

The Castle Builders: High Anglican Hopes of the Frontier
in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

by

Elliot Rose

While I was working on W. F. Hook of Leeds I became interested in the question of the High Church's expanding horizons - the development that begins in Oriel Common Room or Hursley Vicarage, and ends, if it can be said to have ended, in the slums of Johannesburg. Of course the nineteenth century Church in all its branches, Protestant and Catholic, was very conscious of mission, but I want to throw out some ideas about High Church attitudes to mission in what you might call the Pusey Period - the High Church's new romantic age.

I will admit the title is easy to misunderstand; the first half of it is a reference to Charlotte M. Yonge, and the second to Frederick Jackson Turner. Castle builders, of course, are people who indulge in unrealistic hopes. The Castle Builders; or, the Deferred Confirmation (1854) is a novel of Charlotte M. Yonge which I have not read - it is an extreme rarity, a collector's item - but some of its characters reappear in later novels. One of them became a missionary in Australia. Another founded an Anglican sisterhood for slum work - the real-life order Miss Yonge had in mind was the Devonport Sisterhood, which by the time we meet Mother Constance in Pillars of the House (1873) had been ten years in Hawaii where they were invited by King Kamehameha IV.

As for the Frontier, I am using the word in the sense familiar to North American historians. In his seminal paper of 1893, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", F. J. Turner said, "the religious aspects of the frontier make a chapter in our history which needs study"-it never got that study from him. Turner occasionally threw out suggestions that frontier religion was apt to be democratic and emotional¹, and on both counts we would not expect it to be High Anglican, but he never actually developed the point. Among post-Turner users of the thesis, however, there seems to be a received idea that frontier conditions favor

Evangelical Protestantism and disfavor sacerdotal and ritualistic churches. This - like most of the Frontier Thesis - is easier to accept if you ignore the ethnic cultural contribution, and also ignore non-American frontiers as Turner was entitled to do. Many members of this Society are better qualified than I to discuss its applicability to Canada.

In any case, the Nineteenth Century offered a wide choice of frontier situations, all of them promising growth points for Christianity and all apt to be seen, competitively, as growth points for a particular denomination, sect or party. In Anglicanism at the time of the Oxford Movement, the vigorous rise of the Church Missionary Society (then thirty-odd years old) had spurred the sobersided old S.P.G. to new efforts in emulation. In Canada, which was S.P.G. country, the natives were to be won for Church and King partly for their own souls' sake and partly to match the black and brown Evangelicals whom the C.M.S. was recruiting in the East. Here is a young lady, in the 1820's, imagining the activities of her admirer, who has gone out to Canada with that intention:

What has this worn, weary old civilization to offer like the joy of sitting beneath one of the glorious aspiring pines of America, gazing out on the blue waters of her limpid inland seas, in her fresh pure air, with the simple children of the forest round him, their princely forms in attitudes of attention, their dark soft liquid eyes fixed upon him, as he tells them "Your Great Spirit, Him whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you", and then some glorious old chief bows his stately head, and throws aside his marks of superstition. "I believe", he says.²

Charlotte M. Yonge, who wrote this in 1860, had her tongue firmly in her cheek. It did not pan out that way. The young man, to his disgust, was expected to minister to "mere colonists, some of them Yankee, some Presbyterian Scots", who had no respect for English gentlemen. Their uncouthness eventually drove him to a fashionable pulpit in Toronto where he married another girl. The heroine, whom I have just quoted, died a spinster but was a good influence on many children, one of whom became a bishop in Australia, several novels later³.

In the same novel, several years later, the son of the manque missionary is surveying a railway near Lake Superior when he meets the heroine's long lost cousin, a mere boy struggling with back-breaking labour to farm in the bush, who nevertheless "comes to Lakeville, five miles across the bush and seven across the lake, to church on Sunday", thus proving what proper Anglican emigrants are made of⁴. Miss Yonge - Keble's disciple - was a very committed novelist and the most successful that the Tractarian school ever produced. She is very conscious of the needs of mission, both at home and abroad. As these quotations show, her picture of the mission field was not totally unrealistic, but she did place very high hopes on what Anglicanism could accomplish in the wilderness. Naturally she and all her friends would hotly deny that it was the wrong kind of religion for the wilderness. But I think they would have agreed that there was a sense in which the wilderness presented a tougher, more intractable challenge to missionaries of their school than to Evangelicals, because mission as they conceived it was a tougher proposition all round. The new High Church of the Oxford Movement and after was not more zealous for souls than the Evangelicals, but it had a new and more demanding conception of what a missionary church ought to be like. In this it stood contrasted not only to the Evangelicals, typified by the C.M.S., but equally to the old High Church party typified, in these matters, by the S.P.G.

