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# All for Love: John Mason Neale and the Perth Deanery Refusal

LEON LITVACK

## 1. Cambridge Days and the Bishop of Chichester's Inhibition

In order to understand John Mason Neale's interest in the Scottish Episcopal Church, it is necessary to begin with a survey of his education at Cambridge, and of the religious atmosphere of the time. As a young man, after an evangelical upbringing and a university education during which he had been swept up by the tides of the Oxford Movement and the Gothic revival, he had become convinced that the Church of England was an authentic part of the historic Catholic Church. At the time (1836–1840) when Neale went to Cambridge, the Church of England was experiencing a period of inner strife. The progressive decline of church life and the spread of 'Liberalism' in theology were causing grave misgivings among churchmen. On the other hand, the works of such men as the Bishop of Oxford, Charles Lloyd,<sup>1</sup> and those of the Romantic Movement, had led to a new interest in many elements of primitive and mediaeval Christianity. Among the more immediate causes were the fear that the Catholic Emancipation Act would lead many Anglicans into the Roman Catholic Church, the anxiety occasioned by the Reform Bill (1832), and the plan to suppress ten Irish bishoprics. An awareness of this problem among the intellectual 'elite' at the universities gave rise to such groups as the Oxford Movement, founded by Pusey and his followers in 1833, and the Cambridge Camden Society, founded by Neale in 1839.

There were certain similarities between the two groups. The Oxford—or Tractarian—Movement was concerned with recalling churchmen to an appreciation of the Catholic character of the Church of England, and showing that the Church was not simply a department of State. It held fast to the Bible, the historic Creeds, the Sacraments, and the Apostolic Ministry. The Cambridge Camden Society was an offshoot of Tractarianism, and took up the revival where the Oxford men had left it weakest: the outward symbols of faith. Neale and his followers wished to re-construct the visible worship and church architecture of England. They specified a number of subjects as being within their scope, including Church building and restoration, Church music, and decorative arts.

Neale was a product of his environment at Cambridge. He believed it was his sacred duty to remind the English people of the Catholic heritage of their Church. In his attempt to educate and reform, he encountered bitter opposition in the form of individuals who staunchly opposed any innovation in the doctrine or practices of the Anglican Church.

After leaving Cambridge, Neale went through a period of serious illness. Finally his health improved, and in 1846 he accepted the Wardenship of Sackville College, an almshouse in East Grinstead. It seemed as if he had finally found his niche: whereas the physical exertion of parish work would have been too much for him, this post, with its small amount of parish work and the opportunities which it afforded for pursuing his literary interests, was most suitable. Little did Neale anticipate the stress to which he would be subjected during his Wardenship in East Grinstead.

The Warden set out to rebuild Sackville College along the lines on which he was educated; therefore when the time came to refurbish the chapel, it was not surprising to find that the furnishings he ordered included a vested altar with a cross, candlesticks, and a rood screen. In the mid-19th century, such items were generally regarded as peculiar to the Roman Church; their appearance at Sackville was sure to cause problems for Neale.

The trouble started in February 1847, when Thomas Palmer Hutton, an Evangelical preacher who had heard about the irregular furnishings, called on Neale one day to examine the chapel for himself. On seeing the rood screen, the Evangelical told Neale that he would write to the Bishop of Chichester in an effort to have the screen removed. Hutton wrote the letter, which proved to be the undoing of the Warden, whose only fault was that he was an eager young advocate of a movement which had as its aims a return to pre-Reformation English Church doctrine, and a revival of material aids to faith.

Bishop Ashurst Turner Gilbert was nominated to the See of Chichester by Sir Robert Peel in 1842. Prior to this appointment he had been Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, a high churchman, and an admirer of Newman and the Tractarian Movement; but by the time he became bishop he was opposed to the movement to Catholicise England. He tried to steer his diocese along a middle course, but came down heavily on what he considered to be extreme practices. Unfortunately, in his eyes the reforms instituted by Neale at Sackville College fell into this category.

