THE EDUCATION OF THE ANGLICAN CLERGY, 1830-1914

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph. D. at the University of Leicester

1982

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Preface

The Victorian Church of England experienced a revolution in its structure and organisation, a reorientation of its physical and economic resources, and a reinvigoration of its pastoral practices. It was as a result of these reforms, and the last in particular, that professional clerical education came into existence. In this examination both formal means (universities, theological and missionary colleges) and informal methods (clerical manuals and the literature of pastoral theology) of training will be considered in order to analyse and evaluate the nature and aims of professional theological education between 1830 and the first world war.

The Victorians' newly found concern with professional clerical training was of significance because such education affected, and was in turn affected by, the social, economic and intellectual composition of the Anglican clergy. The eighteenth-century priest was usually a graduate of the English or Irish universities, a gentleman (actual or aspiring) attracted to an essentially rural lifestyle and the status of a traditional profession. The only formal theological education available was limited to several series of voluntary university lectures introduced at the end of the century. Men vied for sparse clerical titles and curacies, and began their careers in what amounted to an apprenticeship system on a strictly informal basis. The curate's
acquisition of professional expertise and technical knowledge were therefore dependent on his willingness to study on his own, and on the competence, experience and disposition of his employer, the parish priest; there was no external monitoring of his performance other than the bishop's triennial visitations. The economic changes which began to occur at the end of the eighteenth century, culminating in the industrial revolution and rural migration to the cities, changed this situation, as will be discussed in the first chapter. The changing face of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century society caught the church structurally and psychologically unprepared. Presented with these changes, it was the considerable achievement of early-Victorian pastoral theologians to formulate and introduce clerical and pastoral ideals whereby standards of professional knowledge and conduct were postulated. The outcome of their concern was the establishment of theological colleges, where future clerics might learn pastoral skills and attitudes, and come under the influence of specialist teachers.

One of the main functions of the church was to provide a high proportion of Oxbridge graduates with employment, at least until the middle of the century. The ministry was one of the few traditional professions (the others were the armed services, law and medicine), and thus the study of clerical education is intrinsically
important to an understanding of nineteenth-century professional education as a whole. Previous work on the professionalisation of the clergy (which will be utilised extensively in the third chapter) has concentrated on the early and mid-Victorian periods, during which time the effects of the pastoral revival were first felt; this thesis will examine a variety of material from the early nineteenth century until the first World War in an attempt to illuminate and evaluate professional clerical education over an extended period. Professional training was a lively and vital issue in the mid and late-Victorian church, when it was becoming increasingly difficult to recruit clergymen from the universities and alternative venues for clerical education had acquired growing importance.

Victorian churchmen in general, and pastoral theologians in particular, placed great emphasis on the educational and therefore the social background of the clergy. Gentility of birth was generally equated with university graduation; hence Hurrell Froude's description of the principal criterion for ordination as the "gentleman-heresy" was both acid and accurate. The precepts of the gentleman-heresy were rooted in a nineteenth-century fear of the clergy's eighteenth-century professional practices and low social position, and in the cleriisy theory expressed in S. T. Coleridge's On the Constitution of the Church and State. According to Coleridge, it was the church's duty to provide graduate
to be distributed throughout the country, so as not to leave even the smallest integral part or division without a resident guide, guardian, and instructor; the objects and final intention of the whole order being these -- to preserve the stores, to guard the treasures, of past civilization, and thus to bind the present with the past;...

The clerisy, according to Coleridge, consisted of those men in orders at the universities and in the parishes, and parochial school masters from whose ranks the parochial clergy were to be recruited. Coleridge regarded the clergy of the established church as the natural repositories of the nation's intellectual and cultural heritage, and as the properly constituted defenders of British civilisation. Although Coleridge stated that the clerisy of 'the national church' was not of any particular denomination, he clearly had the Anglican clergy in mind. Such onerous responsibilities were echoed by Victorian pastoral theologians who emphasised the need to recruit educated gentlemen for ordination. However, during the late-Victorian period, when it became necessary for the first time in at least a hundred and fifty years to ordain

2. Ibid., pp. 52-53.
3. Ibid., p. 54.
4. Ibid., pp. 44, 50.
increasing numbers of nongraduates, the concept of leadership drawn from a socially restricted elite was challenged. Yet in spite of these difficulties, formal nongraduate clerical education was not able to overcome the social and intellectual disadvantages of its associations with the social dilution of the clergy.

Throughout the period under investigation the church preferred to recruit its clergymen from the ranks of public school and university-educated gentlemen. The first section of the second chapter, on the educational background of the clergy, will attempt to evaluate the effects of changing career choice and the expanding number of professions on the nature of clerical recruitment. In order to determine the career patterns of gentlemanly and upper middle class Victorian schoolboys, student records from twelve public schools, including the three most socially prominent institutions, will be examined in chapter 2. In the second section of that chapter, the educational background of nongraduate theological college students will be discussed, with particular reference to the problems concerning secular and theological curriculum design, discipline and social skills that clerical educators encountered with their nongentlemanly students.

Although clerical education became increasingly commonplace towards the end of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of Victorian clergymen received no formal professional training. Instead, they relied upon a variety of informal means for their clerical education,
including a broad range of pastoral handbook literature. Written by experienced pastors and designed to define and describe the nature of professional clerical endeavour, these handbooks provided both the experienced vicar and the newly ordained deacon with readily accessible advice and instruction concerning parochial work. In their literature pastoral theologians of all church parties (broad church, evangelical and Anglo Catholic) proposed new clerical and pastoral ideals that radically altered the early and mid-Victorian clergy's perception of their role, and helped them adjust to the changing nature of pastoral work. The importance of this body of handbook literature will be discussed in the third chapter.

The two chapters that follow this consideration of informal clerical education are concerned with the means of formal clerical education: the creation, development, organisation and administration of Victorian theological and missionary colleges. Evangelical, high church and Anglo Catholic institutions, most of which were early and mid-Victorian foundations, have been investigated in order to illuminate the nature of formal clerical education in the nineteenth-century church.

Missionary and theological colleges were socially and professionally innovative institutions whose principal function was spiritual, rather than academic, training. The early-Victorian emphasis on vocation and consecrated character as prerequisites for clerical careers occurred before the decline in graduate recruitment, although when
recruitment was affected during and after the 1860's it received increasing prominence. The primacy of consecrated character permitted, indeed encouraged, formally uneducated but spiritually minded men to consider entering the ministry. This tenet of the clerical ideal was reinforced by the organisational alterations brought about by the reforms of the 1830's and 1840's that increased the number of parishes available and made new demands on traditional recruitment policy. The result of this combination of ideology and practical necessity was the growth of graduate and particularly nongraduate facilities for formal clerical education. Colleges provided the requisite atmosphere of sanctity and physical isolation that were regarded as necessary in order to promote spiritual awareness and teach the lessons of personal holiness that would be needed during the pursuit of an active parochial life.

Of particular concern in theological colleges were the occupational and academic background of both students and teachers, student selection criteria and procedures, curricula, discipline, student finance, and post ordination training.

Formal theological education, especially for nongraduates, formed the church's first line of defence against the challenges posed by early Victorian structural reorganisation and subsequent reforms, nonconformity and secularisation. Thus the nature and aims of formal
professional training must be subjected to close examination in order that an assessment may be made concerning the relationship between the clerical ideal, clerical education and the church's role in Victorian society.

In the fifth chapter missionary education will be discussed in terms of the creation of a missionary ideal, and the problems associated with recruitment, missionary academic and social status, the absence of a specialised curriculum, and domestic missionary work will be examined.

While the majority of the clergy were university graduates throughout the period between 1830 and 1914, the ancient English and Irish universities were challenged by the new theological colleges as providers of theological education. Graduation as a criterion for ordination was prized by early and mid-Victorian churchmen for a number of reasons, as discussed previously: it represented a breadth of learning, and hence intellectual capacity, that was identified with a liberal education; the expense ensured that most students originated in the gentlemanly and upper middle classes from which the church wished to recruit its clergy; and the undergraduate curriculum, with its emphasis on classical languages, was considered to encourage theological scholarship while at the same time precluding any unacceptably professional specialisation that would detract from the student's position as a gentleman and a scholar. Gentlemanly status was identified with university attendance, and neither the
absence of any specific professional or academic preparation for the ministry nor longstanding doubts about theological orthodoxy or moral suitability as venues for clerical education were able to devalue the attraction of graduation as an ordination standard. With the introduction of undergraduate degrees in theology in the 1870's and the creation of professional nongraduate courses at the new Anglican universities, the nature of theological instruction in the universities changed. The sixth chapter will briefly examine university reform and the introduction of specialised academic courses in theology, the establishment of separate accommodation for prospective clerics at Oxford, and a professionalising alternative to theological college courses at the University of Durham.

Having examined clerical education in England, in chapter seven attention is focused on theological training in Victorian Canada. The bulk of professional clerical education in nineteenth-century Ontario was carried out in university colleges on a basis similar to that of Durham University. The discussion concerns the nature of formal and informal training in a colonial and missionary situation, and makes comparisons between English and Canadian theological colleges, and between the pastoral ideals of two highly influential Victorian bishops, one English and the other Canadian. The academic and social backgrounds of theological students are also examined and compared with those of the British clergy.
This study gives special emphasis to the pastoral training element within Anglican clerical education during the Victorian period. Pastoral education, the theory and application of practical parochial work, was chosen as the subject for enquiry because it was ultimately concerned with many aspects of social welfare, the area of most direct and immediate concern to both church attenders and other parishioners. It was also one of the few areas of Victorian church life whereupon most theologians, educators and practitioners (the clergy themselves) were in basic agreement, regardless of the divisiveness of church party affiliation. Pastoral theology was the most readily accessible area of the theological curriculum available to nonspecialists, and the one that clerical educators themselves found most difficult to evaluate in terms of student performance. This did not invalidate it in their eyes; instead, they sought ways and means of raising the status of practical pastoral studies within the examination structure in recognition of its inherent importance. The early-Victorian church underwent a pastoral revival at the same time as structural reforms were discussed and implemented, and it is necessary that clerical education, particularly pastoral training, should be examined in the light of this ongoing process of reform. Theological colleges were centres for supervised pastoral work, and although practical training was not initially a raison d'être for the creation of such institutions, it came to play an integral part in the
professional theological education of the Victorian clergy. Moreover, improved pastoral training was the object of several eminent mid and late Victorian educators and theologians, who offered graduates an opportunity for supervised study and practical work on an informal basis. In line with the tenets of the pastoral ideal that reclaimed the entire parish population, dissenters as well as Anglicans, as legitimate subjects for social and spiritual reconciliation, the cleric's most pressing need was assistance in managing parochial affairs and organising his resources of people, time and money. Churchmen came to realise, as early Victorian pastoral theologians had done, that even in a situation of declining secular responsibility, the clergy required skills of communication and management, skills that were too vital to the church's security and well being to remain ignored or undeveloped. Pastoral education, formal and informal, was regarded as the means of ensuring that the clergy were theologically knowledgeable and spiritually committed to putting the pastoral ideal into practice.

The eight British theological colleges, five missionary colleges and two universities that have been investigated were chosen because their records were accessible and reasonably internally consistent. It would have been interesting and beneficial to look at the many colleges whose records were not available, notably Cuddesdon in Oxfordshire, but this was not possible.
Locating appropriate archival material regarding theological education was, in fact, difficult; many theological colleges have been closed during the past twenty years, and their records have not survived. The colleges included in this study were generally early and mid-Victorian foundations, and provided training over an extended period of time, some until the present day. They are also excellent examples of the range of theological institutions created during the nineteenth century. The four Canadian theological colleges and universities examined offered clerical and theological education throughout the Victorian period, and provide a comprehensive picture of professional clerical training in nineteenth-century Ontario. There theological education was a response to the need for church defence, as was the case in Great Britain; professional training was derivative, however, only insofar as the curriculum of the first Anglican university in the province was designed on the lines of Oxford. The newly formulated pastoral ideal was certainly pervasive, in that its tenets were championed by the episcopacy in Victorian Ontario, and the solution to the missionary problems of church life in a vast and sparsely settled colony was perceived to be the wholehearted application of that ideal. Pastoral training was therefore considered to be as important for the colonial clergy as it was for the domestic ministry, although the organisation of the Anglican Church in Ontario and the social and educational background of the
clergy in Ontario were quite different from that in England. The organisation of missionary churches, particularly those outside the confines of the empire, necessarily made extraordinary demands on clerical educators and on the system of formal education. Missionary colleges were created in order to provide Anglican missionary societies with theologically trained workers, preferably ordinands, who would be capable of evangelical and organisational tasks in situations of great hardship. A missionary ideal was duly created and the missionary colleges functioned as the principal purveyors thereof.

The research for this thesis was undertaken in an attempt to discover the nature and aims of Anglican clerical education in the Victorian Church of England. In order to do so it focuses on the pre-professional, professional and post-professional theological education of the domestic and missionary clergy. A second major area of interest is the effect that formal and informal clerical education had on the changing conception of professional duty, pastoral practice and recruitment patterns of the church at home and abroad. The role of the Victorian cleric was undergoing revolutionary change in the nineteenth century, as the church became less politically powerful, less influential and more marginal in society. The role of professional education in helping the clergy define their role, and that of their church, in British and colonial society is a third area of
investigation. The final major research area concerns the social and educational background of the Victorian clergy, and the problems encountered when early and mid-Victorian standards were challenged in the late nineteenth century.
CHAPTER 1

The Predicament of the Victorian Church of England

In the first volume of his history of the Victorian Church of England Owen Chadwick poses three seminal questions concerning the nature and role of the established church during the nineteenth century;\(^1\) by examining the creation and objectives of Anglican professional clerical education, this thesis will attempt to provide at least a partial answer to the second of Chadwick's questions, namely "whether Christian churches, established or dissenting, could adjust themselves to industrial revolution, speedy growth of population, and empire overseas."\(^2\) Theological education, both informal and formal, was a characteristic and significant ecclesiastical response to the problems raised in Chadwick's question. It represented, in fact, the church's best single opportunity for internally controlled change; other major aspects of change, principally those concerned with organisational reform, were unashamedly political undertakings that required extra-ecclesiastical (i.e. parliamentary) initiative. Most early nineteenth-century churchmen, and certainly the majority of church


2. Loc. cit.
leaders, were inherently conservative thinkers who maintained that the landed interests who governed both church and state were not to be held publicly accountable for their deeds. Only the institution that was itself in need of reform had the detailed knowledge and understanding of its situation that would allow it to make and enforce decisions concerning the nature and extent of any forthcoming changes; institutions (of church and state) were therefore to be responsibly self-regulating, according to popular conservative thought. Theological education was an essentially conservative answer to the most important and pressing problems confronting the Victorian church, namely church defence, clerical accountability, working class alienation and the exercise of social control.

Any consideration of the plight of the Victorian church must take into account the heritage of clerical provision and social attitudes bestowed by eighteenth-century churchmen. The structure and functions of the nineteenth-century church were subjected to sporadic but intensive pressures that arose from eighteenth-century changes in population growth and distribution, the agricultural and industrial revolutions; furthermore, the eighteenth-century church was an institution plagued by problems that it occasionally did not recognise and could

2. Ibid., p. 179.
not in any case solve: overcrowding in the clerical profession, primitive communications systems, politicised prelates, clerical poverty, and administrative inefficiency that ultimately resulted in parochial neglect. Since pluralism was common, due to financial disparity among parishes (and dioceses), nonresidence was widespread. During the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first twenty years of the nineteenth century the abuse of nonresidence posed particular problems for both church and state. The church viewed itself, and was regarded in turn by the state, as a bulwark against the social disintegration experienced in France at the end of the eighteenth century; the object of the church's considerable efforts in the pre, early and mid-Victorian periods was towards social reconciliation in order to ensure that the British working class returned to the pre-industrial, pre-revolutionary status quo that was patently not in the best interests of the working classes.

When nonresidence was rife, as it was well into the early-Victorian period, the church was officially unrepresented in many parts of the country. Such a

situation was dangerous, for it threatened to unbalance
the squire-parson axis on which eighteenth-century
agrarian society revolved, and weakened the church's
control over the political and social affairs of its
parishes. The working classes could only be successfully
ameliorated if there was a cleric available to instruct
them in their social and spiritual duties, and clearly
nonresident parsons failed in this respect. The state
therefore was denied the political support it might have
expected from the church as a result of the practice of
nonresidence; in fragmented and agitated times it was
feared that this lapse, which was at root administrative
and financial, would prove politically costly.\(^1\) Also, by
the end of the eighteenth century Anglican evangelicals
were linking problems of social welfare to their
experience of personal salvation, and were preaching the
redemption of society by means of individual conversion.\(^2\)
Pastoral neglect threatened the reforming process; men
needed to be made aware of the necessity for and
possibility of salvation, and it was ominously clear that
if the established church was unwilling or unable to
provide the ministers to do so, then nonconformist
churches, unhampered by the organisational restrictions of
the establishment, would undertake the task.

Pastoral revival and reform were regarded as
necessary by churchmen, both the clergy and the laity, in
1. Ibid., p. 145.
order to bring about moral and social improvement initially on an individual basis, and then cumulatively throughout society. During the first half of the nineteenth century churchmen saw evidence of social disintegration around them.\(^1\) The eighteenth-century church had not kept pace with the demographic and industrial change experienced by increasing numbers of Britons; few rural immigrants to urban areas were in contact with the church in the city.\(^2\) The separation of church and people in an industrialised and urbanised situation proved unbreachable by the Victorian establishment, in spite of genuine and pervasive ecclesiastical reform. This reform was structural and organisational (and therefore, because it was achieved via parliament, highly political) as well as episcopal and clerical. It is a major aspect of clerical reform, theological education, that comes under investigation in the following chapters. Although the introduction of professional clerical training went some way towards reducing the distance between a gentlemanly clergy and their generally nongentlemanly parishioners by providing theological education for nongraduates, increasingly Victorian clerics found themselves ministering to the upper and middle classes only.\(^3\)

2. Ibid., p. 281.
3. Ibid., p. 275.
As will be discussed in the following chapter on clerical education, the gentlemanly nature of the nineteenth-century clergy represented another inheritance from the previous century. The clergy's identification with the landed and educated classes was strengthened by their participation as gentlemen in eighteenth-century social, political and economic life; they were often magistrates,¹ and were also deeply involved in the administration of the poor law, medical care and education. For professional reasons, during the nineteenth century the clergy wished to retain their status as gentlemen. The result of this desire was a gentleman-heresy that exacerbated the problem of working class alienation from the church. Regardless of the pastoral revival that attracted upper and middle class allegiance, and regardless of the creation of a pastoral ideal that emphasised the priest's role in social reconciliation,² the practical effect of single-class clerical recruitment was the clergy's inability to ameliorate the needs of a majority of the labouring classes.³ Owen Chadwick claims that the church and its clergy were persistently misunderstood by the working


classes;¹ a more persuasive argument, however, is presented by Edward Norman, who states that it was the clergy's "class identification, not their religious beliefs, ... [that] alienated the working population".² The separation and lack of understanding between the gentlemanly clergy preaching the need for continued inequality and the maintenance of the status quo to the working classes, and those classes' natural distaste for the message contained in such preaching, presented the Victorian church with an unresolvable problem. Nongraduate clerical education offered the best option available to the late Victorian church, as it attacked the problem of declining graduate recruitment and attempted to reduce the distance between clergy and people by training nongentlemen for the ministry.

In the early Victorian period church leaders had come to understand that some change was necessary in order to maintain the church's established status in an industrialised and urbanised state.³ Their aim, however, was to limit change so that it affected clerical status and privilege as little as possible. The church's dilemma was that its policy of social reconciliation was based on a

¹ Chadwick, The Victorian Church, part II (London, 1970), p. 266.
² Norman, op. cit., p. 165.
³ Soloway, op. cit., pp. 234, 316.
serious miscalculation regarding its ability to command attention from the working classes. The poor who were the objects of the church's efforts to induce social harmony understood long before the church did that the nature of the antagonism between the clergy and working people was so fundamental that it would not be reconciled by pastoral revival or reform.¹ The mid-century survey of institutional religious provision offered startling confirmation of the church's failure to appreciate urban working class culture or gain working class urban converts;² the author of the 1851 religious census, Horace Mann, suggested that the church required extra-parochial evangelists whose duty it would be to penetrate inner city slum parishes with the church's message.³ There was in fact a widely recognised need for domestic missionary work in the mid-Victorian period; some of the responses to this need are discussed in a later chapter.⁴ The church, however, remained outside the boundary of working class culture throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the late Victorian bishop of London recognised: "It is not that the Church of England has lost the great towns; it has never had them..."⁵

¹. Ibid., p. 233.
². Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX, 1852-3, p. 145.
⁴. See chapter 5.
problem of working class alienation was an unwanted and damaging legacy of eighteenth-century social and clerical practice; it was a problem that was so basic as to defy solution by each succeeding generation of Victorian churchmen. The church failed to overcome the deeply ingrained class biases of its clergy and of its working class parishioners.

The gap between the minister and those to whom he wished to minister was not narrowed by clerical adoption of laissez-faire, Christian socialist or later collectivist theories during the course of the nineteenth century. At the end of the eighteenth century radical attacks on the church demanded attention, with the result that two quite separate Anglican responses were forthcoming: evangelical social amelioration, and high church, high Tory 'natural religion' as justified by Paley.¹ Church leaders defined their duty to the state and the people in terms of general acceptance for the necessity of social inequality;² it was the pre-Victorian church's failure to convey this message efficiently via working class subordination that was severely criticised during the Victorian period.

Church leaders, both clerics and laymen, were members of the educated intelligentsia, and were aware of the social, political and economic theories and policies

1. W. Paley, 'The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy', in Works, IV, Book VI, p. 333, quoted in Norman, op. cit., p. 29. Paley was archdeacon of Carlisle, Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, Sub-dean of Lincoln Cathedral and tutor at Christ's College, Cambridge. His philosophical and theological work was highly regarded by contemporaries, and continued to be studied throughout the Victorian period.

2. Norman, op. cit., p. 36.
supported by the state. By the beginning of the Victorian period the church was led by men who believed in the accepted political wisdom of utilitarian, laissez-faire policies in both church and state.\textsuperscript{1} When change was legislated, as it was in the case of the poor law, church administration, sanitation and factory reform, this interference with the 'private' interests was regarded by Political Economists as exceptional, but necessary for humanitarian reasons.\textsuperscript{2} When these deviations from laissez-faire liberalism and individual competition relieved the social pressures of the 1840's sufficiently to avert the revolution that plagued European countries in 1848, some broad church clergymen became involved in a repudiation of laissez-faire policies. The Christian socialism of F. D. Maurice, J. M. Ludlow and Charles Kingsley emphasised the failure of the individualist ideals of Political Economy, and of the clergy's not inconsiderable early-Victorian efforts to bring the pastoral ideals of spiritual and social reconciliation into play.\textsuperscript{3} The socialism of Christian socialists was neither revolutionary nor realistic; rather, it was an idealised prescription for social relations that did not pose any threat to either church or state.\textsuperscript{4}

1. Ibid., pp. 136-137.
2. Ibid., p. 140.
4. Ibid., pp. 265, 266.
Although the church remained unable effectively to act as an agency of social reconciliation throughout the nineteenth century, its pastoral theologians continued to emphasise the vital necessity of the priest's activities in this area. Bishops and clergy alike became increasingly apprehensive about the growing divisions between the classes in late Victorian society, and came to exchange the dictates of laissez-faire economics for more collectivist solutions to the endemic social problems of an industrialised state. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the parish clergy were generally antipathetic towards organised labour movements, while some influential bishops were sympathetic to trade unionism. The gentlemanly nature of the clergy made their antagonism towards organised labour understandable; as the Christian socialist priest Llewelyn Davis remarked, "'Few will doubt that the Church of England greatly needs the help of divine grace to preserve it from an undue reverence for station and property.'" Regardless of their concern with social reconciliation and support for limited social change, the clergy's solutions to social

1. See chapter 3.
3. Ibid., p. 143.
6. Norman, op. cit., p. 239.
problems were not soundly based in practical experience, nor did they take into account the existence of working class cultural values. In short, the clergy and the bulk of working people were alienated from each other, and the clergy did not offer sufficiently practical answers to working class needs to allow them to break down the barriers between the classes. Anglican clergymen were not successful agents of social reconciliation because they were not, generally speaking, capable of learning from their social inferiors, and they attempted to impose inappropriate middle class solutions on working class problems. This was true in terms of formal clerical education as well as pastoral practice.

Pastoral and clerical reform were serious attempts to protect and justify the church's status as an establishment. As such, this reform represented a major plank in the platform of church defence that was erected by Victorian churchmen. Professional education was one element in this defence; just as diocesan reform was pursued in order to facilitate episcopal control over the parochial clergy, diocesan-based clerical education was designed to allow bishops to supervise and improve the spiritual and moral discipline of prospective clergymen. Pre-Victorian churchmen did not appreciate the need for pastoral reform in an industrialised and urbanised

1. Ibid., p. 162.
society, because the pattern of life in the new cities was utterly foreign to them. Victorian churchmen relied on inappropriate and unsuccessful methods (church building and eighteenth-century notions of social relations) in an attempt to restore the social balance and prove the church's usefulness at a time when the establishment was under political attack from without (dissent and secularism) and was experiencing internal strain caused by the theological divisiveness of party affiliation. Pastoral revitalisation was necessary if the church were to act as an agency of amelioration and retain those traditional privileges that had not already been mediated by the civil government. The intention of pastoral reform (elementary educational provision, domestic visitation, the institution of daily religious services, and management of various social welfare schemes) was to draw church and people more closely together in order to create an atmosphere wherein spiritual and social reconciliation would occur. Pastoral theologians constantly stressed the spiritual rather than the temporal aspects of the Victorian pastoral ideal that resulted from the need to bring church and people into contact, and it is certainly clear from an examination of nineteenth-century

1. Ibid., p. 234.
2. Ibid., p. 235.
4. See chapter 3.
pastoral literature that its motivation and intentions were spiritually rather than politically based. This does not invalidate the conclusion that parochial reform was undertaken for political ends;\(^1\) it does indicate, however, that great sensitivity is needed in assessing the nature and results of clerical work. The Victorian clergy were being asked to provide spiritual assistance to their parishes, and to live spiritually differentiated lives in order that they might justify the continued existence of an established church.

The church was in particular need of defence after the publication of the report of the 1851 census on religious provision. Thereafter it was impossible to maintain the fiction of the Church of England as a truly national religious institution; it certainly did not represent the religious views of the majority of the population, or even the majority of the churchgoing population.\(^2\) There was a basic and insurmountable cultural gap between the church's middle class standards and mores and those of the poor whom it attempted to reach. Walsham How, suffragan bishop of East London, asked late-Victorian churchmen "how the very self-same motives which in the East keep people from Church, in the


That the question was asked at all indicates the depth of misunderstanding between the classes.

The church was fundamentally a rural, pre-industrial institution that became aware of its vulnerability only after the social changes that had rendered it vulnerable also had made it difficult for the church to compensate for lost time. It was uncomfortable with the need to assume a role in urban life well into the mid-Victorian period, and retained a predominantly rural outlook and an inappropriate professional career structure for its clergy until the end of the Victorian period. It failed satisfactorily to resolve its problems regarding alienation, sacred and secular unaccountability, social control and self-defence during the nineteenth century. These issues all impinged on various aspects of professional clerical education, which represented the Victorian church's most creative and practical attempt to come to terms with the realities of pastoral reform. The following chapters are an account of the various aspects of this endeavour.


2. Soloway, op. cit., p. 446.
CHAPTER 2

Educational Background of the Victorian Clergy

Part I

Introduction

The early and mid-Victorian clerical ideal proposed that a man entering the Anglican priesthood should possess two basic requirements: a spiritually and morally elevated character and gentlemanly social status that was identified by university education. More than anything else, the church feared clerical social dilution. Owing to the belief that university education could be equated with gentlemanly status, the late-Victorian decline in the number of graduate clergymen and rise in the number of nongraduates who were trained in theological colleges caused discomfiture and posed a threat to clerical status. This concern with social dilution provides the basis for the following investigation of the educational background of the nineteenth-century clergy in order to examine the relationship between formal clerical education and the new Victorian pastoral and clerical ideals.

While the concept of consecrated character was of evangelical origin, it came to be accepted as the primary component of the new professional clerical ideal which


developed in the nineteenth century, the indispensable cornerstone upon which a successful and productive ministry was to be built. The formation of such a character, however, was not specifically related to what was considered to be the other necessary prerequisite for clerical success, gentlemanly status. Indeed, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, increasing numbers of ordinands came from nongentlemanly ranks, and by 1900 by church no longer attracted the high proportion of public school and university educated men that it had previously.

During the mid and late-Victorian periods formation of consecrated character was not considered to be dependent upon social class, but rather on divine inspiration, and middle and working class men might be recipients of this spiritual gift. Only the upper and upper middle classes, however, received the classical education that prepared them for the universities and ordination. It was therefore this educational background, not the clerical ideal, that effectively determined the social composition of the gentlemanly clergy in Victorian Britain until the last decade of the

nineteenth century, and continued to influence clerical recruitment and selection until the first world war.

As will be seen in part II, this interpretation of the relationship between gentility and educational provision allowed a flexible situation to exist in the late-Victorian church, a situation that was exploited by some nongentlemanly graduates seeking entry to a gentlemanly profession. This assumption about the correlation between particular modes of education and social status indicates that there was some social mobility with regard to clerical recruitment throughout the century, as the ranks of graduates included some middle class men, as distinct from upper and upper middle class students, thanks to the creation of modern universities and university colleges. In addition, the clerical definition of the constitution of a gentleman changed over time. The 'gentleman-heresy' expressed the early-Victorian idea that the gentlemanly classes alone could provide suitable clergymen for the national church. This belief was rooted in Coleridge's clerisy theory, whereby the clerys of the national religious establishment


were viewed as legitimate sources of social and moral control. Coleridge's vision of the clergy as guardians of culture and providers of moral education was designed to justify their privileged position in society, and to stress the need for a truly educated (as opposed to a merely instructed) class who were entrusted with those fundamental truths, which are the common ground-work of our civil and our religious duties, not less indispensable to a right view of our temporal concerns, than to a rational faith respecting our immortal well-being.

By the turn of the century pastoral theologians were distinguishing between gentlemen-priests and priests acting as gentlemen, the latter possessing gentlemanly attributes and attitudes without necessarily laying claim to gentlemanly origins. The public schools, and the popular literature associated with them, assisted in the transmission of gentlemanly standards of conduct to ordinands of less than gentlemanly rank. At the same time, however, increasing numbers of recruits were coming

2. Ibid., p. 49.
3. Ibid., p. 74.
4. Ibid., p. 43.
5. Ibid., p. 48.
to the late-Victorian church from educational backgrounds other than those of the public schools and universities.¹ Part II of this chapter will examine the records of several graduate and nongraduate theological colleges in order to identify the social and educational background of the professionally educated Victorian clergy.

The Gentleman-Heresy and Victorian Clerical Education

The essence of the gentleman-heresy, the belief in a unique and exclusive upper class suitability for clerical work, is expressed below by J. H. Blunt, a noted mid-Victorian high church pastoral theologian:

The clergy ought to be maintained still in that high social position which they have hitherto occupied, remembering that while none but 'gentlemen' in habit and feeling can ever be acceptable to the higher, the professional, and the best of the mercantile classes; so also, a man of refined taste and good social position carries far more influence for good with the lower classes than one destitute of those qualifications, if the energy and ability of the two are equal.

This view, however, did not go unchallenged. Richard Whately, an influential liberal churchman, former tutor of Oriel College and eventually archbishop of Dublin, expressed doubts about the possibility of successful communication between the educated clergy and their uneducated parishioners:

1. See tables 1 and 2.

... one who has but little intercourse except with some one class of persons, will be the less qualified as an instructor of other, very different classes.

Nevertheless, a gentlemanly education with its disciplined fine-tuning of the intellect was widely regarded as the best means of ensuring the existence of a learned and capable parish clergy throughout the Victorian period. The nongraduate clergyman was considered to be a pariah until the last decades of the nineteenth century when nongraduate theological college men gained increasing acceptance in a church that was experiencing an annual struggle to find sufficient numbers of ordinands. The 'literate' (the common term for nongraduate clergymen) was not likely to be a gentleman since he lacked that most obvious gentlemanly characteristic, a university education. Therefore, because he did not have a degree and did not conform to the church's official ordination standards, he often served in remote, poverty-stricken parishes from which the better-connected, better-educated, socially advantaged clergy shied away.

2. Particularly by broad churchmen; see remarks by Harry Jones and Henry Mackenzie in Heeney (1976), p. 31.
Certainly concern about changing recruitment standards (which amounted to a concern with the deeper question of social dilution) perplexed mid and late-Victorian churchmen.¹ Mid-Victorian clerical concern with this problem was exaggerated, although it did have a basis in reality;² it must be remembered, however, that the effect of adjustments in recruitment practices before 1860 was modest at best, and between 1860 and 1914 it can be seen that the overall proportion of university-educated clergymen remained relatively stable and high. Serious questions arise, therefore, with regard to the nature and extent of nongentlemanly, nongraduate recruitment in order to determine the nature of the church's concern with social dilution.

Late-Victorian concerns about the threat posed by social mobility were not allayed in a society where the distance between class interests was being broadened rather than breached. Rather ironically, one of the experiences shared by all classes was separation from the national church. This separation was physical (in terms of declining attendance), intellectual and psychological

1. Divergent opinions about the nature of the recruitment crisis were expressed in the Report of the Church Congress, 1861 (pp. 105-109), and in the Reports of 1862 (pp. 13-18), 1863 (pp. 67-79) and 1872 (p. 307).

2. There was increasing difficulty in recruiting graduate clergymen after the 1860's, as reflected in the material in the previous footnote; however, in 1861, of 1,118 ordinands 750 were Oxbridge graduates; Heeney (1973), p. 224.
(with regard to the effects of widespread secularisation and changes in attitude about the function of religion, the church and the clergy). ¹

It will be argued that one of the primary causes of the estrangement between church and people was the clerisy theory that engendered the gentleman-heresy. Despite its emphasis on the desirability of ministerial sympathy (a divinely inspired understanding of human nature)² the clerical ideal could not alleviate the irreconcilable tensions caused by the clergy's participation in secular political, social, legal and economic activity at the same time as it proclaimed the necessity for a morally and spiritually differentiated class of gentlemen-clerics.³ It must be argued that clerical alienation from the people was encouraged by insistence on what was, in spite of fears of dilution, largely single class recruitment until the end of the nineteenth century.

Educational background served to distinguish clergymen from the vast majority of the people of their parishes. Education, particularly in the public schools and ancient universities of early and mid-Victorian Britain, acted as a means of determining social rank as


well as fulfilling academic or vocational needs. The classical curriculum at school and university served as an effective line of demarcation between those who possessed gentlemanly standards of education and those who did not.\(^1\)

Thus the Victorian cleric who had studied Latin and Greek shared the inheritance of a liberal, nonvocational, preprofessional education that marked him very clearly as a man apart, whether he learned his classics at an exclusive public school or at the local grammar school. It was this common heritage of academic discipline that permitted men of varying social backgrounds to undertake a clerical career, because the classics were the basis of the university curriculum, and university education was identified with gentlemanly status. The Victorian pastoral ideal called for the clergy to be spiritually and intellectually capable, and since the latter of these requirements was based on scriptural knowledge in the original languages, the classically educated scholar was most likely to fulfill this tenet of the ideal.\(^2\)

The new standards of responsibility and activity that constituted a major part of the Victorian clerical ideal were not far removed from a public school ideology that

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stressed truthfulness, manliness and independence. The clerical emphasis on developing a capacity for independent thought and judgment, and a willingness to undertake responsibility and develop self-discipline were equally acceptable to the secular gentlemanly ethos of the public school. The transmission of standards between public schools and clergymen was facilitated by the large numbers of clerical schoolmasters in early Victorian schools. The Anglican clergy were intimately involved in pioneering new ideals of gentlemanly Christian behaviour in both church and school.

The process of Anglican religious revitalisation, particularly the evangelical and tractarian movements, had a marked effect on the public schools as well as on the church itself. Schools were usually staffed by clergymen until at least the middle of the nineteenth century, and they were far from immune to religious controversies and revivals. Public schools, in fact, were increasingly sensitive to religious influence. This revived interest in adherence to the tenets of Anglicanism among both public school educators and their students served as a measure of the social inroads made by evangelicalism. Religion had become sufficiently fashionable by the late 1820's to be openly practised in the best schools in the


There was considerable pressure exerted by some headmasters to encourage boys to embrace fully the Christian gentlemanly ideal while at school. At the same time as this early-Victorian emphasis on Christian manliness was taking place, the evangelical concept of the inherent sinfulness of all human behaviour was becoming popular. This stressed the moral necessity of a single standard of behaviour for Christians, and lent authority to headmasters' attempts to inculcate the particular brand of gentlemanly Christianity that involved the qualities of truthfulness, hard work and moral earnestness. Also the social composition of the pre-Victorian and early-Victorian public school was becoming more, rather than less, elitist because many clerical fathers were finding the price of fees and incidentals simply too much to bear, unless their sons could attend as day boys.

The stress on altruistic gentlemanly behaviour and an increasingly gentlemanly public school population combined to create an antipathy to middle and lower class lifestyles among these upper class boys. This attitude encouraged separation between the classes, and was

1. Ibid., p. 48.
2. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
in nineteenth-century pastoral literature that expressed deep-seated fears about social contamination from exposure to the lower classes in the course of daily parochial work.¹ Such fears and a dislike of the nongentlemanly classes strengthened the church's attachment to the gentleman-heresy and heightened resistance to early and mid-Victorian middle class attempts to embark on clerical careers. There was, for example, considerable difficulty in finding acceptance for nongraduate students from theological colleges until the late-Victorian period,² because theological colleges were professional institutions rather than aprofessional, gentlemanly bodies and by their nature they posed the threat of social dilution.

One of the most important elements of the gentleman-heresy was the identification of gentlemanly social position with upper class educational standards.³ V. A. Huber described the relationship between gentlemanliness and the universities:

It does not follow that the University Course was sufficient or essential to form the gentleman, but it was a decisive presumption in any man's favour, and as it were, his final stamp. A 'liberal

education', such as could scarcely be obtained, but at the Universities, was at all events, requisite for a perfect gentleman.

The clerical identification of gentlemanly status with university education was illustrated by J. H. Blunt in his popular handbook, Directorium Pastorale:

The social and educational position of the pastor is, in fact, a most important element in the pursuit and development of his proper work, and one by no means to be slighted. ... so should the time-honoured appellation of a 'scholar and a gentleman' still continue to be deserved by those who serve God in the ministry of the Church of England.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, this assumption about the relationship between public school education and the landed gentry was demonstrably true, although there were certain exceptions even amongst schools of the first order, for example Christ's Hospital and St. Paul's. The alliance between public and grammar schools and the two ancient universities was thought to guarantee the universities' unrivalled social status. Therefore, because the universities functioned to some extent as social arbiters, it was possible for monied scions of upper class families to regard the purpose of

their sojourn at Oxford or Cambridge in a distinctly unacademic way, especially previous to the administrative and curriculum reforms initiated after 1850. A liberal university education was nonprofessional, a pleasant interlude between the end of school days and the assumption of serious responsibilities on the land, in government or politics, at the bar, in the armed services, perhaps in medicine or business, or in the church. In contrast, by the late 1850's and early 1860's two-thirds of the undergraduates at Oxford and four-fifths of the undergraduates at Cambridge came from schools other than those investigated by the Clarendon Commission, and only a third of the boys who had attended these seven schools proceeded to university. It is clear that the ancient universities were drawing their students from a wider variety of sources than the 'great' public schools, although the extent to which the social status of the student body was changing is less clear. The number of scholarships available to poor students in the form of sizarships, bible clerkships and servitorships was declining throughout the nineteenth century, so fewer poor students would have had the opportunity for a gentlemanly


2. The Clarendon Commission investigated seven long-established public schools: Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylor's, Rugby and Shrewsbury.

education at Oxbridge.¹ This decline in lower class access to upper class education was reinforced by the actions of some early-Victorian headmasters, notably Arnold at Rugby and Butler of Shrewsbury, who attempted to exclude foundation scholars from their schools in order to insulate their gentlemanly pupils from contamination by middle class values.²

At the same time that poor scholars were being denied access to a public school education, however, those schools were educating the nongentlemanly sons of the upper middle classes. If the gentlemanly classes are defined as landowners, then the wealthy industrialists and entrepreneurs who could afford to educate their sons alongside boys from aristocratic, gentry and professional backgrounds would not necessarily be classified as gentlemen; however, the willingness to purchase a gentlemanly education for upper middle class sons indicated an interest in and appreciation of the social uses of education. If wealthy commercial fathers did not themselves belong to the landed gentry, they possessed the means to allow the generation after them to assimilate gentlemanly interests and outlooks.³ By the second

1. Archdall, op. cit., p. 11.
3. Bamford (1961), pp. 229-230 points out that most unlanded professional fathers (lawyers, doctors, bankers, architects, engineers, teachers, and civil servants) did not in fact possess the means to educate their sons as boarders in public schools in the first half of the nineteenth century.
generation of Old Boys, providing family fortunes remained stable, the social distinction between old and new gentry school boys would have been minimal, particularly if in the meantime their new wealth had bought the entrepreneurial father a rurally based, propertied lifestyle. The public school emphasis on a nonvocational, liberal arts curriculum prepared these upper and upper middle class boys for the eclectic modus vivendi of the Victorian gentry or for the gentlemanly amateurism of the universities and such status professional specialisations as were offered by the traditional professions.

Boys who attended the new public schools that were established in the nineteenth century were generally more likely to follow nontraditional career paths than their contemporaries at older schools. Schools were created to cater to the needs of special interest groups; Marlborough, founded in 1843, reduced the fees for sons of clergymen and became the single most popular school for clerical sons in the nineteenth century. Wellington, a project of Prince Albert's, reduced its fees for the sons of army officers in an attempt to raise educational

1. Philip Elliott, Sociology of the Professions (London, 1972), chapter 2. Status professionalism in the eighteenth century had been associated with people of high social status and liberal education.

2. See table 1.

3. See table 1, particularly the growth in the traditional career category among the five Clarendon schools compared to the other seven schools.

standards in the services. Fear of middle class alienation from the church led to the creation of the Woodard schools, islands of tractarian asceticism in a sea of theological hostility;\(^1\) the public school ethos of Christian manliness encouraged by the most influential Victorian headmaster, Thomas Arnold, discouraged widespread acceptance of tractarian religious exclusiveness and its ideal of ascetic intellectualism.\(^2\)

One of the most significant consequences of the early-Victorian religious revival in the public schools was the career possibilities made available to the clerical schoolmaster. No fewer than four Victorian archbishops of Canterbury were elevated to bishoprics after serving as headmasters in the great public schools: Longley from Eton, Tait and Temple from Rugby, and Benson from Wellington. A fifth archbishop, J. B. Sumner, while not a headmaster, had taught at Harrow. Numerous bishops rose from the ranks of schoolmasters and headmasters. Charles Wordsworth of Winchester became bishop of St. Andrews and his cousin Christopher, headmaster of Harrow between 1835 and 1844 during a particularly difficult period at that school, became bishop of Lincoln. James Prince Lee of King Edward VI school in Birmingham was the first bishop of Manchester. Samuel Butler, after a lengthy career at Shrewsbury School, became bishop of Lichfield, and B. F.

Westcott, a prominent late-Victorian bishop of Durham and renowned clerical educator, was a master at Harrow. Indeed, as has been suggested,¹ promotion from a headmastership to deaneries and the bench might well have been utilised as a method of removing unsuitable men from school environments. This system does not appear to have worked in reverse, in that poor episcopal administrators were not, it appears, placed in schools in an attempt to restrict the impact of their bureaucratic shortcomings. It is possible that the sensitivities of parents, many of whom were of superior social standing to the staff, discouraged any obvious move to appoint a man merely for the sake of ecclesiastical convenience. The growth of teaching as a profession distinct from any clerical dimension or association² also argued against the imposition of tried and failed clerics upon public school boys. As public school teaching grew in prestige and influence due to promotion prospects, and masters received greater financial remuneration, there would not have been any need to recruit palpably unsuitable clerical masters.

The alliance between the gentleman-heresy and public school education was reflected in the relationship between the education of clerical sons and the public schools. A clear picture of this relationship emerged at the end of the nineteenth century when one common explanation put

1. Ibid., p. 150.
2. Ibid., pp. 54-55.
forward for falling gentlemanly recruitment to the church was that stipends were no longer adequate to allow men to educate their sons at a public school. The implication of this argument was that gentlemen, meaning those who had a university education, could no longer afford clerical careers in the face of increasing competition from a wide range of new professions that offered better prospects for pay and promotion.

The Public Schools and Clerical Education

Analysis of twelve public schools during the period 1840 to 1900 (tables 1 and 4) reveals that the links between the church and these schools did weaken over time, both in terms of the proportion of students entering clerical careers and the decline in the proportion of clerical sons being educated in public schools. There were wide variations in the relationship between clerical families and individual schools. For example, the favourable financial terms for clerical sons at Marlborough resulted in its immediate popularity with clerical fathers; in 1843-44 76.1% of its students came from clerical families. At Eton, recognised as the most socially influential public school, *primum inter pares*,


2. Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Cheltenham, Charterhouse, Durham, Dulwich, Lancing, Giggleswick and Clifton.
only 6.9% of the boys in 1841 had fathers in the church. There were also changes in this relationship between church and school over time; at Rugby in 1840-1, 17.2% of the boys had clerical fathers, while sixty years later only 2.4% came from clerical families.

As if to emphasise the declining importance of the public schools as educators of the clerical sons, their role as educators of future clergymen came under attack during the nineteenth century. The identification of the clerical office with gentlemanly status that had prevailed since the eighteenth century was associated with the particular type of liberal education provided by the public schools and universities. Indeed, the church's ordination formulary required of prospective priests the educational background that the schools and universities offered. Yet by the end of the nineteenth century this special relationship between the church and public schools no longer existed. The nature of this relationship in the schools listed in tables 1 and 4 therefore requires examination.

Table 1 illustrates that at no time during the period under investigation did any school send more than 25% of its students into clerical careers, while in every case

1. See table 1.
the attraction of other than traditional professions proved greater than the church to upper and upper middle class boys. The most serious and consistent rival for gentlemanly recruitment from the traditional professions was the armed services; in other words, the nineteenth-century church always had to compete for public school gentlemen with other traditional as well as nontraditional occupations. Moreover, it was not particularly successful in recruiting a large proportion of these men, even in the early-Victorian period. The appeal of other professions, and indeed that of following no profession other than land ownership, was always stronger among public school boys than the appeal of a clerical career. Yet in 1800, more than half of those graduating from Oxbridge entered the church, while even in 1874 fully thirty-five per cent of Oxbridge graduates still did so.\(^1\) Clearly, not all university students were products of the public schools, and many privately educated and grammar school graduates entered the clerical profession.\(^2\)

The transmission of standards of behaviour and taste between the clergy and the public schools was facilitated by the presence of a high proportion of clerical masters in schools until the late-Victorian period.\(^3\) The public

\begin{enumerate}
\item See table 6 regarding the educational background of theological college students.
\item Bamford (1967), pp. 54-55.
\end{enumerate}
schools acted as communicators of gentlemanly values, and in so doing nurtured distrust of nongentlemanly values in an attempt to reinforce their students' social superiority at a time when the upper classes and their values were coming under virulent attack. This wariness of middle class values was widespread in early and mid-Victorian clerical circles.\(^1\) The tension between sympathy with individuals and clerical distrust of the middle and working classes was not resolved by a pastoral ideal that stressed the priest's role as spiritual and social conciliator.\(^2\) The public schools' policy of class segregation exacerbated already existing social antagonisms and public school elitism left the students of these schools indisposed towards efforts at bridging the social gap between the classes;\(^3\) while in the public schools examined only a minority of boys followed clerical careers, the influence wielded by public school men in the church was enormous,\(^4\) particularly with regard to the promotion prospects and alternative career structure that school teaching provided.

1. Ibid., p. 49. Also, see E. Monro's plea for clerical recognition of alternative cultures in *Parochial Work* (London, 1851), p. 240.
The primacy of spiritual motivation for entering the ministry was also emphasised by pastoral theologians.¹ This was done with two goals in mind: first, because the vows undertaken at ordination were generally held to be indelible,² it was necessary to ensure that prospective clergymen had the spiritual and emotional strength to make such a permanent commitment. The second reason was concerned with social dilution. In view of the fact that the clergy were largely graduates, drawn from the gentlemanly and upper middle classes that could afford a university education, the clerical profession was attractive to nongentlemen.³ This attraction will be discussed at some length in the next section of this chapter; it is possible at this point, however, to say that the emphasis on purity of spiritual motivation was designed to discourage middle class social mobility by a profession that was increasingly insecure in its post-industrial, urban persona.⁴

Public schools were expected to fill a variety of needs. The 'best' schools, for instance those investigated by the Clarendon Commission, isolated the gentlemanly classes (and those who could afford to ally


themselves with gentlemanly interests and pursuits) from lower class contamination. Alternatively, public schools provided an avenue for social mobility by making a standard classical curriculum available, thereby opening traditional professional career paths to a wider range of applicants than just the landed gentry. Some public schools (for example, the Woodard schools) were designed to ameliorate class differences and prevent middle class alienation from the influence of church and clergy. All public schools offered a classically based curriculum that qualified their students for entry into the realms of higher education, to the respectable professions associated with the administration of both church and state, or for the entirely nonprofessional world of the landed gentry.¹ Significant, it was a public school-influenced ideal of loyalty, discretion, honour and earnestness that gradually replaced the social tenet of the gentleman-heresy for the late-Victorian clergy.

The Pre-professional Educational Background of the Victorian Clergy

It is quite clear that the tradition of the poor clergy had not been obliterated by the eighteenth-century enrichissement of enclosure or mediated by the nineteenth-century determination to achieve social cohesion by means of a gentlemanly clergy. While the fortunes of many clergymen were doubtless improved during the latter half

¹ Morgan, op. cit., p. 25.
of the eighteenth century, there continued to exist a considerable body of poor curates whose social origins and intellectual and theological attainments made them distinct from their wealthier, educated colleagues. Taking into account early-Victorian bishops' lax examination standards,¹ and considering that in the decade 1834-43 only eighty-six per cent of the deacons ordained were university graduates (from Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin)² the existence of the literate reflects a longstanding practice of nongraduate recruitment. Indeed, the vehemence with which the gentlemanly clerical ideal was propounded from the beginning of the Victorian period suggests that the literate was a known quantity, to be elevated, educated and moulded in the pursuit of a new clerical ideal.³ The problem of nongraduate recruitment was aggravated by the fact that the rationalisation of clerical incomes undertaken by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from the early 1840's onwards was a gradual process, for the abuses that plagued the early-Victorian church took time to put right. The church's financial problems were endemic, and it became increasingly difficult to provide new ordinands


with salaries that were fit for gentlemen.\textsuperscript{1} Thus the tradition of a nongraduate clergy had to be maintained from necessity rather than choice. Furthermore, after declining gradually between the years 1860 and 1910, the proportion of literates began to rise thereafter. Yet of the men ordained in England between 1872 and 1913, only 2.9\% were literates.\textsuperscript{2}

The recommendations of the report of a committee on the supply and training of ordination candidates presented to the Lambeth Conference in 1908 reiterated Victorian concerns regarding the need for new recruitment policies in order to meet the church's manpower requirements. Such policies, it argued, needed to be centralised and rationalised and literate recruitment, while not preferred, was no longer actively discouraged. The church was "... to discover men with vocations from God wherever they may be...",\textsuperscript{3} the report stated, adding that:

\begin{quote}
We recognise that there are many men who do not reach the educational standard outlined in this Report who, possessed of... spiritual qualifications, would do great things in certain portions of the church for the furtherance of the Gospel, and be channels of great blessing.
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Heeney (1976), p. 28.
\item \textsuperscript{2} The Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1914, p. 519.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Davidson, op.cit., p. 360.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Loc. cit.
\end{itemize}
Probably the slow rise in the number of literates in the years after the first world war bears some relation to newly found official tolerance for their presence, in addition to declining interest in clerical careers among university graduates.

There was, however, an important role for the gentleman-priest to play, because he alone was thought to possess the combination of social status, familiarity with established administrative procedures, individual wealth, educational background, personal qualities and experience of the world that his parishioners lacked.¹ He was a man in the world, although not strictly of the world.² Public schools and universities might not be able to provide the prospective clergymen with the elements of spiritual and moral elevation that separated him from the layman, but they could provide an atmosphere in which the cultivation of gentlemanly social, cultural and academic attributes would be encouraged.³ Thus public schools and the universities were valued, particularly by broad churchmen,⁴ for their role in the creation of the gentlemanly element in gentlemen-priests. Evangelicals and Anglo Catholics generally distrusted the worldliness

of secularised educational institutions and came to prefer the physical separation of ordinands at theological colleges, where they were removed from the unhealthy temporal and sectarian influences that future clergymen could encounter in the universities.¹

The practice of identifying the clergy with the ranks of the university-educated and hence with the upper and upper middle classes persisted throughout the nineteenth century, and with good reason. Table 2 examines the academic background of the mid and late-Victorian clergy. It is clear that during the period 1860 to 1914 the majority of clergymen had attended university. The single most popular qualification for the ministry was the MA degree. It was a symbol of the gentlemanly non-professional attitude towards education, and since it was granted on the basis of length of residence in college rather than for any advanced or distinctive academic work, it must be regarded as a mark of upper class privilege. Poor students took their first degrees and then proceeded either to employment or college fellowships and could not afford the luxury of a year's unemployment in Oxford or Cambridge while waiting for an MA. The specialist degrees in divinity (BD and DD) that might have been expected to attract clerical support failed to do so, principally because there was little prestige in, and less

professional impetus for, the awarding of these degrees.¹ A candidate for an Oxford BD had to have been ordained, and to have read two dissertations before the regius professor of divinity. In order to qualify for a doctorate in divinity, the candidate had to have been ordained and have been an MA for fifteen years. At Cambridge the bachelor's degree in divinity was awarded seven years after receipt of the MA, and the doctorate was available for those who had been in possession of a BD for more than five years.² Postgraduate divinity degrees therefore did not represent a professionalising component of clerical education.

The other categories in table 2 that were used as a means of identifying university-educated clergymen dealt with the alternatives to the usual degree structure. Those who failed to complete a degree, usually as a result of financial difficulties, were classified under the nongraduates section. The 'others' category contains those who took specialised degrees or diplomas, such as the Associate diploma in divinity at King's College, London (the AKC); degrees in law (LLB and LLD); degrees in science and medicine, the B. Sci. (London) and the B. Med. (Oxford); the bachelor's degree in music; and the Ph. D. from European universities. Finally, the 'both'

¹ Heeney (1976), p. 103 discusses the reasons for lack of graduate interest in theological colleges.
classification comprises men who had attended both university and theological college. The 'literate' category in this table, however, includes only men who had no known university or theological college education, rather than just nongraduate clergymen.

The perception of a generally declining educational standard amongst the nineteenth-century clergy was yet another reflection of the church's concern with the threat of social dilution. This concern was at the heart of some major contradictions inherent in the Victorian clerical ideal. While it was possible for some mid-Victorian churchmen to recognise that the middle classes might include members who possessed the necessary spiritual and moral attributes of a consecrated character, it proved difficult to overcome the objection to middle class recruitment that was presented by the gentleman-heresy, because this objection was the result of the clergy's desire to maintain its professional status. When J. H. Blunt wrote that "wealth presupposes responsibility, and, to some extent, worth", he was stating the social argument for the maintenance of the gentleman-heresy. He was appealing to the tradition of upper class leadership, to the Coleridgean tradition of the clergy as educators and

almsgivers to the poor, and to the more recent heritage of a gentlemanly clergy who were to some degree worthy of the dignity of their office because they had gentlemanly social status.¹

It was this social argument, rather than any religious principle, that rendered middle class spiritual motivation suspect and made only gentlemanly and upper middle class spirituality acceptable to sustain what was supposedly a national religious establishment.² There was little common ground between class interests; the gentlemanly classes distrusted the others' moral worth and suspected those from nongentlemanly ranks who wished to become clerics of merely aspiring to a station in life for which they were socially and morally unfit.³ It is in this context that the controversy over nongraduate theological education must be viewed.

Such colleges had been the cause of considerable disagreement. To the end of the Victorian period the church maintained that theological education was properly the responsibility of the universities.⁴ The liberal, preprofessional education available there fulfilled the

1. Halevy, quoted in Elliott, op. cit., p. 29.
2. Russell, op. cit., p. 243, makes the point that the Victorian notion of gentility had undergone change, and that the upper middle classes considered themselves to be 'gentlemanly'.
requirement that the priest, like any other Victorian professional man,¹ be an educated, cultured man. Theological colleges on the other hand offered a specific, professional training that was designed to prepare men to undertake positions in the parochial ministry, and as such colleges threatened the gentleman-heresy, for gentlemen were university-educated by definition. Theological colleges did not offer either the intellectual or social guarantees that the universities did; rather, they afforded an opportunity for prospective clergymen to withdraw from the day-to-day trivialities and temptations of secular life, and allowed them to concentrate on cultivating their devotional and moral lives.² The advantages of a professionally trained clergy had to be weighed against the disadvantages of what was seen to be a socially, academically and spiritually inferior brand of clergyman.³ As supplies of gentlemanly clergy were contracting, especially after 1880, the number of nongraduate theological college ordinands were expanding, as table 2 indicates. The social and educational backgrounds of nongraduate theological college students are examined in part II.

While there was not in theory an exclusive connection between the possession of consecrated character and the gentleman-heresy in late-Victorian times, the Victorian clerical ideal, particularly in its concern with the clergy's role in social amelioration, made nongentlemanly recruitment a thorny problem. The much valued concept of ministerial sympathy required clerical ability to transcend class barriers. The distance between classes in Victorian society effectively rendered gentlemen-priests as far removed from their middle class parishioners as they were from those of the working and pauperised classes,¹ while the demand for an educated clergy excluded most middle class and virtually all working class men from clerical careers until the end of the nineteenth century. The continued presence of literates indicates, however, that the ideal situation of a university-educated clergy was not realised, but that nongraduate clergymen were the exception to clerical recruitment patterns rather than the rule. It must be argued that the difficulties experienced by upper and upper middle class clergy in trying to deal with parishioners of other social classes presented an immovable obstacle to ministerial effectiveness.² The clerical agency did not generally act as a lynchpin

¹ Monro (1851), p. 231 claimed that the clergy were alienated from "all" classes. Henry Mackenzie thought the clergy were in particular danger of alienating the middle classes by directing clerical attention almost exclusively to social welfare problems (op. cit., pp. 105-106).

² Heeney (1976), p. 27.
binding the various levels of society together in any meaningful way as both Coleridge and Arnold would have desired, in spite of the efforts of an active pastoral ministry.

This situation was not, of course, restricted to only the Anglican church and clergy, but affected every mid and late-Victorian denomination.\(^1\) Alan Gilbert has identified two forces fostering the growth of secularisation: the acceptance of ""the scientific spirit""\(^2\) that undermined the need for a religious world view, and the materialistic effects of the industrial revolution that removed some of the basic physical and psychological uncertainties traditionally ameliorated by religious institutions.\(^3\)

This "crisis of plausibility"\(^4\) existed alongside a rising rate of growth in Anglican religious practice in the nineteenth century that resulted from widespread middle class attendance, while equally widespread working class separation from the church and its practices was experienced.\(^5\)

The Professionalisation of the Clergy

The requirements of the mid-Victorian pastoral ideal emphasised the creation of a morally and academically

2. Ibid., p. 185.
3. Ibid., p. 186.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., pp. 28, 187.
superior clergy who lent their inherent social status to the clerical office they occupied,\textsuperscript{1} thereby doubling the distance between themselves and their clientele. Thus the clergy were removed from the mass of their parishioners on both spiritual and social counts. Yet priests were required to be actively involved in parochial life, and to work long and hard for the spiritual, moral and physical well-being of the people under their care.\textsuperscript{2} The adoption of such an essentially ungentlemanly attitude towards the regularity of employment reflected the new spirit of professionalism that affected the early and mid-Victorian church, and it may in fact help to account for declining gentlemanly interest in a clerical career that was making distinctly professional demands on the priest, as gentlemen by definition did not need to work to earn their livings.\textsuperscript{3} It does seem contradictory to have demanded that the cleric who in the immediate pre-Victorian past lived as virtually a secular gentleman, farming his glebe like any other landowner, riding with the hunt and attending parties and balls, serving as a magistrate and justice of the peace, and educating his sons at public school and university, should be the chosen vehicle of pastoral reform. It seems possible, therefore, that the new highly active clerical ideal might itself have been as

1. Halevy, op. cit., p. 29.


effective an agent of estrangement from the ministry for mid-Victorian gentlemen as were clerical poverty, intellectual doubt, and declining professional prestige. However, mid-Victorian pastoral theologians made it clear that the gentlemanly minister was to remain, while his role and activities were to be more exclusively theological than those of his eighteenth-century predecessor.¹

It is probable that the extent of the attraction of new professional, commercial, technical and entrepreneurial careers for the gentlemanly classes was exaggerated by a late-Victorian church that was losing its dominance over the graduate recruitment market. A study of two thousand Oxford graduates who matriculated between 1830 and 1886 (table 3) shows the church to have been the largest single graduate employer. The large proportion of the entries labelled 'no information' and the absence of any classification for the new professions, however, combine to make a true assessment of the situation difficult. The Oxford University register² did not recognise any but traditional status professional occupations in its classification system. It is therefore impossible to gauge accurately the attraction offered by an expanding number of alternative career paths for Oxford graduates on the basis of this data.


Some light is shed upon upper class career choice in an examination of the 'nontraditional professions and unknown' category in table 1. Table 4 expands this examination, and shows the results of an extended investigation of twenty-eight traditional and nontraditional careers followed by public school boys who were in table 1. Again, there was little or no information about the majority of pupils throughout the period 1840 to 1900. It appears likely that this lack of data with respect to future careers camouflaged the presence of many members of nonprofessional gentry classes.\(^1\) There are numerous cases where the student's school and college achievements are cited, followed by his current address; this would often be in a fashionable town square or a country estate, or both. Also included in the 'insufficient information' category are those who had died at school or university, or before completing professional qualifications.

Eton demonstrates its particularly close associations with the landed classes. The most consistently popular occupations of its Old Boys, aside from the traditional professions described in table 1, were those of justice of the peace or high sheriff, i.e. property-based, rural, nonprofessional, part-time appointments.\(^2\) No other school studied followed this pattern. From the limited amount of

2. See tables 1 and 4.
information available in the school registers it seems that an explosion in career choice took place in the 1860's, with a peak number of nontraditional careers attracting boys who were in school in the first half of the 1880's. It is the careers in business and commerce (in table 4, comprising the merchant, banking, insurance, commerce, real estate and accountancy categories) that offered the greatest appeal as a group, particularly after 1860. Medicine grew in popularity, though its progress was erratic. Engineering was an example of a growth industry, particularly among the non-Clarendon schools in the sample. The low proportion of teachers and faculty members is doubtlessly misleading; for reasons of clarity each boy was assigned only one career, so any ordained teachers and professors were included in the 'clerics' classification in table 1. This pattern of multiple careers, often army service followed by a return to the family home and a stint as a JP or in the militia, was common and caused classification problems because it was impossible to know how long the subjects stayed in any one occupation. In general, therefore, the first career stated for each boy was used in the tabulation.

The pattern of entry into a large variety of new careers in the 1880's coincided with a decrease in the proportion of boys entering traditional careers; that is, more public school boys were embarking upon a greater number of new careers in the 1880's than ever before. The overall number of public school boys entering
nontraditional careers became significant in the 1860's, when the church began to perceive that middle class alienation and nongraduate recruitment were threatening the gentleman-heresy. Because the figures in tables 1 and 4 hide an unknown proportion of landed gentry as discussed previously, a clear picture of the nature of gentlemanly career paths does not emerge from this examination of public school registers. If the church's arguments that public school men were being lured away from ordination by new career opportunities in the City were correct, then there should not have been a decline in the percentage of boys in the 'nontraditional and others' category in table 1 at such schools as Eton, Harrow and Rugby over the period 1840-95. Boys at those schools were obviously still entering traditional careers at a higher rate than new careers. It is true, however, that the other schools studied did show increases in nontraditional careers during this time, but it would be difficult to support the conclusion that the majority of public school educated boys entered nontraditional careers until the turn of the century. The competition for recruits that the church was experiencing in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century came not only from recently respectable occupations, but also from traditional careers. The armed services, for example, attracted an ever-increasing proportion of boys throughout

the period, particularly from the great public schools. It was this combination of old and new career alternatives that threatened the supply of ordination candidates. Heretofore the church had depended upon the social status and financial independence of a gentlemanly clergy to supplement the conditions of employment it offered,¹ and its inability to continue in this manner made more demands on already hard-pressed resources. It was the battle for these wealthy, self-sufficient gentlemen who were so necessary to its traditional method of working that the church was losing in the face of increased professional opportunities.² Neither the gentleman-heresy nor the late-Victorian redefinition of the clerical gentleman could offer much assistance with the persistent problems of remuneration and career prospects that affected the clergy. By the end of the nineteenth century the church could no longer compete on equal terms for gentlemanly recruits with other professions that offered career progression and salaries linked to technical competence and professional expertise.³

The concept of gentlemen as an essentially nonprofessional class whose interests were necessarily wide-ranging and diversified contributed to their

2. Davidson, op. cit., p. 360.
attraction to a liberal education.\textsuperscript{1} This attachment to the value of amateurism is displayed in an analysis of degree specialisations among late-Victorian clergymen in table 5. Oxford and Cambridge introduced undergraduate theology courses in the 1870's, while Durham University and King's College, London had offered courses for the licentiate in theology and the Associateship in divinity respectively since the early-Victorian period. Classics, however, remained the single most popular undergraduate degree subject amongst university-educated clergymen during the period 1865 to 1930. Nevertheless, by 1895 theology was attracting an appreciable percentage of future clergymen -- slightly more than a fifth of the men who gave particulars of their university careers were graduates in theology, while another 15.2\% had done theology for the AKC. Of the traditional undergraduate specialisations other than classics, mathematics and history were the most consistently popular with the late-Victorian clergy. However, at no time did a majority of clergymen read theology for their degrees, although increasing numbers of graduates had attended theological colleges by 1930 (nearly thirty per cent; see table 2). It must also be emphasised that university theological courses were primarily theoretical, academic programmes not designed to provide professional education and practical pastoral experience, unlike theological colleges. University education was a professional, and

\textsuperscript{1} Morgan, op. cit., p. 25.
assumed that a common process of mental discipline would provide the skills necessary in a future career choice. One of the arguments made against the establishment of nongraduate theological colleges was that early professional specialisation would create a body of narrow-minded sectarian clergymen who did not possess the broad scope of higher learning necessary to instruct and lead their parishioners.¹ This argument, a logical extension of Coleridgean clerisy theory, was consistently employed throughout the Victorian period in order to defend single-standard (graduate) recruitment. Most late-Victorian graduate clergymen followed a classically based curriculum that had been the traditional preparation for all professional careers during the nineteenth century. Where they differed from their predecessors was in their access to formal professional training in theological colleges.

Preprofessional Clerical Education and the Clerical Ideal

The church certainly experienced a proportionate decline in the number of public school and university graduate recruits after the middle of the nineteenth century. The growth in public school and university recruitment in a few high-profile career alternatives, such as engineering and commerce, was offered as evidence of a more general attraction to new careers. Yet declining

clerical recruitment from the ranks of the public schools and universities was more likely to have been related to financial difficulties in the church's career structure and the effects of urbanisation and secularisation that devalued the clergymen's position in society, rather than merely a result of the attraction of new careers; other traditional careers such as the army did not suffer in the same way as did the church.

A further problem was created by the church's recruitment policy. The criteria employed to decide who were the 'best' men were inappropriate. By retaining the eighteenth-century ideal of a gentleman-clergy, and by reinforcing this by means of a persistent identification of the clergy with the intellectual and moral elite, the early and mid-Victorian church deliberately restricted its definition of suitable recruits to the university-educated and determined that the 'best' should be evaluated in terms of social status and academic achievement. The Victorian professional pastoral ideal was based upon these personal clerical standards. Difficulties occurred as a result of the tensions inherent in a clerical ideal that consisted of an uneasy alliance between gentlemanly assumptions about the nature and workings of nineteenth-century society and demands for spiritual and moral attainments that transcended class differences. This gentlemanly ideal was particularly vulnerable in light of declining clerical recruitment in the late-Victorian
declining clerical recruitment in the late-Victorian period. Indeed, the church became increasingly reliant upon middle class ordinands who had not been educated at the ancient universities. Rather, they had attended theological colleges or taken nongraduate divinity courses in the new universities' departments of theology. The examination of the social and educational background of theological college students in part II contributes to a better understanding of the academic and social composition of the late-Victorian clergy. In a society that was experiencing ever-increasing degrees of estrangement and separation within its structure, the anxieties that the church voiced over the selection of men whose public and private function was spiritual, social and moral reconciliation offers some insight into both the nature and perception of the problem of alienation between church and people.

Part II

The Clerical Profession and Professional Education

In part I the intellectual, academic and social aspects of the preprofessional education of the Victorian graduate clergy were investigated. Although the majority of clerics attended university and the public school ethos of Christian gentlemanliness was so influential in the creation of the mid and late-Victorian clerical ideal, any
study of the clergy's educational background must also take into account that increasingly significant minority of men who had only elementary or secondary schooling and underwent professional clerical training at a theological college. In this part of the chapter those clergymen who attended such colleges come under examination.