These societies, and most other competitors in the field, Methodists, Moravians and so on, were mainly concerned about numbers. In areas of European settlement, the primary concern of the S.P.G., the problem was to prevent leakage of nominal believers into infidelity, and had its parallels with the problem of the contemporary industrial city. Among the heathen - the main concern of the C.M.S. - the more exciting prospect opened up of thousands of dark-skinned catechumens telling the wonderful works of God in dozens of languages, but all in the correct theological terms. Obviously these needs and these prospects excited the new High Church also. But they had to demand something more. Their central

doctrine was not "the just shall live by faith" but "I believe in the holy catholic church" - and wherever that church was newly planted it had to exhibit the notes of catholicity in correct and regular church order. And ideally - wherever it came to be the predominant religion - it ought to inform the whole surrounding society with the Anglican ethos. Thus Hursley should be the model of Carrigaboola. (Carrigaboola, which may possibly remind you of Borioboola-Gha, was the station in the Queensland outback one of whose missionaries and one of whose bishops I have already mentioned.)

A mission, then, must not only convert people to the right kind of Christianity, thereby saving their souls and helping the right kind of Christianity to prevail in the world over other kinds and over "infidelity"; it must also organize their future religious lives on right principles of ecclesiology. Even among mission-minded High Churchmen there could be some debate on what these were. Once the debate was resolved, however, and the frontier churches could be founded on the right lines, the interesting possibility opened up that they might serve as models for their Mother Church herself. The possibility was not, in fact, clearly seen by many in the mid-Nineteenth Century period. Early Anglo-Catholics still thought about the example they ought to set to the black man, whereas later ones were more aware of the example he might set to them, and on the whole this idea of mission influence in reverse is a Twentieth-Century perspective. But there were already hints and suggestions that the High Church missionary impulse might call a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.

W. F. Hook was famous for his work in the industrial city - Leeds, not the prairie or the jungle, was his mission field. He comes into this paper because he was one of the first High Church champions who looked beyond the established Church of England to what is nowadays rather pretentiously called "the Worldwide Anglican Communion". It was the fully independent and voluntary churches of Scotland and America that most interested him. Throughout his

life he insisted on their equal dignity with the Church of England, and pointed to their faithfulness under the Cross (of disendowment) as evidence of the Divine blessing on Anglicanism. Hook was an Establishment man; he thought disestablishment was disastrous to secular society, and he thought America proved it; but in the providence of God it might be the salvation of the church. He was not entertaining romantic notions of martyrdom, as many Tractarians were doing, but soberly contemplating the future of the church when she could no longer count on the alliance of the State. To give one instance of his attitude, as early as 1835 we find him arguing, from the example of the United States, that lay representatives in synods would be more High Church than the clergy and therefore would be a good thing⁶.

In this optimistic view of the democratic and voluntary principles, Hook was hardly at one with his brethren, - and in his own thought the values of establishment and independence were in tension. The same tension ran through the theorizings of the school on the subject of mission, as long as anybody could still entertain a hope that the Imperial government might establish the English church in the colonies. As long as the hope remained, the tension also cropped up in the practical politics of mission in the field. So did at least two others: the competing claims of London control versus local control, and the competing claims of native peoples versus settlers. Both of these were general problems of nineteenth-century British Imperialism. The new High Church came to have characteristic views on both.

The tension between London control and local control, in the special form it took in the context of Anglican missions, is the subject of Hans Cnattin^gius' book, Bishops and Societies⁷. He shows how the first colonial bishops, regardless of their style of churchmanship, were drawn by the nature of their situation into a tug-of-war, for effective control of their clergy, with S.P.G. or C.M.S. or (in the case of the hapless diocese of Madras) both of these and the S.P.C.K. as well. The S.P.C.K. was only marginally and reluctantly involved outside of Madras but the other two

both tended to make very overweening use of the power of the purse, and to do this in ignorance of local conditions. Bishops, concerned about these conditions, and lacking the power of the purse, had to insist on their canonical authority and sacred office. Thus a situation arose time and again in the overseas church where bishops, including Evangelicals, took a High Church line against societies, including the S.P.G., who took a Low one. Indeed the S.P.G. were the first offenders, in their dealings with Charles Inglis of Nova Scotia, before the C.M.S. was even founded. The old High Church in effect, although probably not as a result of any profound theological reflection, was on the side of London control. The new, as a matter of conscious principle, favored the colonial bishops' side of the question. It would be logical for them to go on to take an anti-authoritarian line on Imperial matters generally. It is also logical that the new High Church never founded its own missionary society but had to find other and more indirect means of furthering the cause.