On 7 May, 1847, the Bishop visited East Grinstead, and asked to see the College chapel. He was extremely displeased with the alterations Neale had made, and prohibited him from celebrating Divine Worship and from exercising clerical functions in the diocese of Chichester. Gilbert particularly admonished Neale for the

'frillery with which . . . [he had] transformed the simplicity at Sackville College into an imitation of the degrading superstitions of an erroneous Church,'<sup>2</sup> and even referred to Neale's innovations as 'spiritual haberdashery.'<sup>3</sup>

Neale was distraught by the censure. After consultation with Earl De la Warr, Sackville's patron, he resolved to continue to officiate in the College chapel, but to abstain from conducting services anywhere else in the diocese. The Bishop took this decision to mean that the inhibition was not being obeyed, and he brought the case before the Court of Arches in November, 1847. The judgment went against the Warden: it was decided that he had committed an ecclesiastical offence by administering the Sacrament and Divine Office without a licence from Gilbert. Neale was ordered not to officiate in future without the authority of the Bishop.

In addition to this distressing verdict, Neale was required to pay the cost of the proceedings. During the next few years various attempts were made to persuade the Bishop either to state the charge on which the inhibition was founded or to withdraw it; however, the Bishop remained silent.

The Bishop of Chichester's inhibition was not formally removed until 1863; thus for more than fifteen years Neale was prohibited from exercising his priestly function at Sackville College. The fact that he could not minister to his elderly group of inmates troubled him deeply; yet he never abandoned them, even though in 1850 he was offered the Deanery of the new Episcopal cathedral in Perth—the only piece of so-called preferment ever to come his way.

## **2. The Gorham Judgment and Interest in Scotland**

It would seem, given what has been described thusfar, that Neale would have jumped at the opportunity to leave the diocese of Chichester and to make a fresh start. In Perth he would certainly have received a larger salary—no small consideration for a clergyman with a large family—and would have enjoyed greater opportunities for literary and occupational advancement. However, there had to be more at stake than a personal inhibition to make Neale think about leaving England for a brighter future: Neale had to believe that the entire Anglican Church was in danger. Such was Neale's appraisal of one of the great ecclesiastical lawsuits of the nineteenth century: the Gorham Judgment.

The history of this case begins in 1847, when the Rev. G.C. Gorham was presented by the Lord Chancellor to the vicarage of Brampford Speke in the diocese of Exeter. The Bishop of Exeter, Henry Phillpotts, who suspected Gorham's orthodoxy, examined him, found him unsound on the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and refused to institute him to the living. After a complicated lawsuit which lasted almost three years, Gorham appealed to the recently

formed Judicial Committee of the Privy Council,<sup>4</sup> which effectively declared that baptismal regeneration was an open question and judged Gorham's views to be doctrinally sound. The decision, which gave great offence to High Churchmen and aroused a storm of controversy, was the key factor for some prominent Anglicans in their decision to embrace the Roman Church, among them Henry Manning (later Archbishop of Westminster) and his friend Robert Wilberforce.

Neale and others like him were appalled by the effect that a secular decision was able to have on the truth preached in the Church formularies from time immemorial. In a schedule prepared by Neale, he referred to the Judicial Committee as 'a body absolutely without ecclesiastical authority, owing its existence to an act of Parliament.' He also asserted that the Catholic church from the beginning has ever held that regeneration is conferred in and by Baptism, and by that alone,' and 'that the English Church, as a branch of the Church Catholic, has ever taught and held the same doctrine in her Offices, in her Catechism, and in her Articles.' The document ended with a declaration that if Convocation were to confirm the Privy Council decision, then the signatories would be compelled to regard the Church of England as 'no longer an orthodox branch of the Church of Christ, and would leave her accordingly.'<sup>5</sup>

Neale had not been shaken in his allegiance to the Church of England by the episcopal censures forced upon him; however, this matter of the Gorham Judgment, with its danger to the church at large, affected him much more strongly. For the first time in his life he disclosed, in a letter to a friend, that secession was an ultimate possibility. Though he was 'perfectly satisfied *as yet* with the position of the English Church, . . . in case of that worst which I know *may* come, I should like a harbour under my lee.'<sup>6</sup>

