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Church, Cotton, and Confederates: What Bishop Charles Todd Quintard's Fundraising Trips to Great Britain Reveal About Some Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Catholics¹

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Coexisting in the life of Charles Todd Quintard (1824-1898), the Episcopal bishop of Tennessee from 1865 until his death, are themes from nineteenth-century history that are not usually considered together. As a priest before the American Civil War (1861-1865), he identified with the Oxford Movement, or Tractarianism. During the war he was a Confederate chaplain, and regretted the passing of the way of life that white Southern planters had lived, in which he had bought and owned enslaved human beings. Throughout his episcopate, he promoted the Catholic revival taking place across the Anglican Communion that put bishops in the apostolic succession at the center of the church's sacramental and synodical life, even attending the first Lambeth Conference in 1867 which kicked off a nine-month tour of Britain. Returning to Britain for a year-long visit in 1875-76, he attended some of the liturgically "advanced" parishes (not always liking what he saw) and on both trips

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befriended prominent Anglo-Catholic clergy and laity. Thus, although the focus of what follows is the coexistence in Quintard's life of support for slavery, Confederacy, and Tractarian ecclesiology, it will show that these themes coexisted in some British Anglo-Catholics too.

The bishop also brought together the skills of academic administration, serving as the vice-chancellor of the University of the South as he set about re-founding it in his diocese after the war, and of fundraising for the same while in Britain. The University of the South, Sewanee, had been founded just before American Civil War to educate the sons of Southern Episcopalians among the planter class, who, according to the 1859 fundraising address, of "all men, should be the most highly cultivated, because we have the most leisure," even as "the world is trying hard to persuade us that a slaveholding people cannot be a people of high moral and intellectual culture."² Many of the planters who had promised money to endow the university had been impoverished by the war; so Quintard had to start again after the war, making his pitch to British supporters of and investors in the Southern states whose economy and society were built on slavery and cotton.

QUINTARD'S BIOGRAPHY

The future bishop was born in Stamford, Connecticut, was educated at Columbia College, and trained to be a doctor in New York before going to Georgia to practice medicine. In 1851 he moved to Tennessee to take a position at the Memphis Medical College as the professor of physiology and pathological anatomy. However, he soon began reading for holy orders in the Episcopal Church under the High Church bishop of Tennessee James H. Otey, who ordained him a deacon in 1855 and a priest in 1856. From the time of his ordination, Quintard was a Tractarian. It has been said in an understated English manner that the first Tractarians were "not

² [Stephen Elliott and Leonidas Polk], "The University of the South: Address of the commissioners to the people of the Southern States," *DeBow's Review* 26 (1859): 538-47, at 544.

intolerant of slavery.”³ Rather more could be said of Quintard: he supported the enslavement of African Americans as he ministered to two hundred of them as a deacon and priest at the Ravenscroft Chapel on James J. Alston’s plantation. (As a priest, Quintard was simultaneously at Ravenscroft Chapel, at St. Paul’s, Randolph, which had a congregation of blacks and whites, and at St. Mathew’s, Covington, whence he traveled to baptize sixty-one enslaved persons on another of Alston’s plantations in North Carolina.)⁴ On 1 January 1858 Quintard became rector of the white congregation of the Church of the Advent, Nashville, a new church established on Tractarian principles, such as the prominence of the Eucharist (celebrated on Sundays and all feast days), and that the “building, when erected, shall be free to rich and poor alike” by having no pew rents and instead being supported by the offertory.⁵

Quintard’s membership in a wealthy Northern family, far from being a barrier to entry into slaveholding society, “was reasonable preparation for living among [Southern] slaveholders.”⁶ In 1848 he married Eliza Catherine Isabella Hand, whom he called Kate, the maternal granddaughter of a plantation manager and cotton-mill owner. Life among Kate’s family prepared Quintard for owning enslaved persons and (later in his career) engaging with cotton manufacturers in England. He then served as chaplain to

³ Walter R. Matthews, “The Task of Anglo-Catholicism To-day,” *Green Quarterly* (1933): 70-76, at 71.

⁴ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention . . . in the Diocese of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1855), 40 and *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention . . . in the Diocese of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1856), 46-47. My thanks to Books Graebner for help in identifying Alston as the brother of the Rev. Philip William Whitmel Alston (1813-1847), a priest in Tennessee who also read for orders with Bishop Otey. The family were from North Carolina, and likely connected to Bishop Ravenscroft, Otey’s mentor.

⁵ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Convention . . . in the Diocese of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1858), 68. For the importance of free seating and the offertory (“the common tribute of rich and poor”), see Simon Skinner, *Tractarians and the “Condition of England”: The Social and Political Thought of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford, 2004), 167-87.

⁶ Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities* (New York, 2013), 2, referring to Henry Watson, Jr. from Connecticut. Notably, Quintard’s brother George was partner in the Morgan Iron Works and part proprietor of the New York and Charleston Steamship Co.

the First Tennessee Regiment in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. As the war ended, Quintard was living in Columbia, Georgia, when he was surprised by the ingratitude of “my negro boy Henry, who had been sent to town early in the morning with a letter”: when Henry “came dashing up with three Yankees” looking to steal Quintard’s horses, they were seen off, and “Henry did not return, but went off with his new friends—not at all to my regret. I purchased him in Atlanta in March ’64 for \$5,000. I had done my utmost to give him a comfortable and happy home. Later in the day . . . a federal officer . . . gave Henry a sound beating with his sword and cursed him. Such was his first taste of freedom”—such, also, were Quintard’s views on the enslavement of people of African descent in the year he became a bishop.⁷

The Eucharist was central to Quintard’s own piety, as it was for all Tractarians, and when as chaplain in the Confederate army he was forced to miss that service on All Saints Day 1864, he recorded in his diary: “I missed the Holy Communion in which office more than any other act of worship, is the communion of Saints made a living reality—‘for who of the faithful’ says St. Gregory ‘can doubt, that, in the very moment of offering, the heavens are laid open at the words of the Priest.’ ‘At a time’ says St. Chrysostom, ‘that the sacrifice is performed, angels are standing by, and the priest and a whole host of celestial powers crieth aloud.’”⁸ These were quotations of the Church Fathers from Edward Bouverie Pusey’s translations, and Quintard would swell with pride when Pusey asked him, while on his first trip to England in 1867-68, to replace the Tractarian leader (“in consequence of ill health”) in the pulpit of the University Church at Cambridge.⁹

When Northern bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple visited Pusey in 1864, the latter had “expressed great sorrow at the condition of

⁷ Diary, 22 April 1865. Quintard’s diaries are located at Charles Todd Quintard Papers, University of the South, MSS 93, box 5.

