THE HUMILIATION AND RESTORATION OF THE SYMBOL

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE RESTORATION OF SACRED DIVINE ORDER IN 19TH CENTURY ENGLAND

BOB HITCHING

PREFACE

One of the struggles growing up in an overtly working class home was the sense of always being on the outside. The post Second World War era was, without doubt, a time of social equalising. It was also where and when the fault lines of class seemed to become exaggerated as the British Empire went into a terminal decline. Perhaps the unwillingness to let go of past glories created fear and insecurity to those whose lives were privileged for no other reason than their breeding.

I realised very quickly as a teenage that I had been bred to continue the context of generations of servants, porters and labourers. I never actually thought of ever trying to move outside of the circle that I was born into.

Now at the end of my life I can honestly say that I am filled with gratitude that I was given luxury at someone else's expense.

Chapter One

The Historical Context and Cultural Milieu of The Oxford Movement

The period of time that this book will explore, late 18th and early to mid 19th century, was a time with multiple sociological, political and cultural factors that would identify the milieu as being one of the most important in Europe since the impact of the Reformation era. This cannot be viewed through one specific perspective as to do so would create an imbalance to the whole. It is necessary to look, not so much for causality, but rather the aggregation and accumulative effect of these multiple factors. In the midst of this context we discover a movement being born that would not only add to the aggregation of cultural influence but also have a major influence on the times themselves. That movement was the Oxford Movement often referred to simply as the Tractarian Movement. In this work I will use the terms inter-changeably. I define the Tractarian Movement collectively by the personalities involved, their writings and their relationships working in concert to redefine what the Church of England was and should be in a nation that 'defined' itself as a Christian nation:

> The last decades of the 18th century and in the first quarter of the 19th were a period of political, intellectual, and so social ferment. Europe was convulsed with the upheavals of the French Revolution, and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. These years also witnessed the beginnings of the industrial revolution and of the profound dislocations which industrialisation and rapid urbanisation brought about. It was a time of religious revivals across Europe after what was considered to

> have been a long period of religious stagnation and decline.[1]

Dramatic Demographic Changes in The Population

Between 1760 and 1830 England saw the most dramatic demographic shifts the nation had ever experienced. With Industrialisation, the Yeomanry small holdings of agriculture, which represented approximately 1/6th of the population in England and Wales, all but vanished. Arnold Toynbee remarks:

> Evidence in support of this conclusion is not difficult to adduce. The first fact which arouses our interest is that at the conclusion of the seventeenth century it was estimated by Gregory King that there were 180,000 Freeholders in England, and that, less than a hundred years later, the pamphleteers of the time, and even careful writers like Arthur Young speak of the small Freeholders as practically gone.[2]

This destruction of the core agricultural framework of the nation came partly due to Government intervention in the form of the "Enclosure Land Acts" that coincided with the movement of populations from the countryside to the new and thriving industrial cities in the North of the Country. The Land Acts took land that had previously been common land on which independent farmers could farm and confiscated it unless there was proof of ownership. This in turn led to large numbers of farm workers being rendered unable to work. For most of these workers the only option for employment demanded they migrate to the large textile cities where work was available. McElroy remarks that:

---

[1] Stewart J. Brown, Peter Nockles, and James Pereiro, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018), 22.

[2] Arnold Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1884), 32.

> The Enclosure Acts were one factor. These were a series of Parliamentary Acts, the majority of which were passed between 1750 and 1860: through the Acts, open fields and "wastes" were closed to use by the peasantry.[3]

This migration of peoples to centres that were outside of their historic frame of reference had enormous implications at the sociological level. The most obvious and dominant change was that people who had been previously accustomed with the rural social constructions were now forced to live in urban centres. I suggest that there are two critical differences that these migrants would have experienced based on the work of Perter Berger, in his seminal work on sociological shifts within modernity entitled The Homeless Mind.[4]

The first and most important of these differences was the sense of anonymity within the urban setting with which the migrants would have been totally ill equipped to navigate. Anonymity meant that the sociological enforcement agencies of Church, family and neighbour were removed. Moral, ethical and religious questions, that would have never surfaced within rural culture, were redefined as options created by such anonymity. At one level the urban options gave freedom to explore new ideas and experiences. Equally however, those same options created an unsettled environment in contrast to their familiar rural culture that gave boundaries to the various totems and taboos within their culture.