Even given this professed satisfaction with the Church of his birth, he feared that she would commit heresy. In order to prevent such a calamity, he convinced his fellow clergymen to put up a militant defence, thereby ensuring that the Church would not betray herself in the Gorham matter by adopting the Privy Council decision. Neale himself wrote a pamphlet entitled *A Few Words of Hope on the Present Crisis of the English Church*, in which he assured his fellow churchmen that there was no cause for despair; however, by 1850, the matter was not settled, and some, including Neale, turned their eyes to Scotland. There the Episcopal Church was not the Established Church, but a minority. It was therefore free from the political restraints which were placed upon the Church in England. Because in Scotland difficulties in the Episcopal Church were resolved by an ecclesiastical—not a political—body, Neale believed he had found a branch of his Church which was still doctrinally pure and true.

When the decision of the Privy Council was handed down the

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Episcopal Church in Scotland was very quick to reassert its belief in baptismal regeneration, and on 19 April, 1850, the Episcopal Synod met in Aberdeen and issued a declaration, addressed to their English counterparts, to that effect.

The Episcopal Church was immovable in its opposition to the Gorham Judgment, and wished to do everything possible to prevent her English sister from committing heresy.

The great treasure of the nineteenth century Episcopal Church in Scotland was her Eucharistic Office. It differed from that in use south of the border at the time. For Neale the most appealing aspect of this Office must have been that it approached, more nearly than any other, the earliest and purest form of Eucharistic worship. Patrick Torry, at that time oldest of the Scottish Prelates, described the Office thus:

Our Eucharistic Office is the only one now in use in the Christian world that fully recognizes the scriptural and primitive doctrine contained in Christ's blessed institution at his last Passover.<sup>7</sup>

By 1850, however, there was a movement afoot to abolish this liturgy: there were those who chose to ignore the independent position of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and desired nothing more than to assimilate it completely, and to make it dependent upon the English Church. Such a plan enraged Neale, given his displeasure with the Church authorities over the outcome of the Gorham Judgment, and he promised to do everything in his power to avert another disaster.

Although the Scottish liturgy was in use there was no authoritative edition of it in print. The Church wanted something in black and white which would distinguish its Office from that of the Church of England, who rejected the Scots heritage for the Anglican Prayer Book. Application was therefore made to Bishop Torry, who was a staunch defender of national usages, to reprint the liturgy, inserting rubrics relating to customs which had always been observed, though never set down in writing. In retrospect, Torry was the best choice for editor of the Scottish liturgy: he had an unparalleled, overpowering zeal for a distinctly Scottish use, sparked by the persecutions of the eighteenth century, to which he himself had been witness. Neale observed that for the preservation and perpetuation of the Scottish Office, Torry 'wrote, spoke, laboured, suffered, and, in the last years of his earthly existence, may be almost said to have lived.'<sup>8</sup>

Neale approved of Bishop Torry's plan, and developed a warm and deep admiration for the man and his church: here was a man who wished to retain in his liturgy and rubrics the flavour of early Christian tradition. He was described by Neale as 'the purest source whence the traditions of the independent Scottish Church . . . might

be derived.<sup>9</sup> In order to voice his satisfaction, Neale wrote on the subject in various church periodicals, most notably the *Ecclesiologist* and the *Christian Remembrancer*. He also made a detailed comparison of four Eucharistic Offices (Laud's, the Nonjurors', the Received Scottish Office, and Bishop Torry's) and appended them to his *Life and Times of Patrick Torry*, in order to outline the various stages of development of this liturgy. With Neale's interest and influence fully enlisted, the Bishop could rest assured that the Scottish Communion Office would retain its independent character.

When the Prayer Book finally appeared in April, 1850, the Rev. Joseph Haskell, a friend of Neale's who had been working for some time as a volunteer in the Perth mission, sent him a copy. On the whole Neale approved of the new Office, and wrote a letter of thanks to Haskell, in which he said, 'The Liturgy is now nearly what one could wish.' In the same letter there is also an important statement, which demonstrates just how strong an affinity Neale felt with his sister Church: 'Well, if we have to come over to you, we shall not have much cause to complain.'<sup>10</sup> Thus for Neale, the Scottish Episcopal Church presented a viable alternative to his own Church of England.