⁸ Diary, 1 November 1864. Quoting Pusey’s translation (first published in 1847) of Horstius, *Paradise for the Christian Soul, Enriched with the Choicest Delights of Varied Piety* (London, 1869), Sect. 5. 97.

⁹ Diary, 20 March 1868.

our country & wished that the day might soon come when the strife would be hushed.”¹⁰ It seems likely that Pusey sympathized with the South even as he criticized slavery—a paradox present in many Englishmen of his class.¹¹ After the war, Pusey gave £10 to the University of the South, which in 2020 prices is £1,200.¹² Pusey also urged Oxford’s convocation that a contribution of £350 “be made towards the funds for restoring the buildings of the University of the Southern States of America, which was destroyed during the late war.”¹³ Pusey, together with his disciple Henry Parry Liddon, and the old fashioned High Churchman John William Burgon narrowly lost the vote in the university convocation to those who spoke against the donation, including opponents of the Confederacy on account of slavery.¹⁴ However, another vote went in favor of a grant of books worth £150 from the Oxford University Press. This gives a sense of how Quintard’s fundraising for a church-based university at Sewanee resonated with Tractarians and/or sympathizers with the South, but not with theological and political liberals and/or supporters of the North on the topic of slavery.

¹⁰ Whipple to his wife, 12 November 1864; Lawrence N. Crumb, “Some American Bishops’ Letters to E. B. Pusey,” *Anglican and Episcopal History* 69 (2000): 504-23, at 520.

¹¹ For this pervasive British paradox, see Amanda Foreman, *World on Fire: Britain’s Crucial Role in the American Civil War* (London/New York, 2010).

¹² “An Offering from English Churchmen 1867” (printed by the University of the South), which enumerates the donations of 174 persons; I rely on these numbers for individual donations hereafter, except those mentioned in Quintard’s diary or in his *An Address delivered in St Augustine’s Chapel, Sewanee* (New York, 1890).

¹³ “University Intelligence,” *Morning Post* (14 February 1868): 4. I am grateful to Mark Curthoys for drawing my attention to this record.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* lists Professors Goldwin Smith and George Rolleston, formerly vice-presidents of the Union and Emancipation Society with the radical brother of John Henry Newman; see Francis Newman, *Character of the Southern States of America: Letter to a Friend who had joined the Southern Independence Association* (Manchester, 1864), 19. Also listed are Smith’s friend the classicist John Conington, the Broad Church clergyman George Kitchin, the Regius Professor of Medicine Henry Acland (of the prominent family of abolitionists whose Tractarian brothers Thomas and Arthur were respectively friends of John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie Pusey), the High Churchman and critic of Southern slavery George Rawlinson, and the Liberal MP for Oxford Charles Neate.

TRACTARIANS, SLAVERY, AND COTTON

On his second trip to England, Quintard collected the relics of the “saintly” John Keble.¹⁵ The Tractarian novelist Frances Maria Wilbraham sent him an “autograph note from Mr. Keble as a keepsake”: she and her brother Sir Richard Wilbraham had been friends with Keble since 1852, and both corresponded with him until his death.¹⁶ Soon after, Quintard traveled to Keble’s parish of Hursley with Sir Richard, Alfred Barton a vice-chairman of the local branch of the English Church Union, and the famous W. J. E. Bennett’s less-famous curate. At Hursley the incumbent gave the bishop “a tiny lock of Keble’s hair” and “a Stole that Keble had worn for many years.”¹⁷ What could be more innocent than a group of Tractarians going on pilgrimage?

However, to dig down to the roots of the Wilbrahams’ family tree is to uncover the British aristocracy’s legacy of slave ownership. Likewise the family tree of Quintard’s new friend Alfred Barton reveals manufacturers of, and investors in, cotton that before the Civil War was produced by the enslaved. Such research opens up a new field of enquiry in ecclesiastical and Confederate history by examining those lay and ordained Tractarians in Britain who were Confederate supporters. This includes better known people than Richard Wilbraham and Alfred Barton. John Shaw Stewart was a longstanding member of the Keble College Council and sometime college bursar, while William Ewart Gladstone was the future prime minister. Gladstone was out of political office when in 1867 he joined the London Committee of the Southern University to raise funds, of which John Shaw Stewart was treasurer. Both these minor aristocrats were children of those compensated for slaves owned when slavery was abolished in the Empire by act of Parliament in 1833.

¹⁵ Diary, 13 September and 21 October 1875.

¹⁶ Diary, 13 September 1875. Frances Maria Wilbraham, “Recollections of Hursley Vicarage,” in Charlotte Mary Yonge, *Musings of the “Christian Year” and “Lyra Innocentium”* (Oxford /New York, 1871), lvii-cxxxvii. A letter from Keble to Richard Wilbraham, then fighting in the Crimean War, is at lxxv-lxxvii.

¹⁷ Diary, 24 October 1875.

John Shaw Stewart was the second son of a Scottish baronet. His older brother, Michael, who ascended to the baronetcy, was until 1865 a Conservative MP whose own brother-in-law Lord Richard Grosvenor joined with others during the Civil War to call upon the British government to negotiate, “either in concert with other Powers, or alone,” a peace that would recognize the Confederacy’s independence.¹⁸ John’s younger brother Robert married the daughter of the crown’s attorney general in Trinidad in 1859. The brothers’ paternal grandfather owned 143 enslaved people in Tobago when, under the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, the government agreed to compensate British slaveowners for their former property.¹⁹ Their maternal grandfather, moreover, was compensated a vast sum for the 900 enslaved people who gained their freedom from his estates in Antigua and Grenada—estates which their mother inherited and bequeathed to her sons upon her death in 1850.²⁰ Therefore the Shaw Stewarts had abiding connections with a way of life that was similar to that of the Southern United States—before and after the abolition of slavery. John was also a devout Tractarian.

It seems likely that Quintard and Shaw Stewart saw eye-to-eye not only because the latter was a Tractarian, but also because he sympathized with the Confederacy: both causes were constitutive of his outlook, and people who shared this outlook became Quintard’s closest British friends. Although Quintard’s diaries and letters contain few direct references to what his new friends thought about slavery, the silence may reflect that they and the bishop took for granted that people of African descent were inferior and had benefited from slavery even as it was brought to an (untimely) end. Another aristocratic member of the London Committee of the Southern University did not keep silent, however, namely Alexander James Beresford Beresford Hope, one of the founders of the Cambridge Camden (later called the

¹⁸ *Report of the Society for the Cessation of Hostilities in America* (London, 1864), 12-13.

