circumstances: to place; to urbanism; to the times; to broadcasting; to the emergence of a distinctive youth culture. They evinced Patey's convictions, rooted in his background in youth-work and at another urban cathedral; and his personality: he was 'great with

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<sup>1</sup> Patey, 71

<sup>2</sup> Patey, 69-72

<sup>3</sup> Patey, 68f

<sup>4</sup> Bates letter

young people and schools'.<sup>1</sup> The engagement with the saeculum was bolder than Coventry's. The themes of the local poets and folk singers, 'poverty, violence, exploitation, war and peace, unemployment; and their hope for a better society', were his anxieties also: he records, without disapproval, their often 'strongly Marxist bias'. Man, he reflected, is made in God's image: his creativity 'bears witness to the maker'. Worship in a secular world meant inviting others to 'come here and do your own thing: share with us the joy of being creators.'<sup>2</sup> Cathedrals, by reason of their very size, pointed to 'a dimension beyond'.

Patey was deeply committed to the use of dance. The carol service of the IM Marsh College of Physical Education was 'conceived entirely in choreographic terms'. It had, he says, a 'profound effect on the religious experience of some of the students taking part', who were 'forced to think seriously' about the phrase 'The Word became flesh'; for some it began a 'serious commitment' to Christianity. The Liverpool Dance Circle 'had to take serious note' of the religious meaning of the Mass in order to translate the text into dance for a Eucharist. '[I]t seems entirely reasonable...that the use of the human body in dance should be accepted as an entirely appropriate way of responding to the belief that God revealed himself in the human body of Jesus Christ.' Not all agreed; 'dance caused much offence to some people', but the architecture, he argued, was 'an incomparable setting' for 'various kinds of dance and drama.'<sup>3</sup>

'For the sake of Christ' a correspondent urged Patey, 'behave like a priest of Christ and not a beat age impresario.' He was himself aware that he was vulnerable to the imputation: 'I gained (I hope unfairly) something of a reputation in Liverpool for being a showman who enjoyed putting on stunts and gimmicks.'<sup>4</sup> Against the charge should be set a commitment to the surrounding community expressed not only in the staging of spectacular services, but also in continual attention to the unspectacular, even unpopular, work of community relations: '[h]e was passionately and obviously devoted to a socialist theology of concern for justice and care.'<sup>5</sup> Such convictions, shared by Webster and Jowett, were grounded in an incarnational theology; this, rather than a desire to shock, underlay Patey's embrace of the zeitgeist.

Lincoln's embrace of the spirit of the age was less dramatic. Dance introduced at the instigation of Davis, was unopposed. The Springs Dance Company visited regularly; in 1985 they danced during the Eucharist, during the County Council Service, and daily afterwards; other groups also visited.<sup>6</sup> The Laurie Irving Jazz Band played annually.<sup>7</sup> There were visits by the Eden pop group.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Riley letter

<sup>2</sup> Patey, 57f

<sup>3</sup> Patey, 65f

<sup>4</sup> Patey, 55,56

<sup>5</sup> Henshall letter

<sup>6</sup> CL, 30 June 1985

<sup>7</sup> eg CL, 5 October 1980, 3 May 1987, 1 May 1988, 30 April 1989

<sup>8</sup> CL, 20 October 1985

The appointment of Sullivan to St Paul's was a departure from the scholar-dean tradition; Sullivan 'prioritized pastoralia, in particular reaching out to the young.' During his decanate there were gestures toward popular culture: folk dancing, a festival of jazz praise, a fashion show, Mary Hopkins performing under the Dome. The cast of *Hair* attended a Eucharist at which the setting was written by the composer of the musical. The dean descended the west front in a harness provided by paratroopers.<sup>1</sup> At Ely a Jazz Mass by Duke Ellington was broadcast.<sup>2</sup>

Motivations for this widening of the cultural range of the cathedrals were various. Sometimes it was principled: Patey believed in the diversity of the Creator's inspiration; Davis of Lincoln thought jazz was 'one of the great innovations in music in the twentieth century'.<sup>3</sup> It was also pastoral, arising from the conviction that the church's cultural forms were remote from those of the culture of the young.

At Bradford it was frankly evangelistic. During the winter of 1978 'Youthquake' began: it was 'very successful' from the first.<sup>4</sup> A curate was its pastor; 'we try', he said, 'to get something of the Christian message across to young people in terms they can understand': thus one group was called Exiles, their music reflected the fact that 'in a way, Christians are 'exiles in a foreign land' believing and doing things in a different way to the rest of the world.' The venture was apparently successful: 'lights down, heads banging, stage a mass of colour and sound' yet the next morning (Sunday) 'some of the same mob are in a service which has all the pomp and circumstance the Church of England can provide.' Bradford Cathedral 'had become one of the top spots in the city for rock music in the last four years'.<sup>5</sup> The worship was also lightened. Keith Rhodes, who had cultivated a choir in the traditional cathedral mould, was dismissed with startling suddenness.<sup>6</sup> For Jackson, that tradition was irrelevant: recalling a story of Lagos cathedral, where Choral Evensong had been rejected as an 'alien implant from another culture', he said 'I had a fellow feeling as the new occupant of the Provost's stall'; 'what was going on around me just did not seem to belong to Bradford very much.' He was 'speedily given the impression' that Bradford was 'definitely inferior' to York or Lincoln, and tried to compensate 'by producing as impressive a sound at Choral Evensong...an invitation from the BBC to fill the highly prized slot was the ultimate accolade'.<sup>7</sup> Early in 1982, he appointed Geoffrey Weaver to succeed Rhodes. Some aspects of Weaver's background were characteristic of those holding such an office;<sup>8</sup> but his immediate experience was uncharacteristic: he had been in Hong Kong, working for the Church Missionary Society.<sup>9</sup> Weaver's talents as a musician are acknowledged.<sup>10</sup> The choral tradition, Jackson assured the congregation, would be maintained: boys would continue to be trained in 'the old

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<sup>1</sup> Burns 2004, 105f

<sup>2</sup> Higgins, 381

<sup>3</sup> CL, 30 April 1989

<sup>4</sup> T&A, 9 October 1979

<sup>5</sup> T&A, 24 November 1981

<sup>6</sup> T&A, 17 July 1981

<sup>7</sup> CN, May 1988

<sup>8</sup> See biographical appendix

<sup>9</sup> CN, March 1982

<sup>10</sup> Hale; Stewart

traditional style'. But, for Jackson, there was an antithesis between the 'extent [to which] a choir serves the congregation and leads it in songs and worship and...[the] extent [to which] it performs'. Now, the tradition would be set 'in a context of dynamic Christian worship', and 'boys and girls, men and women,' of all ages, 'will be able to come and bring their musical talents – whatever instruments they play – and be taught to come together and offer in harmony themselves and their skills in worship to God.' 'Our cathedral is to become...a power house where the whole of Bradford can be enlightened with the love of God as with joy we learn to give ourselves – musically and in every other way, as well.'<sup>1</sup>

Rhodes had from time to time contributed notes to the *Cathedral News*; they were generally confined to reports on the progress of the music;<sup>2</sup> latterly, as Jackson began to infiltrate the choir, they became defensive.<sup>3</sup> Weaver's contributions frequently assumed an educational tone with which a pastoral note blended: 'Worship that Unites', 'Praise', 'Carols'.<sup>4</sup> Britten's *Noye's Fludde* 'spoke... at a deep level of the love and mercy of God.'<sup>5</sup> His strong evangelistic sense led him to evaluate the cathedral tradition differently from those whose careers had been within it. He quoted the Precentor of Lichfield: 'a perfect gem of an Evensong, and nobody there at all to listen to it. Nobody. This is worship at its most perfect.' 'Perfect may be,' Weaver added, 'but scarcely worship, and certainly irrelevant to the majority of Christians, let alone to those outside the Church.'<sup>6</sup>

All Souls Langham Place was, perhaps, a model for Jackson's Bradford. There, Baughen had 'pioneered a more exciting approach to Christian worship which has captured the imagination of young people': the church was 'packed to the doors'; and was 'a most breath-taking experience of Christian worship.'<sup>7</sup> An appeal to youth, and liturgical and pastoral alterations to the building, were characteristics of Baughen's All Souls and of Jackson's Bradford. In both, music in a popular idiom was evangelistic.<sup>8</sup>

Late in the century, prominent evangelicals pressed the cathedrals to widen their musical range: the episcopal urgings of Carey and Baughen have been noted. The Archbishops' Commission on church music reported in 1992; it included a chapter on the cathedrals. Seven of the members, clerical or lay, had had, or were to have, cathedral appointments. It also included the organist of All Souls Langham Place, Noel Tredinnick, and a lecturer at St John's College Nottingham; their membership may be reflected in the call for 'a willingness to use...different styles of music' and to 'explore some of the worship songs in contemporary style.'<sup>9</sup> The idioms in mind were the light music then favoured by evangelicals and tunes with a folk-character. The report's call for 'music with a jazz-rock feel to it' was

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<sup>1</sup> CN, March 1982

<sup>2</sup> Eg CN, December 1980

<sup>3</sup> CN, June 1980

<sup>4</sup> CN. April 1983; November 1982, December 1982

<sup>5</sup> CN. April 1986

<sup>6</sup> CN. January 1983

<sup>7</sup> CN. March 1982

<sup>8</sup> Eg Jackson's 'City Praise' (CN, April 1984) and Baughen's 'Prom Praise'.

<sup>9</sup> *Church Music*, 217

for a different genre; the jazz mass at Ely, the 'Hair' mass at St Paul's, and the jazz at Lincoln suggest some cathedrals were ahead of the commission. The commission was on traditional ground in calling for 'a greater wooing of contemporary composers', and for 'instruments other than the organ', though the addition that 'electronic music in so much space is stunning' is, again, of the age.<sup>1</sup>

Markedly in tune with contemporary aspirations was the introduction of girls to cathedral choirs. The Commission, though aware of practical difficulties, urged that they should be admitted;<sup>2</sup> Salisbury, starting in 1991, was ahead of the Commission.<sup>3</sup> By 2008 over a quarter of choristers were female; only Manchester has merged the sexes into a single line.<sup>4</sup> Girls quickly became competent: by the end of the twentieth century girls' and boys' lines sang the same repertoire with men at many cathedrals.<sup>5</sup>

In such ways cathedrals sought to move with the currents running strongly in society and popular culture during the 1960s and afterwards. Simultaneously, a minority of people sought escape from the angst on which the Liverpool poets and singers reflected, in a psychology of inter-personal relations. The assurances of Abraham Maslow that 'people possess the inner resources for growth and healing',<sup>6</sup> and his emotion-releasing small groups, gained adherents within the church.<sup>7</sup>

At Chelmsford, after a breakdown, Herrick, a residentiary canon, became an adherent, and, first under a compliant provost, and then as provost, developed in the Cathedral Centre for Research and Training a like-minded team. '[I]ts aims were research, consultancy, and training'; it could draw on the professional help of...the Tavistock<sup>8</sup> and the Grubb Institutes of Behavioural Studies'.<sup>9</sup> The cathedral's relationship with the diocese became one of 'consultancy':<sup>10</sup> the 'consultancy model' became the prescribed procedure for diocesan committees, and for parishes.<sup>11</sup> When Herrick died suddenly, some within the bishop's staff-meeting urged control of 'an over mighty subject',<sup>12</sup> and a strong-minded new provost, Moses, believing that consultancy was not a fitting relationship for a cathedral to a diocese, brought the Centre to an end.<sup>13</sup> Such a devotion to one aspect of the zeitgeist was, for a cathedral, lopsided.

### *Cathedrals and the Aesthetic Quest*

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<sup>1</sup> *Church Music*, 218

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 222-4

<sup>3</sup> See above 70

<sup>4</sup> Survey by Choir Schools' Association; most members are cathedrals: *Times* 14 March 2008

<sup>5</sup> Personal observation of music lists at eg Lincoln; York

<sup>6</sup> Art. Abraham Maslow, Wikipedia

<sup>7</sup> Egs: the entire 1970s Derby Diocesan Education Team (personal knowledge); Verney's small group methods (above, 114); devotees who controlled one committee of the Board of Education and broke the chairman; Alfred Jowett was appointed in order to regain control. (Jowett); see also Jowett 1978

<sup>8</sup> The British focus for psychoanalysis and the psychodynamic theories. Tavistock : Wikipedia

<sup>9</sup> Carr *Essex Churchman*, May 1977

<sup>10</sup> See glossary

<sup>11</sup> Hewitt, 227

<sup>12</sup> Moses, 2008

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*

High art and dignified worship were more frequent aspirations in cathedrals; parish church cathedrals joined in the quest.<sup>1</sup> In the earlier part of the century artistic taste was frequently exquisite, but conventional, and consciously within a tradition. Thus at York the deans from Norris sought to adorn the Minster. None brought greater passion to the quest than Eric Milner-White, an aesthete. His personal taste embraced the modernist, he possessed 'one of the finest' private collections of twentieth-century ceramics,<sup>2</sup> but in the Minster he employed a conventional ecclesiastical idiom: craftsmen whom he and his architect, Sir Albert Richardson, employed included Thompson of Kilburn, and Comper. Tapper and Peers, Richardson's predecessors, worked within the same idiom.<sup>3</sup>

Duncan-Jones conformed to conventional artistic canons at Chichester. The windows of the north nave aisle, glazed by Christopher Webb in the years after the Second World War, are characteristic of the church art of the period: figures from the history of the cathedral, representational, set in clear glass. The cathedral architect was WH Randoll Blacking, a distinguished exponent of the conservative taste, capable of producing exquisite, derivative, work, which fitted unobtrusively, with faultless good manners, into a great medieval church. Within those conventions, Duncan-Jones's taste was impeccable

The great opportunity in the first half of the century was Liverpool. There, glass and ornamentation were under the close supervision of the architect. The furnishings were in a derivative style, the glass at first 'sombre', later more colourful; the monuments, many by Carter Preston, unobtrusive.<sup>4</sup> The effect was tranquil; art at Liverpool was subordinate to the mass of the building.

Guildford was aesthetically unadventurous. When the foundation stone was laid in 1936, Maufe, the architect, claimed that the simple neo-Gothic design was 'definitely of our own time, yet in the line of the great English Cathedrals' relying on 'tradition...proportion, mass, volume and line rather than on elaboration and ornament.'<sup>5</sup> The style was not uncommon in church building in the inter-war years.<sup>6</sup> By the time of the consecration, the mood had changed; in 1961 Guildford looked decidedly dated. Maufe's 'minimalist gothic' extensions at Bradford, begun in 1951, have been severely judged: 'not at all to [the building's] benefit architecturally.'<sup>7</sup>

There are occasional bolder exceptions. At Ripon a pulpit, installed in 1913, was the work of Henry Wilson; 'even in so bright and thronged an interior, [it is] capable of shocking at first sight.'<sup>8</sup> But the evidences are few of the cathedrals acknowledging contemporary artistic idioms before the middle years of the century and, even then, in the main, the conventional was breached only by works of modest scale.

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<sup>1</sup> Eg see Bradford above, 163

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson 1965, 31

<sup>3</sup> Cant, 561f

<sup>4</sup> Pevsner and Pollard

<sup>5</sup> Maufe, 1966, unpaginated

<sup>6</sup> Eggs in London see Yelton 2007; Maufe 78; other architects 33f, 39, 64, 66, 93, 103, 109, 137.

<sup>7</sup> The tower 'squeezed between two lumpish wings', and much of the east end demolished. Leach and Pevsner, 150

<sup>8</sup> Manton, 2009; 199f; illustrations 200

Duncan-Jones's artistic tranquillity at Chichester was violated once when, in 1951, the art-loving bishop prevailed upon the Chapter to admit to the baptistery a mural of the *Baptism of Christ* by Hans Feibusch, a refugee.<sup>1</sup> Had it been offered by anyone else, 'the Chapter would have felt bound to decline...they were not convinced that it was a great work of art.'<sup>2</sup> In 1953, a memorial effigy by Epstein was placed in Lichfield.<sup>3</sup> In the same year, the Chapter of Lincoln commissioned murals from Duncan Grant.<sup>4</sup> At Derby the living artist was honoured by the provost, Ronald Beddoes, who, in 1967, inserted two windows by Ceri Richards into the cathedral.<sup>5</sup>

The destruction of Coventry permitted bolder moves, but there the path towards a modern style was tortuous. In March 1942, the Cathedral Council accepted Howard's suggestion that Sir Giles Gilbert Scott should be the architect. But Scott's design, already criticised in Coventry, 'did not find favour with the Fine Arts Commission' and he resigned.<sup>6</sup> The Cathedral Council then set up a commission of public men under Lord Harlech to find a way forward.<sup>7</sup> That commission prescribed gothic,<sup>8</sup> and 'the whole architectural world' bridled, arguing that some of the best architects would not compete. Gorton agreed: abandoning gothic would make the competition attractive to 'young architects of genius.'<sup>9</sup> The Cathedral Council required that the altar should be placed 'towards the east' and there should be no screen.<sup>10</sup>

The conditions were a compromise. Howard and Gorton favoured a central altar.<sup>11</sup> The Bishop also wanted a building 'functional ...to its own nature' as the new city buildings were to be functional; he was attracted by 'the sheer beauty of the interior of these great spaces in...the shadow factories'. Scott's versatility - his designs ranged from Liverpool Cathedral to industrial buildings - would, Howard thought, equip him 'to link the remains of the medieval to the modern civic centre'.<sup>12</sup> But Scott was an instinctive goth: 'I use modernistic ideas for power stations, breweries and factories'; 'cathedrals needed more 'fuss'. The chairman of the Reconstruction Committee,<sup>13</sup> more traditional than the Bishop or the Provost, was 'strongly opposed to the central altar.'<sup>14</sup> The laity was conservative. The wider community, when invited to express a view, asked for 'what they most admired in their old church' in

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<sup>1</sup> Foster, in Foster 1997, 12; ill 26

<sup>2</sup> Coke and Potter, 268

<sup>3</sup> Pevsner *Staffordshire* 184

<sup>4</sup> Mayor, 19

<sup>5</sup> Pevsner and Williamson

<sup>6</sup> Howard, 28. The city council, the general public, Gorton, were all critical. It appears that, behind the scenes Gorton, feeling that a modern style was required, was active in securing the final condemnation. Campbell, 25,29

<sup>7</sup> Howard,38

<sup>8</sup> Campbell, 32

<sup>9</sup> Campbell, 35

<sup>10</sup> Howard ,41-3

<sup>11</sup> Campbell,24; 270

<sup>12</sup> An ardently modernist city-architect, Donald Gibson, had already begun to develop the civic centre in a contemporary idiom. (Campbell 13-21). For Gibson's determined modernism see Stamp, 51

<sup>13</sup> Ernest Ford, formerly City engineer

<sup>14</sup> Campbell, 41f. Ford, essentially a modernist, beside Gibson was 'almost a preservationist.' Stamp, 50, 52



particular 'the especial affection in which the polygonal apse is held.'<sup>1</sup> The Diocesan Conference approved the Harlech recommendations. In a usefully opaque phrase, the Cathedral Council said that the style should be 'in continuity with the tower and spire'.<sup>2</sup> The words, Harlech observed, could be held to preclude gothic.<sup>3</sup>

Because of the eastward siting of the altar, Coventry was severely criticised liturgically; the critics have included Provost Williams:<sup>4</sup> an '*artistic* idea dominated the decision on the crucial *liturgical* issue'<sup>5</sup> But it was a cornucopia of mid-twentieth century art:<sup>6</sup> sometimes apparently designed to shock. Piper's vestments, Spence wrote to Williams, would avoid the cosy 'CofE' atmosphere. 'People have to realise there is a war going on'; one which 'could be fought with visual weapons.'<sup>7</sup>

Chichester was to follow. Hussey's church in Northampton had acquired a reputation as one where contemporary art and music flourished.<sup>8</sup> With Duncan-Jones's death, Bell pressed Hussey's candidature, emphasising his ability to link church and arts.<sup>9</sup> The appointment fluttered the dovescots of the Cathedrals Advisory Commission.<sup>10</sup>

By 1957, Hussey was ready to launch an artistic commission. The furnishings of the Magdalen Chapel were dilapidated and the position, the end-point of the south aisle, important. He proposed total clearance, a stone altar, a *Noli me tangere* behind it, and 'good altar ornaments'. The most striking feature was the picture by Graham Sutherland. There was some opposition. A local woman damaged the picture; the chairman of the Council for the Care of Churches thought the effect 'more of a "prison cell" atmosphere...than a devotional chapel.'<sup>11</sup> But Hussey's first major artistic ambition was accomplished.

Next he moved to the most striking of his installations. Not later than January 1963, at the suggestion of Henry Moore, he consulted John Piper about the sanctuary of the high altar. By April, tentative sketches for a tapestry were prepared. The donors, the Cathedral Friends, received them enthusiastically. Yet the tapestry, when accomplished, provoked 'more words of disapproval' than anything else he did at Chichester, Hussey wrote.<sup>12</sup> But there was much appreciation also.<sup>13</sup>

His last of the great artistic installations was a window. The cathedral's glass was weak, and he was attracted to the 'great handler of colour, Marc Chagall'. Chagall expressed interest in 1969, but the

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<sup>1</sup> Campbell, 35, 64

<sup>2</sup> Campbell, 34

<sup>3</sup> Campbell, 34

<sup>4</sup> Eg Hammond 6f; Williams 1985, 47; Stancliffe, 2008, 252-4. Williams did secure modifications to the sanctuary to enable westward-facing celebrations of the Eucharist. Campbell 208f Blackburn (completed 1967) had a central altar. Williams, 1993, 327

<sup>5</sup> Williams 1984, 49

<sup>6</sup> For art at Coventry, see Campbell, *passim*

<sup>7</sup> Campbell, 212

<sup>8</sup> Turner, 1992, 523-6

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 527

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 528, 534

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 529f

<sup>12</sup> Hussey, 125

<sup>13</sup> Turner, 1992, 530

commission was not completed until after Hussey had retired. It was his most expensive commission, £17,954; he raised the money himself.<sup>1</sup>

There were smaller projects. A donor enabled Hussey to commission from Cecil Collins, in 1972, an altar frontal, *The Icon of Divine Light*, for St Clement's chapel.<sup>2</sup> Hussey possessed a cope designed by Piper; when he wore it, the canons felt drab and asked for copes; a set was commissioned from Ceri Richards.<sup>3</sup> Piper also designed festal vestments for the Solemn Eucharist, expressly to complement the tapestry.<sup>4</sup>

Hussey's love of music was as great as his love of art, and there was a flow of musical commissions: evening canticles by Howells, and Walton, and a rumbustious rumba by Brian Kelly;<sup>5</sup> all have passed into the repertoire of the English cathedrals. Boldest was an approach, on the strength of a slight acquaintance, to Bernstein. Hussey wrote saying they 'would not mind...a touch of the idiom of *West Side Story*'. *Chichester Psalms* was performed at the Southern Cathedrals Festival in 1965 when the composer was present;<sup>6</sup> it also has an assured place in the choral repertoire.

Hussey was conscious of the gulf between the church and the arts, a gulf, it could be argued, nowhere more eloquently expressed than in the heritage he entered at Chichester. It cannot be said that he was absolutely the lone pioneer: the palm must go jointly to him and to Coventry. Connexions between the two are in fact surprisingly slight, and each is a remarkable achievement in its circumstances: Coventry because it emerged from committees, Chichester because the Chapter which Hussey entered had, under the forceful leadership of Duncan-Jones, accepted the work of Feibusch grudgingly only a few years before. Coventry was a fresh start. In established foundations, Hussey was the pioneer; and, in the pioneering, whatever his intellectual limitations,<sup>7</sup> a natural applied theologian of the incarnation.

The work continued. Dean Holtby introduced further works of art. There was a font by John Skelton, 'certainly one of the sculptor's most successful works', in commemoration of Bell, 'intended to complement the colours of the Feibusch *Baptism*', and dedicated on the centenary of Bell's birth.<sup>8</sup> A reredos illustrating the life of the Baptist was placed in the Chapel of St John; the artist was Patrick Procktor.<sup>9</sup> It was a counterpart, at the head of the north aisle, to Sutherland's work on the south. In 1985, the shrine of St Richard received a tapestry, 'very rich' in symbolism of the life of St Richard; it

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 530f

<sup>2</sup> Coke and Potter, 278

<sup>3</sup> Turner, 1992, 531; see also Coke and Potter 272f

<sup>4</sup> Coke and Potter, 277f

<sup>5</sup> In the present writer's experience liked by Chichester congregations; curiously, causing trouble for Patey at Liverpool. (Patey, 55)

<sup>6</sup> Turner, 1992, 531

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 535

<sup>8</sup> Coke and Potter, 281

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 281

was a Anglo-German work, the design of a German artist, part woven in Germany and part in Sussex: testimony to the international work of Bell.<sup>1</sup>

Hussey's influence extended further. A residentiary canon of his later years was Keith Walker, also interested in the arts. After Hussey's retirement, Walker, encouraged by Hussey, sought a further commission for Collins; the Chapter declined. Later, at Winchester, Walker initiated commissions or acquisitions by a range of artists: Collins, Gormley, Alice Kettle, Barbara Hepworth and Gill, among them.<sup>2</sup>

To no other cathedral was high art brought so consistently and with such emphasis as to Chichester by Hussey. Coventry has added little since the completion of the building. But, in the last third of the century, many cathedrals have added individual works. The style in which, after the war, the damaged parts of Manchester were reconstructed consciously cultivated a calm, tranquil, atmosphere.<sup>3</sup> Jowett cared about the arts, and from his decanate five brilliantly coloured windows bestride the west wall, violating the architect's tranquil atmosphere. They were designed by Antony Holloway. Three are based on the cathedral's patrons; the tower of St Sernin at Toulouse in the St Denys window commemorates the Jumelage.<sup>4</sup> At Salisbury in the lights of the Trinity chapel (east of the high altar) a 'Prisoners of Conscience' window is apparently a mosaic of coloured glass; the window slowly reveals itself as 'Christ...a prisoner of conscience of the first century'. Men and women 'valiant for truth', especially in the twentieth century, are represented by faces in the outer lights. The window is 'original and contemporary in style and message' but the craftsmanship 'wholly within the tradition and technique of the glassmakers of the century when the cathedral was built.' The unveiling, in 1980, was by Yehudi Menuhin.<sup>5</sup> Two years later, the chapter placed Elizabeth Frink's *Walking Madonna* outside the north porch of the cathedral.<sup>6</sup> At Liverpool, a bronze of Christ by Frink occupies the plinth on the west front.<sup>7</sup> Beginning in the 1960s, Ely has added works of contemporary art by David Wynne; Feibusch; Peter Ball, and Jonathan Clarke.<sup>8</sup>

The triumph of the modern was never complete; when the eastward extension of the Georgian building at Derby began, Beddoes acquiesced, reluctantly,<sup>9</sup> in a neo-Georgian design. The extension of Bury St Edmunds, completed in 2005, was a Perpendicular pastiche of a kind in which Dykes Bower excelled; he left his estate for the building of the tower.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 281. But note the complaint to the Howe commission about its introduction; 70 above.

<sup>2</sup> Devonshire-Jones, note, 69

<sup>3</sup> The architect's widow, Lady Worthington, to the present writer

<sup>4</sup> Above 133

<sup>5</sup> Evans, 1985; 36f; 63

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 63

<sup>7</sup> Installed 1993

<sup>8</sup> Higgins 382, see plate 64.

<sup>9</sup> Beddoes

<sup>10</sup> Power

At Lincoln, Davis was the prime mover in the pursuit of the arts,<sup>1</sup> and he offered a rationale of the cathedral's commitment to them:<sup>2</sup> 'the cultural values of people reflect their sense of religion and morality, to enhance the one is to develop the other.' The arts, he continued, 'are crucial for a Cathedral's ministry to wholeheartedly embrace its opportunity to be a matrix for cultural development.' Without this, that ministry will be 'half-hearted and greatly diminished.' He recalled some of the cathedral's contributions: a Rodin Exhibition, the Mystery plays, an annual round of concerts, including those by the Hallé Orchestra, the Sempringham pots, the adornment of the shrine of St Hugh by David Poston's work, an artist in residence.<sup>3</sup> In 1985, a report on the arts in Lincoln said the cathedral was 'the nearest thing Lincoln has to a major arts centre'<sup>4</sup>

But cathedrals trod a fine line. The expectation of high art was tempered by the sensibilities sometimes of chapters, sometimes of others near to them. There is a contrast between the gaiety of the women in Grant's cartoons for the Russell Chantry at Lincoln, and their gravity in the murals,<sup>5</sup> and a reduction in the number of young men 'deal[ing] muscuarly with the bales'. Mayor suggests that the chapter caused Grant to 'tone his designs down.'<sup>6</sup> After Holroyd<sup>7</sup> revealed the complicated lives of the Bloomsbury models for the figures, the chantry was closed, curtains shrouded it from the south choir aisle; between 1972 and 1990 it was a store-room.<sup>8</sup> In 1991 the Piper vestments at Chichester were not worn at the Sung Eucharist; 'people didn't very much like them'.<sup>9</sup> Jackson caused a naked male statue, part of an exhibition arranged before his arrival, first to be draped with a cloth, then relegated to increasingly obscure corners of Lincoln cathedral; the sculptor finally withdrew the work.<sup>10</sup> Jackson alleged complaints from the public; a journalist found 'not a squeak of protest'.<sup>11</sup>

On another front also, cathedrals trod a fine line. High standards and popular expectation sometimes differed. The precision of the worship at Chichester in the age of Hussey, though much admired, also led to accusations of aloofness and elitism. Certainly, the cathedral made few connexions of the kind Liverpool or Norwich made with the community around.<sup>12</sup> Bell's prediction that Hussey's pastoral gifts and his ability to forge links with the diocese and the city<sup>13</sup> would be valuable was doubtfully realised.<sup>14</sup> In 1971, the Mayor and Corporation did not attend the cathedral on Mayor's

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<sup>1</sup> Fiennes

<sup>2</sup> CL, 26 January 1986

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Hyman, in autumn 1983; CL, 21 August 1983

<sup>4</sup> CL, 20 October 1985

<sup>5</sup> Illustrations, Mayor, 20

<sup>6</sup> Mayor, 19

<sup>7</sup> *Lytton Strachey*, 1967-8

<sup>8</sup> Mayor 16; 15

<sup>9</sup> The dean to the present writer

<sup>10</sup> *Sunday Times*, 22 July 1990; see also *Independent* 24 July 1990

<sup>11</sup> *Guardian*, 18 August 1990

<sup>12</sup> Personal experience

<sup>13</sup> Turner, 1992, 527

<sup>14</sup> Personal observation

Sunday; a former mayor dismissed the psalms as 'high falutin' and the hymn-tunes as 'dirges'; they wanted 'more popular hymn tunes and a sermon to fit the occasion'. A former lay-vicar who judged the cathedral 'excellent in some fields' thought it took 'too narrow a view of its role.'<sup>1</sup>

Few cathedrals did not aspire to the characteristic cathedral style in music and worship. Even Jackson's rebellion at Bradford was tempered by the assurance that the traditional music would continue.<sup>2</sup> At Liverpool, the 'beat age impresario' was committed to the maintenance of the cathedral tradition.<sup>3</sup> 'It would be a tragedy if it were lost through...changing tastes,'<sup>4</sup> he was proud to have appointed, shortly before he retired, the 'brilliant' young Ian Tracey as Organist and Master of the Choristers, giving the music the prospect of a 'bright future.'<sup>5</sup> His relations with the musicians were good; the organist, Noel Rawsthorn, was an enthusiastic admirer.<sup>6</sup>

### *Self-questioning and the cathedrals*

If the deans of the early twentieth century disliked their cathedrals, they concealed the fact. Inge was an exception.<sup>7</sup> Later in the century, doubts were expressed more freely. We have seen Weaver, a cathedral organist, dismissing worship that was not evangelistic,<sup>8</sup> and Jowett dismissive of the building as a way into the community.<sup>9</sup>

Surprisingly, Williams 'felt hatred' of the new building at Coventry because interest in it distracted from the cathedral's true purpose, to be 'a workshop, a laboratory of necessary experiment, which radiated love and forgiveness and where the theology of reconciliation could be studied in depth'. Without this, within a dedicated community, the rest was 'mockery'.<sup>10</sup>

Sometimes Patey doubted the annual round. Civic services, school founders-days, Remembrance Days, commemorations of famous victories, made him 'wonder whether we are not expected to be priests of a Shinto temple where ancestors are duly worshipped, rather than ministers of a Crucified Lord.' The 'past matters'; but it should be remembered in 'penitence and thanksgiving': 'Christian worship is not supposed to be merely an exercise in nostalgia.'<sup>11</sup> But such scepticism was uncharacteristic; more frequently he believed that the opportunities and the atmosphere of the building exceeded the burdens.