On the competing claims of natives and settlers, the two old societies stood in contrast to each other. That is to say, they recognized different priorities in the strictly religious sphere. In politics they tried to stay neutral, and it would be fair to say that they showed equal humanitarian concern over such questions as the economic rights of natives. Respect for native customs and culture was rare among missionaries anyway - it was one of the things that isolated Colenso⁸. But the C.M.S. was primarily concerned with the heathen, and the S.P.G. with white settlers, from their foundations. This neatly reflects the emphases of their parent parties, the zeal of the High being for pastoral work and the zeal of Evangelicals being for evangelism, but there are other historical reasons for the difference. The S.P.G. had strict terms of reference laid down in its Royal Charter which could only with difficulty be amended, and originally it was confined to the Americas; the C.M.S. originally looked to Africa and India to avoid overlap. Many early C.M.S. workers in India found themselves serving white congregations in the absence of a

Company chaplain, but this was against the society's policy; in New Zealand especially it insisted that its men must only serve natives, and this was a major source of conflict with Bishop G. A. Selwyn⁹. We can understand why the C.M.S. insisted on this - it was so much easier to become a colonial parson than to preach in Tamil or Maori that there was a danger that all their workers would go the way of that disappointing young man of Charlotte M. Yonge's in Toronto. But bishops in many places needed clergy for both purposes. The new High Church could agree that the two needs were inseparable - because it had a vision of the Church in which there was neither Jew nor Greek, Roman nor Scythian, bond nor free - and in which self-appointed missionary societies had no place because they were not primitive. Both the old societies, from this point of view, had an imbalance only to be expected of unprimitive institutions. The missionary church must advance on both fronts, and settler and native must be united in Christian brotherhood. On this expectation - which again has an echo of Borioboola-Gha - comment is perhaps needless.

Cnattingius takes his story down to 1850 - an arbitrary date, not marked by an pivotal event, but roughly coinciding with a number of developments that make up a change of phase. Bishops and societies had had time to clarify their policies, and the courts had not had time to confuse the issues by raising legal and constitutional doubts about the Royal Supremacy in the overseas Empire. In the next phase, the building of the Anglican Communion was to be bedevilled by such doubts; the struggle was to be for synodical government and against Letter-Patent and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. On these questions as on the earlier ones between bishops and societies, earnest Anglicans on the spot, whatever their churchmanship, were pushed by circumstances into a "High" position for which the new High, but not the old, could supply the appropriate theoretical basis.

By 1850 this could be done through the pages of the Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal and (from 1864),

Foreign Ecclesiastical Reporter - actually founded in 1847. Bishop Selwyn, whose synod in 1844 was a breakthrough in modern Anglican history, repeated the achievement with more éclat in that same year; and in the following year Bishop Robert Gray went to Cape Town. Selwyn and Gray were the darling bishops of the Oxford school - New Zealand and South Africa were the horizons of its fondest hopes; and the Chronicle was its mouthpiece. It is true that its first number editorially claimed that it was not a party organ, and it was scrupulously impartial in reporting S.P.G. and C.M.S. affairs. The time was to come when it would reprove the S.P.G. for its dealings with colonial bishops; I have already suggested reasons why this would not be inconsistent with the new party line¹⁰. That the Chronicle did support a party is quite clear. In an article in the first number, "The Extension of the Reformed Catholic Church", ostensibly directed against Roman Catholic claims, it lists Orthodox and recent Anglican achievements but mentions nobody else. When it did not call its own religion "Reformed Catholic" it was quite likely to say "Anglo-Catholic". When, in 1860, the Bishop of Huron protested against the dangerous tendencies of Trinity College, Toronto, the Chronicle reported the dispute in a manner wholly favorable to the High Church side. The whole tone of the periodical would leave no doubt in the mind of a Church historian. It remains polite to Evangelicals, impolite to Rome, and on some subjects still a little uncertain as to which direction is High.

Mention of Toronto brings me to a quotation I cannot resist. It was borrowed by the Chronicle from the Toronto Church in 1852, and I am informed¹¹ that it was probably written by Bishop John Strachan himself. It describes how

the desecrated and creedless precincts of Toronto University witnessed a scene pregnant with material for sad reflection, as connected with the moral degradation of an Institution which might have been an illustrious seat of learning in that "misgoverned land". Some years ago, the Society for Propagating the Gospel presented, with characteristic liberality, to the late King's College a valuable collection of theological works, rightly deeming that such a boon

would be highly valued by an institution which revered the claims of Christianity. Whether moved by remorse, or constrained by the remonstrances of the friends of the Church, the "infidelizers" of the hapless College permitted the insertion of a clause in the University Act, setting aside the above-mentioned works for any College or Seminary that might be established under the auspices of the Bishop of the Diocese. The delivery of these volumes was made last week in due form to the authorities of Trinity College. The books were packed in eight large cases, and from their appearance, they had been stowed away in a lumber room for several years¹².