¹⁹ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632164> (accessed 2 April 2020).

²⁰ <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146636353> (accessed 2 April 2020).

Ecclesiological) Society and a patron of the Tractarian building projects of All Saints Margaret St. and St Augustine's College, Canterbury.²¹ In a High Church periodical during the Civil War, Beresford Hope expressed the following view:

As far as the future of the black race is concerned, we are convinced that the longest step ever taken, across the Atlantic, towards its complete though gradual emancipation, was the secession of the South. The political reasons connected with the balance of power in the two Houses of the old Federal Legislature, which induced the South not only to maintain slavery in the older States, but to force it on new States and territories whose climate repudiates the institution, have disappeared with the secession, and so the system is left to find its level, while the free trade, which the Confederacy proclaims, will every year open it more and more to English ways of thought and English influences. The result of these various powers in operation on each other, will, we believe and trust, be to insure *labentibus annis*, first internal amelioration, then serfdom, then villeinage, and ultimately a constitutional system for the black population of the South. This hopeful future could not be predicted for the South, if it were to be cannonaded and ravaged into reunion.²²

The British aristocracy's knowledge of feudalism, together with the free trade that brought cotton from plantations to British markets, could be put to use in shaping gradual Southern emancipation. So argued one minor aristocrat and politician. Throughout his life, another minor aristocrat and politician, William Ewart Gladstone, remained sympathetic to "good" slave

²¹ For more on Beresford Hope's support for Tractarian-influenced education and for the Confederacy, see Michael J. Turner, "'Respect for Settled Forms': Beresford Hope, the Church, and Post-Elementary Education in Victorian Britain," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 88 (2019): 1-29 and *Stonewall Jackson, Beresford Hope, and the Meaning of the American Civil War in Britain* (Baton Rouge, 2020).

²² [Beresford Hope], *Two Years of Church Progress* (London, 1862), 16. Debates about the type of slavery that existed in England's past dated at least from the time of Granville Sharp, who prepared the brief for the famous case of James Somerset (1772): "Villeinage—bonded labour in the fields—with the villeins denied freedom to depart from the manor or even marry without the lord's consent . . . had never been, so far as [Granville Sharp] could see . . . negotiable chattels, transferable through sale"; Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: The Slaves, the British, and the American Revolution* (London, 2005), 31.

owners, as the loyal son of one of the largest slaveholders in the Caribbean. In 1830, Gladstone had argued for a gradualist approach to emancipating the enslaved in the British Empire, to be carried out only when plantation owners considered it safe. He still expressed this view in 1856, over twenty years after Parliament had abolished slavery in the Empire.²³ Even longer after the emancipation of the enslaved in the United States, he wrote in 1889 in praise of the virtues of an antebellum Southern planter. By then, that planter's daughter lived in Sewanee, where she named her house "Gladstone Cottage" in recognition of what the prime minister wrote about her father's memoirs.²⁴ During the Civil War, Gladstone was the Whig-Liberal administration's chancellor of the Exchequer when in October 1862, before crowds gathered in Newcastle upon Tyne, he controversially spoke of the Confederacy as a nation, thus giving encouragement to the Confederacy.²⁵ Tyneside was a place where, in face of Britain's official neutrality, Confederate ships were built secretly by W. S. Lindsay & Co. Five-and-a-half years later, Quintard also went to Newcastle, during his first fundraising trip, but instead of Confederate supporters, he lamented that the "Am[erican] Vice Consul dined at the Vicarage with us. A *Yankee*!"²⁶ In another five days Quintard was in the other center of Confederate shipbuilding, Liverpool, though his diary remains silent about whom he met there. One can guess, though, that he visited James D. Bulloch, who had been the agent responsible (in violation of Britain's neutrality) for building and outfitting ships for the Confederate navy, and with whom Quintard stayed before boarding the steamer back to America at the conclusion of his first trip.²⁷

²³ Roland Quinault, "Gladstone and Slavery," *The Historical Journal* 52 (2009): 363-83.

²⁴ Gladstone, "Memorials of a Southern Planter," *The Nineteenth Century* 26 (1889): 984-86.

²⁵ H. C. G. Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-1898* (Oxford, 1997), 134.

²⁶ Diary, 15 February 1868.

²⁷ Diary, 2-5 May 1868. During the war, "The commodore [M. F. Maury] wanted to see Captain Bullock [*sic.*], C.S.N., who had recently fitted out the Alabama and who was busy superintending the building of other ships intended for Confederate cruisers"; James M. Morgan, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (Boston, 1917), 106.

Quintard made a strategic decision towards the end of his first fundraising trip to undertake a preaching tour of Lancashire (21–29 March 1868) because of the residual sympathy for the defeated Confederacy in these parts. During the American Civil War, people here had suffered from the “Cotton Famine” caused first by the Confederacy’s withholding of its cotton supply from British manufacturers and second by the Union naval blockade, which together resulted in mass unemployment among cotton workers.²⁸ Southern Clubs had sprung up across Lancashire and Cheshire, and although most industrial workers tended to oppose the South because of slavery, these clubs held meetings in support of British recognition of the Confederacy and even of military intervention in the war. In 1868, Quintard’s endeavors in Lancashire were choreographed by the Tractarian priest J. Augustus Atkinson, the rector of Longsight, Manchester, whose ongoing fundraising efforts for the University of the South earned him an honorary degree in 1876.²⁹ Also in 1876, Quintard visited Atkinson’s son at Keble College, Oxford, the day after the bishop attended the consecration of Keble Chapel.³⁰ Atkinson was married to Charlotte, a daughter of Viscount Chetwynd and a cousin of the High Church Dean of Norwich, E. Meyrick Goulburn. Charlotte’s great aunt, the Dean’s grandmother, had “inherited Amity Hall estate in Vere, Jamaica,” which in 1818 passed to her eldest son—the Dean’s uncle—along with its 242 enslaved persons.³¹ Augustus Atkinson had influential connections of his own, including George Anson, the rector of nearby Birch-in-Rusholme (many of whose family had been Confederate sympathizers), and his wife Augusta (eldest daughter of the High Churchman W. F. Hook), who

²⁸ At the height of the Cotton Famine in December 1862, some 234,866 persons in Lancashire received aid from the local relief committees; John Watts, *The Facts of the Cotton Famine* (London, 1866), 450 n.

²⁹ *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the University of the South . . . 1876* (Richmond, 1876), 30. Quintard told the board of trustees: “I am indebted for a vast amount of labour cheerfully undertaken and carried through with an earnestness that is characteristic of the man,” 23.

³⁰ Diary, 26 April 1876.