### **3. The Perth Deanery**

The preceding correspondence was carried on during May, 1850. Later that year a new Cathedral was to be consecrated in Perth. This town was the most important in Bishop Torry's diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane and up until 1846 there was no Episcopal congregation there. In that year a small mission was started by the Rev. J.C. Chambers, who had to contend with an extreme shortage of money in establishing this outpost of the Scottish Church. Within a few weeks of taking up the post he started a day school, and having no funds to pay a master, taught it himself for a year. By means of such energetic and faithful personal ministrations Chambers succeeded in attracting many converts from Presbyterianism, thereby stimulating the growth of the Perth Mission.<sup>11</sup> By the time Joseph Haskell came to Perth as a volunteer in 1848 the idea had been put forward that the mission be superseded by a cathedral.

The idea for making Perth the seat of the diocese was formulated in 1847 by two Oxford undergraduates: Lord Forbes, then 18 years old, and George Frederick Boyle, later Earl of Glasgow, aged 22. Their scheme proposed that the cathedral would have a staff of missionary priests who would minister in areas where there were no resident clergy, and that the Scottish Communion Office would be used exclusively, in both the cathedral and all the chapels dependent upon it. The idea was warmly received, and when £6,000 was raised construction began, under the direction of the architect William Butterfield. It was decided that to accelerate the process, the building

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would be consecrated as soon as a portion—the chancel and nave—was completed.

Haskoll wrote to Neale, asking him to come and see for himself the workings of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. In the letter he hinted that Neale might be appointed Dean of the new cathedral: a position which would be the opportunity of a lifetime. Neale was enthusiastic about the prospect of preferment, and communicated his feelings to Haskoll. His friend was overjoyed, and wrote:

Of all things which I can think of there is nothing which I believe would be better for the Church of Scotland than for you to come here. You have no idea of the capabilities of Perth, but we want a Neale to set them going.<sup>12</sup>

In August, the offer of the Deanery was officially made to Neale by the venerable Bishop of St. Andrews, Patrick Torry. Although John Mason Neale was strongly attracted to the Scottish Episcopal Church by the purity of its doctrine and revived ceremonial he declined the Bishop's offer of the Deanery, for the reasons stated in the following letter to his friend:

My dear Haskoll,

Let me thank you and the rest of the Chapter for thinking of me. And let me assure you that, in many respects, I could have wished for nothing better. You know that I have no objection to a little fighting; and anything which I could have done to oppose the Anglicanism at Perth I would have done most cheerfully and strenuously; nor, after the kind offer which your letter of this morning brought, should I have felt any difficulty on the score of money, and, had the Deanery been richly endowed, I can assure you that it would have made no difference in my answer.

My principal reasons for declining the Deanery are these:

1. Had the Church of England acquiesced in the late decision [the Gorham Judgment] I should have accepted with more than thankfulness any offer, and more especially such an one, which would have removed me from her. But, by like reasoning, now that she does not acquiesce, but is engaged in a struggle for life and death, I think that it is the duty of her sons to remain in her. My going, you may say very truly, would do no harm: but if everyone reasoned so, we should soon have nothing but a dead Establishment left.

2. If I came, I should of course come as a Missionary. I would not come without a licence from the Bishop to preach anywhere and everywhere, in lanes, streets, markets, fields, or roads—that, I am sure, is the only way to convert Scotland. But, if I were to do this effectively, I should be dead in a year, and that without any adequate advantage gained.

3. It would be most highly desirable that your Dean should be a man thoroughly acquainted with music. I have a zeal for it, but not according to knowledge.



My decision has been very much influenced by the course of events in the Church of England: and this I could not foresee. After all, I assure you it has been *a very near point*. This I say to excuse myself from any imputation of inconsistency or wavering, further than that wavering which any man must feel while making up his mind on the acceptance or rejection of a very important offer. Once more thanking you all for your kindness,

Believe me, ever yours affectionately,  
J.M. Neale

It is interesting to note that Neale emphasised the influence which the Gorham Case had on his refusal: the Church had not accepted the decision of the Privy Council, and was, for Neale, no longer on the verge of committing heresy. It therefore seems that of all the reasons stated, Neale's love of the Church of England proved to be the decisive factor.