This was a fate which was eventually to befall the new college's own run of the Chronicle itself. The Chronicle shared Strachan's anger at the infidelizing of King's College, and at the secularizing of the Clergy Reserves. It was not by any means prepared to welcome colonial disestablishment, if colonial establishment on decent terms was to be had, and old Upper Canada had looked like a particularly hopeful venture in Church colonization - a planned effort, not merely to open up a new country economically, but to plant in virgin soil and in their purest form the social institutions of the old. That was colonization as it ought to be. The Chronicle agreed with Lord John Manners that there ought to be a colonial peerage¹³, but naturally it was more anxious to ensure the proper authority of the clergy. For instance, it wanted emigrants to be under some form of pastoral guidance all the way from their old village to their new one, including the emigrant ship¹⁴. Another constant preoccupation is illustrated by the above quotation: mission did not just mean churches, but all the institutions a young community needed, and especially schools and colleges. This is so constant a preoccupation, indeed, that quotations can hardly do it justice; but for its flavor I select a description of a college for boys in "Van Diemen's Land",¹⁵ where we are shown "the library, an upper room, overlooking the quadrangle" and dinner with the warden, fellows, candidates for Orders, the scholars (one of whom says grace in Latin) and other students "not on the foundation, though wearing the same kind of cap and gown". In all this we can see "the infant features of one of those Colleges which we see

in England, in their full maturity, feeding every department of our Church and State with a perennial flow of renovating energy, intellect, and high principle". It was certainly a very different source of talent to what Van Diemen's Land had used hitherto!

The most hopeful colony of all was New Zealand, and within New Zealand, Canterbury Province. This full-scale experiment in Anglican colonization is sufficiently well-known, and I shall not go into its actual fortunes which were better than might have been expected despite the Maori wars. The Chronicle gave it a great deal of space; it was very suspicious of the intentions of the New Zealand Company, but the Canterbury project represented its beau idéal. Previous colonies had uniformly failed to include in their plans

a nobility, a gentry, an established Church, endowed colleges and schools. The consequence naturally is that our Colonies, British in name, are American in character. Along with the Colonists will be sent whatever is necessary for carrying out the whole of our ecclesiastical organization, and ample provisions will be made for educational institutions in connection with the Church. Great care will also be taken in the selection of emigrants, so as to prevent, as far as possible, the introduction of unwholesome elements into the young community¹⁶.

This was in 1848; Selwyn's pioneering synod had recently met and legislated:

Canon IX - That all persons be exhorted to come to the Holy Communion in seemly clothing: but that no one be excluded on account of his inability to procure a dress of foreign manufacture¹⁷.

It was about the same time that a number of fictional characters invented by Charlotte M. Yonge conceived the ambition of starting a Sunday School, and eventually building a church in a benighted industrial slum near their home. Their doings made her best-loved book, The Daisy Chain; all her profits from it went to New Zealand where they founded a school, dedicated to St. Andrew in honor of the fictional chapel and school of St. Andrew's, Cocks Moor¹⁸.

(The school served Melanesia - a mission based on a mission - to which Miss Yonge had already given the profits of her best-seller,

Heir of Redcliffe; she later wrote the biography of its martyr-bishop, John Coleridge Patteson - one of the very few missionaries, and the only bishop, who really got himself killed in the South Sea Islands.) One of the fictional family in the Daisy Chain, Norman May, went to New Zealand himself hoping to convert the Maori. In a pattern that we have heard of before, he was required to take charge of a school for white settlers. However, he was a more sterling character than the young man who went to Ontario, for he rose above the disappointment and became an Archdeacon. He was able to send some of his students into the Melanesian mission, where he actually followed them, becoming a missionary bishop at the end of his life¹⁹.

The missionary church in Melanesia was based on the missionary church in New Zealand. Most of its workers, and most of its financial resources, must have come from England in the early days. From the standpoint of the school represented by the Chronicle it was important that actual New Zealanders if not actual Melanesians should assume full responsibility as soon as possible. No mission church was ever too young to send out its own missions. Oddly enough I have found no argument for this basing itself on the example of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon churches in the Dark Ages. I would have expected to find this, because the example is actually in point and would be congenial to Oxford-movement minds. But their historical sights tended to be set on even earlier missionizing ventures, those which won whole barbarian kingdoms on the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and which had perhaps the attraction that we know very little about them and can therefore give the romantic imagination free rein.

