



**Saint Matthew's Parish Church  
Big Lamp ~ Summerhill Street  
Newcastle**

**The Catholic Legacy of  
The First Two Vicars,  
Father Robert Daunt  
and  
Canon Oliver Churchyard**

This account started life as the first and second of three talks delivered by the current Vicar of S Matthew's during Lent 2018. The impetus came from the discovery of parish magazines containing the obituaries of Fr Daunt and Fr Churchyard.

The process of preparing it for its present purpose - mainly the insertion of footnotes and references - led to a slight modification of the text; though it is very substantially that which was presented in 2018.

## The Legacy of Father Daunt

Saint Matthew's Church was commissioned during the intermediate stages of the Catholic Revival. By this I mean that the intellectual foundations were firmly established and supported by a range of societies and academic reflexion; but that the movement was still viewed as alien to the life of the Church of England.

Our church building seems to reflect the theological perspectives, which had emerged – but we should be careful of reading too much into that alone. Our sister church, Saint Hilda's Whitby, also designed by Robert Johnson, has a similar character. This building, however, was commissioned by the firmly Evangelical Rector of Whitby. His motivations were not theological, but, shall we say, personal, because he was raising a grand new see church for the soon-to-be revived bishopric of Whitby, to which, so it is said, mistakenly, he believed he was imminently to be elected.

The story, of course, starts long before anyone imagined a church on the fields overlaying what had been until quite recently the mines of the dissolved Tynemouth Priory. Queen Elizabeth I had inherited a kingdom fractured along religious lines;<sup>1</sup> and to pacify the realm and protect her own reign, she imposed what is now termed, "The Elizabethan Settlement."

The Elizabethan Settlement was a model, shall we say, for the English Church and its outward forms – primarily the character of the Liturgy. The aim, to rework a dictum of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, was to achieve the maximum degree of national coherence with the minimum amount of force.<sup>2</sup> The theological dimension of the

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<sup>1</sup> Hinchliff, P: Church-State Relations in: Eds Sykes, S & Booty, J: The Study of Anglicanism (SPCK 1988) p353.

<sup>2</sup> Hinchliff, P: Church-State Relations in: Eds Sykes, S & Booty, J: The Study of Anglicanism (SPCK 1988) p353.

settlement was deliberately vague, leaving room for quite a wide range of views.<sup>3</sup> The main feature was conformity of practice – uniting the kingdom under a common religious observance.

This was only ever a work in progress during Elizabeth's reign: she was much less successful in imposing religious conformity than the rosy remembrance of *Gloriana* would suggest. The practices of the Chapel Royal were never regarded as the model of English practice, as had been intended.<sup>4</sup>

More importantly, a second consequence was that the latitude of the Elizabethan Settlement permitted scholars to study in private. Most influentially, for our purposes, were the later *Caroline Divines*, a group of bishops and academics with Catholic sympathies, who returned to the study of Patristic texts.<sup>5</sup> These Patristic texts – the writings of theologians from the first few centuries of the Church – inevitably led their students towards a firmer Catholic perspective.

For a while their influence was subtle – sermons were preached, erudite treatises written and in private Catholic practices began to re-emerge – but the full impact of their work would take time to manifest itself in the Church at large. After Elizabeth's death, during the reigns of James I and Charles I aspects of Catholic identity were creeping back into the Church of England – encouraged by practices in the Chapels Royal, which, since Elizabethan days had always eschewed the austere Protestantism of Edward VI.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth I's famous disinclination, "to make windows into men's souls." Avis, P: What is Anglicanism in: Eds Sykes, S & Booty, J: The Study of Anglicanism (SPCK 1988) p421.

<sup>4</sup> Spinks, BD: The Rise and Fall of the Incomparable Liturgy (SPCK 2017) pp 16f.

<sup>5</sup> Booty, J: Standard Divines in: Eds Sykes, S & Booty, J: The Study of Anglicanism (SPCK 1988) pp163ff.

<sup>6</sup> Spinks, BD: The Rise and Fall of the Incomparable Liturgy (SPCK 2017) pp50ff.

Amongst other things, during this period, there was a move to rediscover – restore – the dignity of worship as a much more Catholic understanding of the Sacraments was promoted. An important centre of this was Durham Cathedral where the bishop, inter alia pioneered the removal of the Altar back to the East end: a project, which spread to London and several other dioceses.<sup>7</sup>

Setbacks followed during the Commonwealth – and progress was more guarded after the Restoration. The Glorious Revolution, of course, emboldened a sense of Protestant England, which ceded to ... well – almost indifference in many places – during the Hanoverian era. None-the-less, the foundations had been laid for the Catholic Revival.

This brings us to the nineteenth century. Like I say, there were doubtless many good people living faithful Christian lives, but there is a little vignette, which seems to encapsulate the prevailing character of worship in the Church of England during this period.

An account of the Enthronement of an Archbishop of Canterbury reports that all the major roles – including that of the Archbishop – were undertaken by minor canon proxies, because the prelates could not be bothered to attend.<sup>8</sup> Similar sorts of situations occurred all across the land – particularly in rich livings where a senior curate habitually deputised for an absentee incumbent<sup>9</sup>, who was busy feathering his nest elsewhere.

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<sup>7</sup> Spinks, BD: *The Rise and Fall of the Incomparable Liturgy* (SPCK 2017) p58.

<sup>8</sup> I forget where I read this account. We need to remember that a bishop's occupation of his see begins at the confirmation of his election. The enthronement is not a legally significant event - see Owens, R: *Institutes of Canon Law* (London 1884) ch23.

<sup>9</sup> It is estimated that at the beginning of the nineteenth century one quarter of parishes did not have an habitable vicarage - if they had one at all - Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p66.

At the less rarefied level of parochial life, there were frequent complaints about the dull or hurried delivery of the clergy, the outrageously domineering manner of parish clerks and truculent musicians, often performing under the unmistakable influence of alcohol. At the same time, members of the congregation were often wrapped up in their box pews and affording scant attention to what was going on.<sup>10</sup>

Yet, we might surmise, the life of the risen Christ could not be constrained by this decadence for ever; and during the nineteenth century, there arose a number of currents of revival.<sup>11</sup> The one, which is of immediate concern here is, of course, the Catholic Revival. So we come to Saint Matthew's.

In Fr Daunt's obituary, the author writes of him that he, "was a decided High Churchman, and held strong views on the question of the independence of the Church in spiritual matters."<sup>12</sup> This is a very specific – and informed - reference to the sort of high churchman that our first Vicar was; and it may well account for the reason he left Ireland, where Anglicanism was of a strongly Protestant character – not least for cultural and political reasons: the associations with the British state was rather the point. In particular, we may suppose that Fr Daunt was opposed to any notion that the Established Church was merely a department of the state.

Many people think that this is what an established church is and in some countries (notably some in Scandinavia) it is; but in England the original conception was different: of two parallel jurisdictions –

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<sup>10</sup> Spinks, BD: *The Rise and Fall of the Incomparable Liturgy* (SPCK 2017) pp 111ff.

<sup>11</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p viii.

<sup>12</sup> *The St Matthew's Parish Magazine* (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 4.

state and Church – united at their respective summits under the authority of the Crown.

As the personal authority of monarchs declined and was replaced by Parliamentary democracy – government of the Church was subsumed into the growing notion of the Crown in Parliament. By the nineteenth century, this process was all but complete and the distinction between the English and Scandinavian models had – in practice - all but disappeared. To this, high churchmen like Fr Daunt, objected. Ironically, for him, the bill to disestablish the Church in Ireland was passed in the year he became Vicar here.<sup>13</sup>

It would seem, therefore, that Fr Daunt was a *Tractarian*. The *Tractarians* are so called because their association arose around a sequence of publications entitled, “Tracts for the Times.”