³¹ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632642> and <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/21507> (accessed 26 March 2020).

breakfasted with Quintard at Atkinson's rectory.³² But more importantly Atkinson's location in Manchester enabled Quintard to plan a tour of sympathetic Lancashire parishes guided by Atkinson.

It was not until his second fundraising trip that Quintard actually met Gladstone, on a day trip from Arley Hall, the home of the Tractarian squire Rowland Egerton Warburton lauded by Anglo-Catholic leaders such as W. J. E. Bennett and Lord Halifax.³³ At Arley the previous day, Quintard had lunched with Arthur Lascelles, whose father had been one of the largest slaveowners in Britain,³⁴ and that afternoon had observed a sports day for the estate's tenants and local villagers "under the superintendence of Piers Warburton," which left the American to ponder the virility of the British aristocracy:

I find that the old county families can show pedigrees that reach very far back. Here in England it is not as it is with many foreign aristocracies which transmit their titles to all their children indiscriminately. Here the grandchildren of every Duke, Marquis, Earl &c becomes a plain untitled gentleman, falls back into the mass of commoners, & becomes incorporated with them. It is this constant circulation of human atoms which

³² Diary, 23 March 1868. George Anson's brother was the Baronet John William Hamilton Anson, a vice-president of the Southern Independence Association or SIA, the patron of George's parish and donor of the land in Longsight on which St John's was built, opening in 1846; their cousin Talavera Vernon Anson was the chair of the Society for the Cessation of Hostilities in America and had presented the Confederate Ralph Semmes with a sword at an 1864 London dinner celebrating the latter's escape from capture.

³³ Warburton's "May Day festivities were highly commended by the late Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, in his *Letters to my Children*" and "Lord Halifax once said [Warburton] to be a perfect combination of a good churchman, a good landlord, a keen sportsman, and a man of literary tastes"; [Katherine Anne Egerton Warburton], *Memories of a Sister of S. Saviour's Priory* (new ed; London, 1912), 11, 9.

³⁴ The 2nd Earl of Harewood was compensated £26,309 4s 4d for 1,277 slaves on 6 plantations; <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/6180> (accessed 28 March 2020). Arthur, the 2nd Earl's fifth son, was married to Caroline the sister of Rowland Warburton's wife. One of Arthur's nieces was married to Lord Wharncliffe, president of the SIA. The relationship between the families seems to have been a close one, seeing that when Quintard was at Arley for Christmas he recorded in his diary, 24 December 1875: "Two brothers of Miss Lascelles (a relative of Mr Warburton) . . . drove over for her at luncheon."

keeps the upper ten thousand from degenerating into a mere caste, with interests antagonistic to those of other portions of the community.³⁵

In 1867 Rowland Warburton had given £10 to the university without meeting Quintard. Now discovering he was of a similar mind with the bishop on matters of hierarchy and genetics, as well as Tractarianism, Warburton gave £21, at which point the donor of Keble's autograph, Frances Wilbraham, and her sister also "handed me two sovereigns, & [Cicely] Egerton ten shillings, so that the work of raising the University fund has begun."³⁶ Frances Wilbraham and Rowland Warburton were first cousins, and Cicely Egerton was their first cousin once removed. This family like many of the British aristocracy had received compensation after slavery was abolished in 1833.³⁷ Even though Frances' brother Charles Wilbraham, an Anglican priest, criticized American antebellum slavery in a lecture in Bolton, Lancashire in 1846, that should not distract from the families (including his own) who had held people in the Caribbean in slavery until its abolition, nor from the Lancashire manufacturers (including those in Bolton) who depended on American antebellum slavery for their cotton supply.³⁸ When Quintard traveled to Hursley with Richard Wilbraham and Alfred Barton, in fact, he was with members of both these groups and thus with Southern sympathizers.

Alfred Barton of the Winchester English Church Union was originally from Lancashire where his father, Richard Watson Barton, started off as a calico printer and became a wealthy cotton merchant in Pendlebury. Alfred Barton's older brother

³⁵ Diary, 8 September 1875; a pasted program reveals races, high jump, long jump, putting the stone, pully hauly for teams of five men, aunt sally, all with prizes. Such holidays were in keeping with Tractarian social thought; see Skinner, *Tractarians and the "Condition of England,"* 216-17.

³⁶ Diary, 10 September 1875.

³⁷ Frances' paternal aunt Mary (who was also Rowland's aunt's sister-in-law) had married William Tatton Egerton and given her son the family surname for his first name, Wilbraham. He was compensated as a trustee alongside two brothers from another branch of the family; <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41827> (accessed 17 March 2020).

³⁸ Charles Wilbraham, *Scenes beyond the Atlantic: A Lecture* (Bolton, 1846), 21-2. For the bond between Southern slavery and Lancashire cotton manufacturing, see Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2015).

Richard³⁹ and his sister Eleanor married into the family of the local baronet, Sir Benjamin Heywood, a banker who had made his money investing in cotton. The fortunes of both families had deep connections to cotton and it is no surprise that one of Heywood's sons, Charles, joined the Southern Independence Association (SIA) in 1863, which sought to persuade the British government to intervene in the Civil War and thus protect the cotton supply.⁴⁰ The Heywood and Barton fathers were old-fashioned High Churchmen,⁴¹ whereas their children were lay Tractarians or ritualists, including the banker Oliver Heywood whom Quintard asked to donate and later stayed with at his Claremont home.⁴² When staying with Alfred Barton, who gave £10 for the university, the bishop met local Tractarian clergy and laity including Charlotte Yonge.⁴³ At a farewell lunch hosted by James D. Bulloch (formerly of the Confederate Navy) in Liverpool, Quintard received a visit from Richard Barton (*filis*) before the bishop returned to the USA, concluding his second trip.⁴⁴

³⁹ There may also have been a college connection between Richard Barton and Charles Wilbraham, who overlapped at Peterhouse, Cambridge.

⁴⁰ "List containing name of President, Vice-Presidents and General Committee members [of the SIA]," University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, Wilson Anti-Slavery Collection. Those identified as vice-presidents of SIA are found on this list.

⁴¹ Richard Watson Barton is described as a "Church-and-King" person "of the old school" in Leo Hartley Grindon, *Manchester Banks and Bankers: Historical, Biographical, and Anecdotal* (Manchester, 1878), 155. Thomas Heywood, *Memoir of Benjamin Heywood, Baronet* recorded his having read "Deans Stanley, Hook, Alford, and Magee, of Goulburn . . . Pusey, Keble, Newman, Manning"; quoted John Neville Greaves, *Eminent Tractarians: How Lay Followers of the Oxford Revival Expressed their Faith in their "Trivial Round and Common Task"* (Hove, 2015), 113n.