This examination must be carried out with due regard for the Victorians' perception of and preoccupation with the declining social status of the clergy of the established church. As discussed previously, the mid-Victorian increase in the number of respectable professions, combined with its intractable financial problems and career structure, seriously threatened the church's continuing ability to attract a graduate clergy. Until the middle of the 1880's, when graduate recruitment peaked,¹ the church was competing with both the old and new professions for men. By the time of the Convocation of 1909, where the decision was taken to make postgraduate professional theological training mandatory in the see of Canterbury,² the church was no longer capable of such competition.³ Instead, it was compelled to attempt to codify ordination standards

2. Lichfield Theological College Minute Book, 1910-1928, entry for 6 June 1912.
that were increasingly difficult to achieve, let alone maintain. Of the 28,554 men who were ordained deacons in the years between 1872 and 1913, only 68.8% were university graduates (of Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin);¹ this proportion of graduate recruitment was virtually the same as it had been during the decade 1872-1882.² The longstanding problems of clerical remuneration, patronage and administrative structure could not be solved, however, by merely legislating higher educational standards for the clergy, and neither could the late-Victorian church impose undue academic or social restrictions on its clergy; it could not function without the steady stream of ordinands provided by nongraduate theological colleges.³

As was seen in part I, the gentleman-heresy of the Victorian church had social, economic, moral and intellectual bases that rendered it particularly invulnerable. Fears about the social dilution of the clergy were voiced with increasing regularity after the middle of the nineteenth century.⁴ The problems of the

¹. The Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1914, p. 529.
². The Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1884, p. 532.
gentleman-heresy and social dilution were inextricably linked; they were two sides of the same Victorian clerical coin. Yet at no time in the past had graduate gentlemen held a monopoly on clerical appointments,¹ nor could the church undertake its programme of parochial expansion on the basis of gentlemanly recruitment alone. The ministry, as one of the few pre-industrial professions, was traditionally an avenue of social mobility.² It was a well trodden path indeed during the eighteenth century when land values rose sharply, making many benefited clergymen wealthy and thereby assisting in the improvement of the clergy's social position.³ Moreover, John Pruett's research into the social, economic and educational background of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Leicestershire clergy makes it clear that this process of improvement was occurring even before the agricultural revolution.⁴ The academic and social distance between church and people grew quickly in the aftermath of the civil war and interregnum,⁵ so that by the end of Queen Anne's reign ordinands were drawn largely from the gentlemanly and professional classes.⁶

2. Ibid., pp. 40-43, 176-177.
4. Pruett, op. cit.
5. Ibid., pp. 42-43.
6. Ibid., p. 39.
Nevertheless, the difficulties encountered in supplying remote or poorly paid parishes with ministers were real and constant, with the result that the church operated what amounted to a two-tier system of clerical provision. Those benefices with an income that could support a gentlemanly, graduate clergy were in demand and rarely without applicants, while the poverty of parishes in the North and Southwest of England and Wales required a legion of local curates who had not the social, intellectual or economic status of their beneficed colleagues. These were the priests of the people, poorly educated and poorly paid, for whom bishop Law of Chester created the first nongraduate theological college at St. Bees in Cumbria in the early years of the nineteenth century.¹ The discrepancy between these two levels of provision was justified in eighteenth-century minds as the means by which the church could continue to minister to a highly stratified society.

The eighteenth-century vision of the squire ministered to by his incumbent and the poor man ministered to by an unbeficed curate was challenged and ultimately replaced by a nineteenth-century pastoral ideal that emphasised the church's potential as an institution of national spiritual and social reconciliation.² If the

¹. The St. Bees College Calendar for the year 1854 (London, 1854), p. 3.
church was to act as an agency of reconciliation then its
clergy needed to be intelligent, well educated and
capable,\(^1\) qualities identified as essential to the
civilisation of society by Coleridge,\(^2\) and qualities that
nongraduate, nongentlemanly curates serving livings worth
less than £50 per year may well have lacked.

The Victorian solution to the problem of binding the
nation together via the church was to reform the nature of
the clerical profession. According to the early-Victorian
pastoral ideal the minister was to be a gentleman who
could apply his powers of sympathy, his knowledge of the
world and his leadership abilities to the problem of
bridging the gap between the classes.\(^3\) At the same time
the cleric was being asked to act as an agent of spiritual
reconciliation, as a channel of communication between God
and man so that human and divine societies could be made
one and the same.\(^4\) With the church becoming the most
popular employer of graduates in the century between 1750
and 1850,\(^5\) those men whom it selected to bring about

\(^1\) E. Bather, *On Some Ministerial Duties* (London, 1876), p. 231; Blunt, op. cit., pp. 5-6, 107; Jones,
op. cit., pp. 201, 214, 226; Monro (1851), pp. 57-59;
W. W. Champneys, *The Spirit in the Word* (London,
1862), p. 66.

\(^2\) Coleridge, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

\(^3\) Sandford, op. cit., p. 130; J. Gott, *The Parish
Priest of the Town* (London, 1889), p. 34.

\(^4\) Bridges, op. cit., p. 243.

\(^5\) Jenkins and Jones, "Social Class of Cambridge
University Alumni of the 18th and 19th Centuries", in
the social and spiritual reconciliation of the nation were usually gentlemen.

Central to the argument in favour of the gentleman-heresy was the identification of gentlemanly status with graduation from either of the ancient English universities or Trinity College, Dublin. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, possession of a degree did not alone guarantee gentlemanly social origins. However, the liberal education offered by the universities was a prerequisite for the perfect gentleman,¹ and graduation was traditionally regarded as a sign of gentlemanly status. The gentleman-heresy was based on an educational rather than a strictly social definition of the gentleman. It assigned gentlemanly status and membership in the clerisy on the basis of university attendance. It was therefore flexible and resilient, within limitations; it could accommodate upper middle class university students, the sons of the wealthy but not necessarily propertied industrial, commercial and professional men, as well as the sons of the landed gentry. This was particularly important in view of the rapid increase in the number of clerical positions made available in the 1840's and 1850's.² The classically based curriculum of the universities gave its students a commonly held nonvocational education that aimed to fit them for any of the pre-industrial

1. Huber, op. cit., p. 44.
2. Gilbert, op. cit., p. 28.
gentlemanly professions. Nineteenth-century pastoral theologians emphasised this heritage of a liberal education when they were pressing the advantages of single class clerical recruitment.¹ Who but a social equal could address himself to the spiritual distress of the gentlemanly and upper middle classes, J. H. Blunt argued, and who but a gentleman could command the attention and respect of the middle and working classes to whom he was called to minister?² The elite could not be expected to unburden their souls to a minister who was a social inferior; therefore, their clergyman must be of a class with whom the landed gentry were socially and intellectually compatible if the church was to act as an institution of spiritual reconciliation.³ There was not, however, any logical extension of this argument regarding the necessity for nongentlemanly priests to minister to the working classes until the very end of the century.

Professional Education and Social Mobility

The church's definition of a gentleman, because it had an academic rather than just a social or economic basis, permitted graduates of considerably less than traditionally gentlemanly rank to acquire the social status that accompanied ordination. The number of

3. Loc. cit.
parishes continued to increase during the 1860's, 1870's and 1880's,\(^1\) while at the same time the proportion of graduate ordinands was declining.\(^2\) Thus the opportunities for middle class and nongraduate entry into the clerical profession were greatly enhanced at the middle of the nineteenth century; indeed, as will be discussed in a later chapter, the church came to rely upon ever-increasing numbers of professionally educated ordinands to staff its parishes. It must be emphasised, however, that throughout the entire Victorian period the clergy was composed largely of men who had attended university. In addition, acceptance of nongraduate clergymen by the episcopate, their pastoral colleagues and the laity was not generally forthcoming,\(^3\) regardless of the specialist training they had received in theological colleges. Social mobility in the form of limited middle class access to a gentlemanly profession certainly did exist, however, and men took advantage of the chance to improve their social position. Fitzjames Stephen acknowledged as much in an article in *The Cornhill Magazine* in 1864:

> ... considered as a profession, the church is a very good profession for a rich man, and not a very bad

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one for the sort of man who is extremely anxious to be considered a gentleman...

However, social dilution and social mobility were one and the same to Victorian churchmen and both represented a threat to the prestige and influence of the clerical profession at a time when it was striving to reinforce its gentlemanly associations.²

In spite of the challenge it presented to the gentleman-heresy, social mobility was an increasingly commonplace occurrence in the late-Victorian church. This coincided with an increasingly popular method of training literates — the theological college. Whereas at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign there had been only two theological institutions and one missionary college in Britain,³ by the turn of the century there were twenty theological colleges and five missionary colleges in operation.⁴ Clerical education was a growth industry, an industry that was fuelled by the church's manpower requirements both at home and abroad. Professional theological education was by no means restricted just to literates, but became increasingly common for graduates as

2. Russell, op. cit., p. 244.
3. St. Bees, Cumbria (1816); St. David's, Lampeter (1822); Islington Missionary College (1825).
well throughout the Victorian period. In determining the educational and social background of the nongraduate clergy, however, attention will be concentrated on those colleges that accepted literates and emphasised nongraduate curricula.

It must be acknowledged that the student records in the majority of institutions under discussion were inconsistent and piecemeal at best. It was therefore impossible to make direct comparisons between the educational background of students in various colleges for any particular dates. In table 6, for example, the only data available concerning early and mid-Victorian literates comes from St. Bees College, and Salisbury Theological College provides the only material on late-Victorian students' secondary education. These colleges had little else in common: St. Bees was an evangelical nongraduate institution created to train men for parishes in the northwest of England, while Salisbury was a high church college that accepted graduates as well as literates. The conclusions drawn from an analysis of their students must, therefore, be regarded as tentative. Bearing this proviso in mind, however, it is clear that proprietary schools, privately owned and

1. See table 2.

2. For this study, the following theological colleges were investigated: St. Bees; Lichfield; Salisbury; Wells; St. John's Hall, Highbury (the London College of Divinity); Scholae Cancellarii, Lincoln; and the Society of the Sacred Mission, Kelham.
privately run, supplied the elementary and secondary education of the majority of men at St. Bees. Between 1846 and 1850 nearly half the students had attended such schools, and during the decade 1859 to 1869 proprietary institutions remained the most popular type of school for St. Bees men. There was, however, a strong challenge from the grammar schools during the mid-Victorian period, and nearly as many men had previously been students at public and grammar schools as had attended proprietary schools. The proportion of men who had been educated privately at home or tutored by a clergyman remained constant (approximately one-fifth). The area of considerable growth was the national school, the Church of England's own system of elementary education; while in the first decade examined slightly less than five per cent of St. Bees students had gone to a national school, by the second decade a quarter had done so. The national school appears to have become more popular at the expense of proprietary education.

The men who became students at early-Victorian St. Bees College generally had only an elementary education, while in the mid-Victorian period a considerable proportion (more than a third) had received a secondary education in grammar or public schools. Very few attended a university. Their college instructors therefore were faced with a wide range of academic and intellectual talent and experience. Standards at the multitude of 1. See table 6.
proprietary schools would have been necessarily variable, and there was not any examinable standard for home tutorship, or even for grammar and public school students. Not all prospective St. Bees students would have acquired knowledge of the classics at school, so in order to ensure that their theological course could be completed within the two years allowed\textsuperscript{1} the vast majority of men were tutored privately by clergymen before arriving at the college.\textsuperscript{2} The problem of establishing and maintaining academic entrance standards was one that vexed Victorian theological educators,\textsuperscript{3} and certainly it posed difficulties for the authorities at St. Bees. Students there came from a variety of social\textsuperscript{4} and educational backgrounds, and it was the task of the principal and his staff to teach not only a theological curriculum but also the rudiments of the English language and Latin composition.

The principal of St. Bees fulfilled another, albeit nonacademic, function in the college; he maintained standards of behaviour and conduct that reinforced the unimpeachable moral criteria demanded of the reformed

1. The St. Bees College Calendar for the year 1854, p. xix.


4. See tables 8 and 9.
Victorian cleric.\textsuperscript{1} Many students who were admitted to the college failed to complete the course for what must be termed disciplinary reasons. The most common problem was drunkenness, with the result that in 1860 principal Ainger imposed the loss of an academic term as a punishment for intoxication.\textsuperscript{2} In that year a student was:

advised to withdraw at the end of second Term. Very odd in manner — addicted to too much beer — denied strenuously the Authorship of a very bad anonymous letter, in spite of the evidence internal and external, but acknowledged it after his dismissal. Altogether quite unfitted for the clerical profession.

A year later, another man was dismissed for a "breach of College Rules, staying out of his rooms all night, going to a public house at Egremont, and denying it...". As a punishment, he was "to remain away from College for two years, and to bring satisfactory Testimonials."\textsuperscript{3}

Not all offences, however, concerned drink. Dr. Ainger expelled a student who had enrolled in 1862 on a variety of moral grounds. The man had "a child born to him... by Mrs. Hartley with whom he lodged at St. Bees." He was a "swindler in many transactions, ... idle and

\textsuperscript{1} Blunt, op. cit., p. 21; Heygate, op. cit., pp. 44–45; Monro (1851), p. 34.
\textsuperscript{2} St. Bees College Entry Book, 1859–1869, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 17.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., no page number.
utterly bad." The moral influences brought to bear on men during their stay at college were not, however, always appreciated. A student who came to St. Bees in 1869 failed to be ordained after finishing his course because he spent

... from Thursday to Saturday December 9-11 with prostitutes in Whitehaven intending to present himself for ordination to the Bishop of Glasgow the next week. Testimonials refused.

Such behaviour could not be countenanced in a prospective clergyman, particularly at a time when the ideal cleric should never be so engaged in any society that either he or the society in which he moves feel that there is an inconsistency in his appearance at God's altar on the following Sunday, or his presence in the pulpit as their teacher.

The problem of candidate selection (which will be discussed at length in chapter 4), regardless of academic and vocational restrictions, is reflected in these examples of disciplinary proceedings.

1. Ibid., no page number.
2. Ibid., no page number.
3. Blunt, op. cit., p. 82.
4. The St. Bees College Calendar for the year 1854, p.
The Social and Educational Background of Victorian Theological Students

One of the principal functions of nongraduate theological colleges was the transmission of gentlemanly and upper class values and educational standards to nongentlemanly, nongraduate students.\(^1\) Colleges could not bestow either the social or academic benefits of university graduation upon their men, but they were designed to raise the educational accomplishments of lower and middle class students so that they might become professionally indistinguishable from their graduate colleagues. There can be no doubt, however, that a graduate clergy was the church's ideal and remained so throughout the period under consideration, and theological colleges could not act as substitutes for the universities.\(^2\) The men who attended St. Bees College were not generally from professional homes,\(^3\) nor did they themselves enter a profession previous to entering college.\(^4\) Regardless of the marked increase in the proportion of grammar and public school educated men in the decade 1859-1869, the occupational background of the fathers of St. Bees' students became increasingly working

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4. See table 8.
class during this time.¹ The proportion of both professional and middle class fathers also underwent considerable decline during that decade in comparison to the figures for 1848-1849.² In spite of this decline, table 7 shows that nearly a third of St. Bees men in 1859-1869 had middle class occupational backgrounds, while only a fifth came from manual occupations.³ Thus the men who attended St. Bees College in the mid-Victorian period were socially mobile lower middle class individuals who had already improved upon their largely working class roots previous to entering the theological college. They were in fact lower middle class men, teachers and clerks, and their occupational background closely resembles that of the missionaries employed by the Church Missionary Society,⁴ rather than that of the overwhelming majority of mid-Victorian beneficed clergy.⁵

In contrast to the academic and occupational status of early and mid-Victorian St. Bees students, the men who

1. See table 9; in 1848-49, 23.3% of the students' fathers had manual occupations, while in the period 1859-69 52.2% were so occupied.

2. In 1848-49, 34.4% of fathers had professional backgrounds, and 42.3% had middle class backgrounds; in 1859-69, only 20.9% were professional men, and 25.5% had middle class occupations.

3. Fully 63.6% of the men had middle class occupations previous to entering St. Bees, and 20.8% had working class occupations.


5. See table 2.
went to Salisbury Theological College at the turn of the century were usually (80.8%) graduates, and nearly half of them had received secondary education at a grammar or public school.\(^1\) It must be recognised that during the period in question Salisbury, like every other theological college, was registering a particularly high proportion of graduates as a result of the newly stringent standards of the Central Entrance Examination, and thus it is not a strictly typical sample by which to judge the entire late-Victorian student body. It offers, however, the only information available about the secondary education of theological students at that time. Nearly a fifth of the one hundred and fifty-five men at Salisbury had been educated at proprietarial schools, and nearly as many again had been tutored at home or taught by a clergyman. Less than a tenth had attended a board school. Men from proprietarial schools did not necessarily go on to other schools (to public or grammar schools) before going to university, with nearly two-fifths of the men having received their education in proprietarial schools, from clergymen or at home. There was obviously a demand for private schooling that was not satisfied by the public schools alone.

Unlike the situation at St. Bees,\(^2\) the very high proportion of university-educated students at late-

2. Only 12.2% of St. Bees men had been to university between 1846 and 1850, and 12.0% had done so between 1859 and 1869.
Victorian Salisbury meant that the gentleman-heresy was not being threatened. Although the church's definition of a gentleman changed during the late-Victorian period (as mentioned in part I), in order to accommodate the increasing number of nongradaute ordinands to the clerical profession, there is no doubt that the church preferred to recruit a graduate, professionally trained clergy\(^1\) such as that represented by the students at Salisbury Theological College. These men had the advantage of the education traditionally associated with gentlemanly status and interests, thereby guaranteeing the clergy's position among the professions, while at the same time they had partaken of the opportunity to acquire professional competence and knowledge that in turn would reinforce the clergy's status as professional men. The clergyman's social and educational background, and the status of the ministry as a profession, was of particular importance to the clergy because the church's late-Victorian constituency was largely comprised of middle class\(^2\) and professional people. If the church's clergy were to be respected at a time when other professions were increasing their entrance requirements\(^3\) then the standard of education exemplified by late-Victorian Salisbury


Theological College students needed to be copied elsewhere. In spite of recruitment difficulties that the church had faced since the 1860's, however, the evidence concerning the educational background of late-Victorian theological college students suggests that colleges were increasingly successful in attracting graduates.¹ Those institutions that traditionally had a postgraduate student body maintained this standard,² while Anglo Catholic colleges that accepted both graduates and literates generally experienced an increase in the number of graduate students.³ At the same time, however, it does not appear that either of the evangelical theological colleges, St. Aidan's or St. John's, altered their recruitment pattern; both remained overwhelmingly nongraduate institutions.⁴

The limitation of graduate enrolment to theological colleges that were diocesan-based (and high church or Anglo Catholic) requires some examination. Certainly the claims made by officials from both St. John's (London) and St. Aidan's (Liverpool) about their students' social status⁵ would not explain the nongraduate nature of the

2. See table 7.
3. See tables 6 and 7.
colleges. Most of the men at St. John's in the last quarter of the nineteenth century clearly were not gentlemen, although more than a quarter of them had left professions in order to enter the ministry.¹ The majority, however, had middle class occupational backgrounds. St. John's men were usually engaged in middle and lower middle class jobs as elementary school teachers, clerks, sales assistants and nonconformist clergymen previous to coming to college. Like the students at mid-Victorian St. Bees, St. John's men in the period 1906 to 1915 display unmistakable signs of social mobility. Over half their fathers had working class occupations, and less than a fifth had middle class jobs.² Slightly more than a quarter of the small sample analysed were Anglican clerics, professional men or gentlemen. Thus many of those men who wanted to become ministers had already improved their social position by rising to lower middle class occupations, and the ministry represented yet another rise in status for them.

St. John's Hall had been founded in 1863 by the wealthy evangelical vicar of Mangotsfield and Downend in Bristol, Alfred Peache,³ with the intention of "training for the ministry of the Church of England suitable

1. See table 8.
2. See table 9.
Candidates who have not received a University education." While it was necessary in terms of social and academic prestige for the first principal to have made unsupportable claims about the social status of his students, it was always the college's priority to provide clerical training for literates, although some provision for graduates was also made. As will be discussed in the chapter on theological colleges, a major problem for nongraduate educators was discrepancies in formal educational background among their students. Unfortunately there are not any records concerning the educational background of St. John's students, but on the basis of the evidence about their previous occupations and their fathers' occupations, it is clear that the college's principal was justified in his conviction that "The great difficulty with regard to Students is their imperfect and unequal preparation...".

The task of creating and teaching a curriculum to men with degrees as well as to those who had little more than an elementary school education was indeed daunting. The considerable success experienced by St. John's men in the

2. Loc. cit.
3. See tables 8 and 9.
Preliminary Examination\(^1\) that acted as a prerequisite to ordination in the late-Victorian period suggests that the three-year course of studies and judicious selection of candidates helped to deal with the problem of academic preparation. This was not necessarily the case at other nongraduate institutions. The first principal of St. Aidan's was eventually dismissed after his unsuccessful attempts to teach his nongraduate students the classical curriculum that signified gentlemanly learning.\(^2\) Moreover, the first principal of St. John's Hall wrote to the college's council in his report in November, 1865 concerning the problem of student selection at the other evangelical nongraduate college, St. Bees:

> Our success... [depends] (under God) very mainly on the selection of our Students. Obviously this is the point where St. Bees has so utterly broken down in the recent correspondence. There appeared to be no idea in the minds of its authorities of any duty of this kind. The fatal idea ran through the whole transaction that men (if not immoral) were to be pressed through the Bishops' Examination if the intellectual [state]... would in any way permit them passage.

Although St. Bees trained more ministers than any other Victorian theological college, it did not long survive the

1. The Calendar of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury for the years 1874 to 1887; a total of 141 St. John's men passed the Preliminary Examination during that time.


3. Boultbee, Principal's Report to the Council, 3 November 1865, p. 4.
academic rigours imposed by the Central Entrance Examination for prospective nongraduate theological students, and it was forced to close in 1896, exactly eighty years after its opening.¹ The college had kept going in spite of the earlier challenge made by the establishment of specialised theological courses at Durham University in 1832.² The reason for its ability to withstand Durham's attraction to northern students was St. Bees' willingness to accept students who did not possess a classical education.³ Occasionally St. Bees men lacked "social polish", according to the principal, and they came from "... the lower National School master class, Scripture Readers, etc."⁴ Regardless of these academic and social disadvantages, however, Dr. Ainger maintained that his students found useful spheres of work in the church.⁵

Such a conviction, that the absence of classical training and therefore less than gentlemanly social

1. No records concerning the closure of St. Bees College are available, but it is logical to conclude that the Central Entrance Examination which caused every other theological college studied to suffer (temporarily) declining enrolment proved an insurmountable barrier for the type of man who was a prospective St. Bees student.


3. Loc. cit.

4. Loc. cit.

5. Loc. cit.
standing did not necessarily handicap a clergyman's utility, was echoed by the second principal of Lichfield Theological College. Like St. Bees, Lichfield was primarily a nongraduate institution with a longstanding commitment to literate training. At the college's silver jubilee reunion in 1882, principal G. H. Moberly commented on the nature of the men who had been students at Lichfield.

They were men who did not seek to rise to high places, but who were content to labour amongst those with whom they were sent to minister, and their true title to fame would be recorded in the voice of their neighbours and parishioners, and especially of their poorer parishioners...

The nongraduate cleric had poor promotion prospects, but was to find fulfilment instead in the service of his people. This was really Paley's eighteenth-century two-tier system of clerical provision restated, and was contrary to the classic mid-Victorian determination to place a gentleman in every parish. In spite of the patent impossibility of recruiting a totally graduate clergy the threat of nongraduate social dilution implicit in the creation of literate theological colleges presented

1. Lichfield Theological College Register, volume 1, 1857-1909.
products of those colleges from enjoying some of the benefits and rewards of their profession. Not for them were promotion, rural or suburban parishes, or financial reward. They were sent to urban parishes for which their talents, their lack of "social polish" and gentlemanly education, suited them.¹

E. W. Benson, founder of the Scholae Cancellarii at Lincoln, classified the literate students he wanted his college to attract: the impecunious sons of the clergy for whom "every association of clerical duty and all boyish education have fitted... for this work"; the middle and lower middle class man who had proved his intentions to be genuine by means of extensive parochial work as a laymen; and former nonconformists who had been persuaded of the "necessary truths" of Anglicanism and wished to become ministers of the established church.² None of these categories suggests that there could or should have been any attempt by the theological college to recruit and train men of less than middle class status.

There was, however, one late-Victorian institution in which working class boys were welcomed. It was run by Herbert Kelly, founder of the Anglo Catholic Society of the Sacred Mission, a missionary brotherhood established in London in 1892. Even St. Bees College had trained men who

¹. T. E. Espin, warden of Queen's College, Birmingham to Rev. R. Giles, 27 September 1870.

had risen to middle class occupations; Kelly took working class boys as young as sixteen into the school he founded in 1895 in conjunction with the Society of the Sacred Mission.\(^1\) Regardless of his determination to offer training to working class men, the fifty-two men and boys who entered into training between 1892 and 1897 were by no all means from a working class background.\(^2\) Kelly considered that only ten of these fifty-two came to the Society with "useful" trades (they were carpenters, teachers, a farmer, architect, blacksmith, stonemason and printer);\(^3\) the rest were largely students and lay workers.\(^4\) In fact, Kelly experienced great difficulty in interesting trained and qualified manual workers\(^5\) in his attempt to democratise the Church of England; he could not afford to offer any remuneration, he demanded that in a missionary brotherhood the men would have to remain unmarried, and even the considerable social inducement of ordination was officially denied them.\(^6\) Given these prerequisites as conditions of service, it is clear that working class men who wanted to be ordained had to pay a very high price indeed in order to achieve their goal.

2. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
The changing late-Victorian concept of the gentleman makes it particularly difficult to generalise about the educational and social background of the nineteenth-century clergy. Most clerics did go to university, and a rapidly increasing proportion of these received a year of professional training as well. The majority of nongraduates who attended theological colleges were of lower middle class background, and many had achieved this status as a result of their own efforts rather than having been born into middle class circumstances. The clergy's self-identification as a gentlemanly profession did not encourage the natural affiliation between the church's middle class clientele and its increasingly middle class clergy. Theological colleges acted as agencies of social change as well as professionalisation, and attempted to raise the academic and professional standards of their nongraduates so that they would become professionally indistinguishable from their graduate colleagues. This policy resulted in the continued alienation of priest from people, a problem that has not been resolved yet in the modern church.

CHAPTER 3

Informal Pastoral Education, Handbook Literature and the Changing Role of the Clergy

Introduction

The formulation of identifiable Anglican clerical and pastoral ideals was an ongoing process throughout the Victorian period, and as such it was subject to changing ecclesiastical and lay needs and perceptions. Communicating the ideals, and bringing the clergy into contact with their tenets and practices, was the primary task of clerical handbook literature. Consequently, many books concerning pastoral theology were written during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this study nearly fifty such books have been examined\(^1\) in an analysis of the constitution of the personal and professional ideals of the Victorian clergy. Previous investigations into early and mid-Victorian clerical literature have resulted in the identification of a distinctive mid-Victorian ideal of clerical attitudes and conduct.\(^2\) The first section of this chapter will extend this investigation by examining a selection of early and late-Victorian handbooks in addition to a wide range of mid-Victorian material in order to examine the path taken by nineteenth-century pastoral theology. On the basis of this survey of pastoral literature it will be suggested that there was an overall consistency in both the personal and professional aspects of the Victorian clerical ideal

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1. See appendix 1.

during the eighty-five years under examination. It will be useful at this point to make a distinction between the 'pastoral' and the 'clerical' ideals. The pastoral ideal refers to the prescriptions for and descriptions of the professional activities to be undertaken by the parish clergy of the Church of England. The clerical ideal, on the other hand, is concerned with the attributes, qualifications and conduct of the individual clergyman. The two ideals are therefore closely related, as it is impossible to conceive of a pastoral ideal without also proposing, either explicitly or implicitly, standards for the cleric who is to perform these duties.

As part of the educational provision for the nineteenth-century clergy, handbooks, as well as printed sermons, diocesan and archidiaconal charges, lectures, newspapers, addresses and public letters, operated in a vast, albeit strictly informal, network. This material was available to both the experienced cleric and the novice curate. While there is no quantitative method of evaluating their influence, it is clear that the standards of clerical preparation, intellect, integrity and activity recommended in the handbooks reflected the renewal in Victorian parish life that the pastoral ideal aimed to bring about.¹

The handbooks reflect the clergy's redefinition of the gentleman-heresy and the attendant social and

¹ Heeney (1976), p. 10.
educational qualifications for recruitment and professionalisation. The early and mid-Victorian requirement that a priest be first and foremost a gentleman raised only hollow echoes in a late Victorian situation that reflected the church's inability to attract and recruit the gentlemanly classes. The preference for a public school and Oxbridge-educated scholar with good social connections prevailed until the end of the period, but the new emphasis on character formation put forward by pastoral theologians attempted to ensure a high standard of specifically spiritual attainment, and acknowledged the impossibility of continued reliance upon social and economic status so that the clergy might 'enhance the moral influence of their cloth by the social influence of their rank.'

The men who wrote pastoral handbooks were themselves usually experienced parish clergymen. A number of them were also knowledgeable and influential formal clerical educators. For instance, Samuel Wilberforce, a prolific author of addresses, lectures and letters to the clergy,  

3. S. Wilberforce, 'Charge delivered to the Candidates for Ordination in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, 1845' (London, 1845); 'A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Surrey, September and October, 1840' (London, 1840); 'A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford and His Primary Visitation, September and October, 1848' (London, 1848); 'A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford, at his second visitation, November 1851' (London, 1851); 'A Charge to the Diocese of Oxford, at his Third Visitation, November 1854'
established a theological college at Cuddesdon while he was bishop of Oxford; H. P. Liddon, an outstanding Anglo Catholic theological writer, was also a vice principal of that college for the first five years of its existence. Charles Vaughan, who wrote extensively on clerical matters, was renowned for personally training more than four hundred and fifty ordinands for the ministry during his years as vicar of Doncaster, master of the Temple ad dean of Llandaff (1860–1897). John Sandford, first warden of Queen's College, Birmingham wrote one standard handbook and published more pastoral and formal educational material. At the end of the nineteenth century W. C. E. Newbolt, author of influential Anglo Catholic works, was

footnote 3 continued:


2. C. J. Vaughan, Addresses to Young Clergymen (London, 1875); 'The Church's Duties and the Church's Opportunities: A Sermon Preached in the Nave of Wells Cathedral' (London, 1860); Lessons of Life and Godliness (Cambridge, 1862); Life's Work and God's Discipline (London, 1873).

3. John Sandford, Parochialia, or Church, School and Parish (London, 1845); 'Clerical Training', a sermon preached on the anniversary of the Theological College for the Diocese of Oxford (Oxford, 1858); 'Prospectus of the Theological Department, Queen's College, Birmingham' (Birmingham, 1853).

the examining chaplain to the bishop of Ely and concurrently principal of Ely Theological College, and John Gott, president of the Leeds Clergy School, had written the standard Anglo Catholic work on urban pastoralia. Clerical handbooks filled an identified need for readily available, practical pastoral instruction, a need that persisted throughout the Victorian era.

The majority of handbooks discussed in this chapter are, moreover, more than just instruction manuals for clerical self-help. The vision of the relationship between the church and its parishioners that is represented in this literature illuminates the nature of the spiritual and social worlds inhabited by the Victorian parish clergy. Pastoral handbooks display that lack of clarity and impartiality that have been identified in the Victorian church's relations with an industrialised nation. The claims they made were too large for the increasingly fragile parochial system to support. However, clerical handbook literature was written to instruct the parish clergy, and it is first of all on this basis, rather than in terms of the larger questions of the

3. Table 2 shows that in 1914 only 30% of the clergy had any formal theological education.
relationship between church and state, that these books will be examined.

The pastoral ideals put forward by evangelical and high church theologians, although consistent, were not static. Ecclesiastical vistas were expanded by internal\(^1\) as well as external\(^2\) forces throughout the nineteenth century. The scope of social concern expressed in Convocations and Congresses from the 1880's expanded to include most of the issues concerned with social welfare and improvement.\(^3\) This expansion of the church's interests did not, however, go so far as to fully comprehend the implications of the social problems and policies discussed at those meetings.\(^4\)

In view of the church's deep concern with its self-perceived role as social mediator, it is not surprising that the persistent theme of handbook literature was the need for unity. There were many facets to this concept. An eighteenth-century inheritance of Anglican aloofness and the creation and rapid growth of new dissent necessitated adherence to a reformed and revitalised

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1. For example, Christian Socialism, labour churches, Church Congresses, Convocations and conferences.
2. The growth of secularism, continuing urbanisation and population growth.
clerical ideal if the established church was to remain so in the face of pressure from this nonconformist element and the new forces of secularist thought. Without a unity of purpose, church and state could not make provision for expanding the influence of an essentially rural institution into urban areas.\(^1\) Ministers and people were seen to have similar spiritual interests, even if they did not have the same spiritual attributes.\(^2\) The clergyman was encouraged to seek a closer personal union with God, so that he in turn might bring his parishioners to a more perfect religious harmony.\(^3\)

Handbooks were designed to enlighten the Victorian cleric, to educate him so that he could channel the essential unity of his personal relationship with God towards the spiritual elevation and unification of the people of his parish. Priests were to act as agents of spiritual reconciliation, drawing together human and divine societies in "the truth of the Gospel".\(^4\) They also regarded themselves as the appointed bridges of both secular and sacred communication between the divisions of

1. The building grants issued to the church in 1818 and again in 1824 expanded provision in both rural and urban areas; Peel's Act of 1843 allowed new parishes to be created out of old ones, and the redistribution of ecclesiastical resources created funds for new church building activity.


4. Ibid., p. 243.
society. Coleridge himself supported the secular work of the clergy,

who, as members of the permanent learned class, were planted throughout the realm, each in his appointed place, as the immediate agents and instruments in the great and indispensable work of perpetuating, promoting, and increasing the civilization of the nation...

Thomas Arnold, whose broad church perspective of the unity of Christian life was influenced by Coleridge, shared the latter's concern with the integration of secular and spiritual attributes. In the years before 1880 the clergy's claim to this mediating role lay largely in their acknowledged social and academic status; in the late-Victorian period, when the gentleman-heresy was proving impossible to maintain in its mid-Victorian form, the basis for clerical interest in reconciliation became more exclusively spiritual.

Ideally, the Victorian clergyman was to be energetic, devoted to action, hard work and self-sacrifice.

1. Sandford (1862), p. 130; Bridges, op. cit., p. 124; Gott, op. cit., p. 34.
2. Coleridge, op. cit., p. 50.
4. Ibid., p. 54.
According to the early-Victorian evangelical writer Charles Bridges, "The Ministry is not (like some branches of natural science) a work of contemplation, but of active, anxious, devoted, employment";¹ clearly, the minister's personal qualities were to be merged with the church's social and spiritual roles in order to produce a workable pastoral system. Parochial work, the daily routine of duties in both sacred and secular spheres, occupied the time of the majority of the parish clergy, and the function of the Victorian pastoral ideal was to define the nature of these duties, and thus the priest's role in his parish, his church, and his society.

Historically, the commission for the Anglican pastoral ministry was rooted in the process that established primitive Christianity. Apostles were needed to lay the foundation, prophets inspired hope, evangelists provided the necessary missionary enterprise, and pastors and teachers were to tend to the already organised congregations.² It is clear from this description in the prayer book that no individual minister was required to have the ability or expertise that would enable him to participate fully in all four roles. The first category in particular demanded extraordinary qualities that were based in time and place so as to effectively exclude contemporaneous activity. The call for prophets,

2. Vaughan (1875), p. 120.
evangelists, pastors and teachers was, however, experienced by the church in the nineteenth century.\(^1\) Parochial work generally included the various aspects of these three offices, although there would have been greater emphasis on the need for prophecy and divinity studies by high churchmen, Anglo Catholics and tractarians, and a corresponding interest in the role of the clergy as religious prosletysers by evangelicals.

While the new professional pastoral ideal was increasingly and explicitly spiritually based throughout the nineteenth century, the range of activities undertaken by the clergy of all party persuasions was by no means directed towards exclusively sacred objectives, nor did the laity find this clerical involvement in secular life extraordinary.\(^2\) The challenge posed by urbanisation evoked a desperately active mid-Victorian clerical response. The difficulty lay in the delay between the onset of industrialisation and changes in demographic patterns in the eighteenth century, and the church's response to these changes nearly fifty years later.\(^3\)

**The Clerical Ideal**

The clerical and pastoral ideals of the Victorian church were based on the formulary established in the

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prayer book, "The Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons." This alone does not formally distinguish the Victorian ideal from any other employed in the years following the reformation, but the pastoral theologians of the nineteenth century were particularly concerned with a re-examination and re-evaluation of clerical recruitment and practice in light of the vows and promises undertaken at ordination. This underpinning was then clothed with the specific qualities, personal and professional, that rendered the Victorian clerical ideal distinctive.

The resurgence of evangelical protestantism in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century was important in changing the church's conception of its role in society. The great emphasis placed on individual salvation by evangelicals necessitated the creation of an active and committed clergy who would take heed the canonical injunction

to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord... to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world.

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2. For example, George Herbert, A Priest to the Temple, or The Country Parson (London, 1902).
Without this high standard of commitment, and equally important, without the proper spiritual motivation requiring that "we must ourselves be Divinely leavened",¹ clergymen would find it difficult to successfully accomplish their goal of spiritual reconciliation, according to Victorian evangelical handbook writers.²

**Early-Victorian Period 1830-1850**

Early-Victorian evangelical authors expressed particular interest in ministerial selection, character, lifestyle and devotional standards. An eighteenth-century heritage that stressed the sacramental rather than the spiritual aspects of church life³ and held a concept of the ministry as a 'status' rather than an 'occupational' profession⁴ was replaced by early-Victorian evangelicals with a vision of an intensely personal religion that operated effectively on an individual basis. R. W. Evans, an experienced north country vicar, claimed that "The more you do, the more they [the parishioners] will think lies in your power, and the more they will expect from you."⁵ In his professional life, therefore, the pastor was to render high service due to the pre-eminence of the

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2. Ibid., pp. 98, 116; Evans, The Bishopric of Souls, p. 4; Oxenden, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
5. Evans, op. cit., p. 9.
clerical vocation.\textsuperscript{1} Secular distractions -- excessive nontheological scholarship, field sports, politics and secular socialising -- were judged to detract from the "absorbing work" of the ministry, work that demanded "the entire consecration of health, time, energy, and life itself to the accomplishment of its vast designs."\textsuperscript{2} The clergyman was to act as a friend and father to all his flock, paying equal attention to the rich as well as to the poor.\textsuperscript{3} Also, he was to have the ability to teach and convert by preaching.\textsuperscript{4}

Of primary concern to the evangelical professional clerical ideal was the cleric's insight into human nature; such understanding was obtainable only through pastoral experience, according to clerics.\textsuperscript{5} It was through this need for an understanding of the human condition that the link between the clerical and the pastoral ideals was forged. The single most important qualification for the ministerial office was divine decree. Since no other standard of selection was deemed acceptable by early-

1. Bridges, pp. 2-5.
2. Ibid., p. 67. Although there was no specific injunction against either teaching in church-run elementary schools or acting as a magistrate, both popular clerical activities, the implication was clear -- any such secular activities threatened the pastor's ability to concentrate his efforts on his people's spiritual welfare.
3. Ibid., p. 358.
4. Ibid., p. 222.
5. Ibid., p. 350.
Victorian evangelicals, the source of the minister's intense personal involvement in the spiritual status of each individual parishioner was to be found in this wise, tender, but unflinching, exhibition of the broad line of demarcation, which, under the most favourable circumstances of mutual accommodation, still separates the world and the church from real communion with each other.

No more direct statement of the necessity for clerical spiritual separation from the world may be found in early Victorian evangelical handbook literature. The same divinely inspired attributes that permitted the pastor to empathise with others' spiritual dilemmas also constructed a barrier of elevated holiness between himself and the laity that was intentionally insurmountable. The clerical ideal also emphasised the ability to work hard, the possession of intelligence, and powers of observation, in addition to a willingness to study, pray and apply oneself wholeheartedly to the practice of the parochial ministry.

This early evangelical clerical and pastoral ideal provided the basis for later Victorian ideals. Charles Bridges' description of the personal and professional ideals of the early-Victorian evangelical clergy was comprehensive:

To acquaint ourselves with the various wants of our people; to win their affections; to give a seasonable warning, encouragement, instruction, or consolation;

1. Ibid., p. 116.
to identify ourselves with their spiritual interests, in tender sympathy, and Ministerial obligation; to do this with constancy, seriousness, and fervid energy which the matter requires, is indeed a work of industry, patience, and self-denial.

Like the evangelicals, high churchmen believed that the goal of Christianity was salvation; unlike the evangelicals, however, they advocated the use of the sacraments as specific evidence of Christian conversion.\(^1\) The role of the priest as administrator of these sacraments and the emphasis on apostolic succession and thus on the necessity for spiritual preparation for holy orders\(^2\) lent high importance and attached high status to the clerical profession. Although the incarnation militated against any excessive degree of separation between priest and parishioner,\(^3\) still the clergyman was to resist the manifold temptations of secular society.\(^4\) Doubtless this standard of personal holiness would prove unpopular in that society, but the "life of the clergyman should be a standing protest against the life around him."\(^5\) The priest was to be a gentleman, but gentlemanly

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1. Ibid., p. 360.
4. Ibid., pp. 33-35.
5. Ibid., p. 12 and Rose, op. cit., p. 45.
status alone was not sufficient to make a clergyman; in addition to the classical education that was virtually synonymous with membership in the gentlemanly classes, the priest was to possess a divinely ordained character "far higher"\(^1\) than mere social standing could impart. Hugh James Rose's definition of the early-Victorian Anglo Catholic clerical ideal demonstrated its basic similarity to that of the evangelicals, although there is more concern expressed here with regard to the priest's role as a dispenser of spiritual discipline.

... in Godly sincerity and earnestness he has laboured to give light to ignorance, wheresoever he found it in his flock, to build up the young in a most holy faith and practice, to confirm the wavering, to bind down the thoughtless, to resolve doubt, to reclaim vice, to strengthen weakness, and to perfect holiness.

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Liberal Anglican churchmen in the early-Victorian period proposed an ideal that was more directly connected to an eighteenth-century clerical heritage. Evangelicals had created their own standards of churchmanship in the late eighteenth century, and had been criticised and isolated for doing so.\(^3\) The high church inherited a 'high and dry' sacramental, intellectual approach to

1. Rose, op. cit., p. 80.
2. Ibid., p. 88.
ecclesiastical provision that had stood the tests of time, new dissent and the evangelical challenge and had emerged battered and distraught from the maelstrom of the French Revolution and the war that followed. The tractarian movement reshaped traditional high church attitudes and provided a new direction for theological concern. In contrast, broad churchmen were disposed towards a more comprehensive policy of church-state relations and had fewer eighteenth-century ghosts to lay than the other party affiliations.

Like high churchmen and tractarians, broad churchmen were concerned with defining the church's authority and role in society. The evolution of a distinctly professional regard for the efficiency of the clerical ideal was in part a reflection of the concern with church defence. Edward Bather, archdeacon of Shropshire between 1828 and his death in 1849, encouraged his clergy to embrace an active, prayerful ministry in order to safeguard the church from "gaps in her bulwarks through the idleness or insufficiency of any of her defenders". Other elements of the early-Victorian clerical ideal stressed by broad churchmen included diligence in preparation for and performance of parochial duties and

1. Kitson Clark, op. cit., pp. 74-77 gives the background to Thomas Arnold's thought on creating a comprehensive national church.


3. Ibid., p. 173.
concern with salvation as the necessary aim of clerical effort. To accomplish the pastoral tasks identified by the clerical ideal, exemplary conduct was required of the minister, as were "earnestness and fervour"; he would then be free of the "intense delight in worldly pleasures" that threatened the elevated spiritual status conferred by the ministerial office. The true priest was not to be of the world, but in it and yet above it, and would display "those habits and dispositions which are peculiarly and distinctively Christian -- not of the world, but of the Father." Again, the assertion of spiritual distinction between clergy and laity effectively separated the two. The onus for providing the means by which the union of church and people might occur was placed on the pastor in his role as conciliator.

A brief overview of the clerical ideal espoused by early-Victorian handbook writers shows that church party affiliation was not of particular importance in the formulation of the ideal, although the contribution of the pre-Victorian evangelical revival was significant in that it created a spiritual and moral atmosphere that promoted

2. Ibid., p. 245.
3. Ibid., pp. 251-252.
a change from eighteenth-century standards. Clergymen of all persuasions were being encouraged to undertake increasingly active ministries, to live more professionally exemplary lives of devotion to their parochial duties, and to restrict participation in the normal social life of their class in order to concentrate on developing their spiritual, moral and devotional lives. In addition, evidence of pastoral reform in the first two decades of the Victorian period is not restricted only to handbooks; religious newspapers such as The Ecclesiastical Gazette ran advertisements for clerical employment in the early-Victorian period, and the following are common examples of this practice.

1. A Curate Wanted. - Wanted, in a populous town parish, to assist a resident Incumbent, where one curate is already engaged, a Gentleman whose views are decidedly evangelical. His voice must be equal to a large church; of good health, active habits, and disposed to labour in visiting the sick and poor. Salary, £115 per annum.

2. A Curacy with a Title, for the Trinity Sunday Ordination, is wanted by an Oxford Graduate of no extreme views. A sphere of labour is preferred.

Increasingly less common were advertisements, such as the following, that emphasised the physical ease of the

2. Ibid., March 1850, volume XII.
gentlemanly lifestyle afforded to many country incumbents.

To the Clergy. - A Clergyman being desirous of leaving home from the middle of July till October, offers the use of a well-furnished commodious parsonage, with small garden, coach-house, stabling, etc., in return for the services of a Clerical gentleman. Distance from London, 17 miles. Coaches constantly passing. The situation very healthy, the population small, and the duty easy.

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Most important, the clerical ideal emphasised the necessity for a class of divinely influenced, morally and spiritually superior clergymen, men who were to act as "channels of Grace"² between sacred and secular society.

The ordination vows presumed a gentlemanly standard of education.³ The gentleman-priest, although an increasingly popular figure in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,⁴ came to be regarded as an intrinsic element in the Victorian church.⁵ According to the early-Victorian clerical ideal, the minister was to be spiritually, morally, socially, academically and economically separated from the bulk of the people whom he served.

1. Ibid., 9 May 1843, p. 253.
Mid-Victorian Period 1851-1880

Although the formulation of the Victorian clerical ideal was a continuing process, with origins in the eighteenth-century evangelical revival, it was in the middle of the nineteenth century, particularly during the 1850's and 1860's, that pastoral theologians of all party affiliations began to look more closely at the problems encountered by an increasingly urbanised church in an increasingly secularised society.¹ The tractarian movement in particular stimulated a new high church interest in pastoral theology. Armed with the assurance of divinely ordered authority² and anxious to defend and justify that authority, high church handbook writers produced works of considerable depth, insight and application. More than ever before, concern with selecting and moulding men of proper spiritual and social background was evident in the literature of this period.³ The pastoral revival had by this time overcome suspicions of 'enthusiasm' that had been levelled at previous evangelical attempts to reform the moral and spiritual standards of both laymen and clerics. The wholehearted

1. McClatchey, op. cit., pp. 87-88. The basis for her argument is that clergymen ordained in the 1820's and 1830's did not generally provide the same number of church services or administer the sacraments (in particular, communion) as often as did men who entered the church in the 1840's and 1850's.

2. Kitson Clark, op. cit., p. 83.

3. J. H. Blunt, op. cit., p. 5
spirit of pastoral reform that had characterised the work of Charles Blomfield in London and Samuel Wilberforce in Oxford indicated that official attention to pastoralia was undergoing change as well. During the years between 1850 and 1880 the parish clergy found themselves under increasing pressure from both lay and ecclesiastical sources to come to terms with the realities of an industrialised, urbanised and non-Anglican Britain.¹ Pastoral literature was one of the ways in which the clergy prepared themselves and each other for the task ahead.

The mid-Victorian high church clerical response to this pressure emphasised the priest's need to bring a heightened imagination and conscience to his daily parochial duties in order that both he and his parishioners might see themselves and the church in a unified context.² There were specifically priestly functions to be faithfully performed, the most important of which was administering the sacraments; that is, acting as mediator between God and man in a highly visible, public manner, dispensing divinely channeled grace to the congregation.³ His time needed to be systematically and efficiently planned, so as to "comprehend the expression

3. Ibid., p. 57.
of the whole of the parochial idea.\(^1\) According to the pastoral ideal, the average weekday would find the priest holding an early morning service at the church, then visiting the school, the sick and others as time allowed, studying in the afternoon, and teaching in the night school.\(^2\) Thus, in order to fulfill his myriad responsibilities, the clergyman had to possess a practical knowledge of his duties. As in other mid-Victorian professions, new demands for increased technical knowledge (in the tractarian case, sacramental and historical knowledge) were made on the clergy.\(^3\) Edward Monro, a tractarian rural priest and prolific pastoral theologian, related the need for professional pastoral knowledge to the clergy's capacity for independent action.\(^4\) Their function was to blend "the different ranks of society together, uniting and healing differences."\(^5\) Thus the spiritual separation of priest and parishioner was deemed to be beneficial in pursuit of this socially unifying activity.

Almost to a man, high church pastoralists viewed the possession of ministerial sympathy as the primary

1. Ibid., p. 74.
2. Loc. cit.
5. Loc. cit.
qualification for successful parochial work. Such sympathy originated in the heart and was a product of Christian love. Without this loving commitment to each individual, the parish priest was not expected to find either spiritual or secular rapport with his people. The ability to bring unity and meaning to fragmented lives was to be founded in the priest's "genuine sincere love" for those in his charge. According to Edward Monro, the priest "must live only for his people, and his people must feel that he does do this; till this point is attained, he will do his work but meagrely and unsatisfactorily." The clergyman must therefore be distinct from other men. His elevated moral and spiritual state signalled his separation from secular society. Other high church clerical attributes included optimism, dedication, eloquence, the ability to teach, and not surprisingly, versatility. The personal qualities of the priest, his divinely inspired character, capacity for Christian sympathy, hard work, self-sacrifice, dedication

5. Heygate, Ember Hours, pp. 44-45; J. H. Blunt, op. cit., p. 21; Monro (1851), p. 34.
and zeal in learning were to render him competent for the office he held.

Mid-Victorian evangelicals were also deeply concerned with the spiritual attainments of the clergy. Ashton Oxenden, rector of a rural benefice in Kent before his elevation to the bishopric of Montreal, described the ideal pastor as "a living pattern to Christians, a living rebuke to sinners.... He is, in short, a man of consecrated character...". He placed particular emphasis on the minister's personal holiness, on the love of souls, gravity and earnestness, wisdom, kindness, benevolence and understanding of human nature. Like high churchmen, evangelicals were strict regarding the motivation acceptable for undertaking ordination. The individual had to have experienced a call to the ministry, as a spiritual incentive was the only one that was acceptable. Again, the common bond of sympathy was to bind together pastor and people in the face of overwhelming odds. The object of pastoral work was to bring the gospel to men, and the evangelical ideal required that the individual preaching this serious message should be personally holy and diligent in his labours.

1. Oxenden, op. cit., p. 41.
2. Ibid., pp. 44-62.
3. Ibid., p. 35.
The emphasis on sympathy was common to liberal and broad churchmen as well as high churchmen and evangelicals. Ministers were regarded as vessels of communication between God and man; the sympathy that they needed to cultivate therefore was between "Divine nature" and human nature, and in order to do so they themselves were to have been "partakers of the divine nature".\(^1\) The attributes of sympathy and clerical self-sacrifice were often linked,\(^2\) while divine influence on the clergy was regarded as a necessary safeguard for the security of a church that increasingly could not depend upon the gentlemanly status of its clergy to ensure the respect of its upper middle class and professional congregations.\(^3\)

There was a conscious attempt to put as much distance as possible between the mid-Victorian cleric and his eighteenth-century forebearers, inevitably at the latter's expense.\(^4\) This process of separation from an uncomfortable past evoked the proposal of new standards of clerical selection. High churchmen tended to regard the physical separation of the clergy from society as a necessary concomitant to spiritual purity,\(^5\) but in general

the earlier evangelical tradition of otherworldliness and isolation\(^1\) was not expressed in mid-Victorian handbooks. Clergymen of all affiliations, however, were expected to discard any secular pursuits that might have interfered with or detracted from their complete devotion to pastoral care.\(^2\)

The clergy were to regard themselves as professional clerics in an entirely new way. The future of the church was seen by pastoral theologians as being dependent upon the clergy's ability to provide a high standard of both spiritual and temporal assistance, so mid-Victorian pastoral criteria were formulated in an endeavour to improve the service rendered by the church.\(^3\) The difficulties encountered fell largely outside the scope of handbook literature (for example, problems with centralisation and rationalisation of human, physical and financial resources), with the exception of recruitment standards for the clergy. While awkward questions were raised with regard to falling ordination numbers and the problems associated with maintaining a graduate clergy in Church Congresses from the beginning of the 1860's,\(^4\) mid-Victorian writers came out staunchly in support of the

1. Bradley, op. cit., p. 76.
gentleman-heresy, if indeed they considered the question of the social origins of the clergy to be a matter for debate.1 The gentleman, the social and intellectual equal of the best man in the parish, remained the preferred clerical recruit in the mid-Victorian period.

**Late-Victorian Period 1881-1914**

The late-Victorian church was plagued by a number of endemic crises that were in turn reflected in pastoral handbook literature. Fears of imminent disestablishment, the difficulty in dealing with a rising population and a declining number of clergymen, the intellectual supremacy of science, and the increasing degree of secularisation (particularly the effects of middle class secularisation) did not find solutions in pastoral theology. Intellectually and spiritually, the late-Victorian church was confronted by changes that shook it to its very foundations. Political change as well was both fashionable and threatening (the church in Ireland had been disestablished and Welsh disestablishment was an accepted Liberal policy during the last decades of the century). Even the nature of clerical recruitment was undergoing perceptible change by the 1880's. The evangelical impetus, subject as it was to necessary periodic infusions of revivalism and new recruitment, had run its course by the end of the century, although its influence was still felt through its multifaceted

philanthropic and missionary activities.\(^1\) Christian socialism had reappeared, but was in the process of moving beyond its chartist and co-operative origins.\(^2\) The attraction of socialism to young churchmen\(^3\) posed a serious question about the church's role in late-Victorian society, a society in which the church's status and position were under attack. In those palpably fragmented, unordered times the parish clergy might well have wondered how the ideal of reconciliation was to be fulfilled.

The answer to their query offered in Anglo Catholic handbook literature was a re-evaluation and retrenchment of the gentleman-heresy. The Cambridge don Forbes Robinson defined the scope available to the late Victorian cleric:

> If, as I firmly believe, the English church is becoming more and more the Church of the people, and less and less of the respectable class only, it is because her clergy are realizing that they cannot rely upon social prestige, dignity, superior education, but only upon personal influence.\(^4\)

Nonetheless, it was the personal influence of gentlemen

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that was still preferred, and in some spheres, considered absolutely necessary.\(^1\) The continuing attachment to the definition of the priest as a scholar and a gentleman in spite of the recruitment difficulties experienced by the late-Victorian church deserves some explanation. The alliance constructed between the clergy and the gentlemanly classes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served to strengthen the bond between gentlemen and clergymen. Because many benefices (approximately half)\(^2\) were under the control of lay proprietors, a reinforcement of the alliance between the church and its secular partners by means of a gentlemanly clergy was not without advantage to both church and clergy.\(^3\) Gentlemen became clergymen because the church could offer an agreeable rural lifestyle, a suitable income for at least a portion of the clergy, career security, and opportunities for both sacred and secular self-expression. In addition, there was "the absence of any risk of total failure. ... It is easy work compared to the struggles of other callings."\(^4\) The Victorian emphasis on the personal holiness, divine inspiration and consecrated character of

the priest was an expression of protest against the threat of upper class erastianism inherited from the Georgian church. However, the social influence that its gentleman ordinands brought with them to the ministry reinforced the social privileges conferred by the clerical office, so that by the early-Victorian period the church was both the dispenser and recipient of clerical social prestige. Maintenance of the association between the gentlemanly classes and the clerical profession was necessary if the clergy were to avoid social dilution. Like needed to attract like; a gentlemanly clergy was assumed to be an independently wealthy clergy,\(^1\) a clergy of university graduates,\(^2\) a clergy of refined good taste and cultural accomplishment,\(^3\) and a clergy possessed of the intellectual acquirements necessary to guide and defend the establishment.\(^4\) The gentleman-priest was obviously educated, obviously well born, perhaps visibly cultured, and probably wealthier than most of his parishioners. The gentleman-cleric, not unnaturally, was anxious to retain

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the social position and standing with which his secular and spiritual status endowed him.

The contradiction that faced the late-Victorian church lay in the clerical ideal itself, for the stress on consecrated character as the sole motive for ordination necessarily undermined the gentleman-heresy. That the breakdown of the heresy occurred only at the end of the Victorian period in spite of mounting pressure on recruitment since mid-century from the growth of other professions, the declining prestige of an increasingly urban-oriented church, and persistent problems with clerical salaries and promotion practices, indicates the extent of the clergy's self-identification with other upper middle class, traditional professions.¹

In light of this association late-Victorian pastoralists attempted to redefine and recreate the gentleman-heresy in accordance with the realities of declining graduate recruitment and increasing financial constraint. The priest was to be a gentleman; however, the attributes of the gentleman had changed. H. E. Savage, an Anglo Catholic theologian, provided a description of these new gentlemanly qualities.

It is not necessarily required that he shall [sic] be a gentleman in the social sense, of one who has had the incomparable boon of gentle birth and training; though the parishioners are by no means oblivious to that advantage.... But it is required always that he shall be a gentleman in the truest Christian sense of

the name; a man of unfailing courtesy and sympathy, of truth and fairness in word and deed; one who holds control of himself and knows how to keep his own council...

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Canon Newbolt of St. Paul's cathedral reinforced this reinterpretation of gentlemanliness:

... what is really meant by 'being a gentleman', is a fruit of the Spirit. It is an atmosphere of a superior nature, which stamps off at once the fact that he who possesses it, and is possessed by it, has access to the noblest development of life, and is in himself, and commends himself as being, the minister of God.

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The moral and spiritual qualities emphasised in these descriptions are those of the clerical ideal (sympathy, fairness and inspiration). The clerical gentleman clearly was to possess such characteristics as sympathy and heightened moral sensibilities, but his social and educational position might well be distinctly ungentlemanly. As noted previously, however, the preference for the traditional gentleman-cleric was evident in the late-Victorian church, just as evident as it had been in early and mid-Victorian times.3

The Anglo Catholic clerical ideal in the late Victorian church envisioned the priest as a man of self-

sacrifice, self-discipline, dignity, courage, tact, forebearance, humility and unblemished moral character. Personal holiness was greatly valued.\(^1\) The clergyman was still to be regarded as the agent of social reconciliation and unity among the classes,\(^2\) and his pastoral role continued to be one primarily concerned with the unity of man and God, church and state, class with class, and man with man. Personal holiness or consecrated character had replaced all other considerations as the basis for ordination, so that failure to achieve the pastoral success that had been confidently assumed by earlier writers\(^3\) was assigned to the lack of this necessary trait.\(^4\) The late-Victorian Anglo Catholic clergyman was to bring the "highest well being"\(^5\) to his parish; the best method of accomplishing this state of affairs was a clerical moral standard pitched as high as humanly possible in order that the priest might set a perfect example for his people.\(^6\) There were not, then, any

1. Newbolt (1899), pp. 139-140, claimed that such holiness was to be the priest's aim in life; others were content to regard it as an important priestly quality: B. W. Randolph, Ember Thoughts (London, 1903), p. 98; James Wilson, Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology (London, 1903), pp. 183-184.

2. Randolph, op. cit., p. 92.


startling discrepancies or innovations between the late-Victorian high church ideal and those discussed previously, with the exception of the changing conception of the gentleman-heresy.

There were, however, wide-ranging views expressed with regard to the professional application of the clerical ideal amongst these theologians. William Stubbs, bishop of Oxford at the turn of the century, had a very clear picture of his ideal clergyman:

The good parish priest cares for his people far more than they care for themselves, bears heavily the burdens that they bear lightly, prays earnestly the prayers that they pray formally, is miserable in the sins which they persuade themselves are no sins; in his identification of himself with them, suffers for them and in them, entering, as He is sent, into the fellowship of the sufferings of the Lord.

He maintained that such parochial perfection was attainable, albeit with great difficulty, through "the unity of purpose, and the concentration of heart that marks the consciousness that we are sent of God." On the other hand, B. W. Randolph, the Anglo Catholic chaplain of Ely Theological College, took a different view of the possibility of practising an ideal that elevated ministerial sympathy onto a pedestal, all the while

2. Ibid., p. 96.
demanding spiritual, moral and social separation from the recipients of this sympathy.\textsuperscript{1} This difficulty in sympathising with people whilst maintaining the proper spiritual distance from them highlighted the contradiction that confronted the priest. W. C. E. Newbolt commented on the difficulties that the priest would encounter in the application of pastoral sympathy:

\begin{quote}
Sympathy is an easy thing in theory, but terribly difficult in practice... it is... a real suffering with another in the alterations of his pleasures and pains...
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Sympathy and separation were the keystones of the late Victorian clerical ideal, and were at one and the same time the ideal's strength and weakness. The contradiction in the ideal of applying the lessons of the incarnation, for it was upon this doctrine that pastoral sympathy was based, was inherent and unresolvable. The difficulties in the application of the ideal were, moreover, exacerbated and recognised as so being by the persistent attraction of the gentlemanly classes as the major source of clerical recruitment.\textsuperscript{3} The social and spiritual distance between priest and parishioner was therefore maximised, while at the same time the ideal demanded that the cleric's
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item 1. Randolph, \textit{Ember Thoughts}, p. 69.
\item 2. Newbolt (1894), p. 85.
\end{itemize}
consecrated character enabled him to extend an equal degree of sympathy and understanding to individuals at all social and spiritual levels.

One of the ways in which clergymen were expected to prepare for this role of sympathetic reconciliation was through private study. Throughout the nineteenth century pastoral theologians expressed dissatisfaction with the standards and practices of pre-ordination preparation given to candidates for the ministry. In general, mid-Victorian evangelicals and high churchmen supported the growth of theological colleges as the preferred method of educating ordinands, although the desire for a graduate clergy made such colleges ideally postgraduate institutions. Broad churchmen were more attached to the single standard of university education, as the liberality and independence of thought and judgment required by the clergy could, they argued, only be acquired by a liberal education.

From the early-Victorian years, evangelicals were interested in a system of practical, experientially based training that would provide pre-ordination candidates with a solid foundation for future endeavours. Charles Bridges recommended that young men wishing to enter the ministry

should be given a variety of jobs, such as supervising the Sunday school, teaching the poor and visiting the sick before they took deacon's orders. Such a pastoral apprenticeship would provide:

an insight into the real condition of the future subjects of the parochial Ministration, and the acquaintance with their modes of expression, their peculiar difficulties and temptations, the causes of their ignorance, the wisest and most successful avenues of approach to them - this is knowledge, in which it will be well to be initiated, before the solemn obligation is undertaken; and the defect of which gives a general and therefore unimpressive character to the early ministrations of many excellent pastors.

This attempt to provide some pre-ordination experience, while at the same time discouraging obviously unsuitable men from pursuing clerical careers, was designed to fill the gap between university graduation at the age of twenty-two and the commencement of the diaconate a year later. This apprenticeship was commonly regarded as an opportunity to consolidate the process of spiritual separation between clergy and laity that was so necessary in a successful ministry. Mid-Victorian evangelicals continued to support this concept of clerical apprenticeship, whereby a young deacon might become acquainted with "the wants, and habits, and ways of the

1. Bridges, op. cit., p. 64.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Ibid., p. 66.
poor", and improve his ability to communicate with the people to whom he was to minister.¹ The academic regime of the ancient universities was considered to be an inadequate preparation for clerical life because the clergyman needed more than minimum standards of theological knowledge if he wished to be a teacher of his people.² The diaconate might also be better employed; the year spent previous to taking priest's orders was regarded as a special training period for future clerics, when opportunities for learning how to catechise children and deal with the poor might be utilised to best advantage.³

High church mid-Victorian writers supported the creation of theological colleges rather than the informal method of apprenticeship to prepare men for their ministry. Theological colleges provided opportunities for retreat from temporal pressures and demands in order to promote devotion to spiritual concerns.⁴ They were also centres wherein the necessary clerical knowledge of theology, church history, the liturgy and homiletics that was unavailable in the universities was taught.⁵ However, a university education was widely recognised as

2. Ibid., p. 27.
5. Ibid., p. 2.
indispensable, and specialised training at a theological college was not viewed as a substitute for the university, but an addition thereto.

By the turn of the century, Anglo Catholic authors felt that theological colleges had finally found widespread acceptance among their adherents in the church, and that the influence wielded by college men was being felt in terms of preparation and pastoral practice. The number of ordinands declined, first in proportion to the rising population, and then absolutely, after the middle of the 1880's. Rather than alter their devotional or spiritual standards for ordination, however, Anglo Catholic pastoralists raised the levels of personal commitment and professional training so as to reduce the number of candidates who might qualify for ordination. Anglo Catholic writers regarded the creation of a sufficiently holy and well trained clergy as an advantage that would overcome all disadvantages encountered by a declining number of priests. Clerical quality, not quantity, was to be the deciding factor in the late-Victorian spiritual renaissance.

3. The Official Year Book of the Church of England, volumes for 1884 and 1913, show that the average annual number of ordinands entering the church between 1872 and 1882 was 728; in the years 1882 to 1913, this average fell to 685. 'The Supply of Candidates for Holy Orders', p. 7 substantiates this late Victorian decline in clerical recruitment.
University education was regarded as "invaluable"\(^1\) by late-Victorian high church pastoralists because it broadened and enriched the clerical mind;\(^2\) this does not mean, however, that graduation was regarded as confirmation of social status at the turn of the century in the same way as it had been in the early and mid-Victorian periods. The function of late-Victorian Anglo Catholic and evangelical colleges was "to train the soul",\(^3\) and to provide a spiritual system that was to endure throughout the cleric's career. Theological colleges acted as means of separating the clergy from the laity and from clergymen of other party affiliations during a formative period in their education. They also strengthened the values of spiritual elevation and personal sanctity that would enable their students to do battle with the spiritual and secular adversities of parochial life. Theological colleges were never, however, regarded as substitutes for university education.\(^4\)

The creation of a learned, intellectually respected clergy was one of the pillars of the professional clerical ideal that upheld the necessity for university education in order to ensure that the laity would in turn be well

1. Ibid., p. 222.
2. Ibid., p. 223.
3. Ibid., p. 231.
taught. However, the ideal also stressed the active pursuit of practical pastoral ends that made heavy demands on both the priest's time and energy. Since the academic qualifications for ordination previous to the introduction of the Preliminary Examination in theology in 1874 did not in any way prepare the candidate for his profession, any intellectual and practical preparations undertaken were the result of his own initiative.

An intellectually astute clergy was regarded as the best defence against the encroachment of dissent and Roman Catholicism, and possession of an intellectually active clergy was prized by pastoral writers. Recommended reading lists for the bishops' ordination examinations and more general theological themes were provided in handbooks. A competent clergy needed to be learned in order to lead men properly to salvation. In fact, it was the superiority of clerical learning that differentiated the Anglican clergyman from the Anglican layman, according to pastoral theologians. While intellectual attainment could never by itself compensate for a lack of spiritual experience, its applicability to other aspects of an

3. Hints to Young Clergymen (London, 1835), pp. 7-22; Parnell, Ars Pastoria, p. 36; Heygate, op. cit., p. 18.
active parish ministry did not pass unnoticed. The effectiveness of sermon preparation and preaching was thought to depend upon the priest's learning, as was a biblically based understanding of human nature.¹

Mid-Victorian handbook writers of all affiliations emphasised the necessity for wide-ranging clerical reading, reading that was not to be restricted to theological topics only, but was to encompass subjects of current national interest.² Biblical study was, however, to be of primary interest to the clergyman. It was recommended that the most effective method of studying the scriptures was in the original languages;³ such advice served to reinforce the gentleman-heresy by appealing to university-educated men who would have had the necessary academic background to fulfill this recommendation.

The problem of combining a ceaselessly active ministry with a studious, contemplative life is reflected in the vehemence with which the latter aspect was defended in handbook literature. The active pastoral ideal could not be undertaken without adequate study, or the result would be a clergy only superficially learned and therefore incompetent, according to pastoralists. The broad churchman Harry Jones noted that serious scholars did not

2. Parnell, op. cit., p. 11; Oxenden, op. cit., p. 75; Vaughan (1875), p. 45; H. Jones (1866), p. 29.
make good parish clergymen;\(^1\) however, the ideal pastor was to aim at reading for one or two hours daily, in the midst of all his other responsibilities.\(^2\) Although the ideal of priestly study was staunchly maintained, it was recognised as being difficult to practice.\(^3\) The contradiction between the need for an intellectually able, studious clergy and the need to be actively employed among the people represented a serious division of interests within the clerical ideal, a division that was not resolved by Victorian handbook writers.

The Victorian clerical ideal, while neither monolithic nor insensitive, remained unchanged in its essentials throughout the nineteenth century. Clergymen of all party associations were encouraged to aim at a goal of spiritual reconciliation and human salvation by means of the exercise of personal sympathy. They were to be paragons of moral behaviour, men of learning with a personal experience of and commitment to religious life, hard working, active and capable. Divine inspiration and a sense of vocation were recognised as the standards for ordination. The parish priest was to be distinct from his parishioners, and separated from them spiritually and morally; his office was generally thought to be

2. Parnell, op. cit., p. 41.
indelible,¹ and secular pursuits, particularly those involving field sports and alternative occupations, were discouraged. The priest was required to command a more technical knowledge of his professional duties in response to external pressure on the church. While evidence is limited, there seems to have been a noticeable change in the provision of clerical services during the 1850's.

The ideal presented by handbook literature was unified, and free of most of the sectarian bitterness that affected other aspects of theology and practice in an internally divided church. Elements of the clerical ideal did not go unopposed, particularly that of the gentleman-heresy. The identification of a gentlemanly educational standard with gentlemanly social and economic status supported the practice of recruiting graduate ordinands. However, in spite of fears about social dilution, an alteration in the clerical definition of the gentleman by the late-Victorian period had been achieved, although it was necessitated by the church's inability to recruit sufficient numbers of graduate ordinands.

