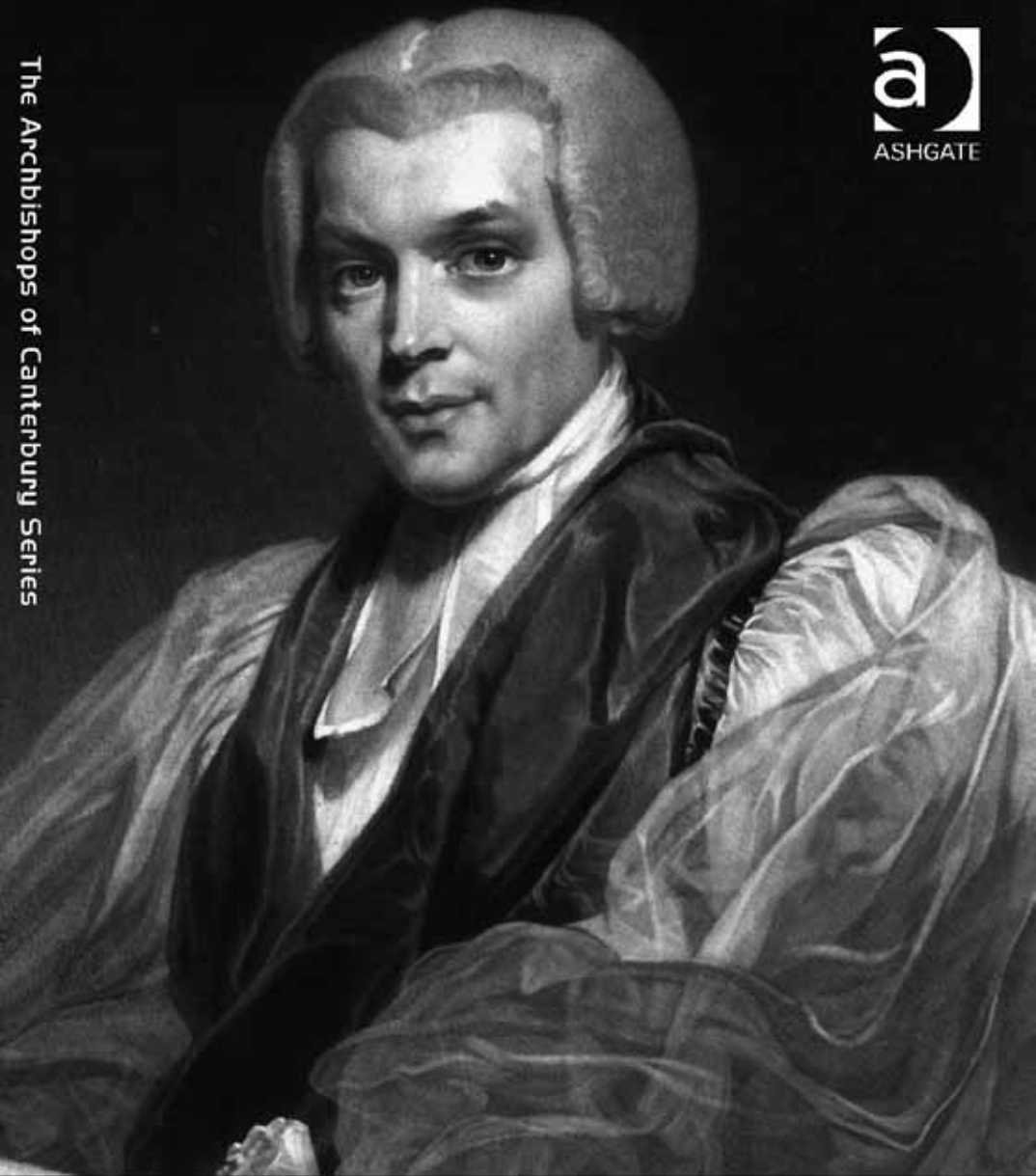


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James Garrard

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The Archbishops of Canterbury Series

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William Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury 1828-1848, led the Church of England during the beginning and expansion of the Oxford Movement, at a time when the precursor to the Church Commissioners was established, and during the momentous debates and decisions in Parliament which saw the final retreat from the myth of an all Anglican legislature. Howley's chairmanship of the commissions of the 1830s and 1840s which began the gargantuan task of reforming the Church's practices and re-arranging its finances, made him an object of fury and scorn to some of those who benefited from things as they were, most especially in the cathedrals.