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<sup>1</sup> CT 20 August 1971

<sup>2</sup> See above 163f

<sup>3</sup> Bates letter

<sup>4</sup> Patey, 56

<sup>5</sup> Patey, 56

<sup>6</sup> Bates interview

<sup>7</sup> See below 188

<sup>8</sup> See above 164

<sup>9</sup> See above 151

<sup>10</sup> Williams, 1990, 93

<sup>11</sup> Patey, 78

At Lincoln members of the chapter strove to distinguish the living church from the ancient building. '[T]he work we do doesn't need the building. If...it fell down tomorrow, we would make the rubble look tidy and carry on being the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and doing our business'.<sup>1</sup> Juliet Laidlow observed that 'at times I think we care more for the building than for the work we are supposed to be doing'.<sup>2</sup> Fiennes was 'sometimes not at all sure that Christianity needs this sort of building.' 'I didn't when I came here'.<sup>3</sup> For Nurser this 'most majestically powerful space', was so splendid that it 'leads people to expect too much or to operate at a level that is beyond the general run of human sustenance.' It was so big as to be unheatable and had 'a kind of frozen heart': size, style, made it 'daunting and non-welcoming'.<sup>4</sup> To Davis it 'seemed to represent all the things I had been opposed to for a long time.' It was 'ambiguous'; its origin a 'fortress cathedral', but a 'soaring expression of human activity, of human achievement and human delight.' The ambiguity resisted change: 'like an amoeba, it just comes back into shape again.' 'It can make you sometimes very, very, angry and it can make you sometimes almost feel a foretaste of Heaven.'<sup>5</sup> During his earlier ministry Laurence had thought the cathedral a 'total irrelevance', since his appointment he had been 'reluctantly seduced',<sup>6</sup> though not completely: '[i]t's distracting to have such a magnificent building....My own frame of worship is that I am a people person'; cathedral worship 'is opposite to the kind I naturally gravitate towards'.<sup>7</sup>

The building, they recognised, created opportunities. Fiennes came to view cathedrals as 'a major missionary opportunity'; at the 'moments of splendour'- the enthronement of a bishop, Christmas Eve; Remembrance Day – 'you've really felt that the building was helping you to do the job'.<sup>8</sup>

But the need to distinguish the work of the living church from the custodianship of an ancient monument remained. 'Many people', Davis reflected, 'regard cathedrals generally and Lincoln in particular, as vast museums. This may be true, up to a point', he continued, but there were events which showed the cathedral as a 'living entity': a great Christian centre embracing all denominations.<sup>9</sup> Nurser, reflecting on the numbers of visitors, detected 'a strong element of spiritual thirsting'; the cathedral is a 'striking picture of the day before yesterday's church', but there was a need to show that 'the awesome fact of the eternal, living, God is the proper fruit of a cathedral visit'.<sup>10</sup> As the nuns withdrew he reflected on the loss of the 'sense of church habitation that a disciplined uniformed body gives'; they needed a new way of showing the cathedral to be 'a holy place of the living God first, and a beautiful old building only thirteenth'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Danziger, 39

<sup>2</sup> Danziger, 140

<sup>3</sup> Danziger, 56

<sup>4</sup> Danziger, 148f

<sup>5</sup> Danziger, 38f

<sup>6</sup> Danziger, 98

<sup>7</sup> Danziger, 98

<sup>8</sup> Danziger, 56

<sup>9</sup> CL, 17 October 1982

<sup>10</sup> CL, 7 August 1983

<sup>11</sup> CL, 29 January 1984

When Patey went to Liverpool, the times were antithetical to splendour; much contemporary ecumenical deliberation questioned ecclesiastical possessions and traditions; he believed that 'pilgrims must travel light...we must let go of much that we treasure'.<sup>1</sup> Local circumstances added actuality. Unfinished, the cathedral could hold 4,000 thousand, unemployment and recession and 'massive social problems' surrounded it; was 'the Gospel really served' by further building?<sup>2</sup> Such doubts, 'never entirely dispelled...remain with me today'.<sup>3</sup> But, he concluded, work should proceed, both to keep faith with the generations which had given (he emphasized the significance of the small gifts of humble people) believing that the building 'was...for the glory of God and the extension of his kingdom',<sup>4</sup> and also so that that the skills of the masons should not be dissipated 'when they were in sight of completing the task to which some had dedicated their whole lives'.<sup>5</sup> So the last two bays of the nave continued, though Scott's west front was abandoned, it 'added nothing to seating capacity nor to...opportunities for worship'.<sup>6</sup>

There were articulate critics outside; Patey was not unsympathetic to them. The urban decay of Liverpool shocked him. He cycled daily between a deanery in a 'moderately 'posh' suburb' and a cathedral with a 'predominantly middle-class image'. His route generally took him through Toxteth; the contrast between the 'opulence' of the great building and the 'poverty and hopelessness of the area around it' 'was always on my conscience.' When a graffito appeared on the cathedral, 'Christ was poor and homeless – two thirds of humanity starves', there was anger and demands for its immediate erasure. But Patey resisted: this 'unpalatable truth which we could not ignore' should remain for a time. He let the local press know that he would welcome a conversation with the writer, but there was no reply.<sup>7</sup>

An editorial in *New Christian* asserted that the use of the building was 'a major problem': 'successive deans and chapters', it claimed, 'have battled against impossible odds to relate the worship and life of the cathedral to the city and port'. The writer deployed arguments likely to be congenial to Patey: 'A pilgrim church cannot spend its time, thought, and money on monumental buildings...it would be good to think that Britain's latest cathedral might also be its last'.<sup>8</sup> The article 'attracted considerable attention' among the journal's readers, and was 'quoted extensively' by the *Liverpool Daily Post*. Such criticism, he records, recurred.<sup>9</sup> And among the parochial clergy there was some resentment at the 'succession of appeals coming from the cathedral'; 'we are trying hard to say

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<sup>1</sup> Patey, 4, quoting WCC Lund Conference, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> Patey, 10

<sup>3</sup> Patey, 10

<sup>4</sup> Patey, 11

<sup>5</sup> Patey, 11

<sup>6</sup> Kennerley, 1991, 180

<sup>7</sup> Patey, 119f

<sup>8</sup> Patey, 13

<sup>9</sup> Patey, 13

that the church is about people and calling Christians to a simpler life style', one cleric wrote.<sup>1</sup> Patey 'felt a certain sympathy'.<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, a rebuttal was needed. He replied in *New Christian*. The cathedral 'is probably used and appreciated by as wide a section of the community as any cathedral in the country today': congregations of two or three thousand recurred: 'youth occasions (with beat or pop music)', civic services, services for varied groups: fruit importers, social service organisations, the university, education, commerce and industry. In 'flexibility and adaptability', 'an essential prerequisite of modern community worship', Liverpool surpassed other cathedrals. He rejected the suggestion that 'the idea of the pilgrim church' negated the need for 'great centres of worship and experiment. Cathedrals...are beginning to discover a new and exciting role in the contemporary scene.'<sup>3</sup>

Thus a doubter became a defender. His apologia would have been grist to the mill of the Williams Commission which, it will be recalled, in 1961 had written of cathedrals as available as never before.<sup>4</sup> Towards the end of the century, two deans defended cathedrals and their work on the frontiers with society. Moses said they 'stand on the boundaries of church and community life...in touch...with very large numbers of people who have no other connexion with the Church whatsoever. The work of our cathedrals...is the work primary evangelisation'.<sup>5</sup> Arnold, with greater rhetoric, said they were 'arenas where some of the church's battles are being fought, those which transcend the limits of parish and diocese...Cathedrals are closely involved in unresolved issues in human sexuality. Some...tangle with advances in knowledge and learning, some with issues of Church and community, Church and nation, Church and international community; others engage with contemporary art and artists...[C]onsider the tragic fact that the leading artists of the twentieth century...those sent by God himself to warn us of impending catastrophe, all speak of disintegration, the fragmentation of the human personality, of death, despair, and decay. Where if not in cathedrals can we go down with them into the heart of the darkness and confront them with the comfort and the challenge of the cross of Christ?'<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Patey, 18-20

<sup>2</sup> Patey, 20

<sup>3</sup> Patey, 14f

<sup>4</sup> CML, 4f

<sup>5</sup> GS Nov 1996, 907

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 913



## Chapter VIII

### Cathedrals and pastoral care

In the years after the First World War, many of the urban and parish church cathedrals had parochial responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, the populations of eleven declined; only in two - Ripon, Southwell – was the trend significantly upward. Three, Blackburn, Manchester, Portsmouth, dipped in the middle of the century and regained earlier levels. But whereas all, except Manchester, had significant populations in the first third of the century, in 1993 eight had populations of less than a thousand, and three of below one hundred. Only seven had larger populations. Parochial responsibility, formerly a demanding pastorate, had ceased to be so in many cases.

At Birmingham, the Lang Commission was told that the population was in hotels or hospitals or was caretakers.<sup>2</sup> At Sheffield, by contrast, they found an 'organisation...entirely upon parochial lines.'<sup>3</sup> At Chelmsford, when the provost died in 1951, Bishop Wilson caught a tension in the work of a parish church cathedral as he recalled that 'more than once [Waller] declared to me that the work of the parish would never be displaced by the claims of the cathedral', but, he added, 'he developed the work of the cathedral on sound lines which, when carried out, will testify to his ability and foresight.'<sup>4</sup> At Portsmouth, Goff built up a parochial ministry; he cultivated local businesses to the benefit of the building; he nursed links with the historic Portsmouth Grammar School to the advantage of the music. But he did not develop the diocesan character of the cathedral: the daily offices of Mattins and Evensong, for instance, almost universal in cathedrals, were not each day recited publicly during his years.<sup>5</sup>

Few of these cathedrals had acquired residentiary canons by the middle years of the century. At most, the clerical strength was a Provost and curates: an establishment suggesting that, in spite of declining populations,<sup>6</sup> the claims of parish and congregation were foremost, and the demands of a cathedral an additional duty.<sup>7</sup>

The formal pastoral responsibilities of the ancient cathedrals were slight: for small numbers of residents of their precincts, and for the larger numbers who chose to worship at the cathedral. The former group could claim rights of baptism, marriage, and burial. The responsibility to the latter category was less precise; a moral, rather than a legal, obligation.

Bennett again marked a fresh start, a ministry fully of the twentieth century, at Chester. From the first, he proclaimed a desire for a pastoral relationship with the congregations;<sup>8</sup> that he should need to

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix 6

<sup>2</sup> CCII, 296

<sup>3</sup> CCII, 243

<sup>4</sup> Hewitt, 138

<sup>5</sup> Loudon, 1995, 95

<sup>6</sup> See 1955 figures Appendix 6

<sup>7</sup> Cf provosts to Williams Commission, 32f above

<sup>8</sup> Bruce, 3

make the point perhaps suggests hitherto distant relations. He wanted to appoint a sacrist to visit the sick and hear their confessions; he thought the dean should be available to give 'spiritual counsel' and absolution; he attached great importance to that 'chiefest of virtues', friendliness.<sup>1</sup> He was anxious that there should be 'a chapel for private devotion', and 'a very special place for children'.<sup>2</sup>

At Canterbury, Bell sought means to pastoral care. The services on Sunday morning lasted two hours and were attended by the boys of the King's School.<sup>3</sup> After discussions in Chapter, Bell consulted some of the senior boys. He sympathized with their desire for curtailment, and showed 'obvious' interest when a boy asked about a Sung Eucharist. Changes followed: the burden on the boys was reduced and, on one Sunday each month, a Sung Eucharist was established. He encountered some resistance: from the precentor of sixty years entrenchment, even during services; in letters in the press. But there was never to be a reversion to the earlier programme.<sup>4</sup>

Some cathedrals remained tradition-bound until surprisingly late. When Fiennes went to Lincoln in 1969, at his first Chapter meeting Canon Binnall enunciated the canons' dictum: 'what it is not necessary to change it is necessary not to change'.<sup>5</sup> Liturgically they were hidebound.<sup>6</sup> Even so, some advance had been made: the weekly Sunday 9.30 Sung Eucharist, established during Peck's brief decanate, endured, and, in later years, was the service over which the chapter agonized pastorally: they consulted the congregation: and sometimes found the laity less adventurous than themselves.<sup>7</sup> But the Lord's Prayer came to be said rather than sung; and greetings at the peace, a gospel procession, and greater corporate participation, were introduced.<sup>8</sup> Emphases within the chapter varied: Fiennes was most convinced of the pastoral need for revised services, Davis and Laurence were less eager; Nurser instinctively defended the Prayer Book.<sup>9</sup> Rutter was resistant. They came to circumvent him.<sup>10</sup>

Gradually and cautiously, they edged forward. In October 1980, in unenthusiastic phrases,<sup>11</sup> Rutter announced the experimental use, with the agreement of the Congregational Committee, of the recently published Alternative Service Book.<sup>12</sup> Contemporary language was not used on Sunday until close to Fiennes's departure: Advent Sunday 1988.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce, 3f

<sup>2</sup> See above 137

<sup>3</sup> Robbins, 1995, 311

<sup>4</sup> Jasper, 1967, 36f

<sup>5</sup> Fiennes interview

<sup>6</sup> Cf above 60

<sup>7</sup> Eg 'irritation' at 'experiments in worship' (CL, 11 March 1984); some demand for older styles: CL, 25 March 1984

<sup>8</sup> CL: 15 July 1979, 19 November 1978, 25 March 1984; 1 December 1983: all were to say the collect

<sup>9</sup> Nurser interview

<sup>10</sup> Fiennes interview

<sup>11</sup> "The greatest publishing event in the Church of England since 1662": that, at least, is what the publishers' blurb is saying.' CL, 19 October 1980

<sup>12</sup> CL, 19 October 1980; 2 December 1980.

<sup>13</sup> CL, 27 November 1988

There were other pastoral changes in the cathedral's worship. Mattins at 11.0 was formal cathedral worship; they resolved to omit the stern closing verses of the Venite.<sup>1</sup> A Solemn Eucharist was to be introduced on certain days each year.<sup>2</sup> The worship of Holy Week would be enriched by new material offered by the Liturgical Commission.<sup>3</sup>

Liturgical changes received greater impetus elsewhere. At Chichester the presence in the chapter of Cheslyn Jones and of a two canons sympathetic to the change ensured that *Series II* was early adopted at the Solemn Eucharist each Sunday,<sup>4</sup> in spite of the resistance of another canon to the departure from the Prayer Book. Ten years later, at Manchester, *Series III* was equally well established,<sup>5</sup> and the move, on publication, to the *Alternative Service Book* was introduced only by a sermon from the present writer. He was aware in neither place of serious congregational resistance.

A sense of pastoral responsibility could sometimes appear perfunctory, with few concessions made to congregations: we have seen the criticism of Chichester.<sup>6</sup>

At St Paul's, Sullivan was criticised.<sup>7</sup> His pastoral outreach was, with a degree of sensationalism, to groups; ministry to individuals was largely left to the minor canons,<sup>8</sup> one of whom thought he 'seems to have set his face against any pastoral care in the building.'<sup>9</sup> At some older foundations that need was better met: at Lincoln Rutter would advertise the times when he was available to hear confessions,<sup>10</sup> and obituarists adjudged him to have had a pastoral heart: he was 'an inspired spiritual director.' At Chichester times when one canon would hear confessions were announced before the festivals.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1920s, Dean Fry, who undoubtedly loved his cathedral,<sup>12</sup> had an unbending sense of the dignity of his office. Daily after mattins and evensong he passed the lay-vicars who bowed to him; he looked straight ahead. The vergers thought him 'a severe task-master'.<sup>13</sup> Such stiffness broke down in later generations. Fiennes, whose bent was practical, quickly acquired something of the reputation of an *enfant terrible*, largely for innovations which were pastorally motivated: the installation of a coffee vending machine in the cloisters,<sup>14</sup> and of a greenhouse in the nave to provide a tolerable base for the vergers in an unheated cathedral.<sup>15</sup> '[B]eing an aristocrat, he is very much for the common man'. A sense of *noblesse oblige* operated positively and negatively; it was said that a claim to be 'highly

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<sup>1</sup> CL, 15 July 1979

<sup>2</sup> CL, 25 March 1984

<sup>3</sup> CL, 20 March 1988

<sup>4</sup> Well-established when the present writer went there in 1968

<sup>5</sup> Personal knowledge.

<sup>6</sup> See above 171f

<sup>7</sup> Burns, 2004, 105f

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 108

<sup>9</sup> Cutt

<sup>10</sup> eg; CL, 26 January 1985; 11 December 1988

<sup>11</sup> Personal knowledge

<sup>12</sup> Eg his personal donation to the restoration fund was £2,000; Winterbottom, Fry, 52

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 43

<sup>14</sup> Fiennes interview

<sup>15</sup> *Times*, 5 December 1975

connected' ensured that an 'application [for marriage] will fail': 'if you are anything else he will welcome you.'<sup>1</sup> He took a close pastoral interest in those who worked for the cathedral, having, for instance, a good relationship with a long-serving clerk of works.<sup>2</sup> Employees who worked closely with him returned his affection.<sup>3</sup>

Nuns served pastorally at some cathedrals: the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage, for a decade at St Pauls;<sup>4</sup> two sisters of the Community of the Holy Paraclete at York from 1972;<sup>5</sup> sisters from Wantage at Lincoln between 1978 and 1984.<sup>6</sup> At Lincoln the sisters attend to the welcome of children;<sup>7</sup> the wider impact of their presence and ministry was great.<sup>8</sup> The presence of retired clergy acting as pastoral chaplains at busy seasons became widespread in the second half of the century. They began at York in 1947;<sup>9</sup> they were well-established at Lichfield by 1965, and at Manchester in 1978. Suggestively there were none at Chichester in the later 1960s.<sup>10</sup>

Occasionally ventures in pastoral care misfired. In 1985 the Chapter of Lincoln made a house available to the 'Fellowship of the Living Sacrifice', two men who hoped to extend friendship beyond the customary orbit of a cathedral. It ended abruptly; the Chapter letter reported 'a divergence of view in practice' which meant that 'the partnership essential to the project has broken down.'<sup>11</sup> These opaque phrases concealed the fact that the house was becoming a centre for homosexual parties; at least once the police were called.<sup>12</sup>

Lincoln was on safer ground with two women who, after the nuns had gone, provided the female pastoral presence the chapter thought desirable. Although she was unable to perform priestly functions in England, Dedra Bell became associate pastor.<sup>13</sup> Flamboyant, uninhibited, she was an improbable figure in a cathedral close.<sup>14</sup> Yet her time appears to have been successful;<sup>15</sup> had the Church of England accepted the priesthood of women she would have stayed longer.<sup>16</sup>

Her successor, Juliet Laidlow, was different. After acute health problems, she experienced something of the freedom of 1960s students, and moved from evangelical conversion to Anglo-

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<sup>1</sup> Laurence in Danziger 102

<sup>2</sup> Nurser Interview

<sup>3</sup> His secretary: 'a super boss'; she 'tr[ie]d not to think about [him] retiring.' Harvey in Danziger 67; Roy MacDonald (Dean's Verger) spoke warmly of him to the present writer

<sup>4</sup> Webster, 2002, 65

<sup>5</sup> Cant 556; York Minster Website

<sup>6</sup> CL: 12 February 1978; 20 November 1983.

<sup>7</sup> CL: 24 January 1982; 21 August 1983

<sup>8</sup> 'marvellous...brilliant...quite extraordinary': Fiennes interview

<sup>9</sup> Cant, 556

<sup>10</sup> All personal knowledge

<sup>11</sup> CL, 6 April 1986

<sup>12</sup> Nurser interview

<sup>13</sup> Bell in Danziger 16; CL, 8 September 1985

<sup>14</sup> See biographical appendix

<sup>15</sup> 'pastorally good': Fiennes interview

<sup>16</sup> Danziger, 18

Catholicism;<sup>1</sup> her chapter in Danziger suggests a personality which had learnt from experience, and a sensitive way with people. Her role was to 'fulfil a lot of the functions of a Vicar', and she proved to be a diligent pastor, with a good way with people.<sup>2</sup>

In the later stages of the century some ancient cathedrals appointed a retired priest to the office of 'vicar of the close'.<sup>3</sup> Canon Dudley Hodges, assumed that role at Salisbury in retirement, the office continues; similar appointments have been established at Lichfield and Chester.<sup>4</sup>

The Howe Commission urged the conformity of canonical titles to the responsibilities of the office.<sup>5</sup> Cathedrals began to designate a canon with special pastoral responsibilities the canon pastor. The entries in the *Church of England Year Book* reveal in 1985 no cathedral with a designated canon pastor; in 1990 one, at Coventry,<sup>6</sup> in 2000 ten, in 2005 fourteen, and in 2008, sixteen. This is not to say that no canon had such responsibilities in earlier years: sometimes it was the precentor, whose duties tied him to the building and its life, when other canons might more frequently be absent.<sup>7</sup>

Norman Hook, who became dean of Norwich in 1953, was scholarly, pastoral, moderately high church, a good preacher and a parish priest who had revolutionised his parishes. But, if gentle and conservative,<sup>8</sup> he began to lead the cathedral towards liturgical reform: Mattins was supplanted by a Sung Eucharist first on one Sunday in each month, then fortnightly, and finally, from Whitsunday 1967, weekly. If the service took place entirely at the high altar, worshippers in the transepts were denied any glimpse of the action. Hook therefore introduced in the crossing a lectern at which the Ministry of the Word was conducted. *Series II*, already used on some week-days, was used on Sundays from Advent 1968.<sup>9</sup>

Webster showed his pastoral concern in many ways. He acclaimed the moderating of the Mothers' Union's exclusion of the divorced;<sup>10</sup> too many were divorced for the organisation to maintain the 'old dogmatic view.'<sup>11</sup> He deplored the greater rigorism of the Synod.<sup>12</sup>

He urged the congregation to 'treat the preacher seriously': to comment on sermons, to suggest topics for future courses.<sup>13</sup> He instituted a series of regular Cathedral Consultations, enabling the

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<sup>1</sup> See Danziger 131-138: under Juliet Montague

<sup>2</sup> Laurence 2009

<sup>3</sup> 'vicar' in a pastoral, not a formal way

<sup>4</sup> This paragraph: personal knowledge

<sup>5</sup> See 74 above

<sup>6</sup> Where Williams had appointed a priest called 'the pastor' as long before as 1959 (Williams 1990, 13)

<sup>7</sup> Eg Lichfield (WJ Turner); Manchester (present writer).

<sup>8</sup> Mann: 'he didn't like change'.

<sup>9</sup> Burbridge, 745f

<sup>10</sup> See Moyse, 178f

<sup>11</sup> DL, August 1973

<sup>12</sup> DL, January 1974. report: bibliography Root.

<sup>13</sup> DL, Christmas 1970

congregation 'to share in decisions about worship and future plans';<sup>1</sup> in 1975, for instance, one ranged over worship, witness, and finance.<sup>2</sup> A year before, pastoral provision for children at the Sung Eucharist and for maintaining contact with elderly worshippers had been discussed.<sup>3</sup>

He was particularly interested in the young who were associated with the cathedral. He created organisations for them; he listened to them. His first newsletter announced Junior Friends, and a desire to make the cathedral 'a more lively centre for Christianity among young people.'<sup>4</sup> The subscription was nominal;<sup>5</sup> the gains to the cathedral lay elsewhere. They raised money, some for good causes which they themselves chose,<sup>6</sup> some for projects they chose in the cathedral: new oak doors between the cathedral and the shop; new crib-figures; a musical setting of *Series III*. Their views also determined the arrangements for admission to the Treasury.<sup>7</sup> Most cathedral Treasuries were open only when staff was available, and there was a charge for entry; this Treasury was open when the cathedral was, and donations for charity were invited.<sup>8</sup> Pastoral solicitude led him to report the visit of one Young Friend, while on a pilgrimage to 'one of our greatest cathedrals'. The group were 'very kindly greeted by a canon' but they were then moved to other seats by officials 'who looked very grim'.<sup>9</sup> He recorded their presence for the first time at a congregational Consultation. They asked awkward questions; 'the young, he added, 'do not want to be slotted, thank goodness.'<sup>10</sup>

Worship recurred at Consultations. The entire Sunday Eucharist was moved to the crossing; the Epistle was read by volunteers.<sup>11</sup> Some two hundred attended regularly; the majority remained for coffee, served within the building.<sup>12</sup> He was concerned that worship should be relevant and that 'we no longer sing meaningless verses in language which cannot properly be used of God any longer.'<sup>13</sup> He sought relevance equally in special services. The organisers were encouraged to break away from 'what they think *ought* to happen' 'to what they *want* to do.' He wanted to know 'their hopes and fears', 'what they want to pray about' – and to 'help them to express it liturgically.' Some of the 'most exciting liturgical ideas', he added, came from an 'ex-sociology student' who was then running a boutique in the

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<sup>1</sup> Webster, 2002, 45

<sup>2</sup> DL, June 1975

<sup>3</sup> DL, February 1974

<sup>4</sup> DL, October 1970

<sup>5</sup> DL; Duggan 4 October 1974

<sup>6</sup> Eg an overnight 'sponsored fast' to help a local autistic children's group. (DL, Easter 1975)

<sup>7</sup> See glossary

<sup>8</sup> CT Duggan 4 October 1974. See also Webster, 46: the young 'argued that donations should be...given in their entirety to Christian Aid. They feared the cathedral might emphasise heritage...and keep the money'.

<sup>9</sup> DL, June 1975

<sup>10</sup> DL, December 1976

<sup>11</sup> DL, February 1974. A central altar first mentioned, DL, November 1973. It was not uncontroversial: see DL, November 1974; December 1974

<sup>12</sup> Duggan CT 4 October 1974

<sup>13</sup> DL, May 1972

city.<sup>1</sup> He applauded the relaxation of rules and conventions; he liked the practice of worshippers sitting in a circle, and the use of the guitar and the double-bass.<sup>2</sup>

An early pastoral venture outside the building was Centre 71, 'where social and spiritual problems could be addressed'; it 'facilitated co-operation between the city, the churches of all denominations, and the cathedral.'<sup>3</sup> His most ambitious project was a Visitors' Centre. '[T]heological and historical bricks' would enable the viewers to build their own religious experience, and 'give some insight and interpretation of Christian life, and the work of the cathedral past and present, *dynamic and developing*'. At its heart was an exhibition, aiming to inspire visitors by pointing 'to vision and search over nine centuries'. The panels devoted to Darwin, Marx, and Freud were 'found to be surprising and informative', Webster thought. Characteristically, he was attempting to move the cathedral beyond 'just heritage' to doing something 'real for us today.'<sup>4</sup>

Webster was genuinely pastorally concerned for the congregation, and for visitors; he also cared for individuals.<sup>5</sup>

He seems to have been the pioneer in congregational consultations; they became features in the life of cathedrals in the last third of the century. The first at Lincoln, in December 1978,<sup>6</sup> discussed 'The Cathedral in the 80s'. There was a sense that they 'failed visitors'; 'a greater presence of clergy' in the building was needed; some appear to have shared the fear of members of the Chapter, that the Cathedral was 'the greatest single obstacle to showing what the gospel was about'; some felt the cathedral's ministry 'to be effective, others alienating'. The need for a ministry of welcome, and for improved relations with the diocese, were agreed.<sup>7</sup> In 1981 a consultation agonised over 'the appropriate spirituality for the cathedral'.<sup>8</sup> In 1982 Christian Stewardship was adumbrated:<sup>9</sup> the eventual outcome was the allocation to the congregational committee of a budget, from which the congregation could pay the diocese a 'quota' and make an allocation to the work of the cathedral.<sup>10</sup> These were significant moves. Congregations at ancient cathedrals rarely had any sense of a responsibility for the cathedral's finances. Stewardship offered that, and the quota emphasised the relationship with the diocese.<sup>11</sup> Continuing discussions suggest a readiness to listen, and to respond in some ways to the hopes of the laity.

The present writer has found no evidence of such discussions at Patey's Liverpool; there were none at Manchester, though the leadership of neither was unenlightened.

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<sup>1</sup> Duggan, CT 4 October 1974

<sup>2</sup> DL, November 1972; also Webster, 2002, ch 7

<sup>3</sup> Webster, 2002, 36; First referred to in DL, 1970:

<sup>4</sup> Webster, 2002, 45; DL, July 1976; Duggan CT 4 October 1974

<sup>5</sup> Mann interview

<sup>6</sup> CL, 19 November 1978

<sup>7</sup> CL, 17 December 1978

<sup>8</sup> CL, 11 January; 5 April; 1981

<sup>9</sup> CL, 16 May 1982; 15 January 1984. For Stewardship see glossary

<sup>10</sup> CL, 16 December 1984; 24 March 1985

<sup>11</sup> Cf Portsmouth above, 116

Lincoln took the care of visitors seriously. In 1984, at the beginning of the tourist season, they presented a 'real responsibility for mission', the opportunity to 'reach as many souls as Billy Graham.'<sup>1</sup> Visitors were encouraged to leave their petitions in the Longland Chantry. There, an ecumenical group offered these in prayer; there were 500 requests in August 1987.<sup>2</sup> Although Laurence comforted himself by the recollection that the visitors 'depended chiefly on the ministrations of guides, stewards, and vergers' he regretted the dispersal of the Chapter as the visitors streamed in.<sup>3</sup>

The parish at Portsmouth remained populous.<sup>4</sup> Nott had nurtured it; under Stancliffe a canon cared for it pastorally. The congregation, which provided 'a sizeable proportion of the cathedral's income', was represented in the Cathedral Council. There was also a Parochial Church Committee with 'certain [delegated] pastoral and synodical powers'. Less formal groups undertook specific roles: Outward Giving; Ecumenical Initiatives; Worship. Other groups 'represent a growing responsibility being taken by lay people for significant parts of the cathedral's life and mission';<sup>5</sup> there was provision for children and the young; 'Exploration Groups' offered 'catechumenate-style formation for older enquirers.' 'Cathedral Ladies', who did a 'remarkable job', raised funds for extra-budget items and provided hospitality.<sup>6</sup> All were 'lay-led', clerical assistance was available if needed. The range suggests a high degree of pastoral organisation and a thriving congregation.