The Pastoral Ideal

The pastoral ideal altered the perceptions of, as well as about, the parish clergy. No longer could they fail to reside, hold a number of scattered benefices, or ignore the canonical injunction to perform double rather

¹ Heeney (1976), pp. 15-17.
than single Sunday services. Their time was not their own; they were to belong to God and their parishioners, in that order. Secular activities were curtailed, and socialising in secular company restricted; prayer and devotion were to strengthen the divinely ordained priestly persona so that the minister might prove himself a perfect vessel of spiritual reconciliation and an agent of unity. Parochial work came to occupy the energy of the bulk of the English clergy. It was in the nation's parishes that the clerical ideal was to be applied, and handbook writers identified a variety of specific activities associated with and necessitated by that ideal on which they instructed their readers. It is these themes of pastoral literature that will be examined in an attempt to illustrate the content of informal clerical educational material in Victorian handbooks.

**General Parochial Work**

Early-Victorian evangelical clergymen could turn to writers like Charles Bridges, vicar of Old Newton, Suffolk and a popular pastoral writer, to have the nature of their everyday parochial responsibilities explained to them.

The Pastoral work is the personal application of the pulpit ministry to the proper individualities of our people - looking upon them severally, as having a distinct and separate claim upon our attention, cares, and anxiety; ... and commending to their hearts a suitable exhibition and offer of salvation.

For this purpose we must acquaint ourselves with their situation, habits, character, state of heart, peculiar wants, and difficulties....

The picture of a diligent pastor, concerned with the spiritual well being of every man, woman and child in the parish, emerges from this description of the early-Victorian pastoral ideal. For evangelicals in particular, pastoral work meant a singularly active and involved ministry among the people. The church was regarded as the basic institution of social cohesion, for it brought men of all classes together in performance of the duty of public worship. Ministers were instructed not to expect instant or visible success in their endeavours, were warned of the particular obstacles to pastoral work that might be encountered in urban parishes, and apprised of the elements of the ministry of reconciliation that were described as "disinterested condescension, infinite humility, and compassionate tenderness". Because the basic tenet of evangelicalism focused on atonement and the necessity for individual conversion, the church and clergy were to be concerned with each and every soul, regardless

1. Bridges, op. cit., p. 344.
2. Evans, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
4. Ibid., p. 87.
5. Ibid., p. 82.
of the individual's denominational preferences. The spiritual welfare of non-Anglicans, therefore, was regarded as being the legitimate concern of the clergy in the same way as was the welfare of their own parishioners.

Of great interest to evangelical writers was the attraction of new dissent. The correct application of pastoral work was, however, expected to overcome nonconformist schism.

When they see you regularly superintending your parish, systematically visiting them as your sheep, diligent in your attentions, kind in your address, earnest in your duty, abounding towards them in works and love, as well as discharging the office of a clear and faithful interpreter of the Word of God, they will feel that you are their shepherd, and will be gradually drawn to you as to him that has the oversight of them.

1

There were also lessons from evangelical writers in bridging the social gap in order to teach the working classes of the necessity of salvation and a reminder of the principal cause of ministerial insufficiency -- the lack of divine influence. Rather surprisingly, in view of the evangelical interest in philanthropy, the clergy's role in social welfare activities was not given specific mention by either Bridges or Robert Evans, the two evangelical authors examined.

1. Evans, op. cit., p. 54.
3. Ibid., p. 79.
The eighteenth-century clerical ideal had emphasised "personal religious intercourse" between pastor and parishioner. In 1830 bishop Richard Mant was convinced that the early Victorian clergy had grasped the significance of this method of parochial influence, particularly as a defence against dissent. For those concerned with acquiring basic pastoral information, instruction manuals in church law and general sacramental practice were available by the 1830's. Broad church writers considered parochial work to be so intrinsically difficult that by nature it required an ability to teach in order to bring religion to the people. Like the evangelicals, broad churchmen embraced a ceaselessly active pastoral model; to assist him in his record keeping, the busy broad church minister was encouraged to maintain a parish register for his own private use, a suggestion that was echoed by later writers.

The Anglo Catholic Hugh James Rose closely identified the nature of pastoralia with the goal of high church

3. C. Hodgson, Instructions for the Use of Candidates for Holy Orders and of the Parochial Clergy (London, 1850), and Hints to Young Clergymen.
5. Ibid., p. 179, and Mant, op. cit., p. 27.
7. Mant, op. cit., pp. 337-338. See appendices 2 and 3 for a reconstruction of two recommended registers.
parochial work: "... it is no less than the elevation of a large portion of the human family from the domination of ignorance and sin...".¹ The priest's role as conciliator and divinely inspired channel of grace was to grant him the authority to absolve repentent sinners, and to perform the public and private sacraments of the church.² His main concern in his parochial work was the education of his people, so that they might attain spiritual happiness from a world in which poverty and the drudgery of manual labour were divinely instituted.³ The object of parochial work was the reconciliation of heavenly and human societies, and this was to be accomplished by the clergy in their role as

agents for effecting a blessed change in our brethren, for exalting them from the low and melancholy condition wherein, by themselves, they must remain, and of raising them from almost the level of the animal creation, to the enjoyment and dignity of a spiritual and intellectual existence.⁴

In the two early-Victorian high church handbooks examined, threats of erastianism and the exertion of unjustifiable secular pressures on the clergy and church were emphasised. Rose, in a pretractarian collection of sermons, decried the popular perception of the role of

1.  Rose, op. cit., p. 83.
2.  Ibid., pp. 9, 43.
3.  Ibid., pp. 84-85.
4.  Ibid., p. 85.
religion "as a supplement to Law, and an aid to Police;".\textsuperscript{1} He was equally dismissive of state attempts to treat the clergy as "a body of men whose business it is to enforce the obligations to good order and moral duty, and terrify those who might hope to evade human laws, ...".\textsuperscript{2}

In his book on the professionalisation of the Anglican clergy during the nineteenth century, Anthony Russell provides plentiful evidence of the ways in which the post-French revolutionary clergy acted as agents of social control and law and order.\textsuperscript{3} He has identified two methods by which the clergy of the established church contributed to the maintenance of order: first, they were active in the formal means of social control (the secular and ecclesiastical courts); and second, they were highly effective local agents of an informal social control.\textsuperscript{4} As Russell notes,

\begin{quote}
The risk of provoking the disapproval of the man who controlled the local school, the local charities, and much else in village life, was a strong sanction in itself against disruptive behaviour.
\end{quote}

There can be no doubt that the withdrawal of vicarage-

\begin{enumerate}
\item Rose, op. cit., p. 5.
\item Ibid., p. 6; Soloway, \textit{Prelates and People}, pp. 238-241.
\item Russell, op. cit., pp. 146-168.
\item Ibid., p. 148.
\item Ibid., p. 153.
\end{enumerate}
dispensed welfare assistance represented a threat to be reckoned with for poor parishioners, and that this threat acted as a means of enforcing clerical social control. ¹ Rose's fears about the misuse of the early-Victorian clergy's considerable peacekeeping powers were far from baseless; indeed, according to the Quarterly Review in 1833 the church's great advantage was its ability to maintain order in the countryside.²

The impression gained from reading early-Victorian handbook literature is that of a church and clergy seriously engaged in a conscious attempt to promote widespread spiritual change in individuals and thus in society. Targets for change, however, had to be chosen with care. The gentlemen-clergy, regardless of their admittedly inadequate eighteenth-century performance, were to be maintained, and personal study was expected to compensate for the absence of formal clerical training. Moreover, there was little understanding of the spiritual or moral reality of dissent, which was seen in terms of either fears for the security of the establishment, or in terms of relief that the church had so far been delivered from the danger of schism.³ The parish clergy were being asked by pastoral theologians (some of whom were in a position to demand compliance in their request) to perform

1. Ibid., pp. 162-163.
2. Ibid., p. 167.
their duties in a manner quite unlike that of former ages, and handbook literature in the early-Victorian period made an honest attempt to give them assistance. These pastoral writers, however, found themselves overwhelmed by changes beyond their control and comprehension, and the solutions they offered represented a desire to return to an imagined state of pre-modern holiness (tractarianism), or an emphasis on evangelical Christian character formation. Neither answer was an adequate solution to social and organisational difficulties experienced by the church. It was, however, reasonable to assume that an improvement in the quality of parochial service would result in the attraction of parishioners and go some way towards assuaging external threats affecting both church and clergy. Clearly, one of the most effective ways of improving these services lay in the improvement of the quality and quantity of clergymen. Committed to a self-perception that made the clergy bridges of communication and moral elevation in society, the handbook writers did not recognise that the forces of anticlericalism, irreligion and dissent were largely impervious to the measured and well meaning application of pastoral first principles laid down in handbook literature.

Mid-Victorian high church authors, bearing in mind their emphasis on the primacy of salvation in terms of the pastoral ideal, viewed the priest's role in the parish to be "the guidance, protection, instruction and comfort of those souls is our work; those acts and word which will
conduce to that end are the one absorbing object of our life.\textsuperscript{1} In practice, this would entail such diverse activities as preaching, visiting, catechising, performance of public and private sacraments, teaching, studying and prayer. The organisational skills required to incorporate most of these activities efficiently into the working day were not possessed by the majority of mid-Victorian clergymen, according to high church pastoralists,\textsuperscript{2} and therefore more effort was needed to improve clerical effectiveness and preserve the church's reputation and dignity. Edward Monro, whose pastoral work and writing spanned the early and mid-Victorian periods (he was perpetual curate of an agricultural parish in Kent, and then vicar of St. John's, Leeds), claimed that the clergy were "desultory" in their pastoral methods.\textsuperscript{3} Perhaps this was a result of the conviction that professional failure, measured in secular terms, was impossible. After induction into his benefice, the priest operated as an independent agent, and his income was due whether he performed his duties adequately or not. The mid-Victorian pastoral ideal dictated that he should exceed the minimum requirements, but there was no ready disciplinary measure available to either the bishops or the laity that would bring quick reinforcement of the required standard of clerical behaviour, for:

3. Ibid., p. 68.
If he be in attendance at the given hours on Sunday, preach two sermons of twenty-five minutes each, which must have not been delivered within two years past, baptize, bury, and marry at the hours appointed, he is free alike from the stringency of any definite external law, and from any further expectation from society.

Any clergyman who acted in the way mentioned above was certain to fall short of fulfilling his responsibility for the individual knowledge of his parishioners' religious habits, without which he would be uninformed about the state of religion in his parish. Such a situation could only be the result of a lack of clerical application and would contravene the most readily visible and quantifiable element of the pastoral ideal, that of ceaseless activity. It was not, however, necessary for the priest himself to know all his parishioners in an urban parish, for curates and lay assistants could provide him with information. The clergy were to minister to everyone in their parishes in order to live up to the ideal of spiritual reconciliation and render the church good service. It was hoped that hard work might disarm dissenting and secularist attacks made upon the church and clergy, for a visibly active clergy would not be so vulnerable to charges of sloth and disinterest in the welfare of the people and the nation. As in the early-

1. Ibid., p. 69.
Victorian literature there was little concern with the priest's secular role as welfare officer, although the clergy did continue to fulfil this role. Indeed, it was that sphere of temporal activity that brought the minister into contact with many of his parishioners, rather than through church attendance.

Clerical indispensability was promised in return for devotion of mind and body to the parish and the church. The broad church pastoralist Frank Parnell claimed that "People may abuse you as much as they like, but they cannot do without you, if you are good and able." The importance of the pastoral office was paramount, for the clergy were to be responsible for "our schools, and our pulpits, and the pastoral care of our people." This pastoral care was to be wide-ranging:

They are to be the expounders of doctrine, and the guides of conscience in all on which it most concerns men to be instructed - on the will and commands of God - on matters of faith, and conduct - on the conditions of pardon, and peace, and eternal life...

The object of this extensive obligation was, according to broad churchmen Harry Jones and Richard Whately, to bring

1. H. Jones (1875), pp. 31-33.
3. Ibid., p. 43.
4. Sandford (1862), pp. 122-123.
5. Ibid., p. 123.
people to an individually motivated study of the scriptures so that they might receive spiritual instruction directly from God rather than from man.\(^1\) Charles Vaughan defined the backbone of parochial work as preaching and visitation,\(^2\) although he himself had little practice in this work previous to his appointment as vicar of Doncaster in 1860, as he had spent the past fifteen years in the headmastership of Harrow school.

Like high church writers, broad church pastoral theologians stressed an active parochial ministry in order to ward off the dangers of dissent\(^3\) and recognised the necessity of dealing with parishioners on an individual basis.\(^4\) There were, however, occasional challenges made to this concept of individual application. The broad church vicar of the London slum parish of St. George's-in-the-East, Harry Jones, agreed with his high church colleague J. J. Blunt in opposing the prevailing concern with individualism;\(^5\) by adopting a policy of "enlarged perception and combined use of the great laws of life which God reveals", he attempted to circumvent the problems associated with sectarian parochial social and moral

4. Ibid., p. 4.
welfare schemes, and bring the clergyman into contact with his parishioners on a rational, rather than a denominational, basis. Alone among the mid-Victorian writers surveyed, Jones presented a picture of parochial life that was critical of the pastoral ideal's ability to produce spiritual and social harmony.

'Pastoral work', as it is called, moved mostly in narrow ruts, and gives limited and broken views of the field of labour. House to house visitation, sick visiting, provident clubs, penny banks, classes, lectures, institutes, day, night and Sunday schools, mothers' meetings... occupy his time. And yet, in the face of all this strenuous carefulness of industry, inspired by incessant desire to be doing good among the 'poor' or 'working classes', what is really their general attitude towards the Church as a centre and channel of Divine influence?

He had no illusions about the church's function as far as his parishioners were concerned:

... this daily care and toil results in the smallest appreciation of the clergyman's spiritual mission by those for and amongst he mainly works. They value him chiefly for what they can get out of him in a worldly sense.

The question of the role of pastoral work in such a situation was answered by Jones' determination to take a lead in social improvement schemes in his parish, and to

2. Ibid., p. 31.
3. Ibid., p. 32.
use his office and social position to spearhead reform.\textsuperscript{1} Here Jones was effectively (if only tacitly) arguing for the maintenance of the gentleman-heresy. He was suggesting that the cleric, as an educated man, should uphold his traditional responsibility for secular as well as spiritual leadership, especially in view of the paucity or even total absence of other educated, qualified laymen in urban areas who might undertake welfare work. Other mid-Victorian broad churchmen were not opposed to pastoral involvement in such work,\textsuperscript{2} but stressed the primacy of the unifying nature of spiritual reconciliation rather than that of social amelioration.

The mid-Victorian evangelical Ashton Oxenden also understood that the working classes would abuse, and in turn be abused by, a view of the church solely as an institution of social relief. He recommended that the minister should judiciously separate the functions of spiritual and temporal assistance.\textsuperscript{3} Like his broad church contemporaries, Oxenden heartily approved of clerically operated welfare associations (for example, coal, clothing and shoe clubs, and penny savings banks).\textsuperscript{4} He stressed, however, that the aim of the ministry and parochial work was conversion, and that the clerical role in society was

1. Ibid., p. 40.


4. Ibid., p. 220.
that of a promoter of spiritual reconciliation.¹ In this he was supported by other evangelicals,² reflecting their primary concern with individual salvation rather than with broadly based social action. The minister, as a result of his spiritually refined and differentiated nature, was seen to play an important part in the conversion process and both Oxenden and Weldon Champneys, rector of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, were sensitive to the problem of maintaining clerical motivation in the face of apparent lack of success.³ Both counselled patience and renewed effort. By the very nature of their concern with conversion evangelicals were committed to a personal knowledge of the spiritual, moral and physical status of their parishes.⁴

Essential to the early and mid-Victorian clergyman's proper involvement in his parish was the knowledge gained through his traditional role as amateur physician and dispenser of medicines. In his chapter on the clergy's activities as officers of health,⁵ Russell points out that the clergy undertook a variety of medical tasks because they regarded aid to the sick as a spiritual duty, and

1. Ibid., p. 8.
2. Champneys (1862), p. 76 and (1866), pp. 3-4.
4. Champneys (1862), p. 69 calculated that in the ideally sized parish of 3,300 inhabitants the priest would have a complete knowledge of his parishioners.
because "the public expectation of the role of a country gentleman was that he should be prepared to look after the people who lived in his village at times of widespread disease or personal accident."^1 Thus country clergymen were conspicuous in their support for county hospitals,^2 and until the late Victorian period the vicarage remained an important centre for medical assistance.\(^3\) There were even early Victorian handbooks written specifically to assist clergymen with their medical diagnoses and procedures.\(^4\)

With the changing structure and growth of the medical profession in the nineteenth century the rural tradition of 'doctoring' their parishioners lapsed, although the clergy continued to discharge duties relating to parochial health in a more indirect fashion. They devoted themselves instead to organising sick clubs and charitable schemes within the parish\(^5\) in an attempt to alleviate distress. They were also interested in the larger issues of public health and sanitation;\(^6\) bishop Blomfield of London encouraged house to house visiting by the clergy

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1. Ibid., p. 205.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Ibid., p. 207.
4. For example, Medicina Clerica, or Hints to the Clergy (London, 1821).
6. Ibid., p. 209.
not only for spiritual reasons, but also as a means of keeping in contact with the city's state of health.¹

The professionalisation of the Victorian clergy entailed a new emphasis on the charter functions of the clerical role, as determined by the prayer book ordinal discussed at the beginning of the chapter. The evangelical and tractarian movements, with their stress on the spirituality and otherworldliness of the cleric, argued against a continuation of the eighteenth-century situation in which the clergy were actively involved in secular politics.² Russell makes the point that pre-Victorian political activity was an effective way of gaining favour (and thereby security and promotion) in an overcrowded profession,³ and that these "'black recruiting sergeants'"⁴ wielded considerable local power. By the mid-Victorian period, however, there was a marked reduction in the clergy's political activity because party politics were seen to be incompatible with the new professional clerical ideal⁵ that emphasised the priest's essentially spiritual nature. In addition, the ties between the clergy and squirearchy (in effect, the gentleman-heresy) grew progressively weaker as the century wore on and the

3. Loc. cit.
4. Ibid., p. 218.
5. Ibid., p. 222.
middle class urban cleric was not in the same position as his gentlemanly rural predecessors had been in terms of political influence.\(^1\) Finally, there was no longer the need in the mid-Victorian church for a man to tout for patronage in the same way that there had been a hundred years previously, since the decline of nonresidence and pluralism, combined with the wholesale creation of new urban livings, had resulted in the growth of professional opportunities.\(^2\)

The clergy diverted their attention from political activity on party lines to arenas more congenial to their already established interests and social welfare activities.\(^3\) They were vitally concerned with sanitation and housing reform, and the adoption and administration of education, poor law and factory legislation.\(^4\) Although such interests were definitely secular, they were also closely connected to the clergy's traditional concerns, and to the pastoral ideal's emphasis on the role of the clergyman as an agent of social as well as spiritual reconciliation.

High church writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued to maintain that spiritual

1. Ibid., p. 223.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Ibid., p. 224.
4. Loc. cit.
reconciliation should be the aim of pastoral attention.\(^1\) Of particular interest to this group was an increased provision for daily church services performed, since this was regarded as an integral link between priest and people.\(^2\) Some late-Victorian churchmen allowed that the church could not be indifferent to welfare-related problems,\(^3\) while others regarded their role in terms of the fulfillment of a strictly sacred function and disparaged clerical participation in secular activities designed to promote social improvement.\(^4\) This high church debate on the priest's function in society reflected the more general insecurities experienced by the church in late-Victorian society. The alternatives regarding change that confronted the church raised serious questions about the viability of the establishment and the role of the church in the twentieth century in the face of declining attendance and declining influence. Clerical bodies such as Church Convocations and Congresses discussed matters of secular social reform regularly but there were limited outlets for expression of policies that emerged from such discussions. With a significant section of the high


3. A. W. Robinson, op. cit., pp. 117-118; Wilson, op. cit., p. 45 offers a liberal approach to the clerical role in secular social welfare activities.

church parish clergy committed to an ideal that excluded extensive participation in temporal welfare work in favour of the development of a more spiritually centred ministry, the difficulties in implementing a coherent church-wide social policy would have been considerable.

While some late-Victorian clerics detected a decline in party spirit within the church,¹ the evidence suggests that there was a much stronger argument for the opposite opinion. The distance between ritualist slum priests and the bulk of the hierarchy, and between these priests and the majority of the parish clergy, was testimony to this, as were the repeated calls for unity made by handbook writers.² Compounding these internal conflicts was the environment in which the church was operating. Churchmen, the clergy in particular, perceived themselves and the establishment as being subject to ever-present pressures from secular forces hostile to the church.³ Assailed from without and divided within, the differences in the interpretation of the late-Victorian pastoral ideal reflected some of the wider issues in which the church was embroiled.

The consecrated character of the priest continued to be emphasised by late-Victorian high church writers.⁴

4. Stubbs, op. cit., p. 4; Savage, op. cit., p. 179.
highest minds and spirits were to be brought to bear on pastoral work, on "questions educational and missionary and social; questions as to schools and services and preaching and visiting and guilds and clubs and finance."^ However, the need for an individual knowledge of parishioners, while mentioned in late-Victorian literature, was not given the same emphasis as previous high church material had allowed. Parishioners were to be loved and cared for, and even respected, but the overwhelming obstacle of urban numbers was recognised and allowance was made for the impossibility of the task of individual knowledge.

An examination of handbook literature reveals that the ideal formulated by pastoral theologians defined the nature and duties of parochial work for the Victorian clergy. There was considerable consistency within church parties throughout the period as to the conduct and composition of parochial work, although differences concerning the clergyman's role in social welfare work did emerge towards the end of the nineteenth century. There was, moreover, general agreement on the importance of parochial work, even if agreement on all the details of its scope and administration was not reached.

The relationship between the clerical and pastoral ideals was symbiotic. The clerical ideal consisted of five essential professional elements. The clergyman was to be possessed of a divinely consecrated character, and therefore spiritually differentiated from his parishioners. His understanding of human nature, gained through pastoral experience, was to result in the extension of spiritual and temporal sympathy to all parishioners, regardless of social position. He was to be hard working, diligent and constant in his ministrations. By acting as a father to his spiritual children the priest would necessarily acquire an intimate knowledge of his parish, and would learn to love the individuals for whom he was responsible. Finally, by fulfilling these sacred and secular responsibilities the cleric would act as an agent of spiritual and social reconciliation, thereby ensuring that the Church of England assumed its rightful place as an institution of national reconciliation.

Of these five basic tenets of the clerical and pastoral ideals, only three supported the upholding of the early and mid-Victorian gentleman-heresy. Divine decree and spiritual differentiation could not be limited only to those men who had received a university education, particularly in the face of the late-Victorian church's recruitment problems. Hard work and unceasing activity that offered few visible rewards and only uncertain success were not the traditional domain of gentlemanly interest. On the other hand, the gentleman's qualities of
leadership, his educational background, knowledge of people and procedures, and his economic status were all important to the fulfillment of a rurally based clerical ideal. Moreover, the late Victorian challenge to the gentleman-heresy caused by the church's failure to compete with other professions for the services of university graduates occasionally reinforced the appeal of gentlemanly recruitment practices; one late-Victorian Anglo Catholic writer considered the narrowing social distance between priest and parishioner caused by changes in the social composition of the clergy to have contributed to the difficulties of pastoral relations with the laity. In other words, even the removal of the major obstacle between priest and layman (that is, social distance) did not resolve the difficulties faced by the late-Victorian church.

The concerns of pastoral theologians reflected the church's larger concern with its vulnerability to erastian attack and its dedication to promoting spiritual and social unity. The contradiction between guarantees of spiritual success via consecrated character and the impossibility of determining such success or failure on either spiritual or practical basis made an emphasis on clerical activity and accountability necessary in order to

provide some standard of judgment that was accessible to non-Anglicans in order to justify the continued existence of an established church.

**Clerical Separation**

The clerical ideal emphasised the spiritual and moral distance between clergy and laity in order to support the standard of consecrated character that was the foundation of the ideal. Eighteenth-century gentlemen had not separated themselves and their interests from those of their social peers. Indeed, one of the advantages of a pre-Victorian clerical career had been the opportunity for a gentlemanly lifestyle that it afforded. After the evangelical revival, however, it was the spiritual rather than the social advantages of ordination that were stressed.¹

There were three modes of clerical separation operating in the nineteenth-century church: the spiritual distinction between clerics and laymen; the social, intellectual and physical separation of clergy and parishioners; and the separation and isolation of the clergy within the church itself as a result of party alignments. The ideal of a clergy who were actively involved in their people's every joy and sorrow² required from Victorian clerics standards of application and dedication to parish life that had not been deemed

2. Savage, op. cit., p. 16.
necessary or even desirable for most churchmen during the previous century. Indeed, it was eighteenth-century negligence that had caused nineteenth-century difficulties and widened the gap between church and people, according to the mid-Victorian view of the clerical situation.\(^1\) The problem of clerical isolation due to church party affiliation was recognised during the late Victorian period,\(^2\) and it was also recognised that this division did erect barriers between colleagues. It was difficult under such circumstances for the clergy to bring a semblance of unity to the secular world when it eluded them in their internal relationships.

It was, however, the continuing existence of the second category of separation that presented the pastoral ideal with its most intractable problems. The prescriptions of the gentleman-heresy determined that social and academic differences between clergy and laity would exist, although it was not possible to predict exactly how these differences would influence the practical workings of the ideal. It is clear that handbook writers preferred dealing with the spiritual rather than the social aspects of clerical distinction, for in proclaiming the imperative for consecrated character all were in agreement. Separation occurred by means of ordination;\(^3\) the clerical character required

2. Whitham, op. cit., p. 177.
3. Evans, op. cit., p. 1; Stubbs, op. cit., p. 118.
separation from the secular world in order to maintain its purity and forcefulness.\(^1\) There was a fear of spiritual and moral contamination from secular temptations, particularly when dealing with the working classes, that lingered until the end of the mid-Victorian period. This fear turned the pastoral ideal upside down; instead of raising the untutored and restoring them to grace, the minister was regarded as being in danger of lowering himself to their subhuman level by prolonged contact with them.\(^2\) This fear of working and even middle class values was discussed previously and related to the educational policies of the public schools that sought to reinforce the social distance between the classes in order to affirm the gentlemanly and upper middle class status of their students.

In spite of a broad church realisation that the gentleman-priest would find difficulty communicating with his parishioners,\(^3\) and mid-Victorian sensitivity about separating the clerical persona from upper class social behaviour so as to guarantee respect for the priest's office,\(^4\) the persistent appeal of a graduate clergy upheld

1. Bridges, op. cit., p. 116; Evans, op. cit., p. 92; Whitham, op. cit., p. 76.

2. Parnell, op. cit., p. 10; he suggests that the priest's innate spiritual superiority would overcome any tendency towards degradation that dealing with the poor might encourage.

3. Whately, op. cit., p. 8 and Jones (1866), p. 27.

4. Monro (1851), p. 34.
the tradition of a socially elite ministry throughout the Victorian period. The highly visible alliance between the squirearchy and the clergy in dress, manners, speech and general lifestyle was to be avoided lest it further alienate parishioners, according to the mid-Victorian high church pastoralist W. E. Heygate;¹ and J. H. Blunt gave warning that the clergy were in danger of worldliness if they dealt extensively with their equals in the parish, especially on social occasions.²

The Victorian clergy, however, were by no means encased in a totally inflexible caste system that denied entry to nongentlemen. Because a 'gentleman' was one who had graduated from university,³ sizars, servitors and bible clerks from charity and grammar schools possessed access to a clerical career in addition to those graduates who brought with them "the incomparable boon of gentle birth and training". It must be noted, however, that the number of scholarships and studentships offered by the ancient universities was declining throughout the nineteenth century,⁴ so that fewer poor scholars were matriculating at Oxford and Cambridge.

The preference for a graduate clergy effectively determined that most Victorian priests would have been

1. Heygate, op. cit., p. 47.
4. Archdall, op. cit., p. 11.
removed from first hand experience of the lives of the bulk of their middle and working class parishioners. Although the social distance between priest and people was recognised as a source of difficulty, early and mid-Victorian pastoral theologians thought that the exercise of ministerial sympathy (that is, divinely inspired intuition) could overcome any secular obstacles that might exist. Clergymen, isolated individuals labouring in comparative obscurity among masses of people who did not share their intellectual or spiritual interests, were themselves as alienated from their environment as their people were from the church.

Bridging the Social Gap

By ameliorating the poor, according to the early-Victorian broad churchman Edward Bather, the clergy would be performing a much needed activity:

namely, to bring together and cement into one well-compacted body the several grades of society, so that the poor shall not envy the rich, nor the rich pass by the poor.

While the pastoral ideal was primarily concerned with the priest's role in spiritual reconciliation, his function as social ameliorator was not overlooked in handbook literature. One of the defences made for a gentlemanly clergy was the unquestioned temporal advantage of social

1. Bather, op. cit., p. 231.
equality with the upper classes,\textsuperscript{1} while the priest's traditional role as almsgiver and educator provided access to the poor.\textsuperscript{2}

Unlike most mid-Victorian evangelical or high church writers, unlike even most broad churchmen, the London slum priest Harry Jones was committed to a vision of clerical leadership in distinctly secular spheres of activity as well as in religious matters.\textsuperscript{3} The clergy, particularly those in large city parishes, were often the only educated men in the area and had a responsibility for social improvement and leadership.\textsuperscript{4} He was equally adamant, however, that the pastoral office should not be regarded as merely another social service agency, for the result of such thinking was "the perversion of the sacred office and the promotion of a false feeble standard of clerical duty."\textsuperscript{5} Instead, he viewed the real vocation of the minister to be "to teach others and to show forth in himself."\textsuperscript{6}

There seems to have been a more qualified commitment by mid-Victorian broad churchmen to a pastoral ideal with

\begin{itemize}
  \item J. H. Blunt, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
  \item Bridges, op. cit., pp. 353-354.
  \item H. Jones (1875), pp. 39-41.
  \item Ibid., p. 37.
  \item Loc. cit.
  \item H. Jones (1866), p. 211.
\end{itemize}
tenets that were recognised as being "almost incompatible". Even so, the demand that a clergyman be a student, pastor, preacher;... occupy the pulpit,... work the parish,... drill the school,... manage the accounts,... superintend the charities,... take the lead in every beneficent and scientific institution; and... bear a prominent part in the social intercourse of life...

was not seriously questioned by most broad churchmen. Broad church pastors recommended a higher degree of involvement in secular parochial activities than their colleagues from other party affiliations, although in practice there does not seem to have been any notable disparity in the level of such activity on the basis of affiliation. The function of the mid-Victorian broad church pastor was in the final analysis distinctly spiritual. It was the degree of temporal activity promoted by pastoral theologians that differed, rather than the commitment to the primacy of spirituality.

The mid-Victorian minister was to be the one man in the parish who had a definite picture of the overall requirements and deficiencies of the area. He was a "true republican" according to Harry Jones,

2. Ibid., p. 125.
admonish both the highest and the lowest orders of society as a result of his privileged spiritual position. Mid-Victorian writers of all party affiliations agreed that the clerical office should be used to reduce the distance between the ranks of society.¹

The gentleman-cleric also functioned as a link between the classes on a practical day-to-day basis. The mid-Victorian broad church writer Edward Spooner related the tale of young 'Willy S.', injured in an accident with a horse and wagon. The local physician wanted a surgeon to operate on the boy's leg, and arranged this through Spooner's good offices.

He [the doctor] was anxious... to have the assistance of a famous operator, who lived a few miles off, and wanted to know whether I would speak to the squire about the matter, as he was not personally acquainted with him.... The squire immediately despatched a groom to request Mr. F. to meet the surgeon at the lad's house at 7 o'clock in the morning.

There were a number of suggestions as to how the social gap might be bridged by clergymen. There was an Anglo Catholic plea for clerical acceptance of working class culture;² the use of Sunday schools as promoters of

² Spooner, op. cit., p. 185.
³ Monro (1851), p. 240.
social unity was suggested;¹ the curate's supposedly disinterested role in parish affairs might be exploited;² and parochial day schools could act as a focus for both middle and working class interest in education.³

The distance between the classes in Victorian society was certainly acknowledged by handbook writers and was recognised by late-Victorian authors as a threat to traditional parochial life.⁴ According to the pastoral ideal, however, the late-Victorian parish clergy could narrow the gap between themselves and their parishioners by practising the tenets of diligence and spiritual purity.

Visitation

Domestic visitation was hailed by pastoral theologians as the lynchpin of Victorian parochial work; it was the visible application of the principles of the pastoral ideal. Its aim was to bridge the social and spiritual breaches between church and people by bringing clerical influence into the home. By so doing, the clergyman was mounting an assault on the individual parishioner's spiritual and social isolation and extending the unity of pastoral practice to rich and poor alike.

Some of the most important tenets of the pastoral ideal were to be fulfilled through visitation, notably the individualised attention to spiritual status in an effort to put salvation within the reach of everyone, and promotion of spiritual and social reconciliation.

Handbook writers placed a high premium on the value of domestic visiting.

Until you have not only visited, but begun a regularly arranged plan of visitation, you have neither exercised your spiritualities, nor earned your temporalities,

wrote the early Victorian evangelical Robert Evans, and other authors of that period agreed with him. As beneficial as visitation was to the people, it was regarded as being equally useful for the cleric, as the broad church archdeacon Edward Bather commented:

... we convince the people that we take an interest in them, we come also to acquaint ourselves with their habits of thinking, and with their particular prejudices and errors, and to see how we may order our public discourses so as to condescend to men of low estate.

The learning process undertaken during visitation was expected to be mutual, with both priest and parishioner

1. Evans, op. cit., p. 66.
2. Bridges, op. cit., p. 89 and Hints to Young Clergymen, p. 56.
benefiting from the experience.\(^1\) The persistence of clerical distaste for domestic visitation continued to be remarked upon until the end of the late-Victorian period;\(^2\) while this antipathy was attributed to a healthy English predilection for self-reliance, there may have been other contributory factors to the dislike of visiting. The dedicated cleric who ventured into every back street cellar seeking acquaintance with his parishioners may have been horrified, depressed or overwhelmed by the spiritual and temporal condition of those whom he encountered. He may have been rebuffed and ridiculed, or denied entry to houses.\(^3\) He might have experienced difficulty in broaching so delicate a subject as salvation in conditions that suggested the inevitability of sin. In any case, unless he had undergone a clerical apprenticeship with an experienced minister,\(^4\) his initial experience in dealing with people far removed from his own personal standards would not perhaps have encouraged further endeavour in this area. There is every reason to believe, then, that the undertaking of pastoral visitation was just


3. Being denied entry, and thus access to those whom the clergy considered to be their legitimate parishioners, occurred throughout the period; Bather, op. cit., p. 70 disclaims the need for this; Savage, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

as perplexing and laborious for the visitors as it was for those visited.¹

Domestic visitation was commonly divided into two major categories: visits to the sick, poor and helpless; and general or regular visiting. Of the two types, the first was considered to have greater priority.² The crisis of illness or accident, particularly when it reached the final stages, was considered to offer the best opportunity for spiritual reconciliation and repentance. Pastors were encouraged to employ this advantage to the fullest, for "when sickness comes into a home it is the opportunity of all opportunities for the faithful parish priest to give real sympathetic spiritual help."³ Doubtless this final chance to rescue souls spurred clergymen on, but illness was also regarded as a legitimate excuse to instruct not only the patient, but also the family, friends and neighbours attending the sickbed.⁴ This extension of instruction was seen by pastoral theologians of all affiliations as an acceptable expression of the unifying qualities of the gospel, and as a prescription for spiritual relief.⁵ However, those

². Oxenden, op. cit., p. 176 and Mason, op.cit., p. no.
³. Savage, op. cit., p. 66; he cites an example of a mining village where church life was revitalised as a result of a disastrous epidemic, during which the clergy rendered such sympathetic service that a revival occurred.
⁴. For example, Oxenden, op. cit., p. 178.
⁵. Bather, op. cit., p. 216.
ministered to in such a manner may have had a different interpretation of these attentions from the priest. In order to ease the dying's last hours, clerical writers recommended that the spiritual instruction of the living be the price to be paid.

Alfred Gatty, a mid-Victorian broad churchman, claimed that when confronted with the possibility of death even dissenters would recognise the authority and power of the Anglican priest and would prefer his presence to that of their own pastor. There may have been some lingering desire among Methodists to be buried in parish churchyards; otherwise, this attachment to stories of deathbed conversions to Anglicanism serves only to highlight the considerable appeal of dissent among the healthy, and to emphasise the distance between church and people in ordinary life. Pastoral theologians were in no doubt about the reconciling function of domestic visitation, and stressed the humanising, civilising and conciliatory qualities that were conveyed to parishioners when the priest visited. Visiting would not necessarily make people church attenders nor could it guarantee conversion, but it might humanise and moralise them, and

2. Spooner, op. cit., p. 117.
3. Ibid., p. 105; the poor "... are glad to welcome a parson at their own homes, they like to be visited, to be read to, to be prayed with, but they will not go to church."
"civilisation must precede Christianity". However, the distinction between a desire to elevate the masses morally and spiritually and the practice of social control in the guise of 'civilising' influences is tenuous. While parsons were instructed not to offer gratuitous financial or domestic advice to those they visited, nor treat them patronisingly, these warnings were issued after the fact. By the exercise of spiritual influence, and in their role as national educators, the clergy attempted to act as agents of social control, thereby correcting the imbalance between permanence and progress as diagnosed by Coleridge. The church was thwarted in its ambition by the development of nonconformist, Roman Catholic and secularist alternatives that challenged traditional Anglican perceptions of a unified, mutually supportive church-state alliance.

Pastoral handbook writers sought to instruct their readers in the best methods of realising the ideal vision

1. Parnell, op. cit., p. 33.
4. B. Willey, op. cit., p. 46.
5. This concept of a comprehensive relationship between church and state belonged of course to liberal and broad churchmen in the mould of Thomas Arnold. Many tractarians and Anglo Catholics looked forward to disestablishment, and evangelicals had always been more interested in transforming society by means of individual conversion than in defending the need for an established church; Russell, op. cit., pp. 38-40.
of a spiritually and socially reconciled church and people. In so doing, they promoted the image of the church and its representatives as legitimate sources of authority on matters secular as well as sacred, and the social position of the gentlemanly clergy reinforced this authority structure. The fear of disestablishment was closely linked to concern with losing traditional access to the people in their homes, access that was utilised in the practice of visitation. Without this entrée, it was thought that whatever influence the clergy possessed was in danger of being weakened.

In a situation where clerical performance was improving, yet ecclesiastical influence was in decline, any activity that extended pastoral influence was encouraged. This was the case with domestic visitation. Since working class church attendance was declining by the end of the century, increasingly the alternative was to take the church's message of unity, reconciliation and amelioration into the nation's homes.

Education

The following early Victorian statement regarding the importance of elementary education might well have been made at any time during the nineteenth century, so strong

2. Loc. cit.
were the bonds of feeling between the clergy and their schools.

The schools which we support must be those exclusively wherein we can take our proper station and discharge our functions towards the souls committed to us, at our discretion, and as we have leisure and opportunity, without let or molestation or undue interference on the part of any. We may not desert our post nor surrender a tittle of our advantages.

There was a direct correlation between the minister as an agent of moral control and the schoolmaster as a representative of social control. If the master was to be regarded as the priest's _locum tenens_ in the school, as the mid-Victorian tractarian Edward Monro envisaged, then the identification of spiritual and temporal authority in the teacher emphasised the necessity for close ties between cleric and schoolmaster as well as between church and school. Throughout the Victorian period pastoral literature stressed the importance of moral and religious education in elementary schools. Pastoralists were not opposed to providing practical, vocational training for

1. Bather, op. cit., p. 17.
children in parochial schools, but they were absolutely convinced of the primacy of moral education, particularly for the working classes whose socially and spiritually alienated condition inherently threatened middle class security. Archdeacon Bather of Shropshire was committed, therefore, to a nondiscriminatory policy towards elementary school curricula in the early-Victorian period. He demanded that the poor receive "neither more nor less nor other than we teach our own children, and would on no account keep back from them."^2

Mid-Victorians evinced increased concern with the socialisation of the lower classes. Writers of all three party affiliations drew attention to the use of the school as a means of access to the working class home, whereby not only children but also adults might be reconciled to the church. The complaint registered about Board schools in the late-Victorian period was that they separated the future generation of churchmen from the priest's influence, effectively separating their families from the church as well. Education was seen to offer an opportunity for social amelioration and reconciliation,


2. Bather, op. cit., p. 15.


and a means of ordering society in accordance with divine instruction.

To teach geography and grammar is all very well, but best of all is that kind of teaching which, under God's grace, enables the pupil to learn and labour truly, and get his living, and do his duty in that state of life to which it shall please God to call him.

Education was perceived by the mid-Victorian clergy as a defence against social insurrection and as an exercise in amelioration, rather than as a means of individual mobility or personal development.

The broad churchman Harry Jones was again extraordinary in his appreciation of government supported Board schools. He regarded state intervention in elementary education to be necessary in light of clerical difficulties encountered in the attempt to raise sufficient funds for church-run voluntary schools.\(^1\) Writing in 1875, he foretold the collapse of the dual system of elementary education then in effect, due to parental unwillingness to shoulder the burden of both school pence and rates.\(^3\) Interestingly, he was not attached, as other pastoral theologians were, to a vision of Anglican elementary schooling as an inalienable right of every English child, nor was he impressed by the

3. Ibid., p. 187.
efficiency or effectiveness of the religious education given in voluntary schools in providing the church with steadfast defenders, or even regular attenders.¹

The clergy’s role in the process of moral training varied according to the handbook writer consulted. The early Victorians generally believed that schoolmasters should be closely supervised by the minister.² The mid-Victorian evangelical Ashton Oxenden thought that the minister should be in attendance at the school two or three days a week giving religious instruction,³ while the high churchman J. H. Blunt and the broad churchman Harry Jones assigned more general supervisory tasks to the clergyman in addition to his role as religious instructor.⁴ The Anglo Catholic J. J. Blunt, on the other hand, extended clerical responsibility to include all aspects of school life.⁵

Whatever their attitudes towards the extent of clerical supervision, Victorian pastoral theologians recognised the school as their intimate ally in an attempt to Christianise and moralise the nation.⁶ Education was...

¹ Ibid., pp. 189, 191.
² Evans, op. cit., p. 145 and Bather, op. cit., p. 219.
³ Oxenden, op. cit., p. 194.
⁶ Henry Mackenzie, for instance, notable for his sympathy in other spheres of church-parishioner relations, remained convinced that the working
by nature a broadening experience, and it provided alternative avenues for working class expression, apart from the traditional culture of the streets and the public house;¹ like visitation, education was a method of reaching people in order to humanise and civilise them. Also like visitation, education brought the church into contact with people who did not go to church services. Pastoral writers regarded the role of the teacher as part of their job as a cleric (it was cited in the ordination service of the prayer book)² and resisted pressures for secular 'interference' in their traditional responsibilities in education until the end of the Victorian period.

Public Worship

Of particular importance to the clergy was their role as leaders of public worship, for it was this role with which the clergy were most readily identified and by which they were most easily judged.³ Anthony Russell provides evidence to show that the gradual decline in the availability of Sunday worship throughout the eighteenth

footnote 6 continued:
classes did not value the necessity of education, and that the church would therefore have to protect working class youth from their parents' ignorance and assume responsibility for working class education; Mackenzie (1862), p. 16.

1. Monro (1862), p. 79.
century and early nineteenth century affected the strength of the Victorian church.\textsuperscript{1} The inroads made by new dissent and secularisation were facilitated by the decreased visibility of the church when pluralism and nonresidence were standard practices, and when many rural churches were without regular services. The evangelical revival, however, promoted changing standards; evangelical clergy demanded the reinstatement of double Sunday services (i.e. morning and afternoon or evening duty)\textsuperscript{2} and the provision of services became a hallmark of reformed and revitalised early and mid-Victorian clerical practice.\textsuperscript{3}

The growth in the number of services was accompanied by changes in the type of services offered. The mid and late-Victorian ritualist clergy offered an alternative to early-Victorian practices;\textsuperscript{4} more common, however, was the less radical introduction of choral services, an innovation borrowed from nonconformity.\textsuperscript{5} In the mid Victorian period urban clergymen began holding services outside consecrated churches, in rented rooms, halls, or even in the open.\textsuperscript{6} This practice was not always in

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., pp. 54-57.
\item Ibid., p. 58.
\item Samuel Wilberforce provides an excellent example of a reforming bishop who made regular and adequate provision of Sunday services a major policy in his strategy of pastoral relationships; McClatchey, op. cit., p. 83.
\item Russell, op. cit., p. 61.
\item Loc. cit.
\item Ibid., pp. 61-62.
\end{enumerate}
accordance with episcopal policy,¹ but in under-churched areas the alternative to church services in private rooms or public places was no service at all.

In addition to Sunday worship there was increasing clerical interest in weekday services. Even colonial bishops in dioceses where living conditions were far removed from English conditions advocated the institution of daily services in an effort to bring church and people together.² Russell has found that this concern with weekday services, particularly morning and evening prayer, highlights the change between early and mid-Victorian clerical practice.³ Moreover, mid-Victorian Anglo Catholic handbook literature shows that the clergy were concerned not only with providing daily services, but also with providing these services at times of the day when working people could attend.⁴ Clearly, ameliorating the longstanding problem of working class alienation from the church was regarded by pastoral theologians as being possible only by methods that subtly combined tradition and innovation.

Russell also presents a convincing picture of the way in which public worship was used to define the clergyman's

¹ Loc. cit.; however, while bishop Blomfield did not approve of the situation, his successor bishop Tait actually preached in the open himself.

² J. Strachan, 'Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto' (Toronto, 1847), p. 63.

³ Russell, op. cit., p. 63.

⁴ Ibid., p. 70.
principal professional role.\(^1\) The priest came to direct and control church services in such a way that parishioners' only role therein was as members of the congregation, in marked contrast to the communal nature of eighteenth-century worship.\(^2\)

**The Urban Ministry**

Mid and late-Victorian pastoralists expressed interest in the phenomenon of an emergent urban ministry that came to have its claims on the clergy recognised during the nineteenth century. The city clergyman was regarded as a *novus homo*, a creation of the process of urbanisation that had produced a radically different mid-Victorian Britain from that which had existed one hundred years previously.\(^3\) Urbanisation was regarded as an alienating process, causing divisions in the social unity of the ministry's work of reconciliation and amelioration.\(^4\) The route to reintegration of church and people lay in the application of the elements of pastoral reconciliation on a parish-wide rather than just a congregation-wide basis, according to pastoralists.\(^5\) The urban poor were alienated from the church, pastoralists argued, but they were not inherently irreligious and so

1. Ibid., pp. 71-75.
2. Ibid., p. 74.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., pp. 19, 26.
would prove receptive to the efforts of the clergy to return them to the church.¹ There was not, however, enough money to effectively church or staff urban parishes, particularly in the inner city areas, and too few highly qualified clergymen to undertake the onerous work.² The growth of suburbs physically separated the classes, so that middle class philanthropists and men of influence who might have taken more active interest in church provision for the poor did not know the reality of the situation, according to pastoral theologians.³ Suburban parishes themselves represented a new departure with which the church had to come to terms.⁴

The struggle to Christianise the nation was seen to be an essentially urban effort, for it was in the cities that intellectual energy and social problems met and did battle.⁵ The urban challenge presented to a rurally based church could not, however, be fully met by even the most enthusiastic and committed application of the new pastoral ideal. The church could not recognise this during the Victorian period, although by the 1890's admission of the breakdown of the urban parochial system was made in one

¹ Spooner, op. cit., p. 105.
² Sandford (1862), pp. 81, 82.
³ Gatty, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
⁴ Spooner, op. cit., pp. 1-5.
⁵ J. H. Blunt, op. cit., p. 93.
Late-Victorian Anglo Catholic pastoral theologians were attached to a perception of the church as an integral social institution, as a centre of culture, beauty and patriotism in the midst of squalor, ignorance and vice, and claimed that urban anti-clericalism did not exist. In view, however, of the long history of that phenomenon, their conviction must be regarded with caution.

The creation and growth of many parochial welfare institutions (coal, clothing and shoe clubs, penny banks, schools, clubs and libraries) presaged state activity along similar lines. Handbook writers, themselves experienced clerics, expressed deep concern for the improvement of life in their parishes and in most cases this concern did not end with spiritual improvement, but was extended to include provision for social welfare. There were advantages to a town or city benefice as well as disadvantages; the pastoral ideal was in part designed to answer urban questions that plagued an institution in transition from a rural to an urban base.

1. Newbolt (1899), p. 87. See also H. W. Wilberforce, The Parochial System (London, 1839) for an early Victorian critique of the parochial system.


Secularism and Separation

Handbook literature identified two danger points in the spread of secularisation in Victorian society: a laity separated from the church,¹ and a clergy secularised by the lure of worldliness and thus rendered incapable of providing the divinely inspired moral leadership that both church and nation required.² In his charge of 1842 archdeacon Bather declared that already England was in a state of "cold indifference with respect to religion."³ If this "indifference" was defined in terms of church defence against erastian influence, or the church's continuing difficulty in prosletysing the urban masses, then his comment was not without foundation. Compounding the problems of secularised portions of the working classes were the middle and working classes that had been converted to nonconformity. It was difficult to cajole, plead or argue dissenters back into the national church with any success, as clergymen discovered.⁴ Choosing nonconformist allegiances indicated a degree of commitment that was not necessarily attached to membership in the national church. However, dissent was regarded as a


4. Evans, op. cit., p. 56.
source of alienation from the church, just as secularisation was, and fears that an "unlearned and overworked" clergy would prove unable to combat these combined forces did exist.

The secularisation process was firmly based in the Henrician reformation, according to handbook literature. There were three causes of mid-Victorian secularisation in the eyes of one broad churchman: a rapid growth in population; the absence of traditional social structures in areas of high population growth; and capitalist greed and lack of foresight in failing to provide outlets for spiritual expression for the labouring classes. It was also recognised by mid-Victorian writers of all affiliations that the church had failed to keep abreast of these changes in the fabric of society, and so by the middle of the nineteenth century there was a formidable task ahead of it if it wished to reclaim those who had been lost and neglected in the transformation from rural to urban society.

Late-Victorian high church writers, however, regarded the church's distance from and lack of influence with the people from a different vantage point. In the last

2. Sandford (1862), p. 100.
decades of the nineteenth century dissent no longer represented the same sort of threat as did secularism. The late-Victorian world was not merely non-Anglican, it was non-Christian.¹ According to pastoral writers there was an increasing tendency to replace 'real' religion with philanthropy in everyday life.² The remedy prescribed for this situation reflected the Anglo Catholic emphasis on the sacramental aspects of public worship, for the absence of parishioners from the communion table was connected in Anglo Catholic minds with the subsequent decline in church attendance.³ The growth of a collective conscience, the realisation of strength in unity, cooperation and combination in the years after 1880 did not go unnoticed. For the church to obtain influence, it was recognised by some Anglo Catholic authors that the focus of attention on the individual had to shift to encompass the "widening views" of a collectivist society.⁴

The reasons offered by handbook writers for late-Victorian secularism also reflected their Anglo Catholic origins; they were described as: materialism; loss of spirituality; the availability of prosperity on a purely secular basis; and the interference of medical science in the relationship between man and God.⁵ The amorality of

secularised behaviour was thus criticised by Anglo Catholic theologians at the turn of the century. The spiritual and moral dangers encountered by constant clerical interaction with the secular world was a recurrent theme of pastoral literature. The privileged social position of the clergy, as well as the clergyman's own status as a gentleman, were in themselves temptations to secular influence according to the mid-Victorian tractarian Edward Monro,¹ as were other "second motives" for ordination:

vanity, and love of admiration, ardent desire of praise; the seeking of respectability under the guise of holy orders... craving after intellectual renown, the desire to gratify poetic and aesthetic tendencies...  

The early-Victorian evangelical Charles Bridges and the mid-Victorian Anglo Catholic W. E. Heygate both agreed on the dangers of conformity to worldly standards, as did the late-Victorian high churchman A. W. Robinson.² The world was indeed an alien place for those clergymen who were careless of their spiritually differentiated characters.

Church Defence
There were both spiritual and secular foes perceived by Victorian churchmen against which handbook literature
2. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
provided a defence acceptable to the ideal of unalienated sympathy and unity. If the clergy allowed the laity to observe that we are the same in church and out of it; the same of weekdays as on Sundays; the same to the rich as we are to the poor; that all our actions are guided by the same religious principle, that our lives flow on in one unchanging and blameless course — then they will see that the Gospel of Christ from our lips is not a mere empty sound, but a great reality.

Consecrated character could thus be displayed consistently to both man and God. The defence against temporal attacks on the clergy was to be an active offensive based on a reaffirmation of the divinely inspired clerical nature. Ministers were to "look upon yourselves as especially called to the serious consideration and strenuous observance of your ordination vows", and then put those vows into practice. In this way could the claims made by the clergy be justified and understood in the face of general misunderstanding by the laity.

The secular world was poised to attack any deviation from the pastoral ideal, any inconsistency between the ideal standard of behaviour and actual clerical performance, according to handbook writers of all

1. Oxenden, op. cit., p. 70.
2. Bather, op. cit., p. 89.
affiliations,¹ and this perception of pressure added to the clergy's already well developed spiritual tensions. The defence against the world, a world that misunderstood and undervalued the Anglican clergy (in clerical eyes), was essentially spiritual; however, this defence found concrete expression in fulfillment of the tenets of the pastoral ideal. The clergy were underpaid, according to Victorian writers,² and performed feats of mental and physical self-sacrifice for a hostile, uncaring, and even "insolent" laity.³

Late-Victorian feelings of physical and emotional oppression seem to have been particularly intensified,⁴ and greater pressure was experienced as the effects of widespread secularisation pervaded the bastion of middle class church attendance. The internal divisions of party affiliation did not abate, and caused increased clerical isolation.⁵ This sense of isolation and separation heightened sensitivity about external pressure on the church. The constant need to be "upon your mettle",⁶ to

1. Evans, op. cit., p. 47; Spooner, op. cit., p. 38; Parnell, op. cit., p. 41; Oxenden, op. cit., p. 70; Newbolt (1894), p. 17; Whitham, op. cit., p. 208.
adopt a pose of vigilant watchfulness in preparation for
the expected blows from an erastian parliament and a
fickle and secularised people reflected a particular
clerical attitude of distrust for the world. The threat
of attack from without could not be easily met as a result
of fragmentation within the church, and so the sensation
of being besieged was intensified by internal
vulnerability.

Church defence represented an external challenge to
the clergy. There were, however, internal challenges to
the consecrated character as well as secular pressures
upon it. Edward Monro described an early-Victorian clergy
spiritually and physically oppressed, whose:

grave demeanor,... high morality,... strict
conversation... often is but a cloak which hides a
gnawing passion, which preys all the more keenly on
the heart, because it is restrained from outward
expression.

There must have been a powerful urge upon occasion at
least to deny the responsibilities of spiritual and moral
elevation, a desire to destroy the carefully constructed
barriers between cleric and layman. Charles Bridges wrote
of the disappointments and difficulties encountered in
clerical life that might cause this wish to deny the
clerical lifestyle:

1. See chapter 2.
The opposition of the world - our frequent disappointments with the hopeful - combined with the recollection of what we are - what we ought to be - all this fearfully acts upon our weakness and depravity.

There was to be consolation in a successful ministry, but when standards of spiritual success were impossible to determine this offered little emotional support to the cleric. The outer structure of church-state relations was undergoing a transformation in the mid-Victorian years, and in spite of brave tractarian words to the contrary, this change mattered very much indeed. By the turn of the century, the demands made on the clergy by a church attempting to reassert its supremacy on a pastoral basis was leaving men broken in health and spirit, according to the handbooks.

The temptations besieging clergymen were never greater than in the early years of the twentieth century said pastoralists, and never was so much expected of the clergyman in terms of devotion, hard work and sympathetic behaviour.

Spiritually and emotionally isolated, physically taxed and burdened with responsibilities for which their education and experience ill fitted them, the clergy

did feel pressured and oppressed, and thus ever more ready to rely on the concepts of consecrated character and spiritual separation to justify their undertakings.

Conclusion

Handbooks expostulated the pastoral and clerical ideals, spread the gospel of a reformed, revitalised approach to clerical work, and provided instruction for those Victorian clergymen who lacked access to formal training provisions. The number and popularity of pastoral handbooks indicate a continuing need for this type of information. Pastoral theologians wrote about the practicalities of daily parochial work in an attempt to improve the quality of the relationship between church and people in a rapidly changing society. Themselves experienced pastors, the aim of their writing was to clarify the duties of parochial work, so their concerns were practical and concrete rather than theoretical or doctrinal. Parochial work was not a field in which Victorian theological battles were fought. Practical approaches to pastoral work did vary according to the demands of churchmanship, principally as a result of high church and tractarian concern with establishing the church's rights and authority at a time of considerable anti-clerical and anti-ecclesiastical sentiment; however,  

1. Kitson Clark, op. cit., p. 54 discusses the anti-episcopal riots in London and elsewhere and the attacks on ecclesiastical property during the reform bill debates in 1831.
these pastoral differences are more properly viewed as variations on a theme than as examples of irreconcilable divisions in the pastoral and clerical ideals.¹ The early-Victorian pastoral ideal suggested that the ordination vows of the prayer book might be made practicable by an earnest application of concentrated spiritual effort.² In this way the moral regeneration of what was even then regarded as a dangerously secularised nation would be secured. Secure too would be the established church, free from erastian interference and charges of inefficiency and inadequacy.

In their endeavour to reconcile man and God the clergy were to act as "ordained bridges of society"³ using their divinely inspired qualities of moral and spiritual superiority to enact this reconciliation. Pastoral handbooks were designed to prescribe and illustrate the ideal. The separation of priest from people was the integral element of the ideal, and the means of accomplishing the sought-after unity. In creating and attempting to fulfil this ideal, the clergy assured themselves and the secular world of the viability and usefulness of the church, and tried to ensure that the church's traditional position and privileges would be maintained.

The mid-Victorian pastoral ideal was built along traditional lines, based in the prayer book, but designed to be executed by upper and upper middle class priests whose professional knowledge and skills rendered them as spiritually removed from their eighteenth-century predecessors as they were from their parishioners. There was more explicit concern in high church circles about the encroachments of civil authority, and more resolution to overcome the difficulties posed by inadequate parochial provision in urban areas, in the face of increasing pressure from both ecclesiastical and secular sources on the performance of the church and clergy.\(^1\) The solution to the church's essentially administrative and organisational problems was regarded by mid-Victorian handbook writers as being pastoral rather than political, and individualistic rather than collective.\(^2\)

The pastoral ideal was both defensive and offensive in nature. Like all ideals it was utopian, although individual application of its tenets was possible. It was

1. Monro (1862), p. 82; Spooner, op. cit., p. 127; Heeney (1976) notes that pastoral writers were not the only people to make new demands on the mid-Victorian cleric, but that his ecclesiastical superiors, his patron and his parishioners all had expectations with regard to clerical behaviour.

2. Heygate (1857), pp. 65, 66; the Anglo Catholic Edward Monro did, however, call for more creative clerical solutions to surmount the particular problems of the mid-Victorian church and stressed the need for flexibility in approaching these problems; J. H. Blunt, op. cit., p. 73; H. Jones (1875), p. 33; Mackenzie (1862), pp. 111-116; Whately, op. cit, p. 40; Monro (1851), p. 225.
paternalistic, and application of its principles became increasingly more difficult as time passed, the population grew, and the number of clergymen decreased. Designed to bring spiritual relief to unchurched masses in urban areas, by the time the ideal had been widely accepted and practised the scope of the social problem with which it attempted to deal had grown out of proportion to the clergy's ability to cope with it.

It was not over just the question of application, however, that the ideals faltered. In an early and mid-Victorian society where university graduation was equated with gentlemanly status, and gentlemanly status with professional respectability, the attachment of the church to a gentlemanly clergy of liberally educated rather than professionally trained men is understandable. In the years following 1880, however, this attachment was increasingly difficult both to maintain and to justify, as fewer graduates entered the ministry. Society was also becoming more egalitarian, and the inequalities inherent in the early and mid Victorian gentleman-heresy could not be supported by a church anxious to retain its pride of place in a religiously pluralistic society.\(^1\) What the handbook writers did not recognise was that in late-Victorian society the Church of England could no longer play the role that it had in years previous.\(^2\)

2. Ibid., p. xix.
The question posed by the church's dependence on the gentleman-heresy concerns the effect of this policy on the church's success as a promoter and provider of social reconciliation. Victorian pastoral theologians of all party affiliations were agreed that the clergy should be drawn from the ranks of the clerisy. It is of course difficult to predict the nature of any response that might have been evoked by a wholehearted change in recruitment policy; moreover, it is not possible to suggest that gentlemen, possessed as they were of desirable academic and economic attributes, were inherently disqualified from successful priesthoods by reason of their social status; clearly, gentlemanly and upper middle class congregations would not easily accept clergymen who were not their academic and social equals. It is equally difficult, however, to find evidence to support the church's contention that its ministry should be restricted to the upper middle classes on a spiritual or moral basis. The nineteenth-century church was not being inconsistent in its evaluation of the role of the gentleman-priest, for the clerisy theorists demanded for intellectuals a unifying and reconciling role similar to that prescribed by pastoral theologians for the clergy.¹ It is doubtful whether anything less than a massive injection of middle and particularly working class men into the ministry would have had the desired effect of putting the church in touch with the mass of the people. It is entirely probable that

even such a radical measure would not have been sufficient
to establish the church as a social force, in view of the
longstanding tradition of separation between the church
and working people in particular. In order to bring about
changes that would have sanctioned recruitment on the
basis of professional qualifications rather than social
privilege the church would have been required to discard a
central tenet of its pastoral policy, i.e. the placement
of a gentleman in every parish. Such a reversal had
implications that even late-Victorian pastoral theologians
were anxious to avoid, and hence their continuing
insistence upon the official maintenance of a mid-
Victorian educational standard in the face of declining
recruitment.

The Anglican pastoral and clerical ideals represented
sincere, albeit flawed, attempts to bring about spiritual
reconciliation and social unification by means of the
agency of clerical sympathy and intuitive spirituality.
In formulating such an ideal pastoral theologians
attempted to construct a plan of social and spiritual
action for clergymen, a plan that was intimately involved
in defining both the nature of nineteenth-century Anglican
moral behaviour\(^1\) and with church-state relations.

1. Wilson, op. cit., p. 25.
CHAPTER 4

Formal Theological Education and the Victorian Church

Introduction

The clerical ideal described by pastoral theologians proposed that the model Victorian cleric be an educated man of deep personal spirituality, diligence, sympathy and devotion to duty. The essentials of this ideal had been formulated by early-Victorian evangelical and high church pastoralists and had been subject to further investigation and exposition in turn by mid and late-Victorian writers. Handbook literature was an influential, albeit informal, methods of transmitting information about the nature of their work among the clergy. It was not, however, the only means whereby clerical education was undertaken. The nineteenth century witnessed the growth of formal theological education on a unparalleled scale, and the aims, establishment, design and organisation of theological colleges will be examined in this chapter. Particular attention will be focused on the training of nongraduate clergymen ('literates') in light of mid and late-Victorian fears about clerical social dilution and falling ordination standards. Specialised theological education in the universities and missionary colleges will be considered in separate chapters.

The theological colleges of early-Victorian Britain were, with the exception of two diocesan-based institutions, designed to educate literates for the ministry. Indeed, among the eight colleges examined for
this study, only one, Wells, could be considered a strictly graduate institution. Even the theological halls in late-Victorian Oxford and Cambridge accepted nongraduates as students. Concern with the education of the literate clergymen was, however, more characteristic of the mid-Victorian period when the church first experienced difficulties in recruiting adequate numbers of graduate ordinands. In the thirty year period 1850 to 1880 nine theological colleges were founded, the majority of which were high church diocesan institutions that promoted postgraduate training. The most significant departure from the early-Victorian pattern of formal education occurred when bishop Samuel Wilberforce established his college at Cuddesdon in 1854; by creating a residential institution based in a Catholic seminarian tradition he influenced the nature and constitution of theological colleges throughout the rest of the century. Late-Victorian theological institutions presented a rich variety of options for both graduates and literates, with eleven colleges, hostels, religious orders and schools

1. St. Bees, Cumbria; Wells; Queen's College, Birmingham; Lichfield; Salisbury; St. John's Hall, Highbury (London College of Divinity); Lincoln; Kelham (Society of the Sacred Mission).

2. See table 10. During the period 1840 to 1913 an average of 98.3% of Wells students were graduates.


opening between 1890 and 1909. The scope of educational opportunities offered to would-be ordinands during this period is indicative of the church's perceived need to attract and train suitable candidates for its ministry in the face of competition from both old and new professions.¹

However, this expansion of opportunity that took place in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century was not accompanied by official consideration of the special requirements and problems of nongraduate clergy training, nor by any real recognition of the need for, and role of, the nongraduate minister in the Church of England. The university graduate remained the preferred ordination candidate throughout the Victorian period,² and the nongraduate, regardless of his professional education in a theological college, continued to be considered by most of the hierarchy and laity as a parvenu and interloper. In an attempt to consolidate its middle class support the church was concerned with the social standing and educational attainments of its ministry, and persisted in identifying the graduate as a bulwark against doubt and secularism, and as its most capable investigator of the higher

criticism. The result of this identification was a decision taken at the Convocation of 1909 to institute a single ordination standard, that of university graduation followed by a year's attendance at a theological institution.¹ The target date for implementation of this policy was January, 1917 but the first world war rendered the plan inoperative. However, the decision to recruit the clergy only on the basis of academic quality rather than nongraduate quantity represented a change from then-current practice; pressure was severe on mid and even late-Victorian bishops to ordain as many candidates as possible, thereby providing a steady stream of curates to an expanding parochial ministry.² Nongraduate theological colleges benefitted from this growth of the parochial system because they were producing a product for which a ready-made demand existed, and thus they gained acceptance (although it was often only granted grudgingly) that had been denied them before the middle of the nineteenth century, while the church was still able to attract a largely graduate clergy.

Clearly, the educational background and social status of an increasing proportion of late-Victorian clergymen


differed from the gentlemanly and scholarly ideal promulgated by pastoral theologians. It is important, however, to remember that throughout the Victorian period the vast majority of clergymen were university-educated (84.4% in 1860, and 74.6% in 1914), and that theological colleges came to play a significant role in the education of the clergy only in the last decades of the nineteenth century.¹ Professional education for the ministry was a subject of prolonged and heated debate among mid-Victorian churchmen conscious of the challenge posed to traditional recruitment standards by the new professions,² and among late-Victorian pastoral theologians and educators who were anxious to ensure and protect their privileges.³ Thus, concern about the nature of theological education was by no means a merely academic exercise, but rather a vital aspect of mid and late-Victorian ecclesiastical life.

The emergence of formal institutions for clerical training opened a new avenue by which one of the crucial tenets of the clerical ideal could be fulfilled, for the necessity of an educated body of clergymen had been emphasised by early-Victorian pastoralists.⁴ However, by providing a professionalising alternative, theological

1. See table 2.
colleges, and nongraduate colleges in particular, challenged the traditional structure of clerical education as it was carried out in the ancient universities. This challenge to the universities' monopoly on formal clerical education was successful only in theory, in so far as the 1909 Convocation report would have made attendance at a theological college a compulsory adjunct to a university education. In fact, considerable latitude continued to exist well after world war one,¹ and the attempt to require a combination of university graduation and professional training had to be reconsidered.

Serious objections to the very existence of theological colleges had been voiced by mid-Victorian critics who questioned the social and intellectual quality of a nongraduate clergy² and the integrity of nongraduate clerical institutions.³ The clerical ideal did not resolve the internal tensions between the acknowledged necessity for a professionally educated ministry and the social claims of the gentleman-heresy that equated gentlemanly status with a university education. The spectre that haunted mid-Victorian theological educators

1. See table 2. In 1930 only 28.9% of the clergy had attended a university and a theological college.

2. Charles P. Reichel, "University Reform in Relation to Theological Study", in Contemporary Review, 1, April 1866, p. 518.

of all party affiliations was the declining influence of both minister and church that would result from a clerical education removed from the liberalising influence of the universities and confined to colleges that might prove to be hotbeds of partisan churchmanship.\(^1\) Their fears were not without a basis in reality, for early-Victorian theological colleges had close associations with either evangelical or high church factions,\(^2\) and this pattern was repeated by mid-Victorian institutions. Broad churchmen in particular were anxious to maintain the traditional alliance between the universities and the church,\(^3\) and alone among church parties they did not create their own theological colleges. While the clerical ideal of consecrated character, pastoral sympathy, hard work and social reconciliation was genuinely nonpartisan, formal professional clerical training was an issue fraught with division and discord. It is the relationship between this clerical ideal and the nature of clerical education provided in Victorian theological colleges that will now be considered.

1. Ibid., p. 16; Reichel, op. cit., p. 533; B. F. Westcott, in Report of the Church Congress, 1871 (Nottingham, 1871), p. 287; Coxon (1965), p. 120; Woolgar, op. cit., p. 231.
2. St. Bees and St. Aidan's were evangelical colleges, while Chichester and Wells had Anglo Catholic and high church associations.
3. Heeney, A Different Kind of Gentleman, p. 98.
The Aims of Theological Education

The aspirations and expectations of both educators and those educated in theological colleges varied according to church party affiliation and as to when in the nineteenth century they were associated with theological education. The aims of the evangelical college at St. Bees in rural Cumbria (founded in 1816) were by definition different to those of the tractarian diocesan college established at Chichester in 1839 by John Henry Newman's friend Charles Marriott; both of these early-Victorian colleges differed from mid-Victorian institutions established at Lichfield and Lincoln. There was, however, considerable affinity between colleges of the same party affiliation, particularly in terms of curriculum and devotional practice.

The Victorians were not the first Anglicans to employ the idea of separate educational institutions for the clergy. One of the functions of medieval cathedrals had been the training of priests (indeed, it was on this basis that clerical education was 'revived' in nineteenth-century Lincoln by the cathedral's chancellor, the future archbishop E. W. Benson). At the reformation Thomas Cranmer recognised the educational office of the cathedral, recommending that each diocese should have a

school where "Readers, of Divinity, and of Greek, and Hebrew, and a great number of Students ... be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in Study and Devotions." Bishop Gilbert Burnet of Salisbury attempted to put Cranmer's ideas into practice in the seventeenth century when he established a college for ten students in his cathedral. He considered the universities to be morally unsuitable venues for clerical education; however, opposition to his scheme from Oxford caused the college's closure after only five years. Later in the same century Thomas Wilson, bishop of the remote and impoverished diocese of Sodor and Man and a renowned pastoralist, tried to raise ordination standards by placing candidates under his supervision in order to train them in public reading and speaking as well as theology. Clearly there was some pre-Victorian recognition that a gap existed between the secular classical education provided by the universities and the acquirements necessary for the successful undertaking of a parish ministry. The universities, however, wielded influence and power in the church establishment because they were closed clerical corporations, and as such


2. Ollard and Crosse, loc. cit.

3. Ibid., p. 588.
claimed to provide sufficient academic, doctrinal and social guarantees to protect the church's interests.