The second difference that was an outcome of the urbanisation process was in the area of authority. In rural society the authority structures were set, narrow and had natural expectations for adherence built into them. In short, each person knew their role and place within the culture and whose authority must be obeyed. Conversely, in urban society there were multiple sources of

---

[3] Wendy McElroy, "The Enclosure Acts and the Industrial Revolution." The Future of Freedom Foundation, March 8, 2012.

[4] Peter Berger, et. al., *The Homeless Mind*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

authority which created emancipation from the narrow singular sources of authority that for generations had been familiar within the rural cultures from which the migrants had originated. These two forces therefore, anonymity and multiple sources of authority, worked together in redefining consciousness within this population.

The process of urbanisation in itself additionally has sub-textual processes that redefine consciousness within the effected population.

The first of these sub-processes is pluralisation. Pluralisation like urbanisation is not an "ism" or an idea. It is simply a process that creates either ideologies or neutralities of opinion as a result. The industrialisation process by its very nature was pluralistic in outcome.

Peoples who were very often from different sociological backgrounds were forced by the nature of employment to co-exist within the work place to worked in concert as a production assembly. Production in itself was the desired outcome and the convictions and opinions of those in the assembly were irrelevant to production. Peoples for the first time were to meet, work and co-exist with those who were from different religious, political and moral persuasions. This was a fundamental shift from small holding agriculture where the work-week and even the means and method of work could be subordinated to the faith convictions of the worker. Now belief, faith, conviction and morality had to become private opinions that were not to disturb the corporate machinery that was devoted to production.

There are two prevailing opinions on this process that can be defined as public knowledge and private knowledge. One opinion is that an epistemic paradigm had developed, which enforced the privatization of knowledge. The second opinion is a purely sociological opinion that proffers the concept that the privatisation process takes place unconsciously through the process of pluralisation. I would argue that both positions are correct and interact with each other.

A New Urban Consciousness is Born

The theory of knowledge in 19th century England, as well as Europe as a whole had gone through several changes or re-interpretations since the emergence of the work of Descartes in the early to mid 17th century. To reduce Descartes thinking to a modular form for the purposes of this work I would suggest that his epistemic schemer created two clear forms of knowledge. The first form of knowledge being that which can be proven scientifically, defined as fact. The second being knowledge that cannot stand up to scientific verification, termed not as fact but as belief.[5] This very broad epistemic paradigm has remained and is to some extent still, in the 21st century the prevailing understanding of knowledge. The late 18th and early 19th centuries processed knowledge through this paradigm and as a result was able to emancipate man from the earlier more rigid views of dogma and the authorities that deposited that dogma.

The implications of this are multiple. Truth was now redefined to be in essence any 'truth-claim' proposition that was deemed true if and only if it was verifiable. At the same time verification was constantly updated by new data and so the structuralist concept of "bedrock" as embodying some static unchanging universal was considered obsolete. In its stead developed "fluid bedrock" or in simple modern vernacular "truth for the moment" or a relativistic perspective of epistemology. In many senses the evolution at the epistemic level that was born within Descartes continued to take on various new incarnations through the ladder of philosophic thought up to our own day. Central to all these various expressions is the baseline that Descartes created. Knowledge exists in two primary categories fact and belief. In short, the environment that was created by sociological forces fits into the paradigmatic shift at the epistemic level. This becomes important in the develop of a

---

[5] Lesslie Newbigin, *Truth and Authority in Modernity,* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1996), 70.

subjective view of truth that found new expression in The Romantic Period which coincides with the industrialisation of England.

The second sub-textual process that was an outcome of industrialization was the early seed of globalisation. The textile industry in particular was inextricably tied to cotton production in pre-Civil War America. The market for these textiles grew and developed through initially the East India company and then directly under the British Empire. India was restricted as a domestic market and was forced to buy textiles from English factories that were provided raw commodity cotton from the Slave Plantations of the American South. At the same time that commerce was creating a globalised reality, the increase in capital in England meant that European travel became much more common to a wider percentage of the population and through it the exposure to the ideas of German philosophy and Russian spirituality which were to have direct impact upon the English Church. All of these factors were instrumental for the emerging new consciousness of 19th century man.

This new and emergent consciousness became the seedbed for the second emotional and spiritual migration of this population. The migration was the movement towards churches other than the Church of England. These being the non-conformist evangelical groups and sects that were active within the new urban centres.