⁴² Diary, 16 December 1875, 15 March 1876. Oliver's brother Thomas Percival Heywood, 2nd bart., inherited the patronage of St. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting, and both brothers would defend the incumbent Sydney Faithorn Green during his prosecution for ritualist offences in 1878. The Gothic revival architecture of George Bodley and Thomas Garner were visible at the church funded by another brother: "Visited St Augustine's Church Pendlebury, built in a costly style, by Mr Edward Heywood. This Ch. is unique in its architecture" (Diary, 14 March 1876).

⁴³ Diary, 26 October 1875: "After luncheon drove with [Alfred] Barton to Southampton. Visited St Nicholas Church & called upon the Vicar, the Rev Francis Gregory [who appears on George Herring's list]. At dinner today we had the Rev Mr Bruce and Lady Bruce sister of Lord Nelson. . . . Yesterday the Rev Basil Wilberforce (son of the late Bp) & wife dined with us . . . Miss Charlotte Yonge, the author, also dined with us."

⁴⁴ Diary, 1 July 1876.

TRACTARIANISM OR RITUALISM?

The description of the younger generation of Bartons and Heywoods as Tractarians *or* ritualists refers to an important distinction made by the scholar George Herring. His thesis is that the Oxford Movement was small but flourishing into the late 1850s, when suddenly the ritualists attempted to impose Catholic ceremonial on their tiny number of parishes; this alienated the Protestant majority of England and caused national opposition. Herring's main argument is that therefore the ritualists were not the Tractarians' natural successors but their natural enemies.⁴⁵ In Herring's terms, Quintard was a Tractarian rather than a ritualist in the period between the first two visits to Britain. In July 1875, on the boat to England for his second visit, Quintard read Beresford Hope's book that advocated for only moderate ritualism,⁴⁶ exhorting that "those who are advanced in ritual might . . . not so often confound the desirable with the essential, or imagine that all would be lost if only it were found impossible to add one or two more enrichments to an already ample repository of well-secured advantages."⁴⁷ Aboard the boat Quintard agreed; but when in Britain he would rise up the candle.⁴⁸

Even if Quintard was a "Tractarian" in Herring's terms, things changed from the 1860s into the 1870s.⁴⁹ Take the vocabulary of Quintard's diaries as an instance. Whereas on his first trip the

⁴⁵ George Herring, *The Oxford Movement in Practice: The Tractarian Parochial World from the 1830s to the 1870s* (Oxford, 2016). Quintard had ritualists and Tractarians in his British network but, as is the case with Herring's Appendix, they are not separated in what follows.

⁴⁶ He neither included himself among the ritualists nor among supporters of recent Judicial Committee of the Privy Council judgements concerning ritual; A. J. B. Beresford Hope, *Worship in the Church of England* (2nd edn; London, 1875), 51.

⁴⁷ Beresford Hope, *Worship in the Church of England*, 14.

⁴⁸ Thomas F. Gailor, *Some Memories* (Kingsport, 1937), 80, has a photograph of Quintard wearing a biretta. The picture would have upset Beresford Hope, who even near the end of his life "said that he would like to pull off the biretta worn by one of the clergy"; Henry William Law and Irene Law, *The Book of Beresford Hopes* (London, 1925), 241.

⁴⁹ The controversies in Quintard's episcopate over ritualism and baptismal regeneration are discussed, but without Herring's terminology, in Richard Neil Greatwood, *Charles Todd Quintard (1824-1898): His Role and Significance in the Development of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Tennessee and in the South* (Ph.D. diss: Vanderbilt University, 1977), chapter 4.

entry for records “Administered Holy Com[munion] in the Ch[urch] at Lavenham” in Suffolk, seven years later at nearby Rougham he “Celebrated the blessed Eucharist.”⁵⁰ The meaning of the word “ritualism” was also changing. At the 1867 Church Congress in Wolverhampton, he records attending “a meeting of Ritualists in the Art Association Room at which Archd[eacon] Denison presided. I was on the platform with Bp Twells [of the Orange Free State], Hon Chas Wood [the future Lord Halifax], and Mr Shaw Stewart who made an admirable speech.”⁵¹ Ritualists in the late 1860s, judging by the location of this session, were aficionados of the art and history of furnishings such as candlesticks, vestments, and processional crosses. Indeed, later on his first trip Quintard received the gift of candlesticks from Shaw Stewart and a bishop’s staff designed by Beresford Hope to the standards of the Ecclesiological Society.⁵² (Presumably it was also the latter who gave Quintard “an ancient pinnacle dug up from the ruins of our own St. Augustine’s, Canterbury” to be used in the chapel at Sewanee of the same name, seeing that Beresford Hope has been the chief donor for the missionary college.)⁵³ After the bishop preached twice on his first trip at the ritually advanced St. Mary Magdalene’s, Paddington, supporters there decided to present him with a processional cross. This would result in a controversy back in Tennessee that sheds further light on Quintard’s view on what counted as acceptable “ritualism.”

Before examining the controversy in Memphis, however, it is necessary to set the stage by recalling the divisions within Anglo-Catholicism between those who wanted reunion with Rome and those who recognized that major obstacles to reunion existed. In 1857, F. G. Lee and Ambrose de Lisle founded the pro-Roman

⁵⁰ Diary, 1 March 1868, 5 September 1875. This shift in terminology was first brought to my attention by Nathan Stewart. I am also grateful to a correspondence with Jacob Heiserman in shaping my views.

⁵¹ Diary, 2 October 1867; the meeting was at Church Congress, Wolverhampton and presided over by Archdeacon Denison (who himself had Confederate sympathies, judging by the editorial in the journal that he edited; “Neutrality,” *Church and State Review* 4 (1864): 100-01).

⁵² Diary, 6 January 1868.

⁵³ Georgiana Andrews Patmore, “The University of the South,” *St James’s Magazine* 3 (1876): 363-69, at 367.