Southwell, unusually among parish church cathedrals, had both a choral foundation and a sizeable parish.<sup>7</sup> Each Sunday a parish communion was followed by a 'cathedral' Sung Eucharist or Matins. And there was a range of parochial organisations.<sup>8</sup>

The pastorate at Jackson's Bradford was markedly different. The diocesan role of the cathedral was 'an opportunity' for the 'mother church...of every parish in the diocese'; the congregation 'had learnt so well to share' the building with the diocese.<sup>9</sup> But the diocesan aspect of the cathedral was rarely mentioned in the *Cathedral News*; the emphasis was parochial and the range of pastoral organisations evangelical: the Boys' Brigade, the Tear Fund, the Scripture Union, the British and Foreign Bible Society, Greenbelt. As at Portsmouth, there was a designated pastor, the Reverend Judith Rose, who cared for the 'cathedral family'. She came with the reputation of 'a very caring pastor and counsellor, a fine preacher, a strong organiser'.<sup>10</sup> Her contributions to the *Cathedral News* provided the kind of information a congregation needed: the establishment of a system of Area Pastors for an eclectic congregation; a residential week-end which had given the congregation 'a greater sense

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<sup>1</sup> March-September 1986: 6,200 (CL, 4 October 1986)

<sup>2</sup> CL, 29 September 1987

<sup>3</sup> CL, 19 April 1987

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 6

<sup>5</sup> Eg Homelessness Action Group, Prayer Groups

<sup>6</sup> Platten emphasised the importance of this group to Stancliffe

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 6

<sup>8</sup> See Southwell 1991, esp 28-32, 40

<sup>9</sup> CN, December 1985; May 1980. Referred to by Judith Rose and Hansen (interview)

<sup>10</sup> CN, January 1981



of unity'.<sup>1</sup> When she left Jackson said that she had developed a 'family atmosphere' among the congregation, had involved young families more closely, increased the spiritual depth of many members of the congregation, and built up a willingness in the congregation to 'grapple with faith and its implications'.<sup>2</sup>

He re-ordered the cathedral interior: his ambition was a 'unique warm atmosphere'. He would 'make the cathedral more attractive and comfortable for existing worshippers', and 'attract new members'; a 'dark and dingy' building would become a twentieth-century building which was comfortable for every one. Modern amenities would say 'welcome', would proclaim 'the people of God matter' and 'God has come among his people'. A platform would 'bring the altar'<sup>3</sup> closer to the congregation' and 'provide a more intimate atmosphere for family worship particularly communion'; chairs would 'make the interior more versatile...[a] suitable setting for concerts to entertain visitors to the cathedral in the same way as they do at York Minster'.<sup>4</sup> In the light of his contempt for the musicians' ambitions to compare with York, his invocation of the Minster for his own purposes is interesting. And, once more, the parallel with All Souls, Langham Place is marked.<sup>5</sup>

Month by month in the *Cathedral News* the provost gave a vigorous, and vigorously evangelical, lead. The magazine was clearly a congregational, not a diocesan, conduit: the tone was directional; he was seeking to mould and to direct parishioners in the right ways. The cathedral should be the 'spiritual City Hall'. Bradford evinced a 'spiritual hunger', was 'an open door to the gospel'.<sup>6</sup> The congregation should bear witness for this; if they were uncertain how, if they came to him, he 'would show [them] how to begin'.<sup>7</sup> There were flourishes: a Mission and, on Good Friday 1982, 'The Way of the Cross': 'a spectacular and dramatic statement to the whole city that Jesus died on the cross for all of us'.<sup>8</sup> If they did not press the 'spiritually powerful challenge' of the Christian religion upon atheism, agnosticism, and 'other religions which do not exalt Jesus as Son of God and Saviour', 'the battle for the Kingdom of God will have been lost and we will have dishonoured our God'.<sup>9</sup> In lunch-time dialogues he would debate with 'prominent business or commercial men, a representative of the local authority, a member of the Council, prominent figures in the local coloured community, perhaps even a football club manager'. They would be 'an opportunity to find a totally different set of values, values which are the real foundation of the city of Bradford'.<sup>10</sup> Longer lasting was the Business Breakfast, when 'a distinguished speaker has shared his faith with conviction', talked about 'the nitty-gritty of life'. Jackson

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<sup>1</sup> CN, December 1983 (Exploring the Faith); August 1983 and December 1983 (Area Pastors); May 1984 (sense of unity)

<sup>2</sup> CN, December 1985

<sup>3</sup> Sic: Jackson normally used 'Communion Table'

<sup>4</sup> T&A, 15 October 1986; CN, August 1987.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 164 above

<sup>6</sup> CN, March 1989; March 1984

<sup>7</sup> CN, March 1984; January 1980; May 1984

<sup>8</sup> CN, March 1989

<sup>9</sup> CN, May 1986

<sup>10</sup> T&A, 29 August 1979

looked on them as a great success, 'Christian ministry was 'humming' there.'<sup>1</sup> The model has been used elsewhere; Smalley held a much valued 'Dean's Breakfast' for the business community of Chester.<sup>2</sup>

Jackson gave his congregation clear opinions about the spiritual and moral malaise in which he believed his country was mired. '[I]ncreasing secularisation' created a climate in which 'a diffuse and triumphant atheism' was dominant.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile the church was 'increasingly privatised',<sup>4</sup> and seemed content to be so; clerically dominated and in need of a declericalized theology.<sup>5</sup>

Bradford's standing as 'a Christian city for over a thousand years', he saw endangered. The 'hideous old Post Office' concealed the Cathedral from the City Centre; it should be demolished. Islam was about to become prominent: a mosque was to be erected, 'the centre of Muslim culture in the Western World.' It would 'overshadow' the cathedral, the 'only religious shrine on the skyline would be the Muslim minaret'. '[I]t would be 'tragic' if Bradford became known as a Muslim and not a Christian city.'<sup>6</sup> The tone of his utterance betrayed no trace of the then growing acceptance of multiculturalism. He did not moderate his stance: almost a decade later he recalled the 'Way of the Cross' as 'a spectacular and dramatic statement to the whole city that Jesus died on the cross for all of us - Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, infidels, pagans, as well as Christians.'<sup>7</sup>

Jackson shared fully the distaste of the evangelicalism of the day for homosexuality; his congregation was instructed accordingly. He marvelled that the subject should cause Christian confusion; it was 'a serious handicap to evangelism';<sup>8</sup> he commended a volume, written by well known evangelicals, in refutation of a sympathetic synodical report.<sup>9</sup> He did not normally conduct congregational examinations of church reports on social questions, but he devoted a Sunday evening to homosexuality; a visitor, a 'reformed' homosexual, who had 'set up a counselling service to help others', spoke.

He broadened his attack. AIDS was 'epidemic because of the widespread practice of sexual immorality'. 'All we hear is advice about contraception and the need to limit the number of one's sexual partners'; the church was failing. Will history compare us to Sodom and Gomorrah 'who sank into every perversion possible and the plague set in and destroyed them. We need to heed the warning. Judgement, as always, will start at the house of God.'<sup>10</sup> Later he repeated the charge: 'God has not

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<sup>1</sup> T&A, 9 January 1987; CN May 1987

<sup>2</sup> Smalley 1992, 164; value attested by Jones (interview), a participant

<sup>3</sup> CN, December 1983; May 1988; CN, March 1988

<sup>4</sup> CN, March 1988; December 1983

<sup>5</sup> CN, March 1988

<sup>6</sup> T&A, 29 September 1978; YP 29 September 1978

<sup>7</sup> CN, March 1989

<sup>8</sup> CN, February 1981

<sup>9</sup> The report: Human Relations bibl. See Welsby, 205f. The refutation: Green, Watson, Holloway

<sup>10</sup> CN, December 1986

suspended his judgement and suddenly reintroduced it in the form of AIDS....God is not capricious. There is an element of Divine judgement in AIDS'<sup>1</sup>

The socio-political opinions he offered his readers have already been noted.<sup>2</sup>

The end of the 'obnoxious' visitors' fee was, we have seen, a pastoral crusade for Bennett.<sup>3</sup>

In the later years of the century charges returned. Financial help from the state became inescapable, and English Heritage, the dispenser of grants, would 'take into account potential visitor income in assessing a particular cathedral's ability to raise funds.'<sup>4</sup> Cathedrals moved towards charging. The tourist success of Coventry made charges 'a plague for many years'; Williams 'strenuously refused' them.<sup>5</sup>

At Lincoln, the Chapter had discussed charges early in 1980. Davis reported that the English Tourist Board had 'urged' cathedrals to consider them. Although 'not a policy to be lightly entered into', charges were 'almost certain'.<sup>6</sup> The word 'charges' is, at first, inaccurate: there was moral pressure to donate, and there would be exceptions: 'we are essentially asking for a contribution or gift...not a specific charge for entry'; but, he wrote later, 'we want [visitors] to feel as encouraged as possible in their giving.'<sup>7</sup> The monetary results were remarkable.<sup>8</sup>

Salisbury also at first asked for 'fixed donations'. The move was contentious, and provoked episcopal reprobation.<sup>9</sup> York faced acute financial problems. Furnell proposed to meet them by dealing drastically with the minster library, and by compulsory admission charges. After the intervention of the Archbishop, the library escaped; the charges were imposed.<sup>10</sup> At Ely, 'much heart-searching' preceded the decision to charge in 1986. After administrative costs, in 2000 the chapter received £200,000.<sup>11</sup> In 1981 St Paul's, in anticipation of a deficit, introduced charges for the east end,<sup>12</sup> they were extended to all admissions in 1991; the income raised was again impressive.<sup>13</sup>

The reconciliation of the decision to introduce entry charges and the care of visitors was awkward; the Howe Commission set out arguments for and against, but made no recommendation.<sup>14</sup> Unlike the situation Bennett entered, in 1990 charges were not universal: only at cathedrals attracting

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<sup>1</sup> CN November 1987. He does not link AIDS exclusively with homosexuality.

<sup>2</sup> See above 157

<sup>3</sup> See above 137f

<sup>4</sup> H&R, 147

<sup>5</sup> Williams, 1990, 70

<sup>6</sup> CL, 13 January 1980

<sup>7</sup> CL, 23 March; 18 May 1980

<sup>8</sup> Entirely voluntary gifts 1978/9: £20,037 (CL, 21 March 1982); with pressure: 1980: £51,250 (CL, 14 December 1980); 1981: £53,043, plus voluntary gifts of £13, 457; (CL, 21 March 1982); 1983: £74,346 (CL, 15 January 1984)

<sup>9</sup> See above 52

<sup>10</sup> Obituaries Furnell: *Times* 10 July 2006; *Telegraph* 13 July 2006

<sup>11</sup> Higgins, 374

<sup>12</sup> Burns, 108

<sup>13</sup> Burns, 110

<sup>14</sup> H&R, 147-50

large numbers were they justified; and some, including popular tourist destinations, though not Bennett's Chester, only employed gentle pressure.<sup>1</sup> After a generation of such levies, the policy remained controversial: an article and correspondence in *The Guardian* in 2010 revealed a continuing sense of incongruity.<sup>2</sup>

In 1996 the recently retired dean of Norwich wrote '[t]here is all the difference between being a paid-up sight-seer and going into our parental home.'<sup>3</sup> The words could have been Bennett's.

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<sup>1</sup> Eg Chichester (personal experience)

<sup>2</sup> *Guardian* 21, 22 July, 2010

<sup>3</sup> Burbridge, 755.

## Chapter IX

### The Cathedrals and Internal Dissension

In 1927, the Lang Commission observed that the 'abundant possibilities of friction [between bishops and cathedrals]...have generally been avoided by the exercise of personal qualities of tact, good will, and good sense'.<sup>1</sup> In chapter five the widespread exercise of those qualities was illustrated; the present chapter will, in broadly chronological sequence, examine episodes when they have proved insufficient or been wanting.

At the century's dawn, relations at Chester between the chapter and the bishop were litigious. The chapter sought to prevent the bishop *qua* Visitor from directing that the Headmaster of the King's School was entitled to an assigned stall in the choir. The High Court ruled in favour of the chapter; the bishop appealed, the verdict was reversed; in the Lords, it was reinstated.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter the dean and the bishop rarely spoke; the latter avoided his cathedral when possible; when he was obliged to attend the former was generally absent.<sup>3</sup>

At Durham, the relations of Henson and Welldon were uneasy. On Henson's side dislike was long-standing.<sup>4</sup> Temperance, about which they were ardently opposed, made the distaste public. In the Lords, Henson denounced teetotalism. At the Miners' Gala in 1924, Welldon criticised him; his speech was reported in a local paper under the headline 'Dean's attack of Bishop'. A year later, Henson was writing injudiciously in the *Evening Standard* about the miners' demand for a living wage. Only the arrival of the police saved Welldon, attending that year's Gala to urge temperance, from being thrown into the river – whether because he was mistaken for Henson or simply because he wore gaiters is uncertain.<sup>5</sup>

In 1911, Inge succeeded Gregory in the deanery of St Paul's. It was, Asquith thought, of the 'utmost importance' that 'the traditions of scholarship and culture associated with the Deanery in the past' should be restored; 'I can at any rate try to do this', Inge wrote.<sup>6</sup>

Asquith also desired that the services should remain 'at the standard of sober beauty which Dean Gregory has done so much to establish.'<sup>7</sup> But Inge found the long choral services tedious. After his first Sunday he wrote in his diary 'these services seem to me a criminal waste of time....never...have I thought it at all probable that [the Godhead] is the kind of person who enjoys being serenaded!' He sought relief by reading in his stall, but, although the congregation could not see, the choir could. He continued to read during services, nonetheless. Soon after he

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<sup>1</sup> CCI, 18

<sup>2</sup> *Times* 1901: 21 March, 21 May; 19 December

<sup>3</sup> Bruce, 218

<sup>4</sup> Henson heard Welldon preach in 1886, and was highly critical. Henson, I, 20. Few references to Welldon in Henson's *Retrospect* are wholly uncritical.

<sup>5</sup> Chadwick, 1983, 164-167

<sup>6</sup> Fox, 115, 267; Inge, 10

<sup>7</sup> Fox, 105

wrote 'I am conscious of growing irritation and dislike with the cathedral.'<sup>1</sup> Such opinion made Inge a doubtful guardian of that sober beauty in worship which Asquith admired and which was grounded in an undemonstrative Anglo-Catholicism; to Inge's Liberal Protestantism Anglo-Catholicism was 'sacerdotalism and superstition'.<sup>2</sup> Herein was not merely an indifference to the aesthetics of worship but the seed of division; the canons were broadly Anglo-Catholic. On Sundays and Holy Days, there was a choral celebration of the Holy Communion, important to the canons, disliked by Inge. Further, his temperament, shy and undemonstrative, and increasing deafness, made him aloof.<sup>3</sup>

The chapter's patronage was exercised in favour of high churchmen; a chapter resolution, which Inge thought 'disgraceful', excluded from their livings clerics celebrating the Holy Communion at the 'North End'.<sup>4</sup> His own nominees for livings were consistently blocked.<sup>5</sup> The cathedral's constitution made him powerless before a majority vote: '[h]ow often have I seen him out-voted hopelessly at his own Chapter table!' a new canon observed, almost twenty years later.<sup>6</sup> Inge described himself as a 'mouse watched by four cats'; 'I should not advise any man who loves power to accept the Deanery'.<sup>7</sup> Defeated by the canons, he escaped into intellectual pursuits, Elliot observed.<sup>8</sup>

The chapter was recurrently divided. From 1915, in protest against prayers for the dead, Canon Simpson consistently absented himself from meetings.<sup>9</sup> In 1920 the canons tried to secure his removal; Inge resisted.<sup>10</sup>

In later years, although changes made the chapter more bearable for Inge, the atmosphere was repellent to new-comers. WH Elliott was a sensitive man, a fine preacher, an early broadcaster. He was appointed in 1928 and resigned in 1930: when he arrived, he, 'a Vicar from Folkstone!', 'was regarded with resentment'; if he stayed, he concluded, he would 'stagnate'; St Paul's was 'dead...very dead'.<sup>11</sup> Between Inge and Canon Alexander there was 'open hostility';<sup>12</sup> John Collins thought the former's 'blistering acidity' had 'shrivelled' the latter. When Alexander absented himself from a St Paul's Day dinner so as to avoid a confrontation, Inge announced that 'Saturday night is his bath night.' Writing to Sheppard in 1934, Inge called Alexander a 'poisonous reptile', 'insane, poisoned at last by his own venom'.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fox 115

<sup>2</sup> Fox 116

<sup>3</sup> Cf Fox 267 on Inge's isolation

<sup>4</sup> Fox 118. For North End see glossary

<sup>5</sup> 'No one who is not an Anglo-Catholic has a chance of...a chapter living.' Inge 10f ; Burns 95

<sup>6</sup> Elliott, 139

<sup>7</sup> Inge, 11

<sup>8</sup> Elliott, 140

<sup>9</sup> The war led to a marked rise in the popularity of prayers for the dead. Wilkinson, 1996, 175-8

<sup>10</sup> Fox, 120

<sup>11</sup> Elliott, 1951, 139, 138

<sup>12</sup> Burns, 96

<sup>13</sup> Burns, 96

Alexander undoubtedly loved St Paul's; he had hopes of succeeding to the deanery. Neither the Prime Minister nor Lang would contemplate his appointment.<sup>1</sup> Frustrated of the deanery, he became more embittered. Matthews's start was rendered inauspicious by Alexander's protest 'on the ground that my London degrees did not qualify me to hold the office of Dean of St Paul's.'<sup>2</sup> A little later Archbishop Lang, whose tongue and temperament were not biting, wrote that the atmosphere of the Chapter, 'owing to what can only be called, very privately, the poisoned spirit of one of its members, is far from happy.'<sup>3</sup>

Matthews was sent to St Paul's expressly in order to rejuvenate it.<sup>4</sup> He was eager to acquire support within the chapter. Thus, reluctantly, HRL Sheppard became a canon in 1934. In that year he also launched the Peace Pledge Union. Inevitably pacifism and other commitments took him away from the cathedral, and Canon Mozley told him he was not doing his duty as a canon because he was not attending enough services.<sup>5</sup> To Sheppard, his colleagues appeared to be trapped in the cathedral of Gregory's day. Their intransigence reduced him to exasperation, and talk of resignation.<sup>6</sup> He listened to criticisms from those outside, who told him the cathedral was aloof; that after office hours it was shut; that the 'statutory services...are entirely unacceptable and unhelpful to the lay mind.' And he proposed practical changes.<sup>7</sup> Canon Alexander responded that the proposals were more fitting for a parish church than for a cathedral.<sup>8</sup>

Sometimes Sheppard protested publicly. When his attempts to secure the abandonment of the Athanasian Creed<sup>9</sup> failed, he declined to turn east for it on Easter day 1935.<sup>10</sup> In the autumn of 1937 'a particularly "sticky", stubborn and intransigent meeting', led him to write a savage indictment of a cathedral which was not 'in any kind of way fulfilling its function.'<sup>11</sup> He had a few measureable achievements. Calculating that his colleagues would not decline the offer of a royal gift, he begged Christmas trees from Sandringham; nor did they.<sup>12</sup> He secured from the chapter permission for a Peace Pledge Union Eucharist on Wednesdays in the crypt.<sup>13</sup> His only ally was Matthews, whom he thought insufficiently forceful,<sup>14</sup> though, at the price of threatening his own

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<sup>1</sup> Burns, 96; see also Lang's comment below

<sup>2</sup> Matthews, 1969, 182.

<sup>3</sup> LPL 2884:180 Lang to Parker, 17th November 1934

<sup>4</sup> Burns, 97

<sup>5</sup> Roberts, 286

<sup>6</sup> Roberts, 254-6

<sup>7</sup> In full Roberts 260f

<sup>8</sup> Roberts, 259

<sup>9</sup> See glossary

<sup>10</sup> Roberts, 254; Burns, 97

<sup>11</sup> Roberts, 307f (in full)

<sup>12</sup> Roberts, 278

<sup>13</sup> Roberts, 309

<sup>14</sup> Roberts, 253.

resignation, Matthews did achieve changes to the long Sunday morning services which had caused Inge misery.<sup>1</sup>

Sheppard was delivered from his agony by death.<sup>2</sup> As the 1930s ended, St Paul's was becoming unpopular: the population was 'largely indifferent', 'friends in high places' were diminishing in number. 'That all was not well was obvious to all'.<sup>3</sup> Ten years earlier Elliott had judged that St Paul's had not 'done anything at all for our English life since the time of Scott Holland'.<sup>4</sup> St Paul's, Burn concluded, needed the Second World War, and its threat to the fabric, to give the cathedral a 'renewed sense of purpose and an enhanced national standing'.<sup>5</sup> Certainly, the despair of Sheppard and Elliott illustrates the power of the *vis inertiae* in an English cathedral.

At Bradford, where the patronage of the cathedral incumbency lay, not with the bishop, but with Simeon's Trustees, the second bishop, Alfred Blunt, was an Anglo-Catholic,<sup>6</sup> and the Provost, CW Wilson, 'a narrow and bigoted Evangelical'. He received the new bishop 'with such discouraging discourtesy and made such slanderous remarks that legal proceedings were contemplated'.<sup>7</sup> 'I strongly believe,' Blunt wrote, 'that the patronage being in the hands of the Simeon Trustees is a great handicap to its cathedral status'.<sup>8</sup> He drew the attention of the Lang Commissioners 'to certain difficulties that might arise in respect to the character of the services, if the views of the vicar were not those of the bishop'.<sup>9</sup> Wilson's elevation to a suffragan bishopric brought relief; his successor, EW Mowll, was an evangelical of a different stamp, between whom and Blunt a mutual regard developed, and 'the cathedral gradually became a place where diocesan unity found its spiritual home'.<sup>10</sup>

The high hopes with which Liverpool started soured within years; dean and bishop became irreconcilably divided, and the cathedral mistrusted by the diocese. Within the constitution of the cathedral and in the interaction of personalities, there lurked the seeds of trouble.

At first David was acting dean.<sup>11</sup> The colleagues he chose, Raven and Dwelly, were originally appointed 'upon a contractual basis...an acting chapter'.<sup>12</sup> David was 'the final authority' and, an 'exceedingly capable administrator', was 'intimately concerned with every feature of the cathedral's life'. He gave to his assistants 'an unusual measure of freedom to experiment' and

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<sup>1</sup> Burns, 97; Fox 115

<sup>2</sup> 31 October 1937

<sup>3</sup> Burns, 98

<sup>4</sup> Elliott, 139

<sup>5</sup> Burns, 98

<sup>6</sup> Peart-Binns *Blunt*, esp ch X.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 102

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 102

<sup>9</sup> CCII, 166

<sup>10</sup> Peart-Binns *Blunt*, 102; Mowll so far defied expectations of the patrons as to place, and when Blunt was present to light, two altar candles. *Ibid*

<sup>11</sup> CCII, 221

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 221



supported them even when experiments aroused criticism.<sup>1</sup> The Lang Commissioners commended the advantage being taken of the cathedral in a compact diocese.<sup>2</sup> David's dual capacity enabled him to expedite this.

But when the Chapter was established in 1931, the standing of the parties changed. The Chapter became independent of the bishop, its members freeholders. Quickly they developed a consciousness of capitular autonomy. The new dean, aware that he was the nominee, not of the Bishop but the Crown, was 'determined to exercise the authority which had now been officially delegated to him.'<sup>3</sup> The Bishop was Visitor, Ordinary, patron of the canonries; but an outsider. Dillistone thought David found the change difficult to accept, he 'found it difficult to keep his hands off the Cathedral'.<sup>4</sup> In 1933 Bezzant became Raven's successor. The Bishop defined his duties, 'to all intents and purposes...[regarding] him as an officer not of the Principal Chapter<sup>5</sup> but as responsible directly to him.'<sup>6</sup>

In 1934 divisions became public. On 27 September two new archdeacons were to be installed in the cathedral. The institution was the dean's right and duty; he must act upon the mandate of the Bishop. Dwelly refused, citing irregularities in the document presented. The archdeacons instituted proceedings. The Chancellor upheld the dean's contention.<sup>7</sup>

An autocratic streak in David's personality exacerbated controversy. In 1936 Counsel reviewed past disputes and claimed that, when there were differences, the Dean and Chapter 'had been first' to go to the Bishop; only after he failed to respond had they sought Counsel's opinion, which they had then submitted to him. 'The Bishop had not welcomed the advice so tendered and has refused to recognise the authority or even the propriety of any interpretation of the Statutes other than his own...[he] had indeed declared in writing that if there were any dispute between himself and a Canon over the interpretation of a Statute, the Bishop's interpretation must be accepted.'<sup>8</sup> In 1936 he was accused of sending to the members of the General Chapter an agenda for a special meeting seeking the passing of a resolution 'constituting a formal censure upon the Principal Chapter or certain of its members'. The Principal Chapter replied that the Bishop thereby acted *ultra vires*.<sup>9</sup>

Not all these disputes could be kept out of the newspapers. When the archdeacons instituted charges against the Dean, the *Church of England Newspaper* reported that 'the Dean is charged with causing "grave scandal"'; the *Church Times* that 'the City was covered with

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<sup>1</sup> Dillistone, 1975, 159

<sup>2</sup> CCII, 224f; see 110 above

<sup>3</sup> Dillistone, 1975, 160

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 160

<sup>5</sup> The term used at Liverpool to describe the inner, residentiary body; with the honorary canons it formed the General Chapter

<sup>6</sup> Kennerley, 2004, 153; quoting Counsel's Opinion

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 151f

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 152f

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 153

placards: “Another Cathedral Scandal””; the *Liverpool Echo* that the action of the archdeacons was ‘said to be without precedent since the Reformation’.<sup>1</sup>

But for public notoriety, none compared with the Unitarian episode.<sup>2</sup> During 1933, two Unitarian ministers preached in Liverpool Cathedral. On three Sundays evenings, LP Jacks preached at eight-thirty, and in October, as Lord Mayor’s Chaplain, Laurence Redfern at the Civic Service. Three years before, David, then still acting dean, had withheld from Redfern the customary invitation to the High Sheriff’s chaplain to preach. Now he was not consulted. This second invitation was the catalyst of a furore. A local incumbent protested in a local newspaper; a vigorous correspondence followed; it offered the Cathedral more support than the bishop.<sup>3</sup>

When Lord Hugh Cecil tried to force David to investigate Dwelly on charges of encouraging men ‘to hold heretical opinions inconsistent with faith in the Incarnation’, David declined. The eight-thirty service was non-liturgical; there was ‘the sacred call to a larger unity’: ‘it is of the highest importance that we maintain the liberty we have claimed’; these services offered hospitality ‘such as can best be offered...through...cathedrals’. For Redfern’s address at a regular service Dwelly had apologised and accepted his ruling. There was no occasion for him to proceed.<sup>4</sup> Cecil also petitioned Temple to cite David for the latter’s failure ‘to rebuke or forbid all or some of the offences’; Temple, having established that he could not be compelled to hear the case in court,<sup>5</sup> brought the matter before the northern bishops in Convocation.

There, Henson led. He denounced Unitarianism and dismissed the suggestion that the 1920 Lambeth Conference had envisaged accommodation with Unitarians.<sup>6</sup> At the vote, David abstained; the other bishops unanimously supported Henson.<sup>7</sup> David had to endure the repudiation by his fellow bishops, not only of views to which he subscribed, but also of proceedings of which he knew only retrospectively. He accepted the implicit rebuke with grace.<sup>8</sup>

The ‘Liverpool rebels’,<sup>9</sup> then published an Open Letter, which was both an apology to Jacks, and an apologia for the cathedral. They attacked the bishops, and with their letter, printed Jacks’s reply.<sup>10</sup> The two were read from the cathedral pulpit on the Sunday after the debate. David, though aware of the pamphlet, once again learnt retrospectively that the pulpit of his cathedral had been used controversially; and was again obliged to distance himself from his

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 151

<sup>2</sup> An account: Turner, 2000

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 114

<sup>4</sup> Quickswood Q 96/100

<sup>5</sup> Temple Papers; Bp C and P XIII/5

<sup>6</sup> YJC June 1932, 47-55

<sup>7</sup> YJC 39-56; though note Burroughs: YJC 58-63

<sup>8</sup> YJC 46

<sup>9</sup> Henson’s phrase *Retrospect II*, 324

<sup>10</sup> *Two Letters*

dean: '[i]t is not legitimate to use any pulpit for private or personal purpose. I have directed the Dean accordingly.'<sup>1</sup>

Other differences emerged. Bezzant, appalled by much irregularity when he took office, had been, discreetly, Cecil's informant.<sup>2</sup> After the apology was read, he wrote to *The Times*, dissociating himself from his colleagues.<sup>3</sup> David, also in *The Times*, deprecated the controversion of the York decision, the more so in a cathedral service.<sup>4</sup> An indignant private reply by Dwelly led David to suggest that he ought to resign; Dwelly declined.<sup>5</sup>

The continuing interference of his predecessor, Raven, exasperated Bezzant, who pointed out, again in *The Times*, that '[h]e has now no authority to speak in [the cathedral's] name'. Raven persisted: 'the eight-thirty and other special services', he retorted, in *The Times*, 'are under the sole authority of the Dean; for their conduct the Chapter's concern has never been asked or required.'<sup>6</sup>

All of this was bad publicity. It soured the private dealings of senior clerics, and opened a division between the Christianity of the liberal intellectuals within the chapter and the prevailing Evangelicalism of the diocese.<sup>7</sup> Seventy years later, '[i]t might well be argued that the split which developed in the 1930s between the Cathedral and the Diocese has still not been mended.'<sup>8</sup>

Thus Liverpool, a new foundation which began with high hopes, led by men of vision, intelligence, and commitment, was quickly tainted by dissension: within the chapter, in the relations of chapter and bishop, in a failure to relate to the diocese in which it was set.

At Chichester, divisions emerged between Bell and Duncan-Jones in the years after the Second World War. In 1947, at the last moment, too late to save more than a handful, Bell became aware of the sale of books from the cathedral library.<sup>9</sup> The dean argued that the bishop's intervention was *ultra vires*;<sup>10</sup> and Lowther Clarke 'exuded defeatism and truculence'.<sup>11</sup> Bell instituted a formal visitation. It emerged that books had been sold before, without the knowledge of the chapter.<sup>12</sup> 'No censure could have been more severe than [Bell's] studiously moderate rebuke.'<sup>13</sup> The underlying problem was dire finances;<sup>14</sup> Chichester was neither the first nor the

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<sup>1</sup> David to diocesan clergy. Kennerley 2004, 144

<sup>2</sup> Quickswood Q 96/20

<sup>3</sup> Kennerley 2004, 147

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 147f

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 148

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 147

<sup>7</sup> Turner, 2000, 114

<sup>8</sup> Kennerley, 2004, 149

<sup>9</sup> Ten were saved; one hundred and twenty beyond rescue. Hobbs b, 183f

<sup>10</sup> Halliburton and Haselock, 168

<sup>11</sup> Hobbs 185

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 185

<sup>13</sup> Jasper, 1967, 359

<sup>14</sup> Halliburton and Haselock, 169

last cathedral to despoil its historic library for a present need.<sup>1</sup> Bell directed that, for the future, the Librarian and the Communar 'shall always be separate persons.'<sup>2</sup>

In 1949, in order to economise, the chapter petitioned the bishop to leave unfilled a canonry which fell vacant. Bell refused, and urged 'a forward policy of expansion rather than a defeatist one of retrenchment.'<sup>3</sup> He appointed his former chaplain, Lancelot Mason. It was not a conciliatory gesture; Mason 'could be relied on to keep a clear, sharp, and penetrating eye on all matters affecting the cathedral establishment.'<sup>4</sup>

Bell's Visitation revealed criticism of the cathedral's relations with the diocese. JRH Moorman thought that it failed in contact with both the diocese and the city; and while 'on the whole' the music was 'good', in other respects the worship was ill-done.<sup>5</sup> Mason thought worship was ill-prepared: a recent national day of prayer lacked a choir and the hymn-tunes were not well-known.<sup>6</sup> The Vicar of Brighton thought the welcome given to those attending special services inadequate.<sup>7</sup> Moorman's final verdict was pessimistic; after the General Chapter had discussed the bishop's Charge he wrote in his diary '[t]he Cathedral is in a bad way, but there is no hope of improvement as long as we have Duncan-Jones as Dean.'<sup>8</sup>

Duncan-Jones found the Visitation difficult to accept; his daughter thought he and Bell 'just didn't like each other's company.'<sup>9</sup> Bell was able to separate the administrative from the personal. At the dean's funeral, although he spoke of him as 'aware of his authority' and sometimes 'pressing it rather firmly', he also acclaimed him as 'one of the most outstanding [deans] both in service and in character', and contributing to the 'increasing influence of Chichester Cathedral...in the diocese, and its contact with the public.'<sup>10</sup>

If the divisions at Liverpool were the *cause célèbre* of the first half of the century, across its middle years Canterbury under Hewlett Johnson bade fair to rival them.

Johnson's decanate at Manchester had been vigorous and imaginative: 'I have got the one job I want', he told a journalist.<sup>11</sup> Relations with his bishops were good: so good that Temple, his

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<sup>1</sup> Egs: York for the fabric 1930 (Barr, 527-30); Ripon to found a choir school 1961 (CA 1960, 267-75)

<sup>2</sup> Halliburton and Haselock, 168ff; in more detail Hobbs b; for the visitation Barrett, 2004; directive: Bell, 1948, 23

<sup>3</sup> Jasper, 1967, 359

<sup>4</sup> Jasper, 1967, 227

<sup>5</sup> Barrett, 2004, 57

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 58

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 57

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 60

<sup>9</sup> Foster, 2007a, 47

<sup>10</sup> Bell Papers 354, 190ff

<sup>11</sup> Hughes, 1987, 53; for Johnson at Manchester see Hughes ch 4

former diocesan, and Lang, were content when he was proposed for the deanery of Canterbury, it was said at the King's suggestion.<sup>1</sup>

There, the development of his convictions might appear to have made his decanate fertile soil for acrimony between dean and diocesan. In fact relations between Johnson and Lang 'were always most cordial; there was never a trace of the faintest friction...within the cathedral', and ritual advance was congenial to Lang.<sup>2</sup> The dean's politics required the archbishop to make plain that the two offices were different and that the latter 'had no control over the opinions' of the former.<sup>3</sup> He disapproved when Johnson visited Spain during the Civil War; and he was obliged to remonstrate when a confused report suggested that he, Lang, 'had fled from the Reds in Bilbao to the pretty girls in Madrid.'<sup>4</sup> There were other irritants: Johnson's drastic precautionary measures for the fabric when war was declared, and capitular strife. But the dealings of the two men remained personally friendly; Lang was delighted at the birth of Johnson's first daughter.<sup>5</sup> Johnson's relations with Temple had been good at Manchester, and they remained good at Canterbury. Aware that their socialism differed radically, in order not to embarrass the archbishop Johnson tactfully declined Temple's invitation to speak at a conference. Temple's own tact and courtesy ensured that matters which might have been irritants were not.<sup>6</sup> Fisher was naturally authoritarian. Yet at first he defended the dean's right to free speech, and demurred from the accusation that he was a traitor to Christianity: 'he does sincerely and genuinely believe the Christian gospel.'<sup>7</sup> But under pressure, official relations deteriorated. There was public outrage at Johnson's apparent description of Lord Halifax as 'that lackey of Hitler'; Fisher told him he should give up politics or resign.<sup>8</sup> There was outrage again when Johnson reported the Chinese Christians' accusation that the Americans had used germ warfare in Korea. A motion in the House of Lords called on the Crown to dismiss Johnson. Fisher, abandoning his earlier defence of the dean, signed it. It was the nadir of their relations.<sup>9</sup> On two occasions, a lecture by TS Eliot and a meeting of the Cathedral Friends, Fisher applied moral pressure to Johnson to absent himself, saying that if the dean were present he could not be.<sup>10</sup>

But for all that, personal relations appear to have been good.<sup>11</sup> And there was peace at the last. Johnson wrote to Fisher when the latter retired '[o]ur personal relations have been so happy, especially of late', and when Johnson retired Fisher wrote of those relations as 'an area of

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<sup>1</sup> Hughes, 1987, 55

<sup>2</sup> Vestments were introduced for use at the high altar. Beeson, 2004, 174

<sup>3</sup> Lockhart, 332.