The first bishop to break the universities' stranglehold on clerical training was George Law of Chester, who, with financial assistance from the Earl of Lonsdale and Queen Anne's Bounty, created St. Bees College in 1816 for the purpose of training literates as faithful ministers of the Gospel who, as far as their spheres for exertion will permit, may be able to preserve the church in its original purity, free from those errors which indistinct notions are apt to engender.

The desire to safeguard doctrinal purity (in this instance, evangelical truth) by ensuring that the clergy were satisfactorily knowledgeable was a characteristic Victorian concern shared by evangelicals and high churchmen. Oxford and Cambridge did not teach dogmatic theology in an undergraduate degree, nor did they provide instruction in pastoral theology, homiletics, or exegesis. Each of these subjects was important to the

1. The St. Bees College Calendar for the year 1854, p. xix.


3. Homiletics is the study of the art of preaching.

4. Exegesis is the explanation of the meaning of a portion of scripture, or critical exposition thereon.
Victorian clergyman who wished to emulate a pastoral ideal emphasising the necessity for an increasingly professional and technical knowledge in order to bring men to salvation.¹ Moreover, the universities failed to provide a systematic training, theoretical or practical, -- formation, ethical and theological -- for our future Clergy during the period immediately preceding their offering themselves for Holy Orders.

Anglo Catholics such as Philip Freeman, author of the preceding quote and third principal of Chichester Theological College, viewed such colleges as spiritual oases in the desert of secular higher education. The heart of Anglo Catholic collegiate life was moral and spiritual growth rather than academic achievement or mastery of practical work,³ and particularly after the Test Act of 1871 the universities could not claim to be either qualified or designed to be centres of Anglican spirituality or even Anglican exclusivity. Freeman himself was convinced that the forte of the theological college should rest in its ability to inculcate a tractarian vision of priestly conduct; in the rural parishes in which most mid-Victorian clerics were employed

1. Bridges, op. cit., p. 28.
Freeman feared that the gentlemanly lifestyle, if pursued by spiritually untrained clergymen, would soon degenerate into secularism and destroy the necessary spiritual distinction between priest and layman.¹ This high church view of the need for proper spiritual preparation was held in the late-Victorian period by the prominent Christian Socialist theologian Charles Gore, at one time a chaplain at Cuddesdon College, who told the first conference on the training of candidates for holy orders in 1881 that:

The true object of residence in a theological college was to enable men to realise the ideal of theology, discipline, and work. Therefore, they should be kept for the year [at college] up in the mountain with their Transfigured Lord.

High church colleges, concerned as they were about their students' devotional and moral training, dedicated at least some of their curriculum to the preparation for parish work. Speaking at the Church Congress in 1862 another principal of Chichester Theological College, Charles Swainson, emphasised that the essential goal of postgraduate theological education was the training of clergymen rather than theologians.² The academic rigour

1. Freeman, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
of the universities was to make men theologically capable. Theological colleges, high church and evangelical, were designed to teach the dogmatic and pastoral theology that constituted the basis of the professional skills of the parochial ministry. High church colleges, even when they were not residential institutions rooted in the ideal of a common life, aimed at training students in practical parochial work by giving them a personal spiritual foundation upon which to conduct their parish ministries.¹

Evangelical colleges provided professional training as well, but the concerns of evangelical theological educators necessarily differed from those of their high church colleagues. While high church colleges tended to be diocesan (i.e. connected to and endowed by the cathedral chapter), with a student body composed of both graduates and literates, evangelical institutions were generally privately founded, independent colleges that taught overwhelmingly nongraduate students.² It was not realistic to expect the literate studying at St. Bees, St. Aidan's (Liverpool) or St. John's Hall (London) to have

1. C. R. Church, principal of Wells Theological College, in Report of the Church Congress, 1873, pp. 138-139.

2. See tables 10 and 11. Table 10 shows, contrary to the information available from the Church Year Books, that the percentage of university-educated students was rising in late-Victorian Salisbury and Lichfield. In table 11, those colleges with a uniformly consistent graduate component were high church colleges, as were those with a rising graduate component, 1884-1913 (Lincoln, Truro, St. Michael's); those with a uniformly low graduate component (St. Aidan's and St. John's) had evangelical associations.
the academic grounding in the ancient languages and
philosophy that formed the basis of the theological
curriculum. Evangelical colleges aimed at providing the
church with the "intelligent, well-informed, capable
clergy"¹ that the mid-Victorian clerical ideal prescribed,
but their students did not usually possess the gentlemanly
qualities or the academic experience that contributed to
the minister's special status in society. Thus
nongraduate theological colleges blatantly challenged a
principal tenet of the clerical ideal by proclaiming the
primacy of 'consecrated character'; at the same time, of
course, they were reinforcing the spiritual content of the
ideal. The consequence of this conviction was a need to
provide an extended college course that included some
general education in addition to a specifically
theological curriculum.² It was the limitations of
literates' educational background and that general
educational component of the course that were to prove
stumbling blocks for late-Victorian educators who had the

1. William Saumarez Smith, principal of St. Aidan's
Theological College, in Report of the Church
Congress, 1876, p. 205.

2. This was not done at St. Bees College in the early
and mid-Victorian period; rather, its students were
to be "well versed in the Classics" so that the
course would remain economically viable and keep
within the two-year limitation set upon it (St. Bees
College Calendar, 1854, p. xix). At St. Aidan's
College the lack of preliminary academic preparation
caused considerable difficulties and led to the
temporary closure of the college (Heeney [1976], pp.
104–105). St. John's Hall instituted a three-year
curriculum that included some nontheological and
nonclassical subjects (St. John's College Calendar,
1869).
task of reconciling a widespread desire for standardised admission criteria for theological colleges with the problem of ensuring adequate numbers of nongraduate ordinands.\(^1\) In spite of this problem, nongraduate evangelical colleges remained determined to produce ordination candidates who possessed a standard of general education similar to that of their graduate colleagues; the principal of St. John's Hall, A. W. Greenup, told his students in 1899 that "the theological student will not rest satisfied till at any rate he is so familiar with his Greek Testament that he may make it the basis of his meditations."\(^2\)

High church and evangelical theological educators in late-Victorian colleges were divided even among themselves over the major aspect of clerical education, practical pastoral training. The emphasis on individual spirituality and holiness held by Anglo Catholics did not encourage mid-Victorian high church colleges to experiment with the practical application of pastoral theology,\(^3\) nor did it create a pattern of practical training for future generations of students. Herbert Hamilton Kelly, founder of the Anglo Catholic Society of the Sacred Mission (1892), champion of working class

2. Greenup, 'An Address delivered to the Students of St. John's Hall, Highbury, on May 17th, 1899', p. 11.
clerical recruitment, and educational innovator, opposed pastoral practice for students on the basis that they first should learn to understand their own souls before they could qualify to minister to the needs of others.¹ Other Anglo Catholics, including Charles Gore of Cuddesdon, were of the same opinion,² that practical pastoral experience was inappropriate for spiritually untrained theological students. Moreover, Greenup of the evangelical college at St. John's Hall, Highbury objected to pastoral work on the same grounds as the Anglo Catholics Kelly and Gore, explaining to his students that:

> the main object of your presence in this place is not that you may engage in active Christian work, but that you may have a time of preparation for that work.

Practical parochial work (Sunday school teaching and mission services) was done by St. John's students,⁴ but clearly it was not regarded as the raison d'être of their clerical education. For most high churchmen and evangelicals educating future clergymen was an essentially intellectual and spiritual process that necessarily

2. Gore, loc. cit.
preceded, if indeed it did not preclude, active pastoral work. Pastoral theology, the theory of ministering to the parish, was a highlight of theological curricula, but practical application did usually take a back seat to theory.

At the first conference on the training of candidates for the ministry held in Cambridge in 1881 the issue of practical pastoral training was aired. The Anglo Catholic pastoral theologian John Gott, vicar of Leeds and president of the Leeds Clergy School, spoke convincingly of the importance of pastoral practice in teaching the student about his theological strengths and weaknesses, and of the necessity for students to learn the techniques of parochial management lest they fall behind the recently recruited body of layworkers in this regard. He also reported on the practical advantages of a system of pastoral training. The difference between the late-Victorian professionally trained ordinand and the untrained curate of old had been expounded to Gott by a "representative parishioner" in Leeds:

... we used to have to put them [the new curates] at their ease, and shew them how to read, and talk and pray with us, and how long to stay, and even when to go. We knew that our clergy were practising on us, and we were very sorry for them; they were so shy and awkward at it; but now in their visits and their prayers, they seem to know both what we want and how to give it us; we get hold of one another at once.

2. Ibid., p. 20.
Clearly, some high church colleges were committed to helping their students realise the clerical ideal of a hard-working, active pastorate by giving them a selected experience of parish life previous to ordination. All colleges wished to bring about the creation of an educated clergy, a clergy apprised of its professional duties as priests (i.e. celebrants and administrators of the sacraments and rituals), pastors and teachers. The methods employed varied not only as a result of church party affiliation, but also as a result of the conflicting elements within the high church and evangelical clerical ideals that stressed the need to be otherworldly¹ while at the same time demanded that the clergy act as agents of social and spiritual amelioration within a rigid parochial system.

In order to achieve the objective of an educated, professionally capable clergy, theological educators at the end of the nineteenth century instigated a series of conferences on clerical education where the issues affecting the theological colleges, the universities and the bishops' examining chaplains were debated.² The most important of these issues was the lack of uniformity in ordination examination subjects, the cause of confusion for those responsible for examining as well as to those


examined; theological educators complained that:

'In the Old Testament 19 dioceses require a special subject, while 12 only ask for a general knowledge. In the New Testament 23 require a special book or books, while 8 do not specify a subject.'

The absence of a common examination syllabus delayed the introduction of higher clerical standards, according to an article in the 1884 Church Quarterly Review. The introduction of the Cambridge University Preliminary Examination in Theology in 1874 had provided a standard for comparison, but it did not test students in dogmatic or pastoral theology and concentrated on purely academic subjects. This examination was not a substitute for the bishops' ordination examinations; however, it was a generally recognised prerequisite attesting to the candidate's academic fitness for the ministry.

The Cambridge Preliminary Examination was not, however, of any assistance to nongraduate theological educators in setting entrance qualifications for literates, as it was designed to be a postgraduate exercise, and acted as the final theological examination


2. Ibid., pp. 82-98.

for nongraduates in late-Victorian colleges. By the time of the fifth conference on the training of ordination candidates in 1891 the problem of establishing a common standard of general education for literate theological students was part of a memorial from laymen who had been invited to attend the proceedings. They suggested that this "absence of a recognised standard of secular education, such as every profession requires, in addition to technical training" was one of the reasons for the church's difficulties in attracting and training good clergymen. The result of such widespread concern with the nature and quality of nongraduate theological students was the conference's proposal to establish a compulsory Central Entrance Examination for literates, an idea first discussed at the second conference in 1882. The Central Entrance Examination came into being in September, 1892 and tested academic qualifications only (Greek and Latin, old and new testament, and the prayer book).

Theological colleges were established with the goal of raising the standards of secular and particularly theological knowledge among the Victorian clergy. The first nongraduate college, St. Bees, was founded in order to provide trained clergymen for the remote and


3. Ibid., pp. 135-136.
financially unattractive parishes of the rural Northwest. Later diocesan high church colleges reflected the influence of Catholic thought on Anglican churchmanship by emphasising the colleges' role in the spiritual and devotional development of their students. Like other pre-industrial professions (the army, law and medicine) the church adopted a system of residential training in the nineteenth century that facilitated the spread of professional, technical knowledge and skills.\(^1\) The clerical ideal that was formulated by early and mid-Victorian pastoral theologians and occasioned a revitalisation of parish life with its stress on activity, devotion, sympathy and spirituality, promoted the growth of formal theological education. The ideal demanded a measure of theological knowledge and spiritual preparation that were difficult to acquire without concentrated study, and the theological colleges provided an opportunity for the academic, spiritual, and practical preparation that the ideal demanded. There was an ongoing debate regarding the nature and extent of practical pastoral theology to be taught in colleges, although all of the institutions examined with the exception of the Society of the Sacred Mission made some attempt to introduce their students to parochial work. While most Victorian clergymen did not attend a theological college, formal clerical education became increasingly popular at the end of the Victorian period for both graduates and literates.

The Structure of Formal Theological Education

The majority of theological colleges, as mentioned previously, were originally diocesan-based and associated with their cathedrals. The constitution and structure of even diocesan theological colleges did, however, vary enormously and no two institutions were identical in terms of curriculum or domestic arrangements. Throughout the nineteenth century churchmen were engaged in a debate about the nature of the ideal theological college, and they were by no means convinced that the diocesan model approved by Anglo Catholics offered the greatest advantages. Among diocesan colleges there was sufficient flexibility to ascertain that local interests were taken into consideration. Lichfield Theological College, for instance, was founded in 1857 as a nonresidential institution on the pattern of the colleges at Chichester and Wells\(^1\) rather than on the more seminarian basis of Cuddesdon. This was a result of evangelical fears for the orthodoxy of the college in the face of then-current ritualism controversies\(^2\) in which Cuddesdon was involved.\(^3\) Financial arrangements were sometimes precarious; five of the nine theological colleges polled by the Lincoln cathedral committee of enquiry on theological education in

1870 had no endowments whatsoever\(^1\) and were dependent on donations and student fees for their incomes. The individual character and traditions of each college illustrate the essentially independent nature that theological colleges boasted until 1912 when the Central Advisory Council on Training for the Ministry was established by the Convocation of Canterbury. The Council's functions were only advisory, but with the advent of theological college inspection Victorian standards of improvisation and laissez-faire were challenged by a new-found need for accountability to a central authority. Just at the end of the Victorian period, then, the Church of England's interest in its future clerics was heightened and recognised officially.

Not everyone who supported the concept of diocesan theological education was an Anglo Catholic. The evangelical pastoral theologian Ashton Oxenden headed a committee of enquiry into theological colleges after the 1863 Convocation, and his committee's report two years later recommended that theological colleges should have close connections with the bishop and cathedral chapters.\(^2\) Philip Freeman of Chichester, a leading tractarian theologian and educator, wanted to see the creation of

1. See table 12.

affordable diocesan colleges with free tuition and modest living expenses in order to encourage men to undertake specialised training.¹ The penalty for failure to do so, he added, should have been a requirement to spend an extra year in the diaconate,² thereby delaying chances for promotion to an incumbency and sacrificing the fees usually enjoyed by priests for performing marriages, burials and baptisms. Both E. W. Benson and William Stubbs, high churchmen and future bishops, supported the establishment of cathedral-related colleges at Church Congresses in the early 1870's;³ indeed, Benson listed the essential elements to be found in his ideal theological college. These included: "scientific doctrinal teaching" for graduates, utilising the critical theological scholarship of Cambridge University and the rudiments of practical pastoral theology; an extended course for literates that taught doctrine, pastoralia, historical and biblical divinity, in addition to the "necessary literary cultivation" required by nongraduates; the college should be under the bishop's authority; it should be connected to the cathedral; a close connection between the college and its alumni should be maintained;

1. Freeman, op. cit., p. 44.
2. Loc. cit.
college life should be simple and plain, devoted to "study, and prayer, and parochial training".¹ Not surprisingly, when Benson founded the Scholae Cancellarii in Lincoln in 1874, he followed this pattern.

It is useful to compare Benson's vision of a high church collegiate ideal with that of an earlier mid-Victorian evangelical view. Charles Hebert was rector of Burslem in Staffordshire, and addressed himself to the problem of clerical education during the initial controversy over the creation of Lichfield Theological College in 1853. He argued convincingly against establishing colleges on a strictly diocesan basis, citing the paucity of students and financial insecurity of such institutions.² Hebert's ideal cleric was an urban-dweller, and on this ground he condemned the practice of locating theological colleges in cathedral cities that had neither the population nor the range of industrial problems to ensure that future clergymen received realistic pastoral lessons.³ Instead, he recommended that regional theological colleges should be created in London, Bristol, Liverpool and either Hull or a midlands town.⁴

2. Charles Hebert, 'Theological Colleges and The Universities, or What Special Training should be given to the Future Clergy?' (Burslem, 1853), p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 19.
His ideal college would have had well educated, capable instructors whose services were secured by an income sufficient to ensure their quality. Within the college Hebert wanted to encourage a variety of party affiliations in order to guarantee that no one party would achieve predominance. Unlike Wilberforce's model there was no conception of common life or discipline (Cuddesdon had been founded just prior to Hebert's address), and unlike Benson's Scholae there was no concern on Hebert's part for nongraduate education. Nor was there any interest in allying the college with the cathedral, especially since Hebert's new clergyman was to be trained to work in industrial slums rather than in small cities.

Ironically, Hebert's ideal of college life came closest to realisation in the institution to which he was so vehemently opposed, Lichfield Theological College. The college opened in October, 1857 after four years of discussion and debate on the issues of ritualism and social dilution. From its beginning Lichfield accepted literates (between 1857 and 1879 seventy-three per cent of its students were nongraduates) and so it failed to fulfill Hebert's ideal of training a university-educated

1. Ibid., p. 18.
2. "Lichfield Theological College Jubilee - Fifty Years' Record", in The Staffordshire Advertiser, 3 August 1907.
3. Lichfield Theological College Register, volume 1, 1857-1909.
clergy. Although the principal, G. H. Curteis, admitted in his reply to the Lincoln cathedral committee of enquiry on theological education that only a quarter of his students were graduates, he maintained that the educational background of the Lichfield student body was not particularly important, because "many nongraduates being gentlemen (officers in the Army, etc.) ... [they formed] links of connexion between the classes."¹ Lichfield did, however, accept students of all Anglican party associations,² and provided teachers from both high church and evangelical backgrounds and a broadly based curriculum that stressed practical parochial work.³ Lichfield was one of the few theological colleges that operated on a financially sound basis, for it repaid the £2,000 guarantee fund that was used to establish the college, and remained self-supporting thereafter.⁴

A major innovation practised at Lichfield Theological College was the probationer system, whereby the diocesan clergy sought promising ordination candidates in their parishes and presented them to the cathedral chapter for approval. If this was forthcoming then these probationers returned to their normal occupations for two years, at the

2. Inman, op. cit., p. 23.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
time working with their local clergyman towards an intermediate examination that determined their academic suitability for the ministry. If they were successful, they continued studying with the clergyman for another two years, after which they attended the college for a year's training, the cost of which was met by specially allocated exhibition funds.¹ This scheme was regarded as a method of encouraging nongraduate recruitment, producing a theologically learned and experienced clergy, and escaping the worst effects of social dilution. By employing the probationer system Lichfield Theological College attempted to tap "an unworked vein of solid metal" of clerical recruits, that of the middle ranks of the middle classes, urbanites who were in danger of being neglected by the church.² G. H. Moberly, second principal of Lichfield, spoke in defence of recruitment from the middle classes at the 1876 Church Congress in Bath and tried to rationalise the need for changing recruitment criteria.

If it be replied that with such men we never could be safe from the danger that a lower motive -- that of securing a higher social place -- might supplant the higher motives, my answer would be, It might be a danger with some, but not with all, or even with the greater number.

¹ See table 12.
² G. H. Moberly, in Report of the Church Congress, 1876, p. 223.
³ Loc. cit.
The probationer system was not entirely successful in practice, however original and progressive it was in theory. The Lichfield Theological College Minute Book entry for 24 January 1887 explained the problems of training a nongentlemanly, nongraduate ministry:

The difficulty in this system was twofold. The majority of those admitted under its sanction were either socially or intellectually inferior to the others in the college and the time of Residence was far too short to train them in either particular to the level befitting an ordained ... minister of the Church of England. The Principal suggested a large curtailment (if not abolition) of these students.

It was eventually decided to dismantle the probationer system and concentrate instead on assisting regular students by way of remission of fees. The gentleman-heresy was far from being a spent force in late Victorian theological education, nor was the problem of training men without a classical education overcome. The church was compelled to rely increasingly upon nongraduate clergymen, but its theological colleges, particularly those that accepted both graduates and literates, were not generally successful in devising nongraduate curricula that would overcome the academic deficiencies of their literate students.

E. W. Benson established the Scholae Cancellarii at Lincoln in 1874, while he was chancellor of the cathedral there. Harking back to a medieval tradition of cathedral-related theological education and acknowledging the universities' unsuitability as the sole centres for clerical education, Benson borrowed money from friends to start the college and to hire a full-time tutor. He relied upon the cathedral chapter to do much of the lecturing, and on local incumbents to supervise the students' parochial practice. As was the case in Lichfield, both literates and graduates were accepted as students; as at Lichfield, there were difficulties in selecting nongraduate men. Benson wrote of the first students at the Scholae:

'At present our applications for immediate work are with two university men (one settled in Lincoln), one local preacher from Lichfield, one gentleman of independent means tired of idleness with a general interest in vestments, who tells his friends that he enjoyed being very plainly spoken to by me about his useless life!'

As Benson had outlined in his paper to the 1871 Church Congress, he wished to ensure that his theological college should be connected to the cathedral (and hence to

1. Benson (1875), p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 4.
3. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
the bishop), and he wanted it to be "subject to the public ecclesiastical authority of the diocese". By actively involving the cathedral's precentor, subdean and the archdeacon of Lincoln in teaching duties at the Scholae, Benson successfully bound the cathedral and college together. His bishop, Christopher Wordsworth, had been instrumental in preparing the way for the establishment of a theological college in Lincoln, and continued to support the Scholae Cancellarii after Benson's promotion to the bishopric of Truro in 1877. Successive chancellors after Benson maintained this link between their office and the college; J. O. Johnston in the early years of the twentieth century was particularly active in this regard, and lectured on pastoral theology and the catechism before the first world war. Benson's other desire, that of a disciplined student life of prayer, study and good works, was encompassed within the college's daily schedule. The journal of Leonard Hodge, the first student enrolled at Lincoln Theological College, emphasises the regularity of college life during the Scholae's first year. Hodge usually attended the early

morning cathedral service, visited, and attended lectures and more services in the afternoon and evening.¹ Nearly thirty years later the daily routine had changed very little.² In 1901 the future warden of the college, J. C. DuBoisson, described a typical day in the life of a student.³

6:45 a.m. bell
7:35 a.m. matins in the cathedral, followed by meditation or communion in the college chapel breakfast
reading before lectures
10:00 a.m. lectures
1:00 p.m. sext in college chapel dinner
sport and recreation tea
reading
7:00 p.m. evensong in college chapel supper
10:00 p.m. compline
11:00 p.m. lights out

¹ Journal of L. Hodge, student of Lincoln Theological College, entry for 18 May 1874.
² Lonsdale Ragg, "Scholae Cancellarii Lincolniensis", in The Treasury, 1903, p. 925.
³ J. C. DuBoisson, A Day at the Bishop's Hostel, Lincoln, 1901.
This schedule was similar to that followed by students at the Society of the Sacred Mission's college at Kelham in Nottinghamshire in the early years of the twentieth century,\(^1\) where attendance at a prescribed number of church services and meditation were emphasised. Lincoln Theological College became increasingly attached to the Anglo Catholic concept of a common life after the turn of the century, encouraged by two successive wardens who had been trained at Cuddesdon.\(^2\) Student organisations such as the missionary guild and preaching association were necessary according to warden DuBoisson because they helped to promote the common life and fill the gaps in nongraduates' education.\(^3\) As at Lichfield, the nongraduate students at Lincoln did not necessarily always pose the threat of social dilution. Writing in 1916, DuBoisson claimed that literates and graduates got on well together in college, and that "At the Hostel many of the nongraduates were of the public school type, while the graduates often came from a lower social stratum."\(^4\) And like Lichfield again, the problem of nongraduate educational standards and selection prompted Lincoln Theological College to institute a probationer system.

4. Ibid., p. 76.
The Central Entrance Examination or the Durham University matriculation examination that was required for entrance to late-Victorian theological colleges required a knowledge of Latin and Greek beyond that generally possessed by literate candidates, so Lincoln accepted probationers for a year previous to the examination in order to prepare them.¹

As has been seen with regard to Lichfield and Lincoln, entrance criteria and qualifications were important to nongraduate theological colleges, as was the Preliminary Examination that virtually guaranteed ordination. All of the colleges examined in this chapter, with the exception of Kelham, required that literates either passed an entrance examination or had testimonials certifying their academic standing.² Most institutions that educated nongraduates required as well some assurance of the candidate's spiritual fitness for the ministry. St. Bees requested that its students submit a clerical testimonial vouching for their morality, piety and a previously sound occupational history,³ while at Queen's

1. Ibid., p. 5.

2. The St. Bees College Calendar for the year 1854, pp. 4-5; John Sandford (1853), p. 3; The Calendar of the Theological College, Wells, for the year of our Lord 1879 (Wells, 1879), p. 22; The Calendar of Theological College, Salisbury, 1903 (Cambridge, 1903), p. 2; The Calendar of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury for the year 1869; 'Festival of the Scholae Cancellarii, Lincoln'.

3. The St. Bees College Calendar for the year 1854, p. 4.
College, Birmingham the entrance qualifications required evidence of episcopal support for each student admitted.¹

The mid-Victorian evangelical college of St. John's, Highbury interviewed prospective students in addition to administering an entrance examination; the college calendar for 1869 stated that:

A fixed educational standard of admission has not been found to lead to satisfactory results. Each case is considered on its own merits, regard being had to the evidence of personal piety and promise of fitness for the ministry apparent in the candidate.

Lincoln Theological College asked that its students produce character references, and at Wells literates could enter the college only after attending an interview with a board of examiners.³ Upon gaining admittance to a college, literates usually followed a two-year course, while graduates did one year.⁴ Attempts were made at the 1891 clerical education conference to lengthen the


2. The Calendar of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, for the year 1869.

3. The Calendar of the Theological College, Wells, for the year of our Lord 1879, p. 22.

4. The St. Bees College Calendar for the year 1854, p. 3; Sandford (1853), p. 3; The Calendar of the Theological College, Wells, for the year of our Lord 1853, p. 17; Lichfield Theological College Minute Book, 1870-1910, entry of 15 December 1890; F. C. Tindall, 'Clergy Training at Salisbury, A Noble Centenary', p. 2; Festival of the Scholae Cancellarii, Lincoln.
nongraduate course to three years in all colleges, but this plan had to be postponed in order for the new Central Entrance Examination to take effect. The probationer system used by Lichfield, Lincoln and Wells meant that a three year course was already effectively employed in those institutions, and St. John's Hall had instituted a three year programme at its inception.

Nongraduate theological colleges were anxious to improve their students' standing and prospects in the church. One of the ways that some colleges went about strengthening their academic and social status was by forging links with the theological and arts faculties in the new universities. St. John's Hall, Lincoln Theological College and Lichfield Theological College were associated with the Durham University scheme whereby theological college students were able to qualify for a Durham BA when they completed a one-year residential course at Durham after finishing a two-year theological

2. The Calendar of the Theological College, Wells, for the year of our Lord 1879, p. 22.
3. The Calendar of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, for the year 1869.
4. W. White, ed., The Queen's College Birmingham Calendar and Almanack, 1900-1901 (Birmingham, 1900), p. 35; The Calendar of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, for the year 1882 (London, 1882), p. 17; DuBoisson, Notes on the usages and arrangements of the Bishop's Hostel, p. 5; Lichfield Theological College Register, volume I.
college course.\textsuperscript{1} Lichfield students were able to work towards a University of Birmingham BA after 1913,\textsuperscript{2} although the war interrupted the progress of this plan. Students at Queen's College, Birmingham were encouraged to study for the London University and then Birmingham University BA.\textsuperscript{3} The late-Victorian Egerton Hall in Manchester offered scholarship winners an opportunity to study for the University of Manchester BD while they were in residence at the hostel.\textsuperscript{4} Clearly the desire to create a graduate clergy was strong, even if it was to be a post-ordination creation. The association with the universities gave theological colleges some of the status in the public eye that clerical educators craved.\textsuperscript{5} The university degree was an irreducible mark of learning, and those ordinands who did not possess a degree often suffered at the hands of their bishops. So well developed was the attraction of a graduate clergy, so strongly identified was learning with the university degree, that G. H. Curteis of Lichfield Theological College (the originator

1. Loc. cit.
2. Lichfield Theological College Minute Book, 1910-1928, entry for 21 October 1913.
5. 'The Memorial of the Undersigned Principals of Theological Colleges, Engaged in Preparing Candidates for Holy Orders in the Church of England' (1877).
of the probationer system) could write to the Lincoln cathedral committee of enquiry about his nongraduate ex-students: "At the same time (I am glad to say) most of them feel their position would be bettered by having a Degree."\(^1\) It is indicative of the nature of the late-Victorian church and clergy that his assessment was undoubtedly correct.

A major difficulty with regard to both graduate and nongraduate clerical education was securing financial support for students and colleges. A gentleman-clergy was by definition self-supporting, and this indeed was one of the attractions of limiting the clerical profession to men of that class -- a gentleman might call upon his own private income, and not require his stipend, thereby freeing that money for other purposes.\(^2\) By maintaining university graduation as an ordination standard, and by requiring as well a postgraduate year of theological education, the clergy were attempting to guarantee that their profession should remain socially exclusive and prestigious by effectively limiting entrance to those classes who could afford to pay for their own education.\(^3\)

The fifth conference on clerical education in 1891 had a committee that devoted itself to the problem of pecuniary

1. G. H. Curteis to R. Giles, 22 August 1870, Lincoln cathedral committee of enquiry.


3. Russell, op. cit., p. 244.
aid to candidates. Their proposals included the creation of a central representative clerical aid society to replace the old regional associations that had been supplying limited numbers of candidates with assistance since the end of the eighteenth century. Educational assistance societies, ordination funds and diocesan groups multiplied rapidly at the beginning of the twentieth century; whereas in 1900 there were only six independent societies and three diocesan societies, by 1913 there were eight independent societies and twenty diocesan associations in operation. Thus the stated aim of the 1891 conference was not achieved, for no central coordinating committee to fund clerical education was established; instead, the diocesan associations proliferated. The conference also had discussed how clerical education should be funded, and arrived at the conclusion that whatever money was available should not be directed to literates attending theological colleges, but rather to graduates studying at colleges and undergraduates intending to enter the ministry. Indeed, the following year (1892) the Cambridge Graduates'  

3. The Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1913, pp. 2-5.  
Ordination Fund was created. While the church wanted men to be professionally trained, support for this training was to be made available only to those who possessed the traditional academic and social guarantees of a university education.

Theological colleges had two functions to perform for the Victorian Church of England. They provided the professional component of clerical training for graduates, and a general as well as a professional education for literates. Nongraduate theological colleges helped to supply the need for numbers when graduate recruitment was falling, but their students were only accepted rather than welcomed into the church because their presence threatened the social status of the clergy as professional men. Attempts to introduce middle and lower middle class men into the mainstream of the ministry were not successful because theological colleges had neither the time nor the resources to create the learned gentlemen that constituted the ideal Victorian cleric.

The Theological College Curriculum

When Charles Dodgson, examining chaplain to the first bishop of Ripon and father of Lewis Carroll, set his ordination examination in 1837 he required candidates to write papers on Christian evidences, popular fallacies, doctrine, Jewish history, church history and the new

testament, in addition to submitting a sample sermon. A knowledge of Greek was required, but not of the liturgy, patristics or seventeenth-century Anglican theology (both Dodgson and his bishop, Longley, were evangelicals and would not have judged those subjects to be important to clerical work). Biblical fact and history were examined, rather than criticism or theology. Nearly thirty years later at the bishop of Chester's ordination examination in 1866, candidates for priest's orders were examined on the epistles in Greek, the bible and creed, the new testament and gospels, and Anglican history and church government. Such an examination was again devised to test acquired 'facts' rather than 'theory' or capacity for critical thought. Bishops reinforced the point made at the 1862 Church Congress as to the nature of clerical education and the aims of theological colleges -- clearly they were interested in ordaining parish priests rather than theologians.

The content of the theological college curricula reflects that which the educators thought the pastorally revived, modern nineteenth-century clergy should know and understand. Thus the Anglo Catholic Charles Marriott,

2. Ibid., pp. 202, 207.
3. Ibid., p. 203.
4. St. Bees College Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1861-1871, entry for 20 July 1866.
first principal of Chichester Theological College, outlined what a competent Anglo Catholic priest ought to know in a lecture he gave his students in 1840. He regarded knowledge of the sacramental offices (communion, baptism, marriage, burial) to be of primary importance in assisting the minister in his duty towards the parish.\(^1\) Biblical knowledge and knowledge of the ancient biblical languages was necessary in order to allow the priest to act as spiritual instructor to his people.\(^2\) The clergyman had a responsibility to guide his parishioners by either direction or correction, and to give them both spiritual and temporal help.\(^3\) The ideal priest had also to acquire "habits of personal self-denial" so he might "keep up an acquaintance with the common feelings of the poor and distressed, and to sympathise with them without being disturbed by the consciousness of self-indulgence."\(^4\) Finally, he ought to know something about the civil (as opposed to ecclesiastical) law as it pertained to the church;\(^5\) this last point revealed a post-tractarian consciousness of the nature of church-state relations that had not existed in Britain until the onset of the Oxford

1. Charles Marriott, 'A Lecture delivered at the Diocesan College, Chichester, at the opening of Lent Term, 1840' (Chichester, 1840), p. 9.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Ibid., p. 11.
4. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
5. Ibid., p. 12.
Movement, although the problem had mightily vexed colonial and post-colonial Anglicans for some time previously. At Chichester Theological College the curriculum in 1840 included: study of the bible in Greek; standard sixteenth and seventeenth-century English divines; patristics; ecclesiastical history; ecclesiastical biography; and study of the sacraments and pastoralia. The college curriculum did not conform exactly to the ideal espoused by Marriott, for there is no mention of civil law or the discipline of self-denial, but all the academic subjects mentioned in his address were taught at his college.

Marriott's correspondence with his mentor John Henry Newman reveals a problem common to Victorian theological educators, that of ensuring that students, regardless of their graduate status, were capable of mastering the curriculum set by the colleges. Marriott wrote to Newman in April, 1839 about the progress of the college, but noted that it was not possible for his students to read Eusebius in the original Greek ("the men are not up to it at present").


Aidan's Theological College in Liverpool also experienced considerable difficulties in this regard. He was determined to give his literates the gentlemanly education favoured by the bishops, but his men were academically unprepared for such a curriculum. The probationer systems discussed in the previous section were one way of dealing with the problem of adequate academic preparation; another was the St. Bees College policy of requiring testimonials from clergymen with whom prospective students had studied. A third method was the institution of a nongraduate academic entrance examination, first on an individual basis, and then of course on a national scale when the Central Entrance Examination was adopted in 1892. A fourth alternative, that of fitting the curriculum and teaching methods specifically to the needs of literates rather than following a university-oriented course in theology, was the solution offered by H. H. Kelly of the Society of the Sacred Mission, and that will be discussed later in this section.

Previous to the establishment of the Central Entrance Examination it was suggested by T. E. Bates, subwarden and professor of exegesis at Queen's College, Birmingham that theological colleges should co-operate


2. St. Bees Students entry book, 1835-1840 reveals that virtually every St. Bees student studied classical languages with a clergyman previous to coming to college.
more closely and offer a common syllabus.\textsuperscript{1} There had been an attempt to associate colleges in 1862-3,\textsuperscript{2} but this had failed. Theological colleges found themselves in an educational no man's land, poised between the intellectually and socially elite universities on the one hand and the untrained literate on the other, each institution an entity separated from other colleges by party divisions, selection criteria and diocesan boundaries. Nongraduate colleges designed their curricula around the Cambridge Preliminary Examination after 1874, and therefore exchanged academic flexibility for the advantages of a standardised course of study. Bates suggested that theological colleges should become degree-granting institutions,\textsuperscript{3} with their own matriculation examinations that would test the candidates' knowledge of Greek, Latin and English; the level of their "general culture"; and their understanding of the physical sciences.\textsuperscript{4} His desire to clarify the status of nongraduate theological colleges was shared by others involved in clerical education. In 1877 the principal of St. John's Hall, T. P. Boultbee, in an open letter asked the archbishop of Canterbury to consider granting "quasi-

\textsuperscript{1} T. E. Bates, 'Proposal for the Formation of a Theological University' (Birmingham, 1879), p. 5.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 3.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 6.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., p. 7.
degree" standing to those theological college students who passed the Preliminary Examination.¹ The universities' nongraduate courses in theology (Durham University licentiate, licentiate of St. David's College, Lampeter and Associateship of King's College, London) gave their students such status, while theological colleges that taught similar curricula² were not able to offer their students this advantage. Bates wanted to create a theological university based on the existing theological colleges and the theological departments of Queen's College, Birmingham, St. David's and King's College, London.³

No theological university was established, nor did literate theological college students ever achieve even quasi-degree status. Instead, the Preliminary Examination remained the standard pre-ordination criterion, and theological colleges became more closely associated with university theological departments, as previously

1. 'Letter to archbishop of Canterbury from T. P. Boultbee, Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury, October 14, 1877' (London, 1877). He suggested that such men should be designated STL, 'Sacrae Theologicae Licentius'.


discussed. Much as external evaluation of theological college students was prized by nongraduate educators, both the Preliminary and Central Entrance Examinations caused problems that affected college curricula.

The Preliminary Examination tested the ordination candidate's knowledge of the bible in Greek; the creeds; the thirty-nine articles; the prayer book; ecclesiastical history; a Latin ecclesiastical author; and his ability to translate Latin into English. It was a successful examination in that it rapidly became accepted by the bishops as an ordination prerequisite, and as a result of this acceptance theological colleges adapted their curricula to its requirements. The Preliminary was primarily the creation of Brooke Foss Westcott, regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, founder of the Clergy Training School there, and future bishop of Durham. He wanted to remove the academic pressure to pass a written examination from the ember seasons (the four weeks each year when ordinations occurred) in order to allow candidates to concentrate on the spiritual rather than the temporal nature of their interview with the bishop. To

1. *The Calendar of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, for the year 1874*, pp. 11-12.

2. *The Calendar of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, for the year 1885*, p. 11 stated that all English bishops except Worcester and Sodor and Man agreed that the Preliminary would stand as the academic portion of their ordination examinations.

nongraduate educators the Preliminary represented an opportunity to prove the worthiness of their students and the value of theological colleges in preparing men for the ministry. The 1874 calendar of St. John's Hall was, however, overly optimistic when it predicted that the Preliminary:

> will tend to remove the present ambiguity of their [literates'] position, which mainly arises from the absence of any public and recognized test of their acquirements and ability. ... It may ... serve much the same purpose practically before the public as a University Degree.

However, Preliminary Examination success was not a substitute for a liberal education, nor did it bestow the social prestige of graduation upon its possessors. Nevertheless, theological college students acquitted themselves credibly in the Preliminary Examinations reported in table 13. Not surprisingly, the best results were obtained by those who had attended both university and a theological college; fully fifty per cent of these men received first class marks in the Preliminary Examinations held between 1874 and 1886. However, a higher percentage of nongraduate theological college students gained first class standing than did graduates (23.2% versus 21.0%). Independent theological college

1. The Calendar of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, for the year 1874, pp. 9-10.

2. See table 13.
students fared better than their colleagues in university theological departments. Only 16.2% of those who were students in King's College, London, Durham University's L. Th. programme and Queen's College, Birmingham obtained first class results.

The curriculum described by Canon Barry of King's College, London at the 1881 conference on clerical training included biblical studies, church history, dogmatic theology, evidences, the prayer book and articles, reading in public, catechising, exposition and preaching.¹ It did not include Latin authors or translation, both Preliminary subjects, but it did involve considerable attention to topics upon which the Preliminary did not touch. The colleges were interested in preparing future clergymen for the responsibilities of their jobs, and so taught subjects such as pastoral theology that the Preliminary did not examine. Difficulties arose over this point, for as Dr. Wace, principal of King's College, explained to the 1891 clerical education conference, those subjects that the Preliminary did not examine were immediately discounted by students,² regardless of such subjects' intrinsic worth or importance to overall clerical training. Educators were concerned about their students 'cramming' for theological

¹ 'Report of the First Conference upon the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders', p. 11.
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examinations in the same way that university students approached their degree examinations. Dr. Wace suggested that the connection should be closer between theological colleges and those who devised the Preliminary in order to ascertain that sufficient time could be given to unexamined subjects. Warden DuBoisson of Lincoln Theological College echoed Dr. Wace's sentiments and complained that "[in] teaching one is rather too much tied by examination requirements." His nongraduate students took part I of the Durham University licentiate after their first year in college, then continued studies for that diploma during their second year. Yet while there was general dissatisfaction with the Preliminary Examination as the determinant of theological college syllabi, there was a generalised recognition of the necessity for establishing a centralised, episcopally authorised benchmark of academic standards among late-Victorian clerical educators. In adopting the Preliminary as their criterion for ordination the bishops tacitly accepted the limitations imposed by the examination in addition to its guarantee of academic

1. Ibid., p. 31; Ragg, "Scholae Cancellarii Lincolniensis", p. 925.


3. Ibid., p. 31.


achievement. Like theological colleges, the Preliminary was another indication of the Victorian clergy's widespread desire for improved professional standards. It was the first theological examination to wield influence outside the universities,¹ and by setting an academic standard for literates as well as graduates it necessitated the creation of standardised academic entrance criteria for nongraduate theological colleges.

Previous to the Preliminary Examination and to the Central Entrance Examination the curriculum taught by theological colleges, whether they were graduate, literate or mixed institutions, was remarkably similar,² Students were generally expected to study the bible in ancient languages, ecclesiastical history, Anglican doctrine and articles of faith, the evidences of Christianity,³ and pastoral theology. Thus the Preliminary did not impose an alien or unknown course of study on theological college students. Individual college curricula did of course

1. Previously, the Cambridge Voluntary examination or special examination in theology was the usual pre-ordination requirement for Cambridge graduates.

2. See table 12.

3. Claude Welch, Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century, volume 1 (New Haven, 1972), p. 119 shows how Coleridge effectively refuted the raison d'etre for evidence theology. It is interesting that regardless of the changing concerns of Victorian theology, evidences continued to be part of the standard theological college curriculum, when their study was old-fashioned and clerical educators were concerned with the amount of material to be covered in a one or two-year course.
change over time. For instance, the programme at Wells Theological College in 1853 differed from that offered in 1866 and in 1914. In 1853 the curriculum included "Jewish Antiquities" and "standard theologians" in addition to the bible in the original languages, English divines, patristics, evidences, church history and pastoral theology.¹ Thirteen years later, the bible was being taught more systematically, with the result that the rest of the curriculum was streamlined and attention was focused on the bible and related subjects (patristics, evidences, and Hebrew). Ecclesiastical history, the prayer book and the ordination service also were taught.²

As discussed in the previous chapter on handbook literature, the mid-Victorian clerical ideal was rooted in the ordination service, and it is significant to discover that such a direct relationship existed between the ideal and formal theological education. Pastoral theology was not part of Wells' mid-Victorian curriculum, whereas it had been earlier. However, the late-Victorian course included parochialia, as well as doctrine, evidences, the bible, church history, reformation history, and the prayer book.³ Clearly, pastoral studies that were abandoned by

1. The Calendar of the Theological College, Wells, for the year of our Lord 1853 (Wells, 1853), p. 16.
2. The Calendar of the Theological College, Wells, for the year of our Lord 1866 (Wells, 1866), p. 20.
3. The Calendar of the Theological College, Wells, for the year of our Lord 1914 (Wells, 1914), p. 22.
the mid-Victorians had been reinstated by the late-Victorian period, and there was less pre-war emphasis on biblical exegesis and scholarship. Late-Victorian Wells became re-interested in teaching students to be clergymen rather than theologians or scholars.

The Victorian age experienced a revolution in pastoral care, and it is not surprising that this rebellion against eighteenth-century clerical standards affected the professional education of the nineteenth-century clergy. In line with the clerical ideal, theological colleges became increasingly concerned with teaching and supervising the practice of pastoral theology throughout the period, in spite of the demands on both the lecturers' and students' time made by the Preliminary Examination's strictly academic requirements. The theology department of Queen's College, Birmingham was founded by a wealthy high church vicar, Samuel Warneford, in order that practical pastoral instruction might be supplied by a learned clergy. Warneford also endowed a chair of pastoral theology; the holder was to teach sermon composition, use of the rubrics, the reading of church services, and "'all other matters connected with and subservient to a faithful and efficient performance of what the church requires of her Pastors and Ministers for the edification of their flocks.'" All colleges did not

1. 'Statement of the Arrangements in the several Departments of The Queen's College, Birmingham' (Birmingham, 1850), p. 15.
2. Loc. cit.
take the same approach to pastoral training. At the first conference on clerical education John Gott of the Leeds Clergy School explained the difference between his methods and those employed at the evangelical St. Aidan's College, Liverpool: "Liverpool treats the Student as a factor in the parochial work, while Leeds treats the parochial work as a factor in the Student."\textsuperscript{1} Gott was anxious that his students should learn about parish life and management, but at the same time he recognised that inexperience led to lack of judgment, so the student was to be supervised by an experienced incumbent who would not allow pastoral problems "of a private or sensitive character"\textsuperscript{2} to befall his students. St. Aidan's had a tradition of practical rather than theological training, and under the first principal, Dr. Baylee, students regularly worked in neighbouring parishes under the direction of the local clergy.\textsuperscript{3} Students visited in homes three hours a day, three days a week, and brought the problems that required more professional examination to the principal for advice.\textsuperscript{4} In the parish they acted as much-needed lay assistants to the clergy, and clearly were regarded as part of the local parochial machinery.\textsuperscript{5} This policy of


2. Ibid., p. 19.


4. Loc. cit.

pastoral training changed in 1869 with the appointment of the second principal, Saumerez Smith, for under his direction St. Aidan's academic curriculum became more manageable for nongraduates. He developed a course of study that emphasised the academic skills most notably absent among literate students (hence the courses in English rather than Latin or Greek composition), but in so doing he downgraded the practical aspects of the curriculum.

Regardless of the difficulties of formal examination boards and the differences that arose from party association, practical pastoral training was of increasing concern to clerical educators. Even in high church and Anglo Catholic colleges such as the Scholae Cancellarii, the late-Victorian curriculum included mission addresses and services, and the warden recommended that further changes should be made to allow students to engage in domestic and hospital visiting, and school teaching. He also suggested that such pastoral practice "be made to count as a regular part of the training" for the ministry. Until this was done, the value of parochial

1. Heiser, op. cit., pp. 16-17 compared with the 1870 curriculum in the response to the Lincoln committee of enquiry, 1870.

2. Saumerez Smith to R. Giles, 19 September 1870, in Lincoln committee of enquiry.


4. DuBoisson, Notes on the usages and arrangements of the Bishop's Hostel, p. 43.

5. Ibid., p. 44.
work in clerical training would be open to question. The fact that practical pastoralia was not examined (it was not a subject that lent itself naturally to formal examination) does not appear to have affected its high status and priority among educators, most of whom were interested in expanding the scope of such work.\(^1\) The pastoral ideal identified by handbook writers stressed the sympathy that bound parson and people together, the minister's love for his parishioners and his ability to act as an agent of spiritual and social reconciliation. Each of these qualities presupposed the pastor's ability to communicate his convictions, ideas and skills to those with whom he dealt. Thus he was encouraged at college to develop communication skills that would enable him to be an effective pastoralist and purveyor of the clerical ideal. He was taught sermon composition and delivery (bearing in mind the close connection between the sermon and pastoral work),\(^2\) public speaking and reading, how to visit the sick and the poor, and how to teach at day and


Sunday schools. The mainstream of college life may well have flowed through the chapel, as the warden of Lincoln Theological College suggested, but the principal tributary wound its way around the practical parochial work undertaken by students who were learning how to relate the lessons of the chapel to everyday life.

In sharp contrast to the concern with practical parochialia, entrance standards and evaluation of externally set final examinations was the system of theological education undertaken by Herbert Kelly, founder of the Society of the Sacred Mission. Kelly himself had not had a distinguished career at university, and experienced difficulty locating curacies early in his professional career. He was born into an evangelical clerical home in Manchester in 1860, but became an Anglo Catholic while an undergraduate at Oxford. His interest in clerical training began in the late 1880's when he was in his second curacy, at Southfields in London. The working class boys with whom he dealt might have proved to be the solution to the church's recruitment problems, Kelly thought, if the necessary education for them could be provided. He approached Henry Scott Holland, a

1. G. H. Curteis to R. Giles, 22 August 1870.
4. Ibid., p. 2.
prominent Anglo Catholic Christian Socialist, with the suggestion that a free college should be made available for these boys, but Scott Holland did not think that the time was yet ripe for such a radical departure from the edicts of the gentleman-heresy.¹

Kelly's opportunity to train men for the ministry came in 1890 when Scott Holland encouraged him to take charge of the education of nongraduate missionary candidates assembled by the newly appointed bishop of Korea, Charles Corfe.² The Corean Missionary Brotherhood was Corfe's solution to the problem of establishing a foothold in Korea, and like the Universities' Mission to Central Africa the men would have to be unpaid and unmarried. Kelly was originally employed to train laymen to work in Korea, not to produce ordinands for the English church;³ it was his intention from the beginning of his association with the Brotherhood, however, to prepare capable men for ordination, and to extend the work to the church at home as well as abroad.⁴ In fact, he started his career as a theological educator without any formal

1. H. H. Kelly, in S. S. M. Quarterly Paper, 51, 177, December 1950, quoted in George Every, ed., No Pious Person (London, 1960), p. 44. Kelly noted with satisfaction regarding Scott Holland's pessimism, "The result proved that he was quite wrong".

2. SSM - An Idea Still Working, pp. 2-5.


4. SSM - An Idea Still Working, p. 3.
training in either theology or educational methods,\(^1\) a situation which contributed to the uniqueness of his approach. It was clear to Kelly from the beginning of his work with the Corean Missionary Brotherhood that the logical result of his labours would be the establishment of a religious society.\(^2\) The name of the Brotherhood was changed in 1892 to the Society of the Sacred Mission in accordance with Kelly's determination to create a truly international movement.\(^3\) In May, 1892 Kelly and two others began a novitiate as members of the new Society; their vows committed them to lives of chastity, poverty and obedience.\(^4\)

It was Kelly's aim to

make it as natural for every devout boy in the national or Board school as it is for a boy in the Public School to consider whether he is not called to the Divine Service.

He offered theological education to those who were not able to pay for it themselves and accepted men who had only an elementary school education.\(^5\) These practices

2. Every, op. cit., p. 46.
6. A. Jones, op. cit., p. 130.
amounted to a policy of social dilution, a policy with which Kelly agreed.\(^1\) He maintained that ordaining literates would not lower clerical performance standards;\(^2\) indeed, he attributed the failure of theological education to the vain attempt to Christianise a secular university curriculum by means of a postgraduate year at a theological college.\(^3\) The decision taken at the conference on clerical education in 1891 to restrict financial support to men who were either doing a postgraduate theological college course or to undergraduates intending to enter the ministry epitomised the conservatism of the late-Victorian church. For Kelly, the graduate was not necessarily the best prepared, most motivated ordinand,\(^4\) and he denounced a policy whereby

the meagre funds available for assisting ordinands were administered by men who assumed as a self-evident principle that all the bright boys were to be helped to go to Oxford and Cambridge and other colleges could have the remnant.

According to Kelly, university education was not in any case a satisfactory choice for the ordinary man who wished to enter the priesthood. Its courses were not designed to

1. Loc. cit.
2. Ibid., p. 95.
3. Ibid., pp. 120, 124.
fulfil the average man's intellectual or practical needs; there was not a sufficient degree of tutorial assistance available to help intellectually untrained men adjust to the rigours of academic life, and there was not a disciplined lifestyle to which middle and working class men could relate.¹

This indictment of the unsuitability of the theological education found at the universities did not, however, result in an endorsement of the theology taught at nongraduate colleges. Kelly roundly condemned both high and low church theological colleges for unnecessarily simplifying the intellectual challenges posed to literates by theological study. He opposed the view that consecrated character constituted a priestly vocation,² and that devotional sincerity was a basis for carrying out the duties of the parish ministry.³ Instead, he wanted to educate men to become practical theologians in their everyday dealings with parishioners.⁴ Like other Anglo Catholics,⁵ Kelly's goal was the creation of a prophetic

3. Every (1960), p. 49. Kelly was on less than solid ground regarding this criticism. The clerical ideal did not recognise mere sincerity as a component thereof, but it did emphasise personal spirituality. Clearly Kelly simplified the situation whereby devotional sincerity and personal holiness might be confused for the purposes of his argument.
ministry wherein it was "the first business of the clergy to teach, to show how Christianity bears on life." Theological education, he argued, was not a matter of specialised or professional study, but rather a unified and unifying entity, "a view of life." Because English clergymen had been educated by a secular curriculum at the universities, and were ordained after a year of professional theological education, they were "affected, unnatural, often dogmatic and arrogant" about religion, while on other subjects they were learned and broad-minded. "We were taught to be laymen, and just good Christian laymen we remain. When we have to talk as priests, we know too little to trust ourselves off the conventional ground" was his judgment on the Anglican clergy.

Kelly's solution to this problem was antithetical to the structure of formal education traditionally employed by the church, and as a result he found it difficult to persuade bishops to ordain his students. In 1895 boys of sixteen were allowed to begin their training with the Society. In spite of his protestations, this was so

3. Loc. cit.
4. Ibid., p. 86.
5. Loc. cit.
radical a departure from the standard practice of accepting men of university age for clerical education, and so akin to the Roman Catholic model of seminary education, that Kelly was bound to receive hostile reactions, especially from broad churchmen and evangelicals. The course of study for these boys was secular until they reached the age of nineteen;¹ thereafter forty per cent of the ordinand's time was occupied by study of the scriptures² during a programme that took four years (five years for those who had not joined at sixteen and had to add another year in order to study for the Central Entrance Examination).³ For the first two years of the course there was one lecture a day (in old and new testament or church history), followed by five or six hours' reading and one hour a day of Latin or Greek translation. Saturdays were devoted to essay preparation. In the final two years there were only four lectures a week (on old and new testament, church history and dogmatic theology).⁴ Pastoral theology and homiletics Kelly refused to teach, maintaining that to merely practise preaching or visiting debased the value of real

2. Ibid., p. 145.
3. Kelly (1909), p. 20. Kelly's college at Mildenhall in Sussex had been granted status as a recognised theological and missionary college by the bishop of Ely in 1897, and therefore the students were obliged to pass the Central Entrance Examination.
4. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
sermons and real visits. Before the priest could give advice to others he must be made aware of the needs of his own soul, and unless future priests were separated from the world as ordinands they would remain unaware of their souls and of the necessity to lead "theologically centred lives".

Herbert Kelly's vision of a Church of England that could encompass clergymen from the working classes as well as those from the gentlemanly classes was central to his determination to change the relationship between church and people. He wanted to educate theologian-priests for the parishes, thereby challenging the late-Victorian pastoral ethos of "devoutness, energy and common sense". This vision did not, however, take sufficient account of an Anglican parochial tradition that was based upon the incumbent's social position and economic status (in short, the gentleman-heresy). While the urban clergyman clearly was not in this traditional situation, most Victorian parishes were rural rather than urban, and the middle class laity's expectations regarding the learning and gentility of their clergy were traditional as well. Kelly's teaching method relied upon his students' capacity for

independent thought; it presumed the student's possession of a body of knowledge in order that such thought could occur, and for many elementary and grade school men, this was simply not the case. The curriculum gave men no opportunity to deal with people on a pastoral basis previous to ordination. Kelly implemented his vision of Catholic theological education in the Society of the Sacred Mission, and his support for working class recruitment and its corollary of specifically nongraduate teaching techniques were significant departures. He proved that it was possible to ordain working class priests; what he could not prove to the church was the need for such men.

The academic curriculum offered in Victorian theological colleges was standardised by the introduction of the Cambridge Preliminary Examination in 1874, while a more flexible approach to unexamined divinity subjects was maintained. Nongraduate colleges in particular desired the establishment of ordination criteria that would not penalise their students, although they could not happily reconcile their need for a procedure of external evaluation with the Preliminary Examination as it was constituted. The Preliminary did not test the candidates' knowledge of doctrinal theology, but concentrated on

1. Kelly (1909), p. 20. Kelly said that a third of his students had attended elementary or grade schools; another third came from small grammar schools or private schools and the remaining third were from Woodard schools, public schools and universities.
certifying their knowledge of classical languages, church history and Anglican formularies. The theological colleges taught these subjects, as well as other theological topics that were designed to make the student a competent clergyman in the mould of the clerical ideal.

The debate over the nature and role of practical parochial training in theological colleges was undoubtedly won by the proponents of active student involvement. Among the colleges studied, only Kelly at the Society of the Sacred Mission did not assign pastoral work to his students. Considering the manner in which theological colleges were regarded by Anglo Catholics as centres for spiritual retreat and self-knowledge, it is remarkable that there was such a high degree of commitment to pastoral theology displayed by even high church educators. This commitment serves to emphasise the importance of the pastoral ideal in the development of formal clerical education. Without recognition of the need for a learned, professionally trained clergy, theological colleges would not have been created. The need for such a clergy had certainly existed before the pastoral revival that occurred in the early and mid-Victorian period; in a real sense Victorian theological colleges were the fruits of that revival. It was as a result of this revival that a continuing interest in practical pastoral work existed.

Questions about the appropriateness of theological college curricula therefore raise further questions about the appropriateness of the clerical ideal itself. Should
nongraduates have been prepared for what was essentially a postgraduate theological examination, thereby necessitating a college course that consisted of a series of academic compromises in order to accommodate both graduates and literates? If university education was so highly prized an ideal, why did theological colleges not prepare more of their students for post-ordination degrees? Why was so much valuable time spent trying to teach nongraduates Hebrew, Greek and Latin when the pastoral ideal stressed qualities of consecrated character, sympathy, devotion and activity that could be achieved without those academic prerequisites? The answer to these questions is that the Victorian church never rid itself of the gentleman-heresy and the attendant assumption of university standards as the goal for every clergyman. At the very end of the Victorian period B. K. Cunningham of the Bishop's Hostel in Farnham epitomised this attitude when he claimed that the parish priest should be just an "English gentleman in Holy Orders".¹ That many late-Victorian priests were not gentlemen is clear; there were not, however, very many late-Victorian priests who did not know enough Greek and Latin to pass the Preliminary Examination. Literates received some of the trappings of a gentlemanly education in theological colleges, while at the same time they concentrated on the specialist

knowledge that their future profession required. As Herbert Kelly pointed out, university education was not suitable for every clergyman; yet this was the standard that was officially maintained. The students who sought recognition for their abilities in the Preliminary Examination were literates rather than graduates. University men and university standards predominated, so even the nongraduate curriculum reflected the academic concerns of the universities.

Nongraduate Theological Education

The problem facing clerical educators who taught literates was basically social rather than academic or intellectual. The gentleman who fulfilled the clerical ideal was a man of secular and theological learning, a man of culture and taste. Theological colleges did not impart those cultural qualifications for the ministry; rather, they directed their efforts towards the acquisition of theological and practical pastoral training. Nongraduate theological colleges could not and did not produce gentlemen-clerics to replace those university-educated men who were taking up alternative careers during the mid and late-Victorian period. Colleges could, however, create a new type of clergyman -- the middle class parson.

Not all late-Victorians, however, viewed the question of literate clerical education in these terms of middle class social mobility. Canon A. J. Worlledge, who had taught at theological colleges in both Lincoln and Truro,
maintained that;

The question is not, 'Will we create a new class of clergy?', but 'Will we cultivate by mutual association, will we ennoble by familiarizing with our oldest, grandest, most beautiful seats of religion, ...?'

In other words, the late-Victorian literate was to be socially, culturally and morally elevated to the same status as the gentleman-clergy so that literates and gentleman could become indistinguishable. The means by which this uplifting process was to occur was to be the theological college, for the literate had "a moral claim upon the best training which the Church can provide". At the 1891 conference on clerical training Worlledge was an adamant supporter of the move to lengthen the theological college course for nongraduates. An additional year at theological college would be used to further candidates' general education, "without which the real bearing of theology and its practical issues in life cannot be grasped." Such a course - three years long, comprising both a general and theological curriculum - was not unlike

3. Ibid., p. 20.
that undertaken by honours and pass theology students at Oxford and Cambridge, except that the university students was regarded as a gentleman and the literate was not. In fact, it was just this argument, i.e. that both university and nongraduate theological college courses were to be three years in length, that was used against the extension of the theological college course. If ordination candidates were to spend three years studying theology, asked the vice principal of King's College, London, then why were they not studying at a university?¹

While the aim of some late-Victorian high church educators was the amalgamation and integration of the graduate and literate via the theological college, mid-Victorian high churchmen were more concerned with separating the two classes of clergy. T. E. Espin, the warden of Queen's College, Birmingham recommended to the 1863 Church Congress that literate theological colleges should be distinct from graduate colleges. He also suggested that nongraduate colleges have large staffs (to encourage a variety of theological opinion) and large numbers of students (again, to discourage domination by any one church party).² Moreover, E. W. Benson, speaking


at the 1871 Church Congress, recognised that the middle class clergy trained at theological colleges were different men from the university gentleman who was the standard ordinand. This nongraduate clergy "will want a distinct curriculum of study, distinct discipline, new institutions, and new teachers".¹ Institutions like Benson's Scholae Cancellarii were designed to provide the curriculum, discipline and teaching required to convey the clerical ideal to the middle class literate. There were special preparatory classes to bring candidates up to the academic level required for the Central Entrance Examination; there was an active student life outside the classroom, and the discipline of a daily routine of chapel, lectures and pastoral work. The Scholae accepted graduates as well as literates, and the two types of students got on together well, according to the late-Victorian warden of the college.² This mixing of the classes at a theological college was not, however, necessarily successful. Again, mid-Victorians experienced more difficulty in bringing literates and graduates together in a single institution than did late-Victorians. The vice principal of Chichester Theological College reported to the Lincoln cathedral commission of enquiry in 1870 that "We have only very seldom had men below the rank


2. DuBoisson, Notes on the usages and arrangements of the Bishop's Hostel, p. 76.
of Gentlemen though there have been a good many non-Graduates. I do not think it has answered. They are shunned by the other men."¹

Those colleges that were created to train literates did not generally attract many graduates and gentlemen,² so there was little opportunity for contact between the classes in nondiocesan colleges (St. Bees, St. Aidan's, and St. John's Hall). The colleges that maintained a high proportion of graduates (Wells, Cuddesdon, Leeds and Ely)³ would not have offered many chances for the mixture of the classes, as graduates who could afford an extra year at a theological college were usually gentlemen. There were, therefore, relatively few colleges where graduates and literates met (Chichester, Lichfield, Salisbury and Lincoln)⁴ and both mid-Victorian Chichester and late-Victorian Lichfield experienced problems in bringing together gentlemen and nongentlemen.⁵ Late-Victorian proponents of mixing the classes at theological colleges argued that such a policy prevented narrowness of experience,⁶ and that the two classes learned from each other.

¹ G. W. Pennethorne to R. Giles, Lincoln cathedral committee of enquiry, 15 August 1870.
² See tables 10 and 11.
³ See table 11.
⁴ See tables 10 and 11.
⁵ Pennethorne to Giles, op. cit.; and entry in Lichfield Theological College Minute Book, 24 January 1887.
other. Also, the changing nature of the late-Victorian gentleman in clerical terms facilitated the mixture of upper and lower middle class men in colleges. Gentlemanly qualities such as sympathy, a sense of fair play, truthfulness and discretion came to be emphasised and the traditional gentlemanly social and economic attributes devalued by pastoral theologians at the turn of the century. When it became increasingly difficult to recruit gentlemen, however, the church did not abandon the ideal of a gentleman-clergy; instead, the ideal was adapted so that the moral and spiritual characteristics of the Christian gentleman were made paramount. The "incomparable boon of gentle birth and training" was still preferred, but there was likely a reduction in the tension between gentlemanly and middle class students in late-Victorian theological colleges due to the new emphasis on spiritual qualities that transcended class distinctions. When Joseph Baylee, first principal of St. Aidan's Theological College, spoke to the 1862 Church Congress he was obliged to defend the social status of his students (he claimed they were "the same rank of life as the men that come to the Universities").

1. DuBoisson, Notes on the usages and arrangements of the Bishop's Hostel, p. 76.
3. Loc. cit.
later the bishop of Worcester, Charles Gore, only briefly mentioned social and academic dilution in an address preached for the Diocesan Theological Students' Exhibition Fund at the Lichfield Theological College Biennial Festival. He placed the responsibility for the education and training of literates squarely on the church.

The men were there, and the need was there, and it was the business of the Church to put the supply in connection with the demand. That meant one thing only — that the Church must be to a far greater extent than it had ever been in the immediate past at the charge of the education of those who were adjudged to have a true vocation.

Again there was concern about utilising men who possessed a 'vocation', regardless of their lack of gentlemanly status and education. Early and mid-Victorian clergymen were to be drawn from the ranks of the gentry and upper middle classes who could support their sons at a public school and university, while the late-Victorian cleric was to have a gentlemanly character but not necessarily gentlemanly social status.

There were specific and specialised problems associated with the clerical training of the middle class literates who were prepared at the theological colleges. Canon Worlledge of the Bishop's Hostel, Truro thought that the first problem lay in the uninformed attitudes towards the nongraduate clergy.

By some, who have never been brought into much personal contact with them, they seem to be regarded as persons of a most self-sacrificing, almost apostolic mould. By a larger number, as a mere makeshift, and distinctly inferior.

Both characterisations were misleading, according to Worlledge. Nongraduate educators did, however, face "discrepancies of age, training, social status, and early associations" among their students. The existence of these wide discrepancies is borne out in tables 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 17 dealing with the educational and occupational background of theological college students. Because students had such a variety of origins it was difficult to select and train them within the limitations of the two year course that most literate colleges offered. The second conference on the training of ordination candidates in 1882 had recommended a three year theological college course for nongraduates, and suggested minimum standards for college entry. By the time of the fifth conference in 1891 only three institutions (St. John's Hall, St. Augustine's Missionary College and Dorchester Missionary College) actually taught a three year course. The disadvantages of a three year programme, however, were difficult to surmount because they were

2. Loc. cit.
largely financial. Any extension of the standard two year course would have affected those students who could least afford the extra expense.\(^1\) There were evident disadvantages to the two year course, particularly in terms of the widespread desire to raise the level of the students' general education in addition to providing professional training.\(^2\) However, financial considerations and the previously discussed problem of ensuring an uninterrupted flow of ordinands from the theological colleges combined to direct the attention of educators towards establishing and enforcing college entrance criteria rather than extending the existing courses.

The pastoral ideal that stressed individual concern for each parishioner and the necessity for diligence and knowledge of the parish made tremendous manpower demands on the late-Victorian church. Bishops were under constant and often severe pressure to ordain unqualified candidates,\(^3\) and theological colleges were subject to similar constraints to accept students of uncertain academic, spiritual and moral background in order to satisfy the need for men. At the fifth conference on clerical education Chancellor Leeke of Lincoln cathedral


3. Miscellaneous correspondence, 1861-1871 of St. Bees College, entry for 8 January 1867 re the bishop of St. David's: "He is in great want of Candidates, and he ordains quite as many Literates as Candidates for Ordination."
and Theological College proposed the establishment of a central entrance examination for all theological colleges because "the higher standard really required at entrance could not be maintained against the pressure put upon the College to receive some students."¹ The Central Entrance Examination was designed to test prospective theological students' general educational standard, so the substitution of the Oxford and Cambridge senior local examinations, the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination, or the London University matriculation examination was deemed acceptable by theological college principals.²

Until a student had passed either the Central Entrance Examination or its approved equivalent, he was not allowed to proceed to a two-year theological course. The content of the Central Entrance Examination included: Latin and Greek literature and translation; scripture history; one gospel in Greek; English history; geometry or logic; and English composition.³ The effect of introducing this examination was soon felt; the proportion of literates attending theological colleges declined noticeably. At Lichfield 71.3% of the students between 1890 and 1899 had attended university, whereas during the

3. Lichfield Theological College Minute Book, 1870-1910, entry for 14 November 1892.
previous decade only 29.6% had done so, and in the following ten years only 25.7% went to university. 1 At Salisbury Theological College 65.5% of the students between 1861 and 1893 who were still alive in 1903 were university-educated, while in the period 1894 to 1906 76.3% had gone to university.2 Wells Theological College, albeit a traditionally graduate institution, did not admit a single nongraduate between 1889 and 1908.3 The number of students entering St. John's Hall, Highbury fell by 50% during the period 1892-1900, compared with the eight-year period 1880-1888.4 However, the establishment of a single academic standard for theological college entrance meant in turn that better-prepared literate students were more successful in the late-Victorian Preliminary Examination.5

A centralised, standardised examination of the student's capacity to understand and translate ancient languages, mathematics and English did much to overcome the mid-Victorian problems of the status and constitution of theological colleges. Colleges had come under repeated attack in the Church Congresses for their independence and

1. See table 14.
2. See tables 15 and 16.
3. See table 17.
4. See table 18.
isolation,¹ the narrowness of their bases,² and their inability to provide the gentlemanly educational background³ so highly prized by a profession that wished to retain its upper middle class recruitment pattern. After the introduction of the Preliminary Examination, and particularly after the establishment of the Central Entrance Examination, the curricula were sufficiently standardised so that the element of isolation was reduced, although colleges did not amalgamate to form a theological university or achieve the degree-granting status desired by many mid-Victorian theological educators. Nor were late-Victorian colleges any less open to charges of theological partisanship than were their predecessors, but this was a reflection of the ongoing nature of doctrinal disagreement within the church rather than a specifically educational phenomenon. Theological colleges were not universities, nor were they capable of providing a substitute for university education; by definition they did not provide the education of a gentleman. The social status of literate theological college students varied from "the brothers, the cousins, the kinsmen of your old University friends, whom you accept so unhesitatingly"⁴ to


apprentices, schoolmasters, clerks and farm labourers who were certainly not of gentle, or even middle class, origins. Given the limitations imposed by a two-year course that was of necessity primarily concerned with teaching theology and pastoralia, theological colleges did well to prepare their students for the postgraduate Preliminary Examination.