Newly planted churches should be sending out their own missions. They and their missions should as soon as possible become self-supporting in the rugged pioneering way; they should not depend on doles of money or contingents of gentlemanly and inexperienced clergy from England (regardless of England's continuing duty to send them). The newest of new churches should be complete - that is to say, episcopal - from the first; the missionary team

should be headed by a bishop, himself an active missionary and not a dignified Establishment man sent out to supervise missionaries after the ground had been broken by presbyters on their own. All this added up to a need for local initiative and independence, which was somewhat at odds with the Chronicle's concern to transplant a paternalistic, hierarchically ordered society. Here we have yet another tension that might be matched in nineteenth-century Imperialism generally, between a desire that the colonies, and their churches, should be exact copies of the Mother country and a desire that they should be enterprising and spontaneous. This tension further has a very close parallel in the hopes the High Church placed in the Gothic Revival in architecture, which was to produce a style freely adaptable to all conditions without departing from the norms set once for all time in the late thirteenth century. Indeed, this architectural problem was one that mission-minded High Churchmen had to be very conscious of, though the Chronicle was able to leave it to its contemporary, The Ecclesiologist.

The Chronicle was concerned for the independence, and the ecclesiastical completeness - plene esse - of the frontier church. Ideally this meant that a bishop could be among the original trail-blazers. If the area was to be opened up to white settlement, the first settlers ought to find a bishop, if not a cathedral, there when they arrived. If they were ever going to develop a paternalistic and traditional society they would need one, but the Church's need was primary and applied equally to the territory of indigenous peoples. The Chronicle (and, incidentally, the Ecclesiologist also) tends in true Anglican fashion to equate the founding of the Church in a new country with the consecration of its first bishop.

Churches that were so founded were rare. The idea was familiar enough in mid-Victorian times to be made fun of by W.S. Gilbert²⁰. The first actual proposal seems to have come from, of all people, Bishop John Strachan of Toronto about 1851. When the subdivision of the original enormous diocese was first mooted, the diocese of Huron was the only actual result but Strachan had put

forward a plan - enthusiastically endorsed by the Chronicle - for a diocese of "St. Mary's", which would be right out in the bush in unsettled country. The area was roughly the modern diocese of Algoma, and "St. Mary's" was Sault Ste. Marie. There were no clergy at all yet, but one day there would be a cathedral city. Certainly settlement, and not only work among Indians, was involved:

An intelligent Bishop, aiming from the beginning at the extension and establishment of Christ's kingdom by means of his connexion with colonization might render his Diocese very different from the other Dioceses which have been settled at random²¹.

Nothing directly came of this. The first scheme actually based on these principles was in 1861, when at the urging of Bishop Gray of Cape Town and of Livingstone the "Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa" was founded for the express purpose of sending a team headed by a bishop to the Zambesi²². This was the beginning of what soon became the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and the U.M.C.A. may be thought an exception to my earlier statement that the new High Church did not start a missionary society of its own. It is the exception that proves the rule; the U.M.C.A. expresses in its name its strictly limited objective, essentially to enlist support in Cambridge and Oxford (it was a Cambridge initiative) for founding one diocese on correct High Church principles. The real control was not to be in Cambridge or Oxford but on the spot. Even the U.M.C.A. was not able to live up to this intention, and when the second bishop decided to move his base to Zanzibar he had a row with his committee just as earlier bishops had had with S.P.G. or C.M.S.²³ The U.M.C.A. became a permanent institution and continued to send clergy to a large area of sub-Sahara Africa whose characteristic brand of Anglicanism has remained strongly "Anglo-Catholic". It has become permanent, in spite of losing the argument about Zanzibar, which on its principles it was bound to lose.