<sup>4</sup> Hughes, 1987, 94

<sup>5</sup> War protections: Hughes 1987, 102, Robbins 1995, 323; chapter troubles: Hughes 1987, 110f; birth: *ibid*, 112f

<sup>6</sup> Conference: Hughes 1987, 123; instances of tact: *ibid*, 124

<sup>7</sup> Carpenter, 1991; ch 14; quotation 144

<sup>8</sup> Hughes 1987, 143f. Johnson said he had merely quoted Jan Masaryk *ibid*, 144

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 158-160

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 150, 184

<sup>11</sup> Carpenter 1991, 135

friendship which was unfettered and which I much enjoyed.’<sup>1</sup> Ramsey’s biographer noted a breach between Johnson and Fisher; but, he continued, Ramsey pretended ignorance of it and ‘took it for granted that archbishop and dean were good friends.’<sup>2</sup>

If Johnson’s relations with the archbishops were at least bearable, for much of his decanate relations with the canons were so bad as to prompt Lang to write of ‘that strange disease which I was accustomed to call “the cathedral blight.”’<sup>3</sup> Trouble began almost immediately. In 1931, Gandhi stayed briefly with Johnson. Johnson took him to evensong, placing him in the stall next to his own. The canons were displeased, and declined to meet Gandhi at the Deanery.<sup>4</sup> Relations deteriorated; Johnson’s sympathy for Russia made the canons uneasy,<sup>5</sup> but in the early years social contact was possible: there was, for instance, a Christmas party at the Deanery for all the residents of the Precinct.<sup>6</sup> But by 1940, after Lang had failed to negotiate a truce, the canons dissociated themselves from the dean’s views in a letter in *The Times*, adding that those views ‘gravely impair the spiritual influence of the Cathedral’.<sup>7</sup> Canon Crum’s dislike became personal; he thought his eldest daughter too close to Johnson, then a widower; later when he ‘preached fiercely about adulterous thoughts’ the Precincts knew that in his sights was the dean who had lately visited a camp for European girls.<sup>8</sup> In 1940, three days after the letter in *The Times*, he told a local newspaper that Johnson ‘was not the right man for his job.’ All the canons had agreed to absent themselves from his sermons; Crum also declined to receive Holy Communion from him<sup>9</sup> and, until he retired, remained hostile.<sup>10</sup> Shirley, as strong a personality as Johnson and his most forceful critic, was yet capable of personal respect, even sending his young daughter to him to discuss her religious anxieties.<sup>11</sup> The canons in office when he retired in April 1963 remained implacable. Before his retirement, ‘another blazing row with the Chapter’ was ‘so unpleasant and so trivial that, fourteen years later, none of the protagonists would discuss the details.’<sup>12</sup> Then, the canons had said ‘vehemently’ that he should go.<sup>13</sup> As the residents of the Precinct watched the family depart, the Johnsons’ many acts of kindness over many years went

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<sup>1</sup> Hughes, 1987, 193, 197

<sup>2</sup> Chadwick, 1990, 126

<sup>3</sup> Lockhart, 332

<sup>4</sup> Hughes, 1987, 165

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 77f

<sup>6</sup> Robbins, 1995, 324

<sup>7</sup> *Times* 13 March 1940; printed in Hughes, 111f

<sup>8</sup> Hughes 1987, 63, 75

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 112

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 183

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 181f.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 196

<sup>13</sup> Johnson, 407

unreturned: 'no offers of friendship or help were forthcoming' as they struggled with the detritus of thirty years.<sup>1</sup>

There was a human cost in all of this. Shirley felt it; 'I have really hated the quarrels we had', he wrote to Johnson in 1959, 'I was more sad and distressed than you would have believed.'<sup>2</sup> Sargent came to regret 'the unchristian savagery with which Hewlett was treated.'<sup>3</sup> Johnson's family suffered: his wife, more than forty years his junior, felt 'vulnerable to the hostility of their neighbours' when pregnant for the first time.<sup>4</sup> In later years she developed in public a mask of composure, 'only her friends could guess how she suffered in the process.'<sup>5</sup> The parents struggled to protect their daughters from the encircling hostility; '[t]hose closest to him' paid 'too high a price for their love and loyalty'.<sup>6</sup> Of the want of friendliness as they left the Precinct, the family retained 'harsh and bitter memories'.<sup>7</sup> Johnson also suffered: 'the enmity hurt [him]. He really was incapable of such comprehensive hatred himself'.<sup>8</sup> And 'the children remembered him returning hurt and depressed from Chapter meetings.'<sup>9</sup>

Throughout, he secured the loyalty and affection of the cathedral officers and staff, who, as employees, dared not speak out against the canons.<sup>10</sup> When Dr Allan Wicks was appointed organist, he was told by Johnson that the appointment was not unanimous and 'my vote was in the minority', Wicks nonetheless came to have a high regard for Johnson;<sup>11</sup> who, in turn, came to recognise and respect Wicks's abilities.<sup>12</sup>

In the mid-century, JL Wilson provoked trouble at Manchester.<sup>13</sup> Wilson had moved from an early evangelicalism into modernism; he had also been tested in a Japanese prison-camp. He arrived at Manchester believing that the urban cathedral could be active in the revival of Christian faith and action. He arrived also at a cathedral which had been badly damaged during the war, and where the canons had been long in office: in 1949 they were tired and, as the repair of the building progressed, they desired above all the resumption of the ministry which had been effective before the war. The dean was *primus inter pares*; his powers were few. Neither Wilson's temperament nor, a hero of Changi camp, his experience, equipped him for such a position: 'If Leonard had been more tactful, and they had been less conscious of their proper rights, things

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<sup>1</sup> Hughes 1987, 197. Eggs of kindness: took people into the deanery after houses bombed; including Sargent and his mother during the war. Ibid 119f

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 182; the longer quotation merits note.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 183

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 112

<sup>5</sup> Lang-Sims, 1973, 134

<sup>6</sup> Hughes 1987, 172

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 197

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 183

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 183

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 185. Urry, Poole, Pare, the Chapter's Agent, the vergers

<sup>11</sup> Wicks to the present writer; see also Moore, Philip

<sup>12</sup> See bibliography Noel-Paton

<sup>13</sup> This paragraph draws on McKay, 1973, 114-118

might have worked out better'.<sup>1</sup> Relations within the chapter were 'unhappy and sometimes stormy'.<sup>2</sup> '[I]t was with general relief that he was nominated bishop of Birmingham in 1953.'<sup>3</sup>

Also in the middle years of the century, at Portsmouth, the attempt to equip a structurally inadequate cathedral the better to serve its diocese foundered, at least partly because of a personality.

From 1939 until 1972, the Provost of Portsmouth was ENP Goff. His years at Portsmouth were not without achievement: Cathedral House was a 'practical and lasting contribution to the life of the diocese'.<sup>4</sup> He set about the extension of the cathedral, abandoned at the onset of war. A bishop, new in 1960, supported the enlargement publicly, though privately thinking the time inopportune. Unfortunately Goff, an able man, used his intellectual acuity in ways that distanced him from his fellow clergy; his aloofness extended to his peers in the diocesan hierarchy. Thus he had few friends and, when he launched an appeal, the archdeacons were hesitant and the parochial clergy indifferent; some of the younger and more radical were repelled by Goff's association of the extension with the war.<sup>5</sup> The Anglican Communion was calling for 'Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence', with which a cathedral nave seemed incompatible. Words which a residentiary canon felt impelled to utter suggested the temper of one diocesan meeting: 'it was not pleasant to be called traitors to the cross of Christ.'<sup>6</sup> Thus the scheme foundered, and foundered in a way 'that prevented subsequent action for almost 15 years.'<sup>7</sup>

Not only at Portsmouth could a sharp mind damage relations.

At Southwell, Bishop FR Barry, an intellectual, constructed a senior staff of high ability; they included HCL Heywood as Provost. Heywood soon found the small town constricting, and took refuge in stunts: miners sang *Roll out the barrel* during a service; outside the Minster was a sign 'dogs welcome'; inside, a pageant included whistling cyclists, courting couples, and a farmer with a shot-gun. To Barry such gimmicks were abhorrent, and relations between the two became strained.<sup>8</sup> That Heywood's tongue was also sharp did nothing to ease relationships; 'I don't think I did a single thing which pleased him' a curate said.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1948 and 1982, the oft-proclaimed socialism of Canon John Collins<sup>10</sup> enabled the right-wing press to depict St Paul's as again troubled. Collins was indeed perennially a gad-fly. But he brought life and vigour to the cathedral, and related it to the actualities of the age.<sup>11</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, 115

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 117

<sup>3</sup> Tompkins ODNB

<sup>4</sup> Loudon, 91

<sup>5</sup> See above, 152

<sup>6</sup> Loudon, 94

<sup>7</sup> Loudon, 1955, 93

<sup>8</sup> Beeson, 2002, 2f

<sup>9</sup> Morgan

<sup>10</sup> See Beeson ODNB; also Collins, Diana

<sup>11</sup> Summary of Collins and chapter unease Burns, 101-3



minor canons of the 1970s thought well of him, one describing him as 'pure gold'.<sup>1</sup> Some thought, and Collins hoped, that a Labour Prime Minister might have made him Matthews's successor.<sup>2</sup> During his long years there, there were tensions; but none created internal contention such as characterised St Paul's both earlier and later.

During the decanate of Alan Webster, St Paul's again became conspicuously controversial and its chapter dysfunctional.

Webster and his wife were zealous for the ordination of women. In 1981, before women were admitted to the English priesthood, an English woman ordained in America celebrated the Eucharist in Webster's Deanery. The instigator was Webster's wife; Webster was not present; but he can scarcely not have connived. The episode caused national controversy, and provoked the denunciations of the Anglo-Catholic bishop of London.<sup>3</sup>

The major conflict of Webster's decanate was the service after the Falklands campaign, in 1982.<sup>4</sup>

Later in that year Graham Routledge was appointed to a canonry. The appointment was widely interpreted as a strategy of the Prime Minister and the bishop (Leonard) to bring to heel a dean who was a leader of the 'liberal ascendancy'.<sup>5</sup> '[W]ithin a surprisingly short time', Routledge, 'had welded his fellow canons into a formidable force opposed to the Dean,'<sup>6</sup> the culmination was a demand for Webster's resignation. The incident, and other events, soured relations at St Paul's for some years.<sup>7</sup> Routledge declined to receive the sacrament from Webster.<sup>8</sup> When Webster retired in 1987, quite exceptionally, the title of emeritus dean was not conferred; that had to await a new bishop of London and the presence of Webster's second successor in the deanery.<sup>9</sup>

Troubles continued at St Paul's.

In the early 1990s there were problems with senior staff. These were reported in the press,<sup>10</sup> and referred to in the Synod, where Seward spoke of the then chapter 'attempting...to put right the problems inherited from earlier, deeply divided chapters. We have had to carry their cans financially, organisationally and personally'.<sup>11</sup> The financial straits of St Paul's were public knowledge.<sup>12</sup> The cathedral was depicted to the Howe Commission as one needing a firm hand.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tuft; Cutt

<sup>2</sup> Burns, 105

<sup>3</sup> Burns 107; *Times* 13 January 1982

<sup>4</sup> See above 148

<sup>5</sup> Beeson, 2002, 42

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 42f. He had earlier achieved the same at Peterborough. (Personal information).

<sup>7</sup> Beeson, 2002, 43

<sup>8</sup> Seward

<sup>9</sup> Webster interview

<sup>10</sup> *Times* 12 October 1990, 24; cf 'news of more administrative troubles at St Paul's': Beeson, 1997, 95

<sup>11</sup> GS 1994, 597

<sup>12</sup> *Times*, 12 October 1990

<sup>13</sup> See above 69f

The first phase of Lincoln's troubles has already been recounted.<sup>1</sup> They were not ended. In 1994 Jackson became the centre of trouble. A female verger claimed that, having sought his pastoral guidance, she had been offered a sexual relationship. (In the subsequent hearing he admitted to blowing down her neck in procession and visiting her pastorally late at night dressed in light running clothes, although she had already told him she was 'desperate for sex'). She complained to the new Precentor, who told the bishop. Jackson, when challenged, denied the accusation. The then legislation<sup>2</sup> required the bringing of a prosecution, not if the case appeared unanswerable, but simply if, *prima facie*, there was a case. In the hearing, Jackson's QC had little difficulty in establishing the accusation unproved.

Jackson, innocent in law, was defiant. He summoned a press conference at which he reiterated his belief that the trial was a conspiracy in which the bishop was involved. The bishop, in his press conference, professed himself 'neither pleased nor displeased' by the verdict: 'I have never known who was guilty or not guilty'; 'the assessors have made their judgement, and I must accept that'.

When the Greater Chapter met, it urged Jackson and Davis to resign; the Diocesan Synod later made the same demand. Forty members of the cathedral staff wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking to be delivered from Jackson. Thus Dr Carey entered the story publicly. First, he sent his appointments secretary to Lincoln to negotiate the two resignations; he failed. The two were then summoned, separately, to Lambeth and ordered to resign. Davis declined on the grounds that he had done nothing wrong; Jackson asked for time to think. Carey told a press conference that he had failed, and that 'wherever I have gone in the world, people have spoken about the scandal of Lincoln'. Jackson announced that, since Davis declined to go, nor would he. Then, in the Greater Chapter, when asked whether he would go, said he would. When the minutes appeared the exchange was missing. Uncertainty continued: Jackson would 'probably be gone by Easter', words later modified by the claim that he said only that he '*could* be gone by Easter.' As the delays continued, Jackson said Lambeth Palace was dilatory; Lambeth Palace that Jackson would not resign. It was said that behind these exchanges was Jackson's demand for a handsome settlement: seven years decanal stipend and housing equivalent to a deanery.<sup>3</sup> He also wanted further employment. The announcement of his departure came unexpectedly. The *Sunday Times* anticipated it on Sunday 20 July 1997; still Jackson remained silent both to colleagues and to the bishop. On the following day a formal announcement was made. Carey spoke of his 'great gifts and passionate commitment to preaching the gospel' and renewed the call for Davis to 'search his conscience' and resign. But, with a new dean and a new

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<sup>1</sup> See above 56-59. For the following CT, 25 July 1997, 13-15 except where another source is given

<sup>2</sup> The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure 1963

<sup>3</sup> A settlement of £250, 000 was reported: *Independent*, 21 July 1997

generation of canons, the chapter settled down, 'Rex is, of course, a recognisable member of the human race', the new Precentor said. He retired at the age of seventy in 2003. Jackson received no further employment.

The major episodes reviewed in this chapter were in cathedrals with constitutions on the ancient model: the independence of cathedrals led to dissension from the bishop, freehold independence to dissension within chapters. Such episodes might seem to add substance to the assertion that within the governance of these bodies was a destructive component, one that nurtured waywardness. Yet these are exceptions: prominent exceptions, certainly, some before the public for long periods, but uncharacteristic of the English cathedrals. And all involve extraordinary personalities, some of whom who might have been controversial in any organisation. But beyond these episodes there were in all cathedral long periods of quiet fidelity, and of unsullied collegiality. External events caused, or gave shape to, the controversial prominence of Johnson and of Collins: the adherence of the canons to the West's side in the Cold War proved to be as tenacious as Johnson's to the East's; the right-wing press delighted to cast Collins as dangerously disloyal and unpatriotic.

Cathedrals are not uniquely small societies divided by contention. Colleges have also been riven. At Christ's College Cambridge an election to the Mastership became the material of CP Snow's novel *The Masters*<sup>1</sup> and at Peterhouse HR Trevor-Roper proved unexpectedly reforming and divisive.<sup>2</sup> Chapters, it may be objected, are spiritual corporations of which higher standards may be expected. But other types of spiritual corporation have experienced division. In the 1930s Downside was brought almost to the point of division by conflicting spiritual ideals.<sup>3</sup>

Chapters, monasteries, colleges, all are societies of humans, with all the characteristics of the human personality.

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<sup>1</sup> Supple, 151, Cannadine, 206

<sup>2</sup> See Sisman ch 22, 507-13

<sup>3</sup> Morey, chs 5, 6

## Conclusion

Immutable traditional practices were the substance of *la longue durée* of the Annalists. Inherited lore, however, has rarely proved resistant to the pressures of the twentieth century. Thus, at child-birth, hitherto a female preserve, fathers are now commonly present. Re-entry to society before Churching was almost a taboo; in the 1960s the present writer encountered women who forbade their daughters, recently delivered of children, entry to their houses until they had undergone the rite; he has not been asked to Church a woman since 1978.

Institutionally, the wider church changed with the century. In 1919 the Enabling Act opened it to democracy: its equality of enfranchisement of men and woman, indeed, placed it ahead of the state for some years; the inception of the General Synod in 1970 gave equivalence to the representatives of clergy and laity. The cathedrals, meanwhile scarcely changed. The Lang Commission was sought not by the cathedrals but by the Church Assembly, its recommendations enshrined many Victorian aspirations, the consequent Measure largely conformed to the deans' stipulations. The Williams Commission was conservative; its fruit, of immense practical value to the cathedrals, endorsed the inheritance. Between these two commissions there was, therefore, continuity: both respected the past, both began with the assumption that only necessary changes should be made. Continuities link those commissions and the next: the Howe reformers could claim that Williams instigated the homogenization of statutes; and the council they established bore some resemblance to that with which Williams invested the Parish Church cathedrals.

Nonetheless, as we have seen, the differences are marked; much that history and tradition had tried and tested was abrogated. Superficially, since 1999 cathedrals are little changed; but the balance within chapters is altered.

A conservative framework did not inhibit the cathedrals; indeed, as Bell and Arnold argued, the independence it gave liberated them; throughout the century, and especially during its second-half, this thesis has illustrated in the cathedrals amazingly rich and varied responses to their contexts.

In a century of Anglo-Catholic ascendancy, the predominantly central or liberal Anglo-Catholic churchmanship of many of their leaders has been, together with constitutional independence, the key to this, ensuring that cathedrals were in tune with the prevailing spiritual climate of the church. In the main, leadership in the cathedrals lay with men who professed a 'world-affirming' Christianity, an emphasis whose underpinning was the incarnational theology which was a marked Anglican characteristic for much of the century.<sup>1</sup> The position was an important factor in the success of the outreach of the cathedrals. The heavily atonemental, 'world-denying', theology of Evangelicalism, by contrast, sat awkwardly with the public role of

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<sup>1</sup> See eg Ramsey, esp chs 1 and 2; Morgan

cathedrals. Those of this school who, with the rise of evangelicalism in the later years of the century, led cathedrals with success, even distinction, were frequently open, or liberal, evangelicals.<sup>1</sup> Prominent, though scarcely auspicious, among the conservatives were Wilson at Bradford<sup>2</sup> in the 1920s, and Jackson at Lincoln in the 1990s.<sup>3</sup>

During the twentieth century, the inner life of the cathedrals was progressively strengthened, pastoral care of their congregations and of a wider public developed, public witness conformed to the times. The second part of this thesis has illustrated these developments, and has depicted the process in a favourable light. One vindication of the cathedrals lay in the growing popularity of their worship at a time when institutional Christianity in general, and not least parochial Anglicanism, declined. Yet, as the century closed, the cathedrals underwent the most drastic reform in their history. This was in part the consequence of a conviction that within the constitutions of the ancient cathedrals were inherent flaws which had lately and scandalously been exposed, and of a belief that troubles of a kind inevitable in the interaction of colleagues in small communities, where the clash of personalities and the conflict of ideals could be intense, could be better controlled within constitutions shaped by contemporary management theory. This conviction was reinforced by the determination of an increasingly centralised church and episcopate to strengthen their grip on institutions whose proud independence now became a weakness; by resentment that quasi-independent institutions were successful; by the persuasion that managerialist theory would enhance the witness of the church; by changes in the social and religious formation of the Anglican clergy which meant that the received wisdom that constitutions reaching back into the Middle Ages were well tried and tested, was forgotten, or, if not forgotten, despised.

Stalls bearing traditional titles remain in the cathedrals, but now deans are executive chairmen,<sup>4</sup> canons have 'executive line management responsibility';<sup>5</sup> all deans are freehold, many canons leasehold; a forceful dean can dominate a cathedral as never before.<sup>6</sup> Whether the triumph of managerialism and the supremacy of deans will reinvigorate cathedrals, unify chapters, attract able canons, is not yet clear. But, beyond question, *la longue durée* is ended.

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<sup>1</sup> Egs: Gladwyn, Harrison, Tiarks, Sadgrove, Smalley

<sup>2</sup> See above 191

<sup>3</sup> See above 56-9; 68

<sup>4</sup> When the present dean of Southwell was under consideration for a deanery he was asked to present paperwork in a way that demonstrated 'outcomes, outcomes, outcomes,' (Guille)

<sup>5</sup> H&R, 78

<sup>6</sup> Kent personal observation

## Appendices

1. Membership of the Commissions
2. Educational background of membership of the commissions Terms of Reference  
Membership of the Commissions
3. Texts: terms of Reference; The Place of Cathedrals in the Life of the Church Today
4. Cathedral finances 1959
5. Case studies
6. Cathedrals with resident parochial population
7. Canonries and Patronage after 1840
8. Statements preparatory to the Visitation at Lincoln 1990

### Appendix 1: Membership of the Commissions

#### A 1925:

The Archbishop of York, (Chairman) (C. G. Lang)  
The Bishop of Oxford, then bishop of Ripon. (T. B. Strong)  
The Bishop of Truro, (W. H. Frere)  
The Bishop of Worcester, (E. H. Pearce)  
The Dean of Chester, (F. M. Bennett)  
The Dean of Gloucester, (H Gee)  
The Rev. Canon A. G. Robinson.  
The Rev. Canon J. J. Scott  
The Right Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil  
Sir Stanford Downing .  
Montague R. James  
Sir Henry Newbolt  
Sydney H. Nicholson .  
Sir Frederick Radcliffe  
Walter Tapper

Professor A. Hamilton Thompson

later additions were:

The Bishop of S. Edmundsbury and Ipswich, (W. G. Whittingham)  
The Dean of Lichfield, (H. E. Savage)  
The Dean of Windsor, (A V Baillie).  
The Rev. Canon J. Allen Bell,

#### B 1958

The Bishop of Leicester Chairman (R R Williams)  
The Dean of Gloucester (S J A Evans)  
The Dean of Liverpool (F W Dillistone)  
The Dean of Peterborough (N C Christopherson)  
The Provost of Bradford (J G Tiarks)  
The Provost of Portsmouth (E N Porter Goff)  
The Archdeacon of Richmond (H B Graham)  
Prebendary A F Judd  
Mr D M Carey  
Lord Dunboyne  
Chancellor K J T Elphinstone  
Colonel J W Fawdry  
Mr Peter Kirk MP  
Mrs M Rawlinson  
Secretary: M F Elliott-Binns

## **C 1992**

The Lady Howe of Aberavon

The Right Reverend Michael Turnbull, Bishop of Durham (and previously Bishop of Rochester)

The Right Reverend Ronald Gordon, Sub-Dean of Christ Church, Oxford

The Very Reverend Raymond Furnell, Dean of York (and previously Provost of St Edmundsbury)

The Very Reverend Richard Lewis, Dean of Wells

The Very Reverend Kenneth Riley, Dean of Manchester (and previously Canon Precentor of Liverpool Cathedral)

The Reverend Dr Edward Norman, Dean of Chapel, Christ Church College, Canterbury

Mrs Elaine Storkey, Director, London Institute for Contemporary Christianity

Mr Robert Aagaard OBE JP, Trustee and Chairman, Cathedral Camps

Mr Peter Burnham, Former Partner, Messrs Coopers and Lybrand

Mr Ian Hay Davison, Chairman, Storehouse plc

Mr Richard Shephard, Headmaster of the Minster School, York

Mr Martin Stancliffe, Architect and member of the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England

Assessors:

Mr Patrick Locke, Secretary to the Church Commissioners

Professor David McClean CBE, Chairman, Cathedral Statutes Commission

Rear Admiral David Macey CB, Receiver General, Canterbury Cathedral

Mr Philip Mawer, Secretary-General of the General Synod

Secretary Mr Nigel Waring

## **Appendix 2: educational background of membership of the commissions**

### **A. 1925**

Total members: 20

*Schools:*

Public Schools 13

Of which Clarendon: 5 (2 Etonians)

Grammar schools: 2

Scottish school: 1

No school given: 5

*Universities:*

All graduates: 18

Oxford: 7

Cambridge: 10

London 1

Glasgow 1

No university: 2

Total membership: 13

### **B. 1958**

Total membership: 15

*Schools:*

Public schools: 7

Of which Clarendon: 3 (no Etonians)

Grammar schools 2

None given 5

*Universities:*

Oxford 5

Cambridge 5

Dublin 1

Durham 1 (for a non-residential diploma)

No university 2(?)

### **C. 1992**

Total membership 17 (incl 4 assessors)

*Schools:*

Public schools: 8

Of which Clarendon 2

Girl's Public School: 1

Other schools 9

*Universities*

Oxford 5

Cambridge 4

Edinburgh 1

LSE 2

Bristol 1

University of Wales 2

No university; (incl 1 Royal Naval College Dartmouth) 3

### **Appendix 3: Texts**

#### **1. Terms of Reference Cathedrals Commission 1924**

To enquire and report upon the questions raised in sections 101 to 111 of the report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Property and Revenues of the Church as to the Cathedral and Collegiate and Capitular Bodies

##### ***Harris's additional resolution***

That it be an instruction to the Commission on Cathedrals to consider the best means of promoting the greater efficiency of Cathedral Chapters regarded as centres of learning

#### **2. Terms of Reference Cathedrals Commission 1958**

That a commission be appointed to prepare, in consultation with the Church Commissioners, a Measure to supersede the Cathedrals Measures and to make such other alterations in the law relating to Cathedrals as seem desirable to meet the needs of Cathedrals at the present time

#### **3. Headings proposed by the Deans and Provosts for a Commission 1991**

To examine the work of the English Cathedrals in the following areas and, if necessary, propose such legislative changes as may be required for their continuing to contribute to the ministry and mission of the church in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

*Authority:* what form should the future relationship of the cathedral and the diocesan bishop take in the light of changes in episcopal function? What 'style of relationship' might be appropriate between the cathedral and the diocese?

*Governing bodies:* is there any 'basic governing structure', required by, and suitable for, all; what should be the authority of deans, provosts, canons, be? What statutory advisory bodies should be required?

*Appointments:* to what extent is the idea of a dignitary appropriate to a cathedral appointment?

What qualities are required in a dean or provost; how may suitable candidates be identified?

Does the freehold matter for cathedral appointments? What is the effect of differing methods of appointment, especially the Crown and the bishop; should diocesan officers- bishop's advisers or archdeacons - be residentiaries?

*Finance and Administration:* what will be the financial requirements of cathedrals at the beginning of the next century? Where will the funding come from? Is it in prospect available? What should be the form and presentation of accounts, so as to ensure comparability?

*Legal matters:* most cathedral legislation was pre-synodical: what changes in the Cathedrals Measure are desirable and necessary. What should be the legal status of statutes in relation to other law that might affect the cathedrals?

[Source: as title; Howe commission members papers]



#### **4 Terms of Reference 1991**

To examine the future role in Church and nation of the Cathedrals of the Church of England and to make recommendations as to how best that role could be fulfilled, including proposals for their government and support.

#### **5 : The Place of Cathedrals in the Life of the Church Today**

Quite apart from their architectural beauty, all Cathedrals, both the Ancient Cathedrals and those commonly known as Parish Church Cathedrals, play a vital part in the life of the Church. They are the visible counterpart of the episcopal system. Just as there has to be a Bishop to ordain and confirm, so there must be a Church which outwardly symbolises the organisation of the family life of the Diocese around a Mother Church. The Cathedral is the natural centre for Ordinations and some other episcopal functions. Besides this, the traditional arrangement, whereby the worship of the Cathedral is entrusted to a Dean or Provost and Chapter provides a ministry of a depth and variety which is beyond that normally available in a parish church. The worship offered there is often of an artistic quality higher than is normally possible. Its corporate nature, in which Dean and Canons all participate preserves in miniature what was good in the monastic tradition of a corporate devotion to the opus Dei. A Chapter, rightly chosen and fulfilling its proper function, sets a standard of worship and witness (in which preaching is most definitely included) and this should be an inspiration to all the clergy and laity of a Diocese.

*Cathedrals in Modern Life, 4*

#### **Appendix 4: cathedral finances 1959**

*Cathedrals with credit and debit balances:*

	Total number of cathedrals	credit balance	debit balance
Ancient cathedrals	23	12	11
Parish church cathedrals	18	5	13
All cathedrals	42	17	24

*Cathedral incomes, global sums:*

	credit	debit	total (all cathedrals)
Ancient cathedrals	£13,790	£10,620	£3, 170 (credit)
Parish church cathedrals	£ 6, 820	£14,530	£7, 710 (debit)
All cathedrals	£20,610	£25,150	£4, 540 (debit)

#### **Appendix 5: Case studies**

Chester under Frank Selwyn Macaulay Bennett 1920-1937

Canterbury under George Kennedy Allen Bell 1925-1929

Liverpool under Frederick William Dwelly 1931-1955

Coventry under Richard Thomas Howard 1933-1958  
and Harold Claude Nowell Williams 1958-1981

Chichester under Arthur Stuart Duncan-Jones 1929-1955  
and Walter John Atherton Hussey 1955-1977

Chelmsford under Richard William Herrick 1978-1981  
and John Henry Moses 1982-1996

Norwich under Alan Brunskill Webster 1970-1978

Liverpool under Edward Henry Patey 1964-1982  
and Rhys Derrick Chamberlain Walters 1983-1999

Portsmouth under David Staffurth Stancliffe 1982-1993

Bradford under Brandon Donald Jackson Jackson 1977-1989

Lincoln under Oliver William Twistleton-Wykeham-Fiennes 1969-1989  
and Donald Brandon Jackson 1989-1997

## Appendix 6: Cathedrals with resident parochial population

Cathedral	Population 1924	Population 1955	Population 1993
Birmingham	5,000	2,208	456
Blackburn	nf (2,358)	1,224	2,443
Bradford	11,384	4,299	354
Chelmsford	6,007	4,500	3,500
Coventry	(9,762)	2,500	10
Derby	nf (1,1350)	1,200	72
Leicester	1058	248	20
Manchester	(771)	281	900
Newcastle	1,500	433	Non-residential
Portsmouth	nf. (4,595)	2,141	4,000
Ripon		5,460	7,617
St Albans	4423	3,340	2,773
St Edmundsbury	(4,409)	7,776	250
Sheffield	4,200	2,247	637
Southwark	8,365	3,928	150
Southwell	2,519	2,024	5,500
Truro	2,314	1,900	130
Wakefield	6,882	2,744	2,200

Figures from

1924 and 1955 figures: *Crockford* editions of those years;

nf: diocese not then founded

( ): from *Crockford* 1931

No figure can be ascertained for Ripon 1924 or 1931

1993 figures H&R 59

## Appendix 7: Canonries and Patronage after 1840

	(a) Crown or (b) Lord Chancellor	Diocesan bishop	academic
Canterbury	(a) 3	3	
York		4	
S. Paul's	(a) 3	1	
Durham		5	
Winchester		5	
Bristol	(b) 4		
Carlisle		4	
Chester		4	
Chichester		4	
Ely		4	Cambridge University 2
Exeter		4	
Gloucester	(b) 3	1	Pembroke College Oxford 1
Hereford		4	
Lichfield		4	
Lincoln		4	
Manchester		4	
Norwich	(b) 3		St Catharine's College Cambridge 1
Peterborough		4	
Ripon		4	
Rochester	(b) 2	1	University of Oxford 1

Salisbury		4	
Wells		4	
Worcester	(a) 4		
Summary	(a) 10 (b) 12	72	5

From CCI 18f

## Appendix 8 Statements preparatory to the Visitation at Lincoln 1990

### *The Canons Submission*

We the signatories appreciate the difficulty of the task before the Visitor and his assessors and wish to assure them of our readiness to co-operate for the speedy resolution of the difficulties in which we find ourselves. These are deplorable and are damaging not only to ourselves but to our Cathedral, the Diocese and the Faith we profess. We think that, in order to understand the situation, the Bishop and assessors will need to read the papers, Chapter minutes, and correspondence which precede this Submission, but would ask in particular that the document dated 14th February entitled "The limits of the Dean's Powers", signed by the Precentor, the Chancellor and the Archdeacon, should be formally included as part of this Submission. The matters which most concern us, as well as questions arising from the Statutes and Bishop Alnwick Award referred to in the earlier paper, are primarily pastoral: a formal Visitation may not then be the best way to handle what is only partly a judicial problem. We hope that a structure of meetings can be worked out that will enable the Visitor and his assessors to make adequate enquiries of the Dean and Chapter both corporately and individually. The questions which concern us are as follows:-

1. How can a basis of trust be established which will enable the Dean and Chapter and staff to carry out their business without further acrimony and delay?
2. How can the Dean's animosity towards the Subdean, expressed frequently in Chapter and in public, be overcome?
3. How can the serious public injury done to the Subdean, both personally and professionally, also to his family and others, be acknowledged and either justified or redressed?
4. The Dean delivered privileged information belonging to the Chapter, without the Treasurer's or the Chapter's knowledge or consent, to a journalist, which resulted in a newspaper article injurious to the reputation of the previous Dean and Chapter and in particular of the Subdean. This is a substantial and circumstantial element of the signatories' contention with the Dean, though as yet still unrevealed to the public: how does the Visitor judge this action and its consequences?
5. Magna Carta Australia and other affairs of the Chapter are said to have aroused public concern. How can the Chapter furnish explanation and information, positive as well as negative, in an accountable way, to clear suspicion?