An academic entrance examination could not, however, entirely solve the problem of candidate evaluation that plagued Victorian theological colleges. Nongraduate clerical educators experienced real difficulty in assessing the moral, spiritual and social qualities of their students in addition to their problems concerning intellectual and academic qualifications. The establishment of standardised entrance and terminal examinations did make it less likely for poorly prepared students to complete, or even begin, the theological college curriculum and thus removed a common mid-Victorian cause for distress.¹ Clergymen were often asked to recommend prospective candidates for theological college (as in the Lichfield probationer scheme), but this practice raised more problems that it solved as a result of "the very inadequate idea many excellent clergymen have of the real abilities and acquirements of their Candidates."² The underlying problem of nongraduate

1. Miscellaneous correspondence 1861-1871 of St. Bees College, entry for 12 September 1866.

theological colleges was student selection, caused principally by the unrelenting pressure on colleges to train large numbers of men without proper regard for their suitability.¹

Postordination Training

The church's eighteenth-century selection criteria were primarily concerned with the candidate's economic and social status rather than with his sense of vocation or consecrated character. There was, however, a pre-Victorian tradition of clerical meetings, particularly among evangelical ministers, where theology, pastoralia, church-state relations, and ecclesiastical discipline were discussed -- in short, the affairs of the church and the clerical role in those affairs were scrutinised.² Such local gatherings constituted an effective, albeit informal, method of giving clergymen some postordination training, and it was a tradition that survived into the Victorian age.³ While postgraduate divinity degrees (the BD and DD) were available from Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin throughout the nineteenth century, they were not useful degrees in that they did not require critical ability or specialist knowledge. Like the MA,

1. Boultbee, Principal's Report to the Council, 3 November 1865, p. 4.


3. Seymour and Mackarness, Eighteen Years of a Clerical Meeting.
divinity degrees were courtesy titles rather than professional qualifications. The growth of formal professional education for the ministry was not limited, however, to students in theological colleges. The late-Victorian cleric was offered a variety of post-ordination opportunities for theological and pastoral training that were not available to his predecessors.

Deacons in the dioceses of London and Winchester received pastoral and scriptural lectures respectively in 1882 and 1883. Queen's College, Birmingham encouraged deacons to study for priest's orders by attending the college lectures and examinations. The 1891 conference on clerical education considered the subject of post-ordination education at length, and many of those who contributed to the discussions stressed the necessity for the provision of nongraduate post-ordination training in particular. The examining chaplain to the bishop of Liverpool, W. H. Barlow, estimated that fully one-third of the clergymen in 1891 were literates; while this was not so (in 1890 78% of the clergy had attended university, and a further 14% had been to a theological college), it served to emphasise Barlow's claims regarding the advantages of post-ordination bachelor's degrees in

2. Sandford, 'Prospectus of the Theological Department, Queen's College, Birmingham', p. 4.
4. See table 2.
divinity. Not only would such a degree guarantee that adequate time would be taken to develop a systematic knowledge of theology, doctrine, church history and scripture,¹ but also it would offer literates a university degree that was professionally useful.² He suggested that such BD's should be contingent upon ten years' pastoral experience and success in a proficiency test, and that the curriculum should contain a range of optional topics as well as the compulsory subjects listed above.³

The pressure of work in the parish was of course cited as the principal drawback to postordination study.⁴ The diligent, active, knowledgeable minister was, according to the pastoral ideal, also to be an educated man who devoted his time to biblical studies.⁵ While it was recognised that scholars were not ideal clergymen,⁶ study had to be made an acceptable alternative to the visible parochial activity that characterised late-Victorian clerical life⁷ or the ideal of a professionally learned clergy would inevitably suffer. The experienced

2. Ibid., p. 106.
3. Ibid., p. 104.
5. Whitham, Holy Orders, p. 245.
pastoral educators at the 1891 clerical training conference dismissed voluntary schemes for post-ordination training as unsatisfactory because they had been tried and had failed.¹ Instead, they concentrated on the effective means of promoting postordination study. There was, however, a diversity of opinion as to the object of the priest's study. E. R. Bernard, examining chaplain to the bishop of Salisbury, saw the provision of postordination education as a necessary deterrent to the spread of atheism;² that is, he aimed at teaching priests to be more competent theologians and preachers. Towards that end he suggested that "the personal influence and guidance"³ of Oxbridge divinity professors, theological college principals and tutors was a prerequisite to an effective programme of postordination training. He envisioned a system of diocesan-based education featuring theological lectures and a diocesan theological library.⁴ The informal clerical education societies, both diocesan and independent, should devote more effort to postordination training, Bernard suggested, and advertise their meetings more widely so as to encourage greater participation.⁵

1. Ibid., p. 99.
2. Ibid., p. 98.
3. Ibid., p. 99.
4. Ibid., pp. 100-101.
This goal of training theologians was disparaged by John Gott, by this time dean of Worcester, and a pastoral theologian in his own right.¹ He was not intent on making the ordinary parson a theologian, but advised instead, "Let us be content... if the mind of the average parish priest is a running stream instead of a stagnant pool,...".² Gott had already tried many of the suggestions offered for postordination training while he was vicar of Leeds. He had established clerical libraries, given prizes for theological essays, encouraged diocesan reading circles for pastoral theology, offered courses at annual clerical retreats, and founded series of theological lectures sponsored by the cathedral.³ All of these activities were only partially successful in achieving the goal of an intellectually and spiritually active clergy.⁴ Gott suggested that there should be a clergy house in both Oxford and Cambridge where priests might live and study for a few weeks a year, removed from the insidious demands of parish life.⁵ In addition, he proposed an excellent and innovative scheme whereby a peripatetic band of pastoral experts would act as

1. He wrote the standard late-Victorian high church urban pastoral handbook, The Parish Priest of the Town.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., pp. 109-110.
specialists and give advice where needed on the issues that most affected parochial work: theological and pastoral reading, doctrine, atheism, the relationship between religion and science, teaching, and catechising.¹

Gott's plan for a mobile postordination pastoral training group did not materialise; some late-Victorian alternatives to this programme did, however, exist. The Central Society of Sacred Study, directed by the regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, provided one such method for assisting clergymen "in continuous systematic reading, after their Ordination Examinations are passed."² The Society published annual reading lists, and was connected with ordination candidates through chapters at various theological colleges.³ There was also increasing interest at diocesan level in postordination educational provision. By 1913 six dioceses were making regular arrangements for specific postordination training, ranging from Chester's Clerical Reading Union, to annual lectures in York, Gloucester, Lichfield and Wakefield, and the provision of Gladstone's theological library at St. Deiniol's in the diocese of St. Asaph.⁴ The universities

1. Ibid., p. 111.
2. Edward King, 'A Charge delivered by the Right Reverend Father in God, Edward, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, to the Clergy and Churchwardens of his Diocese, at his Sixth Triennial Visitation' (Lincoln, 1901), p. 24.
3. Loc. cit.
were active as well, and offered a series of 'University Lectures for the Clergy' each summer.\(^1\) Finally, there was great interest in a programme of diocesan clerical retreats and quiet days along the lines suggested by John Gott in 1891.\(^2\) It was, in fact, in this form of particularly spiritual post-ordination training that the group of highly mobile clerical educators Gott recommended actually did exist. Such men were retreat specialists, and conducted events all over the country.

Opportunities for postordination training increased throughout the late-Victorian period. Even so, they were not widespread and in spite of concern with the educational standards of nongraduates, formal postordination education was limited to a year's study at non-Oxbridge universities for a divinity degree, lectures in a limited number of dioceses, and clerical retreats. There was no large-scale attempt to supplement either the general or professional education of the clergy after ordination; for the vast majority of Victorian parish clergymen, contrary to the tenets of the clerical ideal, study was a pre-ordination luxury, and professional development was an unfulfilled promise.

Theological Colleges and the Clerical Ideal

Theological colleges were created to fulfill the general need for a means of clerical education in addition

1. Ibid., p. 14.
2. Ibid., pp. 16-18.
to a variety of specific needs that were related to church party affiliation. Formal institutions for theological education were a response to the changing nature of clerical practice promoted by pastoralists who were concerned with the relationship between church and people in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were not, and need not have been, the only response to the problem of teaching future clergymen about their work; some men underwent an apprenticeship with either some prominent pastoralist (for example, Charles Vaughan, the vicar of Doncaster, or a succession of late-Victorian bishops of Durham: J. B. Lightfoot, B. F. Westcott, and H. G. C. Moule), or with their own incumbents. Theological colleges were, however, increasingly significant entities within the church as the century progressed because they were the focus for the professional education of the clergy. They acquired a body of professional teaching staff and a career structure in theological education emerged.

There was considerable scope for advancement in professional theological education during the mid and late-Victorian period when a sufficient number of institutions existed in order to allow for competition and promotion. In addition, those involved in clerical education tended to retain their interest in it and actively expanded its scope wherever they were; bishop G. H. Law established St. Bees College while he was bishop of Chester, and was
instrumental as well in founding Wells Theological College twenty-four years later when he was bishop of Wells. E. W. Benson founded a college while he was chancellor of Lincoln cathedral, and established another when he became bishop of Truro; Edward King was the third principal of Cuddesdon College and a prime mover behind the foundation of St. Stephen's House, Oxford, a high church missionary hall. J. O. Johnson was principal of both St. Stephen's Hall and Cuddesdon, and became chancellor of Lincoln, where he took an active interest in the theological college there. J. H. Pinder, first principal of Salisbury Theological College, had previously been principal of Codrington College in the Bahamas.

Men with theological college experience could also gain promotion as a result of the growth in late-Victorian formal theological education: the vice principal of Lichfield Theological College became principal of the Episcopal Theological College, Edinburgh in 1885, when the Lichfield chaplain became principal of Moore Theological College in New South Wales. In 1891 Lichfield's vice principal became principal of St. Aidan's College, Liverpool, only to return to Lichfield as principal ten years later.

Acceptance of colleges in which the clergyman would be professionally instructed was neither immediate nor certain. The universities, regardless of such limitations as the absence of a degree course in theology until the 1870's, continued to be championed as the proper centres
for clerical education throughout the Victorian period.¹ This identification of the gentlemanly classes with the universities is one of the reasons why the church valued its connection with Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College; another reason is the broad church and evangelical conviction that the Victorian universities should remain at the heart of theological education.² However, in spite of high church distrust of the spiritual state and religious orthodoxy of the universities,³ a majority of late-Victorian high church theological college students were graduates. Of the twelve colleges in table 11 for which information exists, ten colleges had Anglo Catholic or high church associations; in six of these the majority of students were graduates. Fear of an intellectually and socially inferior clergy triumphed over fear of unorthodoxy, largely because the interest in theology and biblical scholarship at mid-Victorian Cambridge reduced the need for such mistrust and the creation of theological halls at both universities encouraged the separation of clerical candidates from other students. A year in a theological college came to be recognised as a respectable and even necessary


³ Ibid., p. 99.
supplement to a university education,¹ and as discussed previously, this model was adopted as the standard for ordination shortly before the first world war.

In addition to the cathedral chapters that employed diocesan theological colleges as means of protecting their revenue and Anglo Catholics who regarded colleges as islands of spirituality in a sea of secularism, theological colleges prospered as a result of the application of the tenets of the clerical ideal. The Victorian clergy were professional men in quite a different way to that in which their eighteenth-century predecessors had been.² In the latter part of the eighteenth century the clergy had depended upon their gentlemanly status in rural society to define their role, and therefore the range of their activities was affected by their interests in landholding and country life in general.³ The nineteenth-century cleric, on the other hand, relied on his spiritually distinct character, sympathy with and knowledge of his parishioners, hard work, and a mastery of pastoral skills to define his place in society. The church became increasingly aware of the need to educate as well as examine ordination candidates

1. E. C. S. Gibson, bishop of Gloucester, in Elwes, op. cit., p. vi, recalling that in the nineteenth century a head of an Oxford college had refused to give a student the College testimonials (necessary for ordination) when he found that the student was planning to attend a theological college.


during the nineteenth century,1 especially when the universities were theologically suspect and eventually would become nondenominational.2 Mid-Victorians were concerned that the church would jeopardise its role as the civiliser and educator of the nation unless the clergy were "educated, learned and exemplary",3 and emphasised the need for a professionally well instructed ministry in order to keep the respect of other professional groups and the middle classes.4 The hierarchical structure of the church, however, meant that uniform ordination standards were sacrificed to episcopal independence. The claim was made by mid-Victorian evangelicals that more than just professional respectability was at stake unless the church made better provision for clerical education — they questioned the church's ability to survive as a national institution with an ill educated clergy.5

While theological colleges did not themselves bring about a uniform ordination standard, merely by their existence they encouraged the trend towards standardisation. They presented bishops with the means of

1. Freeman, op. cit., p. 19.
implementing a set academic curriculum and supervised practical work, and offered a method whereby the supply of ordination candidates could be regulated and rationalised. As was recognised by the early 1860's, theological colleges had the potential to act as agencies of uniformity in terms of theological teaching and examination.¹ The very attraction of this notion of uniformity and centralisation of authority was also what made the prospect of mid-Victorian theological colleges acting as a theological university² impracticable, for party strife was too great to allow doctrinal agreement on curriculum.

Much early and mid-Victorian concern with theological colleges was directed towards postgraduate rather than literate training. The clerical ideal laid stress on the gentlemanly nature of the clergy and the necessity for clerics to share the educational background of the upper middle classes. Graduate theological educators were anxious to raise the standard of professional performance³ and concentrated on teaching those men who by birth and education they regarded as capable of leadership in this area. Much as the absence of adequate professional theological education was deplored, attracting graduates to theological colleges proved difficult. The principal

1. Ellicott, op. cit., p. 10.
reason for this difficulty was that there was not any worldly advantage in theological college attendance.¹ A graduate's career prospects were not materially improved by a year of postgraduate education because the church did not possess a clear-cut career structure; alone among the high status pre-industrial professions the church retained an antiquated patronage system throughout the Victorian period.² This meant that the laity (i.e. nonprofessionals) had a significant measure of control over clerical appointments, and that social connections continued to be more valuable to a clergymen who wished to improve his prospects than were professional education, skill or even success. Other reasons for the lack of support for graduate theological colleges include the financial burden imposed on clerical fathers whose sons were also entering the church;³ the growing unpopularity of the church as a graduate employer due to its inequitable and uncertain system of remuneration;⁴ and the colleges themselves, particularly nondiocesan institutions, suffered from the lack of an adequate and sound financial basis that adversely affected the quality of service they were able to offer.⁵ Thus the deterrents

1. Freeman, in Chronicle of Convocation, 1865, pp. 2344-2345.
to postgraduate professional training were sufficient to discourage most early and mid-Victorian graduates from attending a theological college. This pattern did change over time; by 1914 nearly a quarter of the clergy had attended both university and theological college, whereas in 1860 less than one per cent had done so.¹ The decade 1900 to 1910 saw the greatest rise in the percentage of clergymen with this type of educational background. By 1910 there were a total of twenty theological colleges in operation, in addition to theological faculties in St. David’s, Lampeter, Durham University and King’s College, London. The opportunities for training expanded in order to meet the late-Victorian demand for a professional, graduate ministry. The suggestion had been made at the 1865 Convocation that the solution to the problem of ensuring that the clergy were professionally educated was episcopal insistence upon theological college attendance.² This sentiment was echoed by late-Victorian educators,³ and became the basis for the 1909 Church Congress report that would have made postgraduate theological education mandatory.

The role of theological colleges in promoting the Anglo Catholic and high church clerical ideal was of central importance to the growth of formal clerical

1. See table 2.
education. Anglo Catholics emphasised the prophetic aspects of the clergymen's role (that is, his work as a divinely inspired spiritual leader) rather than those of priest, pastor or teacher. As a result, they favoured theological institutions because colleges gave men an opportunity to acquire the technical skills of spiritual leadership, while developing in them habits of conduct, dress, demeanour, sobriety, earnestness and devotion that would serve to separate them from the laity. It was this opportunity to differentiate the consecrated character from the merely professionally qualified student by exploring the man's commitment to a religious life that was prized by high churchmen. Anglo Catholic theologians stressed that "spiritual and theological wisdom must have a basis in conduct, in life, in conscience", and on the model established by Cuddesdon, Anglo Catholic colleges attempted to provide the spiritual, moral and intellectual atmosphere that would train future clergymen to live demonstrably consecrated lives.

Anglican clerical educators were aware of the facilities made available by nonconformist theological

3. 'The Order for the Admission of Students to the Theological College, Salisbury' (Salisbury, 1861).
4. Loc. cit.
colleges and never tired of comparing the professional education given by other churches with their own.\textsuperscript{1} In spite of general dissatisfaction with the state of theological education, those involved in it were convinced of the necessity for pre-ordination studies; according to the preacher of Cuddesdon's 1858 anniversary sermon, theological college students were better instructed than the majority of other candidates in the nature of the duties before them... earnest, exemplary, and modest in their pastoral work.

Less biased support for theological colleges came from the bishops who ordained and employed men who had attended the colleges. Bishop James Fraser of Manchester declared in his 1876 charge to the clergy that "I am pleased to be able to express myself satisfied with the attainments of those students who have passed through the higher classes of their course"\textsuperscript{3} (he was referring to the forty-three students he ordained between 1870 and 1876 who had been educated at St. Aidan's and St. Bees). A late-Victorian bishop of Bristol commended Lichfield Theological College clerics on being "sterling common-

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Sandford (1858), p. 11, and "Education of Candidates for Holy Orders", p. 89.
\item[2.] Sandford (1858), p. 16.
\item[3.] Fraser, 'Charge delivered at his second Visitation in the Cathedral, Manchester and St. Mary's Church, Lancaster' (Manchester, 1876), p. 27.
\end{itemize}
sense and business men"\(^1\) and an early-Victorian bishop of Peterborough stated his satisfaction with St. Bees' men to the principal of that college.\(^2\)

Episcopal uncertainty, even antagonism, towards nongraduate theological college ordinands was not unknown,\(^3\) but even nongraduate colleges did offer the bishops some assurance of the candidates' spiritual and intellectual suitability and preparation for the ministry,\(^4\) especially after the introduction of the Preliminary Examination. Colleges that trained literates were regarded with increasing favour by mid and late-Victorian because declining graduate recruitment meant that a larger number of nongraduates were required to meet the church's parochial commitments. Without the nongentlemanly, nongraduate clergy that were trained in theological colleges, there was an immediate danger of overwhelming secularisation in urban areas, warned E. W. Benson at the 1871 Church Congress.\(^5\) Thus nongraduate theological colleges had an increasingly important role to play in the Victorian church as the gentleman-heresy.

1. Inman, op. cit., p. 75.


3. D. Evans to Dr. Ainger, 26 October 1870, in St. Bees College Miscellaneous correspondence, 1861-1871.


became progressively more indefensible. The first principle of the clerical ideal was the primacy of consecrated character, and literate theological colleges encouraged the breakdown of social and academic barriers and assisted in the realisation of this tenet of the ideal.

Theological colleges were the product of a desire to raise the standards of clerical performance in accordance with the clerical ideal of an educated ministry. They created an atmosphere in which "Scholarship and saintliness may be blended"¹ and provided the means by which a student's qualifications, both spiritual and academic, could be tested prior to ordination. Theological colleges were also the result of the operation of the pastoral ideal.² The laity's expectations about the clergyman's role and duties changed as parish life was affected by the application of that ideal; "[the] more you do, the more they will think lies in your power, and the more they will expect from you"³ the early-Victorian evangelical R. W. Evans had written, and in order to maintain its tenuous hold on its middle class membership the mid and late-Victorian church found it necessary to encourage professional theological education. Ironically, the very success of the pastoral ideal presented the

church with virtually insoluble problems, because the demands made on resources of men and money by the ideally active ministry were more than could be borne. Theological colleges assisted in the late-Victorian solution to the problem of recruitment by providing secular and theological education to, and moral supervision of, nongraduates. College life was a vital element in the spiritual formation of Anglo Catholic priests, and the professional theological training received in colleges of all affiliations was of sufficient benefit to the clergy to be viewed by late-Victorians as an essential concomitant to university education.

Conclusion

Victorian theological colleges served to support and disseminate the clerical ideal. At the same time, nongraduate theological colleges also challenged the social and educational bases of that ideal by providing an increasingly popular middle class alternative to the upper and upper middle class pattern of university education. The existence of institutions for literate training became more significant when the mid and late-Victorian church experienced difficulty in attracting the university-educated gentleman that the clerical ideal specified, and came to rely increasingly upon theological college-trained nongraduates.
Theological colleges trained future parish clergymen for their duties, and the curriculum adopted reflected acknowledgement of this fact. Anglo Catholics, however, viewed colleges as legitimate centres for spiritual training and prized their colleges as foci of moral and spiritual, rather than academic or intellectual, growth. Therefore active pastoral experience was readily accessible to students in high church colleges, although the Society of the Sacred Mission excluded practical parochial work from its curriculum. By the end of the Victorian period there were more than twenty graduate and nongraduate theological colleges, each independent and individual, but offering very similar curricula. With the bishops' acceptance of a common ordination syllabus in the Cambridge Preliminary Examination in theology after 1874, such standardisation of the academic curriculum was inevitable among literate colleges, for they were anxious to gain acceptance within the church hierarchy and initially regarded the Preliminary as an opportunity to achieve this end. It was only after the Preliminary Examination had been in operation for a few years that literate educators came to realise the very real curriculum restrictions that this essentially postgraduate examination imposed. Nongraduate theological education clearly was in need of an independent standard of evaluation, separate from any university-based examination system, but it did not achieve this status before 1914. The introduction of the Central Entrance Examination for
literates in 1892 was a first step towards formal recognition of specifically nongraduate educational requirements. While a university degree followed by postgraduate theological training remained the late-Victorian educational ideal, an increasingly sophisticated and complex infrastructure for nongraduate education had emerged prior to world war one.

The mid-Victorian clerical ideal emphasised the connection between gentlemanly status and the clerical profession. The ideal also stressed, however, the absolute necessity of consecrated character, or spiritual worthiness for the role of the priest. When both old and new professions proved to be a threat to graduate recruitment after the 1860's, and the changing concept of the Christian gentleman took into account the spiritual and moral qualities of gentlemanly character, the middle and lower middle class students in nongraduate theological colleges found increasing acceptance by the church hierarchy. This acceptance was not complete amongst churchmen and surely was granted largely because there was no alternative to nongraduate recruitment if the church was to attempt to fulfill its role as a national religious institution. There was, however, at the same time acceptance of college-educated literates on a different basis by more socially progressive churchmen who were willing, even anxious, to extend the boundaries of clerical recruitment beyond the traditional confines of the gentleman-heresy. Theological colleges offered the
middle class literate clergy the opportunity to acquire the professional knowledge and skills that would fit them for the parish ministry. Without theological colleges, the middle and lower class clergy would have experienced even greater difficulty gaining acceptance by the English bishops.

Theological colleges acted as agencies for social change within the church, for they educated and trained some middle class men whom the early and mid-Victorian church had rejected as evidence of social dilution, and brought together gentlemen and nongraduates in a situation of spiritual, though not social, equality. Literate theological colleges attempted to lessen the distance between church and people by training middle class clergymen, without however fully realising that the gap between the middle and the working classes was quite as large as that between the upper and middle classes. The Victorian church needed a pastoral ministry to narrow this gap, and theological colleges represented the most serious attempt the church made during the nineteenth century towards the goal of social reconciliation.
CHAPTER 5

Missionary Education in the Victorian Church of England

Introduction

The previous chapter on theological education for the clergy of the Church of England emphasised the growing availability of specialised professional training for the ministry throughout the Victorian period. At the same time, the church was also experiencing and encouraging the expansion of Anglican interests abroad, and missionary enterprise became an increasingly acceptable alternative to a domestic parish ministry by the end of the mid-Victorian era. The creation and growth of missionary colleges assisted in the creation of professional distinctions between men ordained for work at home and those who chose to work outside the British Isles. These colleges were not, however, providers of specifically missionary instruction in the same way that theological colleges offered professional skills by means of practical pastoral studies; indeed, the raison d'être of missionary education was more concerned with longstanding recruitment and selection problems than with any desire to provide a professional alternative to existing arrangements for clerical training.

Victorian missionary activity was not restricted to the confines of the established church. Anglicans could lay claim to the oldest missionary society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (commonly referred to as the SPG) which was founded in
1701, but the revival of evangelical Protestantism that occurred in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century ensured that the majority of British nonconformist denominations also supported foreign missionary work. In contrast to the usually strained nature of relations between Anglicanism and Dissent was the general agreement amongst Protestant churches on the mutual dependence between missionary activity abroad and spiritual success at home.¹ By the end of the period under examination a number of prominent churches and missionary societies were actually considering a shared venture in missionary education; these discussions eventually resulted in a scheme for the creation of a nondenominational missionary college after the beginning of the first world war.² Clearly missionary work represented a rare opportunity for reconciling and unifying Protestants in Victorian Britain; of course, divisive issues, such as defining and maintaining spheres of influence, did exist and the late-Victorian determination to improve missionary training by means of pooled resources was not achieved by 1914, but the potential for harmony and support among missionary bodies was nevertheless present.


2. 'Scheme for a Central College of Advanced Missionary Studies', p. 1.
The trait that British (as well as Continental and North American) missionaries shared was their interest in a universal goal, the evangelisation of the non-Christian world. Regardless of their denomination, motivation or training, the common denominator of missionary enterprise was the desire to produce the conversion of the heathen. The scope of missionary enterprise will be examined in the first section of the chapter. Religious life in Britain was fraught with difficulties and associations that were the products of the traditional alliance between church and state; in the mission field, far away from the pressures and traditions of home, missionaries were confronted with an entirely different perspective on church life. The object of this examination of missionary education is a determination of the nature of the Anglican response to the need to prepare men for work outside the confines of the church in England.

The most striking difference between the conduct of missionary affairs and those of the church lay in the dominant role played by the missionary societies, as discussed in the second section of the chapter. It was the need to educate men for ordination as representatives of the evangelical Church Missionary Society (CMS) that brought about the foundation of the first missionary college, and the remaining four Victorian colleges were all associated with the other principal missionary society, the SPG. These societies, and a range of lesser-known and less important groups, were the product of lay
interest in and concern about Christian evangelism abroad. Not unnaturally, the scope of their interest was usually connected with the Christianisation of the British empire (i.e. India) and with 'atonement' for the African slave trade. With the early—Victorian colonisation of British North America, Australia and New Zealand there arose another recognisable missionary need for clergymen to serve the emigrant population until sufficient colonial clergy could be recruited and trained. Missionary colleges were therefore required to prepare prospective missionaries for the very different tasks of a pastoral ministry to Anglican colonists, and as evangelists to a vast array of indigenous peoples living in or around British spheres of influence. The missionary societies acted as unofficial arbiters in the division of labour that was necessary in order to provide for both categories of foreign work. The SPG had been founded to provide clergy for services in the American colonies, and it continued to be primarily concerned with ministering to British colonists and garrisons throughout the nineteenth century. The CMS, on the other hand, was created by evangelicals at the end of the eighteenth century for the specific purpose of converting the heathen in Africa and


Asia,¹ and it retained this interest. There were no hard and fast rules about the scope of missionary work, however, and many late-Victorian students of the SPG-affiliated colleges served as clergymen to native peoples.

Associated with the recognition of missionary work as a separate entity was the formulation of a missionary ideal, as will be seen in section three. This ideal was closely related to the tenets of the nineteenth-century clerical and pastoral ideals discussed in previous chapters, and helped to define the largely Victorian creation of a new type of cleric, the missionary. It will be seen that the distance between the social and educational acquirements of late Victorian missionary students and those maintained by the ideal was significant indeed.

Church of England missionaries who were ordained could be educated in colleges that closely resembled conventional theological colleges. The creation, growth, curriculum and objectives of these colleges are examined in the fourth section of this chapter. Both major missionary societies, like the church itself, preferred to recruit graduates during the Victorian period. Their efforts, however, did not always meet with success and one manifestation of their inability to attract adequate numbers of graduates was the creation of missionary

colleges that catered almost exclusively to literates. Due to the expansion of British interests abroad and continuing emigration, the demand for missionaries was accelerating throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and this in turn put pressure on missionary educators and their selection procedures.

This additional strain on the apparatus of missionary provision was particularly unwelcome in view of the educational background of many missionary students. Section five examines the high proportion of lower middle class and working class students at Victorian colleges and the dilemma they presented to missionary educators, missionary societies and the church. Missionaries may have required different skills and abilities than their domestic counterparts, but the prime objective of missionary education was achievement of a single (i.e. domestic) standard of clerical training.

The last section of this chapter will briefly examine the phenomenon of missionary work within Britain itself. A small group of urban clergymen had been concerned with the problems of ministering to the non-Christian working classes in the inner cities since the middle of the nineteenth century, and the growth of missionary activity abroad was paralleled by an increased understanding of the need to apply the principles of missionary evangelisation to the heathen at home. The work of the Church Army in contributing to the development of the evangelist’s role as a legitimate professional specialisation in the
machinery of parochial work is worthy of investigation. Thus the objectives and methods of both foreign and domestic work will be compared, as will the backgrounds, skills and training of the missionaries involved.

**Missionary Enterprise**

The impetus for world-wide Christian conversion was a product of the generalised evangelical revival that occurred within European Protestantism during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century.\(^1\) Large-scale missionary activity on the Continent preceded that in Britain; in fact, the first CMS missionaries were German Lutherans who had been trained in Berlin.\(^2\) Anglican missionary endeavour was carried out against a background of missionary work in Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, France, Scotland and the United States, so it was far from being isolated or unique. What was peculiar to Anglican missionary enterprise was its motivation of atonement for British leadership in the slave trade.\(^3\) There were, however, other reasons for Anglican interest in missionary work, and they have been identified as: utilitarianism (to bind

colonies to the empire and assist in commercial relations); humanitarianism (the desire to bring the benefits of western culture to non-Christian races); asceticism; a sense of romantic adventure on the part of missionaries; the theocentricity of evangelical conversion; love and compassion for non-Christians; denominational imperialism; concern with the widely anticipated millenium and the consequent need to evangelise rapidly and extensively; and obedience to the explicitly biblical command to spread the gospel. While evangelicals were vitally involved in missionary work, and missionaries in their professional capacity spent much of their time attempting to evangelise and thereby convert non-Christians, those in charge of missionary recruitment were anxious that missionary enterprise should not be branded with the shibboleth of 'enthusiasm' that would render the early nineteenth-century campaign for missionary work unacceptable beyond the limits of evangelical social circles. Clearly, in order to be effective such a campaign required a more broadly based support than religious enthusiasm could offer. Nonetheless, the men of the evangelical Eclectic Society and the Clapham sect who founded the CMS experienced

1. Ibid., pp. 45-48.

considerable difficulty in persuading members of their own class that the necessity of foreign missionary work was sufficient reason for gentlemen in holy orders to become missionaries, for graduate CMS missionaries were virtually unknown in the early days of the Society.¹

The persistence of this problem of recruitment affected pre-Victorian attitudes about the social status of missionaries and the respectability of missionary endeavour. Although the SPG regularly recruited graduates,² and the general secretary of the CMS after the middle of the 1840's was committed to a policy of graduate recruitment,³ the dearth of what the missionary societies regarded as properly qualified applicants continued. Bishop Strachan of Toronto correctly identified the clergy's unwillingness to undertake foreign duty when ample opportunities for graduate employment and advancement existed at home.⁴ The remedy for this inability to recruit gentlemen was formal missionary education and the creation of mid-Victorian missionary colleges. These institutions prepared lower middle class

2. See table 20.
and even working class men for ordination to the mission field at a time when such candidates were experiencing severe difficulty in gaining acceptance to the ministry of the church in England, and there is every indication that both the candidates and the missionary societies recognised that the promise of social mobility that accompanied ordination was a great stimulus to missionary recruitment.¹ The attraction of improved social status was an inducement for lower class men to effectively renounce their former lifestyles and embrace the values, and endure the restrictions, of the missionary societies and their colleges. A late-Victorian writer and lecturer on missionary subjects asked in an article on recruitment and selection:

What is it that floods the mission-field with men who have no pretence to the missionary spirit? The prospect of salaries, and houses, and wives, and children, and comforts. I have seen missionaries abroad living in a style far superior to that to which, from their evident social status, they could have been accustomed at home.

Through the SPG's diocesan Missionary Studentship Associations missionary colleges offered free clerical education to those who could demonstrate spirituality, financial need, intellectual potential, and willingness to

serve abroad.¹ Regardless of the necessity for accepting non-gentlemanly candidates in an attempt to supply the demand for manpower, the missionary societies were convinced that the liberal education of the universities should be the ideal for their men; like their episcopal colleagues, missionary officials wanted to avoid preparing men of limited and narrow cultural and social backgrounds for the ministry.² This concern with the social origins and educational accomplishments of the missionary, and of the missionary clergy in particular, was connected with his ability to master the skills of his profession and his ability to act as a suitable, albeit occasionally unwitting, representative of British culture and civilisation.³ There is evidence to suggest that the effects of missionary social mobility could be disquieting and even damaging to the church. A letter from archdeacon E. C. West of Capetown to the principal of St. Boniface's College, Warminster shortly after the first world war attests to the problems encountered by lower middle class missionaries in the field.

Their greatest difficulty in my opinion is that, coming as so many of them do from the lower grades of social life and finding themselves immediately that they arrive in the highest grades, their heads easily get turned by the sudden change of their social position: there is the additional difficulty that,


2. Ibid., p. 51.

3. Ibid., p. 237; 'Remarks on Missionary Enterprise, especially in China' (Shanghai, 1880), p. 23.
having never been used to be (sic) in authority, they have the greatest difficulty in behaving humbly and modestly when they find themselves on the top rung — it is so easy to become a lord over ... natives or coloured people; ...  

While the missionary societies and missionary colleges could not adequately prepare inexperienced men for all of the pressures and obstacles they were to face, it is interesting to note that missionary colleges' curricula did not include any overt references to the difficulty described in the passage above, i.e. the personal conduct of missionaries in their relations with native peoples. Doubtless the atmosphere of, and training in, spirituality and holiness that were the objects of Anglo Catholic missionary colleges\(^2\) were designed to inculcate the moral, social and cultural values of the gentleman who possessed the benefit of experience in assuming a leadership role and had practice at school and university in accepting and wielding authority. It is clear, however, that the habits of mind accumulated before embarking on missionary study would not be foresaken in spite of two or three years in a missionary college, and it was only natural that men should behave in the manner described by archdeacon West.

2. Henry Bailey, Twenty Five Years at St. Augustine's College (Canterbury, 1873), p. 133.
The nature of missionary work varied in its particulars according to the location and situation of the mission, but there was general agreement that the primary task of missionary enterprise was evangelisation.\(^1\) This might consist of preaching, discussions, educational and medical work, industrial missions, linguistic studies and work with women.\(^2\) The second major category of missionary endeavour concerned pastoral work among the native Christian population,\(^3\) and this would follow the pattern of pastor\(\text{alia}\) practised in the average English parish. The process of evangelisation and conversion was dependent, however, on the missionary's ability to communicate his message to his audience, and the issue of language training was hotly contested by missionary educators throughout the nineteenth century. As will be discussed later in this chapter, educators were divided as to the appropriate venue for learning the languages of the mission field. Missionary colleges did not usually include linguistics or languages (other than scriptural languages) in their curricula, so many missionaries were sent abroad knowing little, if anything, of the languages in which they were expected to preach. Instead, they were forced to carry out their ministry by means of an

2. Stock (1904), pp. 15-16.
3. Ibid., p. 16.
interpreter,\textsuperscript{1} thus complicating their task of direct communication and delaying their need to acquire competence in the requisite languages. The nature of the Christianity to be dispensed to natives was to be "reduced to its simple essence of duty towards man"\textsuperscript{2} in order that it would not confuse untutored minds. In addition, a message of such doctrinal simplicity had the advantage of discouraging sectarian wrangling, thereby reducing the likelihood of incurring either Anglican party dissension or non-Anglican denominational rivalry, both of which were present in the mission field.\textsuperscript{3} By the turn of the century there was some concern, voiced in the language of political imperialism, about the need for active missionary expansion. A former SPG bishop wrote:

\begin{quote}
Woe be to any Church which follows not in His train! It is discredited, doomed; it will never unlock the inmost treasure-house of God's grace, for one of the wards of that special key is the imperial spirit, the burning of devotion which longs to enthrone Christ in every man.
\end{quote}

He also claimed that "English-speaking missions which owe

\begin{enumerate}
\item Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
\end{enumerate}
us no allegiance are annually spending millions more than we are, and are sending out thousands more workers than we,...".¹ There was anxiety about the Anglican place in the race to evangelise the world,² and about a decline in the will of late-Victorian English churchmen to undertake missionary enterprise.³

Although the social and educational background of missionaries was ideally to be the same as that of the home clergy, the nature of much non sacramental missionary work was essentially different from that recommended by pastoral theologians. The missionary was to act first as Christian evangelist, pastor and prophet,⁴ but he also had functions as a judge, ruler and diplomat among his heathen charges.⁵ Thus a breadth of vision was a pre-requisite for missionary work, and the arguments of the gentleman-heresy in condemning lower class candidates for their lack of scope and experience were particularly potent on this point. The relationship between missionary endeavour and imperialist activity was understood by both natives and missionaries; "'First come missionaries, then come armies'", according to an African adage;⁶ when the

1. Loc. cit.
2. Loc. cit.
5. Riley, op. cit., p. 2.
Chinese were compelled by the events of the Boxer Rebellion to observe the regular consequence of missionary invasion to be the loss of their independence, or at least the reduction of their territories, it cannot be a matter for wonder that they should find it impossible to disentangle the religious from the political element in missions.

At the same time, however, missionaries were widely regarded as guardians of native rights and this function was an integral part of their self-perceived role. The nature of the clerical profession was of course undergoing re-evaluation and reassessment in Victorian Britain, with the result that the charter elements of the clergymen's role were emphasised at the expense of those secular functions still performed by missionaries in the field. The range of missionary activities was therefore far more extensive than that available to the mid and late-Victorian parish priest, and this was an attraction for men who might have found the pastoral ministry at home excessively restrictive. While the pastoral ideal was encouraging the clergy to lead increasingly prayerful,


spiritually centred lives that concentrated on the reconciliation of church and society, missionaries were required to take an active part in a variety of aspects of life. The absence of an established church fundamentally altered the nature of a missionary's work, for it usually meant that he had to build, maintain and populate a new church without the machinery of church government available to the priest at home. The missionary was often responsible for providing secular as well as Sunday schools, for basic medical work and public health,\(^1\) for major and minor roles in local administration, and for supervising the work of the industrial mission attached to his parish. Missionary enterprise was fragmented and diversified, and the multiplicity of demands on his time and efforts contributed to a sense of professional schizophrenia:

... under modern conditions, the missionary, in spite of himself, bears a double character, and compromises other interests than those which he is concerned to serve, and himself confuses most dangerously the issues of the message which he is charged to deliver.

2

Missionaries were conscious of their role as emissaries of western culture, and as purveyors of humanising and civilising influences. There was a general acceptance of the need to bring the benefits of European

civilisation to Africa and Asia, and a desire to encourage

the remarkably civilising influence that radiates from one of these lonely mission stations, the scattered spores of a higher culture sown and spreading in the savage wilderness.

It is interesting to note the similarity between the missionary's role as an agent of civilisation to the foreign heathen and the mid-Victorian recommendation that domestic visitation should be used as a means of civilising, humanising and moralising the British working classes. In both cases Christianity and civilisation were integrally linked. In the mission field that relationship resulted in attempts to create situations that reflected western values and emphasised western technological advances. R. N. Cust, a prominent late-Victorian evangelical missionary lecturer and writer, and a member of the CMS general committee, defined the proper blend of missionary enterprise and civilising influence in a speech at Balliol College in 1886:

5. Bailey, op. cit., p. 158.
... the Missionary, if he rightly understands his high position, will preach Christ in such a way, as to make his hearers more fit to die as believing and repentant (sic) sinners, and more fit to live, as sober, industrious and intelligent citizens of the world, compelling the Earth by their labour to give a greater increase, developing new arts, and storing up for export new products and receiving in return all that the Art and Science of Europe and America can bring to their Coasts and make life more cheerful, homes more comfortable, bodies better clad, and souls more ready for the great change, that must surely come.

Natives were to be encouraged to imitate European manners and customs as part of a concentrated effort to civilise them and tame primitive habits:

The intelligent native impressed by the aspects of the higher life presented to him by the civilised man who comes to reside in his midst in European manner, in a European style of house, living decently and affectionately with one wife, and perhaps with well-cared-for, well-educated children, will be strongly inclined to shape his own life after this better fashion.

'Civilisation', the acceptance of middle class European values, was considered to be a necessary prerequisite for the evangelisation and conversion of the foreign heathen.

By the end of the nineteenth century the experience of the missionary movement and of missionary societies was sufficient to allow for some reflection upon the nature of missionary success and failure. Missionary success, like

pastoral success, was difficult to evaluate and was not to be used as the sole guideline for supporting missionary work; Christian duty could not be dismissed on the basis of apparent failure. There was, however, criticism of the organisation and structure of missionary enterprise. The missionary societies were accused of wasting funds by duplicating each other's efforts, of promoting party dissension within the church, and of failing to administer the available resources advantageously. Boards of Missions were established by the church in the provinces of Canterbury (1887) and York (1889), but the missionary societies continued to recruit, train and place missionaries even after the creation of these monitoring bodies. There was tension between those missionary theorists quoted above who believed that Christianity, culture and civilisation were inextricably linked, and others who questioned this view and suggested that the aim of missionary endeavour should not be the displacement of native cultures, but instead the Christianisation thereof. This point, the recognition of non-European cultures, highlighted a particularly insidious missionary


4. 'Remarks on Missionary Enterprise, especially in China', p. 14; Churton, op. cit., p. 137.
defect. Contemporary writers realised that the English missionary's inability to recognise and appreciate the existence of indigenous cultures, and to treat natives fairly and equably, hampered missionary success.¹ British missionaries also had to learn to accept and work with native clergymen by the end of the late-Victorian period. Rev. S. W. Cox wrote to The Warminster and Westbury Journal in 1911 concerning the need for co-operation in colonial churches.

It was also necessary that the English missionaries should learn some humility; to be willing to walk behind native clergy in processions; ... and if they were working at a particular mission, to act as subordinates even where native clergy were working.

It is clear from this comment that relations between British missionaries and the local population were not always conducted on a basis of equality.

Another cause of distress and failure was the sense of spiritual and physical isolation experienced by missionaries in the field. Canon Alan Gibson of St. John's, Kaffraria (South Africa) lectured to the late-Victorian students of S. Paul's Missionary College on this subject, and the principal of the college reported on the event:


His Address was an excellent and most useful one, on some of the chief difficulties of a Missionary's life. He dwelt specially on the danger of forming too high an ideal beforehand of the work and the workers, and of being disappointed or disgusted when actually face to face with the reality: on the danger of the life of isolation, with its two especial perils of secularisation and of lowering the standard of the personal spiritual life ... and on the immense difficulty and intense importance of maintaining the spirit of daily self-sacrifice when abroad.

The emphasis on the maintenance of personal spirituality in the face of overwhelming odds is reminiscent of late-Victorian concern for overworked urban clerics who were spiritually, temperamentally, culturally and often physically isolated in their parishes. The English priest, however, had a support system available to him in the form of an accessible diocesan hierarchy; the foreign missionary on the other hand was thrown on his own resources to a far greater extent. The formation of a Missionary Guild at S. Paul's was welcomed by former students who appreciated an opportunity to relieve their personal sense of loneliness and isolation:

The Guild ought to help us all: the consciousness that others are praying for us is a constant comfort and help when wearied and distressed in our work.


2. See section on clerical separation in chapter 3.
The romance of Mission Work soon wears off, and then the reality becomes very real.

Oh! how one longs for a few words of advice, or for someone to talk to. It is so hard to have to be on one’s guard, and yet to have no one to help one.

The reality of their isolated situation and the need to apply personal initiative in order to succeed provided missionary enterprise with challenges that could not have been experienced in the church at home:

The organisation of an infant Church in the midst of heathen surroundings, perplexing questions of discipline, the relation of the foreign missionary to the native Churches, the battle with heathen customs and beliefs within the Church itself, and the methods of co-operation with other Christian bodies working in the same mission field, are all matters to the solution of which the experience of an old-established work in a Christian country can contribute but little.

The establishment of missionary colleges and theological colleges, however carefully they were designed to cultivate and deepen spirituality, to prepare men for ordination and for the assumption of a wide range of


clerical responsibilities, could not eliminate the most common missionary problems, isolation and lack of practical experience.

Missionary enterprise in the nineteenth century provides an interesting alternative view of the work of the Church of England. Certainly missionary undertakings, particularly in terms of financial support and recruitment, were dependent on the goodwill and efforts of the domestic clergy; it is not clear, however, that the success of the church depended in any way on the success of missionary endeavour abroad, in spite of the claim made for interdependence. The missionary's practical problems were exaggerated versions of the difficulties English clerics confronted in their parishes: isolation, inexperience, inadequate or inappropriate training, denominational rivalry and party dissension, and the uncertainty of success. And although the missionary societies provided a salary that on the face of it would prove attractive in comparison to many stipends,


is evidence to suggest that missionaries were often as impoverished on £200 p.a. while living abroad as English curates might have been on half that amount due to the higher cost of living and declining value of agricultural holdings.¹ While Anglo Catholics had spiritual and theological preferences for recruiting unmarried men,² there were also very compelling financial arguments for missionary celibacy.³ It was economic pressure that encouraged the foundation of such alternative means of clerical provision as the Corean Missionary Brotherhood⁴ (which in turn became the Society of the Sacred Mission and established itself in Britain, South Africa and Australia as well as in Korea). Missionary enterprise presented the Victorian church with opportunities and problems, albeit on a broader canvas, that were not foreign to the church's pastoral difficulties at home.

¹.  Rooke, op. cit., p. 87; Occasional Papers from St. Augustine's College, 6, 268, December 1898, p. 18.


⁴.  A. Jones, op. cit., p. 34.
At the end of the Victorian period the concerns of missionary societies of all Protestant denominations in both Europe and North America found a forum at the first international missionary conference held in Edinburgh in May, 1910. Considerable pre-conference preparation resulted in the presentation of accurate and extensive information about the current state of missionary enterprise. One of the conference reports, that of Commission V, dealt specifically with the preparation of missionaries and will be examined very briefly in order to place Anglican missionary education in context.

The overriding impression made by a reading of the report of Commission V is of a common dissatisfaction with the state of missionary education and of the gap between missionary societies' formal standards and the reality of missionary education.¹ Not all missionary societies provided their own training institutions (in fact, only five British societies required formal preparation of any kind for their missionaries), but even those that did possess colleges were unhappy with the standards and acquirements of their students.² The first problem was that of determining and establishing workable selection criteria.³ The ideal missionary would have had the same

2. Ibid., pp. 16, 50-51.
3. Ibid., p. 19.
secular and theological training as his domestic counterpart, i.e. a university and formal theological education.\textsuperscript{1} It was recommended that missionary and clerical students should share a common curriculum in theological colleges, and should not be segregated in separate institutions\textsuperscript{2} in order to guarantee uniformity of educational provision.

Underlying the problems of professional missionary training was the question of social background and pre-professional education. All missionary societies wished to recruit from "the cultured classes\textsuperscript{3}" and stressed the missionary's need for high intellectual standards.\textsuperscript{4} The identification of culture with university education reinforced the desire for graduate missionary recruitment. Missionary societies were very concerned with training candidates who were capable of demonstrating leadership qualities,\textsuperscript{5} and intellectual capacity was therefore prized. It is clear, however, that neither Anglican nor Nonconformist societies actually attracted men of such attainments on a large scale, and that missionary educators were therefore given the responsibility of

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., p. 20.
\item Ibid., p. 121.
\item Ibid., p. 17.
\item Ibid., p. 18
\end{enumerate}
training nongraduates in accordance with the precepts of the late-Victorian gentleman-heresy.

The report emphasised the Church of England's inability to recruit intellectually outstanding university men; most graduate missionary applicants had only pass degrees.\(^1\) There was criticism also of the use of university examinations (most notably the Cambridge University Preliminary Examination in Theology) as standards for missionaries as well as for the home clergy,\(^2\) showing that there was growing recognition of the professional integrity of missionary work. The problems associated with recruiting nongentlemen were also explored, particularly the effects of "the backwardness of secondary education in England"\(^3\) that resulted in the need for missionary colleges to devote the bulk of their curricula to remedying this defect, and the limitations imposed by the financial necessity of recruiting largely from the educated middle classes.\(^4\) Nonconformist missionary societies also relied heavily upon nongraduate theological colleges for candidates,\(^5\) but very little instruction in missionary subjects was included in their

2. Ibid., p. 69.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., p. 71.
Curricula. Courses at such institutions were usually of four to six years' duration, and free church missionary societies suffered in the same way as did the Anglican societies with the problem of students leaving college before completing their studies due to the shortage of recruits. The Commission V report emphasised that "The most urgent need of the field is not merely missionaries, but fully prepared missionaries", and recommended that ordained missionaries should: have the same training as that given to the home clergy; have a good standard of general education; receive instruction in missionary subjects while at theological college, and that this instruction must be made generally available; be trained in theological or missionary colleges that were in close contact with missionary societies.

The importance of such a large and ecumenical conference for missionary education lay in the recognition of the need for specific missionary instruction, and in the failure of churches and missionary societies to fulfill this requirement. If, as the archbishop of Canterbury declared upon opening the conference, "the place of missions in the life of the Church must be the

1. Ibid., p. 72.
2. Ibid., p. 51.
3. Ibid., p. 193.
4. Ibid., pp. 121-122.
central place, and no other", then the report of Commission V served as a timely reminder of the necessity of preparing missionaries to assume their rightful place.

Anglican Missionary Societies

British Protestant missionary societies in the nineteenth century were interested in recruiting middle class men and in visible proof of success in the mission field. The Anglican missionary societies were not exceptions to the rule. Their aim was to supply graduate clergymen to convert the foreign heathen, and in order to do so they discovered that the public required increasingly frequent reassurances of the efficacy and efficiency of missionary endeavours. Thus it was in the societies' best interest to recruit and train candidates in the most effective manner possible in order to ensure both future recruitment and financial viability. The growth of formal educational opportunities for missionaries in the mid-Victorian period indicated the desire for acceptance of missionary work as a profession distinct from that of the parish priest. The curricula of missionary colleges, however, indicated that for the

2. P. Williams, op. cit., pp. 147, 149, 150.
Victorian missionary societies 'distinct' did not mean 'different', the goal of both the church and the two major missionary societies being to place an English gentleman in every parish at home and abroad.¹

The relationship between the missionary societies and the missionary colleges was not always as close or well co-ordinated as might have been expected. One of the most strident criticisms levelled by missionary educators at the Selly Oak conference on training male missionaries in 1914 concerned the missionary societies' methods of candidate placement. The conference report made it clear that the societies must change their practice of assigning men only after their formal training had been completed; instead, students should have been made aware of their destinations from the beginning of the college course so that they could receive the requisite language and cultural training.² While the need for a change in policy on language study was accepted by English missionary educators after the turn of the century, it was not


recognised by the missionary societies that were responsible for missionary assignment. This longstanding inability to come to terms with vernacular language training was a symptom of the societies' underlying ambivalence about the necessity for, and role of, formal missionary education. There had been considerable reluctance on the part of many members of the CMS to support the creation of the Training Institution at Islington in 1825; they questioned the wisdom of spending money subscribed for the purpose of evangelising the heathen on training missionaries. Henry Venn, the influential mid-Victorian general secretary of the CMS, wanted to promote recruitment of graduates and considered specialised missionary training appropriate and necessary only for nongraduate candidates. Candidates at Islington were candid concerning the attraction of missionary work; they made it clear that their aim in coming to the college was ordination. Venn was not being unrealistic or inconsistent in his assessment of Islington College's role. Graduation was the recognised ordination standard, and because the CMS was interested in sending clergymen as missionaries it was logical to suggest that those men who

4. Ibid., pp. 226-227.
were already qualified in terms of academic background would not require further expensive training. There was no account taken, however, of the need for specialised training for either middle class graduates or lower middle class and working class literates. Not surprisingly, the CMS experienced difficulties in dissuading those Islington students who were not intellectually capable of meeting ordination requirements from their original intention of a clerical career. Lay missionaries at the turn of the century were given a shortened version of the classically based curriculum leading to the Preliminary examination,¹ and the principal had to wrestle with the problem of disappointing men's expectations, as he explained:

As we are not likely to give our lay missionaries a three year course, I do not see how the men's anticipations about ordination can be changed. Nor would I for myself desire to change them. But I do think that we might more definitely adopt the plan of sending out any long course students who shew less intellectual promise or some unsuitability for the clerical office as lay missionaries 2 or 3 terms before the end of the course.

There was a mechanism to facilitate the conversion of potential clerical candidates to lay missionary status,

1. Stock (1899), volume II, p. 74; lay candidates also received more practical pastoral training than did clerical students – CMS Centenary Review Committee, 'The Selection and Training of Candidates', entry for 17 November 1896, p. 8.

but it was far from foolproof, as shown by the preceding quote. A decision was taken by the staff of the CMS Preparatory Institution at Easter in the first year as to the disposition of each student, whether he was to be sent on the 'long' course (three years) for ordinands or the 'short' course for laymen.¹

The SPG, unlike the CMS, never provided formal training facilities for missionaries in Britain, although it financially supported clerical education in the colonies.² Again unlike the CMS, the SPG was not initially concerned with its candidates' educational background; rather, it was generally successful throughout the nineteenth century in its quest to recruit from the "'inferior clergy'"³ who had already been ordained and therefore in the eyes of the missionary societies required no further training. Recruiting graduate clerics as missionaries was one way of conserving expenditure; another was appointing gentlemen with independent means who made no financial demands on the missionary society. This was the case with the Universities Mission to Central Africa, an SPG-related result of David Livingstone's recruitment visit to Oxford

and Cambridge in 1857. Until the third UMCA bishop, Edward Steere, was appointed in 1874 the mission and its bishops had not required the stipends allotted for their use. It must be stressed, however, that the UMCA was an exceptional case, for the majority of SPG missionaries were from the middle rather than the upper classes, shown in table 20: at no time between 1860 and 1900 did the proportion of university-educated ordained missionary recruits exceed sixty per cent; indeed, in the decade after the creation of the UMCA less than a quarter of the SPG's new missionaries had attended university. Although there is no direct evidence, it seems probable that the exceptional recruitment difficulties experienced in the 1860's might have been influential in the establishment of two SPG-associated colleges in the 1870's, S. Paul's in Lincolnshire and the Dorchester Missionary College in Oxfordshire. Certainly S. Paul's, Burgh-le-Marsh came into being on the suggestion of an SPG official, the organising secretary for South Lincolnshire. After the middle of the century, however, it became increasingly difficult to attract graduates and public school men to careers in the church as a result of the rapid expansion of more remunerative opportunities outside the very

2. See table 20.
restrictive limits of the traditional professions (the army, law, medicine and the church). It appears therefore that regardless of the missionary societies' ability to offer respectable salaries, they suffered for their self-imposed identification with the domestic clergy, for graduate missionary recruitment remained relatively low until the end of the nineteenth century.

Missionary colleges' relations with the missionary societies were conducted not on a basis of professional equality, but rather on a basis of reluctant mutual dependence. There was no intellectual or professional advantage to graduate attendance at a missionary college, for missionary societies were interested in recruiting graduates and equated nongraduate missionary education with failure. Nevertheless, neither the CMS nor the SPG could attract an adequate number of graduates, even middle class graduates, and they were forced to accept the products of missionary college training. One of the reasons for the distance between the SPG and the four Anglo Catholic missionary colleges that supplied it with candidates was the student selection process employed. The CMS, on the other hand, operated an elaborate vetting procedure\(^1\) and ran their own educational institutions, thereby retaining complete control over nongraduate candidates.

The SPG had no such control over St. Augustine's College, S. Paul's College, St. Boniface's College and the Dorchester Missionary College. Indeed, even the principals of those institutions did not have a free hand in student selection. Instead, regional and diocesan Missionary Studentship Associations (MSA's) supplied the funding for the majority of men in Anglo Catholic colleges, and the selection of students was therefore the responsibility of these organisations. The first MSA was founded in the archdeaconry of Barnstaple, Devon in 1854, and by 1913 twenty-nine MSA's had contributed nearly £4000 for missionary education. The MSA's sent their men to SPG-related colleges rather than to Islington, although the Associations themselves made no specific stipulation as to the venue for missionary training. Their primary concern, shared by missionary societies and missionary educators alike, was for the quality and quantity of prospective candidates. By the late-Victorian period, the MSA's were aiming at recruiting the same type of respectable middle class man that the early-Victorian bishop of Toronto had recommended for work in colonial situations.

The MSA report for 1887 expressed their dissatisfaction with the late Victorian state of missionary recruitment:

How few sons of our Clergy whose means are limited, find an entry into them! How few at our Grammar Schools seem to take any interest in Missionary Work! Even from those newly instituted and noble foundations such as Hurstpierpoint, Ardingly, Denstone, Ellesmere, how small is the number of men who are attracted by a desire to do work for the Church abroad!

Examination of table 21 indicates that the majority of late-Victorian students at St. Augustine's and S. Paul's were not from either the new or old public or grammar schools, so the MSA's were not particularly successful in their search for upper and middle class candidates. The presence of MSA's, moreover, complicated the selection process and student discipline in missionary colleges. Principals found it difficult to turn away prospective students who had the financial support of an MSA regardless of the man's academic background or questionable sense of vocation; indeed, they spent a good deal of time and effort petitioning MSA support for more gifted candidates. Virtually the only effective

2. Report of the Committee of S. Paul's College, 1893, p. 3.
influence missionary college staff possessed lay in their
decision-making powers once the student had commenced his
course. Although missionary college principals did not
have a free hand in the selection or destination of their
students,\(^1\) they did have the ability to determine whether
men would receive training for ordination or for work as
lay missionaries; this decision vitally affected the
student's professional status and his future.

The Anglican missionary societies were not alone
among British Protestant denominations in experiencing a
division between the societies' policies and the realities
of missionary education. The London Missionary Society,
founded in 1794 on an interdenominational basis (but
effectively run by the Congregationalists by the
beginning of the Victorian period), offered its students
only an elementary school education in preparatory
colleges where clerical students were taught.\(^2\) There were
a variety of Congregational theological colleges available
for more advanced studies, but missionary students did not
generally stay in college long enough to complete their
courses.\(^3\) As a result of a mid-Victorian survey of
missionary education the LMS decided that missionaries
should receive the same quality theological education as

\(^1\) 'St. Augustine's College Canterbury Circular',
1875, p. 4.

\(^2\) Williams (1976), p. 103.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 104.
their clerical counterparts,¹ and there was an ultimately unsuccessful attempt during the 1860's to provide specific missionary education in languages, medicine, missionary principles, indigenous cultures and biblical theology.² Like the CMS and the SPG, the LMS wanted to recruit middle class men, and again like the Anglican societies, it was forced to look to the middling and working classes for recruits.³ It was the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, however, that was least successful in attracting the middle classes;⁴ the Methodists had traditionally recruited for the home ministry on the basis of preaching ability rather than academic background, and did not appreciate the complexities of cultural and linguistic differences between the mission field and the situation in England.⁵ By the 1870's WMMS students received some training at Richmond College; like their Congregationalist counterparts, however, Richmond students were often removed from the college before finishing their course,⁶ and consequently there was little chance of successfully

1. Ibid., p. 105.
2. Ibid., p. 107.
3. Ibid., p. 147.
4. Ibid., p. 149.
5. Ibid., p. 108.
implementing an extra fourth year of specialist missionary subjects when many men did not complete even three years.¹

Clearly, the problems of missionary selection and education were not restricted to Anglican societies, but were common to missionary enterprise in the nineteenth century. The SPG and CMS preferred recruiting middle class graduates who did not require further training, and made use of missionary colleges only because they failed to attract men in sufficient quantity and of the social and academic quality desired. Missionary educators found that their influence was limited because they had little control over candidate selection or destination, while at the same time they were dependent on the missionary societies' goodwill and financial support in order to ensure that their colleges remained open. Anglican missionary societies, until the end of the Victorian period, continued to undervalue the need for, and the implications of, formal missionary education.

The Missionary Ideal

The men who became ordained missionaries, and those who selected and recruited them, maintained expectations about the ways in which Anglican missionaries should conduct themselves in their professional capacity. The clerical and pastoral ideals discussed in a previous chapter were not restricted to the domestic clergy;

¹. Ibid., p. 111.
rather, they were refined and extended to include those engaged in missionary endeavour as well as to those working at home. In this section two aspects of the Victorian missionary ideal will be considered: the ideal missionary, and candidate selection.

The pastoral and missionary ideals shared several important elements, notably the necessity for hard work, devotion, sympathy, and Christian love for and knowledge of people. The ideal missionary was undoubtedly an adherent of the gentleman-heresy, regardless of the missionary societies' difficulties in attracting adequate numbers of graduates to fulfill this criterion. The gentleman's leadership qualities, financial independence and educational background were all particularly valuable in the mission field where he was often isolated and had to take decisions without the benefit of advice. The missionary was to be a man possessed of "sufficient resources within himself to withstand the temptations, the grave and very grave temptations, of a lonely life;" and the assumption was that such a man would by definition be a gentleman, "brought up in a gentle home, a man who possesses a fine and delicate instinct of honour, ... a man who is above the petty jealousies of professionalism." Men who had been to university had the

3. Ibid., p. 11.
advantage of having experienced some form of language study previous to acquiring the language of the missionary field.¹ University education was highly regarded by missionaries and the clergy alike because it was identified with the liberal views considered important in combatting sectarian narrowness and the worst effects of party division within the church.²

It was argued by some that the lower middle class men sent out by the missionary societies were inadequate missionary material as a result of their lack of experience.³ The consequences of recruiting and training nongentlemen could be disquieting and disappointing, as emphasised by archdeacon West of South Africa in his letter to principal Tomlin of St. Boniface's College, Warminster regarding the exploits of former Bonificians in his diocese: one man was "a bounder"; another married a rich wife, although in his youth he had joined a celibate brotherhood; another "ran away from native work" and took on a parish in a "lazy Dutch dorp" instead; one man "got a native Priest's daughter into trouble and is now in Trinidad"; finally, the last was "a good old man, but one [was] tempted to think would have done better if he had

¹. David Hilliard, God's Gentlemen (St. Lucia, 1978), p. 31.
³. J. C. Patteson, first bishop of Melanesia, considered nongentlemanly missionaries to fail in this respect; Hilliard, loc. cit.,; West, op. cit.
continued a miner. Not all lower middle class missionaries were accounted failure, however — one priest was "magnificent and a credit to any College". On the whole, however, the archdeacon condemned the nongentlemanly missionaries on the basis of their lack of social skills and the inability to adjust to the demands made on them.

Writers on missionary subjects stressed the characteristics of the ideal missionary. He was to be virtuous, benificent, unselfish, loving, devoted, understanding of nonchristian beliefs, possessed of the ability to learn from his mistakes, and convinced of his spirituality, according to a Chinese convert. The Missionary Studentship Associations that were responsible for selecting candidates for Anglo Catholic missionary colleges also had their own qualifications: zeal, "favourable home surroundings", modesty, sincerity, self-denial, the ability to learn and to teach, and sympathy were considered essential qualities by the London Missionary Studentship Association; the report of the combined Missionary Studentship Associations in 1910 cited good health, vocation, strength of moral character and

1. West, op. cit.
2. Loc. cit.
3. 'Remarks on Missionary Enterprise, especially in China', p. 23.
4. 'Missionary Studentship Association for the Diocese of London, 1887'.
intellectual ability as necessary elements in the missionary's makeup.\textsuperscript{1} The late-Victorian secretary of the CMS, Eugene Stock, described the ideal missionary as healthy, with a capacity to learn a foreign language, of strong moral fibre, theologically sound, spiritually lively and evangelically saved.\textsuperscript{2} Stock did not wish to restrict these qualities to gentlemen; he commented that "God has not given His commission to any one social class."\textsuperscript{3} He was anxious, however, to educate his missionaries at university,\textsuperscript{4} thereby broadening their scope and providing them with the essential social qualification for clerical work of any kind.

The Victorian missionary and pastoral ideals were basically the same. There was, however, less emphasis on the missionary's divinely consecrated character than was allowed by the clerical ideal. This was perhaps due to the fact that many missionaries were laymen with a sense of vocation that matched that of ordained men, and so it was this common characteristic that was stressed at the expense of clerical exclusiveness. The missionary was to be the natural extension of the pastoral ideal abroad; he was to function as an agent of spiritual and social

\textsuperscript{1} 'Combined Report of Missionary Studentship Associations in England and Wales for the Year 1910' (London, 1910), pp. 9-10.
\textsuperscript{2} Stock (1904), p. 21.
\textsuperscript{3} Loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{4} 'The Selection and Training of Missionaries', entry for 16 September 1897.
reconciliation on an international rather than just a parochial basis, and he was to be a capable and honourable representative of the British gentleman abroad.¹

The recruitment and selection of missionaries presented the missionary societies, most particularly the CMS, with a problem that was shared by the church as a whole. Both the societies and the church wanted to attract graduates; they approached this objective, however, from diametrically opposite traditions. The church was concerned with maintaining a graduate clergy in the face of competition from both old and new professions, while at least one major missionary society had a history of recruiting nongraduates and preparing them for ordination. Neither the church nor the societies could find enough qualified men (i.e. graduates) and so both came increasingly to rely on theological and missionary colleges wherein clerical candidates could receive a professional education. The crucial qualification for either a clerical or a missionary career was not intellectual, academic or professional; rather, it was the student's spirituality and sense of vocation that were regarded as the most important elements in his selection.²

The following passage in a letter from the principal of Dorchester Missionary College to Darwell Stone, then an


official with the Oxford Diocesan Missionary Candidates Association, illustrates the regard in which this sense of vocation was held.

I am anxious to get a grant for ..... He has now been with us a year and a term and is a promising candidate in all matters save mental ability. However he will I think pass his exams, though he is not at all quick. He was formerly a mechanic, an engineer employed at a Coventry cycle works and later on by the London General Motor Omnibus Co. He was a very good workman and earned £3 a week. When he has got used to head work he should have less difficulty. He has quite certainly a vocation and is a very good stamp of a man.

Clearly vocation was deemed more important than intellectual ability. This was also true of the pre-war CMS, whose principal reported in 1906 on his final year students:

In intellectual power several of them are distinctly second rate; but in spiritual character and general capacity I believe them to be well up to the high average of the College.

Of his first year men he wrote:

Our present first year students are a set of men fewer in number and also weaker in character and in ability than any year that I have known. Yet I

1. Michael Newbolt to D. Stone, 3 April 1912, Stone Papers.
2. Minutes of the Committee of the Visitors to Islington College, volume 9, entry for 26 March 1906, p. 32.
believe them to be really spiritual men, who have truly given themselves to the Lord for service in the Mission field.

It would appear that the intellectual calibre of middle class students was not rising markedly after the turn of the century in spite of the increasing number of CMS clergy who had attended university\(^2\) and in spite of the sharp rise in the proportion of graduates recruited by the SPG.\(^3\)

Missionary educators were particularly conscious of the relationship between candidate selection and the missionary ideal. As discussed in the previous section, officials at SPG-related colleges did not recruit the majority of their students themselves. Rather, they relied upon the Missionary Studentship Associations who selected and supported their men. Educators were aware that this system was imperfect and open to abuse, but had no economically viable alternative to offer. In his report to the Oxfordshire MSA in 1887, the principal of S. Paul's College indicated the necessity of employing selection procedures as the means of improving missionary standards.

'I am thankful to find that the stamp of men who apply for entrance is distinctly higher and better

1. Ibid., pp. 34–35.
2. See table 21 and Williams (1976), table 1, p. 339.
3. See table 22.
than it was 2 or 3 years ago, and, as a whole, I have every reason to be thankful for the men who are here now. I think this is encouraging, but every effort ought to be made to carry forward the raising of the stamp and tone of men and in this our hands can be strengthened by those who first select the men.'

One of the reasons for raising the selection standards was discussed in the London Diocesan Missionary Studentship Association report of the same year:

The standard must be raised, if our Clergy and Colonial Missionary spheres are to hold their own in comparison with the ministers in other Christian Bodies, and to do the great work of the Gospel which God has entrusted to the Church of England.

There was pressure on missionary education to provide suitably trained men who could fulfill the requirements of the missionary ideal, and by so doing they would guarantee the pre-eminence of Anglicanism in the mission field.

It was recognised by the late-Victorian period that difficulties might be avoided "by more caution in the original selection and recommendation of a candidate", and in order to make a balanced and responsible decision concerning selection, references and confidential assessments, and information on the man's home life, were

2. 'Missionary Studentship Association for the Diocese of London, 1887.'
Although the academic criteria of the Central Entrance Examination were utilised by most missionary colleges, the examination itself was not regarded by the late-Victorian principal of Islington College as a useful selection tool because academic standards were not of paramount interest to missionary societies that were hard-pressed to recruit large numbers of men.

After the turn of the century there was increasing concern with selection standards and techniques. The Missionary Studentship Association report for 1910 emphasised the need to test missionary vocation to ensure that only properly qualified candidates would receive funding, and proposed that a central selection body be created. Such a move would have resulted in the standardisation of missionary selection criteria. This in turn was consistent with the trend in theological education and clerical selection, for it was decided in 1909 to adopt a uniform academic standard for ordination (graduation followed by a year at a theological college) and shortly before the first world war a centralised body

1. Loc. cit.
was established to monitor the activities of theological colleges (the Central Advisory Council on Training for the Ministry). The creation of the Board of Missions and the Anglican Joint Council for the Preparation of Missionaries indicates that missionary selection and education were undergoing a process of centralisation parallel to that of clerical selection and education. Such centralisation would have relieved diocesan Missionary Studentship Associations of responsibility for student selection and replaced regional selection boards. However, while this might have brought a degree of uniformity to the selection procedure, it would not have put selection or disposition in the hands of missionary educators proper, much to the disgust of J. A. Sharrock, principal of St. Boniface's, Warminster:

I maintain that we who are in charge of these [missionary] colleges can find out who are the best men rather than anyone else. We have youths under our direct care for 3 years; we work with them, pray with them, play with them, and even dig with them. Can any Selection Committee find out as well as we can who have got vocation, who are organically sound, who have brains and who are gentlemen?