During the eighteenth century, high church views had been circulating in academic circles. However, as the nineteenth century gathered pace a range of events and government policy galvanised the movement. On 14<sup>th</sup> July 1833, John Keble, an Oxford don, preached the Assize Sermon and bemoaned the National Apostasy as he saw it.<sup>14</sup>

This has subsequently been identified as the inception of the Oxford Movement – a current of revival drawing on Catholic theology. Not – initially, at least – Roman Catholicism, but the ancient Catholicism of the Patristic era.<sup>15</sup> A public manifestation of the Oxford Movement was the *Tracts for the Times*, authored by a variety of academics, largely from Oxford University.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Irish Church Act 1869 (32 & 33 Vict. c. 42)

<sup>14</sup> Butler, P: From the Early Eighteenth Century to the Present Day; in Eds Sykes, S & Booty, J: The Study of Anglicanism (SPCK 1988) p34.

<sup>15</sup> Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) pp8ff.

<sup>16</sup> Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) p6.

In 1847, there was an event, which for the Tractarians epitomised the corruption of the Church of England. It was an event, which would see a number of leading lights in the Oxford movement secede to Rome, whilst also dividing the Tractarians who remained.

A rather curious tribunal called the Court of Delegates overruled the Bishop of Exeter's refusal to institute a priest – one Mr Gorham – a decision, which had already been vindicated in the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>17</sup>

Although there was a fair representation of bishops on the Court of Delegates, as it was known, there was also a group of senior temporal judges; and it was perceived in some circles that this was a temporal court, judging spiritual matters: a view which made the decision to require Gorham's institution to take place all the more irksome to a constituency of Anglicans, who, what is more, considered Bishop Philpotts as one of their own.

The fury over this meddling in ecclesiastical matters let loose the tide of high church theology, which had been brewing in the rarefied contexts of colleges, vicarage studies and, significantly for us, as we shall see, the chaplaincies of many public schools.<sup>18</sup>

During the same period, bishops of Durham were agonising over the fact that church attendance in Newcastle upon Tyne was at an exceptionally low level and the reasons for it. One reason, at least, they thought was the lack of churches and so they set about a huge programme of church construction.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Gorham v Bishop of Exeter (1850) 15QB 52; Gorham v Bishop of Exeter (185) 5 Exch 630.

<sup>18</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p3.

<sup>19</sup> Ed Pickering, *WSF: A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle* (Oreil Press 1981) p110f.

To a point, the diagnosis must have been correct. Suburbs were creeping out from the ancient town and we might reflect that the parish of Saint John's Grainger Street abutted those of Ponteland and Newburn in 1800.

However, the reasons for poor attendance were probably more complex than simply a dearth of buildings. The proposal to establish a see of Newcastle was bitterly opposed by a strong non-conformist voice; and it is likely that in much of the town there was little appetite for the Established Church with its supposed character of the State at prayer.<sup>20</sup>

Part of this programme of buildings included the erection of the parish of Saint Matthew and in 1869 Robert Daunt became the first Vicar. As we know, at first he operated out of an iron church down the road. I might mention in passing, that it was commissioned for use on the Feast of SS Philip and James.<sup>21</sup>

According to his obituary, Fr Daunt was very successful and the small iron church was soon full to overflowing; and it is interesting to wonder why this might be.<sup>22</sup>

Doubtless, his pastoral prowess accounted for some of his success,<sup>23</sup> but there seems to have been more to it than that. First, the *tabula rasa* of a new parish had no established custom with which to

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<sup>20</sup> Jagger, PJ: The Formation of the Diocese of Newcastle in: Ed Pickering, WSF: A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle (Oriel Press 1981) pp24ff.

<sup>21</sup> The St Matthew's Parish Magazine (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 1.

<sup>22</sup> The St Matthew's Parish Magazine (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 1.

<sup>23</sup> The perceived pastoral failing of the Established Church, particularly in its engagement with the poor, was a principal plank in the development of the Oxford Movement - Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) p31.

contend.<sup>24</sup> Secondly, the growing congregation bought into the character of the Christian community he was establishing; and it is possible that his un-establishment-like Tractarianism<sup>25</sup> was an important element in the attraction of Saint Matthew's to so many.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, in Fr Daunt's obituary it states that, "The Sunday services introduced by [him] were of such a description as to supply a want which had been long felt in Newcastle."<sup>27</sup>

This description seems to distinguish his "high church" brand from that, which would arrive with Fr Churchyard.

So, briefly, at this stage, we might mention what has been termed *Ritualism*. This describes a constituency of priests and people, who looked to Rome<sup>28</sup> or pre-Reformation England<sup>29</sup> for their theological and liturgical inspiration. Whereas the earlier Tractarians looked to the Patristic era to provide a Catholic interpretation of the Church of England as she was, Ritualism saw in the Mediaeval Church the acme of ecclesiastical form and sought to replicate it in their parishes.<sup>30</sup>

In churches following this path, elaborate ritual was introduced and often the Roman books translated into English – or not – were used. This branch of the Oxford Movement found itself on a collision course with the bishops – and the courts. We shall return to this later.

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<sup>24</sup> See Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) p230.

<sup>25</sup> Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) p130.

<sup>26</sup> cf Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) pp70ff.

<sup>27</sup> The St Matthew's Parish Magazine (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 2.

<sup>28</sup> Sometimes termed "*Anglo-Papalism*" - Pickering, WSF: Anglo-Catholicism (SPCK 1991) pp27ff.

<sup>29</sup> Pickering, WSF: Anglo-Catholicism (SPCK 1991) pp26f.

<sup>30</sup> Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) p227.

As time progressed, this *Ritualism* became increasingly intellectually distant from the High Church Anglicanism of previous generations, which we now often loosely term Tractarianism.<sup>31</sup>

In Fr Daunt's obituary, it says of him that, "He did not hold extreme views either with regard to doctrine or ritual."<sup>32</sup> In other words, he was part of the group, who did not develop into ritualism.

Fr Daunt, however, was what we would come to call a "Prayer Book Catholic;" someone who stuck with the formularies of the Church of England (the Book of Common Prayer, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and the Ordinal<sup>33</sup>), interpreting them in a Catholic manner; and so restore a conscious Catholic self-understanding within the Church of England.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, he might have shared the suspicion of ritual harboured by early Tractarians.<sup>35</sup> Their approach was to ensure the dignity of the Liturgy as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, achieving what Fr William Gresley termed, "chaste magnificence."<sup>36</sup> So it seems, this was the approach and perspective of our first Vicar.

However, we need not overstate his moderation. He was a member of the Church Union, a society founded in 1850 to promote the views of the Oxford Movement. Shortly before his death, he was elected vice-chairman of the local branch.<sup>37</sup> Whilst the membership of the

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<sup>31</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p ix.

<sup>32</sup> *The St Matthew's Parish Magazine* (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 4.

<sup>33</sup> The Ordinal (the forms for ordaining bishops, priests and deacons) is not technically part of the Book of Common Prayer - although it is almost invariably bound with it.

<sup>34</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp3f; pp16ff.

<sup>35</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p92f.

<sup>36</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p95.

<sup>37</sup> *The St Matthew's Parish Magazine* (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 4.