Association for the Promotion of the Union of Christendom (APUC), whose membership in 1864 was 7,330, most of whom were Anglican. A couple of years before the APUC, Frederick Meyrick founded an anti-Roman organization, the Anglo-Continental Society, with the intention of disseminating “accurate information respecting the constitution and character of the Reformed Episcopal Church”,⁵⁴ or, as F. G. Lee’s *Union Review* wittily described it, “to aim at converting all foreign Catholics to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, as being the One True Church.”⁵⁵ Thus the lines were drawn among Anglo-Catholics between the boosters and knockers of the Roman Church. On the latter side, on the general committee of the Anglo-Continental Society, sat Beresford Hope and two other Tractarian laymen, William Kerr the 8th Marquess of Lothian and Robert Cecil, who as Lord Salisbury would serve as prime minister.⁵⁶ These three were also Confederate supporters and tolerant of slavery. During the Civil War, all were vice-presidents of the SIA and the Marchioness of Lothian was energetic alongside Lady Mildred Beresford Hope (Alexander’s wife and Robert Cecil’s sister) on a fundraising committee for Confederate prisoners of war.⁵⁷ The Marquess of Lothian had in 1864 published a defense of the Confederate states, arguing that “slavery is the way by which civilisation must be brought to the blacks of the Confederacy.”⁵⁸ Two years before, Robert Cecil wrote about the war in America’s effect on the domestic Cotton Famine: “we cannot console ourselves with

⁵⁴ *The Anglo-Continental Society for Explaining to Foreigners what the Church of England and Ireland is* (n.p. [1865]), 3. For more on both organizations, see Mark Chapman, *The Fantasy of Reunion: Anglicans, Catholics, and Ecumenism, 1833-1882* (Oxford, 2014).

⁵⁵ “The Church Press,” *Union Review* 1 (1863): 29-45, at 34.

⁵⁶ Other clerical members of the London committee of the university in 1867 and in 1875 respectively who served on the Anglo-Continental Society’s general committee were Edward Bickersteth and W. T. Bullock; the Rev. Lord Charles Hervey from the 1867 London committee of the university served on the society’s book committee.

⁵⁷ “Bazaar in Aid of the Southern Prisoners’ Relief Fund,” *The Index* 4 (29 August 1864): 542.

⁵⁸ William Kerr, *The Confederate Secession* (Edinburgh, 1864), 102. For more on the Marquess’s family connections to Tractarianism, see Rowan Strong, “Coronets and Altars: Aristocratic Women’s and Men’s Support for the Oxford Movement in Scotland during the 1840s,” *Studies in Church History* 34 (1998): 391-403.

the reflection that, if it be only continued long enough, it may possibly end in promoting the Negroes suddenly to a freedom which they will not appreciate, and will certainly misuse.”⁵⁹ Cecil would serve on the London Committee of the Southern University in 1867 and donate £10 (as did Beresford Hope); he gave another £50 to Sewanee in 1876.⁶⁰ Lothian donated £25 in 1867.⁶¹ There may have been a number of reasons, therefore, why Quintard aligned with these men of the Anglo-Continental Society, becoming a patron of the society in 1867 and attending its meeting at which Archbishop Longley presided on 25 February 1868.

Beresford Hope’s sort of Anglo-Catholicism seems to be that with which Quintard resonated best, at least before the completion of his second visit. The bishop went for the Feast of the Purification (as he called it, and not Candlemas) to All Saints, Margaret Street, built by Beresford Hope’s funds before the latter fell out with the vicar William Upton Richards, where he found “the singing . . . superb—better than any I have heard in England.”⁶² On his second trip Quintard wanted to return to All Saints for the church’s patronal festival, “but the crowd of worshippers was so great” that instead he “walked round to St Andrews Wells St. where we arrived just in time for the holy Eucharist. The music at this Church is exceeding fine. Better than any I have heard in England.”⁶³ Beresford Hope was a churchwarden at St. Andrew’s and his fellow ecclesiologist Benjamin Webb its incumbent. Nevertheless, the ritualism of Richard Temple West (who had been Upton Richard’s curate) also appealed to the bishop.

⁵⁹ “The Confederate Struggle and Recognition,” *Quarterly Review* 112 (1862): 535-70, at 570.

⁶⁰ Diary, 6 February 1876.

⁶¹ In 1867, other High Church donors of £10 or more among the aristocracy were the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl Beauchamp, the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Harrowby, Earl Nelson, the Earl of Carnarvon, and Lord Redesdale.

⁶² Diary, 2 February 1868.

⁶³ Diary, 1 November 1875. St Andrew’s was where Gounod’s *Messe Solonelle* was first sung in English in 1866; Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910* (Oxford, 1999), 282.

Quintard's suspicion of the Romeward-drift of some Anglo-Catholics can best be seen in charges he brought against one such clergyman who had returned to Memphis from a stay in Europe as an "advanced" ritualist in 1868. The dispute arose when James W. Rogers, who (like Quintard) was once an Episcopal priest in the Confederate Army with Tractarian sympathies, arranged a service at a Memphis opera house, at which there would be "Incense, candles on the altars, and gorgeous vestments adorned with precious stones and silver and gold." Rogers named his congregation the Church of the Blessed Virgin. None of this met with Quintard's approval, who wrote: "These things are contrary to the usages of our branch of the Catholic Church, and to the wishes of you Bishop, and your attempt to introduce them into the public worship of Almighty God is an innovation which violates the discipline of the Church and offendeth against the common order." Rogers replied: "It is the name of my Church that offends you," because "to call the mother of our Lord 'Blessed,' this you consider 'going to Rome.'"⁶⁴ In the public controversy between bishop and priest, Rogers made accusations about Quintard's being "voted" a processional cross in England when the bishop made speeches in favor of ritualism at St. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington. The incumbent, Richard Temple West, demurred in a letter to Quintard: "His statements are quite untrue about your 'speeches.' . . . No processional cross was voted to you though some friends desire to present one, & that not in the least degree due to any speech but simply as a token of affection & sympathy."⁶⁵ Facing charges that he knew would be decided by Quintard as diocesan bishop, Rogers was received into the Roman Catholic Church, explaining that the bishop "overwhelmed me with a sense of my own insufficiency to carry out the plan of 'corporate union with the church of Rome,' which so many approved but feared to proclaim."⁶⁶ In December 1868, in

⁶⁴ "Ritualism," *Memphis Appeal*, 4 October 1868, 3.

⁶⁵ West to Quintard 30 October 1868 (transcribed in Quintard's own hand, to be used as evidence?), Quintard Papers, University of the South, MSS 93, Box 2, folder 21.

