TEMPORAL PILLARS
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Queen Anne’s Bounty, 
the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the 
Church of England

BY

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To my Mother

and to the memory of

my Father
PREFACE

This is the history of two institutions about which little has yet been written. It is also, by a consequence that seemed inescapable, a history on a smaller scale of some of the less written-about relations between the Church of England—the larger institution which Queen Anne’s Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were, in 1704 and 1836 respectively, created to serve—and the ancient joint kingdom of England and Wales within whose legal and social framework the established church held its property and did its work. Nevertheless, Queen Anne’s Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners stand in the foreground. The former enjoyed an independent existence from 1704 to 1948. Proposals for its union with the Commissioners were frequently made from the eighteen-thirties onwards, and so similar were the functions which each was performing that it is as impossible as it would be improper to write about one without writing about both. And yet, right up to their union at last in 1948 to make up the present body of Church Commissioners, they retained their own individualities and cherished their different official traditions. I hope that I have not wholly failed to divide my pages in fair proportion between them and that church establishment of which they were such important parts.

So many people have in one way or another helped me to write this book since I started, five years ago, to work on it in the intervals between teaching and preparing to teach, that it has not been easy to decide how to thank them. The best way has in the end seemed to pay here my grateful respects to those to whom my debt is greatest; to excuse the brevity of these prefatory acknowledgments by remarking that in many cases I shall be more specific later on; and to insist that nobody holds any responsibility at all for the use or misuse to which I may be thought to have put their help.

In the first place I must thank the Church Commissioners for having invited me to write the book, and thank Sir James Brown and Sir Mortimer Warren in particular for having made my visits to No. 1
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Millbank so pleasant and profitable. At the same time I must point out that this is in no way an official history; I have been left free to write it exactly as I chose, and given every facility to do so. To Mr Alan Savidge, an Assistant Secretary there, I owe a very special debt, as will in due course be made clear; and I have been much assisted in different ways by Mr E. J. Robinson, Miss C. Lancashire, Mr James Shelley, Mrs H. D. Ashley, and other members of the Commissioners’ staff.

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to three scholars in particular. The first is Dr George Kitson Clark of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose teaching and example drew me towards the study of history in the first place, and to whom I—along with so many others who try to write history—owe more than can easily be said. The second is the late Dean of Winchester. Anyone who sets out to write about the Church of England in the eighteenth century must become familiar with the sight of Dr Sykes’s pioneer footsteps leading through those plains of rational piety to one or other of his published monuments, from which, as from their author, while he was Dixie Professor at Cambridge, I have learnt so much. The third is Dr R. W. Greaves, of Bedford College, London University, to whose friendship and good counsel I have long been indebted, and whose kind criticisms of my manuscript gave me an opportunity to get many things right, or put them differently.

I am grateful to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library for letting me use the Tenison papers and the ‘Notitia Parochialis’; to the Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office for access to the Pretyman–Tomline Collection deposited by the owner, Mr G. Pretyman; to the Lincolnshire Archives Committee for access to their collection of Bishop Kaye’s papers; and to the Earl of Harrowby, Colonel E. H. Goulburn, the Marquess of Cholmondeley, and Sir Fergus Graham, Bart., for access to their family papers, and permission to use them. Several archivists and librarians have notably eased my research; I recall with especial gratitude the help afforded me by Miss Gollancz at Kingston and Mrs Varley at Lincoln, by the Librarian of Oriel College, and by the staff of the University Library at Cambridge.

Among the many who have (sometimes no doubt without realizing it) helped me, I should particularly wish to name and thank Dr J. D. Walsh, the Rev. Dr John Kent, the Rev. Dr Owen Chadwick, Pro-
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Professor W. L. Burn, Dr J. H. Plumb, Mr Mark Whittaker, Dr Diana McClatchey, Dr Esther de Waal, Dr Anne Whiteman, Professor David Spring, Mr David Joslin, Mr Charles Wilson, Canon Charles Smyth, the Rev. Dr W. Pickering, the Rev. R. A. K. Runcie, Dr R. Robson, Professor Bruce Dickins, my pupils at Trinity Hall, and my mother.

There seem to be no other specific debts to acknowledge, but very many that can be treated generally. I have been much helped from time to time, as I suppose we all have, by casual contributors of odd hints, references, suggestions, criticisms. Often small in themselves, they add up through the years to a mountain of indebtedness. I can best notice it by admitting my general gratitude to friends and colleagues at Cambridge, London, Oxford and Harvard; but especially to those at Trinity Hall during the six years of my fellowship there. Many of them have been helpful in other ways than as providers of so many of the ideas for the putting of which into one’s own words the over-generous might give one credit for being ‘original’. With my wife at their head, they have provided that happy and stimulating background to work which makes labour less laborious, and life itself worth living.

G.F.A.B.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Parliamentary Papers

These are generally referred to as ‘P. Ps.’, thus: P. Ps. 1869, xli, 630, meaning page 630 of the 41st volume of Parliamentary Papers for the year 1869. The only exceptions to this rule are reports of Commissions or Committees having special relevance to the subject of this book and therefore much used. These are they:


Reports from the Commissioners appointed to consider the State of the Established Church, with reference to Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues: here referred to as ‘Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Commission’.

- First Report, 1835 P. Ps. 1835, xxii, 1–13
- Second Report, 1836 P. Ps. 1836, xxxvi, 1–44
- Third Report, 1836 Ibid., 47–60 (with 28 unpaginated maps of dioceses following)
- Fourth Report, 1836 Ibid., 61–78
- Fifth Report, 1837 P. Ps. 1837–8, xxviii, 9–22

Report from the Select Committee on First Fruits and Tenths, and Administration of Queen Anne’s Bounty, 1837 (P. Ps. 1837, vi, 1–75): here referred to as the ‘1837 Committee’.

Reports from the Select Committee on the Ecclesiastical Commission, 1847 and 1848 (P. Ps. 1847, ix, 1–282; P. Ps. 1847–8, vii, 523–end): here referred to as the ‘1847–8 Committee’.

Reports (first, second and third) from the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the State and Condition of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales: here referred to as the ‘Cathedrals Commission’

- First Report, 1854 P. Ps. 1854, xxv
- Second Report, 1855 P. Ps. 1854–5, xv, 35–8

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Third Report, 1855  Ibid., 39–107
Reports (first, second, and third) from the Select Committee on the Ecclesiastical Commission, etc., 1856: here referred to as the ‘1856 Committee’
  First Report  P. Ps. 1856, xi, 1–504
  Second Report  Ibid., 505–508
  Third Report  Ibid., 509–end.

Reports from the Select Committee on the Ecclesiastical Commission, 1862–3 (P. Ps. 1862, viii; 1863, vi, 43–301): here referred to as the ‘1862–3 Committee’.

Report from the Select Committee on Queen Anne’s Bounty, 1868 (P. Ps. 1867–8, vii, 467–615): here referred to as the ‘1868 Committee’.

Report from the Joint Select Committee on Queen Anne’s Bounty, 1900–1901 (P. Ps. 1900, viii, 79–254; 1901, vii, 313–479): here referred to as the ‘1900–1 Committee’.

Other abbreviations regularly used

Hansard n.s.  Hansard, new series
Hansard/3  Hansard, 3rd series (similarly for 4th and 5th)
Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.  British Museum, Additional Manuscripts
C.C.F.  Church Commissioners File
D.N.B.  Dictionary of National Biography
H.M.C.  Historical Manuscripts Commission
P.R.O.  Public Records Office
S.P.D.  State Papers (Domestic)
V.C.H.  Victoria County History
NOTE

Early eighteenth-century dates are given in the New Style.