Church Union was theologically broader than some Catholic societies, it was, none-the-less, definitely Catholic in its outlook<sup>38</sup> – or “decidedly” to use a word from Fr Daunt’s obituary.

In all likelihood, this moderate Catholic Tractarianism was integral to the establishment of Saint Matthew’s: too much more and it might have been even more difficult to find the necessary support to raise the building we have today. The phrasing in the obituary suggests that his lack of extreme views with regard to doctrine or ritual enjoyed the approval of his parishioners; and exotic loyalties would have been no more appreciated by the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who were prosecuting ritualist Anglican priests at this time and tossing them into prison.<sup>39</sup>

So, what did this Tractarian Anglicanism look like at Saint Matthew’s?

The obituary states that:

The Sunday services introduced by Mr. Daunt were ... The three services (usually taken together in the morning, viz., Mattins, Litany, and Holy Communion) were divided, and each made a separate service; the Holy Communion being at 8 a.m., Mattins at 11, and Litany at a children's service in the afternoon; except on the last Sunday in the month, when Mattins was said at 10.15 a.m., and Litany and Holy Communion at 11 a.m. During the week Mattins and Evensong were said every day, and the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays. Saints

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<sup>38</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp214ff.

<sup>39</sup> Clutterbuck, I: *Marginal Catholics* (Gracewing 1993) pp39f,

days were observed by early celebrations of the Holy Communion.<sup>40</sup>

We need to pull this apart.

First, there is the daily recitation of the offices (morning and evening). This was an aspiration of Tractarian clergy.<sup>41</sup> It reflected a strict adherence to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer (largely neglected in Georgian England), which was "pre-eminently the principle of Tractarianism."<sup>42</sup> Tractarians argued that this daily round of services was the proper setting for the jewel of Sunday observance and it was anticipated that members of the laity would be present.<sup>43</sup>

Secondly, on Sundays Fr Daunt disentangled the morning service and established the Eucharist as an event on its own. We should not be confused with notions of "the eight o'clock" and old maids cycling through the mist. At this time, early celebrations of the Mass were commonplace in Catholic circles – and evening Masses all but unknown. The obituary states that, "The Sunday services have always been fully choral;"<sup>44</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that this did not apply to the Mass.

What we may not immediately appreciate is that pulling apart the elements of the morning service was itself a mark of Tractarianism. Until the nineteenth century, on Sundays, there would usually have been a single morning service where Mattins, Litany and Ante-communion formed a single event: ante-communion and not the

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<sup>40</sup> The St Matthew's Parish Magazine (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 2.

<sup>41</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p99.

<sup>42</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p99.

<sup>43</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp102ff.

<sup>44</sup> The St Matthew's Parish Magazine (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 2.

Mass itself, since Eucharistic celebrations were generally confined to three or four occasions a year: a weekly celebration was itself the result of a restored Catholic emphasis.<sup>45</sup>

We might note – again in passing – that the importance of music – particularly singing – to Catholic Liturgy is often underestimated. Indeed, this takes us to another point, which counsels us from underestimating Father Daunt’s Catholic intentions.

It has been observed that whilst, in Oxford, Catholic minded Anglicans were proclaiming their manifesto in essays, in Cambridge they were doing the same in stone and in music. What was to become known as the Ecclesiological Society was recovering and promoting the use of Gothic architecture in church building; as well as rediscovering the place of dignified music.<sup>46</sup>

The role of Victorian Gothic architecture and good music in the Catholic Revival is often overlooked. However, if you create a Catholic-looking space for your Liturgy, in time people will begin to fill it with Catholic looking Liturgy. To a point, the contemporary appetite for reordering churches to make them look more like auditoria – or playrooms - illustrates the waning influence of Catholicism in some parts of the Church of England.

As well as the building, in common with many Tractarian priests, Father Daunt founded a choir<sup>47</sup>, which he trained himself (we might remember that the memorial to him in the Chancel was funded by the choir).<sup>48</sup> He thus introduced a style of worship with which we are

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<sup>45</sup> Spinks, BD: *The Rise and Fall of the Incomparable Liturgy* (SPCK 2017) pp 130ff.

<sup>46</sup> Spinks, BD: *The Rise and Fall of the Incomparable Liturgy* (SPCK 2017) p138.

<sup>47</sup> The establishment of robed choirs was another feature of Tractarian parishes - Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p100.

<sup>48</sup> *The St Matthew's Parish Magazine* (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 2.

still familiar today; and his hands-on involvement with the music suggests the influence of Cambridge Tractarianism and its emphasis on recovering fine church music.

Equally, if you create a choir to sing ecclesiastical music, their desire to broaden their repertoire would soon bang up against the constraints of the Book of Common Prayer. So, for example, you decide to sing a Byrd Mass; but you cannot sing the *Kyries*, the *Benedictus* or the *Agnus Dei*, because they are not in the book. A priest, who might wish to interpolate them – technically illegally – into the Mass Liturgy would have had an immediate constituency of support in the choir – whether or not they did this in Fr Daunt's time, I cannot say.

Therefore, so it seems, there was a sung Eucharist at Saint Matthew's on Sundays from the day that it opened. Furthermore, on one Sunday in the month there was a Sung Eucharist at 11am, which was clearly intended to be construed as the principal service that day.<sup>49</sup>

Equally importantly, five years before his death, he formed a Communicants' Society,<sup>50</sup> which, so it seems, thrived with a large membership.<sup>51</sup> This society points to the centrality of the Eucharistic identity of the Church for Fr Daunt and also represents one of the main strands of the Catholic Revival in the parishes<sup>52</sup> – namely a heavy focus on teaching, gently embedding Catholic identity in the congregation.

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<sup>49</sup> The St Matthew's Parish Magazine (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 2.

<sup>50</sup> Interestingly, not all those who were confirmed were "selected" to become communicants; often there was a further course of instruction to which only some were admitted - Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p126.

<sup>51</sup> The St Matthew's Parish Magazine (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 3.

<sup>52</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p59.

This development points to a much greater aspect of Tractarianism. From the outset, the ambition was not just to re-establish the Mass at the centre of congregational life, but to redress the almost complete absence of teaching - not just about the Mass, but also Baptism, Confirmation and the other Sacraments.<sup>53</sup> For Tractarians, the Eucharistic Community was the backbone of congregational life.<sup>54</sup>

In a reference to a mission, which was apparently conducted in the city in 1878 – and which might have been another part of the plan to address the lamentable attendance in Newcastle churches – the increase in the number of *communicants* is recorded in the obituary.<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, we read in the account of his obsequies that a Eucharist was celebrated on the morning of his funeral as his body lay in church.<sup>56</sup> It was the Tractarian way to separate the Mass from the funeral office. The Eucharist was to all intents and purposes a Requiem, though given the constraints of the Prayer Book it may not have been so termed.

The celebration of a Requiem Mass takes us well beyond any run-of-the-mill interpretation of the Anglican formularies. We shall pass over quickly the medley of Victorian slush, which was sung as his body was taken for interment at Elswick Cemetery.

The pattern of services – Mass, Mattins and Evensong on most Sundays and an additional Mass once a month, together with a

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<sup>53</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp114ff.

<sup>54</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp125f.

<sup>55</sup> *The St Matthew's Parish Magazine* (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 4.

<sup>56</sup> *The St Matthew's Parish Magazine* (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA; The Funeral column 1.

disciplined daily recitation of the Office and a Mass on Saints' Days represents a firmly Tractarian identity – taking the Book of Common Prayer in as far a Catholic direction as it could comfortably bear – and, as we see, maybe just a little bit further in the celebration of a Requiem Mass.