This new consciousness also became a place where poverty could be identified as a visible reality in substantial models. Whereas the understanding and awareness of poverty had certainly existed it was in the vast desperate living conditions of the industrial cities that poverty and the poor were seen not as individualistic but rather systemic or en masse. Visiting from the United States John Quincy Adams observed:

> Not a day passes but we have beggars come to the house, each with a different, hideous tale of misery. The extremes of opulence and want are more

> remarkable and more constantly obvious in this country than in any other that I ever saw.[6]

This poverty as observed and acknowledged by the status quo conservatism of the time forced establishment institutions –whether they be Church or State– to face the reality that the new emancipated migrant populations could no longer be controlled by the same forces of authority that had previously existed. This in turn created an ever-increasing divide between the new urban poor and the forces of establishment elitism. Novelist Georg Eliot recollects:

> To my father's mind the noisy teachers of revolutionary doctrine were, to speak mildly, a variable mixture of the fool and the scoundrel; the welfare of the nation lay in a strong government which could maintain order; and I was accustomed to hear him utter the word 'Government' in a tone which charged it with awe, and made it part of my effective religion, in contrast with the word 'Rebel,' which seemed to carry the stamp of evil in its syllables, lit by the fact that Satan was the first rebel.[7]

The Church of England In Crisis

The Established Church of England leaned very strongly in the direction of the conservative status quo and had very little involvement other than through groups like the Clapham Sect to engage with these social struggles and poverty of the increasingly polarized population. The Clapham Sect was built upon private wealth from its members and as a result needed to be viewed as an independent movement inside of the Church of England rather than an

---

[6] Allan Nevins, ed., *Diary of John Quincy Adams 1794–1845,* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), 177.

[7] George Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such,* (London: Blackwood and Sons, 1879), 45.

institutional force. By the mid 1820's the established institutional Church of England was a sick and decaying institution having lost its newly emancipated communicants to Evangelical Christianity and on the verge of losing its privileged position within the political sphere. I suggest that the corruption and Laissez-faire nepotism and patronage system had reached its climax at that point. The Church had reached its most vulnerable and compromised condition and as a result was rapidly losing its moral and spiritual authority in the realm as well. There were three steps to the undoing of the decay within the Church: unsustainable institutional abuse, government intervention through the repeal of the Corporation or Test Acts beginning in 1828, and a new "spiritual centre" that emerged through The Romantic Period.

The Baron Bishops, sometimes referred to as Bishop Princes, were by the support of the institution placed into positions of wealth and status not known of in any previous era. Paul Johnson states that when Archbishop Howley died, his financial estate was worth £120,000 which in 2018 would be valued at approximately, £10 million. Speaking of the then Archbishop of Canterbury William Howley Johnson writes:

> The bishops not only sat in the House of Lords ex officio, but their incomes and manner of life were similar to those of the landed nobility. At the top was a man like William Howley (1766–1848), Bishop of London (1813–28), then Archbishop of Canterbury for twenty years. Howley was the last of the prince-archbishops and the last to make a personal fortune out of ecclesiastical revenues.[8]

Archbishop Howley had been an active Free Mason for many years and the Geni-Family Tree online genealogy search tool states that:

---

[8] Paul Johnson, *The Birth of The Modern: World* Society 1815-1830, (Orion, Kindle Edition), 377.

> [William Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury] was an active English Freemason, having joined the 'Royal York Lodge' in Bristol on 21 December 1791 aged 25, and served the lodge regularly until his elevation to the episcopate took him to London.[9]

Additionally, Howley was closely associated with the Masonic Anglican Synthesis put forward by The Rev. G. Oliver. This belief system held to British Israelism concepts and rooted the Masonic practices within the flow of Biblical history; A belief which held that King Solomon initiated the rituals of the Freemasons.[10] With this level of opulence, purchased by enforced tithes, taxes and fines on the population as a whole, England as a nation was hungry for reform and saw the need for this reform to come to both of the two great instruments of authority: the State and especially the Church.

Robert Beverley, in 1831 wrote a sarcastic polemical attack upon the perceived corruption of the Church of England in his published letter to the Archbishop of York stating:

> England is thoroughly sick of the Church Establishment, and your Grace's diocese perhaps reckons more persons who feel this nausea, than any other in England. It is, therefore, surprising, that, from so large a mass of discontent, no one should have come forth to express the feelings of what, I am persuaded, is a large majority of the population. The great spell that keeps all men silent on this topic, is the fear of that dreadful weapon, the accusation of atheism-a weapon always liberally

---

[9] See Geni Family Tree, "William Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury", Available at https://www.geni.com/ [Accessed April 16, 2018].