⁶⁶ "Conversion of an Episcopal Minister in Memphis," *Pilot* 31 (5 December 1868): 2.

deposing Rogers from the priesthood, Quintard showed his opposition to reunion with Rome and to Anglican liturgy that approached that of Rome.⁶⁷

By the time of Quintard's second trip the battle over ritualism in Britain was even more intensely fought than at the time of his first trip. In 1871, the highest court to decide on ecclesiastical matters had issued the Purchas Judgment, which overturned an earlier ruling by Judge Robert Phillimore in favor of vestments, wafer-bread, presiding from the eastward position, the mixed chalice (as long non-ceremonially mixed); so the clergy who used these ceremonial practices were now open to prosecution. Then in 1874, the Public Worship Regulation Act had simplified the process for bringing to trial such prosecutions. In response to the Purchas Judgment, Morton Shaw, the incumbent of Rougham and a member of the London Committee of the Southern University in 1867, had in Quintard's opinion "written a well[-]tempered and masterly book" defending the eastward position.⁶⁸ In the book Shaw invoked John Keble, "the saintly author of the *Christian Year*," who held that, in the rubrics of the 1662 prayer book, "'Standing before the Table' surely means standing before the Table, and can mean nothing else."⁶⁹ It was Shaw who took Quintard to visit the Tractarian squire Rowland Egerton Warburton on the anniversary of the opening of the chapel at Arley Hall. There, Quintard preached and the present chaplain (for Shaw was the former chaplain) "celebrated the Holy Eucharist, wearing chasuble & alb. Two lights were burning on the super altar, & the service was choral throughout."⁷⁰ In a private chapel things could be done that went against the Purchas Judgment without fear of prosecution: chasubles worn and candles on the altar lit. But at the parishes of Richard Temple West and some others, these things were also done in public.

⁶⁷ Deposition is recorded at, e.g., *Journal of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Kansas* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1869), 53.

⁶⁸ Diary, 8 August 1875.

⁶⁹ Morton Shaw, *The Position of the Celebrant at the Holy Communion, as Ruled by the Purchas Judgment* (2nd edn; London, 1875), 8.

⁷⁰ Diary, 8 September 1875.

After he returned from Arley Hall, Quintard “learned that there was going to be ‘a high celebration’” with music and three sacred ministers at St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington. He recorded that he attended “without knowing exactly what that was” because he “felt obliged” to the incumbent Richard Temple West, who was arranging the bishop’s visit to Hursley, described above. The bishop’s sense of obligation and the scare quotes around “high celebration” alert the reader to his feelings of discomfort at what he attended:

One priest vested in Alb and Chasuble, & two others properly vested as Deacons, were to conduct the solemn service. Then the procession moved into the Ch[urch], the officiating clergy being preceded by a cross bearer. The service was very solemn. The music was wonderfully good. Two altar lights, but no incense. The vestments of the clergy were of plain line.⁷¹

One assumes plain vestments, rather than the bejeweled ones worn by Rogers in Memphis, were more to the bishop’s taste. The bishop recorded such ceremonial because he thought it significant, even exciting, that three of the Six Points which ritualists adopted as their standard were in use: vestments, altar lights, and the sacred ministers would have faced East at the altar; incense was mentioned (though not used), leaving only wafer bread and the mixed chalice. The bishop’s friends were making him more advanced, because soon after he attended an early Eucharist for Saints Simon and Jude at St. Augustine’s, Hereford Square, “one of the ‘advanced’ parishes with free seats, altar lights, &C. The Rev. R. R. Chope is Vicar.”⁷² Here again are the tell-tale scare quotes, although his friends Shaw Stewart, Richard Temple West, Philander K. Cady (an American clergyman), and Richard Temple West were with him when he dined with Richard Robert Chope later in the day. Quintard was soon happy to wear a stole “embroidered with the figure of Mary Magdalene at the two ends” when he preached Evensong at West’s parish.⁷³

⁷¹ Diary, 3 October 1875.

⁷² Diary, 28 October 1875. Chope was the author of *Prayer-Book Noted and Pointed* and other hymn books.

⁷³ Diary, 7 November 1875.

Although this sort of ritualism was becoming more acceptable to the bishop, such objections as he had raised against Rogers in Memphis he raised again in parishes that he considered “going to Rome.” He wrote these words after attending the evening service at St Alban’s, Holborn:

having time we called upon [Alexander] Mackonochie, the Vicar who I had met on my former visit to England. He received us very cordially, & before I left he asked for my blessing. . . . Seven lamps were hung before the Altar, but not to give light. . . . A picture of the Virgin & Child was placed in a conspicuous place at the angle of the nave & chancel, while flowers were ranged on the shelf below. I did not like it at all . . . Mackonochie has done the work of a true & devoted pastor, but I regret that he feels it his duty to go to such extremes.⁷⁴

He observed the breach of the requirement that altar lights be used for illumination and took offence at what appeared to be Marian devotions. It was the Roman aspect of certain ritualists that offended Quintard, as was also the case when he visited Arthur Douglas Wagner, the incumbent of St. Paul’s, Brighton:

I was pleased with Mr Wagner personally – in all ways he was kind but I was greatly pained at his way of speaking of the English Church. He denounced them one and all, from the primate down, as traitors to the Church. Then too I did not fancy all his Romish books & strictures. In his dining room was a fine oil portrait of Dr Newman. That I liked, but when I saw the oil portrait of Cardinal Manning in his drawing room & no portrait of the Bishops of his own Church I left a bit riled. He has done, & is doing a vast work – but if he lives long he will, I fear, leave the Church. He expressed his regret that his curate Mr Grindle had published his Letter to Cardinal Manning, but only because his publication was premature.⁷⁵

Further evidence of Quintard’s respect for Newman was clipped into his diary: a sample of handwriting that R. F. Littledale,

⁷⁴ Diary, 26 September 1875.

⁷⁵ Diary, 20 May 1876.

the supreme controversialist among ritualists, gave him.⁷⁶ Quintard had already met Edmund Grindle at the house of his brother-in-law Robert Chadwick, SSC, the ritualist incumbent of St. Michael's, Wakefield. Quintard commented, "he is I believe an earnest Anglican, & is certainly a devout Christian. He thinks that the English Church separated from the Western Church, & that in order to a restored unity the Ch of England should in some way, in wh he is not very clear, be at one with the Ch of Rome. He has prepared a second pamphlet wh is to be issued after Easter. The Public Worship Regulation Act, he thinks has effected serious changes in the Constitution of the Established Church." Quintard added a personal reflection: "I do not think disestablishment is the remedy."⁷⁷ And there is the rub. The sort of ritualist whose closeness to Rome threatened the established Church of England, or spoke ill of the bishops, Quintard considered dangerous.