Haskoll reluctantly accepted Neale's explanation of the refusal, and the Rev. E.B.K. Fortescue, incumbent of Wilmcote near Stratford-upon-Avon, was elected. Nothing further was said on the subject until 9 November, as the date set for the consecration quickly approached. Bishop Torry had asked Neale to preach the consecration sermon, and had further requested that he come a few days early to organize the cathedral staff.

Neale could not refuse such a gracious invitation, especially since he was asked to preach. On 7 December Neale arrived in Perth, and wrote the following letter to his wife:

My dearest love,

I got to Perth quite safely at 3 p.m. yesterday, and found everything standing still for me. I worked like a horse all the evening, and was not in bed till after one.

But the Cathedral is the finest thing I have ever seen. The men work by relays day and night: and the effect about ten yesterday evening, with the gas fully turned on—the men at work on the capitals, corona, stalls, and tiles: the sacristy filled with several ladies and gentlemen at work on the organ pipes—was the most real thing I ever saw. The best idea of it is given by Pugin in the frontispiece to the Glossary.<sup>14</sup>

To-day we have been practising the choir in processions. I have everything exactly my own way.<sup>15</sup>

The service was described by Neale himself in the *Guardian*, a popular Anglican religious newspaper, on 18 December, 1850:

The first consecration of a British Cathedral since the Reformation (with the single exception of St. Paul's) is certainly an epoch in the revival of Ecclesiology, as it is to be hoped it will also be in the moral history of the Church. St. Ninian, now the Cathedral of the (at present) united dioceses of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, has been

erected under very peculiar difficulties, and in spite of great opposition from those who should have been promoters of so good a work, the Perth Mission, established in 1846, has been hitherto singularly successful, and it is remarkable that the town in which the first-fruits of the Reformation occurred should be also that in which the Church should first be presented to future ages in somewhat of her ritual splendour.

The Cathedral, which, when completed, will be on an average with those of Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, though its height (72 feet) rivals Glasgow, is to consist of choir, nave, quasi-transept (a Scotch arrangement), aisles, two western spires, and north sacristy. At present only one wing out of the three which are to comprise the nave is completed. It is, on the whole, one of Mr. Butterfield's most successful productions.

The doors of the Cathedral were opened at 10:30, and . . . The Bishop of Brechin, who officiated for the Bishop of St. Andrews, arrived at 11:30, and was met at the western door by the whole body of clergy, by whom he was conducted to the altar.

The usual formularies having been gone through, the procession was formed. Proceeding down the nave, and round the north and south aisles, they returned to the nave again, and such was the length of the procession, that the foremost chorister had already passed the chancel doors, on his way to the north aisle, before the Bishop had reached the west door. The Bishop having again taken his place at the altar, pronounced the usual prayers of consecration.

The Holy Communion was celebrated of course according to the Scotch use, by the Bishop, assisted by the three Canons, as epistoler, gospeller, and assistant priest. After the Nicene Creed, letters missive were read from the Bishop of St. Andrews, by which he erected the Collegiate Church of St. Ninian's into the Cathedral of the united diocese.

The sermon was preached by the Rev. J.M. Neale, Warden of Sackville College, from St. Matt. 6.5 (the Lord's Prayer having been appointed for the subject of the dedication sermons). The nave, crowded with hearers, (a great portion of them standing), for only a small part of the available space was occupied with benches or chairs, gave some idea of what may be the value of our Cathedral naves when they shall be restored to real use.

We do not think we can be contradicted when we express our belief that the ceremonial of the consecration, and the following services, were the finest that had yet been since the revival of Ecclesiology.

Thus ended the morning proceedings. In the evening several adults were baptized, and several who had received Presbyterian baptism were received into the Episcopal Church according to the Scottish form. After bidding a fond farewell to Scotland, Neale travelled south again to resume his duties in East Grinstead.