The Dean's Submission

*Submission to the Bishop's Registrar by the Dean regarding the terms of the Bishop's Visitation:* having regard to the fact that the four Canons Residentiary have disregarded the agreement to draft terms of reference for the Visitation at a Chapter Meeting by submitting their own terms beforehand without reference to the Dean.

The dispute that has arisen in the Dean and Chapter is about the Finances of the Cathedral. I invite the Bishop in his Visitation formally to investigate the Cathedral Finances as administered by the Chapter - namely the General Fund, including the Magna Carta Account.

This investigation to include particularly, though not confined to, the initial cause of the dispute, namely the Subdean's visit to Australia with Magna Carta on a fund-raising expedition in 1988.

Insofar as the other members of Chapter have made extensive complaints about what I see as my simple, straightforward attempts to grasp the reins of Lincoln Cathedral from the tight hold of the Subdean (aided and abetted by his three colleagues) and place them where they properly belong, namely in the hands of the Dean and Chapter, the Dean presiding and taking the proper lead required and expected of his office, perhaps it would be good if the Bishop were also to investigate the activities and behaviour of the four Canons towards the Dean.

Perhaps also to enquire what are the proper duties and responsibilities of each member of Chapter and to what extent each is fulfilling his professional duties as laid upon him by Statute.

#### *The Bishop's Objectives*

First, to establish the facts surrounding the visit of Magna Carta to the World Expo 88 in Brisbane.

Second, to consider the conduct of the members of Chapter among themselves and more generally, with particular reference to matters arising from the visit of Magna Carta to Australia. And within this head, to examine the respective rights and responsibilities of the members of Chapter, and to endeavour to ascertain whether there had been any excesses of authority or breaches of the Cathedral Statutes.

Third, to reassure those who love this Cathedral that all was well and wholesome in its life.

Fourth, to discuss if possible a way in which the Dean and Chapter could together take forward the mission and ministry of the Church in this place.

## Biographical appendix

*Aagaard, Robert*: Gresham's School Holt; Managing Director Robert Aagaard Ltd Antiques; partner R and FC Aagaard Designers and Decorators of Historic House Interiors; consultant Robert Aagaard & Co Period Chimney Pieces and Marble Processing; member of Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches and committees with similar interests. In 1980 the founder of Cathedral Camps, an organisation providing summer holidays for young people who 'help to conserve and restore parts of these ancient buildings which might be neglected otherwise...There is a heavy demand for places.' D. 2001

*Adderley, Hon James Granville*: Christ Church Oxford; deacon 1888, parochial appointments, chiefly in East London; 1904-1918 parishes Birmingham, 1912 honorary canon Birmingham; diocese of London 1918

*Alexander, Sidney Arthur*: b. 1886; St Paul's School, Trinity Coll Oxon, 1st class Mods and Greats, numerous prizes, canon-missioner Gloucester 1902-09; canon St Paul's 1909-1948 (death)  
Raised £400,000 for restoration of St Paul's 1913-30; secured legislation to protect cathedral's foundations.

*Alford, Henry*: b 1810 Trinity College, Cambridge, 34th wrangler and 8th classic 1832; fellow of Trinity 1834. 1835 vicar of Wymeswold Leicestershire; offered and refused a colonial bishopric; 1853 Quebec Chapel, Marylebone, London; 1857 dean of Canterbury until death 1871

*Alison, Michael James Hugh Alison*: b. 1926, Eton, Wadham College, Oxford, Ridley Hall; 1956-9 councillor on Kensington Borough Council, 1958-63 researcher foreign affairs, Conservative Research Department. 1964 MP Barkston Ash, 1983 Selby until 1997; junior ministerial posts included Prime Minister's Parliamentary Private Secretary, Minister of State. 1987-97 Second Church Estates Commissioner. D. 2004

*Arnold, John Robert*: OBE, b: 1933; Christ's Hospital; Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; ordained 1960, curate Holy Trinity, Millhouses, Sheffield; chaplain of and lecturer, University of Southampton; 1972 Secretary of the Board for Mission and Unity for the General; 1978 dean of Rochester; 1989 dean of Durham; retired 2002.

*Askew, Reginald James Albert*: b. 1928; Corpus Christi College Cambridge; ordained 1957; Vice principal Wells Theological College 1961-9; Vicar Paddington 1969-73, Principal of Salisbury Wells Theological College 1973-87; canon and Prebendary Salisbury 1975-87; Dean of King's College London, 1988-93; retired 1992

*Atherton, John Robert*: b. 1939, King's College London, Manchester University, College of the Resurrection Mirfield; ordained 1962 Curate 1962-7 Aberdeen, St Mark Bury, priest in charge St Margaret Glasgow 1967, rector St George's Hulme and Industrial Chaplain 1968, assistant director William Temple Foundation 1974, Director 1979, residentiary canon Manchester 1984 retired 2004.

*Atkinson, Roger*: Coroner for the City of Lincoln; GS diocese Lincoln

*Austen, George*: b.1839, St John's College Cambridge, deacon 1864, rector of Whitby 1875-1920; non-residentiary canon York 1888-1912; chancellor 1912-33 (death)

*Baillie, Albert Victor*: KCVO, b 1864; Marlborough, Trinity College, Cambridge. Ordained 1888, Chaplain to bishop of Rochester; Rural Dean of Rugby, Vicar of St Michael, Coventry; Dean of Windsor 1917-44; d. 1955

*Baker, John Austin:* Marlborough, Oriel College Oxford, Cuddesdon; ordained 1954, Chaplain of Cuddesdon, Fellow and Chaplain Corpus Christi College Oxford 1959-73; canon of Westminster 1973-82; bishop of Salisbury 1982-93

*Bardsley, Cuthbert Killick Norman, CBE:* b.1907, Eton; New College, Oxford, Westcott House; deacon 1932, curate of Barking, rector of Woolwich 1932; provost of Southwark 1944; suffragan bishop of Croydon 1947; bishop of Coventry 1956-1976. d. 1991.

*Bardsley Cyril Charles Bowman:* b. 1870, Marlborough, New College, ordained 1895, curate Huddersfield, vicar: 1901 St Ann Nottingham, 1904 St Helens, 1910 Hon secretary CMS, 1924, 1924 bishop Peterborough, 1927 Leicester, retired 1940, d. 1940

*Barnes, Ernest William:* b. 1874, Trinity College Cambridge; deacon 1902; fellow Trinity 1898-1916; Master of the Temple 1915-19; canon Westminster 1918-24; bishop of Birmingham 1924-1953, d. 1953

*Barry, Frank Russell:* b. 1890; Bradfield; Oriel College, Oxford; ordained 1914; 1915-1919 chaplain with the BEF, Mentioned in Despatches, DSO. Principal of the Ordination Test School at Knutsford, Archdeacon of Egypt, Professor of New Testament Interpretation at King's College London, Fellow and Tutor Balliol College, Oxford, Canon of Westminster Abbey and Rector of St John's, Smith Square; Bishop of Southwell 1941-64; d.1976.

*Bate, Herbert Newell;* b. 1871, St Paul's School, Trinity College Oxford, Tutor of Keble College, 1895, ordained 1896; Fellow of Magdalen 1897 and dean of Divinity 1904; Vicar St Stephen Hampstead 1904, Christ Church Lancaster Gate 1913, Canon of Carlisle 1920, rector of Hadleigh and dean of Bocking 1928, Dean of York 1932 to death 1941.

*Baughen, Michael Alfred:* b. 1930; Oak Hill Theological College, rector of Holy Trinity Church, Platt Lane, Rusholme (Manchester), All Souls, Langham Place, London, bishop of Chester 1982-1996.

*Beck, William Ernest:* b. 1884, Great Yarmouth Grammar School, Durham University; ordained 1908; Tutor then Vice Principal at St Aidan's Theological College, Birkenhead; Vicar of St Anne's Birkenhead; Principal of St Paul's Training College, Cheltenham; Dean of Worcester 1949- 1957 (death)

*Beck, George Andrew:* 1904 – 1978; b. Streatham; educated Assumptionist College of St Michael, Hitchin. Ordained 1927, priest in the order of the Assumptionists; headmaster of The Becket School in Nottingham; 1948 coadjutor bishop of Brentwood; bishop of Brentwood 1951; Salford 1955; 1964-1976 Archbishop of Liverpool.

*Beddoes, Ronald Arthur:* b. 1912, St Chad's College Durham; ordained 1936, curate Dawden, Priest in charge of Grindon, incumbent Greatham, Easington (Durham), provost of Derby 1953; 1981 Priest in charge of Beeley and Edensor; retired 1997; d.2000

*Beeson, Trevor Randall :* b. 1926; King's College London AKC; ordained 1952; curate Leadgate, Priest in charge of St Chad, Stockton-on-Tees; on the staff of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square; vicar of Ware; Canon Treasurer of Westminster; dean of Winchester 1987-96

*Bell, Charles Carlyle:* b. 1868, Tonbridge, Keble College Oxford, Cuddesdon; deacon 1891; minor canon Carlisle 1895, parishes diocese York 1901-1915; canon missionary diocese York 1915-24; non-residentiary canon 1914. Vicar St Martina and St Helen York 1920; Canon residentiary and precentor 1915, retired 1953; d. 1954

*Bell, Dedra:* priest from the diocese of New Jersey; associate pastor at Lincoln.

Remembered at Lincoln for her flamboyance: she said of herself she was 'pretty and had all this red hair'; 'I am a sexual person, whether I participate in sexual activities or not.' '[A]t the moment I don't have a sex life.' 'Millie Bilcliffe [a flower arranger]...said that it took her awhile to get used to me.' (Danziger 17) The ostentatiously pendant earrings which she wore at worship (E Nurser), and the gold ankle-bangle beneath her cassock (Fiennes), were also remembered.  
Later chaplain US Navy

*Bell, George Kennedy Allen*: b. 1888; Westminster, Christ Church Oxford, Wells Theological College; ordained 1907, Leeds Parish Church; 1910-1914 Clerical Student Christ Church; 1915 Chaplain to Archbishop Davidson, 1925 dean of Canterbury; 1929-1958 bishop of Chichester; d. 1958

*Bell, James Allen*: Corpus Christi College Cambridge; deacon 1878; parochial appointments including Vicar of Wimbledon 1903-1918; Canon and Treasurer of Norwich, 1918; Vice dean 1927. Member of the Cathedrals Commission. Father of GKA Bell

*Bennett, Frank Selwyn Macaulay*: b. 1866; Sherborne, Keble College, Oxford; deacon 1892; Private Chaplain to Bishop Jayne of Chester; incumbencies: Portwood, Hawarden; dean of Chester 1920-37; d. 1947.

*Benson, Edward White*: b. 1829, King Edward School Birmingham, Trinity College Cambridge; assistant master Rugby; first Master of Wellington College 1859; Chancellor of Lincoln 1872, bishop of Truro 1877, Archbishop of Canterbury 1883-96 (death)

*Berry, Peter Austin*: b. 1935; Solihull School; Keble College, Oxford; St Stephen's House; ordained 1962; Chaplain to the Bishop of Coventry; 1973 Midlands Regional Officer to the Community Relations Commission and Canon Residentiary at Coventry Cathedral; 1986 Provost of Birmingham Cathedral, retired 2005

*Bezzant, James Stanley*: class 1 theology Oxford 1923, Ripon Hall, Vice-Principal Ripon Hall, 1925-33, Fellow of Exeter College Oxford 1929; Canon and Chancellor of Liverpool 1933; Fellow and Dean St John's Cambridge 1952-64, d. 1967.

*Blackburne, Lionel Edward*: Clare College Cambridge; Leeds Clergy School; deacon 1899; parochial appointments; Archdeacon Surrey 1922, honorary canon Guildford 1930

*Blake, Robert Norman William*: b. 1916; Student and Tutor in Politics, Christ Church, Oxford 1947-68; FBA 1967; Provost, Queen's College, Oxford 1968- 87; 1971 Baron Blake. d. 2003.

*Blanch, Stuart Yarworth*: b. 1918, Alleyn's School, Dulwich. War service World War Two, RAF; Oxford 1st class theology; ordained 1949. parish; Vice-Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford; Warden of Rochester Theological College. Bishop of Liverpool 1966-75; Archbishop of York 1975-83; 1983 life peer; d. 1994

*Blencowe, Alfred James*: Chester b. 1848; St John's College Oxford, ordained 1874, curate Applethwaite, 1876 Vicar of Witton (Northwich), Christ Church Chester 1887, West Kirby 1889-1920; canon residentiary Chester 1886-1927 d. 1928

*Bloomer, Thomas*: b. 1894; Royal School Dungannon, and Trinity College; Dublin; deacon 1918 curate Carrickfergus; Vicar of St Mark's, Bath, Vicar of Barking 1935-46; also Rural Dean of Barking; Bishop of Carlisle 1946-1966; died 1984

*Blunt, Alfred Walter Frank*: b. 1879; Exeter College Oxford; fellow 1902, deacon 1904, vicar St Werburgh Derby 1917; Bishop of Bradford 1931-1955, d. 1957

*Bostock, Peter Geoffrey*: b. 1911, Charterhouse, Queen's College Oxford; Wycliffe Hall; ordained 1935, CMS missionary in Africa until 1959; archdeacon of Doncaster 1959-67; appointments at Church House from 1967; d. 1999

*Boulton, Walter*: b. 1901, Newcastle High School (Staffordshire), Balliol College Oxford, Cuddesdon; ordained 1942, curate Leeds, in India 1927-1948, Vicar Fleet 1948, Provost of the pro-cathedral and Rector of St Holy Trinity Guildford 1953; rector of Market Overton 1961, retired 1972. d.1984

*Brotherton, John Michael*: b. 1935, St John's College Cambridge, Cuddesdon, deacon 1961, curacy; diocese Trinidad and Tobago 1965-75; Vicar Cowley, chaplain St Hilda's College Oxford, 1976; vicar Portsea 1981, Archdeacon of Chichester 1991; retired 2002

*Brown, James Raitt*: b. 1892; in the service of the Ecclesiastical Commission from 1912; Secretary of the Church Commissioners 1948-54; Third Estates Commissioner and co-opted member of the Church Assembly from 1954. He attended most of the meetings of the Williams Commission. d. 1979

*Bruce, Michael*: Trinity College Glemalmond, Edinburgh University, Westcott House, ordained 1934, worked in China; 1938 Theological Secretary SCM in Great Britain, 1938 Rector of Chiddingfold, 1961 St Mark North Audley Street, Westminster

*Burbridge, (John) Paul*: born 1932, King's School, Canterbury; King's College, Cambridge, New College Oxford, Wells Theological College, ordained 1959, curate Eastbourne Parish Church; vicar choral York 1962, canon 1966, Precentor 1969, York; 1976 Archdeacon of Richmond; Dean of Norwich 1983-1995

*Burn, Andrew Ewbank*; b. 1864, Bareilly; Charterhouse; Trinity College, Cambridge, ordained priest 1898; curacies at St Cuthbert, Bensham, St Andrew, Auckland; Rector of Kynnersley, Rural Dean of Edgmond, a Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral; Honorary Chaplain to the King; Dean of Salisbury 1920-1927 (death)  
Author of studies on the history of the creeds and the Te Deum

*Burnham Peter Michael*: Eltham College, Bristol University; Chartered Accountant; Fellowships of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, of the Chartered Institute of Management Accountants, the Joint Diploma in Management Accounting Services. Coopers and Lybrand 1961, partner in 1970, 1993 consultant; 1984-1988 Board of English Heritage; member of the congregation of Guildford cathedral.

*Burroughs, Edward Arthur*: b. 1882; Balliol College Oxford, deacon 1908, fellow Hertford College Oxford 1905-20, fellow Trinity College Oxford 1920, dean of Bristol 1922, bishop of Ripon 1926-34 (death)

*Campbell, Reginald John*: Christ Church Oxford, Congregational Minister, in earlier years the proponent of the 'New Theology'. Church of England: deacon 1916; vicar Christ Church Westminster 1917, Holy Trinity Brighton 1924; Canon-Teacher diocese Chichester and prebendary 1929, Chancellor Chichester Cathedral 1930, also residentiary 1930 – 1936. As an Anglican adopted 'a rather wooden high church position', never again 'cast[ing] the old spell as a preacher'. (Vidler, 1965, 29 ODNB)

*Campling, Christopher Russell*: b. 1925; Lancing College, St Edmund Hall, Oxford, Cuddesdon; ordained 1952; curate in Basingstoke; Chaplain King's School and Minor Canon Ely 1955-60; Chaplain of Lancing 1960-67; Vicar, and Rural Dean of Pershore 1968; Archdeacon of Dudley 1976-84; Dean of Ripon 1984-1995



*Carey David Macbeth Moir*: b. 1917; Westminster, St Edmund Hall Oxford, ecclesiastical lawyer; member of Williams Commission, d. 2000

*Carey George*: b. 1935; Bifrons Secondary Modern School, Barking; became a committed Christian aged 17; National Service; ALCD; London BD, MTh, PhD; ordained 1962, curate Islington; staff of Oak Hill Theological College; St John's College, Nottingham; vicar St Nicholas' Durham 1975; 1982 Principal of Trinity College, Bristol; Bishop of Bath and Wells 1988; Archbishop of Canterbury 1991; retired 2002; life peer. Promoted Decade of Evangelism

*Carr, Arthur Wesley*: b. 1941; Dulwich College, Jesus College Oxford BA 1964, MA 1967, Jesus College, Cambridge, BA 1966, MA 1970; Ridley Hall, Cambridge; PhD 1975. Deacon 1967, curate All Saints Church, Luton 1967-71; tutor 1970-1971, chaplain 1971-1972 Ridley Hall, Cambridge; University of Sheffield Stephenson Fellow Sheffield 1972, Chaplain Chelmsford Cathedral 1974-78; until 1982 also Deputy Director of the Cathedral Centre for Research and Training; 1978-1987, Canon Residentiary; 1976 - 1984 Diocesan Director of Training; 1987 Dean of Bristol; 1997 dean of Westminster. Retired 2006

*Catford, [John] Robin*: KCVO 1993, b.1923, Hampton Grammar School, University St Andrews; Sudan Civil service, 1966 home civil service; secretary for appointments 1982- retirement 1993; committed evangelical

*Cecil, Hugh Richard Heathcote Gascoyne*: b. 1869; Eton, University College Oxford 1 cl History; fellow Hertford College Oxford; MP: Greenwich (Con) 1895-01, Oxon Univ 1910-37; provost of Eton 1937-44, created Baron Quickswood 1941 d. 1956

*Chavassee, Francis James*: b. 1846; Corpus Christi College, Oxford; ordained 1870; curate St Paul's, Paignton, Vicar of St Paul's, Upper Holloway; 1878-1889 Rector of St Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford; Principal of Wycliffe Hall Oxford, second Bishop of Liverpool 1900 to 1923; first principal St Peter's Hall, Oxford; d.1928

*Chesters, Alan David*: Elland Grammar School; St Chad's College Durham; St Stephen's House and St Catherine's Society Oxford; ordained 1962, curate Wandsworth, 1966 chaplain of Tiffin School, 1972 director of Education diocese of Durham and rector of Barncepeeth, 1985 archdeacon of Halifax, 1989 bishop of Blackburn, retired 2003; CBE

*Childs, Leonard*: b. 1943, Leeds University, Wells Theological College, ordained 1968; appointments diocese Derby; ecclesiastical artist in fabrics; work in Derby and Durham cathedrals.

*Christopherson, Noel Charles*: b. 1890; Uppingham; St John's College, Oxford, ordained 1913; curate St John's, Walworth; Domestic Chaplain to Bishop of Newcastle. WWI: Chaplain to the Forces, Mentioned in Despatches, MC; Vicar of St John's, East Dulwich; Archdeacon of Colombo; 1935 Vicar of Eltham; Rural Dean of Woolwich; Dean of Peterborough 1943-65; d. 1968

*Church, Richard William*: b. 1815 educated Wadham College, Oxford first-class honours 1836, 1838; fellow of Oriel College; tutor 1839, ordained 1839. Friend of John Henry Newman; 1858 rector Whatley, Somerset; 1869 refused a canonry at Worcester; 1871 dean of St Paul's; d. 1890

*Clark, Oswald William Hugh*: b. 1917, Rutlish School, Birkbeck College London, lay reader diocese Southwark, lay member CA c. 1960 for diocese of Southwark; Church Commissioner.

*Clarke, Michael*; CBE, DL, Vice Principal of the University of Birmingham 2003- 2008; previously Pro-Vice Chancellor with responsibility for external relations; head of the School of Public Policy University of Birmingham 1993-1998. Earlier lecturer in Politics University of Edinburgh; then 18

years in local government in Scotland and as Chief Executive, Local Government Training Board; Government Management Board.

Active in Worcestershire; Lay Canon and member of Chapter at Worcester Cathedral; member of the General Synod of the Church of England.

Chairman Birmingham Royal Ballet. 2008

(From Birmingham Royal ballet Website December 2008)

*Clarke, William Kemp Lowther*: b. 1879, Jesus College Cambridge, deacon 1904, fellow of Jesus 1904; Editorial Secretary of SPCK 1915: Canon, Communar (Bursar) and Librarian Chichester cathedral 1943; d. 1968

*Collins, [Lewis] John*: b. 1905 Cranbrook, Sidney Sussex College Cambridge; Chaplain Westcott House; Minor Canon St Paul's; fellow and Dean of Oriel College Oxford, chaplain RAF during World War II; 1946, founded Christian Action to work for reconciliation with Germany. Canon of St Paul's Cathedral, London in 1948 – 1981; d. 1982

In 1951 a founder of War on Want; in 1956, he committed Christian Action to raising funds for the defence of anti-apartheid activists accused of treason in South Africa, this gave rise to the Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. A founder of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

*Cooke, Leslie*: Congregationalist minister; minister of the Warwick Road Congregational Church, Coventry

*Cooper, Alan*: St Andrews' School Eccles; Didsbury College of Education, Liverpool University; a headmaster, Councillor Eccles 1958-73 (mayor 1972-3), Salford 1975-9; CA then GS diocese of Manchester from 1965; chairman of the Revision Committee Cathedral Measure 1999; Church Commissioner 1988.

*Cooper, William Hugh Alan Cooper*: b. 1909; King's College School; Christ's College, Cambridge; ordained 1932 curacies St Margaret, Blackheath, Holy Trinity, Cambridge. CMS Missionary Lagos; incumbencies St Giles, Ashted, St Andrew, Plymouth; Provost of Bradford 1962 - 1977. Assistant Bishop in Karachi 1977-80; d. 1999

*Cormack, Patrick*: b. 1939, Grimsby, St James's Choir School Grimsby; Havelock School; University of Hull; school master: Wrekin College, Brewood Grammar School; MP (Conservative) 1970-2010; Life Peer; Interest in historical issues, particularly those related to English Heritage. FSA: Trustee of the Churches Preservation Trust 1972. Active churchman; rector's warden St Margaret's, Westminster; 1978-90 Freeman of the City of London in 1980.

*Creighton, Louise* widow of Bishop Mandell Creighton

*Crompton, Lt Col John*: representative diocese of Salisbury GS

*Crum: John Macleod Campbell*: b. 1872, Eton, New Coll Oxon; ordained 1897 curate Darlington, domestic chaplain to bishop of Oxford 1901, Vicar of Mentmore 1910, rector of Farnham 1913; canon Canterbury 1928-43, d. 1958

*Dammers, Alfred Hounsell Horace*: b. 1921; Malvern; Pembroke College, Cambridge; Royal Artillery in World War Two; Westcott House; deacon 1948. 1953 Lecturer Queen's College, Birmingham; 1953 chaplain of St John's College, Palayamkottai; 1957 Vicar of Holy Trinity, Millhouses, Sheffield; 1965 canon residentiary and Director of Studies Coventry Cathedral; Dean of Bristol Cathedral 1973 – 1979. d 2004.

*Darby, John Lionel*: b. Ireland 1831; St Columba's College; Trinity College Dublin; ordained 1856; curacies at Winwick and Mells; 1859 incumbent of Newburgh, Lancashire; curate Kells 1868,

1871 Diocesan Inspector for the Diocese of Chester; 1875 Rector of St Bridget's, Chester, 1877 Archdeacon of Chester, 1886 Dean Chester until d. 1919.

*David, Albert Augustus*: b. 1867; Queen's College Oxford 1st cl Mods and Greats; public school master 1890-99; fellow of Queen's 1899; headmaster Clifton 1904; headmaster Rugby 1909; bishop St Edmundsbury 1921; Liverpool 1923-44, d. 1950

*Davidson, Randall Thomas*: b. 1848, Scottish Presbyterian parents, Harrow, Trinity College Oxford, read with CJ Vaughan, ordained 1874, 1877 chaplain to archbishop Tait, 1883 dean of Windsor, bishop 1891 Rochester, 1895 Winchester, 1903 archbishop of Canterbury, retired 1928, d. 1930; 1928 Baron Davidson

*Davis, (Bernard) Rex*, b. 1933, Sydney University, General Theological Seminary New York, Newcastle (Australia) University; College of the Resurrection Mirfield, ordained 1957, Curate St Nicholas Guildford, USA 1959, Australia 1962, 1968 WCC Geneva 1968, 1977 Warden Edward King house and Canon and Subdean of Lincoln, retired 2003

*Davison, Ian Frederic Hay*: Dulwich College, London School of Economics (governor), University of Michigan; accountant, FCA. Deputy Chairman and Chief Executive of Lloyd's of London; chairman of Credit Lyonnais Capital Markets, director of the Midland Bank, Newspaper Publishing, Cadbury-Schweppes; member of public bodies, including the Pricing Commission (1977-9) and the Audit Commission 1983-involved in the arts: trustee of the Victoria and Albert Museum (and chairman of V&A Enterprises Ltd), director: Monteverdi Trust, the Royal Opera House, and the Sadler's Wells Foundation; member of council of the National Trust, Royal College of Art; 2000 chairman of the Railways Heritage Committee; president of the National Council of One Parent Families. He worshipped at Wells cathedral. Lady Howe (to present writer) thought him a useful member of the commission, in touch with 'life'.

*Dazely, Mgr Brian*: Parish Priest of St Hugh Lincoln; Dean of Nottingham cathedral; rector of the Beda College Rome; parish priest Our Lady of Victories Southwell

*Dearmer, Percy* b. 1867; Westminster, Christchurch Oxford; ordained 1891, 1901-15 Vicar St Mary Primrose Hill, 1919-36 professor Ecclesiastical Art Kings College London, 1931 canon of Westminster, d. 1936 Author *The Parson's Handbook* 1899 (many editions); editor *English Hymnal*; *Songs of Praise*; *Oxford Book of Carols*  
Proponent of the English Use

*Denaux, Fr Adelbert*: RC priest of the diocese of Bruges; the President of the Bruges Diocesan Seminary; became titular non-residentiary canon of Lincoln

*de Waal, Victor Alexander*: b. 1929; Tonbridge School; Pembroke College, Cambridge; Ely Theological College; ordained 1952; 1956 chaplain Ely Theological College; 1959 King's College, Cambridge; 1963 Nottingham University; 1969 Chancellor and canon residentiary Lincoln cathedral; 1976 Dean of Canterbury, resigned 1986

*Dibdin, Sir Lewis Tonna*: b. 1852 St John's College Cambridge, Lincoln's Inn, KC 1901, ecclesiastical lawyer; Chancellor dioceses of: Rochester (1886-1903), Exeter (1888-1903), Durham (1891-1903), Dean of the Arches (1903-34), Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury (1925-34); d. 1938

*Dibelius, Otto*: 1880-1967. Lutheran Minister; member of the Confessing Church; ecumenist, friend of GKA Bell; 1945 Bishop of Berlin; 1949 Presiding Bishop of the Evangelical Church; 1954 a President of WCC

*Dickinson, The Hon Hugh Geoffrey*: b. 1929; Westminster School; Trinity College, Oxford, Ripon Hall; ordained 1957. Curate Melksham; 1958 Chaplain Trinity College Cambridge; 1963 Winchester College; 1969 Bishop's Adviser for Adult Education Diocese of Coventry; 1977 Vicar of St Michael's, St Albans; dean of Salisbury 1986–1996

*Dillistone, Frederick William*: b. 1903, BNC Oxon: 1<sup>st</sup> cl Maths Mods, 2<sup>nd</sup> cl Maths, BA 1924, Dip Theology, 1925, Wycliffe Hall, various appointments including CMS India; 1938-1945 Professor Theology Wycliffe College Toronto, 1947 Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge Mass; Chancellor Liverpool 1952, Dean 1956, Chaplain and Fellow Oriel College Oxford, 1964- 1970; d. 1993

*Dix, Gregory*: b. 1901, Westminster, Merton College Oxford, 1924 lecturer in History Keble College Oxford, ordained 1924, 1925 entered Nashdom Benedictine Abbey; d. 1952  
His book *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1945) very influential in subsequent liturgical revision.

*Donaldson, St Clair George Alfred*: b. 1863, ed Eton, Trinity College, Cambridge; ordained 1888, curate Bethnal Green; domestic chaplain to archbishop Benson 1888 - 1891. In 1891 vicar of St Mary's, Hackney Wick and head of the Eton mission; 1904, bishop of Brisbane, 1905 archbishop of Brisbane; 1921 bishop of Salisbury; died in office, 1935.

*Dorber, Adrian John*: b. 1952; St John's College, Durham; ordained 1980, curate St Michael and St Mary Magdalene, Easthampstead; Priest in charge, St Barnabas, Emmer Green; 1985-1997 Chaplain of Portsmouth Polytechnic/University, also honorary chaplain cathedral 1992; 1997-2005 director of Ministries and Training Diocese of Durham; 2005 Dean of Lichfield

*Douglas, Charles Edward*: BA St John's Coll. Cambridge 1893; deacon 1898, Proctor in Convocation 1924-55; Pro-prolocutor 1947-55; chairman House of Clergy 1950-52. A curate for almost all his ministry. A prominent Anglo-Catholic; the founder of the Society of the Faith, and of the Faith Press. He was the inventor of Sunday School Stamps. (Hughes, 1961, 60)

*Downing, Stafford Edwin*: b. 1870, university of London, called to the Bar Lincoln's Inn, 1892 joined Ecclesiastical Commission, 1910 Secretary, Kt 1926, d. 1933

*Dunboyne, Patrick Theobald Tower Butler, Lord Dunboyne* 1977: Winchester, Trinity College Cambridge, president of the union; barrister; Recorder of Hastings; deputy chairman of Middlesex Quarter sessions; 1959 Commissary General of the Diocese of Canterbury; 1953- 1971 member of the council of Friends of Canterbury Cathedral  
Member of the Williams Commission

*Duncan-Jones, Arthur Stuart*, b. 1879; Pocklington School; Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; ordained 1904; Fellow and dean Gonville and Caius College, incumbent of: Blofield 1912; Louth 1915; 1916 St Mary's, Primrose Hill; 1928 St Paul's, Knightsbridge; Dean of Chichester Cathedral 1929-1955 (death)  
Author: various books incl *Chichester Customary*; the *Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*.

*Dunlop, David Colin*: b. 1897; Radley, New College, Oxford, Wartime service; ordained 1922; Curate at St Mary, Primrose Hill; Chaplain to the Bishop of Chichester; Vicar of St Thomas Hove; Henfield; Provost of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh 1940; Bishop of Jarrow 1944; Dean of Lincoln, 1949-1964. First chairman of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England, 1955. d. 1968

*Dunlop, Ian Geoffrey*: b. 1925; New College Oxford, Lincoln Theological College, ordained 1956; chaplain Westminster School 1960; Vicar of Bures Suffolk 1962, Canon and Chancellor of Salisbury 1972-92. Contributor to CT, and author of travel and historical biography

*Du Toit, Lionel Meiring Spafford*: born 1903 son of a South African Judge; Manchester Grammar School; Merton College, Oxford; Wycliffe Hall; ordained 1928; curate Rochdale Parish Church, 1931 Swinton Parish Church; 1935 Rector at Christ Church, Moss Side; 1943 Vicar of St Mary's, Windermere; Dean of Carlisle 1960, retired 1973; d 1979.

*Dwelly, Frederick William*: b.1881; Chard Grammar School; Queens' College, Cambridge; Ridley Hall; ordained 1906, curate: 1906 St Mary Windermere; 1911 Cheltenham Parish Church. WWI: temporary Chaplain to the Forces; 1916 Vicar of Emmanuel, Southport; 1925 Canon Residentiary of Liverpool Cathedral; 1931 Dean; retired 1955. d 1957.