There is one further detail of interest in this regard. Fr Daunt's gravestone is emblazoned with several devices, which point to a distinctly Catholic culture. Among them a chalice,<sup>57</sup> which in mediaeval times was often included on a priest's gravestone.<sup>58</sup> There is something similar on his memorial in the chancel at Saint Matthew's.<sup>59</sup>

In many ways, Fr Daunt was the model Tractarian – interested in buildings and music – and focused on the Mass as the central act of parish Liturgy: all of this underpinned by an energetic programme of teaching.

There is, perhaps, another interesting detail in the obituary.

For several months [prior to his death] he had been delivering a series of addresses on the Prayer Book, and his last address was on the Introductory Sentences, the Exhortation, the Confession, and the Absolution.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> See photograph 1

<sup>58</sup> Izbicki, TM: The Eucharist in Mediaeval Canon Law (CUP 2015 - paperback 2020) p 158f. Izbicki sees the chalice alluding to the fact that only a priest received the Chalice at Mass; though it might have been a reference to the priest being handed a chalice at his Ordination. Either way, ironically, neither of these would have featured in Fr Daunt's priesthood.

<sup>59</sup> See photograph 2.

<sup>60</sup> The St Matthew's Parish Magazine (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 3.

Tractarians often engaged in delivering these sorts of talks, anchoring their Catholic perspectives in what people knew.

Of course, we do not know what he said, but the specification of the subject of this last address suggests that he might well have covered the subject of Sacramental Confession.

Sacramental Confession was not wholly alien to the Church of England. There is an allusion to it in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick and regulation of it was provided in the Canons of 1603.<sup>61</sup>

However, the notion of the priestly tyranny of the confessional was a strong cultural strand in England; and one of the Tractarian projects was to rescue Sacramental Confession from this unfortunate reputation.<sup>62</sup> Given that this was a Communicants' Society, it is hard to think that he would not at least have made reference to the practice as he discussed the Confession and Absolution. At the same time, there is nothing to suggest that hearing confessions was a significant part of Fr Daunt's work - if he did it at all: maybe he had just not got that far at the time of his premature death.

Tractarians generally struggled with the introduction of the Sacrament of Penance; often it was confined to preparation for Confirmation and occasions when an individual was disquieted by some particularly grave sin. The other main opportunity was during the visitation of the sick for which occasion the Book of Common Prayer made reference to the practice.<sup>63</sup> It should further be noted, that Tractarians were suspicious of the Roman practice of habitual confession.<sup>64</sup> Tractarian priests themselves identified another

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<sup>61</sup> Canon CXIII

<sup>62</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp144ff.

<sup>63</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p135.

<sup>64</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p139.

problem, which was their own lack of training for the role of confessor.<sup>65</sup>

So, to sum up, on the death of the first Vicar, Saint Matthew's was a church of firmly Tractarian character. Within the framework of Prayer Book practice, Catholic theology was firmly embedded.

The church, which Fr Daunt commissioned, suggests that the profile of the Eucharist was set to intensify; and the choice of Robert Johnson, a former pupil of Bodley, as architect will have been no coincidence. As we have noted, the design of church buildings was very influential in the recovery of the Catholic style of worship. Although Father Churchyard was responsible for the finished product, the basic plan of Saint Matthew's took shape under Father Daunt.

Interestingly, there is little of the mediaeval about this building – no chancel screen, no concealed Altar. Rather, the low chancel wall leaves the Altar clearly open to view: it is the dominant feature of the space. As I have pointed out before, this feature of Saint Matthew's mirrors quite closely the aspect of fifth century churches such as Santa Sabina and San Clemente in Rome.

The clear message is that this is first and foremost a place where the Mass is celebrated; and, significantly, a place where the people can see, hear and take part. This would be taken a stage further in the Parish Communion Movement pioneered down the road at Saint John's. Saint Matthew's was, therefore, an instance of the Gothic revival for the future, rather than for the past

The colonnades advancing from the nave into the chancel unite the two zones of the building, diminishing the divide between Altar and people characteristic of most Mediaeval churches, where a screen

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<sup>65</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp140ff.

obscured the view of the Liturgy happening in the Sanctuary. At the same time, the architecture does nothing to undermine a sense of the sacred events unfolding on and around the Altar. Indeed with the sequence of steps leading to the High Altar, lifting it several feet above the level of the nave, the feel of reverence is enhanced.

The other services celebrated at Saint Matthew's are set against this backdrop, reminding us that all worship orbits around the Eucharistic celebration.<sup>66</sup> For Tractarians, such as Fr Daunt, the building was teaching in stone.<sup>67</sup>

We cannot know where Fr Daunt would have taken Saint Matthew's had he not died so young. For reasons to which we shall return later, the Tractarianism, which he espoused, would come under pressure.<sup>68</sup> Of course, he might have adopted the stance of here and no further – not least given that it was working so well; many churches, as we know, docked in this intermediate engagement with our Catholic heritage. Indeed, the extent to which Tractarianism ineluctably developed in *Ritualism* is much debated.<sup>69</sup>

However maybe, in company with other Anglo-Catholics, his thinking might have developed. Certainly Saint Matthew's did after his death.

### **Father Oliver Churchyard**

The death of Father Daunt in 1883 at the age of forty-four will have been a traumatic time for Saint Matthew's. In the first place, it was a tragically early end for a priest who seems to have been loved and

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<sup>66</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p85.

<sup>67</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p87.

<sup>68</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp106ff.

<sup>69</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) ch13.

respected. However, for his legacy – the identity of the parish – it was a perilous time.

Continuity is always put at risk as one parish priest succeeds another; but in this case things were particularly precarious.

In the first place, of course, the church building was not complete and it would take an herculean effort to move forward with the work. There was a danger that the bishop would look first and foremost for someone who could undertake such a challenge, regardless of his theological convictions; and we cannot say with any certainty that Fr Churchyard's appointment was anything other than serendipitous – or, with hindsight, providential.

However, there were also pressures emanating from sources well distant from the Big Lamp.

The Tractarians' approach of working within the Anglican formularies was increasingly coming under strain. The logic of their Catholic views pulled at the seams of their adherence to the Prayer Book. In 1897 the Lambeth Conference had begun, albeit inadvertently, a process by which the formularies would lose their purchase on the Church of England.<sup>70</sup>

Furthermore, the bishops were beginning to harbour qualms about their treatment of ritualist priests, whom, effectively, they were putting in prison<sup>71</sup> for saying their prayers. Pressure was added first because some of these priests were working successfully in what we might term today hard-to-reach communities; and secondly because scions of the landed families, some of whom were patrons of

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<sup>70</sup> Resolutions 45f

<sup>71</sup> Usually under the provisions of the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874 (37 & 38 Vict. c.85), introduced into Parliament by Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, to stem the tide of ceremonialism.

parishes, were at least privately sympathetic to the high churchmen, having come into contact with their views in the chaplaincies of their schools. Further prosecution was looking a less and less attractive option by the day; and the policy was completely abandoned in 1906<sup>72</sup> – the year after Father Churchyard’s death: though individual bishops continued to disadvantage Anglo-Catholics for decades – one might argue that some still do.