The most interesting aspect of Neale's visit to Perth was the consecration sermon he delivered on the morning of 11 December, 1850. The text was later published in his *Lectures Principally on the*

*Church Difficulties of the Present Time* under the title 'The Mission of the Scotch Church.' He gave the following explanation of the singularity of the occasion to the congregants, some of whom were Episcopalians, but the majority of whom were curious or interested Scottish Presbyterians:

I dare not, in speaking to a congregation like this, neglect the opportunity which seems to be offered me of reaching some who, in the ordinary course of things, might never hear such a message. While we have time, says the Apostle, let us do good unto all men. And such a time, my brethren, neither you nor I may ever have again.<sup>16</sup>

Given the size of the Episcopalian community in a place like Perth Neale would have realised that the majority of his audience crowded into the nave of the unfinished building—a large number of whom stood for several hours on the periphery for want of seats—were there to examine the peculiarities of a Scottish Episcopal consecration ceremony. It was a novelty to the Scottish Presbyterians, and Neale used the occasion to proselytise, in an attempt to strengthen the position of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

Neale explained his mission to the non-Episcopalians thus:

We claim to be GOD's appointed messengers to you, even though you refuse to hear our message. We claim to have the charge of your souls—yes, of all your souls—as they that must give account. We claim to be a part of that Church of GOD which is to receive the nations for her inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for her possession, when the kingdoms of this world shall have become the kingdoms of our LORD and of His CHRIST. It is not as if we professed to be Episcopalians only, merely one sect among a hundred; as if we preferred our form of worship for its beauty, or its naturalness, while we were tolerant of the rest, and did not condemn others. But it is because we *are* exclusive, because we *are* what the world calls intolerant, that we are coming among you now.<sup>17</sup>

In case there were those among his listeners who were not moved by Neale's claim of exclusiveness for the Scottish Episcopal Church he then focussed on the peculiarities of the consecration ceremony, which the non-Episcopalians were seeing for the first time:

And when you contrast, as many of you no doubt have been contrasting, our comparatively gorgeous service of this morning with your own usual forms of public prayer, no doubt you imagine that by these you have met with spiritual profit, and an advance in the love of GOD, which you never could have found among us. I would have you consider this. Is it not possible that we may be speaking a high and holy language, which you, at present, cannot comprehend? May it not be as unreasonable to condemn us for its use, as it would be to rebuke a

foreigner for praying in a tongue which seems to us uncouth? These chants, these forms, are not things tacked on to our prayers, but are our natural language, the natural breath of prayer itself.<sup>18</sup>

Neale's primary purpose in delivering such a sermon was to proselytise to the non-Episcopalians who attended the consecration of St. Ninian's Cathedral. It is difficult to gauge the effect it had on its hearers; however the homily is interesting for what it reveals about the character of Neale. Here was a son of the Church of England who, as he said, 'so speaks because he so deely feels the importance of what he is saying' concerning the Scottish Episcopal Church.<sup>19</sup> He appreciated the independent character of the sister Church, and wished to do all in his power to keep it that way. Such an occasion as the first consecration of a British cathedral for 500 years represented for him the ideal opportunity to speak with the voice of a missionary to the Presbyterians and to remind the Episcopalians that 'the very terms of our charter are to convert, that is to *proselytise*. "Go ye, and teach all nations."<sup>20</sup> The fulfilment of such a goal would, for Neale, ensure the survival and increase the influence of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

#### 4. Conclusion

It is tempting to speculate on how Neale's career might have developed had he accepted the Deanery of Perth Cathedral. The prohibition by the Bishop of Chichester, the doubts generated on the state of the Church of England by the Gorham Judgment, and the appeal of Scottish Episcopal doctrine and practice meant that this Church provided him with an attractive alternative to his own. One would imagine that Torry's offer would have been most welcome under these circumstances. Nevertheless, Neale believed that his place was in East Grinstead, with the elderly inhabitants of Sackville College.

Neale also gave other reasons for declining the position. In the consecration sermon, he expressed his desire to proselytise in Scotland. If he had come to Scotland he would have wanted to devote all his energy to missionary work; however because of ill health and the size of the task he deemed it impossible. In his letter to Haskoll Neale also mentioned his ignorance of music. It seems strange for a hymnologist to give this reason, and perhaps it should be perceived as a sign of modesty, for he did possess musical knowledge which would have been more than adequate for the position of Dean. Neale also confided to his friend that even if the position had been richly endowed it would have made no difference to his answer. This was a bold declaration, especially since he had a large family, which he was supporting on the meagre returns of his literary work and the twenty eight pounds per annum he received from Earl De la Warr. Yet, in

spite of all these reasons, Neale chose to reject the only piece of preferment ever to come his way, and remain in his almshouse in East Grinstead, and in the Church of his birth.