Exploring the central events and debates within the Church of England in the first half of the nineteenth century, this book draws on primary and secondary evidence about Howley's career and influence. A section of original sources, including his Charges and other public documents, correspondence and speeches in the House of Lords, places Howley's achievements in proper context and illustrates his prevailing concerns in education, the establishment and political reform, relationships with the Tractarians, and in the early stages of Church reform. Dealing thematically with many of the issues faced by Howley, and exploring his own High Church theological views in historical context, James Garrard offers a fruitful re-appraisal of the intellectual, spiritual and 'party' context in which Howley moved.

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About the Author

James Garrard is Canon Precentor of Ely. He was Denyer and Johnson Student of the University of Oxford from 1991–92 and was awarded a doctorate in 1992 for a thesis on Archbishop Howley. He was ordained in 1994. He has published several articles and reviews in the areas of Church history and Liturgy and contributed to the 3rd edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*.

Preface and Acknowledgements

My initial research on William Howley was as a doctoral student at Keble College, Oxford and my supervisor was Geoffrey Rowell who was Chaplain of the College then. I owe Geoffrey a great debt of gratitude for his support of my studies and in many other ways over the last twenty-five years; amongst other contemporaries I am grateful to Peter Nockles and to Arthur Burns (who kindly read the whole manuscript as it approached publication more recently) for their very generous support and advice.

During my time as a research student I had financial and other help from Pusey House, Oxford, the British Academy, Keble College and the Faculty of Theology which elected me Denyer and Johnson Student for 1991–92. I received a scholarship from St Deiniol's Library, Hawarden which allowed me to begin the process of revising my text, and the kind support of my colleagues at Ely Cathedral at a later stage of study. I express my warm gratitude to all these institutions and to the staff of all the archives and libraries in which I have worked. I thank the staff of Ashgate warmly for all they have done to bring the book to publication.

My thesis was originally dedicated to my parents, and I expand that dedication to my whole family for this book.

James Garrard

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Bodl Lib	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Ch Ch	Christ Church Library, Oxford
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
FP	Fulham Papers [Lambeth Palace Library]
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HP	Howley Papers [Lambeth Palace Library]
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
KCL	Keble College Library, Oxford
<i>LD</i>	<i>The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman</i> , vols iv and v, eds Ian Ker, Gerard Tracey and Thomas Gornall, S.J. (Oxford, 1980–84); vols xxi and xxiv, eds C.S. Dessain, E. Kelly and Thomas Gornall, S.J. (London and Oxford, 1971–73)
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
PH	Pusey House, Oxford
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

Introduction

In the last thirty years it has been widely accepted that the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century saw far more dynamism in all areas – political, religious, social, economic, cultural and intellectual – than was ever previously allowed. Nowhere had the torpor which supposedly afflicted the nation's life and institutions been identified with such confidence as in the Church of England. There is no dissent amongst historians of religion that William Howley was the last Archbishop of Canterbury of this 'long eighteenth century'.¹ However, since he held office from 1828 until his death in 1848, Howley led the Church of England not only during the momentous debates and decisions in Parliament which saw the final retreat from the myth of an all Anglican legislature but also at the beginning and expansion of the Oxford Movement and whilst the precursor to the Church Commissioners was established. Howley's reputation has certainly suffered from the general caricature of the age but if the long eighteenth century is to be radically reassessed, then the leaders of its institutions must be due similar reassessment. In this spirit W.M. Jacob holds up the Church of England in this period as a case study of how an institution can adapt well to change without recourse to radical change or legislation.²