These principles had been discussed in the Chronicle, where the need for a bishop to be the spearhead of the Church's advance and to be a real missionary was coupled with the non-need

for him to be rich²⁴. The question remained open whether he ought to have high social precedence. I think the Chronicle wanted him to, but it also wanted the advancing church as a whole to be otherworldly in its economic demands. Colonists ought to support their own church; the schools and other institutions that a Christian colony needed must be cheap; the clergy should be content with apostolic poverty, even if they dreamed of Gothic cathedrals. The Chronicle was fascinated when Selwyn in New Zealand planned a "St. John's College" which included a hospital, to be staffed by volunteers organized as "Brothers" and "Sisters" of a community, specifically to keep it cheap rather than to make it medieval²⁵. The Rev. Stewart Darling, then a missionary in Canada West, wrote in 1852²⁶ to suggest that groups of missionaries, living together as communities, should support themselves by clearing the wilderness and farming it. I hardly like to mention that Darling became a Rector in Toronto and eventually went over to Rome. However, both he and Selwyn evidently thought that quasi-monastic institutions were suited to the wilderness for reasons of practical convenience as well as ascetic piety. It would not be difficult to make such a case, and of course High Church mission, like Roman Catholic, has often been carried out that way. As a strategy it has the disadvantage of depending on vocations for the life of an active religious order, and in the mid-century these were very rare among men.

The same Stewart Darling, as Rector of Holy Trinity, chaired a meeting in 1857 in the upper school room of that church, which was attended by several representatives of the Toronto black community, with the object of founding a black Torontonion mission to Africa²⁷. This was following in the footsteps of the diocese of Barbados, which already supported missions around Cape Palmas (it later took over Gambia); at nearly the same time (1850) the first synod of Australian bishops had set up a Mission Board.²⁸ This last move was intimately bound up with Bishop Broughton (of Sydney)'s wish to unite the Australian dioceses in a self-governing entity that should not have policy made for it in London.

Almost every principle that the Chronicle espoused

required the colonial church to be self-governing. This was also a practical necessity, increasingly so as it became clear that no colonial legislature was willing to establish the Anglican church. I shall not deal with the legal entanglements, which make much too large and complicated a subject. The Chronicle, in any case, was more concerned with what the law ought to be than with what it was. From at least 1848 it consistently urged that the colonial church had to be free to manage its own affairs, whether it was in any sense "established" locally or not. In that year, commenting editorially on the views of "F.H.D." in favor of voluntarism, it still wanted establishment where possible but also wanted, like the writer, synodical government with lay participation. Scotland, after all, had both. "F.H.D." had written, "In fact, it has come to this, that the idea of an establishment must be given up."²⁹ This was still rather shocking; but Gladstone's bill of 1852, which would have accepted and regularized this fait accompli, was warmly supported. Even earlier, in 1851, an article, "The Church of the Future" (which drew part of its inspiration from the Crystal Palace exhibition) had drawn a very euphoric picture of the "Anglo-Catholic" church as it would be in 1901 - worldwide, numerous, and overwhelmingly non-established. When they had come to recognize the Royal Supremacy as "accidental" - an expression which could be matched in very early writings of W.F. Hook³⁰ - Anglicans would be more obedient to their own internal authorities than ever before:

They wish to see a general understanding as to the limitations imposed by the Church on the private judgment of its individual ministers and members. They long and pray for a more visible, practical and efficient union of the several portions of at least the Anglo-Catholic Church than they now experience³¹.

After the failure of Gladstone's bill, the need for synodical government and for freedom from Canterbury or the Colonial Office is a constant preoccupation. Naturally it became more intense after the Privy Council's decision in Colenso's case in 1865, but the Chronicle's position was clear enough before. It was urging free

election of bishops in 1855³² referring to the Royal Supremacy and other aspects of the English Establishment, in 1858, as "local and temporary accidents"³³ and asserting the equality of local Metropolitans with Canterbury in 1861³⁴. In 1867 A.C. Tait, then Bishop of London, canvassed the colonial bishops in hopes they would agree to accept the authority of Canterbury (and in some sense the Royal Supremacy) as the unifying principle of the Anglican communion. He was almost universally rebuffed. It seems clear that on this sort of question the Chronicle was in sympathy with the mind of the overseas church as a whole, and not with a party only.

After the Colenso case hardly anybody with a real grasp of the situation could want bishops in the British dependencies to be appointed by the Crown by letters-patent. Even before the Colenso case such a method of appointment was manifestly absurd for bishops outside the British dependencies. Yet this method was resorted to, in 1862 for the consecration of T.N. Staley for Hawaii, where the Royal Supremacy if it existed at all was exercised not by Victoria but by Kamehameha IV.