Neale continued to interest himself in the affairs of the Scottish Episcopal Church for the rest of his days.<sup>21</sup> In the 'Ecclesiologist' for February, 1851, Neale published an account of the erection of the Perth Cathedral. Neale forwarded a copy to the then ailing Bishop Torry, who wrote the following reply, in which he voiced his penultimate thoughts on the cathedral he helped to build:

My heart is in the spiritual prosperity of St. Ninian's Cathedral. For every testimony, therefore, in its favour I feel grateful, because I heartily wish it GOD speed. I shall, however, never see it, because of my extreme old age, being now in my 88th year, and my locomotive powers being almost entirely gone. But I will not cease to pray for its welfare while I live and retain my senses, because if well served, its obvious tendency is to promote the glory of GOD and the endless benefit of many precious and immortal souls.<sup>22</sup>

This cathedral stood as a testimony to the faith and vision of Patrick Torry, and all, including Neale, who were passionately interested in preserving the independent character of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

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#### NOTES

- 1 Lloyd (1784-1829) anticipated the Oxford Movement in many ways, and Newman, Pusey, and Hurrell Froude were all influenced by his teaching. He is said to have emphasized (as *Tract 90* did later) the distinction between the decrees of the Council of Trent and many popular aspects of the modern Romanist system, and insisted upon the primitive and mediaeval elements in the *Book of Common Prayer*. For more information, see Foster's *Alumni Oxon.* and Hurrell Froude's *Remains*, I, see pp. 30-48.
- 2 Sister Miriam, *John Mason Neale: A Memoir*, p. 347a. Unfortunately, the page numbers in this volume are not consecutive. In quoting, I have used the method of reference formulated by the Rev. Dr. A.G. Lough. The first section, pp. 1-364, is quoted normally. For the following sections, the letters a, b, c, and d have been added to the number of the page to indicate in what part of the volume the reference occurs; for example, page 1b is at the beginning of the third section and will be found in the middle of the volume; page 1d is at the beginning of the last section and will be found near the end of the volume.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 351a.
- 4 This body was established as a Court of Appeal in 1833 to regularize the extensive jurisdiction of the King in Council. It took over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the High Court of Delegates, which arose out of the statute of Henry VIII abolishing appeals to Rome. Hence it determined appeals from both the Court of Arches and the provincial Court of York. The Gorham Case was only one of a series of ritual and doctrinal judgments brought before it in the nineteenth century.

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- 5 Quoted in Towle, *John Mason Neale: A Memoir*, pp. 177–178. For more information on the Gorham Judgment see J.B. Mozley, *A Review of the Baptismal Controversy* and J.C.S. Nias, *Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter*.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 178.
- 7 Letter to the Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, 28 July, 1848; quoted in Neale, *The Life of Torry*, p. 346.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. vi.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
- 10 Sister Miriam, *op. cit.* p. 105b.
- 11 Chambers' efforts were recognized by the Church administrators. After the consecration, it was decided to present him with a purse of one hundred guineas as a testimonial of the way in which his labours and conduct had been appreciated by the Scottish Episcopal Church.
- 12 Sister Miriam, *op. cit.* pp. 107b–108b; letter of 5 June, 1850.
- 13 Lawson, ed., *The Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.*, pp. 149–151.
- 14 Augustus Welby Pugin, *A Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, Compiled and Illustrated from Antient Authorities and Examples*.
- 15 Sister Miriam, *op. cit.* pp. 113b–114b.
- 16 'The Mission of the Scotch Church' in *Lectures Principally on the Church Difficulties of the Present Time*, p. 53.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- 21 In 1862, when Bishop Torry's Prayer Book came under attack, Neale published *An Earnest Plea for the Retention of the Scotch Prayer Book*.
- 22 Quoted in Neale, *The Life of Torry*, p. 375.

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