*Dykes Bower, Stephen*: b. 1903; Cheltenham College, Merton College Oxford, Architectural Association School of Architecture in London; in private practice working in traditional styles; work at Canterbury, St Paul's, Winchester, Norwich, Ely, Gloucester, Wells, Oxford, Carlisle, Peterborough, and other cathedrals; Surveyor of the Fabric of Westminster Abbey. He completed Bury St Edmunds cathedral; he left his estate, over £2,000,000, to build the tower according to his designs; d. 1994

*Ede, William Moore*: b. 1850; Marlborough, St John's College, Cambridge, ordained 1872 Cambridge University Extension Lecturer; incumbencies; 1881 Gateshead; 1901 Whitburn; Dean of Worcester 1908 retired 1934; d. 1935

*Edwards, David Laurence*: b. 1929. King's School, Canterbury; Magdalen College, Oxford; Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford 1952-59; Westcott House, ordained 1954. Tutor Westcott House 1954-55; 1955 Curate of Hampstead St John and Secretary of Student Christian Movement; Curate of St Martin-in-the-Fields 1958-66, editor for SCM Press 1959-66; General Secretary SCM 1965, 1966 Dean of King's College, Cambridge; Six Preacher of Canterbury Cathedral 1969-76; Canon of Westminster Abbey and Rector of Westminster St Margaret 1970-78; Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons 1972-78, Sub-Dean of the Abbey 1974-78; Chairman of Christian Aid 1971-78. Dean of Norwich 1978; Provost of Southwark 1983-94; Lambeth DD 1990; 1995 OBE

*Elliott, Wallace Harold*: b: not entered in *Who's Who*; BNC Oxon; parochial appointments (CEMS staff 1909-12) Canon St Paul's 1929-30; Vicar St Michael Chester Sq 1930-40; chapels royal 1940-48, Vicar St Mary Warwick 1948-9, d. 1957

*Elphinstone, Kenneth John Tristram*: b. 1911, Loretto, Jesus College Cambridge; barrister, 'a distinguished member of the chancery bar', QC; ecclesiastical lawyer: chancellor of three dioceses, Vicar-General of the province of York 1972, Dean of the Arches Court of Canterbury and Auditor of the Chancery Court of York 1977; ordained 1964; 1966 - 1974 Vicar of South Stole Somerset. D. 1980  
Member of the Williams Commission

*Ennals: David Hedley*, Baron Ennals: b. 1922; Labour MP Dover 1964-70; Norwich North 1974-83; Life Peer 1983. Campaigner for human rights. Secretary of State for Social Services 1976 - 1979. d.1995

*Evans: Seiriol John Arthur*. CBE .b. 1894; educated King's School, Worcester; King's College, Cambridge; Salisbury Theological College, ordained 1921; curate St Mary and All Saints, Kidderminster; 1922 Minor Canon and Sacrist Gloucester Cathedral; 1923 Precentor of Ely Cathedral: 1929 Rector of Upwell and from 1945 Archdeacon of Wisbech; 1953 Dean of Gloucester; retired 1972 d.1984. Chairman Council for the Care of Churches 1954-71. There is a stone effigy of him in Gloucester Cathedral

*Evans, (Thomas) Eric*: KCVO; b. 1928, St David's College Lampeter; St Catharine's College, Oxford; St Stephen's House Oxford. Ordained 1954 curacies in Margate and Bournemouth; 1962

diocesan youth chaplain and minor canon Gloucester; 1968-88 canon of Gloucester; 1975 Archdeacon of Cheltenham; Dean St Paul's 1988 - 1996 (death)

*Eyre, Douglas*: member of a committee of National Mission of Repentance and Hope

*Farmer, Dr David Hugh*: former Benedictine monk (Quarr Abbey); Reader in History at Reading University, author of the *Oxford Book of Saints*.

*Fawsley, Lord St John of Fawsley*; b. 1929; Ratcliffe College, Fitzwilliam College Cambridge; MP Conservative Chelmsford 1964-87; Life Peer 1987; Master Emmanuel College Cambridge 1991-96; Chairman Royal Fine Arts Commission 1985-99

*Fawdry, JW*; Colonel; Member of Williams Commission

*Fiennes (Twisleton-Wykeham-Fiennes), Hon Oliver William*: younger son 20th Baron Saye and Sele; b. 1926; Eton; New College, Oxford; Cuddesdon; ordained 1954, curate: New Milton; Chaplain of Clifton College 1958; Rector of Lambeth 1963; Dean of Lincoln 1969-89; d. 2011

*Fisher, Geoffrey Francis*: b. 1887, Marlborough, Exeter College Oxon, 1 class Mods, Greats, Theology, headmaster Repton 1914-32, bishop Chester 1932, London 1939, 1945 Archbishop of Canterbury; retired 1961, Life peer, 1961, d. 1972

*Ford, Lionel George Bridges Justice*: b.1865. Repton, King's College, Cambridge: Chancellor's Classical Medal. School master Eton, ordained; 1901 headmaster Repton, 1910 Harrow; 1925 Dean of York, until death 1932

*Fosbrooke, Henry Leonard*: b. not in *Who Was Who*; Clare College Cambridge; ordained 1899; incumbent: 1906 St Cyprian Ordsall, St Thomas Pendleton 1913, 1920 North Somercotes, 1930 St Michael on Wyre, Proctor diocese Lincoln 1929- 35, 1938 St Cuthbert Lytham; 1936 Archdeacon of Blackburn- death 1950. 1945 Chairman House of Clergy Church Assembly; Church Commissioner 1948

*Frere, Walter Howard*; b. 1863, Trinity College Cambridge, Wells Theological College; ordained 1887, curate of Stepney, member of Community of the Resurrection 1892, Superior 1902-13, 1916-22: bishop of Truro 1923, resigned 1935; d. 1938  
Many publications on liturgy and history

*Fry, Thomas Charles*: b.1846, Bedford Grammar School, Pembroke College, Cambridge. Ordained 1871; schoolmaster: Durham School, Cheltenham College, headmaster of Oundle School, resigned after illness, brief curacy, headmaster Berkhamsted 1887, Dean of Lincoln 1910 until d. 1930 Active in Christian Social Union

*Furnell, Raymond*: b. 1936; ordained 1965, curate Cannock; 1969 Clayton (Newcastle-under-Lyme) 1975, Rural Dean for Stoke North, 1981 Provost of Bury St Edmunds, 1994 Dean of York, retired 2003. d. 2006

*Garbett, Cyril Forster*: Portsmouth GS, Keble College Oxford, Cuddesdon; ordained 1899, curate and, 1909, vicar of Portsea; 1919 bishop of Southwark, 1932 Winchester, 1942 archbishop of York – death 1955

*Gee, Henry*: b. 1853; Exeter College Oxford, ordained 1877, Tutor London College of Divinity, Principal Bishop's College Ripon, 1902 Master University College Durham, 1914 Vice Chancellor, 1910 Professor of Church History, 1917 Dean of Gloucester, d. 1938.

*George, Edward Alan John (Eddie)*: b. 1938, Dulwich, Emmanuel College Cambridge, Bank of England from 1962, Governor of the Bank of England 1993-2003

*Gladwyn, John Warren:* b. 1942; Hertford Grammar School, Churchill College, Cambridge; Cranmer Hall, Durham; ordained 1967; at his marriage in the conservative evangelical Christchurch, Fulwood, the preacher was Brandon Jackson, (qv)  
Director of the Shaftesbury Project on Christian Involvement in Society; secretary of the Church of England Board for Social Responsibility. Chair of Christian Aid 1998-2008; Provost of Sheffield 1988-1994; Bishop of Guildford from 1994–2004; Chelmsford; retired 2009

*Goff, Eric Noel Porter:* born 1902; Trinity College, Dublin; ordained 1926; curacies Streatham, Christ Church, Westminster, St Michael's, Chester Square; 1933 Vicar Immanuel Streatham, 1939 Provost of Portsmouth, retired 1972; d. 1981

*Gordon, Archibald Ronald McDonald:* b. 1927, Rugby; Balliol College, Oxford, Cuddesdon; curate East End of London; Chaplain Cuddesdon 1955; 1959 Birmingham: parish then Canon Residentiary, 1971 Vicar University Church Oxford, 1975 Bishop of Portsmouth; 1984 head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's staff (Bishop at Lambeth) (and Bishop to the Forces 1985-90), 1991-1996 Sub-Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; retired 1996

*Gordon: (George) Eric:* b. 1905; St Olave's Grammar School, St Catharine's College, Cambridge. Ordained 1929; curate Holy Trinity, Leicester, Vice-Principal Bishop Wilson College, Isle of Man; 1935 Chaplain to the Bishop of Sodor and Man; 1942 rector of Kersal, Rural Dean of Middleton; 1951 provost of Chelmsford; 1966 bishop of Sodor and Man; 1974 retired; d. 1992.

*Gorton, Neville:* b. 1888, Marlborough, Balliol College, Oxford, exhibitioner, Aubrey Moore student, Mirfield; Ordained 1912; School-master; housemaster at Sedbergh; headmaster Blundell's School; bishop of Coventry 1943-52 (death)

*Graham: Andrew Alexander Kenny:* b. 1929; educated Tonbridge School; St John's College, Oxford; Ely Theological College; ordained 1955; Curate Hove, 1958 chaplain and fellow Worcester College, Oxford; 1970 Warden of Lincoln Theological College; Bishop of Bedford 1977, Newcastle 1981-97

*Graham, Henry Burrows:* b. 1909; University Durham, Certificate in Biblical Studies 1937; ordained 1939; curacies; rector Badingham 1943-5, Organising secretary St Edmundsbury board of Finance 1941-45; secretary board of Finance, Dilapidations Board 1945-54; Archdeacon of Richmond and Canon Ripon 1954 d. 1963

*Green, Peter:* St John's College Cambridge, deacon 1894, curacies, rector Sacred Trinity Salford 1901, St Philip Salford and Canon Manchester 1911-1957

*Greer, William Derrick Lindsay,* b. 1902; Saint Columba's College, Dublin; Trinity College, Dublin. Assistant Principal, Ministry of Home Affairs, Northern Ireland; ordained 1929; curate then Vicar of St Luke's Church, Newcastle upon Tyne; Secretary of the SCM 1935; Principal of Westcott House Cambridge 1944; Bishop of Manchester 1947-70. d. 1972

*Greet, Kenneth,* b. 1918, Handsworth College Birmingham, Methodist Minister, Secretary Methodist Conference 1971-84, President 1980-81, Moderator Free Church Federal Council 1982-3, Vice president World Disarmament Campaign 1994

*Gregory, Robert:* b. 1819, Corpus Christi College Oxford, parochial appointments, Canon of St Paul's 1868, dean 1891, resignation and death 1911

*Griggs Wilfrid Herbert:* b. 1895, educated privately; chartered secretary; layman, CA diocese Birmingham c.1960; member Council Birmingham Cathedral,

*Habgood, John Stapylton*: b. 1927, Eton, Kings College Cambridge, Cuddesdon, ordained 1954, vice-principal Westcott House 1956, rector of Jedburgh 1962, principal Queen's College Birmingham 1967, bishop Durham 1973, Archbishop of York 1983, retired 1995; Life peer.

*Hanford, (William) Richard*: b. 1938, Dyffryn Grammar School; Keble College Oxford, St Stephen's House; ordained 1963, 1972 chaplain RN; canon and precentor of Guildford 1978; vicar of Ewell 1983; GS diocese of Guildford.

*Hannah, John Julius*: b. 1843; Trinity College, Glenalmond, Balliol College, Oxford, Cuddesdon, ordained 1867 Curate All Saints, Brill; Vicar of Brighton; 1902 Dean of Chichester retired 1929; d. 1931

*Hardy, Robert Maynard*, b. 1936, Queen Elizabeth Grammar School Wakefield, Clare College Cambridge, Cuddesdon; ordained 1962; chaplain Selwyn College Cambridge 1965, parishes, bishop Maidstone 1980, Lincoln 1986-2001; bishop to Prisons 1985-2000.

*Harland, Ian*: b.1932; Dragon, Haileybury; Peterhouse, Wycliffe Hall; parochial appointments until archdeacon of Doncaster 1979, bishop Lancaster 1985, Carlisle 1989, retired 2002 d 2008

*Harries, Richard Douglas*: b. 1936 Wellington, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst; Royal Corps of Signals, left 1958; Selwyn College, Cambridge, BA 1961; Cuddesdon 1961; ordained 1963, curate Hampstead St John; tutor Wells Theological College 1969, Warden of Salisbury and Wells Theological College 1971, Vicar of All Saints', Fulham 1972; Dean of King's College London 1981, bishop of Oxford in 1987-2006; Life Peer.

*Harris, Charles*: b. 1865, St Olave's, Wadham College Oxford; ordained 1890; 1890 school appointments, 1900 Lecturer St David's College Lampeter, 1905 parishes diocese Hereford; vicar Southfleet Diocese Oxford 1929. Proctor in Convocation Hereford 1923; Prebendary Hereford 1927; d. 1936

Composer 'The Supreme Sacrifice' sung at burial of the Unknown Warrior

*Harrison, Douglas William Ernest*: Douglas Ernest William Harrison. b. 1903; 1<sup>st</sup> cl natural science Oxford, Wycliffe Hall, curate St John Waterloo Liverpool, Canon Residentiary of Sheffield 1942 (Archdeacon 1943); Dean of Bristol 1957-72. He was a founder-member of the Liturgical Commission, and of the Churches' Joint Liturgical Group

*Hawkins, Francis John*: b. 1936; Exeter Coll. Oxford; Chichester Theological College; deacon 1961, curacy, staff of Chichester Theological College 1964; 1975 Vicar East Grinstead, canon residentiary and treasurer of Chichester cathedral 1981-2001

*Headlam, Arthur Cayley*; b. 1862; Winchester College, New College, Oxford; Fellow of All Souls College, 1885. Ordained 1888, Rector of Welwyn 1896; Professor of Dogmatic Theology King's College London 1903-1916; Principal 1903-1912; Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford 1918-1923; bishop of Gloucester 1923-1945  
He was influential in the Church of England's council on foreign relations in the 1930s; supported the Protestant Reich Church in Germany, and was a critic of the Confessing Church. CH 1921; d. 1947

*Henshall, Michael*: b. 1928, educated Manchester Grammar School, St Chad's College, Durham; ordained 1957; Curate Bridlington; incumbencies at Micklehurst and Altrincham; bishop of Warrington (dioc. Liverpool) 1976-1996.

*Henson, Herbert Hensley*: b. 1863; unattached student Oxon, class 1 History, 1884 Fellow of All Souls, 1887 Head of Oxford House, 1888 Vicar of Barking, 1895 Incumbent St Mary's Hospital



Ilford, 1900 Canon Westminster; 1912 dean Durham; 1918 bishop of Hereford ; Durham 1920, retired 1939; d.1947

*Herrick, Richard*: b. 1914; Leeds University, Mirfield; ordained 1939, curacies; Vicar St St Michael Northampton, 1957 canon residentiary Chelmsford, (also 1957 diocesan director of education, 1962 laity training officer); provost 1978, d. in office 1981

*Heseltine, Michael (Lord Heseltine, 2001)*: b. 1933, Shrewsbury School, Pembroke College Oxford, MP (Conservative) 1966- 2001; the Secretary of State for the Environment 1979-83

*Heywood, Hugh Christopher Lemprière*: b. 1896; Haileybury, Trinity College Cambridge three first classes, two with distinction, Theology Tripos; the Carus Greek Testament Prize; Stanton Studentship; ordained 1926, Fellow and dean Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 1928; Provost of Southwell 1945-69; d. 1987

*Hodges, Canon Dudley Alban*: b. 1909; Selwyn College Cambridge, Cuddesdon; ordained 1932; 1955 Rector of Stafford; 1965 Canon and Precentor of Lichfield, retired 1976

*Hodgson, Frederic*: lay-vicar Lichfield; Lay-clerk St George's Chapel Windsor

*Holtby, Robert Tinsley*: b. 1921; Scarborough College, St Edmund Hall, Oxford; King's College Cambridge; Cuddesdon, Westcott House; ordained 1947; curate of Pocklington; 1948 Chaplain to the Forces; 1952 Chaplain and an Assistant Master at Malvern College; 1954 St Edward's School, Oxford; 1959 Canon Residentiary at Carlisle Cathedral and Diocesan Director of Education; 1967 General Secretary of the National Society for Promoting Religious Education, secretary Schools Committee, Church of England Board of Education; 1977 Dean of Chichester, retired 1989. d. 2003

*Hook, Norman*: b. 1898; St Chad's College Durham, 1st cl Theology; ordained 1921; curacies; 1936 vicar of Knutsford, Wimbledon 1945; 1953 Dean of Norwich, retired 1970 d. 1976

*Hope, David Michael*: b. 1940, Wakefield GS; Nottingham University, Linacre College Oxford, St Stephen's House, ordained 1965, curate St John Tuebrook (Liverpool), chaplain at Bucharest 1968-9; 1970 Vicar Orford (dioc. Liverpool), 1974 Principal St Stephen's House, Vicar 1982 All Saints Margaret Street, 1985 bishop of Wakefield, 1991 London; 1995 Archbishop York, retired 2005; created Baron Hope of Thornes

*Horton, Sir Max*: Commander in Chief Western Approaches, 1942-45

*Hoskyns, Sir Edwyn*: 12<sup>th</sup> Bart; b. 1851, Jesus College Cambridge, ordained 1874, 1886 rector of St Dunstan Stepney, 1895 vicar of Bolton, 1901 rector and bishop of Burnley, 1904 Southwell until 1925 (death)

*Howard, Richard Thomas*: b. 1884; Jesus College Cambridge, Ridley Hall Cambridge, ordained 1908; chaplain of Jesus College Cambridge, missionary in India 1912; 1919 principal St Aidan's College Birkenhead; 1929 Vicar of Luton; 1933 provost of Coventry, retired 1958, d. 1981

*Howe: Elspeth Rosamund Morton (Lady Howe of Idlicote)*: b. 1932, Bath High School Wycombe Abbey, London School of Economics; member of many public bodies; member of council St George's House Windsor, chair of Cathedrals Commission 1992-4; chairman Broadcasting Standards Council/Commission 1993-99

*Hunter, Leslie Stannard*: b 1890; Kelvinside Academy, New College, Oxford; ordained 1915; curacies St Peter Brockley, St Martin-in-the-Fields; Residentiary Canon of Newcastle Cathedral, Vicar of Barking; 1930 Archdeacon of Northumberland, 1939 bishop of Sheffield, retired 1962;died 1983.

*Hussey, Walter John Atherton*: 1909; Marlborough College; Keble College, Oxford; Cuddesdon; ordained 1932 curate St Mary Abbots Kensington; 1937 Vicar St Matthew's, Northampton; 1955 dean of Chichester until retirement 1977. d. 1985

At Northampton commissioned works of art and musical compositions including work from Moore, Sutherland and Britten; at Chichester commissions from Sutherland, Piper, Bernstein, Chagall, Walton. Left his collection the city of Chichester; now in Pallant House Gallery.

*Inge, William Ralph*: b. 1860, Eton, Kings Coll Cambridge; class 1 classics; numerous prizes; ordained 1888; assistant master Eton 1884-88; fellow Hertford College Oxford 1889-1904; Lady Margaret Professor and fellow of Jesus College Cambridge 1907, 1911 dean St Paul's, retired 1934; FBA 1921; d. 1954

*Inskip, Sir Thomas Thomas Walker Hobart, first Viscount Caldecote*: b. 1876, Clifton, King's College Cambridge, Inner Temple, MP (Unionist) 1918-29, 31-39; held law-offices; Lord Chancellor 1939-40; Lord Chief Justice 1940-46; Chancellor Diocese Truro 1920-22. A leader of the opposition to the revised Prayer Book. d. 1947

*Jacks, Laurence Pearsall*: 1860-1955; London, Gottingen, Harvard Universities. Nationally eminent Unitarian Minister; Principal Manchester College Oxford 1915-31, editor Hibbert Journal 1902-47; assistant minister to Stopford Brooke; other appointments included Renshaw Street Chapel Liverpool. Many publications.

*Jacob, Edgar*: b. 1844; Winchester College, New College, Oxford. Ordained 1868, curate Witney; 1871 curate Bermondsey, 1872 domestic chaplain Bishop of Calcutta; 1878 vicar of Portsea; 1896 Bishop of Newcastle; 1903 St Albans; retired 1919. d. 1920

*Jackson, Brandon Donald*, b. 1934, Stockport School, Liverpool University LLB; Wycliffe Hall, ordained 1958; 1958-77 parishes, religious adviser Yorkshire TV 1969-79; Provost Bradford 1977-89, dean Lincoln 1989-97

*James, Ingli*: Minister of the Queen's Road Baptist Church Coventry, c. 1940

*James, Montague Rhodes*: OM FBA; b. 1862, Eton, King's College Cambridge; 1894- 08 Director Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, 1905- 18 Provost King's College Cambridge; 1918 Provost Eton College d. 1936 immensely learned bibliographer and antiquarian.

*Jayne, Francis John*: b. 1845; Wadham Coll Oxon; Tutor Keble Coll Oxon; 1871-79; Principal St David's College Lampeter 1879-86; bp Chester 1886-1919, d. 1921

*Jenkins David Edward*: b. 1925; Queen's College Oxford; Lincoln Theological College, ordained 1953; fellow and chaplain Queen's Coll. Oxford, 1954-69; WCC 1969-73; Director William Temple Foundation 1973; Professor Theology Leeds 1977, bishop of Durham 1984; retired 1994

*Johnson, Hewlett*: b.1874, Kings School Macclesfield, Manchester BSc; Associate Institute Civil Engineers, Wadham College Oxford, ordained 1905; parochial appointments 1905-1924; 1924 dean of Manchester; 1931 dean of Canterbury, retired 1963, d. 1966

*Jones, Cheslyn Peter Montague*: b. 1918 Winchester, New College Oxford (1st cl Theology); ordained 1941, Nashdom Abbey 1946-51; 1951 chaplain Wells Theological College; 1952 librarian of Pusey house; 1956 Principal of Chichester Theological College and Chancellor of the Cathedral; Stephenson Fellow Sheffield University 1969; 1971 Principal of Pusey House; d. 1987 Liturgical learning: editor of *Holy Week*; co-editor and contributor to *The Study of Liturgy*, 1978

*Jones, Herbert Gresford*: b, 1870; Haileybury, Trinity College Cambridge; ordained 1894, Vicar of Bradford 1906; Archdeacon and Vicar of Sheffield 1912; bishop of Kampala 1920, parishes in England 1923, bishop of Warrington 1927-45, Canon residentiary Liverpool 1935-56; d.1958

*Jones, Hugh:* Congregational Minister Coventry c. 1950

*Jones, J.D.:* Minister of Bournemouth Richmond Hill Congregational Church; former Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council; signatory to conversations between Church of England and the Free Churches

*Jones, Jacqueline Dorian:* b. 1958, King's College London, Westcott House, ordained 1987, curate Epsom, Guildford, 1991 Chaplain and Industrial Missioner Chelmsford cathedral 1991, Vicar of Bridgemaury 1997, Canon and Precentor Southwell 2003

*Jowett, Alfred:* b. 1914; High Storrs Grammar School Sheffield, St Catharine's College, Cambridge, Lincoln Theological College, ordained 1944; curate Goole; 1947 Secretary to the Sheffield Anglican and Free Church Council, and of Marriage Guidance Council; 1951 Vicar St George with St Stephen, Sheffield; 1960 Vicar of Doncaster; 1964 Dean of Manchester. 1968 - 1977 member, finally Deputy Chairman, national Community Relations Commission; for two years he was seconded to work full-time; CBE. Retired 1983 d. 2004

*Judd, Arnold Frederick:* Highgate School; Merton College Oxford, Wells Theological College, ordained 1914, parochial appointments, most Diocese Bath and Wells; prebendary Wells 1949, non-residentiary sub-dean 1959; member of the Williams Commission.

*Keienberg. Pastor Fritzhermann:* Pastor of the Church of the Reconciliation, built in 'ruins of Munster in honour of the reconciling power of Christ.' (Patey, 77)

*Kemp, Eric Waldram* b. 1915, educated Brigg Grammar School; Exeter College Oxford, St Stephen's House; ordained 1939, curate Southampton; 1941 Pusey House Librarian; 1946 Fellow and chaplain Exeter College Oxford, 1969 Dean of Worcester, 1974 bishop of Chichester retired 2001. d.2009

*Key, Robert:* b. 1945, ed Salisbury Cathedral School, Sherborne, Clare College Cambridge; teacher 1967-78; Conservative MP for Salisbury from 1983, son of a former suffragan bishop in the diocese.

*Kirk, Peter:* b. 1928 son of KE Kirk, bishop of Oxford, Marlborough, Trinity College Oxford; journalist; MP (Conservative) 1955-death; committed European; CA member; d. 1977

*Kirkpatrick, Alexander Francis:* b. 1849, Haileybury, Trinity College Cambridge, fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, 1882-1903 Regius Professor Hebrew and Canon of Ely, 1898-1907 Master of Selwyn, 1903 Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, 1906 Dean of Ely, retired 1936, d. 1940

*Knight, Alexander Francis:* b. 1939; Taunton, St Catharine's College, Cambridge, Wells Theological College; ordained 1954, Curate Hemel Hempstead; 1968 Chaplain Taunton School; 1975 director of the Bloxham Project; 1981 director of Studies Aston Training Scheme; 1983 Priest in charge of Easton and Martyr Worthy; 1990 Archdeacon of Basingstoke and Canon Residentiary at Winchester Cathedral; Dean of Lincoln 1998-2006. OBE 2006

*Knight, Marcus:* b. 1903; Christ's Hospital, King's College London; ordained 1927, curacies Stoke Newington and Ealing; 1933 Priest-Vicar Exeter Cathedral; 1940 vicar of Cockington; 1946 canon of St Paul's Cathedral, 1960 Dean of Exeter, retired 1972, d. 1988

*Lacey, Thomas Alexander:* b. 1853 Balliol College Oxford, ordained 1876; assistant master QE Grammar School Wakefield; curacies 1879-83; assistant master Denstone College 1883-89, incumbencies 1892-1903; chaplain then warden Highgate penitentiary 1903; canon of Worcester 1918; treasurer 1922-27, d.1931

*Laidlow, (later Montague) Juliet*: b. 1952, Nottingham University BTh 1982, Lincoln Theological College, chaplain Lincoln cathedral and colleges of further education, 1986-92; parishes thereafter

*Lang, Cosmo Gordon*: b. 1864; Glasgow Univ; Balliol College Oxford, 1889 fellow All Souls; 1893 fellow and dean of divinity Magdalen College Oxford, 1894 Vicar St Mary's Oxon ; 1896 vicar Portsea ; 1901 bishop of Stepney and Canon St Paul's; 1909 Archbishop York; 1928 Archbishop Canterbury retired 1942, Baron 1942, d. 1945

*Lang, John Harley*: b. 1972, Merchant Taylor's, King's College London; 1960 chaplain Emmanuel College Cambridge, BBC 1964, Head of Religious Broadcasting 1971, Dean Lichfield 1980-93.

*Laurence, John Havard Christopher*: b. 1929, Christ's Hospital, Trinity Hall Cambridge; Westcott House; ordained 1955, St Hugh's Missioner diocese Lincoln 1974, director clergy training diocese London 1979, Archdeacon Lindsey and canon of Lincoln 1985-94

*Leaning, David*: b. 1936; Keble College, Oxford, Lichfield Theological College; ordained 1961; curate Gainsborough; incumbencies: Warsop, Kington, Archdeacon of Newark; 1991 Provost of Southwell (dean 2000); retired 2006

*Leeke, Edward Tucker*: b. 1841 Trinity College Cambridge, ordained 1867, 1867 Canon of Lincoln, chancellor 1877 – 98; subdean 1898-death 1925

*Leonard: Graham Douglas*: b. 1921, Monkton Coombe, Balliol College Oxford, Westcott House, ordained 1947, 1964 bishop of Willesden; 1973 Truro 1973, 1981 London; resigned 1991, a Roman Catholic priest from 1994. d. 2010

*Lesiter, Malcolm*: b. 1937, Cranleigh, Selwyn College Cambridge, Cuddesdon, ordained 1963, parochial appointments, 1993 archdeacon of Bedford, retired 2003

*Leviste, Pere Jacques*: archivist and keeper of the treasures at Sens Cathedral

*Lewers, Benjamin Hugh*: b. 1932; Sherborne; Selwyn College, Cambridge, Lincoln Theological College; ordained 1962. Curacy St Mary, Northampton; 1965 Priest in charge of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Hounslow, 1968 Industrial Chaplain at Heathrow Airport, 1975 Vicar of Newark; 1981 Provost of Derby; retired 1997.

*Lewis, Richard*: b. 1935, Royal Masonic School, Fitzwilliam College Cambridge, Ripon Hall; ordained 1960, 1960-1990 parochial appointments, 1979 vicar of St Barnabas Dulwich and Foundation Chaplain of Alleyn's College Dulwich; 1990 dean of Wells, retired 2003

*Leybourne, Rear-Admiral*; chapter clerk Durham Cathedral; CA diocese of Durham

*Liddon, Henry Parry*: b. 1829, King's College School London, Christ Church Oxford; 1854 first vice-principal Cuddesdon, 1958 Vice principal St Edmund Hall Oxford; 1870 Canon St Paul's, 1870- 1882 also Dean Ireland Professor Oxford; famed preacher. D. 1890

*Linzey, Andrew*: b. 1952, BD PhD King's College London; ordained 1975, 1981 chaplain university of Essex and 1981-1987 Director of Studies Centre for Study of Theology, 1992 appointments based in Oxford; 2006 director of the Oxford Centre for Animal Ethics; Lambeth DD 2001 for his 'unique and massive pioneering work in the area of the theology of creation with particular reference to the rights and welfare of God's sentient creatures'

*Lloyd, Roger Bradshaigh*: no date of birth in *WhoWasWho*; Shrewsbury, St John's College Cambridge, Egerton Hall Manchester, ordained 1924, parishes diocese Manchester, 1937 residentiary canon and canon missionary Winchester d. 1966

*Lovett, Ernest Neville:* CBE b. 1869; Sherborne School, Christ's College, Cambridge; ordained 1892, parish priest: Clifton, Wymynswold, Kent, Bishop's Caundle in Dorset, Shanklin, Rector of Farnham 1908, produced historical pageants at Farnham; Rector of Southampton 1912; Archdeacon and vicar of Portsmouth 1925, 1927 first bishop of Portsmouth; 1936 Bishop of Salisbury; retired 1946; d 1951.

*Lowe, Stephen* b. 1944: Leeds Grammar School; Birmingham Polytechnic external London degree in economics; Ripon Hall; ordained 1968; urban parishes; archdeacon and residentiary canon of Sheffield 1989-99; bishop of Hulme 1999-2009; also bishop for urban life and faith

*Luce Richard:* b. 1936, Wellington, Christ's College Cambridge, Conservative MP 1971-92; Minister for the Arts 1985-1990; Life Peer 2000

*Lunn, David Ramsay:* b.1930, Tynemouth School, King's College Cambridge, Cuddesdon, deacon 1955, curacies, staff Lincoln Theological College 1963, incumbency 1972, bishop of Sheffield 1980, retired 1997

*McClellan, David:* b. 1939, Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School Blackburn, Magdalen College Oxford, first class Jurisprudence, second class Bachelor of Civil Law; DCL 1984, called to the Bar, Grays Inn 1963; Sheffield University: 1961 Assistant Lecturer, 1963 Lecturer, 1973 Professor of Law; chancellor dioceses 1992 Sheffield, 1998 Newcastle; 1995 Honorary QC; 2003 FBA; 1970 General Synod; an 'assessor' to the Howe Commission

*McKie, William:* born 1901; Melbourne, Australia; studied the organ at Melbourne Grammar School, 1919 Clarke Scholarship from the University of Melbourne enabled him to study at the Royal College of Music, London; Organ Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford. Director of Music of Clifton College, Bristol; 1930 Melbourne City Organist and Musical Adviser to the City Council; 1938 Organist of Magdalen College, Oxford; 1941 Organist and Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey, retired 1963. Knight 1953; d. 1984

*Madge, Hubert Edward, Colonel:* b. 1898, King's School Canterbury, MRCS, LRCP; Indian Army; 1950 Secretary Sheffield Diocesan Board of Finance; 1953 Secretary Winchester Diocesan Board of Finance; CA Winchester

*Mallinson, Ralph,* b. 1940, Lancing; Oriel College Oxford; St Stephen's House: Ordained 1966. curacies and parishes diocese of Manchester; 1992 honorary canon; 1988 vice principal Manchester Local Ordained Ministry Course; active in the Toulouse Association

*Mann, Michael Ashley.* KCVO, b.1924; Harrow; Sandhurst; 1946 - 1955 Colonial Service in Nigeria; Wells Theological College, ordained 1957; 1969 Canon Residentiary, Norwich Cathedral, 1974 Bishop of Dudley; 1976 Dean of Windsor, retired 1989

*Mason, Arthur James:* b. 1851, Repton, Trinity College Cambridge, canon of Truro 1877-84, Lady Margaret Professor Cambridge 1895-03; Master of Pembroke 1903-12; canon of Canterbury 1895-28 (death)

*Mason, Lancelot:* b. 1905, RN College Dartmouth, Trinity College Cambridge, Westcott House, ordained 1928, chaplain to Bishop Bell 1932, Vicar of Plumpton 1938, Archdeacon of Chichester 1946, also residentiary canon 1949; retired 1973; d. 1990; son of AJ Mason

*Matthews, Walter Robert.* KCVO, CH; b. 1881, Wilson's Grammar School Camberwell, King's College London, DD, DLit, ordained 1907; dean Kings Coll London and Professor Philosophy University of London 1918, dean of Exeter 1932, dean St Pauls 1934, retired 1967, d. 1973

*Maufe, Sir Edward Brantwood,* b.1883, St John's College Oxford, articled to Beresford Pite, architectural and artistic adviser to Commonwealth Graves Commission 1943-69, Royal Fine Art

Commission 1946-53; architect of BBC Chapel, Runnymede Memorial; Guildford Cathedral 1933; d. 1974

*Mawer, Sir Philip*: b. 1947, Hull Grammar School, Edinburgh University, civil service; the Secretary-General of the Synod 1990-2002; Parliamentary Standards Commissioner 2002-8; Kt 2002; Honorary Lay Canon St Alban's, 2003

*Mayfield, Christopher John*: b.1935; Sedbergh, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; ordained 1963, curate St Martin in the Bull Ring, Birmingham; 1971 Vicar of Luton; 1979 Archdeacon of Bedford; 1983 Bishop of Wolverhampton; 1992 bishop of Manchester, retired 2002

*Merchant, William Moelwyn*: b. 1913; University of Wales MA, DLitt; ordained 1940; Professor of English at Exeter from 1961; 1967-73 Canon (1967-70 chancellor) of Salisbury; 1973 vicar Llanddewi-Brefi, d. 1997

*Milburn, Robert Leslie Pollington*: b. Oundle, 1907 Sidney Sussex College Cambridge. Classical Tripos 1930-31: first-class one part one, aegrotat part two. Ordained 1934, Fellow and chaplain Worcester College Oxford 1934; dean of Worcester 1957, Master of the Temple 1968, retired 1980, d. 2000.