[10] Rev. G. Oliver, 'On Freemasonry', *The Free Masons Quarterly Review* Vol. 2, (March 1835): 151. Available at https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.68888. [Accessed April 24, 2018].

> used, by the Clergy, when their strong holds are attacked.[11]

What is important about this letter is that the authority of the Bishops is attacked in a way that suggests their ability to socialize the public by the fear of excommunication was losing or had lost its grip. A letter of this nature would not have been written twenty years before as the ability for it to be both published and distributed would have been restricted. The political reforms that by 1828 had gathered pace were by default creating a level of freedom of speech that previously would not have been countenanced. It was only three generations since the 20-year-old student, Thomas Aikenhead had been executed for blasphemy for his unwillingness to subscribe to Trinitarian doctrine.[12] The reform movements in the early 19th century had been based upon the accusation of the dereliction of the Church and the State to be what was perceived to be its correct ethical role in society. The core vision of the English Reformation in the 16th Century had been the calling of the Church to its paleo-orthodox roots linking itself to the early Church. Robert Beverley attacks this assumption as being a representation of the Church in the early 19th Century when he writes:

> It is my duty, however, to dissipate this claim of a primitive Church; for, having turned my attention, for some years to the subject, and having referred to the original sources of ecclesiastical history, I am enabled to state with confidence, that no two systems could well be imagined more different, in

---

[11] R. M. Beverley, (Robert Mackenzie). *A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of York on the Present Corrupt State of the Church of England*. (Beverley, W.B. Johnson, 1831), 4. Available at https://archive.org/details/lettertoarchbish00beverich , [Accessed April 23, 2018].

[12] Michael Graham, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead. Boundaries of Belief on the Eve of the Enlightenment,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 1-2.

> every respect, than the primitive Church of Christ and the present Church of England.[13]

Central to his attack was the complex system whereby substantial amounts of money were given through patronage in exchange for support and maintenance of the status quo. This money came in the form of a preferment for Church positions that had no connection to reality in terms of labour and reward. Robert Beverley again writes:

> My Lord Bishop is not slow to act the character of Jupiter Plutius, and speedily sends forth from his liberal urn a deluge of golden pre-bends, large livings, archdeaconries, residentiaries, preceptorships, chanceries, sub-deaneries, perpetual curacies, fellowships, masterships, vicarages, and all the other thousand varieties of dew, concocted by the bounty of cloud-compelling Jove. 'The young gentlemen, who find themselves thus gilded from above, are probably the very worst sons of Belial that ever fornicated in the porch of the temple.' [14]

A less populist and more academic work on the condition of the Church was written by John Wade that reflected the condition of the Church of England in the 1820's. Wade's writing has an edge of sadness to it as he outlines and registers the abuses of the Institutional Church stating:

> […] it has been described as the most perfect in Europe; yet we are acquainted with none in which abuses are more prevalent, in which there is so little real piety, so much intolerance, and in which the

[13] Beverley, *A Letter to His Grace,* 6.

[14] Ibid., 12.

> support of public worship is so vexatious and oppressive to the community.[15]

Wade's description of the Church of England being similar to Pre-Reformation Rome is both apt and prophetic. As the Thesis unfolds it will become clear that part, not all, of the correctives being sought by the Tractarians speak to this broader issue of spiritual reality, and that Liturgical Sacred Divine Order being rightly understood, acts as an accountability to the abuses that had overcome the Church of England at this time. Wade also continues to speak of the moral abuses that functioned unabated within Clergy stating:

> No one can read the newspaper without being convinced of the fact; the police reports being filled with details of clerical delinquency. Then there is an instance of magisterial oppression, or monstrous unnatural crime, it is surprising if some father in God, some venerable (clergyman) being suspected. In this respect the Established Clergy resemble the clergy of the church of Rome before the reformation ; it is known that the catholic priesthood in the fourteenth Century exceeded all other classes in the licentiousness of their lives, their oppression, and rapacity; it is known, too, that their vices arose from the immense wealth they enjoyed, and that this wealth was the ultimate cause of their downfall.[16]

---

[15] John Wade. *The Black Book; or, Corruption Unmasked*. (London: J. Fairburn, 1828), 208.

[16] Ibid., 212.