Briefly in the 1860's Hawaii was another darling mission field of the High Church. This time the hope was that a barbarian kingdom would be brought within the pale of Christendom, on the early medieval precedents, by the self-dedication of a converted king. High Churchmen seem to have persuaded themselves that Bishop Staley in Honolulu, like Bishop Mackenzie on the Zambesi, would be a true "Missionary Bishop", planting the church in virgin soil - the previous work of American Methodists did not count. American Episcopalians were involved in this venture which they were destined to take over, but it was mainly English and this was doubtless its attraction to Kamehameha who correctly saw American influence as a danger to his throne. Missionary rivalries played a part in the political struggles which eventually destroyed the monarchy, but in 1862 the exile of that ardent Anglican, Queen Liliuokalani, lay far ahead. Royal patronage seemed to ensure the Anglicanization of Hawaii. Its affairs were reported frequently

in the Chronicle with only the occasional sour note, as when in 1865 (quoting an Episcopalian source) it condemns attacks on the mission by American sectarians already working there:

These low, uneducated persons, formerly blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers etcetera do not understand what gentlemanly feeling is³⁵.

Gentlemanly feeling was one of the blessings that the true church was supposed to introduce to the Sandwich Islanders, along with Christianity itself. Boarding schools on the English model were early planned. The Devonport Sisters came to run a girls' school. There was even to be a Cathedral School. Staley, in a report of 1864, is proud of these achievements and of the fact that he had persuaded a number of island chieftains to enrol in his District Visiting Society and Tract Society³⁶.

Honolulu was to have a proper cathedral from the start. Staley took out the plans with him. They were reviewed in the Ecclesiologist in June 1862:

As for the materials, from information furnished by the government surveyor, it is found that the islands afford a very good rough stone, (a sort of coral rock) for general purposes, and that there are many natives who are accustomed to the working of it; but there is no stone which can be used for carving, mouldings, tracery or ashlar walling. Accordingly a severe early type [of Gothic] has been chosen, which will depend for its decoration on painting. Timber is procured from Vancouver's Island. We may congratulate Mr. Slater on his success while we confess our gratification at the good results which cannot fail to follow from so favourable an exhibition of the Church of England in its material aspect to the kingdom of Hawaii. It is unhappily many centuries since it has been usual for sovereigns voluntarily to take up the yoke of Christ, and to invite the indwelling of the Church in their nations. Hawaii is a solitary instance in these later ages of a country, first civilized, then Christianized, and now inviting the organization of the Church in its entirety. Our prayers and our wishes go with the success of Bishop Staley's mission, and we are in proportion more glad that he has provided himself with plans and designs, so well calculated to exhibit the true dignity and signification of the Episcopal and Cathedral system³⁷.

It is a temptation to go on quoting the Ecclesiologist, which is packed with references to the needs of High Church missions in every part of the Earth. The same volume has an article on the adaptation of Gothic to the climate of Ceylon - where, according to the most famous of Anglican missionary hymns, every prospect pleases and only Man is vile³⁸. Ceylon had an ancient civilization; Hawaii had local building stone and native masons; it is remarkable how completely the Ecclesiologist and its favorite architects ignore the possibility of any local architectural tradition worth taking into account. It was assumed that all churches, and indeed all buildings whatsoever in a Christian country, must be Gothic; though they were prepared, and anxious, to develop new varieties of Gothic to suit the local climate and materials³⁹. I have already suggested that this is of a piece with the Chronicle's ambivalent, if not contradictory, expectations of vigorous frontier spirit and manly independence in a transplanted deference society. In Hawaii we see attempts at both.

Under different skies, it might be necessary to build a different kind of Gothic. Under new social and political conditions, the old relationship of Church and State would not work, and it became necessary to take a new look at the nature of the Church. In nineteenth-century Anglicanism the revived High Church of the Oxford Movement was more ready than its rivals for both these mental exercises, however backward-looking it might be in its style of piety and its original aims. It remained backward-looking because its formula for change was to hunt for precedents in the past, where it was not compelled to turn Radical by pressure of circumstances, it would ally with old deference systems in Hursley or Honolulu, or try to import them into Ontario or New Zealand. The missionary strategy encouraged by the Chronicle was fairly rigid, and, as was normal in the Nineteenth Century, the cultural hegemony of Europe was assumed without question. In one area this produces a gap which is very strange to the Twentieth-Century

mind: in all the literature I have seen, with its very wide-ranging discussion of all sorts of problems, the mission field is never seen as a field for liturgical experiment. The larger Anglicanism of the future was to manage with the Prayer Book of 1662, translated into Zulu or Algonquin. From the old societies, S.P.G. and C.M.S., you would have expected this, as you would expect such mere Anglican quaintness as archdeacons in gaiters and the Victorian attitude to Sunday. In the Victorian age, and under the aegis of the new High Church no less than the other parties, all these things circled the globe. I am quite sure Archdeacon Norman May wore gaiters in New Zealand. In New Zealand the obligation of Sunday observance was undoubted but it presented a serious intellectual problem until the setting of the International Date Line⁴⁰. In Melanesia, where the same problem arose, Bishop J.C. Patteson argued that other commandments were more important, but he only meant that the English Sunday would have to wait until his catechumens had given up murder, adultery and theft⁴¹.