*Milner-White, Eric*: CBE DSO, b. 1884; educated Harrow, King's College, Cambridge in 1903; first classes pts I and II History Tripos; Lightfoot Scholarship; Cuddesdon; ordained 1908 curate St Paul's Church, Newington 1908, St Mary Magdalen Woolwich 1909; King's College Cambridge: 1912 chaplain, 1918 Dean and Fellow; army chaplain First World War: mentioned in Despatches, DSO; a founder of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd. At King's, he devised the Service of Nine Lessons and Carols, first broadcast in 1928. 1941 Dean of York. Honorary Freeman of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers in 1948; CBE 1952; Lambeth DD, Hon DLitt 1962 University of Leeds. d.1963

*Mitchell, Alfred*: evangelical layman; member of CA diocese London c. 1930

*Mitchell, Robert Andrew*: b.1870; Magdalen College, Oxford; ordained 1893, curate St Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester; Vicar of Highfield (Southampton); St Michael, Chester Square; Dean of Lincoln 1930 to 1949

*Moll, William Edmund*: 1856, Norwich School, Worcester College Oxford, deacon 1879; curacies; vicar St Philip Newcastle 1893-24; dean of Carlisle 1924; Rector Chipping Barnett 1925 d. 1932 Member of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party 1907-20

*Monod, Wilfred*, b.1867 pasteur de l'Temple protestant de l'Oratoire du Louvre, Paris, d. 1943 Concerned for the social implications of the gospel and for ecumenism

*Morgan Gwilym Owen*: LSE BSc Econ, Westcott House; Rector St Philip Salford 1951-71; residentiary canon of Manchester 1971 - 1986

*Morgan, Heather*: solicitor; GS diocese of Exeter c. 1990

*Moore Ede* see Ede

*Moses, John*: KCVO, b. 1938, Nottingham University, Lincoln Theological College; ordained 1964; curate St Andrew's, Bedford, Rector of the Coventry East Team Ministry and Rural Dean of Coventry East; 1977 Archdeacon of Southend, and Bishop of Chelmsford's Officer for Industry and Commerce; 1982 Provost of Chelmsford; 1996 Dean of St Paul's retired 2006; hon DD Nottingham

*Mowll, Edward Worsfold*: b. 1881; King's School, Canterbury, Jesus College, Cambridge; ordained 1905, curate Leyton; secretary of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society; incumbencies: Benwell, Southport, St Aldate Oxford; Provost of Bradford 1933; bishop of Middleton (dioc Manchester) 1943; retired 1951. d 1964; a "kind and fatherly man"; (obit *Times* Jun 15, 1964)

*Mozley, John Kenneth*: b.1883; Malvern College, Leeds Grammar School, Pembroke College Cambridge 1 class classics, theology, numerous prizes; fellow Pembroke 1907-19; ordained 1909, 1907-19 Fellow of Pembroke College Cambridge, principal Leeds Clergy sch 1920, 1925 Warden St Augustine's House Reading, 1930 canon St Paul's 1930, retired 1941; d 1946

*Mullins, Peter Matthew*: b. 1960, Christ Church Oxford, Irish School of Ecumenics, Queen's College Birmingham, ordained 1984, Team Vicar Old Brumby Lincoln 1989, Clergy training Adviser 1994, Team Rector Great and Little Coates 1999, GS diocese of Lincoln

*Murray, John Owen Farquhar*: b. 1858, Harrow, Trinity College Cambridge, ordained 1883, Dean of Emmanuel College Cambridge, 1903, warden St Augustine's Hall Canterbury, 1909 Master of Selwyn College Cambridge, retired 1928, d. 1944

*Newbolt, Henry (John)*: b. 1862, Clifton, Corpus Christi College Cambridge; 1887 called to the Bar, Lincolns Inn, practiced till 1899; writer and poet, d. 1938

*Newbolt, William Charles Edward*: b. 1844; Uppingham, Pembroke College Oxford, ordained 1868, 1870 Vicar of Dymock, 1877 Vicar Malvern Link, 1887 Principal Ely Theological College, Canon St Paul's 1890-1930 (death),

*Newsom, George Ernest*: b. 1871, Merchant Taylor's School Liverpool, Merton College Oxford, ordained 1895, curacy, vice principal Kings College London 1897; Professor Pastoral Theology, 1903, Warden King's College Hostel 1902-16; Vicar Newcastle Cathedral 1917; Master of Selwyn College Cambridge, 1928 d. 1934

*Newton, John Anthony* : b. 1930, Boston Grammar School, University College Hull, Wesley House Cambridge; Methodist minister 1960, Methodist ministry, including Principal Wesley College Bristol (1973-78), 1986-95 President Liverpool District; 1987 Joint President Merseyside Churches Ecumenical Assembly; Warden John Wesley Chapel Bristol 1995-2000, 1981-2 President of the Methodist Conference, 1988 Hon Canon Lincoln Cathedral; President of the Wesley Historical Society. DD Lambeth  
Author: "Susanna, *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism; Search for a Saint: Edward King*

*Nicholson, Sydney Hugo*: b, 1875; Rugby, New College, Oxford, Royal College of Music; organist: Barnet Parish Church, 1904 Lower Chapel, Eton College; 1910 Carlisle Cathedral, 1919 Manchester Cathedral, 1928 Westminster Abbey; in 1927 he founded School of English Church Music (now the RSCM); Lambeth DMus 1928; 1938 knighted for his services to Church music, d 1947, brought to life the music and the pastoral care of the boys when organist of Carlisle, Manchester, and Westminster Abbey.

*Noel-Baker, Philip John (Lord Noel-Baker)*: MC, b. 1889 Bootham School, York, King's College, Cambridge; World War I, organised and led the Friends' Ambulance Unit attached to the fighting front in France (1914–1915), First British Ambulance Unit for Italy (1915–1918); deeply involved in the formation of the League of Nations: assistant to Lord Robert Cecil; then Sir Eric Drummond, the league's first secretary-general; 1924-1929, first Sir Ernest Cassel Professor of International Relations at the University of London; lecturer Yale 1933-4; Labour MP Coventry 1929, lost seat 1931; 1936-70 Derby; 1977 life peer; campaigner for disarmament: Nobel Peace Prize in 1959; d.1982

*Norman, Edward Robert*: b 1938; educated Chatham house School, Monoux School, Selwyn College, Cambridge, Lincoln Theological College, 1st class History Tripos pts I and II, PhD; 1964, deacon 1965, priest 1971; 1964 Fellow Jesus College, 1971 Fellow and Dean Peterhouse; 1988 Dean and Chaplain at Christ Church College, Canterbury; 1984-90 Six Preacher Canterbury; 1994 Canon of York: Treasurer 1994, Chancellor 1999; resigned 2004  
Reith Lecturer in 1978; Member of the Howe Commission

*Norris, William Foxley*: b. 1859, KCVO; Charterhouse, Trinity College, Oxford, Leeds Clergy School. ordained 1882, curacies Eton and Chatham, incumbencies in Oxfordshire and Yorkshire; Diocesan Education Inspector; 1891 Rector Barnsley, Rural Dean of Silkstone, 1906 Archdeacon of Halifax; 1917 Dean of York, 1925 Dean of Westminster until death 1937.  
An exceptionally talented artist. *Times* 26 March 1931

*Nott, Michael John*: born 1916, St Paul's School; King's College London BD; ordained 1939, parochial appointments; 1964 Senior Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; 1965 Archdeacon of Maidstone; 1967 Archdeacon of Canterbury; Residentiary Canterbury Cathedral 1965, 1972 Provost of Portsmouth retired 1982; died 1988.

*Nott, Peter John*: b.1933; educated Dulwich College, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge; curate Harpenden; Chaplain Fitzwilliam College Cambridge, Rector of Beaconsfield; 1977 Suffragan Bishop of Taunton; Bishop Norwich 1985; retired 1999

*Nurser, John Shelly*: b. b. 1929, Rugeley GS, Peterhouse Cambridge 1cl History Tripos parts I and II; Wells Theological College, ordained 1958, curate diocese Sheffield; 1961 Fellow and dean Trinity Hall Cambridge, 1968 in Australia, 1974 rector of Freckenham, 1976 Canon of Lincoln, retired 1994

*Oliver, John Keith*: b. 1935; Westminster, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Westcott House; ordained 1964, curacy in Norfolk; 1968 chaplain at Eton; 1973 incumbencies in Devon; 1985 Archdeacon of Sherborne; 1990 bishop Hereford, retired 2003

*Paget, (Henry) Luke*: b. 1853; Shrewsbury, Christ Church, Oxford; ordained 1877, Curate St. Andrew's Wells Street, 1879 Vice-Principal Leeds Clergy School; 1881 returned to London's East End - the happiest period of this career, he said; 1886, vicar St Ives, Cambridgeshire; 1887 Vicar St Pancras, 1906 Suffragan Bishop of Ipswich 1906, Stepney 1909, Bishop of Chester 1919, retired 1932; d.1937

*Pare, Clive Frederick*: b.1908, Nottingham High School, Kings College Cambridge, Cuddesdon, ordained 1933, curacies, 1937 Minor Canon, and assistant master choir school Canterbury, 1938 headmaster, 1963 Canon, 1966 Precentor, Gloucester, till death 1973  
1954 Member Canterbury City Council, 1961 Sheriff of Canterbury, 1962 Mayor

*Patey, Edward Henry*: b; 1915; Marlborough College, Hertford College, Oxford, Westcott House, Cambridge; ordained in 1939, 1942 Youth Chaplain diocese of Durham, 1952 British Council of Churches (Youth Dept); 1958 Canon of Coventry; 1964 dean of Liverpool, retired 1982; d. 2005

*Pearce, Ernest Harold*: CBE b. 1865; Christ's Hospital, Peterhouse, Cambridge; ordained 1889, assistant master and school chaplain at Christ's Hospital; 1895 rector Christ Church Greyfriars, City of London, 1911 canon of Westminster; 1919 bishop of Worcester, d in office 1930. Carried opposition to 1928 Prayer Book into Parliament,

*Peck, Michael David Savile*: b. 1914, Sedbergh, KC Cambridge, Cuddesdon; ordained 1937, Vice-principal St Chad's College Durham 1946, 1949 vicar St Mark's Mansfield, 1956 Archdeacon of Portsmouth, 1964 Dean of Lincoln until death 1968



*Perkins, E Benson*: Methodist Minister with important responsibilities for his denomination's buildings c. 1945.

*Perkins, Jocelyn Henry Temple*: Magdalen College Oxford, St Stephen's House, Cuddesdon, ordained 1894, Assistant Master St Edward's School Oxford, 1895 Minor Canon Ely; 1899 Minor Canon Westminster retired 1958, d. 1962

*Petty, John Fitzmaurice*: b. 1935, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Royal Engineers; ordained 1967; Cuddesdon, deacon 1966, Curate at St Cuthbert, Sheffield; St Helier, Morden; 1975 Vicar of St John, Ashton-under-Lyne; 1987 Provost of Coventry, retired 2000

*Phillimore, Lord (Water George Frank Phillimore)*: b. 1845, Westminster, Christ Church Oxford, fellow of All Souls, 1897 Judge Queen's bench Division, 1913-16 Lord justice of Appeal; chancellor of diocese of Lincoln; defended English Church Union in ritual cases. 'He joined the English Church Union in 1865 and was president in 1919. For many years he was treasurer of Pusey House, Oxford, and after his retirement from the Court of Appeal he took part in the sessions of the Church Assembly, especially in the controversial revision of the prayer book (1927-8). He was one of the chief authors of the scheme for clergy pensions.' (ODNB) d. 1929

*Phipps, Simon Wilton*, b. 1921, Eton, Trinity CC, chaplain Trinity College Cambridge 1953-58, industrial missionary and curate Coventry cathedral 1958-68, honorary canon 1965; bishop of Horsham 1968-75, Lincoln 1975-86, d. 2001

*Pite, Arthur Beresford*: b. 1871; Kings College School, University College London. Architect; professor of architecture Royal College of Art; buildings for evangelicals include: Christ Church Brixton, Clapham Parish Church, Monkton Coombe School Chapel; member of the Church Assembly; regularly attended All Souls Church Langham Place; d.. 1934

*Poole, Joseph Weston*: b. 1909, Kings School Canterbury, Jesus College Cambridge, Westcott House, ordained 1933, minor canon 1936, precentor 1938, Canterbury; 1949 rector of Merstham, 1958 Coventry honorary canon and precentor, 1963 residentiary canon, 1977 retired, d.1989

*Porter Goff, Eric Noel*, see Goff

*Preston, Ronald Haydn*: b. 1913, London School of Economics, St Catherine's Society Oxford, Ripon Hall; ordained 1940; Warden of St Anselm Hall Manchester University, 1948-63; lecturer in Christian Ethics 1949-70 Manchester University; 1957-1970 also residentiary canon; 1970-1980 Professor of Social Theology University of Manchester; a social and ecumenical theologian; d. 2001

*Purcell, William*: b. 1909, University of Wales, Keble College Oxford, Queen's College Birmingham; ordained 1937, curacies, vicar St Peter Maidstone 1943, vicar Sutton Valence 1947, Religious Broadcasting organiser Midland region 1953, also canon theologian Coventry 1959, canon residentiary Worcester 1966; retired 1976; d. 1999

*Purey-Cust, Arthur Percival*; b. 1828; educated at Brasenose College Oxford; fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford; ordained deacon 1851 and priest 1852; curate Northchurch, Hertfordshire; Rector of Cheddington, Buckinghamshire 1853 -1861; then of St. Mary's, Reading, honorary Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Archdeacon of Buckingham and Vicar of Aylesbury 1875; Dean of York 1880 to death 1916

*Quick, Oliver* b. 1885, Harrow, Corpus Christi College Oxford, Bps Hostel Farnham; ordained 1911; curacies; resident chaplain Archbishop Davidson 1915-17; Chaplain to Forces 1917; canon of Newcastle 1921; canon Carlisle 1923, canon St Pauls 1930, canon Christ Church and Regius professor of Divinity 1939 -1944 (death)

*Radcliffe, Frederick Morton*: b. 1861, Liverpool College, Trent College, an original member of committee for building Liverpool cathedral; 1901 treasurer, 1913 chairman, 1934 president; 1927 chairman Queen Anne's Bounty; chairman legal board Church of England; KCV0; d. 1953

*Rashdall, Hastings*: b. 1858; Harrow, New College, Oxford; 1883 lecturer St David's College Lampeter, ordained 1884, 1884 University College, Durham; Fellow of Hertford College Oxford 1888, 1895 New College, Oxford; 1909-1917 also canon of Hereford; dean of Carlisle from 1917 – death. 1924.

Member of the Christian Social Union from foundation 1890; Anglican modernist; historian of the medieval universities. FBA 1909

*Raven, Charles Earle*: b.1885, Uppingham, Gonville and Caius Coll Cambridge; ordained 1909, fellow and dean Emmanuel College Cambridge 1909; parish 1920-24; canon Liverpool 1924 chancellor 1931; Cambridge: Regius Professor Divinity 1932-50, Master Christ's 1939-50; Warden Maddingley Hall 1950-54, d. 1964

*Rawlinson, Mildred*: wife of bishop AEJ Rawlinson (Derby 19-19). A forceful woman and a strong personality, and some eccentricities; during sermons in Derby cathedral she would write journalistic columns. Sketched by Dell, 45f;

*Rawsthorne, Noel*; b. 1929 Organist Liverpool Cathedral 1955-1980; composed many original choral works, such as the Festive Eucharist (1978) which is still sung regularly by churches across the Anglican Diocese of Liverpool.

*Redfern, Laurence*: educated Manchester University; Unitarian, Minister of Ullet Road Chapel; celebrated preacher

*Reeves, (Richard) Ambrose*: b. 1899, Sidney Sussex College Cambridge, College of the resurrection Mirfield, ordained 1926, parishes including Rector of Liverpool 1942, 1949 bishop Johannesburg, resigned 1961; 1961 assistant bishop London and 1962 General Secretary SCM, rector St Michael Lewes 1966-72, 1970 President Anti-Apartheid Movement, d.1980

*Rhodes, Keith Vernon*: b. 1930, Grange Grammar School Bradford, the University of Leeds; Organ pupil of Melville Cook; FRCO with Church Music Diploma and Archbishop's Diploma in Church Music. Organist: 1958 Menston Parish Church, 1960 Heaton Parish Church, 1963 Bradford Cathedral, dismissed 1981; music master at Grange Grammar School 1955-7; on the staff of the Royal Manchester/Royal Northern School of Music 1975-84. After Bradford cathedral: Director of Music at Ashville College, Harrogate. D.

*Richmond and Gordon, Duke of*: b. 1929, Eton, William Temple College; accountant; member Church Assembly/General Synod 1960-80; Central and Executive Committees WCC 1968-75; Vice-Chairman of the Chadwick Commission; member Chichester Cathedral Development Trust 1985, president 1991

*Riley, Kenneth Joseph*: b. 1940, Holywell School, University of Wales Aberystwyth, St Catherine's Society Oxford; Wycliffe Hall; ordained 1964, chaplain 1966 Brasted pre-theological college, 1969 Oundle School, 1974 Liverpool University; 1974 vicar Mossley Hill, 1983 canonry of Liverpool 1983 treasurer, 1987 precentor; 1993 dean of Manchester, retired 2005.

*Rippon, Paul*: GS representative diocese of Norwich c. 1995

*Robinson, Albert Gossage*: b. 1863, Lord Williams' Grammar School Thame, Christ's College Cambridge; deacon 1887; curacies, parishes, Archdeacon of Surrey 1908-22; Canon of Winchester 1908-33; Treasurer 1909-32; member of the Lang Commission, d. 1948

*Robinson, Joseph Armitage*: KCVO 1932; b.1858; educated Liverpool College, Christ's College, Cambridge; Fellow of Christ's 1881-99; ordained 1881; canon of Westminster 1899; dean of Westminster 1902, of Wells 1911, retired 1933. d. 1933. FBA 1903

*Rogerson, Barry*: b. 1936; Magnus Grammar School; a bank employee; Leeds University; Wells Theological College; ordained in 1962, curacies St Hilda's, South Shields; St Nicholas', Bishopwearmouth, 1967-1975 Lecturer at Lichfield Theological College; then Salisbury and Wells Theological College; 1975 Vicar of St Thomas', Wednesfield, 1979 Bishop of Wolverhampton, 1985 Bishop of Bristol; retired 2002

*Rone, James*: b. 1935, Skerry's College Liverpool, St Stephen's House; accountant, ordained 1980; Canon of Ely 1989, 1995 archdeacon Wisbech and honorary canon, retired 2002

*Rose, (Kathleen) Judith*: b. 1937, Sexey's Grammar School Blackford, Seale Hayne Agricultural College; St Michael's House Oxford, London Bible College; deaconess 1976, deacon 1987, priest 1994. Curate Bradford cathedral 1981-1985; Minister at St Paul Gillingham 1985, Chaplain to bishop of Rochester 1990-95, Archdeacon Tonbridge 1996, retired 2002

*Rose, William*: taught German, Coventry; unofficial Warden Chapel of Unity, author, *Sent From Coventry: A Mission of International Reconciliation*

*Routledge, (Kenneth) Graham*: b. 1927, Birkenhead School, LLB Liverpool, first class; Middle Temple, Chancery Bar and Northern Circuit; chancellor of dioceses: 1973 Ely, 1976 Peterborough, 1976 Lichfield; ordained 1969, Dean of Chapel and lecturer in Law Corpus Christi College Cambridge, canon of Peterborough 1977, St Paul's 1982- 1989 (death) He was 'very much at home in the Corpus tradition of conservative politics and "high and dry" religion'. At Peterborough he was a 'thorn in the flesh' to the dean'. (Beeson 2002, 42-44). His sister was the actress Patricia Routledge He was said by Gerald Ellison, who ordained him, to be the finest man he ever ordained. (Saward)

*Royden, (Agnes) Maude*: CH: b. 1876; educated Cheltenham Ladies' College, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford; settlement work in Liverpool; lectured on English Literature for the university extension movement, 1909 was member of executive committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies; secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; 1917 assistant preacher City Temple in London. 1929 began campaign for the ordination of women: founded the Society for the Ministry of Women. In 1944, she married the recently widowed Hudson Shaw whom she had loved for more than forty years. d. 1956

*Royle, Timothy Lancelot Fanshawe*: b. 1931, Harrow, career in financial services and insurance, member Church Assembly 1965-70, General Synod 1985; evangelical layman trustee Ridley hall and Wycliffe Hall 1976-2003

*Rutter, David Carter*: b. 1925, Archbishop Holgate's Grammar School, York, Exeter College Oxford, Cuddesdon; deacon 1950, Sub-Warden of Hawarden 1953; Minor Canon St Paul's 1955; canon and Precentor of Lincoln 1965-1991 (death)

*Ryle, John Charles*: b. 1816; Eton, Christ Church, Oxford, ordained 1841, curate of Exbury, 1843 rector St Thomas's, Winchester, 1844 rector of Helmingham, Suffolk, 1861 vicar of Stradbroke, 1872 honorary canon of Norwich, 1880 dean of Salisbury: before taking office nominated first bishop of Liverpool 1880; retired 1900, died 1900.

*Sadgrove, Michael*: University College School, London, Balliol College, Oxford, Trinity College Bristol; ordained 1975 tutor Sarum College 1976, 1982; Vicar of Alnwick, 1987 Vice Provost, canon residentiary, Precentor Coventry Cathedral; 1995 dean of Sheffield; 2003 dean of Durham

*Santer, Mark*: b. 1936; Marlborough College, Queens' College, Cambridge, Westcott House; ordained 1964; curacy; 1963 tutor at Cuddesdon; 1967 Dean and Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge; assistant lecturer in divinity at the University of Cambridge, 1973 Principal of Westcott House; 1981 bishop of Kensington; 1987 Birmingham, retired 2002

*Sargent, Alexander*: b. 1895; King's School, Canterbury, St Edmund Hall, Oxford; Cuddesdon, ordained 1920; curacies at St Margaret-at-Cliffe, Maidstone; 1923 Chaplain Cuddesdon; 1927 Sub-Warden of St Paul's College, Grahamstown; 1929 Resident Chaplain to the Archbishop (Lang) of Canterbury; 1939 Archdeacon of Maidstone, 1942 Archdeacon of Canterbury, 1939 canon of Canterbury, retired 1968; d.1989.

*Savage, Henry Edwin*: b. 1855; Haileybury, Christ's College, Cambridge 4th classic; 1978 fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; 1878 ordained curate St Luke's, New Chesterton; 1979 chaplain to Bishop (Lightfoot) of Durham; incumbencies: Pelton, West Hartlepool and South Shields; dean of Lichfield 1909; d in office 1939; engaged in scholarly studies of the history of his cathedral.

*Saward: Michael John*: b. 1932; Eltham College, Bristol University; Tyndate Hall Bristol, ordained 1956, 1965 Secretary Liverpool Council of Churches, 1968 CoE radio and television officer, Vicar: 1972 St Matthew Fulham, 1978 Ealing, prebendary St Paul's 1985-91; canon residentiary 1991-2000. General Synod 1975-95; prominent evangelical; writer of hymns

*Scott, Sir Giles Gilbert*: OM, FRIBA b.1880; from an architectural dynasty: son of George Gilbert Scott, Jr., the grandson of Sir George Gilbert Scott. Pupil of Temple Moore. Among his major commissions were Liverpool Cathedral, Cambridge University Library, Battersea Power Station; also the red telephone box. His proposals for the rebuilding of Coventry cathedral were not accepted. His work harmonised gothic traditionalism and modernism, 'making what might have been functionally designed buildings into popular landmarks'. (Wikipedia).  
d.1960

*Scott Joseph John*: Merchant Taylor's School London, Trinity College, Cambridge; ordained 1870, 1875 Manchester Diocesan Inspector of Schools, 1886 rector St Clement Ordsall, 1903 canon Manchester; d. 1931; member of the Lang Commission

*Selwyn, Edward Gordon*: b. 1885, Eton, Kings College Cambridge, Cuddesdon 1909; ordained 1909; 1909 fellow Corpus Christi College Cambridge; Warden of Radley 1913; rector of Redhill 1919, dean of Winchester 1931 – 1958, d. 1959

*Shephard, Richard*: b. 1949; choir boy at Gloucester Cathedral, Corpus Christi College Cambridge; Salisbury: teaching posts and lay-vicarship in the cathedral choir; York: Head Master of the Minster [Choir] School and Chamberlain of the Minster: a quasi-priest vicar, singing the officiant's part in the daily offices; has written music for the church. University of York, visiting fellow in the department of Music; University of the South at Sewanee visiting professor; Lambeth Doctor of Music; member of the Howe Commission and the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music

*Sheppard, David Stuart*: b.1929; Sherborne, Trinity Hall, Cambridge; converted to evangelical Christianity whilst at Cambridge, involved with the ministry of E.J.H. ('Bash') Nash; Ridley Hall, Cambridge; ordained 1955, curate of Islington; 1957 Warden of the Mayflower Settlement; 1969 bishop of Woolwich; 1975 bishop of Liverpool; retired 1997, life peer 1998, sat on the Labour benches. D. 2005

*Sheppard, Hugh Richard Lawrie*: CH, b. 1880, Marlborough, Trinity Hall Cambridge; Cuddesdon. Ordained 1907, chaplain, 1909 head, of Oxford House, 1914-27 Vicar St Martin in the Fields; dean Canterbury 1929-31; canon St Paul's 1934-1937 (death) secretary Life and Liberty

*Shirley, Frederick John*: b. 1890, City of Oxford School, St Edmund Hall Oxon, DD, Lincoln's Inn, London University LLB, PhD, 1912 preparatory school master, 1919 assistant master Framlingham College, ordained 1920, parish 1923, 1925 Headmaster Worksop College; 1935-62 Kings School Canterbury, Canon of Canterbury 1935 to death 1967

*Shotter, Edward Frank*: b. 1933, Humberstone Foundation School, St David's College Lampeter, St Stephen's House, ordained 1960, curate at St Peter, Plymouth; 1962 Intercollegiate Secretary of the SCM; 1966 chaplain University of London, Director of Studies at the London Medical Group, 1989 dean of Rochester; retired 2003.

*Simpson, James Gilliland*: b. 1865, City of London School, Trinity College Oxford; Curate Leeds parish church 1889, 1893 Episcopal Church of Scotland, 1900 Principal Leeds Clergy School 1900, canon Manchester 1910-1911 canon St Paul's 1911-28; dean Peterborough 1928-42. d.1948

*Simpson, John Arthur*: born 1933, Cathays Boys High School, Keble College, Oxford Clifton Theological College; ordained 1959, tutor Oak Hill Theological College 1962-1972; Vicar of Ridge, Hertfordshire 1972-1981; 1981 Archdeacon and canon of Canterbury; 1986 Dean of Canterbury; retired 2000. OBE

*Sloman, Albert*: first vice-chancellor of the University of Essex; knighted 1987.

*Smalley, Stephen Stuart*: b. 1931; Jesus College, Cambridge, Eden Theological Seminary (USA), Ridley Hall; ordained 1958 curate St Paul's, Portman Square; 1960 chaplain, 1963 Dean, of Peterhouse, Cambridge; 1963 Lecturer at the University of Ibadan, 1969 Senior Lecturer in New Testament studies University of Manchester; 1977 Canon Residentiary and precentor of Coventry; 1987 dean of Chester 1987; retired 2001.

*Spence, Basil Urwin*: OM, OBE, RA, b. 1907; George Watson's College in Edinburgh 1919-1925, Edinburgh College of Art studying architecture, won several prizes at the college; and did paid work drawing architectural perspectives for practising architects. 1929-1930 assistant to Lutyens, whose work profoundly influenced his style; worked on designs for the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, India; attended evening classes at the Bartlett School of Architecture under A. E. Richardson. Returning to Edinburgh College of Art in 1930 for his final year of studies, he was appointed a junior lecturer, despite the fact that he was still a student. Taught there until 1939. Major 20th architect; knighted for Coventry Cathedral. d.1976

*Srawley James Herbert*: b. 1868, King Edward's School Birmingham, Gonville and Caius College Cambridge, ordained 1893; vice principal Lichfield Theological college 1895, 1897 lecturer in theology Selwyn College Cambridge, tutor; 1912 rector of Weeting, 1916 archdeacon of Wisbech, 1919 vicar of Sutton in the Isle of Ely, 1923 residentiary canon and chancellor of Lincoln cathedral, retired 1947; d. 1954

*Stancliffe, David Staffurth*: b. 1942; Westminster, Trinity College Oxford, Cuddesdon; ordained 1967, curate Armley, Leeds, 1970 chaplain Clifton College, 1977 canon, 1982 Provost of Portsmouth, 1993 Bishop of Salisbury, retired 2010.

*Stancliffe, Martin John*: brother of DS Stancliffe; Westminster, Magdalene College Cambridge; Diploma in Architecture; 1975: private architectural practice, specialising in conservation and the care of historic churches; architect of Lichfield, Southwell, Christchurch Oxford (1990-95), St Paul's; executive committee of the Council for the Care of Churches, the Cathedrals Fabric Commission, committee of English Heritage, adviser to the Heritage Lottery Fund, the chair of the Cathedral Architects Association. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Member of the Howe Commission

*Stanley, John*: b. 1931, Tyndale Hall Bristol, ordained 1956, curate Preston, parochial appointments in diocese Liverpool, since 1974 vicar St Michael Huyton; 1987 honorary canon Liverpool, member General Synod

*Stringer, BE*: President of the Coventry Free Church Federal Council

*Strong, Roy*: b. 1935, Edmonton Grammar School, Queen Mary College London, Warburg Institute, 1967 Director National Portrait Gallery, 1974- 1987 Director Victoria and Albert Museum; Knight 1982; member of many committees and commissions and extensive author concerning the fine arts and architecture.