Nevertheless, by the end of his second visit, he was much more sympathetic to "advanced" ritualists, as is shown in his description of Charles Boddington, SCC, as "a faithful servant of Christ & the Church, who has attracted the attention of the persecution society ltd [?] the Church Association. I rather think they will find Mr Boddington a hard nut to crack."⁷⁸ Indeed in 1877, "the Church Association brought a suit against Charles Boddington . . . alleging the use of vestments, lighted candles, wafer bread, the mixed chalice, and the eastward position" at St. Andrew's, Wolverhampton.⁷⁹ From the words used to describe Boddington's opponents, it is clear Quintard had learned the ritualists' jargon and sympathized with their position. In a subsequent trip to Britain, Quintard's visit to the prison cell of Sydney Faithorn Green, the ritualist priest whose year-and-a-half sentence resulted from prosecution under the Public Worship Regulation Act, even made it

⁷⁶ Although Littledale receives some of the sharpest criticisms in Herring's book, the Tractarian bishop of Tennessee took no issue with the ritualist Littledale, visiting him repeatedly and exchanging letters.

⁷⁷ Diary, 5 April 1876.

⁷⁸ Diary, 17 June 1876.

⁷⁹ Yates, *Anglican Ritualism*, 247.

into the news.⁸⁰ What is more difficult to determine is how many of these ritualists sympathized with the Confederacy or were tolerant of slavery.

CONCLUSION

Direct evidence of Morton Shaw's or Richard Temple West's support for the Confederacy is not easy to find, nor any family connections to slavery or cotton. However, considering that so many of the London committee members were Confederate sympathizers, it seems likely that they were. Shaw was friends with Dean Goulburn, who in 1867 gave £25 to the university (the dean's wife also gave £5) and whose grandmother was a slaveowner.⁸¹ Indirect evidence for West's Confederate sympathy is his investment of time and money in support of missionary activities in the American South and in Newfoundland, which supported the Confederacy during the Civil War because its salt cod industry made up the diet of the enslaved on Southern plantations.⁸² West's involvement in the university even received mention in the Anglo-Catholic press:

In mission work Dr. West is deeply interested, and he is among the warmest friends of the American Church, on whose behalf he and his congregation made great exertions when the bishops of that communion were endeavouring to raise fund for the University of the South. It was partly in grateful recognition of those services, partly for his services to the Church at large, that this University, in 1874, conferred on him the degree of D.C.L.⁸³

⁸⁰ "The Imprisonment of the Rev. S. F. Green," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (15 September 1881): 8. See also Diary, 10 September 1881.

⁸¹ Goulburn wrote to Shaw about the prospects of Quintard getting financial support on a visit to Norwich: 'No doubt there are several of the clergy who would welcome an American Bishop, and do what they could to help him and express sympathy with him'; 24 January 1868, Quintard Papers, University of the South, MSS 93, Box 3, folder 19.

⁸² At the SPG meeting in June 1869 he brought "attention to the case of the Rev. U. Rule, of Newfoundland, who has labored for several years without any settled remuneration" and West made a donation; *Mission Field* 14 (July 1869): 207, 218.

⁸³ "The Rev. Richard Temple West, D.C.L.," *Church Portrait Journal* 2 (July 1878): 50.

Such a pattern was shared with the secretary of the London Committee of the Southern University in both 1867 and joint secretary with West in 1875, Francis Tremlett, who was a Tractarian clergyman originally from Newfoundland and the incumbent at St. Peter's, Belsize Park, where he had introduced hymnody.⁸⁴ There is direct evidence of Tremlett's connection to slavery, having come to England to marry the daughter of former a slaveowner and then working alongside Keble at the neighboring parish of Ampfield.⁸⁵ During the Civil War, Tremlett welcomed Confederate naval officers and agents to his parsonage, founded the Society for the Cessation of Hostilities in America, and preached pro-Confederate, slavery-tolerant sermons.⁸⁶ This combination of connections to a Confederate-supporting region of British North America,⁸⁷ family who were compensated for their slaves,⁸⁸ and Tractarianism⁸⁹ was also found in Brymer Belcher, the incumbent of St. Gabriel's, Pimlico, who served on the London Committee of the Southern University in 1875. As was the case with the Tractarian laity discussed above, during the Civil War a significant number of Tractarian clergy opposed the North and recognized the significance of Confederate cotton to the British economy, in effect tolerating Southern slavery. The Tractarian fellow-traveler John Mason Neale, a ritualist clergyman

⁸⁴ F. W. Tremlett, *Hymns and Anthems for St Peter's Church, Belsize Park* (London, 1875).

⁸⁵ His great-uncle was governor of Newfoundland. For Tremlett's first wife's father see <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/13400> (accessed 26 March 2020). Tremlett also had family in Jamaica, e.g. his mother's relative Samuel Dare, an attorney. For his work with Keble, while locum tenens for Robert Francis Wilson, see entry for 8 February 1850, Francis W. Tremlett Diaries, University of the South, MS 216.

⁸⁶ *Report of the Society for the Cessation of Hostilities in America* (London, 1864). Tremlett, *Christian Brotherhood: Its claims and duties, with a special reference to the fratricidal war in America. A Sermon . . . 1st November, 1863* (London, 1863).

⁸⁷ Belcher was the great-grandson of William Belcher, the governor of Halifax, Nova Scotia. There was strong support for the Confederacy in Canada.

⁸⁸ Belcher married Jane, the daughter of James Townson, who was involved in compensation claims for at least 323 enslaved and maybe 200 more; <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21751> (accessed 3 May 2020).

⁸⁹ Belcher spoke about episcopacy at the West London District of the ECU; *Church Union Gazette* 8 (January 1877): 10.

and co-founder with Beresford Hope of the Camden Society, saw himself in the minority in hailing the Federal victory at Vicksburg, testifying “that, though undoubtedly a large majority of English Churchmen sympathize with the South, yet it is not an inconsiderable minority which believe, as I do myself, that never had nation a more righteous cause to fight than the North.”⁹⁰

However, did Southern sympathy among English churchmen and women after the war result in fundraising success for Quintard? Not to the extent that he wanted. His first trip raised just over a one-quarter of what he had hoped for, and the second trip looked like being equally disappointing until A. D. Wagner introduced him to a wealthy Confederate widow worshipping at the ritualist parish of St. Paul’s, Brighton, Charlotte Morris Manigault, who donated the funds to build a theological school at the University of the South. Certainly, the British liked Quintard: according to one newspaper, his “animated voice and commanding manner, together with his personal experience of the war, combined to produce a great effect upon his hearers.”⁹¹ Just as certainly, Confederate sympathy accounted for his appeal.

⁹⁰ Neale’s letter to the *Guardian* newspaper, 12 August 1863, was reprinted in “The English Clergy and the War,” *Littell’s Living Age*, 3rd series, 23 (Oct 1863): 236-7, at 236. My attention was drawn to this letter by Turner, *Stonewall Jackson*, 103.

⁹¹ “The Bishop of Tennessee’s Mission,” *Hastings and St Leonards Observer*, 6.