The State and Crown in Crisis

Following on from the deteriorated condition of the institutional Church the next area of ethical and moral concern was the condition of the State itself which was represented especially by the Monarchy and both Houses of Parliament. There was at that time no separation of Church and State and the two were interconnected at both the institutional level as well as at the ethical and moral level. As English society moved towards reform, the actual definitions of the identity of the Church became central. The 16th Century English Reformation was not a Protestant Church, it was, as has been earlier mentioned, a Paleo-orthodox church. Certainly, the English Church was eclectic in that it drew extensively from Geneva, Zurich and Augsburg. Central however, to the English Church was her high view of Liturgy, an Ontological rather than forensic view of the Eucharist, a commitment to Apostolic succession, as well as a high view of the Sacramental. These three points distinguish between what could be called Protestant or Reformed.

This semantic struggle concerning the definition of the Church of England reached a high point of tension when the first of the Corporation or Test Act repeals were put before Parliament, which would remove the privileging of the Church of England and the exclusion of all other Christian expressions in holding public office in the country. The first of the repeals was put forward in 1828, so that members of Non-Conformist denominations such as Baptists, Congregationalists and various Puritan offshoots would be allowed to hold positions of authority and public office within the realm. There was no question in 1828 of giving any form of emancipation to Roman Catholics or Jews. What many would consider astonishing is that within a very short time Roman Catholic emancipation would occur. In 1828, Archbishop of Canterbury, Howley believed that the answer would be to take a theological path and seek for all those taking public office to renounce the Roman Catholic doctrines of the Eucharist. Garrard (2016) speaks of Howley's concerns at that time:

> In the first half of 1828 before he moved from London to Canterbury in July, Howley was unhappy at the prospect of repealing the Acts but it was Catholic Emancipation which most concerned him. Henry Phillpotts (who only became Bishop of Exeter two years later in 1830) proposed replacing the provisions of the Test and Corporation Acts with an oath condemning transubstantiation, which would admit dissenters and continue to exclude Roman Catholics from public office. [17]

Meanwhile, the leader of the House of Commons, Robert Peel, seeking to find a way that would ultimately create a far more liberal approach to the subject as a whole sought a more middle-ground approach. The Duke of Wellington the leader of the House of Lords stood with Peel in seeking a compromise.

> Peel believed that a declaration could be found which would satisfy both the House of Commons and the Church. He recommended a Declaration be drafted for all who took corporate office in England and Wales never to 'injure or subvert' the Protestant Church. [18]

King George IV who had migrated to a strong anti-Catholic stance by 1828, wanted to make a clear line of demarcation between the Protestant Reformed faith and the Roman Catholic Church. He pushed therefore, very hard for the inclusion of the term 'Protestant' in any act of Parliament dealing with the Test Acts. Garrard remarks that:

> The King wrote Wellington a furious letter, with much underlining, to insist as the Protestant 'head

---

[17] James Garrard, *Archbishop Howley, 1828–1848*. (London: Routledge, 2016), 41.

[18] Ibid., 58.

> and protector of religion in this country' that the word Protestant must be in the Act or the Established Church would have virtually no security.[19]

These political requirements demanded the view that the Church of England was a Protestant Church despite the known and obvious differences earlier outlined. The true decay in the spiritual condition of the Church of England is the subtext of the various institutional events surrounding both the semantic and political events of this period of time. King George IV must go down in history as the most anti-Christian of all the Christian Monarchs in his morality and ethics. The Duke of Wellington described his King as:

> the worst man he [Wellington] ever fell in with his whole life, the most selfish, the most false, the most ill-natured, the most entirely without one redeeming quality.[20]

The Repeal Acts that began in 1828 began the process that was to pluralise Christianity in England and at the same time set in motion the counter-pluralisation through the Oxford Movement.

The English Romantic Period

From the late 1700's a cultural shift had been taking place in England that expressed itself in the Arts, Philosophy, Literature and Architecture. The importance of this period needs to be viewed within the context of a developing worldview which effects all of knowledge and experience. This worldview was to act as the intersection of aesthetics and theology which in turn created both the

---

[19] Ibid., 57.

[20] Christopher Hibbert, *George IV: Regent and King 1811–1830*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 310.

context and the style in which the Oxford Movement functioned. Isaiah Berlin writes of Romanticism, in this case, within the English Romantic period as having been a shift in consciousness. The cultural consciousness of the era inside of which the Oxford Movement functioned is important to understand as it explains both the dilemmas of the age as well as how effective the Oxford Movement was in addressing the times.