With the pressure on it weakening, Ritualism began to gain a wider constituency. It is possible that this was made easier as Tractarianism migrated/expanded from its rural homes to the towns and cities where the option to go somewhere else weakened the opposition to such innovation and enabled people to converge on Ritualist parishes<sup>73</sup> and the establishment of new parishes meant that there was no established tradition with which to contend.<sup>74</sup> Again there was a variety of approaches. More parishes started to adapt the Roman Use in various ways and to various degrees, whilst more visceral Anglicans began to agitate for a new prayer book, which remedied some of their qualms about the book of 1662.<sup>75</sup> The failure in 1928 of a proposed volume did much to disillusion many of them – though this is beyond the scope of our present interest.

There was, in addition, a group led by the likes of Percy Dearmer, who tried to sidestep the accusations of Romanism by resorting to a reconstruction of pre-Reformation English usage – principally that of Salisbury – *the Sarum Rite* – about which most was known.<sup>76</sup> The

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<sup>72</sup> However, the Act was finally repealed in 1965

<sup>73</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p230.

<sup>74</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p230.

<sup>75</sup> Hinchliff, P: *Church-State Relations*; in Eds Sykes, S & Booty, J: *The Study of Anglicanism* (SPCK 1988) p362.

<sup>76</sup> Pickering, WSF: *Anglo-Catholicism* (SPCK 1991) p27.

design of the Lady and Sacrament chapels when I arrived here bore marks of *Sarum* influence.<sup>77</sup>

For all this, we should remember that Fr Daunt had been much loved and the congregation was more than content with the liturgical legacy that he left behind. Changing anything was always going to be difficult for the new Vicar; but leading the congregation to a firmer Catholic identity would encounter not just the fond feelings for his predecessor, but a cultural distrust of things Roman. On the other hand, we may assume that there were the addresses to the Communicants' Society and other teaching, together, possibly, with an unarticulated momentum on which, with a bit of tact and determination, one could build. Step into the picture Father Oliver Churchyard.

From the odd comment in his obituaries, I have inferred that Fr Churchyard was a bit of an operator. Despite his unambiguous Catholicism, he had been granted a canonry of Newcastle,<sup>78</sup> which was unusual for Anglo-Catholics of his day: though, so it seems, the first Bishop of Newcastle, Earnest Wilberforce<sup>79</sup>, may have been sympathetic to Tractarianism<sup>80</sup>; and, so also his successor.<sup>81</sup> Fr Churchyard seems to have had a finger in many pies and might have been well-connected. Before S Matthew's he had held the living of

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<sup>77</sup> With riddel posts and curtains: candles often surmounted the riddel posts as was the case here. Something of this remains behind the Lady Altar.

<sup>78</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) ; Sermon by the Lord Bishop of Newcastle, p11 col 2; from this it is possible to infer that he was appointed a canon sometime in 1891 or possibly in late 1890.

<sup>79</sup> Bishop 1882 - 1896. Things were to change with the appointment of the fourth Bishop Dr Straton (bp 1907 - 1915), who does not seem to have been sympathetic to very much - Nicholson, M: A Personal Account of the Diocese of Newcastle; in Ed Pickering, WSF: A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle (Oriell Press 1981) p55.

<sup>80</sup> Nicholson, M: A Personal Account of the Diocese of Newcastle; in Ed Pickering, WSF: A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle (Oriell Press 1981) p55.

<sup>81</sup> E Jacob - Bishop 1896 - 1903.

Long Benton, a parish in the gift of Balliol College, Oxford – so it seems that he knew people.<sup>82</sup> We shall meet one of these people in a moment.

Father Churchyard's ecclesiastical origins could not have been more different from the protestant Irish Anglicanism of Father Daunt. As a boy he sung in the choir of Saint Paul's Brighton, a leading light in the Catholic revival. He was educated at Hurstpierpoint, part of the Woodard network of schools,<sup>83</sup> which, until 2013 included the King's School at Tynemouth.

The Woodard Corporation was founded by Nathaniel Woodard to offer education in an Anglo-Catholic context; and we might assume that the association with Saint Paul's Brighton followed by the move to Hurstpierpoint was a deliberate choice on the part of his parents. It was a concern that middle class families such as Fr Churchyard's (his father was a doctor<sup>84</sup>) were not relating to Tractarian initiatives, which led to Woodard establishing schools like his.<sup>85</sup>

Later, Fr Churchyard also had an association with Lancing College, which was – and is, so to speak, the mother house of the Woodard Corporation. He was subsequently ordained in the Chichester Diocese, where Anglo-Catholicism had taken strong root.<sup>86</sup> All in all, he was clearly a son of the London, Brighton and South Coast Catholic Revival.<sup>87</sup>

There were outposts of this movement across the country, most notably in the deprived urban centres: Middlesbrough, Manchester,

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<sup>82</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p 7 col 2.

<sup>83</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p 7 col 2.

<sup>84</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p 7 col 2.

<sup>85</sup> Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) pp160f.

<sup>86</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p 7 col 2.

<sup>87</sup> Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) p52.

various places in the Black Country and elsewhere hosted what became known as *biretta belts*; but these were more isolated than the Anglo-Catholic phenomenon in the capital and along the South Coast. Certainly, in Newcastle there was no great Anglo-Catholic infrastructure.<sup>88</sup> though at much the same time that Fr Churchyard was working on Saint Matthew's, Fr William Moll was doing much the same – perhaps rather more – at S Philip's.<sup>89</sup>

We can only speculate why Fr Churchyard moved to Saint Matthew's. Despite his definite Catholic pedigree, mitigated, I suspect, by his connexions, he seems to have enjoyed the favour of the Bishop of Newcastle. This Episcopal indulgence had not always been the case. Whilst at Long Benton, when this part of the world still fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Durham, Fr Churchyard was refused permission for a curate, due to his high church views and practices.<sup>90</sup>

It is interesting, therefore, that he managed to acquire a benefice in the then Diocese of Durham at all: many Anglo-Catholic priests, including my training incumbent's father, struggled to find a bishop who would institute them to a living. They were often termed, "ticket of leave curates;" the precarious situation providing leverage for the bishop. In the case of Fr Churchyard, it might be that the Bishop of Durham, remembering the Gorham debacle, was wary of obstructing the presentation of private patrons – though he would have been on firmer ground in the secular courts with his scruples about Anglo-Catholics. My suspicion is that the appointment to Long Benton hints at Fr Churchyard's connexions.

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<sup>88</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p7 col 2. Up to 1870, the Diocese of Durham (in which Newcastle was at that time situate) had the fewest number of Tractarian incumbents of any Church of England diocese - Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) pp 50f.

<sup>89</sup> Lloyd, K: The Social Situation: Awareness and Response; in Ed Pickering, WSF: A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle (Oriol Press 1981) p197.

<sup>90</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p 7 col 2.

There is a little piece of evidence of those connexions in the obituaries. For years I have been interested in the consistent involvement of Percy Westmacott in the Saint Matthew's project; but now I know. The list of mourners indicates that he was related to Fr Churchyard by marriage.<sup>91</sup> This might also explain how Fr Churchyard secured the living here.

The construction of the church, which was to be a major contextual element of his whole time here, together with the gentle Catholic ethos established by Father Daunt may have seemed to offer an opportunity to bring to Newcastle the Faith in which he had been moulded from his early years.

It is interesting that the very catholic reredos behind the High Altar and the Bodley-esque stencil-work, which once adorned the outer walls of the nave, date from his time. The church was, so it would seem, sufficient of a blank canvass, but with a firm outline of a Catholic vision, onto which Fr Churchyard could paint and carve his Catholic agenda for the parish.