The Tractarians' fabled ambiguous attitude towards bishops, their reverence for the office and their disobedience to those who held it has coloured many impressions of Howley and other bishops of the same period. I was fortunate to undertake my original research at the same time as several important studies of the Church of England's theological tradition and diocesan and parochial life were published, all of which undergirded a positive re-appraisal of many long established nostrums about the intellectual, spiritual and High Church 'party' context in which Howley moved. Nearly thirty years after Howley's death, when Dr Pusey himself preached at the opening of the chapel at Keble College, Oxford

¹ See, for example, Jeremy Gregory and John Stevenson, *The Routledge Companion to Britain in the Eighteenth Century 1688–1820* (London and New York, 2007), ix, 201 and, more generally, John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c.1689–c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993).

² W.M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840* (Oxford, 2007), 18.

he described Howley with a certain amount of rhetorical hyperbole as ‘the only bishop who understood us, alone never censured us.’³ The renewed appreciation of the strength and quality of the ‘long eighteenth century’ inheritors of the High Church tradition has very much encouraged me in my own estimate of such a long-standing and powerful figure.⁴

This re-assessment of the individual who held the Church’s most significant office for twenty years can be yet more broadly conceived by taking account of what Arthur Burns describes as the enduring historiographical construction of the nineteenth-century Church through narratives of reform which cast the eighteenth-century Church in the role of the ‘unreformed’ object of that reform. He notes specifically that historians of the Hanoverian Church ‘have shown little interest in integrating the major reforms of the mid-1830s into their accounts.’⁵ It was, as noted above, under Howley’s chairmanship that the various commissions of the 1830s and 1840s began the gargantuan task of reforming the Church’s practices and re-arranging its finances and made him an object of fury and scorn to some of those who benefited most from things as they were (most especially in the cathedrals) and who believed that he had betrayed their interests comprehensively.

More recent attention to Howley by scholars has been spread throughout a large selection of different kinds of writing: general histories, biographies of other ecclesiastical or political leaders, specialist articles and theses, histories of the Oxford Movement, of parliamentary or Church Reform, and so on. Despite certain absences from Howley’s papers, there is still a wide variety of source material. First, a considerable quantity of his private and family papers remains in Lambeth Palace Library. Correspondence with the Royal Family has survived. Financial and domestic arrangements as Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury are well documented. Howley’s correspondence as Bishop of London (the Fulham Papers) has survived in full. There are over fifty volumes of correspondence which deal with all aspects of diocesan administration and a full set of visitation returns for 1815. In addition there is a large amount of correspondence with fellow bishops and clergy, politicians and courtiers. The papers of various Prime Ministers – Liverpool, Peel and Gladstone at the British

³ E.B. Pusey, *‘Blessed are the Meek’: A Sermon Preached at the Opening of the Chapel of Keble College on St Mark’s Day, 1876* (London, 1876), 25.

⁴ See the copious published writings of Peter Nockles and especially his *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (Cambridge, 1994).

⁵ Arthur Burns, ‘English “Church Reform” Revisited, 1780–1840’, in *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850*, ed. Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 136–62 at 138.

Library; Russell and Grey at the Public Record Office, Kew – have been the cornerstone of the research into Howley's primacy. The archives of Pusey House and Keble College, Oxford have been invaluable for work on the Tractarians and various collections in the Bodleian Library contain correspondence between Howley and major figures. Other correspondence is identified in the text.

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Chapter 1

Winchester and Oxford

Education and Early Preferment

William Howley was born on 12 February 1766, the first child of another William Howley, vicar of the parish of Bishop's Sutton with Ropley in the County of Hampshire. His mother, Mary, was the eighth child of a prosperous wine merchant's family, the Gauntletts, from Winchester.¹ He had a younger sister, Mary, and the family lived in Ropley where his father served from 1757 until his death in 1796. The medieval Bishops of Winchester had had a residence there, and Winchester College still owned land. Howley was therefore given one of the first chances after any Founder's Kin to be examined for a scholarship under rules drawn up by William of Wykeham, the fourteenth-century Bishop and Chancellor of England who founded the College. He was elected to a scholarship tenth in the order of merit in 1779 at the age of 12.² The seventy scholars lived separately from the rest of the school's pupils and followed classical and literary studies which had been designed by Wykeham to be the outstanding example of a Christian education which would inculcate 'Godliness and Good Learning.'³ At least fifteen hours in the week was given to Latin composition and modern languages were not taught at all until 1821.⁴