Sharrock's objection to centralisation of the selection process highlights the basic weakness in the systems of missionary selection and education. The system lacked

cohesion and accountability; those who selected missionary candidates neither trained them nor were responsible for their placement in the mission field. As was the case with theological students, missionary candidate selection proved to be an immovable stumbling block in the path of professional education.

The Aims of Formal Missionary Education

Clerical training in Victorian England was not restricted to theological colleges, but was also carried out by individual clergymen on the basis of parochial apprenticeships and by priests with specialist pastoral skills. Missionaries and the colonial clergy, however, had fewer options from which to choose in terms of formal professional education; as a result of the isolation of the mission field and the demand for ministers, pastoral apprenticeship was expensive and widely regarded as inappropriate. This meant that missionary candidates, particularly those with middling or working class backgrounds, relied heavily upon missionary colleges for their pre-ordination training. Like theological colleges, missionary colleges facilitated social mobility and acted as venues where students with varying class backgrounds met for a common purpose. In missionary colleges, however, the classes that came together were somewhat different from those that met in most theological colleges. Although both the missionary and clerical ideals supported the gentleman-heresy wholeheartedly,
missionary societies had less success than did the church in recruiting from the educated classes, and this in turn was reflected in the social composition of missionary college student bodies. Missionary colleges were in fact only marginally specialised theological colleges, and the many similarities between clerical and missionary education will be explored in this section.

There were five Anglican missionary colleges serving the nineteenth-century church, four of which were Victorian foundations. The Church Missionary Society's Institution at Islington was created in 1825; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel assisted in the establishment of three of the remaining colleges: St. Augustine's, Canterbury (1848); S. Paul's, Burgh-le-Marsh, Lincolnshire (1878); and the Dorchester Missionary College, Dorchester, Oxfordshire (also 1878). The other foundation, that of St. Boniface's College, Warminster (1860) was a private undertaking of the local vicar.\(^1\) None of these four colleges belonged to the SPG insofar as they were independent institutions in a way that the CMS college at Islington clearly was not. Their Anglo-Catholicism and the financial support from the SPG in practice did alienate their students from service with the CMS and reinforced commitment to professional association with the SPG. It should be stated, however, that not all missionary college alumni went abroad with either

\(^1\) Prideaux, op. cit., p. 3.
missionary society. By 1914 only slightly more than one half (56.5%) of the students at St. Boniface's had served outside England¹ and less than a third (31.2%) of Dorchester men were employed as foreign missionaries.² Many missionary college students (at Dorchester Missionary College, a fifth of the total between 1878 and 1914)³ simply never progressed to ordination due to an inability to pass the requisite examinations; some could not afford the expense of professional training and were forced to leave college before their course could be completed.⁴ Nor was each missionary college founded on the same basis; both St. Boniface's and S. Paul's were originally established as 'feeder' institutions for St. Augustine's,⁵ wherein younger and inadequately prepared students might acquire the secondary education necessary before entering a fully fledged missionary college. By the turn of the century, however, St. Boniface's had outgrown its beginnings and was functioning independently,⁶ although S.

1. Ibid., p. 101.
3. Loc. cit.
Paul's was still regularly preparing men for S. Augustine's.¹

In addition to the five missionary colleges there was also a hall opened in Oxford in 1876 in order to accommodate graduates who were preparing for missionary work. St. Stephen's House was founded by a group of influential high churchmen as a centre for men studying for orders and for those already ordained who were switching from domestic to foreign work.² It offered graduates an opportunity to remain in Oxford to attend university divinity lectures and use the libraries, and its objective was to provide the church with men "fitted to deal with the more intellectual demands for an educated Clergy among our emigrants and colonists."³

Missionary colleges and theological colleges sought to train men for the priesthood, and so their first and foremost goal was their students' successful ordination. As discussed in the previous chapter on formal theological education, Anglo Catholic colleges were particularly interested in creating an atmosphere of spirituality and devotion, and were far more concerned with fostering

1. S. Paul's Missionary College Student Log Book, 1903.
2. Edward King (past principal of Cuddesdon College and future bishop of Lincoln); John Wordsworth (bishop of Salisbury); Henry Scott Holland; Dr. Bright (regius professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford and future bishop of Winchester) - St. Stephen's House miscellaneous papers.
spiritual qualities than with academic work. This interest in giving students the spiritual armour necessary to lead lives of personal holiness that distinguished them from the secular world was common to Anglo Catholic missionary colleges as well. A mid-Victorian student at St. Augustine's allowed that:

'On my arrival within the College, the first thing that struck me was a feeling of monasticism, or isolation from the world, chiefly engendered ... by the strictness of the hours with which we were kept within the gates;'

1

The physical and spiritual separation of the prospective missionary from worldly temptations was considered a necessary precaution against the lures of secular education:

'I firmly believe that at Oxford or Cambridge my missionary zeal would have so cooled ... that I should never have come abroad at all ...'

2

confessed a student at St. Augustine's. Nor did the universities offer future missionaries a theological or practical curriculum that was of immediate use. A former St. Augustine's student wrote of his conviction about the superiority of a missionary college education in comparison to that offered by the university:

2. Ibid., p. 134.
'I consider that the time and training which the Student goes through at St. Augustine's is better adapted to qualify the future Missionary for real hard labour, whether spiritual or otherwise, than the same time spent at the Universities. For while at the latter abodes of learning, the mind of the Student is diverted onto a multitude of subjects which are certainly calculated to adorn any and every profession, at St. Augustine's the energies of the Student are especially directed to those essentials which must in his future life be his main resource, and which the world will require from him, viz., a sound Theology, combined with a Knowledge of ecclesiastical history, past and present, as well as a close acquaintance with the rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of that branch of Christ's Church in which he ministers.'

1

This passage is significant because it pinpoints the aims of Anglo Catholic missionary education. First, the student was trained to regard spiritual labour as a definite part of his studies; and second, he was taught the theology, doctrine and ritual that would sustain him and his efforts as a priest. What is striking about these aims is the lack of any specific academic or theological preparation for the mission field. The description of the advantages of professional clerical education over the liberal education of the universities would hold equally true for theological colleges and missionary colleges. The absence of specific training, in particular language training, was the central issue in missionary education throughout the Victorian period, and will be examined at greater length later in this section.

1. Ibid., p. 144.
Colleges were used by missionary societies as the means by which men might be accustomed to the deprivations, both social and physical, of life in the mission field.\(^1\) The discipline of Anglo Catholic colleges included devotional and manual work at a level that was designed to test the vocation of students for lives to be spent without the comforts or certainties of home. At St. Augustine's students could leave the college grounds after evening tea only on the understanding that they would be engaged in mission or pastoral work in Canterbury.\(^2\) They were also taught a variety of skills (for example, bookbinding, carpentry, and printing) that would assist them in their work once they were abroad.\(^3\) Each student at St. Augustine's promised at matriculation that he would keep the college rules, "be an example of industry, punctuality, and alacrity in the discharge of his duties" and "obey those set over him, and diligently pursue the studies appointed him."\(^4\) When Darwell Stone, the influential Anglo Catholic educator, scholar and theologian, left his position as principal of Dorchester Missionary College in 1903, the college magazine noted

1. Boggis, op. cit., p. 46.
2. St. Augustine's College Diary, November 1880 to June 1899, entry for 5 February 1887.
4. St. Augustine's College 'Rules and Regulations for Students'.
it was "in the region of the spiritual life that Dorcestrians feel they owe most to his teaching and example",¹ rather than in the areas of academic or theological work. Students at St. Boniface's, like those at St. Augustine's, studied gardening, carpentry, printing and bookbinding in addition to such diverse skills as soldering, welding and nail making.²

The emphasis on spiritual discipline, particularly when it was combined with intellectual and devotional practices with which students were unfamiliar, caused difficulties for the largely middling and working class nongraduates, as the following extract shows:

'For some time after I entered St. Augustine's I did not feel happy there. The discipline of the College was irksome to me, after the free life of a country village. . . . The distance between the Authorities and the Students, which the maintenance of due order and discipline demanded, seemed unpleasant, after the more unrestrained intercourse I had enjoyed with clergy at home. The work, too, was more than I, with my then limited knowledge, could get through."

Most men prevailed, however, and were successful in their determination to master the academic work and acclimatised themselves to the routines of manual labour and religious observance.⁴

Although the discipline and common life of the Anglo Catholic missionary colleges required adjustments by most students, there can be little doubt that even greater flexibility was asked for and given by the men and boys who underwent theological training with Herbert Kelly, first in the Corean Missionary Brotherhood (1890-1892) and later with the Society of the Sacred Mission. As indicated in the previous chapter, Kelly concerned himself with the recruitment and training of lower middle class and working class clergymen. The first bishop of Korea, Charles Corfe, experienced great difficulty in attracting missionary candidates when his diocese was created in 1889, and Kelly undertook the task of preparing men for Corfe. Kelly was convinced that

[acceptance should be made certain and easy for any person of reasonable intelligence who will stoop low enough. The conditions and the life should be made the test of character and motive. There can be no other.

1

The Brotherhood was based on a monastic pattern that was adopted in order to deepen the sense of common purpose and self-sacrifice that Kelly considered necessary in missionary endeavour.2 The Society of the Sacred Mission, which grew out of his early work with the Corean


Missionary Brotherhood, aimed at providing men for work in England as well as in the mission field, although the second SSM house was established in South Africa only five years after the Society's inauguration.¹

Kelly maintained that the aim of education, including missionary education, was an understanding of the unity of life based in God.² The duty of the missionary was religious, not political;³ he was to bear witness to the Christian life to be led by all, and to lead others in the living of Christian lives.⁴ Those men who were to be leaders were to be found literally anywhere. "The best means of recruiting and the foundation of all others is the openness of opportunity",⁵ he wrote, and he charged the parish clergy with the responsibility for discovering and recruiting men of devotion⁶ whom he could train for leadership. The number of potential leaders would rise in proportion to the accessibility of missionary education, i.e. the greater the number of missionary colleges established, the larger the number of men who would be

1. Ibid., p. 53.
4. Ibid., p. 4.
6. Ibid., p. 8.
volunteering to work abroad.\textsuperscript{1} Kelly's missionaries were not university material, and he himself was utterly opposed to the imposition of university standards on theological education.\textsuperscript{2} He recognised the need to recruit missionaries from the "wage-earning classes",\textsuperscript{3} and in the Society of the Sacred Mission he attempted to replace the traditional theological course with a four-year curriculum that emphasised classical languages, a deep reading and understanding of theology, and a regulated lifestyle that incorporated devotions, manual labour and intellectual work.\textsuperscript{4}

The description of life in the Society of the Sacred Mission indicates that candidates for both the home and foreign ministries were given the same formal education at Kelham. This policy was common in missionary education as a whole. The curriculum offered by missionary colleges will be explored in greater detail in the next section; it would be useful at this point, however, to say that missionary colleges did not specialise in teaching material that was identifiably 'missionary' in content. They did not teach the languages needed by their students in the mission field, nor did they give instruction in the

\begin{itemize}
\item[Ibid., p. 7.]
\item[Kelly (1910), p. 244.]
\item[Kelly (1895), p. 4.]
\item[Kelly, 'Memorandum on Theological Education', pp. 20-21.]
\end{itemize}
sociology and anthropology of the peoples who were the objects of the missionary's evangelistic efforts. Missionary college students were not taught how to teach, although teaching was effectively their raison d'être. The aim of early-Victorian missionary education had been the training of preachers because preaching had been the means of conversion in the English evangelical revival.¹ This being so, early missionaries did not adapt their teaching style to take account of the different conditions of the mission field, and continued to rely upon preaching to convert the foreign heathen,² with predictably disappointing results. Missionary colleges usually made some provision for giving their students rudimentary medical skills,³ and it was often as a result of their medical knowledge that missionaries were able to command the attention and respect of native peoples,⁴ rather than as a result of their religious message. Missionary educators were increasingly aware of the need for specialised studies; even in the early-Victorian period, however, it was suggested that in addition to languages

2. Hinchliff (1970), p. 134 makes the point that English missionaries in South Africa often preached the same sermons to the natives that they had prepared for use in British churches.
and medical skills, missionaries needed to have a knowledge of the history and religion of native peoples, and of their philosophy and sciences, as well as a general understanding of mathematics, astronomy, agriculture, and navigation.\(^1\) The demands of a missionary vocation needed to be recognised early in order that the prospective candidate might be able to prepare himself adequately for his duties. As was stated in St. Augustine's College first circular:

In all other Institutions for Education, it is comparatively a matter of indifference, whether the future calling and profession of those under instruction be determined or no. In the case of the Missionary, it is absolutely required that his career should from the first, so far as possible, be ascertained. To mature the necessary intensity of purpose, to concentrate all the powers of the will, and to inspire the whole character with a constant and enduring force, it is necessary that the first condition on entering the College walls be — the recorded choice of a Missionary life.

In the years immediately preceding world war one, and inspired by the success of the Edinburgh conference in 1910, educators and church officials engaged in a mutual re-evaluation of missionary education. An Anglican Board of Studies for the preparation of missionaries had been created in 1911 on the recommendation of the Edinburgh

1. 'Circular', 1845 in St. Augustine's Abbey and St. Augustine's College (Canterbury), pp. 41-42.
2. Ibid., p. 42.
conference report,\textsuperscript{1} and there was considerable interest aroused by the Board's activities. The overwhelming problem in missionary education was language training, as mentioned previously. Practising missionaries stressed the need for language skills;\textsuperscript{2} the findings of a report of the Anglican Joint Council for the Preparation of Missionaries supported the teaching of foreign languages and phonetics in England, rather than waiting until the missionary had arrived in the field.\textsuperscript{3} This report pointed out that commercial and business people had learned native languages in order to conduct their business, and emphasised the necessity for missionaries to gain mastery of foreign languages.\textsuperscript{4} In addition, the report stressed the need for the missionary societies to recognise the primacy of language training,\textsuperscript{5} indicating that there was some resistance to this concept. Neither the CMS nor the SPG made specific provision for foreign language study in their English missionary colleges. Whenever this was challenged, educators defended the absence of missionary subjects on the basis of the already overfull curriculum

\textsuperscript{1} Board of Study for Preparation of Missionaries - Report of a Conference on The Training of Male Missionaries held at Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham, 16th to 18th April, 1914, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{2} Bishop Alan Gibson of Zululand to Canon Bullock-Webster of the Anglican Joint Council for the Preparation of Missionaries, 23 May 1912, in Stone Papers.

\textsuperscript{3} Anglican Joint Council for the Preparation of Missionaries - Report of Executive Committee on the teaching of foreign languages in England, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., appendix 3.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., p. 1.
which they required in order to bring their students to ordination standard.\(^1\) Missionaries usually acquired foreign languages by means of native teachers once they arrived at their mission. This system was inadequate, and was recognised as such. As a missionary wrote:

'Candidates usually trained not to learn languages but subjects by the same methods as are used in the study of philosophy and theology and then sent out to teach themselves a living language with the aid of a native usually absolutely ignorant and incompetent for the purpose -- the candidates trusting, in a childlike faith, that the teacher will teach them what he himself does not know! ... All the while the senior missionary too busy, or too diffident to undertake the task himself. The marvel here is not that missionaries are generally poor linguists, but that one ever learns the language respectably at all!'

According to the 1914 Board of Studies scheme language training might still take place in the field and native speakers might still be employed; however, basic linguistic preparation was to become a staple component of missionary education in Britain.\(^3\) Such language study was to consist of phonetics, language construction and classical languages.\(^4\)

Another result of the growth in interest in missionary education was the creation of post-experience

4. Ibid., p. 13.
courses staged at the universities during summer vacations. Concern with post-ordination clerical training was increasingly common by the turn of the century, and interest in this variety of missionary training was particularly important since missionary subjects were not widely available at missionary colleges. Designed to assist missionaries of all Protestant denominations who were on furlough, the courses included sessions on: social and religious anthropology; principles and methods of missions; aims of missionary study; examination of Islam, Hinduism and Chinese religions; practice teaching; and practical problems of mission life. The object of the course was to highlight the relationship between the various branches of missionary study "in their connection with the central object of evangelisation...". Another plan to provide further education was devised by the Board of Studies shortly after the outbreak of war. The 'Scheme for a Central College of Advanced Missionary Studies' proposed the establishment of an ecumenical institution wherein missionary instruction would be available to men and women

1. Time Table of Oxford Vacation Course: 3rd to 31 August 1912, and Report of the Second Vacation Course for Missionary Training held at Cambridge from 26 July to 23 August 1913, Stone Papers.
2. Loc. cit.
who had completed the "general and technical"\textsuperscript{1} training from denominational theological and missionary colleges. Its plan was not to teach theology or dogmatics, but rather to act as a haven or retreat where students might deepen their spirituality by studying specialist topics.\textsuperscript{2} Darwell Stone, secretary of the Anglican Joint Council for the Preparation of Missionaries and ex-principal of Dorchester Missionary College, viewed the scheme as an opportunity to relieve the theological and missionary colleges of the unwanted burden of responsibility for non-specialist teaching:

When a high standard of post-graduate missionary preparation is attained by the College, it will free the Curricula of existing Institutions of subjects which are at present included because no provision is made for teaching them elsewhere.

The nondenominational nature of the proposal raised some objections among Anglicans,\textsuperscript{3} but it serves as an example of the spirit of co-operation that existed among late-Victorian Protestant missionary educators.

The Edinburgh conference on world missions defined five subject areas that educators considered absolutely

1. 'Scheme for a Central College of Advanced Missionary Studies', p. 1.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Canon Bullock-Webster to D. Stone, 16 September 1914, Stone Papers.
necessary in the missionary college curriculum: the science and history of missions; religions of the world; sociology; pedagogy; and mission languages and linguistics.\textsuperscript{1} It recognised that the difficulty in enforcing any regulations regarding language study meant that missionaries would continue to display an inadequate knowledge of the languages of the mission field,\textsuperscript{2} and would fail to appreciate the society that they were sent to convert. Anglican missionary colleges did not teach any of the subjects recommended at Edinburgh on a regular basis, although changes were definitely forthcoming in the wake of the Commission V report. The emphasis on meeting the ordination standards of the church and financial constraints effectively demanded that missionary colleges should train men as domestic clerics rather than as foreign missionaries.

The Missionary College Curriculum

The curricula of Victorian missionary colleges were devoted to preparing students for ordination in England in much the same way that nongraduate theological colleges undertook this task. The realisation that clergymen were needed in the mission field to supply potential converts with doctrinaire answers to often sophisticated questions meant that the first requirement

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Ibid., p. 184.
\end{enumerate}
of missionary education was theological knowledge equal to that of the home clergy. The missionary societies were also interested in recruiting men who were either already ordained or had the qualifications to take orders. The low professional status of missionaries did not encourage a graduate (i.e. gentlemanly) body of missionaries until the last decade of the nineteenth century, unlike the way in which the very high social status of the church continued to attract graduates throughout the Victorian period. The solution to this recruitment problem was the missionary colleges' provision of nongraduate training for the ministry.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the CMS experienced considerable difficulty in recruiting missionaries. It did not attract graduates; indeed, the first candidate ordained under its auspices was a former shoemaker.¹ Long before the foundation of the CMS Institution at Islington a former governor of Sierra Leone was engaged as a tutor for CMS lay missionaries. The curriculum he devised was formidable: Arabic, Sussoo, Persian and Hindustani; tropical medicine; astronomy; mathematics; and surveying and construction skills.² This 1806 curriculum is interesting because it provides the specialist instruction, and particularly the language training, that mid and late-Victorian missionary colleges

¹ Stock (1899), volume I, p. 89.
best missionary was an ordained man. The mid-Victorian
general secretary of the CMS, Henry Venn, commented that
Islington was not

'specially missionary -- no oriental languages are
taught, no auxiliary sciences or arts. It is simply
such a training as would be given in England to men
preparing for holy orders in the Church at home.'

After 1844 the Islington course was extended to four
years, and the final two years were devoted to theological
training after two years of general and classical
education. In 1869 a new course was introduced as a
result of criticism of previous arrangements, and an
entrance examination in classical languages and literature
was instigated. This step anticipated the Central
Entrance Examination by twenty-two years, but was hardly
unusual, since most theological colleges and other
missionary colleges had their own entrance qualifications
before the Central Examination was created. The
existence of an entrance examination required that
preparation for the examination was also made available,
and the Preparatory Institution was founded in Reading in

1. Venn, quoted in Williams (1976), p. 96.
3. Loc. cit.
4. See footnote 2 on p. 241 in chapter on formal
theological education; Knight, op. cit., p. 32;
Prideaux, op. cit., p. 8.
were forced to neglect due to the necessity of preparing students for ordination.¹ The early-Victorian curriculum at Islington offered instruction in oriental languages, classics, elocution, English and psalmody.² The course was three years in duration, with the first two years spent doing Latin and Greek, history, geography, mathematics and science. In the third year theological subjects were introduced: Greek new testament, Latin catechism, Hebrew, Anglican divines, moral philosophy, logic, metaphysics, sermon composition, and medicine.³ The oriental languages tutor left in 1831 and was not replaced.⁴ The principal, E. W. Childe, admitted that there was not much he could accomplish in terms of missionary training⁵ in a curriculum designed to raise students' academic qualifications to a level satisfactory to both the bishop of London's examining chaplains and the CMS regulations requiring knowledge of scriptural languages, ecclesiastical history, and Anglican doctrine.⁶ It is clear that the CMS itself was concerned with educating students to be clergymen, and presumed that the

3. Ibid., p. 252.
4. Loc. cit.
the same year to act as a feeder school for Islington, and as a test of academic ability and missionary vocation. The course at Islington reverted to three years again, but theological subjects assumed greater importance than previously. The emphasis on academic theological education was reinforced by W. H. Barlow, principal of Islington College between 1876 and 1882. He recommended moving the college from London to either Oxford or Cambridge in order that the general educational standard of missionaries might be raised by proximity to an ancient university, and aimed at his missionary students procuring honours degrees in theology. He did not want them to study for general degrees in classics or mathematics, or to pursue specialist subjects such as medicine or oriental languages, but rather to become competent theologians. His plans did not materialise due to the CMS's fears about losing direct access to, and therefore influence over, their students, and the CMS college remained in London.

1. CMS Minutes of the Clerical Sub Committee, 1900-1909, p. 219.
4. Ibid., p. 3.
5. Loc. cit.
In spite of several late-Victorian attempts to alter the curriculum,\textsuperscript{1} no significant changes were introduced and the course remained heavily weighted towards traditional theology and lacked any distinctly missionary element. The desire to produce ordinands on the basis of English episcopal standards necessarily inhibited the growth of missionary studies\textsuperscript{2} and the introduction of the Cambridge Preliminary Examination in theology,\textsuperscript{3} the standard final examination in theological colleges, only served to emphasise Islington's reliance on the universities and theological colleges for its standards and underlined its failure to determine its own criteria for a distinctly missionary education. The college virtually closed in 1912 after the financial setbacks of the previous year, although it continued to give some postgraduate training to university men and medical missionaries until 1915.

The curricula at the SPG colleges were only marginally more missionary-oriented than that of Islington as a result of their support for such practical skills as printing, gardening and building mentioned in the previous section. St. Augustine's was originally based on

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., p. 100; Minutes of the Committee of the Visitors to Islington College, volume 7, pp. 152, 188; volume 10, p. 151.

\textsuperscript{2} Minutes of the Committee of the Visitors to Islington College, volume 10, p. 151.

\textsuperscript{3} Nemer, op. cit., p. 108.
the collegiate ideal of the universities, and the first curriculum proposals made in 1843 stated that:

'The system of instruction to be pursued within the College should embrace all the ordinary branches of a University education, with the addition of what may be considered more specially calculated to promote the usefulness of the Students in their future scenes of missionary labour. I would particularly mention the art of congregational singing, and a moderate but ... a sound knowledge of medicine and the more common operations of surgery...'

There is remarkably little direct evidence about the nature of the curriculum at St. Augustine's, so it is possible that the founder's suggestions were put into action, at least initially. Both the Preliminary and Central Entrance Examinations were utilised from their inceptions, indicating that the standard theological curriculum of English and classical languages, doctrine, ecclesiastical history and Anglican divines must have been taught. Mid and late-Victorian students took practical courses in medicine and surgery, and even did a St. John's Ambulance course in first aid. They also did some practical pastoral work in Canterbury, taught Sunday school and visited the poor and the workhouse.

5. Ibid., pp. 104-106.
practical training was considered by at least one former student to have been a valuable introduction to the duties of the mission field; the same comment could have been made of course by any theological college student about his pastoral training in relation to parish work. One of the objectives of the founders of St. Augustine's College had been the education of men destined for ordination in Great Britain, and certainly the curriculum did not discourage this intention.

At S. Paul's College and St. Boniface's College the standards were different initially from those at St. Augustine's. St. Boniface's was used as an intermediate school between the parish school and St. Augustine's, and its first students attended the local grammar school in Warminster. Standards were raised, however, and St. Boniface's became a college rather than a mission house in 1871. The Missionary Association Report of 1887 recorded that the curriculum included scripture, classics, mathematics, English, systematic theology, foreign religious systems, and medicine. In addition, all students took part in various manual occupations. The entrance examination of 1889 required knowledge of the

bible, prayer book, Greek and Latin grammar, and one gospel in Greek.\textsuperscript{1} The college accepted students with little or no secondary education and prepared them for ordination.

S. Paul's College in Lincolnshire taught courses in theology, classics and mathematics to its students, who were divided into junior and senior divisions.\textsuperscript{2} In the first year the curriculum consisted of the bible, prayer book and ecclesiastical history, while in the second year those who were destined for St. Augustine's College and ordination received further lectures, and those who would go out as lay missionaries were trained in the college workshops\textsuperscript{3} as printers, gardeners or carpenters. A college pamphlet of 1902 lists the curriculum as: old and new testament; catechism; prayer book; church history; Latin and Greek grammar; sermon composition; the creeds; Greek testament; elementary Hebrew; mission history; and minor surgery.\textsuperscript{4} Students did parochial work locally. With the exception of the classes in mission history and surgery, the curriculum of late-Victorian S. Paul's was interchangeable with that of most other Anglo Catholic

\textsuperscript{1} The Missionary College of St. Boniface Report for 1889' (Warminster, 1889), p. 3.

\textsuperscript{2} Record of S. Paul's Mission House, Burgh 1884–1901.

\textsuperscript{3} 'Report of an Enquiry as the Advisability of Undertaking the Training of Men for Lay-Work in the Mission Field Abroad', p. 7.

\textsuperscript{4} S. Paul's Missionary College Miscellaneous Papers.
theological colleges; like those institutions, it even sponsored spiritual retreats organised each term by external specialists.¹

A more complete picture of the curriculum of a late-Victorian Anglo Catholic missionary college is available for Dorchester Missionary College, by means of the first Central Advisory Council on Training for the Ministry (CACTM) report undertaken in 1914. The course was four years in length, as opposed to St. Boniface's and Islington's three years and S. Paul's two years. The first year was equivalent to the theological colleges' probationary year, when students did Latin, Greek and English in preparation for the Central Entrance Examination. During the three remaining years men were prepared for the Preliminary Examination or for the Durham University licentiate in theology. They therefore pursued a standard theological curriculum (old and new testament, creeds and articles, the prayer book, English church history, Latin and patristics).² They were expected to study for six hours each day, in addition to undertaking practical work in voice production, singing, elementary medicine, carpentry, and Sunday schools.³ Occasional lectures from visiting bishops and missionaries

3. Ibid., p. 5.
constituted the only specifically missionary element in an otherwise standard curriculum.

This brief examination of missionary college curricula leads to the conclusion that there were more similarities than differences between the studies taking place in missionary and theological colleges. The lack of distinctive missionary subject matter in the missionary college curriculum was a result of the need to educate men to ordination standard (meaning that a considerable amount of time had to be invested in teaching classical languages), and of uncertainty about what missionaries needed to know. This was exacerbated by the overall lack of missionary experience among missionary educators, although there were of course notable exceptions to this rule. When, during the pre-war years, missionary training needs came under scrutiny and were identified as being concerned with foreign languages, comparative religion, history, sociology, economics and science, it is certain that existing missionary colleges would not have had the academic staff to cope with these new demands, had they been implemented. Thus the decision to maintain a single standard of domestic ordination for all clergymen, regardless of their destination at home or

2. Dodson, op. cit., p. 11.
abroad, did missionary education a disservice that was not redressed during the Victorian period.

Missionary Colleges, Theological Colleges and the Universities

Missionary educators and missionary societies emphasised the desirability of university education as the preferred background for missionary work because graduation indicated the broad knowledge, ability to learn and teach, and social status that were prized in Anglican missionary enterprise. This attitude also reinforced graduation as the basic standard for ordination during the late-Victorian period when it was under increased pressure in the face of declining recruitment and the growing number of nongraduate professional theological institutions. Missionary education was not, however, restricted to the confines of the universities; it also took place in both theological and missionary colleges, as has been discussed. As in the case of clerical education, the university ideal of a liberal education (the equivalent to a classical education) continued to dominate all other criteria in the determination of what constituted the 'best' in missionary training. In this section the relationship between the three venues for missionary education will be explored in order to understand why missionary education was conducted in the way that it was.

The two major missionary colleges, Islington and St. Augustine's, were each established as a means of providing men who otherwise would have been lost to the ministry with an inexpensive opportunity to study for ordination.¹ Both institutions were created in order to train middle class students rather than the gentlemanly graduates for whom the attractions of a largely unreformed church establishment promised much. The CMS early realised its inability to recruit graduate gentlemen;² it was caught up, however, by its own narrow perceptions of the missionary's role and status when it refused to send educated men abroad in a missionary capacity. Henry Venn recorded that:

'A Cambridge graduate appeared before the Committee, with an offer of himself. When he left the room, some of the Committee-men said, 'A man with so many accomplishments should go out as a Chaplain, not as a missionary!' One only voice that of the Lay Secretary, Coates, 'was lifted up to Testify that the office of a missionary deserved the consecration to its us of the highest intellectual acquirements.' 'But the first sentiment prevailed, an Indian chaplaincy was procured. The aspirant for missionary labours was lost to the world.'

By the end of the century, however, when its secretary was writing the Society's centennial history, the CMS was

1. Stock (1899), volume II, p. 244; Boggis, op. cit., p. 44.


anxious to proclaim its numerical superiority in terms of graduates in the mission field.\(^1\) While there were intellectual arguments for attempting to recruit formally educated men,\(^2\) the underlying reason for the CMS's attachment to a graduate body of missionaries was the gentleman-heresy, with its equation of university attendance and high social status. As the example cited on the previous page illustrates, the early-Victorian CMS was not willing to waste such status on missionaries; rather, gentlemanly status was to be reserved for chaplaincies and the congregations of chaplaincies, the British community abroad. The "argumentum ad absurdum"\(^3\) mentioned in a late-Victorian article on missionary training at Islington concerned the identification of missionary enterprise with the lower middle classes and working classes to the exclusion of the middle and upper middle classes.\(^4\) A CMS official declared that there must be some reason that deters men of education and position from joining our College. I believe it is 'caste'. Change the system, and, humanly speaking, there will be no lack of men.

4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., p. 6.
Until the advent of the Student Christian Movement and the Student Volunteer Missionary Union originating in Cambridge at the end of the 1880's,¹ university interest in missionary work was restricted to their missions abroad and the movement at home that established inner city missions in east London. When it became fashionable, indeed even politically and intellectually necessary, for graduates to concern themselves with the plight of the heathen at the end of the nineteenth century, then the graduate numbers swelled. Until that time, the missionary societies' willingness to train and ordain quantities of nongentlemen effectively deterred graduate recruitment. With the expansion of professional opportunities that occurred in the 1880's, and the constriction of the traditional career structure within the church, missionary endeavour became an increasingly viable and accessible occupation for graduates; this is reflected in table 20, where it can be seen that the SPG experienced a rise of nearly forty-five per cent in the number of graduates recruited in the first decade of the twentieth century in comparison to the previous ten years.

Regardless of the social status of graduates as professional men, there were other legitimate reasons why they were such sought-after missionary recruits. The range of university degree courses was expanding in the second half of the nineteenth century, and undergraduates

¹ Tissington Tatlow, The Student Christian Movement (London, 1933).
were offered an increasingly wide choice of studies. Moreover, the depth and range of even traditional courses in classics and mathematics meant that the graduate's breadth of vision was considerably different from that of working class men whose education previous to the missionary college was restricted to their local national or board schools. University attendance was in itself a valuable educational experience that theological and missionary colleges could not replace. Not the least of the graduate's advantages was social self-awareness; he knew how the upper and upper middle classes behaved, regardless of his own social origins, and could act accordingly, unlike many missionary college students. The vicar of St. James's Church, Bradford, wrote to the principal of St. Augustine's College in 1860 concerning two of his students who were preparing for the St. Augustine's entrance examination:

'they are genuine Yorkshiremen — you will understand, however, they lack polish ... and I hope to see a vast improvement in this respect after they have experienced for a few months the humanising influences of St. Augustine's.'

Missionary colleges and their staffs were therefore charged with more than just the spiritual, academic and professional improvement of their students; they were also responsible for the development of the social graces and

1. Vicar of St. James's Church, Bradford to Henry Bailey, 10 May 1860, in student files, St. Augustine's College.
practices of the lower middle class and working class men in college.

The universities educated men who had received the best academic secondary schooling available, while the missionary colleges and theological colleges usually dealt with those whose educational background was more humble.¹ The lack of a specific missionary element in the missionary college curriculum must have proved a greater disadvantage to nongraduates rather than graduates, because the latter were more accustomed to being presented with problems that caused them to think in the abstract. Missionary college students were widely regarded by the missionary societies as lacking the initiative and broad education of the graduate,² and consequently those societies were anxious to encourage graduate recruitment so that they would not be forced to rely on candidates whom they considered to have serious faults. In his thesis on Protestant missionary recruitment and training in the second half of the nineteenth century, however, Peter Williams has pointed out that the very absence of initiative on the part of its working class applicants was considered by the CMS to be a necessary characteristic for recruitment.³ The CMS was interested in attracting and

educating lower middle class men who were willing to accept its authority in all matters,\(^1\) were able to alienate themselves sufficiently from their backgrounds to successfully assume the persona of the middle class clerical ideal,\(^2\) and became professionally educated recruits to the revamped late-Victorian gentleman-heresy.

The means by which these lower class men were inculcated with the appropriate attributes and attitudes were the missionary and theological colleges. Henry Venn of the CMS understood that the Society would be able to exercise a greater degree of control over candidates that it had educated, and that such men would be most willing to defer to the Society's authority.\(^3\) It was also recognised, however, that the training given in missionary colleges and particularly in theological colleges was less than satisfactory,\(^4\) and in the years before world war one efforts were made to rectify this situation. The Anglican Joint Council for the Preparation of Missionaries in 1911 recommended that missionary study should constitute a regular part of the theological college curriculum so that the "history of Missionary enterprise ... and also the

1. Ibid., p. 143.
2. Ibid., pp. 142, 147.
3. Ibid., p. 142.
comparative study of religions\(^1\) would find a place in the studies of men who were training for the domestic ministry. The Central Board of Missions adopted that resolution,\(^2\) but faced considerable opposition to its implementation from theological educators. Examining chaplains did not want to add missionary history to their examinations for deacons' orders; however, they were more sympathetic to its inclusion as part of the examination for priests' orders.\(^3\) More implacable opposition came from clerical educators, such as B. K. Cunningham, the broad church warden of the Bishop's Hostel in Farnham, a postgraduate theological institution:

... however desirable it may be that missionary study should form part of the preparation for Deacons Orders, it is quite impossible to add another subject so long as the programme remains as it is, and the course required is for one year only.

Instead of introducing new missionary subjects into an already overcrowded theological college course, the suggestion was made that a missionary construction should be put on existing subjects:

1. Introductory Memorandum of the Central Board of Missions, 25 May 1911, Stone Papers.
2. Loc. cit.
We want subjects of present interest, connected with missionary training to be brought forward, and ... the importation of the modern missionary element into the teaching, especially of Exegesis and Church History, in the ordinary theological curriculum;

This integration of subject matter raises a further question concerning the venue for missionary training. There was no consensus reached at the Edinburgh conference in 1910 as to whether missionary education should be carried out in colleges separate from theological colleges, or in common institutions.\(^1\) Four years later, however, at the Selly Oak conference on missionary training, Anglican educators came to the conclusion that missionary students should have the same theological education as home students\(^3\) and that both groups should be educated together in the same institution.\(^4\) The curricula of nongraduate theological and missionary colleges were certainly similar enough to encourage combination on academic grounds, and the lack of distinct missionary training at missionary colleges meant that missionary students would not have any particular opportunities omitted had missionary colleges and theological colleges

1. H. U. Weitbrecht, secretary of the Board of Study for Preparation of Missionaries, 19 March 1913, to D. Stone, Stone Papers.
3. 'The Training of Men Missionaries', p. 22.
4. Ibid., p. 21.
merged. Moreover, there were precedents for training missionary and domestic clergy together;¹ Dorchester Missionary College in the 1880's regularly accepted students who were intending to work at home rather than abroad,² and increased student fees accordingly.³ The scheme for training missionaries and domestic students together had much to recommend it: the intellectual and practical horizons of all students would have been expanded by close contact; the missionary college curriculum might have been encouraged to develop specific missionary training in view of the widespread acceptance of specialised pastoral education in theological colleges; and the enlarged student population and faculties in the reduced number of teaching establishments would have rendered the remaining colleges more economically viable, and would have made them less vulnerable than were poorly endowed missionary colleges.⁴ Finally, theological colleges and missionary colleges together might have been able to combine their resources and devise an acceptable alternative structure for nongraduate theological

1. 'Combined Report of Missionary Studentship Associations in England and Wales for the Year 1912', pp. 8-17.
4. Dodson, op. cit., p. 23; CACTM Report on Dorchester Missionary College, p. 6; M. Newbolt to members of the Dorchester Missionary College Committee, 7 November 1913.
education to that offered by the universities in the form of the Preliminary Examination. The persistent identification of the Preliminary as a graduate examination, and of graduation with gentlemanly and professional status, effectively relieved missionary and theological educators of the responsibility for developing and improving their approaches to their work. Missionary college curricula were determined by the Preliminary Examination, over which educators had some limited control, but the examination did not suit missionaries' particular needs, nor did it cater to their special interests, and missionary educators were not capable of altering this situation of their own accord.

Educational and Occupational Background of Missionaries

The Victorian Church of England and the Anglican missionary societies could not recruit sufficient numbers of graduates to supply the needs of domestic parishes or missions abroad. Instead, they were forced to expand the base of recruitment to include men whose academic and social backgrounds were far from gentlemanly, and whose educational acquirements previous to arrival at a theological or missionary college varied widely. The church, however, was primarily concerned with maintaining its tradition as a graduate employer while the missionary societies (particularly the CMS) were interested in upgrading their standing. Both groups of institutions used professional education as the means by which
nongraduate candidates could be socialised as well as professionally trained. Unlike some diocesan theological colleges, however, even Anglo Catholic missionary colleges catered to the needs of students with only an elementary school background\(^1\) and all five missionary colleges were occupied with the task of providing nongraduate clerical education, whereas some theological colleges were strictly postgraduate institutions offering professional education.\(^2\) An article in the January, 1893 edition of The Church Missionary Intelligencer emphasised the CMS's rejection of single standard (i.e. graduate) recruitment:

> Gentle birth is not essential to a missionary. Now, as in apostolic days, men and women of lowly origin are often called out by the Spirit of God for signal service, and are gladly recognised by the Church. There is as much variety in the original social standing of missionaries today as there was in that of the first band of Twelve sent out by our Lord. Therefore 'unfitness' finds no foundation here.

As Peter Williams has discussed,\(^4\) however, a working class, elementary school educated candidate was in the weakest position for selection by the CMS, and ran the greatest risk of appointment to lay positions involving little prestige or opportunity for advancement.


2. For example, Wells Theological College, Leeds Clergy School, Ely Theological College and Cuddesdon.


The occupational background of late-Victorian lay missionaries was not generally working class; rather it was usually clerks, elementary school teachers, students, layworkers and shop assistants who were successful applicants to the CMS. It is not possible to compare these findings with similar material from the SPG; however, a comparison of the educational backgrounds of both societies' lay missionaries is shown in table 22. The CMS's financial difficulties in 1911 resulted in Islington College's virtual closure in 1912, and the few men that did receive training between 1911 and 1914 were graduates and medical missionaries. Thus the proportion of graduate lay missionaries in the period 1901 to 1914 is unusually high (44.8% versus 9.5% during the period 1901 to 1909). In contrast, the SPG recruited a relatively high proportion of graduate laymen until the first decade of the twentieth century, and then again in the years preceding the first world war. The area of greatest contrast, however, is in the proportion of men trained by the CMS at its preparatory institutions at Clapham and Blackheath, and at Islington College itself (between 1901 and 1909 fully 86.4% received an education from the CMS), and the much smaller proportion of SPG men who attended

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1. See table 23.


Anglo Catholic missionary colleges (during the decade 1900 to 1909, 40.5% did so). The CMS clearly appreciated the necessity for the preparation of lay missionaries and undertook their training on a major scale, while the SPG relied more heavily upon graduates. The percentage of professionally trained laymen fell dramatically in the last period of the survey, i.e. 1910 to 1914, while the proportion of graduates just as dramatically increased. The increase in university-educated candidates is consistent with the rise in graduate recruitment in general after the turn of the century; among ordained SPG missionaries, however, the proportion educated in theological and missionary colleges remained constant over the period 1900 to 1914, unlike the pattern followed by their lay colleagues. Missionary colleges were therefore training fewer lay missionaries in the pre-war period. In the absence of adequate evidence it is impossible to determine why this was so; it seems likely that there may have been a decline in middle class enrolment that encouraged educators to try and ordain a higher proportion of their students than had heretofore been necessary. On the other hand, the cumulative effects of the Central Entrance Examination may have been sufficient to eliminate men who were not capable of reaching ordination standard early in their course, and the consequent disappointment may have caused many men to leave early or to reconsider their offer of service abroad.

1. See table 22.
The first Anglo Catholic college, St. Augustine's, was founded in 1848 with the definite purpose of educating recruits from small public and grammar schools rather than those from the socially prestigious great public schools that educated the sons of the upper classes and gentry. The first bishop of Australia, William Broughton, aimed at training these middle class men and encouraged the founder of St. Augustine's, Edward Coleridge, to follow this scheme. As the bishop explained,

'In the smaller schools, I am persuaded there are hundreds every year doomed to inaction and obscurity, or to some unworthy use of their abilities, who, if they were systematically sought out and assisted very moderately, would supply exactly the description of person that we should rejoice to have sent out to us, to be trained as Colonial Clergymen ...'

Coleridge himself recognised that it was impossible to recruit "'a supply of Missionaries from the Colleges and Schools, by which the Church in England is provided with clergy'". Unlike the church, the missionary societies and missionary colleges were constantly seeking to alter the basis of their recruitment; they were looking for upper middle class candidates because "the class from

1. G. F. Maclear, principal of St. Augustine's College, 'Memorandum', 15 July 1881, pp. 4-6.
3. E. Coleridge, quoted in St. Augustine's Abbey and St. Augustine's College, p. 39.
which [missionary] soldiers are recruited for foreign service ought to be more varied." Nonetheless, neither St. Augustine's nor the other SPG-related colleges recruited the bulk of their students from the public or grammar schools.²

By the very end of the period, the principal of S. Paul's College was expressing concern about attracting students with only a secondary school education, let alone those with a university or public school background,³ and the principal of Dorchester Missionary College admitted that:

The antecedents of the students are various. They include, e.g. one clergyman's son, several ex-clerks, ³ colonials: ³ have been lay readers. Their previous education and training have in most cases run on lines remote from those which they are now following.

There were marked differences in the educational background of students at St. Augustine's and S. Paul's, the only missionary colleges for which student records survive. Table 21 shows that those who attended S. Paul's


2. See table 21.


4. Dorchester Missionary College CACTM Report 1914, p. 3.
came from church (elementary) schools, board, elementary and national schools, and did not have the private school background of St. Augustine's men. Grammar schools were popular recruiting grounds for both colleges, but the public schools did not feature prominently (in each case, public school men represented less than two per cent of missionary college students). A comparison between the schooling of missionary college men and all SPG ordained missionaries in the late-Victorian period emphasises the low social status of missionary college students, for public schools were a consistently popular source of SPG missionaries. Particularly noticeable are the discrepancies between the pattern of SPG schooling and that of S. Paul's students, indicating the relative insignificance of any one missionary college's contribution to the missionary society as a whole. By far the greatest proportion of SPG missionaries had attended a public, grammar or private school, unlike the men at S. Paul's, who had received an elementary education only. The educational background of late-Victorian SPG missionaries (table 25) more closely resembles that of S. Paul's students, with many laymen having attended private, church, grammar, national and board schools. Certainly the most striking difference in the backgrounds of SPG lay and ordained missionaries (table 26) was in the popularity of public schools among the ordained (20.6%, compared with 12.1% of the lay missionaries, attended public school). Those who were ordained were more likely to have had the
gentlemanly education that belied their lower middle class or working class origins.

The social status of missionary college students is further examined in table 27, wherein the occupational background of students' fathers is analysed. In the case of both St. Augustine's and S. Paul's, the most common parental occupation was that of skilled tradesman; clearly the men at college were socially mobile, for a missionary career, while not necessarily gentlemanly, was definitely a step up from even upper working class origins. Again, there were differences between the two colleges: more fathers at S. Paul's were in unskilled jobs; St. Augustine's students had a greater proportion of professional, clerical, civil service and merchant fathers; and among the fathers of S. Paul's students there was a higher percentage of clerks and teachers (i.e. lower middle class occupations).

Missionary colleges, like theological colleges, were agencies for social mobility for they provided middle and even working class elementary school-educated men with the opportunity to become clergymen, and therefore professional men. Missionary societies recognised that at least part of the attraction of missionary work lay in the status attached to ordination¹ rather than to the intrinsic benefits that might be associated with evangelistic endeavour. The missionary colleges'
acceptance and use of the same academic standards and curricula employed by the church at home indicated their acknowledgement of the principal aim of all Anglican theological education, i.e. ordination on the basis of domestic standards. The clerical profession was of ever-decreasing interest to late-Victorian gentlemen; the missionary profession suffered from this pre-war decline in recruitment because it was not sufficiently autonomous to attract a share of graduate recruitment, and because the profession failed to alter its traditionally non-gentlemanly image.

Missions at Home

Victorian missionary enterprise was not restricted to the foreign field. The focus of missionary attention was of course directed towards the evangelisation of the heathen abroad; however, mid-Victorian missionary success served only to emphasise the existence of vast numbers of unconverted heathens at home, and stimulated Anglican interest in the problem of Christianising British cities.¹ This problem was sufficiently acute by the late-Victorian period to have evoked organised responses on both clerical and lay bases: Anglo Catholic clergymen formed brotherhoods, and the Church Army was created in order to evangelise the working classes who remained outside the church's parochial structure.

¹ Piggin (1976), p. 387.
One of the earliest proponents of domestic missionary work was Abraham Hume, vicar of All Saint's, Vauxhall in Liverpool between 1847 and his death in 1884. His parish was large and unwieldy, populated principally by dock labourers and their families, whom Hume regarded as "the lost sheep of our National Church." Although his own church was far from filled on a Sunday, he advocated the creation of new churches as the town's population expanded and residential patterns changed, a suggestion that was expensive and difficult before Peel's Ecclesiastical Act of 1843. Hume argued, moreover, that the church had only itself to blame for the sorry spiritual state of working class people:

The existing Churches are not filled, because they were originally built for the rich, and still retain their character, though now surrounded by the poor. In some of the Churches in Liverpool, there is not, or was not until recently [1850], a single sitting for the poor. ... Thus, in practice we prohibit the poor man from being a Christian, and then gravely wonder why he is a heathen. A family is large, and the father's means are limited; he cannot pay for the privilege of going to Church. He has self-respect; he will not make his appearance in working clothes; he therefore becomes irregular. He has some feeling of independence; he will not submit to be passed from pew to pew to give place to others, or to be transferred by the verger to a remote corner where he can neither see nor hear. ... When the cold neglect of years or generations has done its work of degradation of his character, when double or treble the amount of ungodly or immoral population has been

2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. Ibid., p. 10.
crowded upon each acre of ground; it is at last seen that a grave error has been committed somewhere, but it cannot be remedied in an instant.

The solutions Hume prescribed were all applications of the standard mid-Victorian pastoral ideal: elementary education, house to house visitation, and tract distribution. In addition, he suggested that parishes and districts within parishes should be reduced to manageable proportions, and that the number of lay workers should be increased in order to relieve the priest of some of his secular responsibilities. He was anxious to recruit not "ladies and gentlemen" to teach in his free schools, but considered that

a few educated mechanics, or respectable business people in the neighbourhood, whose position approximates more to that of the pupils, would perhaps be more suitable as well as more regular.

Hume was convinced that the Church of England had a special responsibility to bring the benefits of religion to the secularised working classes of the inner city, and

1. Loc. cit.
2. Ibid., pp. 21-23.
4. Ibid., p. 31.
that this task was a missionary endeavour.¹ He argued that nonconformity could not exist in urban slums due to a poor congregation's inability to support a minister, while the established church possessed clergymen whose income was not directly linked to the economic status of the parish.² In Hume's estimation, it was

'To the residuum of practical heathenism which both Protestants and Roman Catholics leave behind them, [that] the parochial clergy of the national church address themselves with strong faith but differing degrees of zeal.'

While Hume was interested in promoting the utilisation of lay agencies (e.g. orders of deaconesses) to assist in missionary work in the slums,⁴ Anglo Catholics arrived at a different solution to the problem of understaffed and overcrowded inner city parishes. The Society of the Holy Cross was founded in London in the middle of the 1850's, and insisted that the church

must assume a missionary character, and by religious association and a new adaptation of Catholic practice to the altered circumstances of the nineteenth

2. Ibid., p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 43.
4. Loc. cit.
century, ... endeavour with fresh heart and energy to stem the prevailing tide of sin and indifference.

The priest in charge of the Society's mid-Victorian mission in the London dockland parish of St. George's-in-the-East, Charles Lowder, connected the Anglo Catholic revival of church life with all classes, but emphasised the missionary aspect of church work among the working classes. Like foreign missionaries, Lowder stressed that the object of his work in the east end was "the saving of souls" rather than merely schemes of benevolence ... attempts to brighten the surface of society by plans of amusement or social recreation, of physical exercise or domestic economy, ... lectures, concerts or tea meetings.

He was not, however, interested in actively "humanizing" his parishioners, as were many missionaries, as a preliminary stage in the process of Christianising them; rather, he boasted that the mission "has not attempted the mere civilisation of the many; it has attempted to bring about the actual salvation of some". The methods

2. Ibid., p. 9.
3. Ibid., p. 46.
4. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
5. Ibid., p. 45.
employed to bring about this desired end were typically missionary-oriented: preaching, the formation of a boys' choir, bible classes and preparation for confirmation.¹

Father Lowder stressed the fact that mission work required more time and energy than the parochial clergy had at their disposal if they were to fulfill their regular responsibilities.² At the opposite end of the doctrinal spectrum from the Anglo Catholic brotherhoods, the Church Army identified the same problems³ and set about providing an evangelical alternative to the Anglo Catholic solution for an overworked clergy. The Army was founded in 1882 by Wilson Carlile, a wealthy evangelical curate in the parish of St. Mary Abbott, Kensington, as a subsidiary of the Church Parochial Mission Society.⁴ It was amalgamated with a number of other already established home missionary societies under Carlile's direction, and became an independent church society in 1885.⁵ The Army's aim was to define and then provide the working man's place in the church.⁶ The pressure on conscientious parish clergymen was such that they alone could not have been

1. Ibid., p. 22.
2. Ibid., pp. 38-39.
4. History of the First 60 Years of the Church Army, p. 1.
5. Ibid., p. 2.
expected to come into personal contact with the mass of their parishioners. The Church Army was composed of laymen and women whose job it was to act as extra-parochial evangelists. In particular, their work involved a missionary approach to the working classes. Wilson Carlile had the fallacy of a gentlemanly clergy ministering to a working class congregation impressed upon him during his nightly preaching sessions in Kensington. He discovered that

'the timid exhortation and humble testimonies of working people attracted quite as much as did my own preaching, and that in fact they seemed to produce even a deeper effect on their own class. I felt I ought to go forth and try to train working men as Church evangelists and to band them together as duly authorised workers, some soldiers and some officers to assist in Church evangelisation.'

In order to do so, a training college was opened in 1883 in Oxford, and in 1885 it was moved to London.

The Church Army sought to attract respectable lower middle class and working class men for home work, men whom the missionary societies might well have recruited for work abroad. The first candidates' questionnaire,

1. W. Carlile, in History of the First 60 Years of the Church Army, p. 1.

2. Examination of the CMS Register of Candidates, 1901-1919 reveals that 12.9% of the lay missionaries in the years 1901-1909 and a further 7.9% between 1910 and 1914 were previously employed as lay workers or evangelists, and many of these had been with the Church Army before coming to the CMS.
written in 1883,¹ posed three types of questions: those concerning religious convictions; those concerning the candidate's ability to assume a leadership role; and those about his personal and family background. It is clear that the Army was intent on recruiting men and women who would display personal conviction and initiative, qualities that were valued as well in foreign missionaries.² According to the Army's newspaper, the ideal candidate was healthy, alert, possessed of an elementary education and basic biblical knowledge, interested in his fellow man, and obedient to "the holy spirit".³ Unlike the missionary societies the Church Army did not attempt to recruit clergymen, so their acceptance of minimal educational standards is the primary distinction between the qualifications of foreign and domestic missionaries. The missionary call was heeded by a variety of lower middle and working class people: "Miners, tradesmen, mechanics, labourers, soldiers, domestic servants, shop assistants, clerks, ...",⁴ a selection that is reminiscent of CMS lay missionaries after the turn of the century.⁵

The Church Army operated a training institution in which recruits received a brief preparation for the bishop

1. See appendix 3 for a sample of the questionnaire.
2. H. H. Foster to D. Stone, November 1913.
3. The Church Army Gazette, 12 November 1898.
4. Loc. cit.
5. See table 23.
of London's licensing examinations for lay preachers.\(^1\)
The total duration of this training never exceeded three months prior to 1892, when the Army mobilised and began using caravans as peripatetic mission stations.\(^2\) The curriculum consisted of lectures on the bible, prayer book, church history, evidences, and first aid, in addition to practical mission and pastoral work.\(^3\) An evangelist was despatched to work in a parish only after the vicar had requested assistance, and each Church Army officer (there were no 'other ranks' as such, only male 'officers' and female 'sisters') was required to submit a weekly report on his work.\(^4\) The layworker was therefore under the direct supervision of the clergy and worked within the parochial system.

Missionary enterprise in Great Britain was carried out in the wake of the church's comparative neglect of the inner cities, and as a result of a mid and late-Victorian understanding of the need to complement the traditional parochial system. Although in their clerical brotherhoods and lay societies Anglo Catholics and evangelicals explored different means towards a common end, both recognised the need for an application of missionary principles and active evangelisation as distinct from the

2. Ibid., p. 229.
3. Ibid., pp. 233, 238.
4. Ibid., pp. 242, 248.
less aggressive solutions of the pastoral ideal in an attempt to cure the disease of urban secularisation.

**Conclusion**

Anglican missionary societies reinforced the Victorian clerical ideal in the creation of and recruitment for a missionary ideal that emphasised a common educational and social background to be shared between both types of clergy. Missionary societies were anxious to maintain academic standards that were inappropriate in terms of the practical needs of missionary education in order to achieve parity of status with the domestic clergy; they clearly did not want to be accused of lowering professional standards and thereby occasioning further social dilution in a late-Victorian church where the concept of gentlemanliness was already undergoing basic change. With the increasing pressure on all Protestant missionary societies to improve their selection and training procedures that followed after the international missionary conference in 1910 came Anglican acceptance of the principle that foreign missionaries required specific and specialised professional education. Such instruction was not forthcoming prior to the first world war; the need for it, however, was recognised by missionary educators. It does not appear that missionary colleges were any more or less successful than their theological college counterparts in creating broad curricula that provided nongraduate students with the
general education they lacked. Like theological college students, men at missionary colleges came from widely varying educational backgrounds and this exacerbated the problems of establishing and teaching suitable course material. Moreover, the colleges were used as the primary means by which lower middle class and working class students were socialised; the academic curriculum was significant only as far as it prepared men for ordination. The regime of college life was more important than the curriculum, for it was essential that students should learn how to practise and deepen their spiritual lives and acquire the professional clerical skills that would enable them to carry out their ministries at home and abroad. The principal object of missionary colleges was the inculcation of priestly conduct and values in men whose social and educational backgrounds left them unacquainted with these standards.

Missionary colleges were not alone in their function as providers of religious education and agencies of social mobility; nongraduate theological colleges had exactly the same role in the Victorian church. The aim of both Anglo Catholic theological colleges and missionary colleges was the same -- the development and training of individual spirituality and the provision of a curriculum that satisfied the university examinations and the bishops' chaplains as to the academic quality of nongraduate ordinands. Theological colleges did, however, offer pastoral training that was of some practical value to
their students, while missionary colleges possessed no equivalent element of specialised training in their curricula. In effect, missionary colleges educated lower middle class and working class students for the foreign ministry at a time when it was economically difficult for such men to gain entrance to theological institutions that prepared them for the church at home. This is not to say that missionary college students were not independently motivated to serve abroad; rather, their willingness to embark upon a missionary career was necessarily influenced by their inability to finance the training required for service in England. Late-Victorian missionary societies and missionary educators attempted to raise the intellectual standard of missionary education by sending qualified candidates to university and aligning themselves to recognised university theological qualifications (notably the Durham University L. Th.). There was no worldly advantage, however, to encourage graduates to attend either a missionary or theological college; this was particularly true in the case of missionary education, owing to the absence of any specialised training in missionary college curricula. Much as they wished to attract the same quality of student as entered the parish ministry, Victorian missionary colleges and missionary societies were consistently unable to do so and they were forced to accept and train men who did not possess the traditional guarantees of birth and education preferred by the church for its ordinands.
Missionary education represented an attempt to provide a suitable outlet for middle and working class interest in clerical careers, while at the same time the presence of missionary colleges separated lower middle class and working class students from future domestic clergymen. Missionary colleges existed to train men who could not receive training for ordination in either the universities or theological colleges as a result of their inability to finance their studies and their lack of the prescribed classical education. Missionary education was a confession of failure, and only at the very end of the Victorian period were its potentially positive aspects realised.
Throughout the period 1830 to 1914 the church hierarchy, clerical educators and pastoral theologians generally maintained the necessity of a university education as a prerequisite for undertaking the ministry of the Church of England. Even in the early nineteenth century, however, the church could not claim uniformity in this matter, since there were two independent pre-Victorian theological institutions and a longstanding tradition of a nongraduate clergy, particularly in economically underprivileged parishes. The universities themselves, in spite of organisational and curriculum reforms and the existence of theological professors, tutors and lectures, could not be regarded as providers of professional clerical education, although this view continued to be challenged.\(^1\) The proliferation of both graduate and literate theological colleges attested to the need for practical and spiritual training that university theological courses were not designed to accommodate. The cause of theology as an academic discipline in the universities was advanced by the establishment and growth of theological colleges outside Oxford and Cambridge, for the universities were effectively relieved of the burden of Anglican orthodoxy when clerical education was provided with alternative venues. Instead, critical scholarship flourished in the mid-Victorian period under a succession

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of brilliant professors (primarily at Cambridge) who later in their careers became renowned as bishops and clerical educators.¹ That scholarship and training should not be separated was axiomatic for Victorian educators; they argued that the universities possessed outstanding scholars and that theological students could do no better than to attend university in order to benefit from this intellectual stimulation and the "breadth of mental sympathy" such teaching engendered.² The effects of an ignorant clergy were rightly feared, but university lectures and tutorials in ancient languages and theology, however academically advanced, could not act as a substitute for the pastoral and devotional opportunities made available for formal clerical education. Thus the late Victorian solution to the problem of establishing ordination criteria combined the intellectual and social guarantees of a university education with the professional expertise of a postgraduate year at a theological college.³

The provision of theological education in the universities previous to the reforms carried out in the 1850's was variable at best. The major obstacle in the creation of a learned clergy was the lack of sufficient

1. For example, Westcott, Lightfoot and E. H. Browne at Cambridge.


numbers of adequately learned university theologians, according to the government report on 'Universities and Colleges at Oxford, 1852':

'Oxford still educates a large proportion of the Clergy; but learned Theologians are very rare in the University, and, in consequence, they are still rarer elsewhere. No efficient means at present exist in the University for training Candidates for Holy Orders in those studies which belong peculiarly to their profession.'

This situation arose because, with the exception of Balliol, Oxford colleges did not recruit tutors on the basis of academic excellence previous to university reform. The consequent difficulties in teaching future clergymen theology hardly could have been avoided. Oxford could, however, boast five theological professorships in addition to a chair in Hebrew in the early-Victorian period, and many prospective clerics took advantage of the opportunity to attend lectures by and study with the professors of church history and pastoral theology. There was growing discontent, however, with the standards and achievements of theological education in early-Victorian Oxford and Cambridge on the part of university


educators, and the universities came under attack with regard to the inefficiency of their theological teaching. In an age of political and religious ferment, when all state institutions were subject to critical analysis, clerical inefficiency or incapacity were clearly indefensible. Charles Perry, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and future bishop of Melbourne, expressed the concerns of reform-minded educators in a published letter to the bishop of Lichfield in 1841:

... the increasing intelligence of the country requires much improvement in the education of the Clergy, with a view to qualify them, not only as pious ministers, but as well-instructed theologians, for their solemn and arduous duties... the necessity of that appropriate knowledge, which may prepare the Clergy, from their first entrance on their ministry, to be well-instructed religious teachers of the people; which shall secure to them the respect of their flocks, make them wise to win souls, and enable them to maintain the truth against gainsayers.

Facing stern challenges from both nonconformity and secularism, attention was drawn to the necessity for improved clerical education in order to ensure the church's survival. Perry himself was not a proponent of theological colleges; indeed, he proclaimed that the

Theological Education of candidates for Holy Orders ought to be confined by the Church to the existing Universities, as being the most appropriate and

1. Perry, 'Clerical Education ... in a letter to The Right Reverend The Lord Bishop of Lichfield', pp. 6, 7.
He favoured instead a system of pastoral apprenticeship during the diaconate.²

Writing as he did in Cambridge, and before Newman's secession to Rome, Perry identified universities as bastions of orthodoxy and security. His objectives were limited to an invigoration of the theological curriculum at Cambridge and the recognition of theology as a postgraduate subject.³ In response to Perry, an anonymous Oxford don ('Oxoniensis') protested that the universities could not be held liable for theological education when their original commission excluded theology as an undergraduate subject; therefore, the universities were not to be regarded as responsible for what they did not do.⁴ Educators such as Oxoniensis and Perry made claims for the universities' sole right to act as centres of theological education; therefore the argument that the universities were not culpable in their neglect of such education was impossible to uphold. In both cases the need for graduates to remain in college for a year after

1. Ibid., p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 10.
3. Ibid., pp. 19, 24.
graduation in order to study theology was emphasised; it was extremely difficult, however, to persuade the parents of young graduates of such a necessity when they were the ones to shoulder the expense of an additional year at university. By 1846, when another Cambridge fellow published an open letter to the Lady Margaret Divinity Professor on that university's failure to provide an adequate theological education, the argument put forward for the necessity of undergraduate degrees in divinity focused on two major points: first, the effects of heretofore inefficient clerical education; and second, the priesthood's unique claims on the universities for more specialised professional education. In 1843 Cambridge had instituted a postgraduate Voluntary Theological Examination in an attempt to offer the bishops some minimal guarantees of their graduates' preparedness for ordination. Candidates were examined in the Greek testament, church fathers, ecclesiastical history, liturgy and thirty-nine articles. Bishops usually required a


2. Perry, op. cit., p. 28.

3. 'A Letter to the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, on Education for The Priesthood in the University of Cambridge, by a Fellow of a College' (Cambridge, 1846), p. 11.

4. Ibid., p. 13.

certificate of attendance at the series of lectures given by the Norrisean professor, although, as was pointed out in a sharply critical letter to senior Cambridge fellows by the rector of Fulbourn,

nothing is more notorious, than that his lecture-room is anything but a place of Study, many indulging themselves in lounging upon the seats, or reading the newspaper, or a novel.

Behind these criticisms of theological provision lay the fear, expressed in the 1846 letter to the Margaret professor, that the universities' traditional monopoly on formal theological education would be usurped unless action was forthcoming. The precedents of St. Bees College in Cumbria for literates, and Chichester and Wells Theological Colleges for graduates, were not lost on university theological educators. The author of that letter was not opposed to the establishment of such colleges per se, but protested that

we should be very sorry to see either Cambridge and Oxford supplanted in the honourable distinction of providing the fittest persons to serve in the ministry of the Church.


2. 'Letter to the Lady Margaret Professor', p. 12.

3. Loc. cit.
Unless theological training could be provided before men reached the age of twenty-three and became eligible for ordination to the diaconate, then the opportunity for formal clerical education would be lost forever, with the result that the national church would suffer the consequences of an unlearned, unskilled clergy.\textsuperscript{1} The universities were anxious to maintain their association with the professional classes,\textsuperscript{2} and were therefore unwilling to jeopardise such a longstanding and profitable relationship as educators of the clergy and of clerical sons.\textsuperscript{3} Theological colleges initially challenged the universities as centres of clerical training, particularly before the curriculum reforms of the mid Victorian period provided undergraduate programmes in theology and revitalised postgraduate divinity degrees. The late-Victorian church witnessed an expansion in professional theological education while at the same time suffering a decrease in the number of ordinands,\textsuperscript{4} and graduate ordinands in particular.\textsuperscript{5} The growth in extra-university training was largely the result of the conflict between the church's organisation and the changing structure of professional careers discussed in earlier chapters. There

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., p. 13.
\item Ibid., p. 87.
\item Woolgar, op. cit., p. 329.
\item Ibid., p. 331.
\end{enumerate}
was, however, another reason for increased interest in mid and late Victorian theological and missionary colleges -- the Anglo Catholic and evangelical preference for social and spiritual isolation. The universities, especially after 1871 when legislation enabled dissenters to take degrees, were not Anglican seminaries and could not act as such. The introduction of academic programmes in theology and the flourishing state of theological scholarship in the ancient universities (particularly Cambridge) were symptomatic of a revitalised and reformed university system rather than a claim on the universities' behalf to be sufficient sources of professional clerical education. A host of new degree courses were created in addition to theology during the second half of the nineteenth century: moral and natural sciences, law, philosophy, modern history, modern and oriental languages, engineering, physical sciences, economics and music.\(^1\) The object of change in the curriculum was not, however, the production of professionally trained scientists, philosophers, linguists, musicians or theologians; rather, the universities were concerned with providing a broad or general education that would transmit the moral values of the traditional professions (and therefore the gentry) to the students of the much-expanded new professions.\(^2\) The great academic theologians at Cambridge, Lightfoot and

1. See table 5.

2. Rothblatt, op. cit., p. 91.
Westcott, advocated the creation of theological halls in the university only as a resort against their foundation outside the realm of the universities' influence; they preferred future clerics to remain in the mainstream of college life rather than to withdraw spiritually and physically to theological colleges. Westcott in fact did become head of the Clergy Training School in Cambridge on its foundation in 1881. The School's stated aims were "a sympathetic training -- devotional, doctrinal, practical -- in preparation for Holy Orders...". True to Westcott's principles, however, the Training School was not regarded as a theological college by its supporters:

'It differs from theological colleges in that it stands in close connection with all the Theological Professors of the University, while the students remain in touch with the various forms of intellectual activity around them."

In university-affiliated theological halls the mid and late Victorian dilemma about the nature of theological education found at least a theoretical solution.

Although the university theological curriculum continued to invite criticism until the introduction of degree courses in the early 1870's, ecclesiastical writers

2. Ibid., p. 119.
3. Loc. cit.
maintained the necessity of a graduate clergy, for

A highly cultivated clergy is required to lead the religious thought of a highly cultivated people. The religion of the multitude will not rise above the intellectual level of its teachers.

Theological colleges, particularly those for nongraduates, were viewed with suspicion by churchmen because they provided an alternative, a "back door" that threatened "to flood the land with a clergy whose predominance in numbers and influence would be disastrous to the Church." At the Church Congress in 1873, after theological courses had been established in the universities, the dean of Chester defended the policy of recruiting graduates in preference to literates.

It is surely desirable that our Clergy should approach their sacred office 'through the avenue of liberal studies'. They will be required too to minister to all men; and they ought, if possible, to acquire, early in life, broad and varied sympathies. Again, Theology is best apprehended not as an isolated science, but in its relation to all other sciences;

1. Reichel, "University Reform in Relation to Theological Study", p. 51
4. Dean of Chester, op. cit., p. 129.
Theological college educators, however, had a different perception of the situation. At the same Church Congress T. R. Ashwell, principal of the Anglo Catholic Chichester Theological College, declared that:

A Church's influence upon a nation depends upon the social classes whence her ministry is drawn. Those classes which are largely represented in her ministry will be largely devoted to her.... Those which are not will invent an alien system for themselves, as to a large extent our lower middle classes have done, or will do without religion altogether, as the vast bulk of our manufacturing population do.

The message from nongraduate theological colleges was clear: the church risked a mammoth loss of confidence unless literates trained in the growing number of colleges could be accepted by the graduate majority of the church's clergy. E. W. Benson, founder of a nongraduate theological college in Lincoln and future archbishop of Canterbury, acknowledged the need for literate training in an address to the Church Congress in 1871; he identified the danger inherent in a neglect of the "Third Estate" as a weakening of the church's position in the face of dissent.

Unless there exists a divinity training, uncostly, thorough so far as it is carried, simple in habits, and ecclesiastical in tone, self-sent ministries will multiply rather than diminish.