As for the Prayer Book of 1662, Anglicans of all styles of churchmanship took a pride in it then which Anglicans do not to-day. In the euphoric days when their communion had just begun a very rapid expansion, it was natural for them to take pleasure in the thought of a chorus of unceasing praise, going up in all languages from all meridians of longitude. As a tailpiece I will go back to Canada for a quotation that echoes my earlier one from Charlotte M. Yonge about the delights of preaching the Gospel on the shores of the Great Lakes. The Chronicle borrowed it from Ernest Hawkins' Annals of the Diocese of Toronto. Here is Strachan on his primary visitation:

On the first night of our encampment, I discovered that one of our canoes was manned by converted Indians from our Mission at the Manatoulin. Before going to rest they assembled together, sung a hymn in their own language, and read some prayers, which had been translated for their use from the Liturgy. There was something indescribably touching in the service of praise to God upon these inhospitable rocks; the stillness, wildness, and darkness, combined with the sweet and plaintive voices, all contributed to add to the solemn and deep interest of the scene⁴².

Such scenes fed the missionary imagination. The reality, for many, might be an ordinary parish in Toronto. The task of the new theology was to discern the Mystical Body in both.

FOOTNOTES

1. F.J. Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1920), 36 (quotation); cf. 121, 164-5
2. C.M. Yonge, Hopes and Fears (1860), cap. 1
3. C.M. Yonge, Modern Broods (1900), cap. 28
4. Hopes and Fears, cap. 27
5. For Carrigaboola see C.M. Yonge, Pillars of the House (1873), caps. 12 and 46, and cf. above n. 3; for Borioboola-Gha, see C. Dickens, Bleak House (1853), cap. 4
6. W.R.W. Stephens, Life and Letters of W.F. Hook (1878), I, 270
7. London, SPCK, 1952
8. Peter Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa (1963), 66f, 103f
9. Cnattingius, op.cit., 225-9
10. Chronicle, ns, 1869, 369. I am indebted to Trinity College Library for access to its file of the Chronicle
11. By Professor Maurice Careless
12. Chronicle, V, 430
13. Chronicle, V, 34
14. E.g. Chronicle, II, 229, 233, 389, 426, 457
15. Chronicle, II, 297f
16. Chronicle, I, 369-70
17. Chronicle, I, 276
18. At Kohimarama near Auckland; see C. Coleridge, C.M. Yonge, her Life and Letters (1903), 210
19. Long Vacation (1895), Caps. 4, 33
20. "The Bishop of Rum-ti-Foo" (1867) and "The Three Kings of Chickeraboo" (1868), both reprinted in Bab Ballads
21. Chronicle, IV, 388

22. Hinchliff, 70f; Chronicle, ns, 1859, 93 (volume also binds up O. & C.M.C.A. report)
23. Chronicle, ns, 1864, 459; 1865, 201
24. E.g. Chronicle, IX, 169 (1855), 322-3 (1856); ns, 1858. 243-3,443-5
25. Chronicle, II, 473
26. Chronicle, VI, 56
27. Chronicle, ns, 1857, 450
28. Ross Border, Church and State in Australia 1788-1872 (1962), 174f. Both boards are regularly reported in the Chronicle from 1850
29. Chronicle, II, 89f (quote, 91), and cf. 302
30. See his first published sermon, of 1822, "The Peculiar Character of the Church of England, Independently of its Connection with the State"
31. Chronicle, IV, 385
32. Chronicle, VIII, 419
33. Chronicle, ns, 1858, 3
34. Chronicle, ns, 1861, 121
35. Chronicle, ns, 1865, 240-1 (quoting American Church Quarterly)
36. Chronicle, ns, 1864, 23f
37. Ecclesiologist, XXIII, 158
38. Ibid, 32 Hymn: "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" by Bishop Heber of Calcutta. For the vileness of Man in Ceylon, see Chronicle, ns, 1857, 403
39. This was a constant preoccupation of the Ecclesiologist; for a rare instance of success, see Douglas Scott Richardson, "Hyperborean Gothic: or, Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Wood Churches of Edward Medley" in Architectura, II, no. 1 (1972) (I owe this reference to Mr. William Westfall)
40. Chronicle, V, 329
41. C.M. Yonge, Life of John Coleridge Patteson (1888), II, 113-4
42. Chronicle, I, 371f