*Strong, Thomas Banks*: b. 1861, Westminster, Christchurch, ordained 1885, Student Christchurch, 1901 Dean, Vice chancellor Oxford University 1913, 1920 Bishop of Ripon, 1925 Oxford, resigned 1937, d. 1944

*Storkey, Elaine*: Ossett Grammar School, University of Wales, Aberystwyth; McMaster University, Ontario, MA, York University; tutor, 1976-1980, lecturer 1980-1991 Open University; writer of scripts for the BBC for the Open University; primary academic field sociology; visiting lecturerships at Calvin College and Covenant College USA and at Oak Hill; participation in the Orthodox-Evangelical Dialogue of the World Council of Churches; trustee of *Church of England Newspaper*, the Presidency of the Tear Fund; 1987 General Synod; Crown Appointments Commission; Howe Commission. Lambeth DD 1998

*Stuart, Henry Venn*: b. 1864, Harrow, Gonville and Caius College Cambridge, deacon 1887; parishes diocese Lichfield including 1904 rector of Stoke on Trent, 1924 dean of Carlisle until 1933 (death)

*Studdert-Kennedy, Geoffrey Anketell*: Trinity College Dublin, ordained 1908 1914 vicar St Paul Worcester, 1922 Rector of St Edmund Lombard Street London, messenger Industrial Christian Fellowship; d. 1929; MC, 'Woodbine Willie' in First World War

*Sullivan, Martin Gloster*: KCVO: b. 1910, Auckland New Zealand; educated Auckland Grammar School, University of Auckland; ordained 1934 curate St Matthew's, Auckland; incumbencies in New Zealand; 1950 he was appointed Dean of Canterbury New Zealand. Rector of St Mary's, Bryanston Square, Archdeacon of London; 1967 dean of St Paul's; retired 1977, returned to New Zealand; d. 1980

*Sykes, Norman*: b. 1897; Leeds University 1st cl history; Queen's College Oxford, 1st class theology; DPhil, Ripon Hall, FBA; ordained 1923, 1924 lecturer in History King's College London; 1931 Professor of History University College Exeter, 1933 Professor of History Westfield College London, 1943 fellow Queen's College Oxford, 1945 Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History Cambridge, fellow of Emmanuel College, Dean of Winchester 1958-61(death) Canon Theologian Liverpool 1937-43

*Sykes, Stephen Whitefield*: b.1939; St John's College, Cambridge, Ripon Hall, Oxford; ordained deacon 1964, 1964 lecturer in divinity at Cambridge University and the dean of St John's College, Cambridge, 1974 Van Mildert Professor of Divinity, University of Durham, residentiary canon of Durham Cathedral; 1985 Regius Professor of Divinity Cambridge; 1990 Bishop of Ely, 2000 principal of St John's College, Durham, retired 2006.

*Tait, Archibald Campbell*: b. 1811, Glasgow University, Balliol College Oxford, fellow 1834, 1842 Headmaster Rugby, 1849 dean of Carlisle, 1856 Bishop of London, 1868 Archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1882

*Tapper, Walter John*: b. 1861, privately educated; architect, responsible for York Minster and Westminster Abbey; 1927-8 President Royal Institute of British Architects; KCVO 1935; d. 1935

*Tatlow, Tissington*: Trinity College Dublin; deacon 1902; curacies; from 1903 Secretary SCM; also from 1926 rector All Hallows Lombard Street; 1926 honorary canon Canterbury

*Temple, William*: b. 1881; Rugby, Balliol College Oxford 1 class Mods and Greats; ordained 1908, 1904 fellow Queen's College Oxford; 1910 headmaster Repton, 1914 vicar St James Piccadilly, 1919 canon Westminster; 1921 bishop Manchester, 1929 Archbishop of York, 1942 Archbishop Canterbury until 1944 (death)

*Thompson, Alexander Hamilton*: b. 1873, Clifton, St John's College Cambridge, 1897 lecturer Cambridge local lectures syndicate, 1919 lecturer Armstrong College Durham, 1922 Reader, 1924 Professor of Medieval History University of Leeds; retired 1939; FBA. 1925 Member Cathedrals Commission. Member of many antiquarian and historical organisations; many publications on medieval church. d. 1952

*Thompson, (Geoffrey) Hewlett*: b. 1929; Aldenham School, Trinity Hall, Cambridge; National Service, Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment, Cuddesdon, ordained 1954, curate St Matthew's Northampton; 1959 vicar of St Augustine, Wisbech, 1966 St Saviour's Folkestone; 1974 bishop of Willesden, 1985 bishop of Exeter, retired 1999

*Thompson, James Lawton (Jim)*: b. 1936: qualified Chartered Accountant (1959); National service: commissioned into the 3rd Royal Tank Regiment; Emmanuel College Cambridge, Cuddesdon; ordained 1966; curate East Ham 1966, 1968 chaplain Cuddesdon; 1971 Ecumenical Team Rector of Thamesmead; 1978 Bishop of Stepney; 1981 bishop of Bath and Wells, retired in 2001; d. 2003

*Thorne, Brian*: b. 1937, 1974-1997 Director of Counselling at the University of East Anglia in Norwich, where he continues as director of the Centre for Counselling Studies. He co-founded the Norwich Centre, committed to the person-centred approach to therapy of Carl Rogers, and wrote a study of Rogers' life and work.

*Tiarks, John Gerhard*, b. 1903; educated Westminster School, Jesus College, Cambridge; Ridley Hall, ordained 1927 Curate Christ Church Southport, Vicar of Norris Green, Widnes, St Helens; 1944 Provost Bradford, 1962 Bishop of Chelmsford, resigned 1971, d. 1974 In worship a 'perfectionist'; took pains over special orders of service and their execution, uncommon in Evangelical circles; 'the honorary canons...were inspected before being allowed to process into the cathedral!' E. Treacy *Times* 9 January 1974, and I. H. S. Stratton *ibid* 11 January

*Toy, John*: b. 1930; Epsom County Grammar School, Hatfield College Durham, PhD Leeds University, Wells Theological College, ordained 1955, 1960 chaplain Ely Theological College, 1965 chaplain at Gothenburg; 1969 chaplain and lecturer St John's College York; 1983 residentiary canon and chancellor of York, retired 1999

*Tracey, Ian*: studied organ at Liverpool Cathedral under Noel Rawsthorne (q.v.); Trinity College, London; studied under André Isoir and Jean Langlais in Paris. 1980 organist Liverpool cathedral, later also Master of the Choristers, 2008 Organist Titulaire, also Organist to the City of Liverpool at St. George's Hall; Chorus Master to the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society.

*Treadgold, John David*: LVO; b. 1931 University of Nottingham, Wells Theological College, ordained 1959 Vicar Choral at Southwell Minster; incumbencies: 1964 Wollaton, 1974 Darlington; 1981 Canon at Windsor and chaplain to Windsor Great Park; 1989 Dean of Chichester, retired 2001.

*Trefusis, Robert Edward*: b. 1843; Cheltenham College, Exeter College, Oxford; ordained 1866, curate Buckingham; Vicar of Chittlehampton; canon of Exeter 1889-1930; 1897 Suffragan Bishop of Crediton; d 1930

*Tripp, David Tripp*: Gonville and Caius Coll Cambridge; Ph.D. Leeds. Methodist circuit minister 1966 to 1988 and a superintendent minister from 1988 to 1991; taught at Lincoln Theological College, and Queen's College, Birmingham, England. Honorary Priest–Vicar of Lincoln Cathedral; from 1991 Indiana University and United Methodist Church; Member of British Methodist Faith and Order Committee; Lincoln Diocesan Liturgical Committee; British Council of Churches, Study Commission on Trinitarian Doctrine, North Indiana Conference UMC Archive Committee.

*Turnbull, Anthony Michael*: b. 1935, Ikley Grammar School, Keble College, Oxford, Cranmer Hall, St John's College, Durham, ordained 1960; 1960 curate of Middleton, diocese Manchester, 1961 Luton with East Hyde diocese St Albans; 1965 domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of York, and director of ordinands for the Diocese of York; 1969 chaplain to the University of York and vicar of Heslington; 1976 chief secretary of the Church Army; 1984 Archdeacon of Rochester, 1988 Bishop of Rochester; 1994 Bishop of Durham, retired 2003. He chaired the Turnbull Commission (Archbishops' Commission on the Organisation of the Church of England) that led to the creation of the Archbishops' Council in 1995. After the commission had finished its duties, Turnbull was appointed chairman of the Ministry Division of the Archbishops' Council. Member of the Howe Commission on cathedrals

*Turner, Walter John*: b. 1929, Leek High School, University of Bristol, Clifton Theological College, ordained 1954, parochial appointments diocese of Lichfield, Canon and precentor of Lichfield 1983-94

*Urry, William*: (1913-81) Canterbury Cathedral and city Archivist 1948-69; Oxford University Reader in Western Medieval Palaeography; Fellow of St Edmund Hall

*Verney, Stephen Edmund*: b.1919; Harrow, Balliol College, Oxford, Westcott House; ordained 1949 curate Gedling, 1952 Priest in charge St Francis Clifton, Nottingham, there, on a Nottingham housing estate, with parishioners built the church, 1958 vicar of Leamington Hastings, Diocesan Missioner, Diocese of Coventry, 1964 Canon residentiary; 1970 Canon of Windsor; 1977 bishop of Repton; retired 1985; d. 2009

*Wace, Henry*, b. 1836, Marlborough College, Rugby School, King's College London, Brasenose College, Oxford, ordained 1861 curate: St Luke Berwick Street 1861–63, St James's, Piccadilly 1863–69, Grosvenor Chapel 1870–72. Lincoln's Inn: Chaplain 1872–80, Preacher 1880–96. 1875 Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College London; Principal 1883–97; Rector of St Michael's, Cornhill 1896-1903; Dean of Canterbury 1903 until his death in 1924, following a road traffic accident.

*Wagner: Pastor Michel*: director of Cimade

*Walker, Arthur Keith*: b. 1933, Durham University, Fitzwilliam House Cambridge, Leeds University PhD; Lichfield Theological College 1962, ordained 1963, curate Slaithwaite, Vicar North Wootton 1966 and lecturer Wells Theological College, 1971 Canon and Precentor Chichester, 1981 Team Vicar Basingstoke, 1987 Residentiary Canon Winchester; retired 2003

*Warman, (Frederic Sumpter) Guy*: b. 1872; Merchant Taylors School London, Pembroke College Oxford, ordained 1895; curacies; vice principal St Aidan's College Birkenhead 1901, lecturer 1903-07; Vicar of Birkenhead 1902, principal St Aidan's College 1907; vicar Bradford 1916; bishop of Truro 1919; 1923 Chelmsford; 1929 Manchester; resigned 1947, d. 1953

*Watts-Ditchfield, John Edwin*: b. 1861; London College of Divinity, ordained 1891 curate St Peter Highgate, 1897 Vicar St James the Less, Bethnal Green; 1914 first bishop of Chelmsford, d. in office, 1923



*Waine, John*: KCVO b. 1930, Prescott Grammar School; University of Manchester; Ridley Hall. Ordained 1955 Curate West Derby; incumbencies 1958 Ditton, 1964 Southport, 1969 Kirkby, all diocese of Liverpool. 1975 Bishop of Stafford, 1978 St Edmundsbury and Ipswich, 1986 Chelmsford, retired 1996.

*Watson John*: York b 1843 Queen's College Cambridge, ordained 1872, 1882 Vicar of Sculcoates, 1896-25 rector All saints Pavement York, residentiary canon of York 1896-26, d. 1930

*Weaver, Geoffrey*: Cambridge music graduate, FRCO, worked for the Church Mission Society in Hong Kong before becoming Director of Music at Bradford Cathedral (1982-6), then moved to the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, from where he undertook teaching assignments in the Philippines and Nigeria, and published two volumes of *World Praise*. 1994-2002 Director of Studies and of Outreach at the Royal School of Church Music; in 1998 he directed the music at the Lambeth Conference in Canterbury; in 2000 directed a choir of 200 schoolchildren at the National Millennium Service at St Paul's Cathedral.

*Webster, Alan Brunskill*: KCVO, b. 1918; Shrewsbury, Queen's College, Oxford, Westcott House; ordained 1942, curate diocese Sheffield: Attercliffe, Arbourthorne; 1946 chaplain and vice principal Westcott House; 1953 vicar of Barnard Castle; 1959 warden of Lincoln Theological College; 1970 dean of Norwich; 1978 dean of St Paul's, retired 1987; d 2007

*Weldon, James Edward Cowell*: b. 1854, Eton, Kings Coll Cambridge: Senior Classic, College and University prizes; Fellow Kings College. Ordained 1883, 1883 Master of Dulwich College, 1885 Headmaster of Harrow, 1898 bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, 1902 Canon of Westminster, 1906 Dean of Manchester, 1918 dean of Durham retired 1933; d.1937

*Westwood, William John*: b. 1925 Wrexham Grammar School, Emmanuel College Cambridge, Westcott House; ordained 1952, curate Hull, 1957 rector Lowestoft, 1965 vicar St Peter Mancroft Norwich, 1975 bishop of Edmonton, 1984 Peterborough; retired 1996; d.1999  
Called himself 'the only Thatcherite bishop on the bench'. 'When he appeared on Any Questions with Norman Tebbit, it was hard to decide who was more right-wing'. Obituary *Independent* 17 September 1999

At Norwich became involved with Anglia television and became a popular broadcaster; served on the Press Council, the Independent Broadcasting Authority panel of Religious Advisers and the Broadcasting Standards Commission. Chairman, Church of England Committee for Communications 1979-86.

*Whale, John Hilary*; b. 1931, Winchester, Corpus Christi College Oxford, journalist: 1960 reporter for ITV, 1969 Sunday Times, 1984 head of religious programmes BBC Television; 1988 editor Church Times, retired 1995, d. 2008

*Whittingham, Walter Godfrey*: b. 1861; educated City of London School, Peterhouse, Cambridge; ordained 1886, curate St Margaret Leicester, St Thomas the Apostle, South Wigston; incumbencies: Weedon, Buckinghamshire, Knighton, Leicestershire, Glaston, Rutland; 1918 Archdeacon of Oakham; 1923 bishop of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich, retired 1940; d.1941. Carried opposition to 1928 BCP into Parliament

*Wickham, Edward Ralph, (Ted)* b. 1911; London University (external degree); St Stephen's House; ordained 1939; Chaplain at the Royal Ordnance factory at Swynnerton; 1944 industrial missionary diocese Sheffield, and 1951 Canon Residentiary at Sheffield Cathedral; 1959 Suffragan Bishop of Middleton, retired 1982. d. 1994

*Wicks, Allan*: b. 1923, St John's College, Leatherhead, Christ Church Oxon, assistant organist York 1947, organist Manchester 1954, Canterbury 1961, retired 1988, d. 2010. DMus Lambeth

*Wild, John Herbert Severn*: b.1904, Brasenose College, Oxford, Westcott House, ordained 1929, curate in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; 1933 chaplain-fellow University College Oxford, 1945 Master; 1951 Dean of Durham, retired 1974; d. 1992.

*Willebrands, Johannes Gerardus Maria*: priest 1934; Secretary, Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity 1960-69; President, Secretariat (later Pontifical Council) for Promoting Christian Unity 1969-89; Cardinal 1969; Archbishop of Utrecht 1975-83; died 2006.

*Williams, Harold Claude Noel ('Bill')*: b. 1914 Grahamstown; Graeme College, Hatfield College Durham, St Boniface College Warminster; ordained 1938; curate Weeke (Winchester), South Africa, 1943 Principal of St Matthew's College South Africa; 1950 vicar of Hyde (Winchester), 1954 vicar of Southampton, 1958 provost Coventry, retired 1981; d.1990

*Williams, Ronald Ralph*: b. 1906, Judd School Tonbridge, Gonville and Caius College Cambridge, Ridley Hall; ordained 1929, 1931 chaplain Ridley Hall, 1934 Staff of CMS, 1945 Principal St John's College Durham; 1953 bishop of Leicester, resigned 1979. d. 1979

*Wilson, Cecil Wilfred*: b. 1875, Norwich School, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Ridley Hall, ordained 1898, 1905 Vicar of St James's, Holloway, 1913 Vicar of Walcot, 1922 St Mary's, Swansea; 1928 vicar and Archdeacon of Bradford, first Provost of Bradford 1931; 1932 Bishop of Middleton until d. 1937.

A prominent Freemason, he had a "sympathetic understanding of the poor"

*Wilson, John Leonard*: b.1897 St John's College Leatherhead, Queen's College Oxford; Wycliffe Hall, ordained 1924, parochial appointments in England (except CMS Egypt 1928-9), 1938 dean Hong Kong, 1941 bishop of Singapore (prisoner Changi Camp 1943-45) 1949 dean Manchester, 1953 bishop of Birmingham, retired 1969. d. 1970 CMG 1946

*Wilson, Mark John Crichton*: b. 1946, St Paul's cathedral choir school, St John's College Leatherhead, Clare College Cambridge, Ridley Hall; ordained 1969, curacies, 1977 chaplain Epsom College, 1981 Vicar of Christ Church Epsom, 1996 archdeacon of Dorking, 2003 also warden St Peter's Convent Woking

*Winnington-Ingram, Arthur Foley*: KCVO, b. 1858, Marlborough, Keble College, Oxford; private tutor, 1881-84; ordained 1884 curate St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, 1884; 1885 private chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield, 1889 head of Oxford House Settlement, Bethnal Green, 1895 rector of Bethnal Green, 1897 canon of St Paul's Cathedral and bishop of Stepney 1897; 1901 bishop of London, resigned 1939; d. 1946

*Woods, Frank Theodore*: b 1874, Marlborough, Trinity College Cambridge, Ridley Hall; ordained 1897 curacies, 1901 Vicar St Jude East Brixton, 1903 St Paul Kersal, 1908 Vicar of Auckland, 1913 Vicar Bradford, 1916 bishop of Peterborough, 1923 Winchester until 1932, (death)

*Wright, Frank Sidney*: b. 1922, St Peter's College Oxford, Westcott House; ordained 1949 curate Bishop Wearmouth; 1953 Barnard Castle; 1955 Rector St Matthew Stretford; 1966 Residentiary Canon of Manchester 1966, 1974 leasehold canon; Extra-Mural Staff Tutor in Religious Studies University of Manchester 1974, adviser in religious broadcasting at Grenada Television; among his achievements at the latter was the pioneering of group of volunteers offering telephone counsel after programmes likely to disturb individuals. d.2003

*Wright, Kenyon Edward*: b. 1932, Glasgow University, Fitzwilliam College Cambridge, Wesley House Cambridge; 1967-71 in Methodist church in India; Church of England: ordained 1971; Coventry cathedral: director of Urban Ministry 1971-81; also director of international ministry and residentiary canon 1972; 1981 General Secretary Scottish Churches Council, 1990 director of Kiaros Trust, retired 1992

*Yeatman-Biggs, Huyshe Wolcott*: b. 1845; Winchester College, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, ordination preparation with Vaughan, ordained 1869, curate Salisbury, 1875 chaplain to bishop of Salisbury; 1877 vicar of Netherbury, 1879 Sydenham; 1891 Suffragan Bishop of Southwark, 1905 bishop of Worcester; 1918 first bishop of Coventry; died in office 1922  
the effigy of him was commissioned by Hamo Thornycroft was the only artefact to survive the bombing of the old Coventry Cathedral.

## Glossary

*Anglican-Roman International Commission.* See ODCC for short account. Important 'Agreed Statements' were on: 'Eucharistic Doctrine' (1971); 'Ministry and Ordination' (1973); 'Authority and the Church' (1976).

*Appointed Committee:* a committee appointed by the Church Assembly to advance a bill.

*Association of English Cathedrals:* 'Established in 1990 and authorised by ...the chapters...as their representative organisation'. It deals with governmental agencies, Synod, the Churches Main Committee. 'It monitors the negotiations resulting from the Bishops' Commission on cathedrals. In particular the process of establishing new draft constitutions and statutes for cathedrals...Membership...one representative of each admin chapter,' CoEYB 2000, 272.

*Athanasian Creed:* prescribed in the Prayer Book to be recited on a number of days during the year. During the 19 century its damnatory clauses began to make it offensive to liberal-minded clergy. See art ODCC.

*Award:* the title used at Lincoln for an episcopal charge to the chapter.

*Benedicite:* the alternative to the *Te Deum* in Morning Prayer (Book of Common Prayer): a celebration of creation (from 'The Song of the Three in the Apocrypha).

*CACTM: Central Advisory Council for Training for the Ministry:* the central body which shaped policy concerning the selection of candidates for ordination and training.

*Canon in residence:* the member of the chapter responsible for a specific period for attendance at the statutory services, sometimes for preaching, and perhaps for other duties or responsibilities. Times in residence were sometimes called periods of *close residence*.

*Cathedral:* the church where the official seat of the bishop of a diocese reposes. Before the foundation of *Parish Church* cathedrals in the nineteenth century there were two categories:

*Old Foundations:* cathedral of which in the Middle Ages the chapter consisted of canons. Sometimes called the *Secular* cathedrals. (Chichester; Exeter; Hereford; Lichfield; Lincoln; London; Salisbury; Wells, York)

*New Foundations:* either: a cathedral of which in the Middle Ages the chapter consisted of religious, then called *cathedral priories* (Canterbury; Carlisle; Durham; Ely; Norwich; Rochester; Winchester; Worcester ) of which the bishop was titular abbot and the effective head was the prior; also cathedrals newly founded in the 1540s from former monastic establishments (Bristol; Chester; Gloucester; Oxford; Peterborough).

Both in that decade needed statutes.

*Chancellor (cathedral):* one of the dignitaries of the Old Foundations, generally in precedence following the precentor. In the Middle Ages he was in charge of the cathedral school and library; in modern times he has sometimes been a scholar, and frequently involved in educational matters, possibly in the diocese.

*Chancellor (diocesan):* the senior law officer of the bishop of a diocese.

*Charge:* episcopal address following a visitation; at Lincoln called an Award.

*Christians in Europe,* founded by Nurser, it became a body-in-association of Christians Together in Britain and Ireland. It was founded 'in order to encourage Christians in Britain to reflect on the European Community. What difference will it make to the life of the British churches? What might the special historical experience of the British churches contribute to 'the construction of Europe'? Nurser in *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* (1993), 3:103-107

*Church Assembly*: the national representative body of the Church of England, set up by the *Enabling Act* (1919), with the bishops of the dioceses and representative clergy (the same as those representing each diocese if Convocation) and laity. It was not permitted to discuss doctrine or worship, which were reserved for the Convocations. Below the National Assembly were the *Diocesan Conferences* with Houses of bishops (including suffragans), and of all clergy and of representative laity. All superseded by the *General Synod* in 1970.

*Churching*: in the Book of Common Prayer 'The Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth Commonly Called The Churching of Women': its origins lie in the Jewish rite of purification (Leviticus 12. 6). The emphasis deriving from that origin has given rise to many superstitions. Recent revisions have endeavoured to remove that note and to stress the thanksgiving of the family, rather than of the mother only.

*Compline*: the last of the seven monastic day offices; said before retiring at night. It includes the *Nunc Dimittis*, and its substance was incorporated in the Prayer Book service of Evensong. The 1928 Prayer Book included a form of it for optional use.

*congé d'élire* see *Leave to Elect*

*Consultancy*: The Consultancy technique was to listen, and to guide groups to work towards their own solution rather than 'to tell them what to think.' (Everitt)

*Convocations*: see under proctors.

*Covenant for Unity*: a proposed mutual recognition of ministries between the Anglican, Methodist, and United Reformed Churches. It failed to achieve the necessary majorities in the Church of England Synod in 1982.

*Cure of souls*: the possession of a benefice, eg as rector or vicar; 'receive the cure of souls' is the legal form by which the bishop entrusts full spiritual responsibility for eg a parish to the incumbent at institution. Deans were admitted to the cure of souls; the formulas for admission to a residentiary canonry did not customarily include this commission.

*Diocesan Conference*: see above under Church Assembly.

*Dix* see *Four Action Shape*

*Ecclesiastical law Society*: Founded 1987; among its objects: 'to promote the study of Ecclesiastical law, through the education of office bearers and practitioners in the ecclesiastical courts...the assistance in matters of ecclesiastical law to the General Synod'. (CoEYB 2000, 287)

*English Use*: the application to the Book of Common Prayer of the ceremonial of the late medieval church in England; chiefly that of the Use of Salisbury, which by the fifteenth century was virtually all-pervasive. It provided a non-Roman, and some thought authentically English, ceremonial for Anglo-catholic worship: long flowing surplices rather than brief cottas; voluminous chasubles rather than 'fiddle back' vestments. It was later criticised as artificially distinguishing between late medieval English ceremonial and that of northern Europe more generally. More recently still some have argued that the work of Professor Eamon Duffy in *The Stripping of the Altars* has restored its validity. In cathedrals, it was especially influential at Dwelly's Liverpool and Duncan-Jones's Chichester.

*Four Action Shape*: the theory, developed by Dom Gregory Dix, Anglican Benedictine of Nashdom Abbey, that shape, rather than specific words, characterised the early Christian Eucharist. The 'shape' derived from and developed the actions of Jesus at the Last Supper: he took (the offertory), he blessed (the Eucharistic prayer), he broke (the fraction) he gave (distribution of holy communion). The theory has been very influential.

*General Approval* enabled a Measure in the Church Assembly to go an 'Appointed Committee' for detailed revision.

*Honorary canons*: after the act of 1840 a category of canons at the New Foundations with no stipend; generally conferred on diocesan worthies; connexions with the cathedral did not extend beyond the titular.

*Laudum*: the award or judgement, of William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln 1436-1449, in 1439, setting out to restrain the aggrandisement of his office by John Mackworth (dean 1412-51) and to halt the consequent conflicts with the chapter. Its provisions included the requirement that all who were admitted to office thereafter should observe and maintain it inviolably; it has been so administered at Lincoln since: eg: Fiennes: 'which...all of us here have also subscribed.'

*Lay-clerks; Lay-vicars*: men appointed to sing in the choir: (clerks: New Foundations; vicars: Old Foundations; (Song Men at York).

*Leave to elect*: the Crown's *cong  d' lire* authorised the chapter to elect a bishop; the name of the candidate whom they were to elect was stated in the accompanying letter missive. See art ODCC

*Living Agents*: the term use for the personnel of cathedrals in the 1931 Cathedrals' Measure.

*Measure*: the legislative enactment, equivalent of an Act of Parliament, emerging from the Church Assembly or the General Synod.

*Meissen Declaration*: (1988) an agreement between the Church of England and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany. The declaration was a joint commitment by the churches to strive for "the full visible unity of the body of Christ on earth". It identified many points of doctrinal agreement but noted differences concerning episcopal succession, which prevented a full interchangeability of ministries. See also Porvoo Agreement

*Members in Charge*: those steering a Measure through the Church Assembly.

*Minor Canons* clergy employed at New Foundation cathedrals to sing the services, and sometimes perform other duties. They formed a corporation, and held property and rights of freehold, until 1931. Thereafter, the employees of the chapter. *Priest vicars*: the corresponding clerics at the Old Foundations.

*Minor Corporations*: compendiously, the institutions of which Minor Canons and Priest-Vicars were members; corporations independent of the Chapter; their members generally with freehold tenure of office.

*New Foundation* see *cathedral*

*Non residentiary canons*: category in the Old Foundations corresponding to honorary canons in the New, though with closer links with the cathedral, eg an assigned annual preaching turn.

*North End*: The rubrics of the Prayer Book direct that 'The priest standing at the north side [sic] of the Table' should begin the Holy Communion. By 1911, to stand at the north end [sic] was decidedly an evangelical party-badge. See art 'North End' in ODCC.

*Old Foundation* see *cathedral*

*Ordinary jurisdiction*: 'In canon law, [the Ordinary is] an ecclesiastic in the exercise of the jurisdiction permanently and irremovably annexed to his office'. ODCC art 'Ordinary'. In practical

terms, an ecclesiastical superior - archbishop or bishop or archdeacon - with a court in which to hear cases which fall within his jurisdiction. Cripps, 36

*Parish church cathedral*: a parish church designated the cathedral of a diocese founded in the nineteenth or twentieth century.

*Porvoo Agreement* (1995) between the Church of England and the Anglican Churches of the British Isles, and the Lutheran Churches of Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Lithuania, Norway and Sweden commits the churches to continuing to grow together in common witness and service and provides for clergy ordained by bishops of the signatory churches to be invited to minister in a like capacity in the Church of England subject to current regulations. See also *Meissen Declaration*.

*Prebendary*: occupant of a prebend: a source of income endowing a stall in the Old Foundations: most became nominal after 1840.

*Precentor*: the cleric in a cathedral with special responsibility for music and worship. In the *Old Foundations*, a dignitary, generally second in capitular precedence to the Dean; his singing duties were frequently delegated to a priest-vicar, the *succentor*. In the *New Foundations* a Minor Canon; frequently in Parish Church Cathedrals the title was bestowed on a curate. In both the latter cases the ability to sing the service was generally a requirement.

*Priest Vicars*: see minor canons.

*Proctor in Convocation*: elected representatives of the clergy in the *Convocations*, the ancient assemblies of the clergy. In 1920 the proctors also became also the clerical house of the Church Assembly, and from 1969 of the General Synod. (see arts 'Proctors of the Clergy' and 'Convocations of Canterbury and York' ODCC)

*Quinque personae*: used by McClean in the Howe debates: the five members of the chapter of an Old Foundation who were dignitaries, with offices and precedence: Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Subdean. Few cathedrals had all five; four were more common.

*Roman Catholic model for cathedrals*: The bishop is head of the chapter; the day to day life of the cathedral in the hands of a priest called the Administrator [in recent years called the Provost] who is directly responsible to the bishop.

*Series 2; Series 3*: revisions by the Church of England Liturgical Commission, issued in 1967 and 1973 respectively, of the Holy Communion; the former was in a traditional, the latter in a contemporary, idiom.

*Stational worship*: worship in which there is a progression eg from west to east, symbolising the progression of Christian sacramental experience; cf Stations of the Cross; worship conducted at a series of points round a church, advancing through the passion story.

*Stewardship, Christian*: an appeal to members of congregations to express their Christian commitment by pledged monetary giving which was a realistic proportion of their income.

*Synod*: the General Synod of the Church of England came into existence in 1970, replacing the Church Assembly, and giving equivalence of status in all deliberations, including worship and doctrine, to the Houses of Clergy and Laity.

*Transitional Council*: the body which each cathedral must set up under the 1999 Measure to apply locally the changes in a new constitution and statutes.

*Treasurer*: the dignitary in the Old Foundations, in precedence following the precentor. Responsible in the Middle Ages for the cathedral's treasures and relics. Sometimes in modern times with some financial duties.

*Treasury*: Secure displays in cathedrals of historic plate, generally for long unused and insecure, from parish churches in the diocese. Foundation often assisted by the Goldsmiths Company.



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BP Bell Papers

CC Report of the Cathedrals' Commission 1927

CCC Chronicle of Convocation of Canterbury

*Church Music: In Tune with Heaven* {report, below]

CL The Chapter Letter (Lincoln)

CML *Cathedrals and Modern Life*

CN *Cathedral News* (Bradford)

Communion: The Communion in Coventry Cathedral

DL: Dean's Letter (Norwich)

Hardy 1990Lincoln Cathedral Visitation 1990

H&R *Heritage and Renewal*

LC Lambeth Conference

LDG Liverpool Diocesan Gazette

LP Lang Papers

LPL Lambeth Palace Library

ODCC Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church

OED Oxford English Dictionary

*Processions*: see Canterbury: *The Book of Processions [at] the Enthronement of Cosmo*

P&R Properties and Revenues Commission

RC Revision Committee

Salisbury D&C: A Response by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Salisbury to the Bishop's Charge of 14 October 1991

T&A [Bradford] *Telegraph and Argus*

TES Times Educational Supplement

YDG: [York] Diocesan Gazette

YJC York Journal of Convocation

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Lang papers vol 101

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From another source the writer has had access to  
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Oral evidence

For the later years of the twentieth century oral evidence was a valuable source. Interviews were conducted in preparation for the case-studies of a number of cathedrals, especially Bradford, Lincoln, Liverpool, and Portsmouth. For all of these, individuals who played a

significant part in the life of the cathedrals were approached. Such approaches were customarily by letter; they included a stamped and addressed envelope, an email address, and the invitation to telephone at the writer's expense. Accessibility through reference books, especially *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, made clerical contacts in general easier to make than lay. Not all interviews conducted have been used in the final form of the thesis, although the case-studies (appendix 5) drew on almost all. At Bradford, Canon KH Cook, canon residentiary, Sir James Hill, churchwarden, and the Very Reverend Brandon Jackson did not reply to the writer's approaches.

For the events which led to the Howe Commission, the commission itself, and the following synodical debates, oral evidence was once more useful, and similar approaches were made. The potential range - especially of speakers in the Synod - was very wide; it would have been impracticable to approach all, and it was again easier to reach clerical than lay persons. For the events leading up to the commission, when the focus was on the deans' and provosts' meetings, the writer approached a number of deans whom he knew to have been prominent in the deliberations of those meetings; Dr Carr and Dr Moses were especially helpful. For the immediate preparations for the Commission, Sir Philip Mawer then the Secretary-General of the General Synod, and Lord Carey were self-evidently important, and gave valuable help to the writer. Lord Habgood wrote interestingly; nothing in the thesis, however, depends expressly on anything he said, he has therefore not been included in the bibliography. For the Commission, the writer approached a number of members: it was clear that the help of the chairman, Lady Howe should be sought. Others to whom he spoke included the commission's legal consultant, Professor McClean, and Sir Philip Mawer, inevitably again a significant figure, and a number of deans: the Very Reverend Kenneth Riley and the Very Reverend Richard Lewis were in different ways particularly helpful. The Commission's historian, Dr Edward Norman, declined to assist the writer. (letter: 16 November 2006) One influential dean in the preliminaries to the commission and among its members, the Very Reverend Raymond Furnell, died in July 2006. Dr John Arnold, not a member of the Commission, but perhaps the most forceful critic of the course the reform took, was also especially helpful.