Among those who supported graduation as the foremost criterion for ordination were Anglo Catholic clerical educators who favoured the combination of a university degree and a year's attendance at a diocesan theological college. Edward King, principal of Cuddesdon College and co-founder of St. Stephen's House in Oxford, argued for more widespread acceptance of this system of clerical training. He was adamant in his support for the intellectual influence and capacity of the universities (for example, the libraries and theological professorships); he was equally convinced, however, of the necessity for

a special time of spiritual preparation, a time to consider what the ministry will cost them, to study, above all, in prayerful meditation, the example of their Divine Master,...

King feared that the scholarship on which the universities depended for their claim to intellectual leadership would suffer irreparable damage if the divinity professors were burdened with the undergraduate teaching that was inevitable upon the introduction of degree courses in theology; his solution, postgraduate training in a theological college, emphasised the devotional rather than the academic aspects of clerical preparation. King

2. Ibid., p. 304.
3. Ibid., p. 305.
thought it was possible for some prospective clergymen to undertake this spiritual preparation during their undergraduate careers, or while they were studying for their ordination examinations; he was certain, however, that theological colleges afforded the ideal venue for this necessary professionalising activity.\(^1\) It was clear, however, that while postgraduate training was preferable, the broad education of the university was considered to be indispensable by most Anglo Catholic educators.

Even after the creation of undergraduate theological curricula the universities' role as educators of the clergy of the national church remained in question. The theology degree was open to non-Anglican students as well as to aspiring clerics, and so no doctrinal or liturgical studies could be taught; in spite of mid Victorian criticism,\(^2\) neither was any practical pastoral theology pursued in the theological syllabus. The attraction of new professional opportunities, the declining prestige of the church and its inability to compete with old and new professions rendered the ministry an increasingly unpopular graduate career choice. With the introduction of the Cambridge Preliminary Examination in theology in 1874, however, the universities established themselves as the academic arbiters of the fate of virtually all

1. Loc. cit.

ordination candidates prior to the first world war.\textsuperscript{1} The Preliminary was devised by Westcott and bishop W. C. Magee of Peterborough as a replacement for the Voluntary examination mentioned previously. It was thus a postgraduate examination, but came into general usage as a final examination in both graduate and literate theological and missionary colleges. The universities continued to exert control over ordination standards and therefore clerical selection in spite of their declining influence as theological educators. For social as well as intellectual reasons the church was reluctant to entrust professional clerical education entirely to the theological colleges, without reference to the universities that had traditionally acted as centres for gentlemanly and pre-professional education. Lacking any mechanism that might have removed the universities' domination of theological education by means of a centralised board of studies and examination procedure,\textsuperscript{2} the church continued to rely upon an external university examination in order to determine the intellectual fitness of candidates for its ministry.

As has been seen, Brooke Foss Westcott was an integral figure in mid-Victorian theological scholarship

\textsuperscript{1} Wilson, op. cit., p. 91.

\textsuperscript{2} This situation persisted until 1912 when the Committee of the Advisory Council on Training for the Ministry (CACTM) came into being; such an institution had been suggested as early as 1862 in the \textit{Report of the Church Congress, 1862}, p. 10.
and education. Although he became the director of the broad church theological hall in Cambridge (which was in turn an attempt to balance the influence of the newly founded evangelical Ridley Hall), Westcott himself preferred that the clergy should receive their intellectual training at the universities and pastoral training at the hands of experienced clerics.¹ Certainly, it was this pattern that he followed as bishop of Durham in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In an address to the Ely Diocesan Conference in 1871 Westcott presented his criticism of the universities' system of theological education before the introduction of theological degrees (the Cambridge theological tripos came into being later that year):

Our present method of training candidates for Holy Orders, if it can be called a method, is hasty and partial; it has very little fitness for inspiring men with the desire to pursue the inquiries on which they have entered: it offers no scope for testing the teaching power of the student himself: it gives no place for adequate probation, no opportunity for seasonable withdrawal from uncongenial work. It is dispersive, perfunctory, unsympathetic, unsuggestive, impractical.

Candidates were burdened with the contents of text-books, and embarrassed by the multiplicity of subjects with which they have to deal; they are destitute of a

2. Ibid., p. 101.
clear view of the mutual relations and absolute importance of the constituent parts of their science; they are uncertain as to the elementary principles of criticism, and unfurnished with a clue to guide them in later work.

Westcott wanted the universities to guarantee the basic scriptural knowledge of ordination candidates so that the year in deacon's orders might be spent in concentrated critical study of exegesis and ecclesiastical history. The establishment of theological halls at Oxford and Cambridge provided students, and particularly those who had not read theology for their first degrees, with an opportunity to acquire the elementary knowledge required before undertaking the more advanced studies envisioned by Westcott.

The creation of separate halls for students intending to enter the ministry had been suggested in the mid-1860's by Charles Reichel, an Irish academic who eventually became bishop of Meath. He argued that a rationalisation of college fees and the institution of economy measures would reduce the additional expense of a fourth year at Oxbridge and would therefore encourage

1. Ibid., p. 102.
2. Ibid., p. 106.
3. Ibid., pp. 105, 108.
4. Baillie, My First Eighty Years, p. 70.
5. Reichel, op. cit., p. 533.
prospective clergymen to take up residence. There were four Victorian halls founded, two each in Oxford and Cambridge: Wycliffe Hall (1877) and St. Stephen's House (1878) in the former, and Ridley Hall and the Clergy Training School (both established in 1881) in the latter. In this section an examination of the work of Wycliffe Hall will be undertaken.\(^2\)

The first university theological hall to be opened was Wycliffe Hall, which had, not surprisingly in light of its name, an evangelical foundation. Its beginnings were humble: the first principal, R. B. Girdlestone, offered a lecture course of eighteen sessions on 'The Theological Terms of Scripture' in a room at Christ Church College, and drew an audience of seven students.\(^3\) Attendance gradually improved, and the first student came into residence in the spring of 1878. A series of lectures concerned with pastoral subjects ('A Curate's Work in a Large Town Parish', 'Preparation for a Written Sermon', 'House to House Visitation')\(^4\) emphasised the development of practical skills in the same way that theological colleges did; by the middle of the 1880's Wycliffe students were taking Sunday mission services and lodging

1. Loc. cit.
2. A detailed history of Ridley Hall has already been published: F. W. B. Bullock, History of Ridley Hall (St. Leonards-on-Sea, 1942).
4. Ibid., p. 2.
house services,¹ and in the 1890's they gained further experience by conducting open air evangelisation meetings in the town² and by acting as scripture readers and lay preachers in St. Peter-le-Bailey church.³ Although the intellectual and academic advantages of theological halls were their raison d'être, theological hall students were encouraged to set their priorities in an order that would have been approved by literates in any nongraduate theological college. At a seminar entitled 'How to make the best and the most of ourselves in Parish Work' in 1892, Wycliffe students were told that:

The spiritual gift must come first, be remembered, and guarded. The intellectual side was best promoted by the diligent study of some few great books...

In the same passage the social advantages of the gentleman-heresy were invoked: "... as regards parish life in rural parts, the best and the most could not be done without the dining-room and the drawing-room being brought into frequent use."⁴ Presumably the "best and the most" could be achieved by a university man who knew how to utilise the social opportunities presented to him for

1. Ibid., p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 25.
4. Canon Edmonds, in The Record, 1 July 1892, quoted in Wycliffe Hall Record 1877-1893, p. 44.
5. Loc. cit.
church's benefit. The overwhelming impression, however, of the aims of pastoral education at Wycliffe Hall was that of an institution attempting to come to terms with the problem of confronting the unknown -- the mass of the working population in cities and towns. Principal Girdlestone regarded his students' evangelistic work in schools and lodging houses, as Sunday school teachers and district visitors, and layworkers to the navvies, as preparation practically and intellectually, and it is to be hoped spiritually, for the work of the ministry in our large centres of population. It is in towns rather than in country parishes that they are recommended to take curacies, so that habits of work and discipline and methods of organization may be acquired at the outset.

In regard to pastoral theology Wycliffe was following a similar course to that of the majority of theological colleges (and of evangelical colleges in particular), which specialised in the provision of practical pastoral training. Moreover, at the turn of the century the principal recommended that an increase in the amount of practical work should be undertaken so that the hall could compete with the opportunities for pastoral training offered by theological colleges in larger cities.

1. Wycliffe Hall Record 1877-1893, p. 49.
2. R. B. Girdlestone, 'Four Years' Work at Wycliffe Hall, January 1882', p. 6.
The curriculum offered at Wycliffe Hall followed the standard format of late-Victorian theological college curricula. There were lectures on the old and new testaments, Greek testament, the prayer book, creeds, sermon composition and elementary Hebrew. In addition, occasional attempts were made to introduce some sorely needed administrative skills, when "Mr. R. G. Bell gave a course of four lectures on Book-keeping which were exceedingly useful." This uniformity of curriculum provision was not an initial aim of the hall; after four years' experience Girdlestone admitted that:

Too much was attempted at first. A large and systematic course of Biblical Theology and criticism was aimed at, and the requirements of the various Bishops were put too much in the background.

The bishops needed neither theologians nor scholars, but pastors. Clearly the academic emphasis of university training was at first something of a liability rather than an asset. At the root of the problem was the continued uncertainty concerning ordination standards and examinations. Girdlestone, writing in 1882, commented that in recent years the problem had been less grievous than previously (presumably he was referring to the effects of the Preliminary Examination); he thought that

1. Ibid., p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 6.
there was still room, however, for improvement, and suggested that all the bishops should "agree upon the books and subjects they propose for examination from year to year."¹

The lecture topics for the first ten years at Wycliffe Hall supported the principal's contention that the hall's object was the inculcation of methods of pastoral training. Particular emphasis was given to the minister's role as evangelist and missionary to the working classes: between 1878 and 1881 there were classes on 'Work for Christ among men and boys'; 'The observance of the Sabbath as it affects the well-being of working men'; 'A curate's work in a large town parish'; 'Open air preaching'; 'Work among Colliers'; and 'Working men's services'.² In order to achieve rapport with the working men whom the church was trying to attract, Wycliffe men were encouraged to display certain qualities that were valued by their audience.

If we are to reach men we must have manliness; men hate effeminacy and affectation above all things. Men want to see that we live in the spirit of prayer.... We should have Bible classes for educated men; in all our dealings with them there must be courage, faithfulness, earnestness.

1. Loc. cit.
2. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
This late-Victorian concern with the personal image of the clergy that was being presented to the laity, and particularly that presented to the estranged and secularised working classes, was not restricted to university men at Wycliffe Hall, but was widespread.¹ In an essay entitled "Clerical Mannerisms" published in 1904, the Anglo Catholic writer Stanley Blunt reviewed the criticisms commonly levelled against younger clergymen in light of the fact that "not a few of the clergy lack some of the qualities which appeal to the layman."² His conclusion was that middle and working class men were suspicious of the clergy for three reasons: they did not participate in sports; they perceived a clerical indifference towards common lay interests; and, most significantly, the social, spiritual and emotional differentiation between cleric and layman resulted in "idiosyncracies in dress, manners and speech, betraying thereby an effeminacy which estranges us from the sensible laity."³ Blunt accredited such behaviour to the disproportionate amount of time that the average priest spent in the company of women (during social events, meetings and philanthropic work), and warned the clergy

3. Ibid., p. 142.
against the cultivation of "clerical primness"¹ and the adoption of a professional 'pulpit' voice and terminology.² Clearly the cleric's professional manner erected a barrier between himself and his parishioners; one of the results of this deliberate spiritual distancing was that the laity came to distrust the clergy's sexuality, and shied away from them.

The failure of the church to reach the bulk of the late Victorian working classes must to some degree be attributed to the emphasis on the differences between cleric and layman, and to the social distance between a university-educated clergy and the majority of their parishioners. At the Wycliffe Hall annual reunion in 1896 an ex-student implicitly acknowledged the considerable distance between clergy and people when he advised his audience that "we must show such hospitality as our means allow; do not keep a ferocious dog; try to find a pleasant-mannered servant."³ The fact that such advice was necessary for a group of men who fulfilled the educational and social requirements of the clerical ideal (graduation and professional theological training) casts grave doubts upon several aspects of clerical education at the universities. First, the appropriateness of the venue must come into question. The universities continued to

1. Ibid., p. 143.
2. Ibid., pp. 144, 146.
draw their students from professional families (and largely from clerical families in the case of Cambridge)\(^1\) until the end of the nineteenth century, and did not therefore broaden the base of clerical recruitment. Theological halls represented the universities' attempt to stake their claim as adequate providers of professional training in the face of competition from theological colleges. Second, the stated objectives of Wycliffe Hall included teaching men a

'sufficiency in learning in the great doctrines and principles of Christian faith which they had to teach, and it must also look to give them some kind of practical experience, some sort of knowledge of pastoral work and introduction to the life that they were hereafter to lead.... And it must also especially train them in their spiritual and devotional life.'

These aims were plausible, but inadequate in terms of the church's situation in late Victorian society. There was no provision for even elementary training in management of either people or resources, no opportunities for specialised training in either practical or academic subjects, nor was research into the particular concerns of the clergy and clerical education encouraged or even suggested. Third, the effectiveness of the curriculum in

1. Rothblatt, op. cit., p. 87.
2. W. Ince, regius professor of divinity at Oxford, on laying the foundation stone for the Wycliffe Hall chapel, 19 March 1896, in Wycliffe Hall 1894-1902, p. 42.
terms of even these aims must be put in doubt when experienced clergymen needed object lessons in deportment and basic social relations. The intellectual and practical education offered at the universities might have been more beneficial if it had recognised the considerable claims of post-professional as well as pre-professional clerical training. The final criticism concerns the church's, and by implication theological educators', perception of the role of the late-Victorian clergy. They persisted in regarding themselves as "the keepers of the national conscience" at a time when Anglican claims to religious monopoly or even numerical superiority were palpably unrealistic. The desire to enlighten and educate the nation so that people might be "conscientious but intelligent in matters of public importance" was laudable; inherent in this aim, however, was an assumption that the clergy were themselves legitimate public educators. The fear of the intellectual and doctrinal inadequacy of a nongraduate, professionally educated clergy ensured that the universities would retain pride of place in Anglican theological education until the end of the Victorian period.

1. Quoted in "Wycliffe Hall Reunion" in The Record, 28 June 1901, p. 132.
2. A. Gilbert, op. cit., p. 47.
The earliest attempt to diversify and extend the scope of theological training at university level took place at Durham University. The licentiate in theology (L. Th.) was introduced in 1833 as a two-year course for both graduates and literates.¹ The university itself was rooted in the early-Victorian Anglo Catholic revival and the fears of secular confiscation of diocesan resources by reforming parliaments.² A considerable number of early and mid-Victorian theological colleges shared Durham University's origins;³ it is not surprising that particularly close ties were established between the university and many theological colleges in the late-Victorian period. At the outset, however, Durham found itself in competition for students with the other northern theological institution, St. Bees College in Cumbria. The bishop of Durham, van Mildert, made clear his preference for a university scheme of theological education, and typified the hostile attitude of early-Victorian bishops towards professionally educated nongraduate clerics:

'I incline to think that the object of increasing the respectability of the clergy will even be more attained by countenancing such a plan as ours than by throwing it into the shade.'

2. Ibid., p. 31.
3. See the introduction to chapter 4.
At the beginning of the L. Th. course nongraduate theological students were required to have the same academic qualifications as graduates,¹ and the course offered a curriculum that included ecclesiastical history, Greek gospels, the catechism, new testament, new testament criticism and interpretation, English composition, the thirty-nine articles and the liturgy.² Between 1841 and 1846, however, the difficulty of teaching nongraduate students had impressed itself upon the staff, and the L. Th. course was extended to three years for literates.³ The expense of this solution proved unbearable, however, and attendance declined to an unacceptable level.⁴ Instead, the two-year programme was resurrected and poorly prepared candidates were admitted to a probationary year prior to the licentiate. This course of action was later repeated in a number of diocesan theological colleges (for example, Lichfield and Lincoln) that experienced problems concerning both candidate selection and curriculum design. In spite of the implementation in 1846 of an entrance examination in Greek, Latin and scripture history,⁵ the academic standards for the L. Th.

1. The Durham University Calendar, 1836 (Durham, 1837), p. 9.
2. Ibid., p. 35.
4. Loc. cit.
5. The Durham University Calendar, 1846 (Durham, 1846), p. xxiii.
continued to cause difficulties. By the middle of the 1860's the entrance examination had been reduced to an elementary knowledge of Cicero, two gospels in Greek and scripture history,¹ and during the following decade this standard was further reduced.² The result of this steady decline in entrance qualifications was a concurrent decrease in student numbers.³ The introduction of an honours examination for the L. Th. in 1867 did not solve the problem that confronted graduate educators in their dealings with nongraduate theological students. The scholarly emphasis on ancient biblical languages (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) effectively limited the amount of time available for doctrinal, liturgical and pastoral theology. This problem was not restricted to Durham University, but was a feature of Victorian clerical education in general. In the case of the L. Th., however, the ongoing problems with entrance standards and selection criteria brought the course into disrepute with many bishops, who refused to acknowledge it as a qualification for ordination.⁴ After the creation of the Cambridge Preliminary Examination, L. Th. students were usually required to pass it in addition to their own final

1. The Durham University Calendar, 1866 (Durham, 1866), p. 18.

2. The Durham University Calendar, 1876 (Durham, 1876), p. 21.


4. Loc. cit.
examination; when the Central Entrance Examination was introduced in 1892, it replaced the Durham matriculation examination as the entrance qualification for the licentiate.¹

In 1876 Durham instigated a unique programme of affiliation with theological and missionary colleges in Britain and abroad, whereby theological college students who had completed their two-year course were allowed to take a Durham University BA after only three terms in residence at the university.² In this way theological college men were given an opportunity to acquire the only academic qualification that was of real consequence in their professional lives, and the university benefitted from the increased number of students attracted by the scheme. With the establishment of an undergraduate theology degree in 1907 the L. Th. became the university's equivalent to the Preliminary Examination, and at the same time it became an open examination, available to theological and missionary college students who had not attended the university.³ By the end of the Victorian period most of the licentiates granted were given to unattached (i.e. nonresidential) students, and the L. Th.

1.  Loc. cit. In 1910 the university's matriculation examination was reinstated.
2.  The Durham University Calendar, 1886 (Durham, 1886), p. 39.
had become a qualification for nonuniversity men who had attended a theological college.\(^1\)

The policy of conferring degree status on theological students after only a year at the university did not meet with universal approval from those graduates who had earned their degrees by the more conventional, and expensive, route of three years of undergraduate study.\(^2\)

Nor were nongraduate licentiates always approved of by graduates of the university:

'Wherever a Durham graduate goes, he is sure to come across some melancholy specimen of a Durham theological literate, who is confounded by the public with a Durham graduate, by no means to the credit of the latter.'

A leading article in the *Durham University Journal* in 1892, however, analysed the licentiate's problems more critically, and came to the conclusion that:

While we attack the value of the Licence we ungrudgingly acknowledge the thoroughness of the theological training to a fairly prepared man. We have in Durham a body of Professors and Tutors who in teaching ability and thoroughness of work rank second to none in the kingdom: the root trouble is that so much of their work goes for nothing, being addressed to men of whom fully one half are not qualified to

3. Ibid., p. 110.
grasp its value, having been inadequately prepared on admittance.

Again, the most persistent and intractable problem facing clerical educators both at the universities and in theological colleges was candidate selection. The licentiate course as a whole, the university and its theological educators, suffered a crisis in 1894 when the bishops refused to ordain Durham men who had already passed the Preliminary Examination.

The 'University style' (so it was put) was lacking, the theological college style, the moulding of strong ecclesiastical influence, was lacking also. The candidates were set down as lacking culture on the one hand, 'spirituality of tone' on the other.

The Durham licentiate was therefore in a most uncongenial position: he was at a university but was not a graduate, nor could he appeal to his bishop in the way that diocesan theological college students might do. Until the L. Th. was revised in conjunction with the Preliminary Examination and received the support of the theological colleges after the turn of the century, its possession was a potential liability rather than an asset.

The establishment of theological halls at Oxford and Cambridge, and a nongraduate theological college course at

Durham, were indications that the church and the universities recognised the differences between clerical education and theological education by the beginning of the late-Victorian period. They did not discount the necessity for either type of learning; however, unlike the early-Victorian university situation, the role of specialised clerical training was acknowledged. Mid-Victorian theological colleges were distrusted by the church hierarchy and the universities as a result of their party affiliation, their financial instability, and particularly for their potential capacity as replacements for the liberal, preprofessional education offered by the universities. The older universities wished to retain their traditional leadership role in theological and clerical education in the face of increasing competition from both theological colleges and the new universities. The methods they employed to achieve this goal were an improvement in theological teaching provision, combined with the opportunity for more specifically clerical training in theological halls. The concept of 'professional' education underwent considerable change during the mid-Victorian period, and the universities attempted to maintain their attraction for professional men, first by offering increasingly specialised courses, and then by allowing the establishment of theological halls for both undergraduates and postgraduates.

CHAPTER 7

The Education of Clergymen in Victorian Ontario

The Church of England in nineteenth-century Canada was an institution significantly different from the parent church in the mother country. This difference was dictated to some degree by the geography of what was, for two-thirds of the century, British North America.\(^1\) In territories so vast and with a relatively small population the traditional parochial system, already severely strained in Victorian Britain, was not transplanted intact to Canada. There were economic, social, political, administrative and linguistic differences between Great Britain and her colony that determined that the church in Canada would occupy a position different to that of the church at home. In part I of this chapter the growth of a distinctive Anglican church in the province of Ontario will be examined, as also will be the means of clerical education that were developed in response to the needs of a rapidly changing colonial church.

In spite of the differences referred to above, there were important similarities in the methods of both formal and informal clerical education and standards of clerical performance between the church in England and that in Canada. There was a uniform desire to recruit spiritually motivated and formally well educated men for the ministry,

1. The confederation of the various provinces of the Maritimes, Upper and Lower Canada occurred with the passage of the British North America Act of 1867.
in line with the precepts of the reformed pastoral ideal discussed in previous chapters. The second part of this chapter will analyse the pastoral ideals and educational programmes of two conspicuously reformed mid-Victorian bishops, Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford and John Strachan of Toronto; in part III, an examination of the workings of formal clerical education in the theological colleges of Victorian England and Ontario will be undertaken.

Part I
The Church of England in Ontario

The church took an interest in missionary work among the Indians of the eastern half of Canada as early as the eighteenth century. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supplied occasional missionaries for British garrisons as well as for the natives of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec before the American War of Independence.¹ It was not, however, until the outbreak of that war and the consequent flood of United Empire Loyalist immigration into Canada that the church displayed any appreciable growth.² Shortly after the loss of the American colonies the British government passed legislation to recognise and support the church in

² Ibid., p. 41.
The Canada Act of 1791 created the separately administered provinces of Upper and Lower Canada (the modern provinces of Ontario and Quebec) and created clergy reserves whereby one-seventh of the land in each township in those provinces was reserved as an endowment for the "protestant clergy". This ambiguous wording of the Act caused long drawn out wrangling among all Protestant churches until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was resolved that the Church of England should share the benefits of the reserves with the Church of Scotland and various other nonconformist churches. Income from the reserves was originally limited due to sparse settlement and the consequent lack of demand for sale of crown land in many townships. Instead, clergy and missionaries in Upper and Lower Canada were supported not by the reserves or by tithe and glebe, but by the SPG. That organisation was in receipt of a series of grants from the British government which were reduced annually.


2. T. E. Champion, 'The Anglican Church in Canada' (Toronto, 1898), p. 15. The clergy reserves were initially restricted to Lower Canada, but the system was also used in Upper Canada after 1820.

3. Ibid., pp. 15-16; Carrington, op. cit., pp. 52-54, 75.

during the period 1834 to 1839, and ceased entirely after
the latter date. Episcopal concern with providing secure
and consistent support for the clergy and church was
heightened after 1839, when the Church of England in the
dioceses of Quebec and Toronto found itself financially
dependent upon its membership in a manner quite unknown to
the church in Britain.

Although the first bishopric in British North America
was established in Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth
century, the scope of this chapter will be limited to an
examination of the church and clergy in the province of
Ontario (Upper Canada until 1867). Until the diocese of
Toronto was created in 1839 Upper Canada constituted the
western half of the diocese of Quebec, established in
1793. The see was administered from Quebec City, five
hundred miles from Toronto (then known as York) and three
hundred and fifty miles from the provincial capitol at
Kingston. When John Strachan, future bishop of Toronto,
was ordained by the bishop of Quebec in 1803, there were
only four other Anglican clergymen in the province, an
area five times the size of Great Britain.

The administration of the church in early nineteenth-
century Upper Canada was appreciably different from that

1. John Strachan, 'Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto,
1841', p. 11.
2. Under bishop Charles Inglis, consecrated in 1787, in response to the pressure of Anglican emigration from the United States.
of the church in England. The church in Victorian Upper Canada was essentially a missionary institution. Ministers were often required to serve a number of communities.\(^1\) While in Britain the practices of pluralism and nonresidence were condemned by a pastoral ideal that revered continuous personal contact between priest and parishioner, in the colonial situation peripatetic missionaries offered the only link between the church and its widely scattered flock and pluralism was encouraged.

The first lord bishop of Toronto, John Strachan, had been an active and prominent parish priest, educator, legislator and public figure in Upper Canada for nearly forty years before his consecration in 1839.\(^2\) He inherited seventy-one clergymen and a church that was rurally based, and in a serious quandary as to the nature of its future support. Strachan's conception of the pastoral ideal will be discussed more extensively in part II of this chapter, but his immediate concerns for his newly created diocese, expressed in his primary charge to the clergy in 1841, were pastoral. He wanted a resolution of the clergy reserves problem so as to provide a secure basis for church growth,\(^3\) and the creation of a diocesan


synod "to promote brotherly kindness and a more complete unity"\(^1\) between clergy and laity.

The concerns of the church in England in the early Victorian period were not unlike those of Strachan's colonial church. The Ecclesiastical Commission created by Peel in 1835 to defuse the radical threat to church establishment by means of supervised internal reform caused fundamental changes in the administration of the church's resources.\(^2\) The clergy of the unestablished Church of England in Upper and Lower Canada did not enjoy the same financial security after the cessation of SPG funding that their established British colleagues possessed,\(^3\) but they were involved in protecting their resources (the clergy reserves) and extending their influence (by building more churches and creating more parishes) in much the same way as was the church in Britain. Canadian clergymen usually received a salary of £150 p. a. from an arrangement undertaken to provide incomes from the sale of the clergy reserves.\(^4\) In this way they escaped the effects of the worse abuses of the

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 34.

\(^2\) K. Thompson, Bureaucracy and Church Reform (Oxford, 1970) and O. Brose, Church and Parliament (London, 1959) deal with the nature and effects of ecclesiastical reform in the nineteenth-century church.

\(^3\) Heeney (1976), p. 28; many British livings were notoriously poorly paid and clergymen often experienced difficulties collecting their income from recalcitrant or impecunious parishioners.

\(^4\) Carrington, op. cit., p. 81.
British patronage system, although there were proportionately fewer opportunities to reap the benefits of preferment by this arrangement.

The diocese of Toronto in 1839 embraced the entire province of Upper Canada. The see was reorganised for the first time in 1857 when the diocese of Huron was created out of the western half of the province. The eastern section of the old diocese of Toronto was then moulded into the new diocese of Ontario in 1862, and the northern portion was detached from the diocese of Toronto and designated the diocese of Algoma in 1873. The last Victorian division of the diocese occurred in 1875, when the area southwest of the city of Toronto became the diocese of Niagara.¹

The Early Victorian Pastoral Ideal and a Missionary Church

The pioneering conditions and relatively low income in early-Victorian Upper Canada militated against clerical emigration from Britain. The diocese of Toronto in 1841 was "still considered another Siberia, to which no man of education, and possessing the slightest hopes of obtaining a competency at home, could be persuaded to emigrate".² Bishop Strachan early recognised the advantages of recruiting Canadian clergyman rather than depending on the

¹ Scadding and Hodgins, op. cit., pp. 129-179.
² Strachan (1841), p. 3.
uncertain provision of British ministers and missionaries. He also realised that the classically educated English gentleman who constituted the clerical ideal in a country with a tradition of religious practice upon which to rely was at a disadvantage in the colonies:

it must be conceded, that a body of Clergymen trained up in the country where they will be required to exercise their ministry, with a full knowledge of its localities and an intimate acquaintance with the habits and dispositions of the people, and with an equality of literary and spiritual fitness, possess advantages over those who come as strangers to the climate and people.

Strachan did not discount the necessity for the native Canadian clergy to have "an equality of literary and spiritual fitness" with the British clergy; clearly, his ideal clergyman was neither ill-educated nor spiritually undifferentiated. The hardships of a missionary existence in a colony such as Upper Canada were, however, rigorous and a close acquaintance with the living conditions, geography and history of the area were likely to be of immense advantage to the priest in his daily work of "offering up prayers, reading the Scriptures, preaching the Gospel, administering the Sacraments, and Catechizing


2. Strachan, 'A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto, 1844' (Cobourg, 1844), p. 47.
the children."\(^1\) The reconciliation of heavenly and human societies was therefore best undertaken by a priest who was well versed in local affairs. This standard of knowledge was also prescribed by Victorian high church pastoralists in Great Britain.\(^2\)

Strachan's former bishop, Charles James Stewart of Quebec, had emphasised the need for a spiritually minded and learned class of clergy in his episcopal charge of 1832.\(^3\) In view of the difficulty in recruiting clergymen for the Canadas, however, he had been realistic enough to acknowledge that "it cannot be expected that the highest attainments in learning should be reached by all Ministers of the gospel ...".\(^4\) Such missionaries, however, regardless of gaps in their academic achievements, were to display a

knowledge of the principles of religion, and of the distinguishing excellencies of our own church; they all should excel in that practice which leads men on to perfection, and particularly in a desire and ability to be instruments of communicating to their fellow-creatures the unsearchable riches of Christ.

In other words, Stewart was willing to support a

2. Heygate, Ember Hours, p. 25; Monro, Parochial Work, pp. 16-17.
3. C. J. Stewart, 'A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec in the Year 1832' (Quebec, 1834), p. 21.
4. Ibid., p. 22.
5. Loc. cit.
nongentlemanly but spiritually enlivened missionary clergy in a late Victorian mould. At the same time in England, however, the gentleman-heresy required that clergymen be socially as well as spiritually separated from their parishioners.  

While Stewart was nonresident in the diocese of Quebec for much of his tenure as bishop due to ill health, Strachan had been an extraordinarily active protagonist in colonial and church affairs since the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was very much a model of the reformed early-Victorian pastor. Stewart accepted clergymen who were not educated as gentlemen. This was tantamount to accepting nongentlemen because university education was so commonly equated with gentlemanly status; Strachan wished to recruit Canadian clergymen who had the same intellectual and spiritual qualifications as the British clergy, but who also had experienced the social conditions of pioneer life.

The difficulty with Strachan's position on this matter lay in the problems of clerical recruitment and educational provision. Ecclesiastical redistribution created many new parishes and missions in England after the 1830's. The reformed pastoral ideal promulgated in

2. He was bishop of Quebec from 1826 until 1837, and nonresident after 1832.
an attempt to unify church and state called for an active ministry. The result of this early-Victorian pastoral renewal in Great Britain was an increase in the demand for clergymen. This demand in turn affected the numbers of university-educated clergy available for missionary enterprise, as the domestic church was able to absorb increasing numbers of candidates. It was not necessary, therefore, for a clergymen to emigrate in order to obtain a position, as Strachan realised:

few are disposed to take up their lot with us in this distant Colony. Indeed, so long as there is so great an opening in England, it is not very clearly the duty of those brought forward to the church in that country, to look to distant Colonies to discharge the functions of their Ministry.

1

The church in Upper Canada was left little choice, then, regarding recruitment. It was necessary to find clergymen amongst those who had already settled in the colony and from first and second generation Canadians. The sons of "respectable" English families and of the clergy were not to be neglected as potential clerical recruits,2 but it was the middle classes, the sons of "respectable farmers and tradesmen"3 that bishop Strachan

1. Strachan, 'Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto, 1847', p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 6.
3. Loc. cit. Strachan derived the views put forward here from his chaplain, A. N. Bethune; Bethune to Strachan, November 20 1846, Strachan papers.
sought to attract to the ministry. Attached to his pastoral charge for 1844 was a report on the visitation returns of that year. There were decipherable returns on ninety-seven ministers: eighteen had BA's, and the same number were MA's; one had a BD, two had DD's, and one had an LLD. The remaining fifty-seven (58.8% of the total) were nongraduates.

The survey of clerical educational standards from the 1860 issue of Crockford's Clerical Directory indicates that only 15.7% of the Anglican clergy had not attended university at that time. Churchmen in England in the late 1850's and early 1860's, however, had voiced their increasing concern over clerical recruitment standards and feared social dilution. The church in Upper Canada had long faced these issues, both of which were intimately concerned with the larger problem of clerical education.

Educational Background of the Mid and Late-Victorian Clergy

An examination of the formal educational acquirements of the clergy in the three dioceses that constituted the province of Ontario in 1868 shows the clergy to have been generally better formally educated than their predecessors

1. See table 2.
2. Heeney (1976), p. 27.
3. Strachan repeatedly encouraged his clergy's assistance in identifying prospective clerical recruits who possessed the proper educational qualifications: Charge of 1841, p. 5; Charge of 1844, pp. 8-9; Charge of 1847, p. 5.
in the province in 1844.¹ In the diocese of Toronto, fully 67.4% of the clergy were university graduates. It is not possible to determine the number of Canadian clergymen who attended theological college, as Crockford's lists only university degrees for the colonial clergy, nor is it possible to ascertain how many nongraduates had attended university but failed to complete their course. It is fair to assume that some of these clerics had a measure of formal education that Crockford's did not record. This would be in keeping with the results of the survey of the British clergy in table 2. The disparity between the educational background of the clergy in the diocese of Toronto in 1868 and those in the church in Britain in 1870 (32.6% of the Toronto clergy were formally uneducated, while only 9.7% of those in the British church were literates) is put into perspective. Toronto was the largest city in the province, and had been the administrative centre for the church in Upper Canada since John Strachan's appointment as missionary and chaplain of York in 1812. It is not surprising, therefore, that Toronto attracted the highest proportion of university graduates among the three dioceses, particularly in view of bishop Strachan's belief in the necessity of an educated clergy.²

1. See table 28.

It is more difficult to explain the lower percentage of nongraduate clergy in the diocese of Ontario in comparison to that of Huron. It seems possible that church party affiliation affected the educational background and attainments of the clergy in those dioceses, unlike the situation in Great Britain. The first bishop of Huron, Benjamin Cronyn, was elected to the see in spite of stiff opposition from bishop Strachan (Cronyn was Irish, and an avowed evangelical, while Strachan was Scottish and a most emphatic high churchman).\(^1\) Cronyn objected to what he considered the high church tendencies of the teaching at Strachan's university, Toronto's Trinity College.\(^2\) Strachan founded Trinity in 1852 after his first university, King's College, was made nondenominational in 1850 and renamed the University of Toronto. Since Trinity College was the only Anglican university in the province, perhaps ministerial candidates who wished to be ordained in the diocese of Huron avoided it and therefore did not graduate. Some Huron clergy attended Cronyn's own theological college, established in London (Ontario) in 1863. On the other hand, John Travers Lewis, first bishop of the Ontario diocese, was a strong high churchman like


Strachan and would not have had Cronyn's objections to ordaining graduates from Trinity College.

The clergy of the province of Ontario were not as formally well educated as their peers in the church in England in the late-Victorian period. Table 29 provides the educational background of the clergy in four Ontario dioceses in the early 1890's. In each of the dioceses the percentage of literates exceeds that of the British clergy of 1890. The paucity of information available from the 1868 Crockford's Clerical Directory makes comparison difficult between these dioceses over time, particularly as the number of clergymen that attended theological college in 1868 is not known. There is little doubt, however, that the late-Victorian clergy were generally better educated in terms of professional training than their mid-Victorian predecessors had been, for more had attended theological colleges and nongraduate divinity courses at Trinity College.

Table 2 shows that in the twenty years between 1870 and 1890 the percentage of British clergymen educated in theological colleges doubled, from 6.9% to 14.0%. The growth of specifically nongraduate professional theological education in Ontario displays an even more impressive rise. In 1891 nearly a fifth of the clergy in the diocese of Toronto had attended a theological college; only the MA, a mark of gentlemanly education, was a more

1. See table 2.
popular qualification. In the diocese of Ontario, where one-fifth of the clergy had gone to theological college, there were more theological college men than either BA's or MA's (although there were more graduates overall). Even the newest diocese, Niagara, reported that one-seventh of its clergy had attended a theological college by 1892.

In Huron, however, only slightly more than a tenth of the clergy had attended a theological college, in spite of the existence of such an institution in the diocese since the early 1860's. More than half the clergy had no formal educational qualifications at all, in marked contrast to the other three dioceses. While bishop Cronyn's distaste for a high church university in Toronto may have affected the graduate composition of the clergy in the mid-Victorian period, the evangelical nature of his diocesan theological college was unassailable. Regardless of recurring academic and financial difficulties, Huron College continued to receive support from late-Victorian evangelical bishops of Huron. The second bishop had in fact been the College's first principal. The third bishop, M. S. Baldwin, vigorously supported Huron College in his opening address to the diocesan synod in 1891:

I cannot speak too highly of Huron College as being of vital importance to the growth and development of


the Diocese at large. Indeed, mainly dependent as we are upon this institution for our clerical supply, I cannot see how the Diocese is to be successfully worked unless the College is fully and liberally maintained. If, too, we are anxious that our clergy should occupy a high spiritual and intellectual position among our people, it follows ... that our students should be supplied with all the advantages which a generously endowed College may reasonably be expected to convey.

The problem with dependence upon so small and academically isolated an institution as Huron College was that the efficiency of its educational provision fluctuated according to its uncertain economic status. By 1894 less than half of the clerical graduates of Huron College (fifty-seven of one hundred and forty-three) were actively involved in the parent diocese. The college, however, continued to attract episcopal support regardless of its difficulties. The last Victorian bishop of Huron, David Williams, ordained forty-seven men between 1905 and 1913 and of these thirty-five had attended Huron College. Thus the college became an increasingly significant source for recruitment in the late-Victorian diocese of Huron when the church in Ontario, as in England, was...

2. Crowfoot, op. cit., p. 35.
5. Talman, op. cit., p. 76.
experiencing increasing difficulty in attracting formally educated ordination candidates.  

**Formal Theological Education**

In establishing Huron College in 1863 bishop Cronyn tried to remedy the situation in his diocese whereby "young men are taken from college, or from their studies, and placed in charge of missions far removed from their brethren in the ministry", with the result that this clerical isolation caused social and administrative problems for the church. Because he did not consider the programme of pastoral apprenticeship practised by such English clergymen as Charles Vaughan to be workable in a missionary church, Cronyn instead created a formal educational institution in his diocese.

Huron College was not the first attempt to provide theological education in the province of Ontario. John Strachan had unsuccessfully petitioned the legislature between 1816 and 1818 for a £500 grant towards the support of ordination candidates and the foundation of a seminary in York. Previous to that request for funding Strachan had himself trained at least one clergyman and would have undertaken further training had his superior, the


3. Loc. cit.

distinctly unreformed first bishop of Quebec, given him any support.\(^1\) Strachan's agitation over the problem of recruiting and training suitable ordinands eventually prompted bishop Mountain of Quebec to secure £200 p.a. from the SPG for the purpose of supporting four candidates, who were trained by Strachan in York and the Rev. John Stuart, Strachan's spiritual mentor, in Kingston.\(^2\) Bishop Stewart of Quebec directed the studies of some of the SPG scholars, as did his archdeacon and successor, George Mountain.\(^3\) The grant was issued on a five-year basis until 1825, after which time it was renewed every two years until bishop Stewart's death in 1837.\(^4\)

One of the clergymen who received his training on this SPG scholarship was the future principal of Ontario's first theological college, Alexander Bethune.\(^5\) A protegé of Strachan's since his arrival in Cornwall, Ontario in 1803, Bethune had risen under Strachan's patronage to become archdeacon of York (1847), coadjutor (suffragan) bishop of Toronto, and after Strachan's death in 1867, bishop of that diocese. Strachan had even hoped to have the high church Bethune elected bishop of Huron instead of

1. Ibid., p. xvi.
2. Millman, "Training of Theological Students in the Old Diocese of Quebec", p. 16.
3. Ibid., p. 17.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
Cronyn when the diocese was created. In 1841, however, with ecclesiastical preferment still in the future, Bethune was entrusted with the direction of Strachan's diocesan theological college in the town of Cobourg, approximately sixty miles east of Toronto on the shore of Lake Ontario. In a petition to the SPG requesting funding for the proposed college, Strachan emphasised the necessity of separating ministerial candidates from "the seduction and dangers of the world" in order to successfully inculcate priestly habits of mind and practice. He shared this concern for the moral welfare and professional attitudes with other mid-Victorian high church and Anglo Catholic educators in Britain.

The educational project of greatest importance to Strachan was the university he had chartered in 1828, but the opposition he encountered from nonconformists over his determination to staff the university with an exclusively Anglican faculty frustrated his desire to produce adequate numbers of indigenous graduate clergymen. He maintained

1. Peake, op. cit., p. 107; Strachan, 'A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto, 1853' (Toronto, 1853), p. 15, wrote of the need to make future episcopal appointments from "among our Colonial Clergy". Cronyn was Irish, having emigrated to London, Ontario in 1832.


5. Ibid., pp. 183-185.
that, important as the university might have been, there was also a need for a separate diocesan divinity school in order to make adequate provision for specialised clerical education.\(^1\) He hoped that every candidate for the ministry would spend at least one year in the theological college, regardless of his educational status.\(^2\) The inadequacies of university education as a preparation for ordination had also been widely discussed among English churchmen since the early-Victorian period.\(^3\) However, the solution to the problem suggested by Strachan in the 1840's, a combination of general (university) and professional (theological college) education, did not elicit widespread support in Britain until the late-Victorian period when postgraduate theological halls were founded at Oxford and Cambridge.\(^4\) The Theological Institution at Cobourg was not the first theological college to have been founded in the colonies,\(^5\) but it was the first established in British North America.\(^6\)

The qualifications bishop Strachan required of candidates for the ministry in the early-Victorian diocese


2. Strachan, 'Answers to Questions regarding the Diocesan Theological Institution', in Strachan Papers.


4. Ibid., p. 103.

5. Theological colleges had been established previously in India.

6. Queen's College in Newfoundland was opened the same year as Cobourg.
of Toronto were: unimpeachable moral character and personal history; a knowledge of the bible and early church history; an understanding of Anglican doctrine and the nature of British dissent; and a good knowledge of English composition and a "competent" knowledge of Latin.¹ Candidates were warned against seeking ordination for secular reasons, and were advised that "a true fear of God, and a desire to edify the Church" constituted the proper motivation for a clerical career.² The revival (or, in the case of the Canadian clergy, the establishment) of parish life was dependent upon this purity of motivation, according to early and mid-Victorian pastoral theologians.³ Thus bishop Strachan's belief in the necessity of spiritual as well as intellectual preparation for the ministry⁴ places him in the mainstream of mid-Victorian pastoral thought.

During the ten years of its operation (1841-1851) the theological college at Cobourg had forty-six of its students ordained.⁵ In addition to academic theological studies, students practised sermon writing, distributed and explained religious tracts, visited in prisons and

1. Strachan, 'Students of Divinity', appendix 'Proposed Theological Course'.
2. Loc. cit.
5. T. A. Reed, ed., A History of the University of Trinity College (Toronto, 1952), p. 35.
acted as missionaries in areas without regular clergymen, as Bethune explained:

at distant points, where the ministrations of a clergymen cannot be afforded. By this means they are preparing the soil for a regular and resident Missionary, and qualifying themselves, by practice, for the exercise of that duty hereafter.

There were difficulties, however, in attracting the upper and middle class youth of the province to clerical careers as a result of the "very small encouragement afforded to Clergymen in this Country, in comparison with other pursuits and professions". Alexander Bethune's solution to the problem of recruitment was one that mid-Victorian English broad churchmen tended to favour. He resigned himself to a Canadian clergy "adopted from the humbler ranks of society"; although "association together in a University for a few years may abate the influence of inferior breeding and manners", Bethune feared that university attendance alone "would not entirely remove it".

The pressure on clerical recruitment from new professions that concerned English churchmen after the 1860's was experienced in the church in Upper Canada at

2. Bethune to Strachan, September 19 1851, pp. 3-4, in Strachan Papers.
approximately the same time. In Ontario, however, the
gentleman-heresy that dominated British recruitment was
more vulnerable throughout the Victorian period than it
was in England. The sale of the clergy reserves and
investment of the income therefrom for clerical salaries
did not make the Canadian clergy landed gentlemen in the
way that the incumbency of a parish did their English
counterparts. The professional pastoral activities of the
Victorian colonial priest were essentially the same as
those of the British clergyman, although they were
performed in different social and economic circumstances.
Certainly the quality of ministerial sympathy that formed
the basis of the English pastoral ideal was regarded as
central to the application of that ideal in the Canadian
church. But the British clergy were usually university-
educated gentlemen of upper and upper middle class rank
who brought with them their inherent social and economic
status to the clerical profession. The Canadian clergy
did not fill the dual roles of pastor and landholder that
ensured the clergy a pivotal position in English society.
Individual clerics such as bishop Strachan wielded
considerable power and influence in political as well as

12; Charge of 1853, pp. 37-39, 42.
2. Strachan, 'A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese
of Toronto, 1851' (Toronto, 1851), p. 38.
3. Halevy, quoted in The Sociology of the Professions, p. 29.
diocesan affairs, but most Canadian clergymen operated in an institution that retained its missionary basis, except in the large towns and cities, well into the late-Victorian period.

As table 29 indicates, the clergy in late nineteenth-century Ontario had generally attended university or theological college. As a result of this standard of education the clergy were expected to be intellectual leaders in their communities. Their lack of status as landed gentlemen did not detract from their professional status as members of an aristocracy of the educated.

Bishop Strachan's most enduring educational achievement was the University of Trinity College, founded in 1851. The college became affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1904 and ceased granting degrees thereafter. When it opened in January, 1852 it absorbed the seventeen divinity students who had transferred from the Theological Institution at Cobourg. Unlike either Cobourg or Huron College, Trinity was empowered to grant degrees in arts, law, divinity and

1. Strachan entered the Executive Council of Upper Canada in 1818, and was de facto chief advisor to the lieutenant-governor of the province between 1818 and 1828; Henderson, op. cit., p. viii.


5. Strachan, (1850).
Strachan founded Trinity College in order to provide the church in his diocese with the supply of indigenous graduate clergy he so valued. The undergraduate degree-granting structure of Trinity College was modelled on the ancient English universities. There was a separate theological course of three years' duration; the entrance qualifications for this course were a BA, or the attainment of the age of twenty-one and one year's standing in the arts course. This course appears to be a direct substitution for the programme offered at the Theological Institution in Cobourg. Both required three years' study and were nongraduate courses.

Although Trinity was established in order to provide the classical, liberal education that was valued by the secular as well as the clerical professions, it was not designed to foster a clerisy of the intellectual and social elite in the same way as were the English universities on which it was modelled. Strachan wanted to provide a learned clergy for his church, and he attempted to achieve his goal by means of a university. He did not, however, envision recruiting his students from

1. University of Trinity College Calendar, 1853 (Toronto, 1853), pp. 22-23.
2. Ibid., p. 16.
3. University of Trinity College Calendar, 1854 (Toronto, 1854), p. 16.
only the upper or even professional classes; instead, he focused his attention on attracting the more numerous middle and working class men to his university. This was the only commonsense course to follow in a large colony with a small, largely agricultural population. There was no distinct Canadian 'civilisation' in Coleridgean terms for the clerisy to defend or dispense; the forces of the landed interest, the commercial classes and the church were not balanced as they were in Britain. The Church of England in Canada was not the national church, and thus its clergy were not empowered to act as the duly constituted means of reconciling permanence and progress in the state. In creating Trinity College, Strachan was not attempting to create first a clerisy and then recruit his clergy from their ranks. He wanted a liberally educated and professionally trained clergy, and established a university in Toronto in order to fulfill his requirements. Entrance to the university, and indeed to the priesthood, was not to be restricted to the upper classes, and the products of Trinity College were destined for professional careers rather than lives lived in elitist leisure as scholars and gentlemen.

In 1856 the postgraduate degrees of BD and DD were initiated at Trinity College. The candidate for the

2. Coleridge, The Constitution of the Church and State, p. 44.
bachelor's degree had to have been an MA of seven year's standing (this was shortened to three years in 1881) and was required to produce essays in English and Latin, read a sermon before the university, and take an examination in Greek and Latin. The doctoral degree required five years' standing as a BD, one university sermon and two theses. In 1883 this system, based on the practices of Oxford and Cambridge, was modified. Priests of six years' experience, regardless of their educational backgrounds, became eligible for the BD on successful completion of the Trinity College matriculation examination. The divinity degrees would therefore have given graduate status to nongraduate clergy and might have been expected to devalue the academic and social standing of the BD. However, the BD in late-Victorian Ontario gave professional status to the cleric in a way that the purely academic divinity degrees of the ancient English universities did not, because Trinity College recognised the practical experience of the clergymen and was willing to reward this experience with a symbol of academic acceptance. This experiment does not, however, appear to have been particularly successful; tables 28 and 29 do not show any appreciable increase in the popularity of the BD between mid and late-Victorian times.

1. Philps, Index Scholasticus, p. 16.
2. University of Trinity College Calendar, 1883-84 (Toronto, 1883), pp. 30-31.
Trinity College also operated undergraduate theological programmes in the late-Victorian period. A BA in theology was introduced in 1884, and a licentiate in sacred theology came into being a year later. The theology degree consisted of a first year of classics, followed by a two-year course in theology (old and new testament, church history, patristics, doctrinal theology, apologetics, homiletics and pastoral theology). It became an honours course in 1893. The licentiate (L. Th.) was an essentially nongraduate certificate course whereby the "influence of inferior breeding and manners" derided by bishop Bethune might be combatted by exposure to a university environment. It originally required two years of the arts course and at least a year's work in the divinity class. Practical subjects such as doctrine, apologetics, homiletics and pastoral theology were emphasised.

By the end of the Victorian period the L. Th. was a four-year course open to matriculants. Appendix 5 records the educational backgrounds of L. Th. students from its inception until the first world war. Students are entered by matriculation date, so those who had matriculated but not completed a degree before 1885 are included. Of the eighty-one men, only five had received private tuition and a further five had been in socially prestigious private

1. University of Trinity College Calendar, 1885 (Toronto, 1885), pp. 43-44.
2. Trinity University Year Book and Divinity Calendar, 1914-1915 (Toronto, 1914), p. 159.
schools. The majority attended public secondary schools.¹ The usual age at university matriculation was eighteen; the average L. Th. student age at matriculation was slightly more than twenty-three, and only ten of these men were under the age of nineteen when they began their courses. The licentiate was an attempt to provide prospective clergymen with some general academic background as well as some pastoral work.² It was the inclusion of such practical activities as sermon composition, Sunday school teaching and mission work that distinguished the licentiate from the university's theoretical and academic degree courses in theology.

Trinity College emphasised programmes in divinity and theology that led to, or proceeded from, a first degree.³ It was a university with a divinity faculty rather than a theological college in the same manner in which Huron College or the Theological Institution had been. It was designed to be the equivalent of Oxford and Cambridge in Toronto, and offered future clerics the same standard of education and curriculum as did the English universities. Like those universities, Trinity created specialist

¹ There was an academic distinction between 'high schools' and 'collegiate institutes'. The latter offered a more extensive curriculum taught by subject specialists, while teachers in the former were not necessarily academically qualified to teach the subjects which they were assigned.

² University of Trinity College Calendar, 1893 (Toronto, 1893), pp. 78, 80.

³ Trinity University Year Book, 1914-1915, pp. 159-171.
courses and honours degrees in theology during the late-Victorian period. Divinity students roomed in a separate section of the college, apart from other students, after 1903\(^1\) in the same way that theological halls established in Oxford and Cambridge in the 1870's and 1880's were designed to segregate future clerics from other students. The mid-Victorian ideal of a broadly based university experience\(^2\) did not survive late-Victorian pressures for professionalisation of the clerical office. This professionalisation was characterised by subject specialisation in the undergraduate curriculum that had not existed previous to the 1870's.

Bishop Cronyn had founded Huron College in London to provide his diocese with clergy trained "in the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the Articles of the Church of England".\(^3\) In the diocese of Toronto it was the evangelical Church Association, formed by clergy and laity in 1873 to protest against high church domination of ecclesiastical affairs, that undertook the establishment of an evangelical theological college. The Protestant Episcopal Divinity School was founded in Toronto in 1877, regardless of a protest from bishop Bethune, who feared that an evangelical alternative to Trinity College would

1. University of Trinity College Calendar, 1903-1904 (Toronto, 1903), p. 75.
3. Huron College Calendar, 1894-1895, p. 4.
"promote divisions, foster conflicts, and produce a hampered administration and a divided authority of the Church's general interest." It was planned to be a postgraduate institution, but only four of the first nine students had taken degrees.

After the evangelical Arthur Sweatman was elected third bishop of Toronto in 1879 the Church Association's raison d'être ceased to exist, and it was disbanded. The Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, no longer in diocesan disfavour, was re-established in 1882 under the name Wycliffe College. Subsequently, Wycliffe was affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1885 and made a constituent college of the University in 1889. Although its students became eligible for divinity degrees awarded by the provincial church synod in 1889, the college itself was not empowered to give such degrees until 1916. The curriculum was exclusively theological; for instruction in undergraduate arts courses, Wycliffe students attended lectures in the nearby nondenominational University College.

Wycliffe students were encouraged to matriculate at and graduate from the University of Toronto. Their

2. The Jubilee Volume of Wycliffe College, p. 17.
3. Ibid., p. 54.
4. Wycliffe College Calendar, 1885, pp. 15-16.
divinity courses stressed Hebrew, church history, dogmatic theology and practical theology (homiletics and pastoral work).\footnote{Wycliffe College Calendar, 1887 (Toronto, 1887), pp. 16–22.} From the earliest days of its foundation Wycliffe men were concerned with the missionary enterprise,\footnote{The Jubilee Volume of Wycliffe College, p. 43.} and the college has a tradition of commitment to mission work in the Canadian northwest and in Japan and China.\footnote{Wycliffe College Calendar, 1912–1913 (Toronto, 1912), pp. 50–56.} Like British missionary colleges, Wycliffe did not offer special language courses in order to facilitate communications with prospective converts.\footnote{Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, volume 1, p. 266.} There was one course on Christian Missions and their management in the curriculum,\footnote{Wycliffe College Calendar, 1912–1913, p. 30.} however, so Wycliffe students were marginally better prepared for their work than students from other divinity courses.

As an exclusively theological institution, Wycliffe College prized its association with the University of Toronto because it was considered that the connection with the University would in a large measure preserve the students of Wycliffe from that tendency to narrowness which is the danger of isolated and contracted theological schools.

\footnote{Wycliffe College Calendar, 1887 (Toronto, 1887), pp. 16–22.}
\footnote{The Jubilee Volume of Wycliffe College, p. 43.}
\footnote{Wycliffe College Calendar, 1912–1913 (Toronto, 1912), pp. 50–56.}
\footnote{Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, volume 1, p. 266.}
\footnote{Wycliffe College Calendar, 1912–1913, p. 30.}
\footnote{The Jubilee History of Wycliffe College, p. 53.}
There was, however, an inherent conflict between the desire to produce graduate clergymen and the principle of accepting men of 'consecrated character' but academically limited background. Associate status was granted to those who did not complete the full course (of either four or five years' duration) in 1901, and a year later such students were accorded diploma status. Students who did not qualify for entrance to the university were admitted to Wycliffe's theological courses and given certificates for the work they managed to complete. Special students, "persons of mature age, practical experience in Christian work and special aptitude" were admitted to a four-year course that minimised the arts component of the BA programme and emphasised divinity subjects. This course was the equivalent of the licentiate programme at Trinity College and was designed to accommodate those who did not matriculate.

Appendix 6 provides information about the educational and occupational backgrounds of fifty Wycliffe students who entered the college between 1899 and 1914. The

1. H. E. Price to T. O'Meara, 25 August 1908; O'Meara to Price, 9 September 1908, in O'Meara Letters to Students and Candidates, June 1907-December 1909.
2. Wycliffe College Admissions Committee Minute Book, p. 73.
3. Wycliffe College Calendar, 1887, p. 23.
5. Wycliffe College Calendar, 1912-1913, pp. 24-25.
average age at admission was nearly twenty-four, much the same as that of Trinity College licentiate students. Eighteen of these students had matriculated at a university, and six of those who had done so were graduates. Thus the majority of those surveyed would have qualified as special students on the basis of their experience in church-related work. Only three applicants stated that they had no previous experience in church activities. By far the most popular work was in Sunday schools and bible classes; thirty-four of the fifty men had participated in Sunday schools as teachers or superintendents. There was, moreover, a significant self-recruitment factor among those students surveyed, ten men (twenty per cent) having had clerical fathers. According to their fathers' occupations, late-Victorian students at Wycliffe College fulfilled the early Victorian bishop Strachan's prescription for a clergy composed of the sons of "respectable farmers and tradesmen". Like their counterparts at British theological colleges, Wycliffe men came from largely lower middle class homes, and were themselves engaged in middle class occupations before entering college.

Wycliffe students, while socially respectable, were generally not in highly paid occupations previous to coming to college. The most commonly cited objection to prospective applicants' admission to Wycliffe was the lack of sufficient funding.¹ The Colonial and Continental

¹ Wycliffe College Admissions Committee Minute Book.
Church Society, an English missionary organisation, offered ten annual scholarships to Wycliffe College. Additional bursaries and loans were available from the college itself. In the early twentieth century approximately half the students were in receipt of financial assistance from these sources.¹ Tuition was free but students had to meet personal expenses of $150 p. a. (£40).

In order to supplement their bursaries and provide them with pastoral experience, Wycliffe students took charge of missions and churches during the summer vacations, and their progress reports and letters to the college's principal illustrate many aspects of church life in late-Victorian Ontario. A persistent shortage of clergymen affected the provision of services to many rural parishes.² The moral quality of clergymen, particularly in the sparsely settled central and northern sections of the province, was not uniformly high and caused problems for the students. One, who was curate-in-charge in a small town, wrote to the principal in June, 1908 about his accommodation in a local hotel:

1. Minutes of the Committee on Students, July 1903-September 1911, entry for 12 September 1904.

2. A letter dated 6 September 1907 from T. N. Lowe in Bearbrook, Ontario to Principal O'Meara disclosed that "The sick and old have not been visited for a year - the Sunday Schools are being slowly dragged along by a few earnest souls. Church work and interest in services are practically at a standstill." O'Meara Letters to Students and Candidates, June 1907-December 1909.
... there is no alternative owing to unfortunate carryings-on of former curates no one would have me in their homes. I am glad to say that since they have seen the animal they have quite thrown open their homes to me and possibly after I have asserted my independence for some time I shall fare better.

1

Students also commented on the generally secularised state of the people to whom they ministered. One reported that:

there is quite a bit of work to be done in order to get the people really interested in religious matters. There seems to be shocking ignorance reigning upon the very essentials about Jesus Christ and His claims. One become [sic] appalled and distressed in personal conversations.

2

Bishop Strachan had expressed concern about widespread secularisation as a result of the isolation and distance between settlements in pioneer Upper Canada as early as 1851, and the clergy of late-Victorian Ontario discovered to their dismay that Strachan's fears were still being realised fifty years later.

An Overview - The Church and Clerical Education in Nineteenth-Century Ontario

The Church of England in nineteenth-century Ontario attempted to recruit men of upper and middle class rank,

1. Lowe to O'Meara, 19 June 1908, in O'Meara Letters to Students and Candidates, June 1907-December 1909.

2. Letter to O'Meara, 6 September 1909, in O'Meara Letters to Students and Candidates, June 1907-December 1909.

3. Strachan (1851), pp. 33-34.
educate them as gentlemen, and provide them with specialised professional training previous to ordination. The fear of social dilution via middle class recruitment that was expressed among the English clergy\(^1\) emphasised the differences between an established church whose ministers were gentlemen and landowners and a colonial church composed of missionaries and clergymen who were supported by British missionary societies and the proceeds of the sale of crown lands. The gentleman-heresy survived in the early-Victorian colonial church insofar as a gentleman was equated with an educated man, but with the introduction of nongraduate divinity courses in the university-affiliated colleges after the 1880's, even that limited definition ceased to pertain to the Ontario clergy. The percentage of university graduates declined in the late-Victorian period in comparison to mid-Victorian figures; the area of real growth in the church in Ontario was in formal nongraduate theological education.

Unlike their colleagues in Victorian England, the Canadian parish clergy did not produce a wealth of pastoral literature that functioned as a major source of informal theological education. Rather, clerical educators were usually prominent in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and their printed charges, letters and addresses were the media of informal education.

The growth of a professionally educated clergy could not effectively counteract the effects of secularisation in a situation of either pioneer isolation or late-Victorian rapid urbanisation. Nevertheless, the clergy in Ontario were not separated socially from the middle classes that formed the bulwark of church support in the province; instead, they were members of those classes. The Canadian clergy narrowed the social gap between cleric and parishioner in a way that the church in Britain was not able to do before the first world war. The clergy in Victorian Ontario did not share the English parochial system, social position or administrative structure, but they did subscribe to the same pastoral ideal as did the British clergy.

Part II

Two Victorian Lord Bishops

One key issue raised in the previous part of this chapter concerns the nature of the pastoral ideal in mid-Victorian Upper Canada. The social status and educational qualifications of the colonial clergy were not the same as those of the majority of British clergymen at the time, and so questions arise about the nature of Canadian clerical standards. An effective method of examining the pastoral theories of the Church of England in Great Britain and in Canada is to compare the clerical and pastoral ideals formulated by two of the most prominent
bishops in those countries, Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford and Winchester, and John Strachan of Toronto.

Both men held episcopal office for a period of exactly twenty-eight years in the middle of the nineteenth century (Strachan from 1839 until 1867 and Wilberforce from 1845 to 1873). Both were moderate high churchmen who came from emphatically non-high church backgrounds. Neither was a scholar per se, although Wilberforce had enjoyed a brilliant undergraduate career at Oriel College, Oxford and Strachan had attended two Scottish universities. Instead, they were men of action, ambitious for their churches and for themselves, and committed to the cause of clerical reform. In their dedication to these goals both bishops established theological schools within their dioceses in the middle of the century, and both influenced the path that formal clerical training was to follow throughout the remainder of the Victorian period.

John Strachan's churchmanship was rooted in two traditions that were not shared by English high churchmen. Born in Aberdeen in 1778, he attended the local grammar school and Aberdeen University, where he supported his studies by working as a schoolmaster. Although he had attended the episcopal Church of Scotland

as a child, Strachan read divinity at St. Andrews University after graduating from Aberdeen; presumably he was willing to undertake the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. Before he could do so, however, he was offered an opportunity to emigrate to Upper Canada, where he arrived on the last day of 1799. While engaged as tutor to the sons of a prominent Kingston politician Strachan came under the influence of John Stuart, the only Anglican clergyman then working west of Montreal. Stuart was himself an American convert to the Church of England, and he duly brought Strachan into contact with the ideas of John Henry Hobart, bishop of New York (1816-1830) and leader of American high church thought.

The theological problem that confronted the postrevolutionary American episcopal church was the redefinition of its source of authority after the effective removal of its governor and supreme head. Thus the American church, like the Church of Scotland, had been forced to deal with an Anglican crisis of authority long before John Henry Newman posed that problem to English churchmen in the first Tract for the Times. Unlike Newman, however, Strachan did not vest authority in the pope; like Hobart and bishop Skinner, the late eighteenth-century primate of Scotland, Strachan

1. Ibid., p. 47.
2. Ibid., p. 48.
could not rely upon the authority of a monarch far removed from his church.¹ The result of the dual nature of his religious background, Scottish Presbyterianism on the one hand and American episcopalianism on the other, was a heightened emphasis on episcopal authority, on pastoral duty, and on the sacramental aspects of church life² that characterised Strachan's sixty-four year career as priest and bishop.

In addition to his clerical duties Strachan was active in the political, administrative and educational life of Upper Canada to an extent that was unparalleled by bishops in the church in England. While rector of York (Toronto) he was made executive councillor and then legislative councillor in the colonial government. His position as advisor to the lieutenant-governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, also served to extend his influence on the affairs of both church and state. Clearly, Strachan's prominence was made possible by the nature of the colonial situation; he would not have attained such heights of influence in Regency Britain. He had never even been in England before 1825, when he went to petition for the creation of a university in Toronto. A Scots-born colonial schoolmaster-turned-clergyman, Strachan was not a member of the gentleman-heresy. Moreover, he tacitly repudiated the social and moral elitism of that heresy by

1. Ibid., pp. 49-50, 55.
his attempts to recruit lower middle class ordinands in the early-Victorian period.\(^1\) He was both a product of and a protagonist for a colonial Anglican church that did not possess and could not have supported the social standards of the church in England.

The contrast between the origins of John Strachan and Samuel Wilberforce could not have been more complete. Son of the eminent churchman William Wilberforce, the future bishop of Oxford was born into the socially influential circle of evangelical Clapham in 1805. He was educated privately by his father and a succession of clerical tutors, and entered Oxford in 1823, where he took a first in mathematics and a second in classics. Like two of his three brothers Wilberforce became a clergyman, taking the curacy of Checkendon in Oxfordshire after his ordination in 1828. Two years later the reforming evangelical bishop of Winchester, Charles Sumner, made him rector of Brightstone on the Isle of Wight, and it was during his ten years there that he practised the active, concerned and sympathetic ministry that was prescribed by early-Victorian pastoral theologians.\(^2\) Originally Wilberforce embraced the evangelical faith of his father, and at Brightstone he was active in the causes of the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of

1. Ibid., p. 6.
the Gospel. The controversies of the Oxford Movement, however, seriously affected his churchmanship, his family relations, and eventually his preferment.¹ He became a high churchman, although not a tractarian.² His rise to prominence during the Brightstone years was unchecked: he became archdeacon of Surrey (1834), rural dean of the northern division of the Isle of Wight (1836) and canon of Winchester (1840). By 1841 he was chaplain to the prince consort and rector of Alverstoke, Hampshire. Four years later he was created dean of Westminster, and late in 1845 he became bishop of Oxford.

Wilberforce's progress up the ladder of ecclesiastical success was nevertheless hard-won. He did have friends in high places (until 1848, the royal family), and he was the favourite son of the most prominent early-Victorian evangelical layman in Britain; however, his genuine talents for organisation, public speaking, preaching and pastoral care were no less important to his career than his social position and family connections. Unlike Strachan, however, Wilberforce remained attached to the concept of a gentlemanly clergy.³

1. The secession to Rome of his clerical brothers Henry and Robert, his brother-in-law Henry Manning, his sister and brother-in-law, Sophia and George Ryder, and finally his daughter and son-in-law effectively denied him the see of London in 1868, generally regarded as the stepping stone to the archbishopric of Canterbury; Chadwick (1954), pp. 15–16.


3. Ibid., p. 131.
Indeed, it was for the professional education of such graduate gentlemen that Wilberforce established his diocesan theological college at Cuddesdon in 1854.¹

Strachan was of course being practical when he urged young middle class men to enter the colonial clergy. There were not enough university-educated clergymen emigrating from Britain to staff the church in Upper Canada, and Strachan was convinced that an indigenous clergy was in any case more desirable than reliance upon a supply of British ministers, missionaries and money.² Ecclesiastical reform had caused the creation of a multitude of new parishes for which clergymen had to be found: whereas in 1831 the Church of England had 11,883 churches and chapels, by 1851 there were 14,077; in 1831 there was a total of 14,933 Anglican clergymen, while twenty years later the total was 16,194.³ The church in early and mid-Victorian Britain was therefore capable of absorbing increasing numbers of ordinands in its attempt to keep pace with a rising population. This demand in turn affected the number of university-educated clergy available for missionary work.

Wilberforce continued to favour graduate ordinands, and there were still large numbers of graduates from

2. Strachan (1844), p. 47; Charge of 1853, p. 15; Students of Divinity, pp. 2-3.
3. A. Gilbert, op. cit., p. 28.
Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin going into the ministry during his lifetime.\(^1\) Strachan's goal also was to recruit a graduate clergy,\(^2\) and for that purpose he created Trinity College, his province's second, and only Anglican, university. Even Trinity College, however, was not designed to produce strictly gentlemanly graduates.

The Church University will be managed with the strictest economy, in order that its advantages may come within the reach of families of moderate and even of narrow incomes; hence we expect that the sons of Clergymen, half-pay officers, and merchants, respectable farmers and tradesmen, will flock to our Hall, ...

Strachan's middle and lower middle class clergy, unestablished and unlanded, were living examples of the social dilution preached against by Wilberforce's Church of England. At the Church Congress of 1863 canon Hugh Stowell of Manchester attacked the growing practice of nongraduate ordination.

The panacea which many prescribe for the clerical atrophy from which the Church suffers, is to lower the standard of requirement for ordination. They would multiply side doors, not to say back doors, into the service of the sanctuary, and secure

\(^1\) The Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1882, p. 532 records that between 1872 and 1882 67.9% of ordinands were graduates and another 26% had attended King's College, London or theological college.

\(^2\) Strachan (1850), p. 32.

\(^3\) Loc. cit.
quantity by sacrificing quality. This it seems to me would be a suicidal policy.

1

A variety of explanations for the falling number of graduates entering the church was offered: the paucity of remuneration,\(^2\) the uncertainty of career progression and rewards for professional competence and merit,\(^3\) and the growth of new professions were cited. "Our many-sided modern society has invented new employments far faster than nature has multiplied candidates well qualified to engage in them"\(^4\), declared Thomas Espin, professor of theology at Queen's College, Birmingham. The spectre that haunted the mid-Victorian church was that of a return to the standards and practices of the previous century, whereby

the clergyman would be seen once more in the squire's kitchen; the sacred offices would fall down again to men little less coarse and ignorant than agricultural labourers.

5

This was the threat to the gentleman-heresy perceived by British churchmen, the threat posed by an increasingly

1. Stowell, in Report of the Church Congress, 1863, p. 64.
3. Ibid., pp. 70-71.
4. Ibid., p. 70.
5. Ibid., pp. 70-71.
nongraduate clergy to a church increasingly unable to compete on equal terms with other professions for graduate recruits.