Wykeham had also established New College, Oxford as a sister foundation – 'Sainte Marie College of Wynchester in Oxenford'.⁵ Elections were made at the same time as the scholarships to Winchester, but a scholar could easily fail to get into New College whatever his ability or industry. The number of places available fluctuated every year so junior scholars were nominated for election two or three years before they were expected to move to Oxford. Howley was

¹ Will of Mary Gauntlett, widow of John, 2 January 1770, LPL MS 2201, no. 18.

² T.A. Trollope, *What I Remember* (London, 1887), i, 97; C.W. Holgate and H. Chitty, *Winchester Long Rolls 1723–1812* (Winchester, 1904), 148.

³ Holgate and Chitty, *Winchester Long Rolls 1723–1812*, 148; David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London, 1961).

⁴ A.K. Cook, *About Winchester College* (London, 1917), 287–88; W. Tuckwell, *The Ancient Ways: Winchester Fifty Years Ago* (London, 1893), 95.

⁵ A.F. Leach, *A History of Winchester College* (London, 1899), 69.

elected after two years, in 1782, in sixth place.⁶ He entered in 1783, essentially as a probationer Fellow, although still called a scholar.⁷ Like Winchester, New College had seventy scholars, which was almost as many as the scholars of all the other colleges of the university combined. Letters survive between Howley and Thomas Burgess, a scholar of Winchester 1768–75, later Bishop of Salisbury. They give a rare glimpse of Howley's interests at this time which unsurprisingly mostly concerned classical scholarship. Howley assisted Burgess in translating and revising Lessing's comments on Aristotle for publication. He evidently learned German, Italian and Spanish well and also studied Hebrew.⁸ This is the earliest remaining evidence both of his command of languages and of his delicate health. He spoke of a nervous fever and severe headaches which he blamed on overwork both to Burgess and to others from time to time.⁹

In 1787, like all Oxford students intending to be ordained, Howley attended the lectures of the Regius Professor of Divinity, John Randolph. A certificate of attendance was required by all bishops before ordination after 1790 but it was already all but universal practice.¹⁰ Howley was ordained deacon on the title of his fellowship of New College by William Cleaver, Bishop of Chester in Christ Church Cathedral on 20 December 1789, and priest by Edward Smallwell, Bishop of Oxford on 19 December the following year.¹¹ The Warden of New College throughout Howley's time was his uncle Samuel Gauntlett who had attended Winchester and New College in the same way as Howley. Although he was originally chosen as a compromise by two rival factions, he became 'the beau-ideal of a Warden' who managed the college estates so well that there was a great improvement in the fellows' income.

Howley received his MA degree in December 1790. New College held its own internal examinations for degrees, a situation which was only regularised after 1822.¹² Fellows were under no obligation to teach or study. The teaching of undergraduates was done by tutors drafted in from outside the college. Some

⁶ Holgate and Chitty, *Winchester Long Rolls 1723–1812*, xli, 151, 154, 156.

⁷ Cook, *About Winchester College*, 113.

⁸ Benjamin Harrison, *The Remembrance of a Departed Guide and Ruler in the Church of God: A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Maidstone* (London, 1848), 42; Margaret Sparks, 'Archbishop William Howley and his Books', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (2004), 35.

⁹ Howley to Burgess, 14 April 1788, Bodl Lib MS Eng Lett c 136, ff. 48–49; Howley to Aberdeen, 12 July 1809, BL, Add MS 43195, f. 3; Howley to William Sotheby, 22 January [?1796], Beinecke Library, Yale University, USA.

¹⁰ Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, 53.

¹¹ See LPL MS 2201, ff. 1–2 for the letters of orders.

¹² G.V. Cox, *Recollections of Oxford* (London, 1868), 173–76.