There are various hints in the obituaries that his initiatives were not immediately or always welcome.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, it does not seem that he had the charismatic qualities of Fr Daunt to sway people's loyalties.<sup>93</sup> Rather, his success was achieved through sheer persistence,<sup>94</sup> together with replicating the London Anglo-Catholic

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<sup>91</sup> A Mrs Westmacott is listed as one of the principal mourners - S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p 11 col 2.

<sup>92</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9 col 1 - "[he] may not have taught and practised things to which they were accustomed ..."

<sup>93</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9 col 2 - He set about his task without any "popularity-hunting on his part."

<sup>94</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p 9 col 1 - "During the wave of opposition through England to the principles which he upheld, he went quietly on his way with no concessions ..." This may have contrasted with the

identification with the poor and deprived people of the parish, becoming a champion for their interests.<sup>95</sup> That said, he was consistently courteous and considerate.<sup>96</sup>

Amongst other things, the obituaries refer to his involvement in education.<sup>97</sup> This had long been a preoccupation of Tractarian clergy; and the report on S Matthew's by the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (see below) makes reference to the large number of children at Mass.<sup>98</sup>

The obituaries make reference to his hard work<sup>99</sup> – and I am sure he did work hard in the context of the time. However, he had many outside interests – including membership of a number of Catholic societies<sup>100</sup> – it seems he might have been attending to these duties when he died, since he was at Saint Leonard's on Sea<sup>101</sup> – the location of another doyen of the Catholic Revival. If Fr Daunt had been loved (the Tractarian approach to reform was generally gentler and more sympathetic to the situation on the ground than the later

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traditional approach of "economy" adopted by earlier Tractarians (including Fr Daunt), which sought a more gentle approach to parochial reform - Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp162ff.

<sup>95</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9, col 1: "His patience and sympathy in dealing with the poor, the sick and those in mental distress were, perhaps the qualities, which most gained for him the affection and trust of many even beyond the limits of his own congregation."; "His whole heart was in the church which he loved and ... the people of his poor and overcrowded parish."

<sup>96</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9 col 2.

<sup>97</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9, col 2.

<sup>98</sup> Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906); Minutes of evidence pp306.

<sup>99</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9 col 1: "[He] worked with ceaseless and steady toil to strengthen and extend the Kingdom of Christ in the City of Newcastle.

<sup>100</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p 9 cols 1 - 2.

<sup>101</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p7 col 1.

generations<sup>102</sup>), Fr Churchyard was, probably, more respected than adored.<sup>103</sup>

If there was friction during Fr Churchyard's time, it is possible that this might have derived in part from the title he preferred for priests. Being a canon, the question is obviated in the obituaries and so we can only speculate.

Over the years, I have observed that adoption of the title, "Father" in Anglican parishes can be a conspicuous source of tension – much more than many of the other things Anglo-catholic priests endeavour to introduce. Maybe, it just resonates too loudly with ideas of Roman Catholicism for which, certainly in those days, English culture retained a mistrust: one which had, to some extent, been renewed by what is sometimes called *The Papal Aggression* - the re-establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England.<sup>104</sup>

Although I habitually attach the title to Robert Daunt for a variety of reasons, not least his role in founding the Christian community here, it is highly unlikely that he ever used it. The adoption of the title was a feature of later stages of the Oxford Movement.<sup>105</sup>

I do not know whether there was any attempt to use the title here in Father Churchyard's time; but it is certain that when his curate, Vibert Jackson, returned to Saint Philip's some years later, he did use the title: the presence of Fr Jackson, a decided Anglo-Catholic, and nuns from East Grinstead (of whom more in a moment) hint at Fr Churchyard's intentions for the parish. Fr Jackson was to rise to

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<sup>102</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p103.

<sup>103</sup> *S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine* (October 1905) p7 col 2.

<sup>104</sup> A move, which some very prominent people considered to have been encouraged by Tractarians - Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p182.

<sup>105</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p69.

become Bishop of the Windward Islands, following a well-worn path of Anglo-Catholic priests to the colonies.<sup>106</sup>

The most salient liturgical move in Fr Churchyard's time here for most people was to establish the sung Eucharist as the principal Sunday service.<sup>107</sup> I have no doubt that there will have been some who, possibly loudly, lamented the passing of Mattins. None-the-less, I doubt that it was so big a deal. Indeed, the obituaries state that the move was, "with the entire goodwill of his congregation."<sup>108</sup> a sentiment, which suggests that not everything else might have been!

In the first place, it might well be that the early morning Mass had been sung. Secondly, Fr Daunt had put in place a monthly Sung Eucharist as the principal Sunday service with a Eucharist accompanying mattins on a second Sunday. However, the strongest foundation may well have been Fr Daunt's addresses to the Communicants' Society, which had a membership of well over a hundred. It is difficult to think that these would not slowly have led to the Sung Eucharist displacing the pre-eminence of mattins altogether had he lived.

Equally interesting would be a picture of what those liturgies looked like and, by chance, I stumbled across an account of just that in the report of Saint Matthew's in the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline dated 1905.<sup>109</sup>

The Royal Commission was established in 1904. It was the last in a sequence of measures designed to address the growing problem – as

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<sup>106</sup> See Windward Islands website - <http://www.anglicanswi.org/former-bishops/> - retrieved 4 viii 20.

<sup>107</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9 col 1.

<sup>108</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9 col 1.

<sup>109</sup> Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906); Minutes of evidence pp306f

it was perceived to be - of Anglo-Catholic practices. The commission relied on reports from people antagonistic to the growing high church constituency, sliding into church incognito and reporting on what they had seen. It is interesting that Saint Matthew's was visited, suggesting that it was by that time a known venue of Anglo-Catholic loyalties. How much this was to do with Fr Churchyard's personal reputation as opposed to the loyalties of the congregation, it is hard to say.

Incumbents were sent a copy of the report and invited to comment. Father Churchyard's response<sup>110</sup> is quite tart in tone; keen to rebut the reports that suggested that things were not done properly and offering fairly pedantic responses to circumvent some of the criticism. The style reminded me of someone – but I cannot think who.

On the one side, we note that there is no use of incense; and, indeed the whole Mass appears to have been quite modest in its execution in comparison to some parishes. This might explain why the church was less beset by antagonism than, say, Saint Luke's Wallsend<sup>111</sup> under Father O'Brady-Jones;<sup>112</sup> or Saint Philip's under the incumbency of Fr William Moll.<sup>113</sup>

The report<sup>114</sup> states that the priest wore Mass vestments. It seems unlikely that Fr Daunt had done this. There is evidence that even

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<sup>110</sup> Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906); Minutes of evidence p307 col 1.

<sup>111</sup> Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906); Minutes of evidence pp 306f. We see that the ritual was much more advanced at S Luke's at this time.

<sup>112</sup> We see something of the opposition Fr O'Brady-Jones faced in a rather sour reference to him: Richardson, W: History of the Parish of Wallsend (Newcastle Libraries 1998, reprinted 1999) p183.

<sup>113</sup> Campbell, A: High Elswick a Hundred Years Ago (unpublished 1973) pp 14f.

<sup>114</sup> The entire report is found on p396 of the Minutes of Evidence col 2.

quite moderate parishes were adopting the use of coloured stoles, burses and veils<sup>115</sup> – and maybe the first Vicar had got this far.<sup>116</sup>

As I have observed to one or two people over the years, there are no vestiges of any vestments dating from this period – not even a cope. It is likely, therefore, that Fr Churchyard provided his own – as many priests did at this time; but it is strange that there is nothing at all either of vestments or other Catholic liturgical paraphernalia. Interestingly, the Altar Cross dating from this period has no corpus on it<sup>117</sup> – though, of course, there is one in the reredos; and the Commission's nark reports just two candles<sup>118</sup> burning on the Altar;<sup>119</sup> although there is in the ceiling above the High Altar a fitting for a sanctuary lamp, the informant's report makes no mention of such a lamp, which reports of other churches do.