Both Wilberforce and Strachan supported and actively promoted the ideal of an educated clergy, and both preferred to ordain graduates rather than literates.¹ Neither was satisfied, however, with the prospect of a clergy whose education was limited to university attendance. The classical and mathematical curriculum of mid-Victorian Oxbridge and Trinity College, Toronto was designed to fulfill the requirements of a liberal education that would enable students to enter the professions without actually offering any specific pre-professional preparation. Both bishops were aware of the dangers and disadvantages that beset an untrained clergy, and both advocated the establishment of theological colleges in order to remedy the situation. In his pastoral charge of 1854 Wilberforce stated:

My experience as a bishop during these last nine years would have proved to me, had I needed such proof, that there is nothing that we more want than such institutions, where those who are soon to go forth to exercise, too often almost without assistance, the perilous ministry of souls, may pursue a course of sound theological study -- may learn by practice, under wise direction, how to conduct their pastoral ministry, and may have opportunities of retirement, thought, and prayer, which it would be hard for them to obtain elsewhere,

¹ Wilberforce (1845), p. 5; Strachan (1850), p. 32.
and which are so peculiarly precious in the months which precede their ordination.

1

Strachan as well was convinced that professional theological instruction "should be regarded as indispensable in all Candidates for Holy Orders",\(^2\) and while he was the prime mover behind the creation of an Anglican university in Upper Canada, he was also adamant regarding the necessity for professional clerical training for graduates:

Ancient precedent . . . and the dictates of experience also, point out the propriety and advantage of the establishment of Diocesan Divinity Schools as furnishing a more complete preparation for the Ministry than can be expected to be embraced in the ordinary seminaries of education.

3

In spite of differences in establishment and administration between the church in England and its Canadian counterpart, an examination of the pastoral ideals and formal methods of theological instruction employed by John Strachan and Samuel Wilberforce reveals striking similarities of attitude and application. On his accession to the see of Oxford Wilberforce wrote in his diary that "God numbers the Bishop's absent or idle days. Satan always busy. Evil sowing; the good fainting; time

3. Ibid., p. 4.
passing; men dying; Christ coming...". His was to be a constantly active life in order to combat these forces of evil. With a vast diocese and scattered population to oversee, Strachan was equally committed to a life of labour both for himself and for his clergy; his correspondence and pastoral charges chronicle his annual travels and triennial clerical visitations. Strachan was not the only active bishop in mid-Victorian Upper Canada, nor was Wilberforce the only reforming bishop in England, but the consistency and dedication they exhibited were remarkable. The published letter books of both men reflect the range of their interests and concerns.

Strachan and Wilberforce agreed on most of the essential elements of the high church pastoral ideal. Not surprisingly, both stipulated that the clergyman must be active and hard working in his parochial ministrations. Samuel Wilberforce was himself exceptionally active, and

2. Strachan (1853), pp. 4-6; Strachan to Bethune: November 3, 1847; November 8, 1847; November 10, 1847; March 3, 1848; March 31, 1848, in Strachan Papers.
in his charges and sermons he made it plain that he expected diligence from his clergy in the performance of their duties. In his archidiaconal message of 1840 Wilberforce encouraged the clergy to be "men of labour; seen and known in a perpetual ministry as messengers of peace",¹ and in his first episcopal charge five years later he warned against "your great dangers -- delay, unreality, mere professional decency, indolence, self-pleasing."² He was anxious to improve the quality and quantity of church services in his diocese, and to increase the number of church attenders and members.³

Bishop Strachan was an active, diligent example to his largely rural, often pioneering, clergy. He embarked upon lengthy and exhausting visitations to all parts of his far-flung diocese well into old age,⁴ and like Wilberforce, he emphasised the desirability of a hard working clergy. Even on his first visitation, undertaken in 1840, he praised the standard of activity he found:

In passing through the Diocese, I beheld the Clergy everywhere active and laborious, living in good feeling and harmony among themselves and with their flocks, seeking out our people in the wilderness, forming them into congregations and parishes, and

4. Strachan (1853), pp. 4-6.
extending on every side the foundations of our beloved Zion.

He also advocated daily services and wanted urban churches to be open on a daily basis; however, the 1850 visitation returns for churches in the Home District (the city of Toronto and environs) indicate that it was difficult to ensure Sunday services, let alone weekday devotions — many churches shared clergymen on a weekly or monthly basis. This situation highlights the difference between the two bishops' churches: Wilberforce was concerned with providing daily services, and Strachan with securing adequate staff to open churches once a week.

In order to become efficient agents of reconciliation, Wilberforce recommended to the bishop of Winchester's ordination candidates that they "seek to get interested in their [the parishioners'] interests, to minister to their bodily wants.... Seek to know their sorrows.... Without the intimate knowledge of the parish and its people, "the wants, the difficulties, the hardships, and the temptations of all, and specially of the poor around us", the priest would not be able to act

effectively as a pastor or evangelist, nor could he bring temporal and spiritual relief to those in his charge. To this end he also advised the clergy to use the common vocabulary of the working people when preaching their sermons.¹ In the untamed wilderness of Upper Canada, it was often difficult for the clergy to keep track of new settlers in the area, particularly when a large number of ministers were involved in peripatetic missionary work. Nonetheless, their bishop expected that they

should be found occasionally in every part of your mission, otherwise you will never become intimately acquainted with your scattered flock.

Physical isolation was a major problem for Strachan's church; at the time of his first visitation to the north of the diocese, he despaired: "what are eleven Clergymen in a country of many thousand square miles, and containing upwards of 60,000 souls?"³ The ideal of parochial knowledge was not abandoned, however, but as discussed above, hard work was to make pastoral knowledge possible.

The fruits of the minister's hard work and ceaseless labour could not be reaped, however, unless he possessed the consecrated character that conferred spiritual success

1. Wilberforce (1858), p. 17.
2. Strachan (1853), p. 29.
upon his activities. It was the spiritually elevated nature of their characters that separated priests from laymen, and both bishops emphasised the spiritual distinctions that the clerical office imparted. Wilberforce defined clergymen as "men of a different stamp from those of the world; [with] more self-government, greater habits of devotion, purer aims than other men...". The requirement that the clergy live spiritually differentiated lives affected ordination policy, and of course clerical education; theological colleges offered an unparalleled opportunity for the development of spirituality. Bishop Wilberforce refused to ordain those whom he considered to be "spiritually unfit". Bishop Strachan declared that the ministry was "Divinely constituted", and reinforced the standard of a spiritually differentiated clerical class:

Glorious is our privilege, my brethren, thus to be set apart, as instruments in the name of God to prepare his people for their heavenly inheritance, and messengers of that redemption and reconciliation which our Saviour has purchased with his blood.

Despite the difficulties in recruiting sufficient men to serve in the rough conditions of mid-nineteenth-century Upper Canada, there was never any suggestion that Strachan would lower the moral or spiritual qualifications for the ministry; indeed, by means of first the Theological Institution, and then Trinity College, there are ample indications that he attempted to improve both spiritual and academic standards for the Canadian clergy.

Strachan was actively involved in the provision of publicly supported education at every level, and maintained that his clergy should cement the alliance between church and state by founding church-based elementary schools in their parishes.\(^1\) Like Strachan, Wilberforce too encouraged the foundation of schools, and particularly schools for the poor, in his diocese.\(^2\) He supported Anglican control of education and opposed attempts to provide secular schools.\(^3\) But while Wilberforce discouraged his clergy from undertaking any secular occupations, including teaching,\(^4\) Strachan (who had himself been a successful clerical schoolmaster for many years) gave his support to this activity.\(^5\)

5. Strachan (1841), p. 27.
small, isolated congregations did not have access to many nonclerical alternative teachers.

Both Strachan and Wilberforce regarded the Church of England and its clergy as agencies of social reconciliation and unification. Strachan viewed the role of the church as an exercise of divine and social reconciliation by means of the sacraments.

... the Church in her daily and occasional services, - her frequent communions, - weekly fasts, - holy anniversaries, - and the supply which she constantly provides of nutritious food to those who are hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and which, ... appears to be an attempt to realize heaven upon earth, ... to bind men together by the ties of Christian brotherhood...

1

The practice of churchgoing, according to Wilberforce, was itself a valuable social discipline; if the squire and the businessman attended services, then:

Your labourers would soon value the care for them which it would bespeak; more than anything it would tend to check that dangerous division of ranks, and insubordination of the lower, which is growing amongst us.

2

For Wilberforce and Strachan the church was a very real bulwark in the defence of the social order and an institution worthy of governmental support. The need for

1. Ibid., p. 19.
more and better prepared clergymen was felt by both bishops\textsuperscript{1} in order for the church to hold together the social fabric and avert any harm that might come from its enemies. The foundation of the nonsectarian University of Toronto in particular evoked a stinging response from Strachan. With the creation of his own Anglican university he was able to fight back against those whom he perceived as the church's opponents.

\begin{quote}
It will now, I think, be impossible for the enemies of our Holy Church to destroy her, as they appear to have contemplated, by endeavouring to cut off the succession to her ministry, since this Institution [Trinity College] will from henceforth furnish, from year to year, a regular supply to fill up vacancies in the Church and extend her borders.
\end{quote}

Before there was a university operating in Upper Canada, however, Strachan had founded the Theological Institution in Cobourg to provide ordination candidates with a year's professional training. Strachan's chaplain and principal of the Institution, Alexander Bethune, was to be responsible not only for the students' academic studies, but also for keeping a vigilant eye to their moral conduct and religious deportment, and to train them by requiring a participation in the conduct of Sunday Schools and

\begin{enumerate}
\item Strachan (1847), p. 5; Wilberforce (1854), pp. 10-12.
\item Strachan (1853), pp. 9-10.
\end{enumerate}
in Catechetical duties, to the more practical portion of those functions they should afterwards have to discharge.

1

This theological college was not a postgraduate institution, as was Wilberforce's college at Cuddesdon; instead, its curriculum was divided into junior and senior departments, wherein students were taught classical languages, evidences, biblical criticism, the thirty-nine articles, the liturgy, church government, ecclesiastical history and patristics. But the object of the Theological Institution, unlike that of a university-based theology department, was to bring clerical candidates "closely under the eye of their Bishop", so that he might better be able to judge their spiritual and intellectual fitness for the ministry, and thereby raise the standard of clerical competence. Principal Bethune emphasised the advantages of a strictly denominational and professional establishment for clerical education. The Theological Institution provided for a system of training -- personal, moral and religious, as well as intellectual -- [that] could be introduced, which, as it could not be applied to an ordinary University without embracing all its members, must of necessity be dispensed with altogether.

4

3. Ibid., p. 8.
4. Ibid., p. 7.
In common with British theological colleges, Strachan's "nursery of the Church" was designed to protect its students at that critical age, especially, when they are most exposed to the seduction and dangers of the world, and when it is most important to implant, and habituate to, those sentiments and that practice which befits the profession upon which they are about to enter.

And according to Bethune, the Theological Institution was successful in providing the diocese of Toronto with clergymen who were "with few exceptions, ... amongst the most hard-working and most successful of our Clergy." The desire to safeguard doctrinal purity (in the case of the Theological Institution, nontractarian high churchmanship) by ensuring that the clergy were knowledgeable was a characteristic concern shared by evangelical and high church educators. Theological colleges had church party affiliations, and had the potential to operate as a divisive force within the Anglican church's traditional comprehensiveness.

2. Ibid., p. 5.
Strachan numbered among the advantages of his theological college "an uniformity of study, as tending to produce a regularity of thought and a better respect for order and discipline", and considered such uniformity to be conducive to church unity.¹ Neither Strachan nor Wilberforce, however, was totally intolerant of churchmanship other than his own. On his accession to the bishopric of Oxford Wilberforce reminded himself in his diary to "'Be a 'father in God' to men of all opinions amongst my clergy'",² and in his pastoral charges the breadth of his churchmanship was emphasised.³ Strachan's successor as bishop of Toronto was Bethune, and he described his predecessor as "'a man without prejudice, and wholly free of party spirit'".⁴ Bethune, however, was a high churchman in Strachan's mould, and may not have been a disinterested judge of Strachan's prejudices. Edward Baldwin, an evangelical curate at Toronto's St. James' Cathedral, described his experiences at the hands of his bishop:

Whenever we [Baldwin and Henry Grassett, the prominent evangelical rector of Toronto] preach any distinctively Evangelical doctrine, the bishop always says when we reach the vestry, 'I will prach (broad Scotch) next Sunday.' Then he was sure to say, with

reference to what we had preached, 'That is what some people think', but would proceed to give the orthodox Anglican doctrine in a way that could not be mistaken.

Cuddesdon College was founded by Wilberforce in the hope that he could improve clerical standards via personal supervision of his ordination candidates. Throughout his episcopate, however, he was burdened with a multitude of other duties and interests that effectively limited his direct supervision of ordinands to the ember weeks at Cuddesdon Palace. However, Wilberforce envisioned college life as an opportunity for graduates to acquire and practise habits of personal devotion, pastoral dedication and theological scholarship under the direction of the bishop and experienced clergymen. He also stressed the necessity for men to learn their parochial duties first hand by means of domestic visiting, work in schools, practice in sermon preparation and attendance at missionary meetings, in the same way that Strachan encouraged practical pastoral pursuits at Cobourg. Cuddesdon College and Wilberforce experienced considerable difficulties in the 1850's, when the Anglo Catholic Henry


3. Ibid., p. 29.

4. Loc. cit.

Parry Liddon was vice principal and Wilberforce was under suspicion of harbouring Romish tendencies, but the high church ideal of a postgraduate theological college as an oasis of spirituality and otherworldliness was effectively based upon the practices undertaken at Cuddesdon.

The pastoral ideals and methods of professional education of two of the most important and active bishops in the mid-Victorian church were very similar. The challenges presented to the churches represented by Wilberforce and Strachan were not so very different: both were bishops of essentially rural dioceses, both were concerned with improving clerical standards and providing their people with a high quality of pastoral care, and both were high churchmen who disliked party strife and sought internal unity for the church. They were adherents to and examples of a revitalised pastoral ideal, and brought a missionary zeal to the discharge of their duties. The obituary notice in the Toronto Globe, a journal distinctly antagonistic towards Strachan during his lifetime, might well have served to describe Samuel Wilberforce's life and achievements as well as those of John Strachan:

... his keenest and most unreasoning opponent must acknowledge that in his efforts at realizing the ideal he had formed, he showed indomitable energy, noticeable mental power, great discernment of character ... contagious enthusiasm, a commanding will, and upon the whole, a singleness, and in

general an honesty of purpose, worth of all respect. In the discharge of his more direct ecclesiastical and religious duties, we should think none could deny him credit for honest conscientiousness. That he led a most laborious life, both as Priest and Bishop, is beyond all question.

Part III

Formal Theological Education in Britain and Ontario

The basic difference between British and Canadian clergymen, as explained in the first part of this chapter, was in their social background and in the role that the established clergy had traditionally played in rural English society. There were notable differences in the constitution and in the social and economic positions and resources of the two churches, in addition to the differences in the formal educational provision made for clerical training. In this section a comparison will be drawn between the theological education available in nineteenth-century England and Ontario, and it will be possible to offer some conclusions about the purposes of clerical education and the nature of Anglicanism in two Victorian societies.

It is important first of all to understand that professional theological education in Ontario was

conducted largely within a university environment, while this was not the case in Britain. John Strachan's high church Theological Institution in Cobourg and Benjamin Cronyn's evangelical Huron College in London were both essentially diocesan theological colleges; the former operated for only ten years until Strachan could establish an Anglican university in Toronto, and the latter hovered uncertainly between independent status and affiliation with both the University of Toronto and the University of Western Ontario after 1881.\(^1\) English clerical education was carried on in a variety of theological colleges that were separate from and independent of any university connection. In fact, the orthodoxy of Oxford and Cambridge was generally suspect in both Anglo Catholic and evangelical eyes in mid-Victorian Britain,\(^2\) and the establishment of theological colleges was in part a reaction against the ancient universities' uncertain moral and spiritual influences.\(^3\) Whereas most British clergymen were university educated and had therefore received a classical education that assisted them in their postgraduate academic theological studies, Canadian theological educators were dealing with men who were not


usually graduates. The chosen venue for formal clerical education was, however, the Anglican university colleges rather than distinct and separate institutions for professional clerical training. Not every theological programme offered at Trinity College, Wycliffe College or Huron College was designed for graduates, or even for matriculants; nevertheless, the universities of mid and late-Victorian Ontario were the purveyors of academic and professional clerical education in a way that Oxford and Cambridge were not.

Instead, the structure of theological education was more closely aligned with the practices of the new British Anglican university and university college, Durham University and King's College, London. These church-affiliated foundations were meant to create opportunities for theological education and increase the number of prospective clergymen, an aim shared by Trinity College, Toronto. Like those high church British institutions, Trinity offered nongraduate courses that granted official certification (the licence in sacred theology).

Two of the three Ontario theological institutions began life not as fully fledged university colleges, but

1. See tables 28 and 29.
3. Reed, op. cit., pp. 34-37; University of Trinity College Calendar 1854, p. 16
rather as theological colleges along British lines. The high church Trinity College was the exception, although its first students were the former students of Strachan's diocesan theological college in Cobourg. Trinity itself, however, was originally constituted as a university and offered a variety of undergraduate courses in addition to theology. On the other hand, the evangelical colleges, Huron and Wycliffe, were both initially independent of the universities. The advantages of university affiliation (access to facilities and libraries, and particularly the financial savings made possible by resource sharing) attracted them, and Wycliffe became a constituent college of the University of Toronto in 1889, seven years after its foundation. Huron College was the first divinity faculty of the University of Western Ontario, and after that university became nondenominational Huron assumed the status of an affiliated college.

Like his British episcopal counterparts, bishop Strachan of Toronto was vitally interested in the quality of his clergy, and the object of his university was "to produce young men of moral worth and sound learning" to serve the ministry. When Trinity College was created in 1851 it was the only Anglican college in Upper Canada, and so prospective clerics did not have the choice regarding theological education that their British colleagues possessed. The Theological Institution that Strachan had

operated for ten years previous to the foundation of Trinity College closed when Trinity was established, and the three-year nongraduate course that the Institution had offered was transferred to the university college. Thus the education of the mid-Victorian minister before Huron College's foundation in 1863 was restricted to high church institutions.

Gentlemanly social status was not equated with graduation in Ontario, as it was in Britain, nor were the Canadian clergy recruited from the same social classes as were their English colleagues. Thus in Ontario the distinction between the academic theological education of the universities and the more practical, less intellectually demanding nature of theological college courses did not assume the same proportions as it did in England. Certainly there was no Canadian equivalent to the deep-rooted mid-Victorian distrust of English university orthodoxy,¹ nor was there a range of alternatives to university theological education available to late-Victorian Canadian students.

The Church of England in Ontario was just one among many unestablished denominations, and was therefore in an entirely different economic and political situation to the church in England. Surprisingly, the curricula offered by clerical educators in Ontario did not reflect the nature

1. Although Trinity College did experience a minor crisis in the 1850's when evangelicals questioned the orthodoxy of the university's provost; Reed, op. cit., p. 39.
of the church's pioneering, missionary position. Instead, the academic, pastoral and spiritual standards that were being applied to the clergy in Britain and in the United States were accepted by theological educators in Ontario. Only in the matter of the clergy's social origins did the clerical ideal promulgated by John Strachan differ significantly from that of moderate English high churchmen; the church in Canada could not attract the upper middle class gentleman who constituted the majority of British clergymen, and instead Strachan concentrated on recruiting the respectable middle classes.¹ There was general episcopal support for the creation of a formally educated native clergy in Ontario,² and the education given to the middle and working class men educated at Trinity College closely approximated those classical studies that characterised the ancient British universities.³ Huron College, while it never attained degree-granting status, offered a broad classical curriculum that attracted men who sought a general postsecondary education, and not just theological students.⁴

¹. Strachan (1850), p. 32.
². Bishops Strachan, Bethune, Hellmuth and Baldwin all supported the recruitment of Canadians rather than rely upon the importation of British clergymen.
³. University of Trinity College Calendar, 1854, p. 17.
Of the three theological institutions in Ontario, Trinity College was the oldest and offered the most wide-ranging curriculum. Theology, in the tradition of Oxford and Cambridge, was initially regarded as a postgraduate subject, although the number of candidates who were graduates was so limited that students who had completed only the first year of their BA course and reached the age of twenty-one were admitted to the theological course.¹ Thus the two-year nongraduate programme introduced at the Theological Institution never really disappeared. The concept of nongraduate training was in fact reinforced when in 1868 even the preliminary year of undergraduate study was made redundant, and the qualifications for entrance to the divinity course consisted of testimonials regarding the student's "moral character, and apparent fitness for the office of the Christian Ministry, and also to his inability to meet the expenses of a three-year academical course".² Clearly Canadian students were no better prepared than their middle class British counterparts to meet the financial strains imposed by professional clerical education, and the two-year course for nongraduates that was already standard in British theological colleges became the norm at Trinity College.

1. University of Trinity College Calendar, 1854, p. 16.
2. University of Trinity College Calendar, 1868, p. 21.
This state of affairs existed until the introduction of the licentiate in theology (L. Th.) in 1885, when yet another attempt to accommodate nongraduate theological students was made. The L. Th. was a professional rather than an academic qualification, for while it did demand at least two years of the undergraduate arts course, it emphasised doctrinal and pastoral theology, apologetics and homiletics, all practical subjects as opposed to the academic curriculum of the honours theology degree.

Trinity's licentiate programme, which included the classical and mathematical curriculum so valued by Victorian theological educators both in England and Canada, effectively fulfilled the ideal of the broadly based three-year course called for by British theological educators at the fifth conference on clerical education held in Oxford in 1891. Financial difficulties and the need to maintain an uninterrupted progression of theological college students in the parish ministry made a three-year course untenable for the majority of English students; however, the consequences of variable entrance standards and the theological colleges' admitted inability to provide an adequate general education within the

1. *University of Trinity College Calendar, 1885*, p. 43.

2. *University of Trinity College Calendar, 1884*, pp. 52-53.

3. A broad curriculum was regarded as a necessary precaution against narrowness of outlook.

strictures of a two-year course forced British nongraduate educators to recommend the adoption of a programme very similar to that offered by Trinity College.

In order to ensure some minimum standard of education before admittance to the two-year course, most British theological colleges instituted a preparatory or junior year where prospective students might acquire necessary academic skills. The same difficulties afflicted colonial students as well; Strachan's Theological Institution was organised into junior and senior classes, and later Trinity College School was created in order to prepare upper middle class boys for entrance to Trinity College proper.¹ In London, Ontario bishop Hellmuth of Huron founded the Collegiate Institute to provide a secondary education for men who would enter Huron College and the University of Western Ontario.²

The solution to the persistent problem of entrance qualifications in both Britain and Ontario was the introduction of a standard academic examination. The Central Entrance Examination adopted by English educators at the fifth conference on clerical education in 1891 required that nongraduate candidates for theological education had at least an elementary knowledge of Latin and Greek grammar and literature; one gospel in Greek; the outlines of scripture history; English history; geometry

1. Trinity College School was opened in 1865 in a village near Toronto; University of Trinity College Calendar, 1878, p. 89.
or logic; and English composition. In Ontario, the University of Toronto established junior and senior matriculation examinations in the mid-Victorian period, and it was the first of those that acted as the entrance standard for theological courses. The junior matriculation examination required: Greek and Latin, Latin grammar and the ability to translate English into Latin; arithmetic, algebra and elementary geometry; English grammar, composition and literature; and history and geography. While British students needed to have a knowledge of biblical history, they were not required to have the more general background in mathematics and geography that was expected of their Canadian counterparts. The junior matriculation examination was not specifically designed to test candidates for admission to divinity courses; rather, it was a general examination for entrance to the arts and sciences faculties of the provincial universities. Therefore, in addition to the strictly secular academic requirements of junior matriculation, theological educators also demanded that their students produce testimonials from both clerics and laymen regarding their character and piety. This policy

1. Lichfield Theological College Minute Book, September 1892.


3. Huron College Calendar 1894-95, p. 4; Wycliffe College Calendar 1881-1882, p. 8; University of Trinity College Calendar for 1871, p. 24.
was also common among theological educators in Britain.¹

Another problem shared by nongraduate theological educators was that of setting final examination standards for their students. Since each bishop was a law unto himself in terms of ordination requirements, it was extremely difficult for individual colleges to adequately prepare their students for a variety of widely differing ordination examinations. In Britain literate educators adopted the Cambridge University Preliminary Examination in theology as their standard. While the Preliminary was created in 1874 as an examination for graduates seeking ordination, nongraduate theological college students soon found themselves taking the examination as well as graduates, for it was accepted almost without exception by the episcopacy in lieu of their own separate qualifying examinations.¹ The Preliminary was, however, an academic rather than a religious, moral or practical examination — it tested ordination candidates' knowledge of the Greek testaments, a Latin ecclesiastical author, the creed and thirty-nine articles, the prayer book and ecclesiastical history. No attempt was made to challenge the bishops' authority to select or reject men on the basis of doctrine, character, piety or personal history. The Preliminary did not examine doctrine, pastoral theology or scriptural knowledge.

1. St. Bees College Calendar, 1854, p. 3.

2. Calendar of St. John's Hall, Highbury, 1885 (London, 1885).
In Ontario the standardised Voluntary Preliminary Examination, directed by a committee of the provincial synod, was established in 1889. It was a more extensive examination than the Cambridge Preliminary. The subjects for examination included the bible, the Greek new testament, canon law, ecclesiastical work in both Greek and Latin, ecclesiastical history, the creed and articles, the prayer book and apologetics. As was the case in England, neither doctrinal nor pastoral theology was tested, but clearly the scriptures in English were examined by the Voluntary Preliminary. The early results of this examination were not, however, particularly heartening for either the examiners or those examined. At the first sitting in 1891 only four candidates presented themselves, and one was unsuccessful. By 1897 a total of only forty-one men had attempted the Voluntary Preliminary, and a quarter had failed. However, in an increasingly urbanised and industrialised society with a small number of theological colleges and bishops, the

1. Wycliffe College Calendar, 1901, p. 15; Journal of the Synod of the Province of Canada, 1889 (Toronto, 1889), p. 100.


standards for ordination became necessarily more sophisticated than they had been in the mid-Victorian period when many of the Canadian clergy were pioneering missionaries serving isolated congregations. Thus academic standards for entrance to theological courses and ordination were raised throughout the nineteenth century in Ontario as the system of secondary schools was established, providing a broad background of secular education and allowing the theological educators to concentrate on professional rather than secular education. On the other hand, the purity of spiritual and moral motivation for the ministry and the necessity for priestly possession of consecrated character emphasised by the early-Victorian bishop Strachan remained in force during the Victorian period regardless of changes in the formal academic standards of theological education. In this regard the colonial experience was similar to that of the home country. In Great Britain the introduction of the Central Entrance Examination in 1892 had temporarily affected the number of students being admitted to theological colleges, but this interruption was inevitable if the church was to raise the educational standard of its increasingly nongraduate clergy.

1. Strachan, Students of Divinity, appendix "Proposed Theological Course".
3. Wycliffe College Calendar, 1912-13, p. 19; Wycliffe College Admissions Committee Minute Book, 15 September 1902, p. 34.
Canadian clergymen did not, however, have to contend with the British problem of social dilution. The clergy in Ontario were generally from the middle classes, while in Britain it was difficult to maintain an upper middle class and gentlemanly clergy ministering to an essentially middle class congregation. The social distance between the gentleman-priest and his middle class parishioner was virtually the same as it was between the himself and a working class man. While there was increasing pressure on the church to broaden the basis of clerical recruitment, it was difficult for the late-Victorian Church of England to contemplate, much less act upon, the possibility of working class recruitment.¹ It was difficult to recruit even a middle class clergy by the end of the century, so deeply entrenched were the clerisy theories that idealised the leisured independence of the graduate.² The fifth conference of clerical educators resolved to request lay financial assistance in 1891 for both postgraduate and undergraduate theological students, but not for nongraduate theological college men, because laymen "should have some adequate guarantee that their liberality would be bestowed on men worthy of their help."³ It is clear that the force of intellectual and social elitism

1. Every, No Pious Person, p. 44.
embodied in arguments for the maintenance of a clerisy remained in evidence during the late-Victorian period.

In conclusion, the aim of formal theological education in both Victorian Britain and Ontario was similar in spite of differences between the mother country and her colony. The church in Ontario educated her clergymen, regardless of their status as matriculants, in university colleges, while in England theological education was usually a postgraduate or an entirely nongraduate affair. Bishops in both countries preferred ordaining graduates to the ministry, but the Canadian church could not lay claim to the same manpower resources or educational traditions that were available to British churchmen, and therefore it consistently lagged behind the church in England in terms of the numbers of graduates that entered the ministry. By the turn of the century, however, the virtual uniformity of academic ordination standards in these two Anglican churches resulted in an increasingly professionally educated clergy. It is important to note that in late-Victorian Ontario, as in late-Victorian Britain, nongraduate courses provided the real backbone and growth area of formal theological education; that is, men were undergoing a professional clerical training rather than merely acquiring the academic requirements of university attendance. Thus the nature of the ministry was affected when the educational background and preparation of ordinands changed. The clergy of both countries were increasingly from the middle
classes due to the pressures of ordination standardisation, and in this way became more truly representative of the audience commanded by the Victorian Anglican church.
CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

The clerical and pastoral ideals created and expounded by Victorian pastoral theologians, in conjunction with the establishment and growth of formal theological education, attempted to ensure the Church of England's survival in what were regarded by churchmen as perilous times. The pastoral revival was only one response to the dangers faced by the nineteenth-century church; it was, however, the most significant rejoinder to criticism, because it was the most effective and comprehensive policy of reform that could have been adopted in the church's political and organisational circumstances. Changing standards of clerical performance were the result of the breakdown of traditional pre-industrial society; in an industrialised and urbanised society with a rising population, the social structures and institutions of pre-Victorian Britain were required to deal with problems that had not even been imagined a century previously. The church establishment was no exception to the rule, and the immense difficulties presented by social, economic and industrial change became the milieu in which the Victorian pastoral revival occurred.

Professional clerical education, particularly nongraduate training, was the church's solution to the problem of sustaining the pastoral revival and supporting
the clerical ideal. An eighteenth-century pattern of leisured clerical practice could not be maintained in the face of political change and the growing influence of dissent; the church required a transition to be effected between the clerical activities appropriate to a traditional status profession, and those appropriate to professional men in the Victorian period. This change was facilitated both by informal means (the literature of pastoral theology) and by the spiritual and academic discipline of formal theological education. It is difficult to see any alternative solution to the problem of recruiting sufficient numbers of clergy, other than that employed by the late-Victorian church, that is, the ordination of nongraduates. It is equally difficult to imagine that the bishops would have accepted large numbers of these literates had they not received the professional clerical education provided by theological and missionary colleges.

The Victorian clerical ideal formulated by pastoral theologians of all church party affiliations defined the model cleric as a man who was spiritually separated from his fellows, sympathetic to the temporal and spiritual quandaries of his parishioners, possessed of a spiritual love for mankind, diligent in his pastoral labours, and capable of acting as an agent of social and spiritual reconciliation. The ideal was primarily concerned with the spiritual and vocational aspects of pastoral life, as
also were the evangelical and Anglo Catholic theological colleges that were created in order to foster clerical spirituality and isolate it from the temptations of the secular world. With the declining importance of the church as an institution in Victorian society and the concomitant emphasis on the ritual and charter elements of clerical work, specialist theological knowledge and personal vocational commitment to a revitalised ministry were essential. The institutions of formal theological education provided a unique opportunity for the church to impart this specialist learning and evaluate the moral, social and spiritual status of prospective clergymen.

Professional clerical education was the means by which nongraduates gained entry to the Anglican ministry in the late-Victorian period; it was as a result of the heightened emphasis by pastoral theologians on consecrated character as the principal criterion for ordination that nongentlemanly nongraduates found even a limited measure of acceptance in clerical careers. The problem with the clerical ideal lay in the unaccountability of its spiritual tenets, and in its lack of internal consistency at the crucial points where the priest's secular and spiritual responsibilities met. Spiritual distinction and a sense of vocation do not necessarily result in lives of pastoral diligence, nor are they indicative of an ability to reconcile the interests of vastly differing classes of people to each other or to sacred ends. Social reconciliation was a basically secular activity that was
inconsistent with the other elements of the ideal, while at the same time making extraordinary demands on the selection criteria for ordination. It was difficult for anyone, including theological educators, missionary societies or even the bishops themselves, to evaluate accurately such immeasurable qualities as spiritual sympathy, Christian love or vocation. Moreover, it was equally difficult to teach these elements of the ideal to theological students; theological and missionary colleges experienced persistent problems in terms of determining student selection criteria that were based on the clerical ideal. The primary advantage of formal theological education, however, was that it offered the bishops at least a minimal guarantee of the prospective ordinand's sincerity and commitment to a career in the church.

It is difficult to know how to establish a basis for evaluating the success or failure of theological education. At the 1891 conference on clerical education the pastoral theologian and educator John Gott related a parishioner's story (which may well have been apocryphal) concerning the improvement in pastoral relations resulting from the creation of the local theological college. Certainly, daily church services and frequent communion services were two of the most common tangible manifestations of the pastoral revival; lay participation in parochial affairs became increasingly common, thereby relieving the priest of many organisational and, in the case of the Church Army, evangelistic responsibilities.
Anglican church attendance in the years prior to the first world war was increasing, and while it would be naive to attribute this success entirely to the effects of professional education and the application of the pastoral ideal, it would be wrong not to recognise the clergy's attempts to reconcile themselves and their church to the people of Victorian Britain. The situation might better be seen in relief; had clergymen not accepted the standards of conduct proposed in handbook literature and inculcated in the theological colleges, then it seems more than likely that there would have been even greater distance between the church and the nation, and the existence of an establishment would have been even more difficult to defend.

The reliance of professional theological education on the pastoral and clerical ideals posed a major problem concerning the validity of theological education; if the validity of either or both the ideals is questioned, then the validity of clerical education, and pastoral training in particular, must also come under scrutiny. The clerical ideal emphasised the necessity for priestly spirituality, and theological colleges in turn stressed their role as centres for the development and practise of personal sanctity. At the same time the very temporal demands for an efficient and effective church establishment and ministry required that theological education should provide prospective clergymen with the specialised knowledge and technical skills that were
appropriate to their increasingly purely religious role in society. There was, of course, a tension between the spiritual and secular elements of clerical work that neither the ideal nor professional education was able to resolve. In order to conform with the standards set by a spiritual and therefore unaccountable ideal, the Victorian clergy were being asked to act in an externally measurable and accountable manner, and their success or failure was judged by their parishioners, the hierarchy, and their critics according to these external criteria. The role of professional theological education in church defence was thus conceived by educators to fulfill two functions: first, it assisted in the selection and devotional training of spiritually differentiated men for the priesthood; and second, it supported standards of professional pastoral performance and conduct for both graduates and iterates in an attempt to make the ministry more publicly accountable. There was no sure way of measuring consecrated character, while there were a multitude of methods by which its absence could be detected. There were, however, very simple means of determining whether a priest was diligent in his parochial and sacerdotal duties, and in order for him to be so adjudged, a knowledge and understanding of those duties were facilitated by means of formal theological education.

The strength of clerical education lay in the fact that the clerical and pastoral ideals had achieved general acceptance in domestic, missionary and colonial churches.
There was, therefore, a pervasive and unified standard of professional competence at which theological students could direct their sights; the cleric educated in a British theological or missionary college was assured of encountering a standardised approach to pastoral theology during his training, and would have applied the lessons learned there to his circumstances in England or abroad. Practical pastoral training was a particularly important strength of formal education. It provided an opportunity for students to acquire necessary pastoral skills under supervision, thereby allowing them to experience the integral relationship between academic theological studies and the reality of their practical application. Pastoral work carried out under the aegis of a theological college was, however, not examinable in the same way that other subjects in the curriculum were, and there was therefore a persistent problem in evaluating practical pastoralia. An appreciation of the worth of practical training must lie in the fact of its continued existence in curricula that were increasingly concerned with the standardisation and centralisation of examination material. Pastoral training's most significant contribution to clerical education, however, was in its recognition and reinforcement of the object of the theological curriculum: the production of parish priests rather than theologians. The principal practical advantage possessed by formal education lay in the ability of theological colleges to
provide parish-based, experientially centred pastoral training. The emphasis in theological colleges on fostering the devotional and spiritual lives of future clerics would not have resulted in the creation of an active, diligent and accountable clergy. On the other hand, men trained to deal with the multifarious duties of parochial life would be able to absorb the lessons of the pastoral ideal at first hand, and relate this practical knowledge to the development of their consecrated characters. In this way late-Victorian theological and missionary colleges retained their identity separate from the university undergraduate theological courses that were designed to provide an academic theological education.

The aim of professional clerical education was the creation of theologically knowledgeable clergymen, not theologians; only Herbert Kelly of the Society of the Sacred Mission thought that every individual cleric ought to be encouraged to become his own theologian as well as priest and pastor, and his vision of the Anglo Catholic Church of England was far from popular or even acceptable to the mainstream of church life.

Another strength of theological and missionary colleges concerned their role as promoters of social mobility within clerical ranks. Nongraduate institutions were socially and professionally innovative, because they provided an untraditional solution to the problem of staffing an expanding church. As discussed in chapter 4, without the academic, theological and pastoral studies and
the social discipline of the theological college, nongraduates undoubtedly would have experienced greater difficulties in obtaining ordination, and there would have been professional grounds on which criticisms of their presence could be based. As it was, they were often treated harshly by the system of lay patronage and concentrated their efforts in urban rather than rural parishes. Nongraduates were the 'new men' of the late-Victorian ministry, men whose background, training and experience in theological colleges found them professionally better prepared than graduates to deal with the exigencies of parochial life in cities and towns. Without such men, the church could not have maintained even a minimal national presence, making it increasingly difficult to claim the rights and privileges of what purported to be the national religious institution. The social dilution of the Victorian clergy, the slow and admittedly incomplete decline of the gentleman-heresy, was necessary in order for the church to survive as an establishment when graduate recruitment decreased markedly after the 1860's. Nongraduate professional theological education provided the means by which men were academically, spiritually and pastorally trained to defend the continued existence of a national church.

The final major strength of Anglican clerical education lay in the quality and accessibility of pastoral literature throughout the Victorian period. For the large
majority of the clergy who did not attend a theological or missionary college, handbooks were the principal source of information concerning the practical elements of pastoral theology. There was a wide range of these books, according to church party affiliation, and the standard of both style and content in the research sample was uniformly high. Handbook literature had the responsibility for disseminating the clerical and pastoral ideals formulated by theologians, and therefore it was generally well written and well constructed. It was also successful in that the demand for handbooks remained constant throughout the period under consideration. The attraction of pastoral literature had much to do with the fact that its authors themselves had been active pastoralists, and this experience was reflected in their writings. Clerical educators, on the other hand, did not necessarily share such a practical background; experienced missionary lecturers were particularly scarce, and missionary education suffered accordingly. Both the quality and quantity of pastoral theology available in handbooks made them an invaluable resource for informal clerical education.

The weaknesses of formal theological education were exposed primarily as a result of the problems encountered when selecting and training nongraduates for the ministry. Postgraduate theological training met with general approval because it gave an added dimension to men whose social and educational background fitted the clerical
ideal. For literates, however, who by definition did not possess the ordination qualification most prized by the church, the struggle to devise satisfactory curricula and examination procedures and to secure adequate funding presented continual problems.

Nongraduate educators faced numerous difficulties in terms of student selection criteria throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As noted above, adequate criteria for measuring individual spirituality did not exist; the usual methods employed, testimonials (particularly from clergymen) and interviewing committees, all too often yielding unsatisfactory results, with many students failing to complete their courses for disciplinary reasons. When the demand for clergymen was steady, and the traditional prestige of the ministry remained high, the church attracted middle class men for social and economic reasons in addition to the more clerically approved feelings of devotion and vocation that they might have possessed. Establishing academic criteria proved to be almost equally difficult for theological educators until the creation of the Central Entrance Examination in 1981.

At the root of the problems of recruitment and selection was the system, or rather the absence of a system, of secondary education in England. Early and mid-Victorian entrance standards were variable because there was no alternative available to nongraduate colleges.
Ontario had the advantage of a standardized system of secondary education from the middle of the nineteenth century, and by linking university matriculation with theological college entrance criteria, theological colleges in Ontario eliminated the need for a separate entrance qualification. The lack of state-supported secondary education forced British nongraduate theological and missionary colleges to undertake the secular as well as the theological education of their students when the standard two-year course was already under extreme economic pressure.

Indeed, the problem of financing nongraduate clerical training was another weakness in the provision of theological education. Regardless of colleges' attempts to keep the fees low, the number of scholarships and bursaries was always inadequate, a fact that held true in Canada as well as in Britain. There was a constant stream of applications from impecunious candidates requesting assistance in the pursuit of clerical careers. Although theological colleges were venues for social mobility, theological education did not overcome the problem of recruitment caused by the persistent attraction of the gentlemanly clerical ideal. Recruitment remained confined largely to those graduates who could afford to support themselves during their university and theological college courses, and the introduction of middle and working class men into the ministry was restricted by the cost of professional education until the end of the period.
Clerical educators were themselves invariably graduates, and this doubtless helps to explain their confusion regarding academic qualifications and curriculum development for literates. While entrance standards were necessarily flexible, they also proved difficult to enforce for ideological and economic reasons. Theological and missionary colleges were committed to a policy of recruitment on the basis of spirituality and devotion rather than intellectual prowess, and when places in halls and lecture theatres were not filled it became extremely difficult to maintain residence and tuition fees within reach of middle and lower middle class students. Theological college curricula, particularly before the advent of the Preliminary Examination in 1874, varied considerably among institutions. With experience and the acceptance of externally set standards the problem of curriculum design and content became less visible, but it did not disappear altogether. The emphasis on the acquisition of classical and biblical languages when many nongraduates required lessons in remedial English demonstrated the extraordinary appeal of the scholarly ideal and a gentlemanly perception of the classics as an irreplaceable element in the professional education of the clergy. Without a classical education the nongraduate would have found it impossible to pass the Preliminary Examination that became a prerequisite for ordination. Herein lay the basic problem nongraduate theological educators faced and could not resolve, namely their
inability to devise entrance and completion criteria that were independent of inappropriate academic standards set by the universities, but which were acceptable to the domestic and missionary church hierarchies. This failure posed particular problems in terms of missionary education, where the discrepancy between the traditionally gentlemanly ideal and lower middle class students was most pronounced. The aim of missionary education was the production of a sufficient number of clergy to meet the demands of an expanding church abroad. There was not, however, adequate consideration given to the specialised needs of a missionary ministry until the first world war, and there was positive antipathy to language training on the part of the missionary societies that supported missionary colleges. Missionary students had to contend with the graduate-oriented demands of the external examinations that effectively precluded any distinctive or specific missionary training from the curriculum regardless of the extended three-year course provided at missionary colleges. The failure to determine appropriate nongraduate standards thus doubly penalised missionary students and hindered the growth of professional missionary education.

The late-Victorian church's inability to compete successfully for graduates with both traditional and new professions doubtless encouraged recognition of the need for a broadened base of recruitment, but the theological
basis for this decision already had been firmly established. A change in social and academic composition of the clergy was the result of increasingly widespread acceptance of the primacy of consecrated character, the rapid parochial expansion of the church, and the limited mid-Victorian recognition of nongentlemanly spirituality. Relatively few clerical educators or bishops actively campaigned on behalf of a nongraduate, middle class clergy, in spite of the growing need for ordinands, and graduates remained the preferred recruits throughout the entire period. Social mobility within the profession became irresistible after the middle of the nineteenth century, however, as the reformed church could no longer provide gentlemanly remuneration for other than a privileged minority of its clergy. It must be borne in mind, nevertheless, that the change in recruitment patterns was hardly overwhelming: according to table 2, there were only ten per cent fewer graduate clergy in 1914 than there had been in 1860. If gentlemanliness was equated with graduation, as it was by the early and mid-Victorians at least, then the late-Victorian church fared relatively well in the face of the odds against the scourge of social dilution.

Inevitably, there was opposition to formal theological education, and it came from those churchmen who did not want to encourage the trend towards social mobility and nongraduate, professionally trained clergymen. The absence of a career structure comparable
to that offered by the new professions in particular, and linked to technical expertise, competence and experience, relegated many hardworking and capable clerics to lives of ill-paid obscurity. In addition, the entry of middle class men into the ministry had economic repercussions. Whereas previously, the church had benefitted from upper middle class recruitment because gentlemanly clerics were often financially independent, the nongentlemen who required assistance in order to even attend a theological or missionary college were most emphatically unable to support the gentlemanly practice of applying their stipends to parochial social welfare activities. Traditional churchmen were constantly concerned with the 'professionalisation' of the clergy, effectively meaning the transition of the clerical profession between a status and occupational profession that occurred in the early and mid-Victorian periods.\(^1\) They were preoccupied with the effects of social dilution in terms of their relationships with society, and feared that the result of changing social, economic and academic recruitment standards would be a decline in the status and prestige of both church and clergy. Arguments against professional education were therefore based not on the introduction of biblical, classical, homiletical or pastoral studies to prospective clergymen, but rather on fears for the loss of

professional status that would result from nongraduate ordination. This was of course the basis of the gentleman-heresy and reflected the intellectual elitism of the clerisy theorists. Social dilution was also inextricably bound up with academic background, since gentlemanliness was usually defined in terms of public school and university attendance. Fears were expressed by late-Victorian pastoral theologians and writers concerning the intellectual decline of an increasingly nongraduate clergy. They were worried that a nongraduate clergy would increase the vulnerability of the church to secularist thought as a result of their intellectual inability to defend Christianity in general, and Anglicanism in particular. There was also considerable concern about divisions within the Church of England, and critics of formal clerical education often opposed the creation of theological colleges because they were afraid of fuelling the fires of partisan loyalties at the expense of internal cohesion. This held equally true for graduate as well as nongraduate colleges, whereas the criticisms about social and intellectual dilution were restricted to institutions that trained literates for the ministry. The foundation of Cuddesdon, the first theological college in the seminarian tradition, encountered extensive opposition from other factions within the church, regardless of its commitment to postgraduate teaching. After the initial outcry against Cuddesdon, however, Anglo Catholics came to value its advantages.
Missionary education emphasised the difficulties that plagued Victorian clerical education, namely student selection and curriculum development. Missionary colleges were highly dependent for student funding on missionary societies and missionary studentship associations that were lay organisations outside the church’s direct control. The uncertainties and exigencies of service abroad, while opportunities abounded in an expanding domestic church, discouraged early and mid-Victorian graduate recruitment, thereby effectively lowering the status of the missionary clergy for the duration of the period under review. The missionary societies themselves were ambivalent about the need for formal training, and one, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, always preferred to recruit its clerical missionaries from the ranks of the middle class clergy who had few prospects for advancement at home. The societies exercised control over student selection by means of selection committees and the diocesan studentship associations, leaving the principals and staff of the missionary colleges with an insufficient degree of control over the selection and dismissal of students. Moreover, there were legitimate reasons for the missionary societies to question the quality and content of formal missionary training. Lecturers employed at missionary colleges, with the general exception of the principals, were not usually experienced missionaries. This lack of practical experience was not essential in terms of providing missionary students with the curriculum
necessary to enable them to pass domestic ordination examinations. It became so, however, when the inadequacies of missionary education were revealed at the interdenominational missionary conference held in Edinburgh in 1910. It was impossible to expect that the inexperienced staffs of missionary colleges would be able to develop the specialised curriculum required to bring Anglican missionary students to the academic and practical standards generally acknowledged to be necessary. As discussed in chapter 5, missionary educators were perplexed by the problem of a specialist curriculum; the variable academic backgrounds of their students made preparation for ordination especially difficult, and there seemed little prospect for the introduction of additional subjects to an already full three-year course.

The dilemma of a specialised curriculum was rooted in an even more fundamental problem. In their anxiety to produce clergy whose qualifications were acceptable to the English bishops, the missionary societies and missionary educators were forced to ignore the differences between domestic and missionary training. By adopting a staffing policy that put men who had not served in a missionary capacity into missionary colleges, another opportunity for enriching and improving specialised training was missed. More significantly, however, such a policy contributed to a lack of expertise amongst missionary college staff so that when specialised curricula were discussed it was difficult for educators to know how to devise new courses.
The persistent problems regarding language training were a case in point.

The difficulty posed by foreign language study was a microcosm of the larger uncertainty about the role of missionary education. The major missionary societies, and therefore their colleges, were concerned with providing pre-ordination training to the standards of the domestic ministry. Thus the curricula were designed to bring men to ordination standard, and the widely varying academic background of missionary college students served to complicate the attainment of that objective. At the heart of the issue, however, was the missionary societies' vested interest in maintaining the status quo in formal education. The lack of specific training allowed them greater flexibility in candidate placement and strategic planning. The paucity of qualified teachers exacerbated the particular problem of language study, and this problem in turn was adversely affected by the staffing policy discussed above. Missionary educators, and missionary college principals in particular, were considerably more progressive and realistic about the necessity for organised language training than were the missionary societies themselves, and it was as a result of the initiative taken by missionary educators that specialised training was being considered in the years immediately prior to world war one. Formal missionary education was a necessary but poorly executed example of Victorian clerical training. The limitations imposed on it by missionary
status and scarce financial resources made it difficult for missionary educators to pursue what might have proved to be the most satisfactory policy: preliminary training in Britain, followed by a period of formal training abroad, including language study and supervised practical work in the field. Ordination then would have been made dependent upon proven ability in a missionary situation, rather than on the inappropriate criteria of English academic and social standards.

In the missionary church of early-Victorian Ontario recognition was given to the same problems of formal academic training and practical experience that plagued the mid and late-Victorian church in Britain. The necessity of recruiting colonials was inescapable if the church was to mature alongside the new state; also, in order to supply the colonies with clerics who would be naturally sympathetic to the hardships of a pioneer existence, it was politic to recruit men who had experienced the lifestyle themselves. In Victorian Ontario, therefore, there was not a gentleman in every parish, yet the Anglican church survived and even thrived in a situation that disquieted British churchmen, who yielded to middle class recruitment only at the end of the century when no alternative was available. Thus social dilution (in British, not Canadian, terms) was a fact of life in the colonial church, in spite of British missionary intervention, because there was neither a
clerisy nor a gentleman-heresy from which to recruit, nor a church establishment to defend. The privileged position of the established church in England was under attack from Nonconformists and Roman Catholics during the nineteenth century. The church in Canada was also challenged regarding the exclusiveness of the clergy reserves, and it was forced to surrender its privileges. The difference between the churches lay in the Canadian acceptance of the necessity for religious pluralism: bishop Strachan of Toronto, for all his power and influence, could not successfully defend the clergy reserves, a sectarian system of education, or the creation of a state-supported Anglican provincial university.

It is difficult indeed to measure the effects of middle and working class clerical recruitment on the church in Victorian Ontario, in comparison with the effects of gentlemanly and upper middle class recruitment in Great Britain. Late-Victorian Canadian clergymen were largely educated at the universities and the university-affiliated theological colleges; thus, in spite of their social background or status as nongraduates, for many university theological courses did not lead to graduation, the clergy of the Anglican church in Ontario were regarded as professional men and therefore esteemed. They do not appear to have been any more or less successful than their British colleagues in combatting the attractions of either nonconformity or secularism, and while the majority of the late-Victorian clergy were not university graduates, they
did not seem to have been labelled as intellectual pariahs by lay critics, as British Anglo Catholics, in particular, feared.

This situation illustrates another aspect of church life that was of concern to the church and to clerical education. By the final decade of the nineteenth century science and social science had made sufficient inroads into biblical theology to make religious doubt a problem that was beyond solution by either erudition or applications of social control on the part of the church. Late-Victorian Anglican theology was not moribund. It was not, however, attracting the amount of scholarly attention that it had done previously, when the church was a more popular graduate career. The British commitment to a graduate clergy was not seriously influenced by the failure of scholarship to provide adequate intellectual defences for Christianity and Anglicanism, and in spite of fears about the intellectual capacity of a nongraduate clergy, it did not appear that a professionally trained literate would prove any less capable of dealing with questions of doubt than a graduate who had not specialised in theology at university. The attraction of the gentleman-heresy was academic and social rather than strictly intellectual.

The differences between the social, economic and political situations of the church in England and the church in Ontario did not affect the universal Anglican preference for a graduate clergy. Formal education was
highly prized by both churches, but there was not in Ontario any expectation that postsecondary education would be restricted to the upper middle classes. There was a different conception of early and mid-Victorian gentlemanliness in Canada than there was in Britain. The Canadian definition was consistent with that reached by late-Victorian British churchmen who increasingly had to content themselves with recruiting and training middle class men who possessed characteristics compatible with the clerical ideal rather than the gentlemanly upper middle classes who had traditionally comprised the clergy. The social structure of early and mid nineteenth-century Ontario did not encourage either the creation or the growth of a clerisy on an English model. The universities, especially bishop Strachan's Trinity College, did not conform to the Oxbridge secular clerisy's ideal of leisured independence; instead, the socially mobile products of Canadian higher education were encouraged to join the ranks of the professional middle classes. There was a social element within the colonial conception of gentlemanliness, but the absence of a historically landed class and the recognition of the physical impossibility of providing sufficient manpower for the church from the ranks of the landed and professional classes resulted in an early emphasis on the spiritual and behavioural aspects of gentlemanly conduct. In adopting this attitude the Canadian church was in
advance of the church in England. It is not surprising that the structure of formal clerical education in late-Victorian Ontario more closely approximated to the ideal promulgated by British educators at the fifth conference on clerical training. The combination of university and theological college education had long been the ideal of Canadian educators, and the range and flexibility of courses available in Ontario's universities, university colleges and theological colleges showed that ordination should be, and indeed was, attainable on a variety of bases. The success of Canadian educators in devising alternative curricula should not, however, be equated with the success of these alternatives in attracting adequate numbers of qualified students. Problems of candidate selection and entrance or terminal criteria were always set in the context of curricula that were not successfully adapted for literates, largely as a result of their variable academic backgrounds and the uncertainty of financial support for many nongraduate students.

By creating a theological college and afterwards an Anglican university bishop Strachan was not attempting to create a clerisy simply in order to provide a pool from which his clergy might be recruited. His activities were directed towards the more practical problem of implementation of Anglican academic and professional education. Universities in mid-Victorian Ontario served to inculcate rather than to isolate gentlemanly values, unlike the situation in mid-Victorian England. The
necessary independence of the university intellectual, so greatly valued by such secular clerisy theorists as Mark Pattison, was in direct opposition to the active, practical ideal of the clerical gentleman encouraged by John Strachan and Samuel Wilberforce.

The late-Victorian church's redefinition of gentelmanliness was forced to give primacy to the spiritual attributes emphasised by the clerical and pastoral ideals when the long-established academic, social and economic values were proving difficult to retain. There is no doubt, however, as to the Victorian clergy's perception of themselves as members of a traditional, highly respected, influential and useful profession, and of their belief in themselves as legitimate inheritors and purveyors of what was worthwhile and significant within British culture. They regarded themselves as agents of social as well as spiritual reconciliation within society, and claimed that their role was to act as bridges bringing men of all classes closer together in addition to bringing them into closer harmony with God.¹ The gentleman-heresy frustrated the application of this element of the pastoral ideal because it imposed a social barrier between the ministers and those ministered to in order to emphasise the clergy's spiritual distinction from their parishioners. Gentlemanly and upper middle class graduates who became clergymen were taught a distrust for

¹. See pp. 107-108.
middle class commercial values and too often disregarded the validity of working class lifestyles.¹

The Coleridgean ideal of a gentleman (meaning a member of the clerisy) in every parish was heartily embraced by the Victorian church because the clergy had an active interest in maintaining the clerisy's cultural and social hegemony. The majority were themselves members in good standing of the clerisy of educated men who provided leadership in both church and state. According to Coleridge, the clergy had a vital social role to play as educators who acted as arbiters of moral, intellectual and theological cultivation. They were the national repository of intellectual and theological learning and were therefore required to be responsible and respectable men.² They needed, in short, to be gentlemen, hence the gentleman-heresy and the Victorian fear of clerical social dilution. In the Coleridgean conception of the church and clerisy as the third estate of the realm, the traditional professions acted as intermediaries between the gentlemanly clergy and the second estate that comprised commercial, manufacturing and entrepreneurial interests.³ Coleridge's structure of the relationship between estates

1. See p. 171.
3. Ibid., p. 50.
(classes) would have been insupportable had the social composition of the clergy not been significantly different from that of the second estate. Society would have been rendered effectively classless and unbalanced, with no distinction between the privileged position of the traditional professions as offshoots of the clerisy. For Coleridge, the cultural imperialism of the clerisy justified the existence of a national church in which as members of the clerisy the clergy were "the immediate agents and instruments in the great and indispensable work of perpetuating, promoting, and increasing the civilisation of the nation...".¹

Pastoral theologians and missionaries took up this theme and identified the clergy as channels of civilisation and humanisation in the sea of social and spiritual squalor. The gentleman-heresy was an attempt to provide each parish with a model of behaviour and learning that would permeate each social layer within the community.² The moral and intellectual bases for the clergy's activity as agents of social reconciliation lay in their status as members of the clerisy of liberally educated, cultivated and civilised gentlemen. Just as

1. Loc. cit.
secular clerisy theorists thought that intellectuals had to stand apart from the class structure and preoccupations of society,¹ so pastoral theologians attempted to inculcate the ideal of clerical separation and differentiation, and theological educators assisted in this process by creating venues wherein spirituality could be developed and deepened away from the temptations of the secular world. Both groups, the intelligentsia and the clergy, emphasised the need to distance themselves from the financial preoccupations of the middle classes, and so it was only natural that the necessity to recruit middle class men at the end of the nineteenth century would occasion distress amongst clerical ranks. The concern with gentlemanly social and educational status, however, acted as a deterrent to the recruitment of generations of genuinely motivated, dedicated men who did not have access to clerical careers for social and economic reasons.² It is impossible to determine exactly how the church and its parishioners might have benefitted from the presence of these middle and working class priests, but it is certain that the opportunity for discovering and evaluating the advantages of nongentlemanly recruitment were denied until there was no alternative. The decision to accept increasing numbers of literates after the mid-Victorian period reflects the changing economic position of the

1. Ibid., p. 7.
traditional gentlemanly members of the clerisy rather than any appreciable change in attitude towards the middle classes. The only failure of the late-Victorian clerisy lay in their inability to afford careers in the organisationally reformed church — the moral and intellectual arguments for maintaining the gentleman-heresy continued to be upheld regardless of the necessity for a redefinition of clerical gentlemanliness.

It is clear that the early and mid-Victorian pastoral and clerical ideals were of prime importance in determining how practical, everyday clerical life was lived. The effect of a large and accessible body of pastoral literature was an increasingly uniform standard of pastoral conduct that was shared by the episcopacy as well as the parochial clergy. The nature of pastoralia was altered during the course of the nineteenth century as urbanisation altered the face of British society. An efficient and visibly active clergy were necessary in order that the church might remain established in the face of considerable nonconformist political pressure. The clerical ideal in turn stressed the clergy's duty to be both diligent and vigilant, neither of which was a notable pre-Victorian clerical attribute. The range of pastoral activities: visiting, teaching, conducting parish meetings, arranging and supervising parochial welfare schemes was changed in comparison with eighteenth-century pastoral practice; at the same time, the scope of the clergy's work was concentrated on matters directly
concerned with their role as spiritual rather than social leaders in the community. This emphasis on the clergy's moral and spiritual leadership facilitated the gradual change in recruitment practice that occurred in the late-Victorian period. The transition from traditional gentlemanly recruitment to that based on the gentlemanliness imparted by consecrated character, however, was not by any means smooth. Throughout the period 1830 to 1914 the church preferred to recruit men who possessed the traditional social and academic guarantees of a university education, and accepted professionally trained nongraduates only grudgingly.

That literates found even limited acceptance was due largely to the growth of formal clerical education. Without the opportunity to acquire the technical knowledge, theory and practical experience required for a successful ministry, the nongraduate would have had greater difficulty gaining entrance to a clerical career.

The assimilation of middle class nongraduates into what was traditionally a graduate profession was achieved in order to provide the church with sufficient parish priests to fulfill the requirements of the pastoral ideal. Professional clerical education was a product of, and therefore was affected by, the need for effective church defence; it was an attempt to provide Anglican parishes with active, knowledgeable and capable ministers whose work of reconciliation was to be a bulwark against the
divisions and strife engendered by life in an industrialised society, as envisaged by Coleridge.¹

Formal theological education and the church's increasing inability to attract graduate ordinands provided an opportunity for some spiritually oriented middle and even working class men to find self-expression in clerical careers, careers that would have been difficult if not impossible to pursue at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Theological education was thus a vehicle for the social dilution of the clergy, and led the struggle for acceptance and recognition of a professionally trained, nongraduate, nongentlemanly clergy in direct opposition to the gentleman-heresy.

Appendix 1

Victorian Pastoral Handbooks

Early Victorian Handbooks (1830-1850)


Mid Victorian Handbooks (1851-1880)


Alfred Gatty. The Vicar and His Duties. London: George Bell, 1853.


The Parish and the Priest. London: Joseph Masters, 1858.


Late Victorian Handbooks (1881-1914)


Appendix 2

An Early Victorian Broad Church Parish Register


1. Name, address and number living in the house.
2. Customary attendance on Public Worship?
3. Customary attendance on Holy Communion?
4. Practice of family prayer?
5. Capability of Reading?
6. Possession of the Holy Scriptures?
7. Possession of the Book of Common Prayer and other religious books?
8. Care about bringing their children to be baptized?
9. State of education of their children?
10. General habits of industry and sobriety?
11. General condition with respect to worldly comforts and convenience?
Appendix 3

A Mid Victorian High Church Parish Register

Questions asked by J. B. Sweet in his pastoral handbook, Speculum Parochiale (London, 1859).

1. Owner of house?
2. Rent?
3. Drain and Water Supply?
4. Number of rooms?
5. Yard or garden?
6. Private Necessary?
7. Wages - Shillings per week?
9. Attendance - Attends service, meeting, regularly or irregularly?
10. Education - Read only? Read and Write? Superior education?
11. Baptism - Duly baptized and received into the church? Duly baptized but not received? Irregularly baptized?
12. Confirmation Confirmed? Above 15 years but not confirmed?
13. Holy Communion Partakes the Lord's Supper at church? Partakes at meeting?
14. Teacher or Preacher Teaches or preaches in undetermined school, meeting?
16. Prayers Private prayer: once daily twice daily thrice daily Family prayer: once daily twice daily
17. Club-Savings Bank Member of benefit society? Member of institute or library? Deposits in Savings Bank? Pays to Medical, Clothing or Coal Clubs?
18. Relief, etc. Receives parish relief? In Almshouse?
Sample Questionnaire of the Church Army, 1883

3. What do you understand by being justified?

4. What do you understand by being entirely sanctified?

5. Why are you a Churchman and not a dissenter?

6. Can you take a back seat and play 'second fiddle' with a happy heart?

7. Can you be as daring for Christ as the worst are for Satan?

8. Can you use the same homely language in speaking for Christ as for your trade?

10. How much indoor and outdoor persecution can you endure without being angry?

12. Have you ever kept an open air meeting going for an hour without one person to help you?

13. Have any souls professed to others to have turned away from sin to holiness through your words?

15. How old are you?

16. Are you married?

17. How many children have you?

18. Is your wife in the habit of bearing Christian testimony with the mouth privately and publicly?

19. Can she conduct a small meeting alone?

20. Are you very robust?

21. Is she?

23. Are the Children?

25. Average weekly income over the past year?

26. Trade, and prospects of advancement?

27. What is the smallest possible weekly wages with which you could afford to be in Church Army work, having at all times and places to lodge and board yourself and family?
29. Are you willing to pack up and leave whenever necessary?

33. Can you furnish references when asked, from your present or late employers for honesty, industry, ability, and business tact?

36. How long have you abstained from drink and tobacco?
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<th>Age at Entrance</th>
<th>Previous Education</th>
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Upper Canada College, Trinity College School and St. Clement's School were private institutions.

Sources: Trinity College, Toronto Matriculation Book 1852-1929
Matriculants of Trinity College, Toronto January 1852-1934
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Table 7: Educational Background of University Attenders at Salisbury Theological College, 1894-1901
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**Table 9:** Patterns of Occupations
## Educational Background of Nineteenth Century Theological College Students

### Early Victorian Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>% University Attendees</th>
<th>% Graduates</th>
<th>% Literates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wells (1846-50)</td>
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<td>87.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Bees Wells (1840-50)</td>
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### Mid Victorian Students

<table>
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<th>% University Attendees</th>
<th>% Graduates</th>
<th>% Literates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salisbury (1857-79)</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>73.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wells (1859-69)</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>60.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wells (1861-79)</td>
<td>43.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lichfield (1854-77)</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>56.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Bees Wells (1851-79)</td>
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### Late Victorian Students

<table>
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<th>% Graduates</th>
<th>% Literates</th>
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<td>Wells (1880-1913)</td>
<td>98.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>66.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wells (1880-1914)</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>32.9</td>
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### Table 11

Graduates in Late Victorian Theological Colleges

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<th>1900</th>
<th>1913</th>
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<tr>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>92.5%</td>
<td>95.1%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Aidan's</td>
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<td>8.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuddesdon</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
<td>95.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lichfield</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. John's Highbury</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
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<td>Ely</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Truro</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Michael's Llandaff</td>
<td>--</td>
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Source: Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1884, 1900 and 1913.
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<td>Library Building</td>
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<tr>
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Table 12

Tableau de la Commission de l'Enquête, 1870
| Subject Area | Percentage of Students
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<td>Math</td>
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Note: The table above represents the distribution of students across various subject areas.
## Results of Cambridge Preliminary Examination in Theology, 1874 - 1886

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percentage of second and third class results by category

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21.0% of university results (i.e. those who attended university) got first class results

30.2% of theological college students got first class results

50.0% of those who attended both theological college and university got first class results

16.2% of those who attended KCL, QB, Durham L Th got first class results

7.0% of literates got first class results
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Sources: Lichfield Theological College Register, Volumes I and II.
### Educational Background of Students at Salisbury Theological College, 1861 - 1893

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Source: The Calendar of the Salisbury Theological College, 1903.

NB Students are included who are still alive in 1903 - only those who attended the College and were subsequently ordained are noted.
Table 17

Educational Background of Students at Salisbury Theological College, 1894 - 1914

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Wesleyan minister

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lay worker in
Melanesia

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| 34 |     | x C        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              | colonist          |
| 26 |     | x C        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              | engineer          |
| 23 |     | x 0        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              |                  |
| 22 |     | x          |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              |                  |
| 24 |     | x 0        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              | business, colonist|
| 31 |     | x 0        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              |                  |
|    |     | x x 0      |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              |                  |
| 27 |     | x C        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              | schoolmaster      |
| 29 |     | x C        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              |                  |
| 22 |     | x L        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              |                  |
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1898

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| 24 |     | x 0        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              |                  |
| 28 |     | x C        |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              |                  |
| 32 |     | x          |        |    |    |     |    |          |     |              | army officer      |
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- TCD - Trinity College, Dublin
- L - London
- SDL - St. David's College, Lampeter
- A - Aberystwyth
- D - Durham
- M - McGill (Montreal)
- MN - Manchester
- SA - St. Andrews
- GL - Glasgow
- LV - Liverpool
- NZ - New Zealand
- BCL - Bishop's College, Leicestershire
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### Table 20

**Educational Background of SPC Missionaries, 1830-1914**

(By Percentage)

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Table 21

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MISSIONARIES AND MISSIONARY COLLEGE STUDENTS
(By Percentage)

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<th>Type of Education</th>
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<th>SPB 1878-1914</th>
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<td>1.9</td>
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</table>

CMS - Church Missionary Society
SPG - Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
SAC - St. Augustine's College, Canterbury
SPB - S. Paul's College, Burgh
### EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF SPG LAY MISSIONARIES 1880-1914  
(By Percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Education</th>
<th>1880-89</th>
<th>1890-99</th>
<th>1900-09</th>
<th>1910-14</th>
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### EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF CMS LAY MISSIONARIES 1901-1914  
(By Percentage)

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<tr>
<td>CMS Preparatory Institution only</td>
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<td>Islington College only</td>
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<td>Preparatory Institution and Islington College</td>
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SPG - Society for the Propagation of the Gospel  
CMS - Church Missionary Society
### Occupational Background of CMS Lay Missionaries

1901-1914

(By Percentage)

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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>servant</td>
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<tr>
<td>engineer</td>
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<td>7.9</td>
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<td>farmer/farm worker</td>
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Table 24

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MISSIONARY COLLEGE STUDENTS
(By Percentage)

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<td>commerce</td>
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<td>engineer</td>
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SAC - St. Augustine's College, Canterbury
SPB - S. Paul's College, Burgh
### Table 25: Education of SPG Lay Missionaries (By Percentage)

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Table 26

SCHOOLING OF SPG MISSIONARIES, 1880-1914
(By Percentage)

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<td>elementary school</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 27

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MISSIONARY COLLEGE STUDENTS' FATHERS
(By Percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>SAC 1907-14</th>
<th>SPB 1891-1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerk</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay worker/evangelist</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commerce</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>servant</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engineer</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merchant</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manufacturing</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skilled trade</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled trade</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professional</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clergy (Anglican and dissenting)</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SAC - St. Augustine's College, Canterbury

SPB - S. Paul's College, Burgh
### Table 28

**Educational Background of the Mid Victorian Clergy in Ontario**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diocese</th>
<th>Total Clergy</th>
<th>BA</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>BD</th>
<th>DD</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Nongraduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huron</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>59.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: [Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1868](#)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source:</th>
<th>Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the Church of England, in the Diocese of Toronto, 1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.2% 35.2% 33.7% 29.3% 24.1% 14.2% 9.6% 14.5% 0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.9% 35.2% 33.7% 29.3% 24.1% 14.2% 9.6% 14.5% 0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.6% 20.6% 1.5% 0.8% 3.8% 0.8% 9.5% 2.2% 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.2% 0.0% 22.1% 22.2% 9.5% 2.2% 0.0% 3.8% 0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69 1 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>134 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 7 14 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>110 26 60 2 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29 7 14 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MA 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Cemetery Clergy 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both College and Theological College Graduates 7 14 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Other 60 2 7 14 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Class 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MA 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Cemetery Clergy 50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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