The report goes on to say that the priest stood, "in the middle [of the Altar], facing East."<sup>120</sup> This seems wholly unremarkable to us nowadays; but at the time the issue of whether the priest celebrating the Holy Communion should stand at the middle of the Altar facing (liturgical) East or at the North end facing South was a matter of heated debate.<sup>121</sup> Whether Fr Daunt stood in the middle facing East I cannot say: some Tractarians of his stripe did<sup>122</sup> and Saint Matthew's certainly seems designed for such a practice. If Fr Churchyard did

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<sup>115</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p193.

<sup>116</sup> There are some often rather sorry relics of this type, which might come from his time.

<sup>117</sup> We still possess the ornament in question, though it is rarely used except as the backdrop to the Easter Garden.

<sup>118</sup> These, I think are the candlesticks now used at Saint Matthew's Shrine.

<sup>119</sup> Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906); Minutes of evidence p307 col 1.

<sup>120</sup> Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906); Minutes of evidence p306, col 2.

<sup>121</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) pp207ff.

<sup>122</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p208.

inherit the practice from his predecessor, it will have been of much greater import to him than it was to Fr Daunt.<sup>123</sup>

According to the report, the priest was assisted by two servers robed in albs, which is more associated with the *Sarum* usage. Looking back, the picture of the Liturgy would initially suggest to readers the use of the English Missal. This may well account for the disquiet amongst parishioners at which the obituaries hint; this was not what Fr Daunt would have done.

However, the first edition of the English Missal – a version of the Roman Missal for (illegal) use in Anglo-Catholic parishes – did not appear until 1912: some years after Fr Churchyard's death. At the same time, the volume did not spring from nowhere, but consolidated a growing trend amongst high church clergy to adapt, shall we say, the Book of Common Prayer to their context in various ways.<sup>124</sup>

The English Missal appeared in various permutations. At one end of the scale, there was a straight translation of the Roman Missal – sometimes with the Latin texts printed in parallel with the English; at the other end, the Book of Common Prayer provided the basic structure, filled out with gestures and subsidiary texts from the Roman provision.

It was, so it would appear, towards the latter end of the scale that the Liturgy at Saint Matthew's found itself. The report speaks not only of the Liturgy being prefaced by the Roman prayers of preparation and followed by the Last Gospel; but also of the priest saying quite a lot of private prayers as well as including a number of gestures<sup>125</sup> – though not of the type that the informant deserved.

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<sup>123</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p208.

<sup>124</sup> See, eg, Purchas, J: *The Directorium Anglicanum* 4<sup>th</sup> ed (London 1879) pp79f;

<sup>125</sup> Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906); Minutes of evidence p306, col 2.

Furthermore, very few people communicated at the Mass – about half a dozen<sup>126</sup> – suggesting that they (or at least some of them) would have already been to the early Mass to make their Communion: a growing practice in Anglo-Catholic parishes.<sup>127</sup>

The report states that there were about eighty adults present, including a couple of nuns from East Grinstead: another indication that Father Churchyard maintained his Southern connexions. Eighty is quite a low figure, given that the accounts of Father Daunt's Communicants' society refer to a membership of well over a hundred.<sup>128</sup> We may well here see evidence of the disapproval that Father Churchyard attracted.

More profound for the life of the parish is that by the time of his death, there was a daily Mass at Saint Matthew's.<sup>129</sup> This was earlier than at Saint John's<sup>130</sup> and will have been a striking aspect of parochial life – at least to those who took an interest in such things.

Founding the life of the congregation on the rhythm of the Mass was clearly a priority for Fr Churchyard. He was a member of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament<sup>131</sup> – an unambiguously Anglo-Catholic ritualistic society dedicated to the promotion of the Mass, reservation of the Sacrament and Eucharistic devotion; the daily Mass was considered one of the so-called “Catholic Privileges.”

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<sup>126</sup> Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906); Minutes of evidence p306, col 2.

<sup>127</sup> Herring, G: *The Oxford Movement in Practice* (Oxford 2016) p218.

<sup>128</sup> *The St Matthew's Parish Magazine* (September 1883) Obituary of The Rev Robert Daunt MA column 3.

<sup>129</sup> *S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine* (October 1905) p3 col2.

<sup>130</sup> As told to me by the late Helen Leech, sometime Warden of S John's.

<sup>131</sup> *S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine* (October 1905) p3 col2.

Once again, this move might not have been overly controversial. First, of course, members of the congregation were free just to ignore its practice by not coming. Secondly, Fr Daunt had already instituted the practice of Mass on saints' days, so the idea of weekday celebrations was not new; and, thirdly, once again, the addresses to the Communicants' Society might have prepared the congregation for such a development.

So the Eucharistic framework bequeathed to the parish by Fr Churchyard's tenure here, whilst high was probably not, of itself, a source of too much hostility. On the other hand, how it was executed may have been the cause of some irritation: it is not impossible that weekday celebrations more fully reflected the South Coast practices with which Fr Churchyard was undoubtedly familiar. It would be interesting to know how well attended the daily Mass was.

Another interesting question is where these weekday Masses were celebrated. Early sketches of the church plan do not indicate any chapels – just pews everywhere<sup>132</sup>. It is possible that Mass was celebrated everyday at the High Altar – something of which Saint Ignatius of Antioch, who spoke of the one bishop at his one Altar, might have approved.<sup>133</sup>

At the same time, the heavily Marian theme of the window at the East end of the inner South aisle does look tailor-made for a Lady Chapel to sit underneath it – though according to the report, there was seating here at the time.

This raises questions – and questions I cannot answer – as to whether Marian doctrines featured in Father Churchyard's teaching. There is no reference to them in the obituaries, which I think there would

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<sup>132</sup> See picture 3.

<sup>133</sup> Ep. ad Philadelph., 5

have been if it had been in any way a prominent aspect of his preaching.

However, talk of subsidiary altars also takes us over to the North aisle, where things are more tantalising still.

In the magazine containing the obituaries to Fr Churchyard, the list of weekly services notes that on Saturdays the Litany of the Blessed Sacrament followed Evensong and the obituaries speak of his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>134</sup> The question arises as to whether this was a devotion *in abstracto* or whether the Sacrament was, at this time, reserved in Saint Matthew's.

It is almost certain that there was no tabernacle; and it is equally likely that there was no Benediction, which was a big no-no in the Church of England at this time, being widely considered as illegal; Fr Churchyard would have crossed the Bishop had he been known to give Benediction. However, the cupboard in which we keep the oils, now near the font, but once in the North Wall is marked with I H S; and it might have originally been the place of Reservation.

Reservation in aumbreys or hanging pyxes was considered the English way of doing things;<sup>135</sup> and whilst Reservation in any manner was not much liked at the time, bishops and others tended to be less exercised about modest aumbreys tucked away at the side. Whether there was also an altar here at that time is another question to which I do not know the answer.

The introduction of Reservation – almost certainly without a faculty – the cupboard probably being slipped in by way of a private

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<sup>134</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p3 col2.

<sup>135</sup> Lamburn, ECR: Ritual Notes (Knott & Son 1964) p 6; Alcuin Club: A Directory of Ceremonial part 1 (AR Mowbray & co 1921) p17 - this refers only to an aumbrey; but the frontispiece illustration shows a hanging pyx.

arrangement between the Vicar and the builders – along with the devotions – may have been a principal cause for the friction to which the obituaries allude. Reservation is another of those *Catholic privileges*; and as a member of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament,<sup>136</sup> it would have been one of Fr Churchyard's objectives for Saint Matthew's. At the same time, it would have marked a development from the beloved Fr Daunt, who, we might remember, held no extremes of doctrine – such, we might infer, as those implied by devotions to the Sacrament.

If Saint Matthew's did have reservation of the Sacrament by 1905, this was early in the North. Holding devotions on a Saturday evening was an old Anglo-Catholic technique for accustoming congregations to the idea. Saturday evening is, of course, the beginning of Sunday and in many parishes, as time passed, the devotions, once developed, slipped from first to second Evensong – that is, Sunday evening.

If Reservation of the Sacrament was one way in which Fr Churchyard consolidated the Catholic character of Saint Matthew's, the account of his passing gives us a hint at another.

When news of his death reached the parish, a notice was affixed to the South door, which read, "The Vicar passed away peacefully this morning. Requiescat in pace."<sup>137</sup> This might seem unremarkable now; but in those days, both the use of Latin and the prayer for the dead, would have been notable. It was not until after the First World War that the bishops slowly began to acquiesce in prayers for the dead in the wake of so much carnage and grief<sup>138</sup> – and even the

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<sup>136</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p9 col2.

<sup>137</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p7 col 1.

<sup>138</sup> Jasper, RCD & Bradshaw, PF: A Companion to the Alternative Service Book (SPCK 1986) p395.

ASB (1980) funeral service was coy about including prayers, which overtly prayed for the dead.<sup>139</sup>

This inference is strengthened by the description of the details of his obsequies. A Mass was said at 7.30am and then what the obituary describes as a “Solemn Requiem” – not in the early morning, but at 10.30am.<sup>140</sup> The burial office followed at noon, during which they sung, inter alia, Lead, kindly Light – apparently one of Fr Churchyard’s favourite hymns<sup>141</sup> and, not coincidentally methinks, a creation of John Henry Newman – an Anglican priest, who converted to Roman Catholicism and eventually rose to be a cardinal.

The language of a Solemn Requiem is unambiguously Catholic – indeed, certainly at the time, Romish. However, there is yet more. In describing the early morning Mass, the author states that, “the all prevailing sacrifice of the Cross of Christ was pleaded in the Holy Sacrament.”<sup>142</sup>

Ideas of the Eucharistic Sacrifice were alien to the mainstream Church of England population<sup>143</sup> – even if they had hovered in the minds of a few academics and others for decades or more; and they are objectionable to those of a protestant minded commitment. It is certainly challenging to reconcile the texts of the Book of Common Prayer with such a robust statement of the sacrificial character of the Mass. All that said, in their response to *Apostolicae Curae*,<sup>144</sup> the Archbishops of Canterbury and York asserted that the Church of

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<sup>139</sup> Jaspar, RCD & Bradshaw, PF: A Companion to the Alternative Service Book (SPCK 1986) p395.

<sup>140</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p11 col 1.

<sup>141</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p11 col 1.

<sup>142</sup> S Matthew's & S Wilfrid's Magazine (October 1905) p11 col 1.

<sup>143</sup> Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) pp201f.

<sup>144</sup> Leo XIII (Pope): *Apostolicae Curae* 1896, which declared Anglican Orders "null and void."

England did hold a doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice and not, "a nude commemoration of the Sacrifice of the Cross."<sup>145</sup>

These emphases on the Real (objective) Presence of Christ in the Sacrament and the Eucharistic Sacrifice clearly identify Fr Churchyard with a later phase of the Oxford Movement than that probably represented by his predecessor here; and it was this theological advance, which stimulated the Liturgical development.<sup>146</sup>

Herein, perhaps, we find the core of Fr Churchyard's theological work at Saint Matthew's: the introduction of a theology and language, which was unashamedly Catholic in its character; and a liturgical practice, which articulated this theology.<sup>147</sup>

I do wonder how successful overall Fr Churchyard was in his project. To be fair, he died suddenly and quite young, so he did not have time to do everything he might have been able to do. It does seem that the size of the congregation might have paid a price for his enterprise;<sup>148</sup> and yet I doubt that at his death Saint Matthew's looked exactly as he had envisioned. Certainly it was not Saint Paul's Brighton.

So it seems Fr Churchyard's progress towards what I believe to be his goals was partial. By this, I mean that an explicit sense of Anglo-Catholic identity did not pervade the congregation. There are copies

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<sup>145</sup> Archbishops of England: Saepius Officio (Longmans, Green & co 1897) sXI. This was a personal response and not supported by Evangelical Anglicans: see: Buchanan, C: Anglican Orders and Unity in Ed Holeyton, DR: Anglican Orders and Ordination (Grove/Alcuin 1997) p24.. The views are, none-the-less, expressed carefully so as not to overstate the case.

<sup>146</sup> See Herring, G: The Oxford Movement in Practice (Oxford 2016) pp201ff.

<sup>147</sup> See n26.

<sup>148</sup> Though we have no indication in the obituary about the size and composition of the congregation at Evensong. It might be that some of the disgruntled shifted their attendance here: though, presumably the sermons had the same Catholic touch.

of the English Missal knocking around the church<sup>149</sup> and certainly his successors were all of a Catholic stripe so far as I can tell;<sup>150</sup> but I wonder whether things just ticked over during the shortish incumbencies, which immediately followed Fr Churchyard's death. After all, there were significant issues of deprivation, a world war and an economic meltdown with which to contend; it is not difficult to see that the priests felt their energies were needed elsewhere.

However, the momentum would be restored during the incumbencies of Canon Joy and, maybe particularly, of Canon Walker. Today, *mutis mutandis*,<sup>151</sup> perhaps Saint Matthew's looks quite a lot how Canon Churchyard had envisaged it.

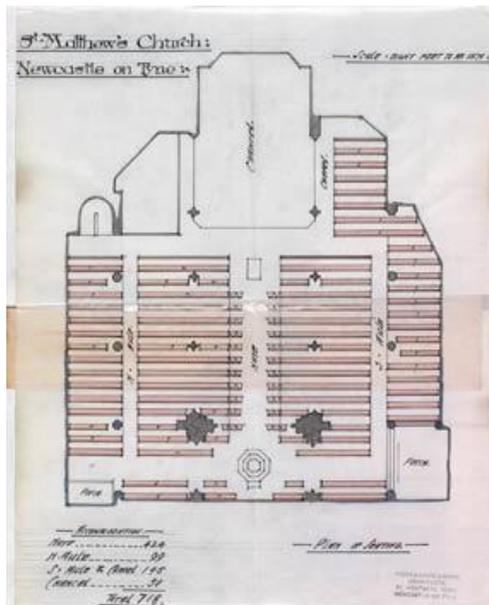
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<sup>149</sup> Though I do not know when they were acquired.

<sup>150</sup> In the immediate aftermath of Fr Churchyard's incumbency, there would have been vigorous opposition to the Catholic cause from the bishop: Nicholson, M: A Personal Account of the Diocese of Newcastle; in Ed Pickering, WSF: A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle (Oriel Press 1981) p55.

<sup>151</sup> In the Lent Course from which this material is taken, a further section surveyed briefly the developments, which would inevitably have influenced Canon Churchyard's theological approach in the decades after his death.





Picture 3: the original plan for pews in S Matthew's