> The importance of Romanticism is that it is the largest recent movement to transform the lives and the thought of the Western world. It seems to me to be the greatest single shift in the consciousness of the West that has occurred, and all the other shifts which have occurred in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries appear to me in comparison less important, and at any rate deeply influenced by it.[21]

Isaiah Berlin continues:

> Whenever you look at any particular civilisation, you will find that its most characteristic writings and other cultural products reflect a particular pattern of life which those who are responsible for these writings – or paint these paintings, or produce these particular pieces of music – are dominated by.[22]

The most obvious attribute of what touched consciousness during this period

was the role of both personal retrospection and looking backwards in history to receive inspiration for the problems of the present. In his seminal work on the subject Henry Beers places Walter Scott as the individual who was able to popularise this process. Beers writes of Scott:

---

[21] Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism: Second Edition*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 1.

[22] Ibid., p.2.

> It was reserved for Walter Scott, "the Ariosto of the North," "the historiographer royal of feudalism," to accomplish the task which his eighteenth-century forerunners had essayed in vain. He possessed the true enchanter's wand, the historic imagination. With this in his hand, he raised the dead past to life, made it once more conceivable, made it even actual. Before Scott no genius of the highest order had lent itself wholly or mainly to retrospection. He is the middle point and the culmination of English romanticism. His name is, all in all, the most important on our list. Towards him all the lines of the romantic revival converge.[23]

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, soon to be heralded a father of the English Romantic period, saturated his poetic works with existential feeling based upon recollection. His grandson, Hartley Coleridge, recollects his grandfather's sentiments on this subject in his collection entitled Anima Poetæ from the Unpublished Note-books of Samuel Taylor Coleridge:

> We should judge of absent things by the absent. Objects which are present are apt to produce perceptions too strong to be impartially compared with those recalled only by the memory." Sir J. Stewart. True! and O how often the very opposite is true likewise, namely, that the objects of memory are, often, so dear and vivid, that present things are injured by being compared with them, vivid from dearness![24]

---

[23] Henry A. Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1901), 1.

[24] S. T. Coleridge, *Anima Poetæ from the Unpublished Note-books of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. (Houghton: Mifflin, 1895). 1

Nostalgia was to play an important part in the thinking and writing of the Oxford Movement as the Tractarians sought to identify their connection to paleo-orthodoxy through the translation and study of the Patristic writings of the Church which had been abandoned for so many years. Additionally, the writings of the Caroline Divines of the late 16th and early 17th Century were also studied in detail. In so doing these past writings of the Fathers and historic religious writers were in step with the Romantic movement as a whole which had been placing so much emphasis upon nostalgia.

The Romantic period also placed a very great emphasis and importance upon the sacred nature of space. In Walter Scott's perceptions that space was England itself. For Scott 'England' was rooted in the very soil itself –unlike the sense of 'America' which was thought of as being much more of an 'idea' than an actual place or space. For Scott it was not abstract nature that created wonder within him so much as it was England's nature. Henry Beers speaks to this:

> The key to Scott's romanticism is his intense local feeling. That attachment to place which, in most men, is a sort of animal instinct, was with him a passion. To set the imagination at work some emotional stimulus is required. The angry pride of Byron, Shelley's revolt against authority, Keats' almost painfully acute sensitiveness to beauty, supplied the nervous irritation which was wanting in Scott's slower, stronger, and heavier temperament. The needed impetus came to him from his love of country. Byron and Shelley were torn up by the roots and flung abroad, but Scott had struck his roots deep into native soil.[25] (italics mine)

What all of the Romantic poets had in common was an excess of feeling as being the authentication of their existential experience. It is important to

[25] Beers, *A History of English Romanticism,* 8-9.

understand this as the shift towards feeling as primary fit into the epistemic paradigm mentioned earlier that had its origins in Descartes. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, touches on this in his poem:

> From the narrow path of virtue Pleasure leads us to more flowery fields, and there Pain meets and chides our wandering. Of how many pleasures, of what lasting happiness, is Pain the parent and Woe the womb! [26]

I would suggest that all of the commentators of this English Romantic period would agree on how the supremacy of feelings had become the dominant factor within the cultural worldview of the nation. Berlin writes:

> Clearly something occurred to have shifted consciousness to this degree, away from the notion that there are universal truths, universal canons of art, that all human activities were meant to terminate in getting things right, and that the criteria of getting things right were public, were demonstrable, that all intelligent men by applying their intellects would discover them – away from that to a wholly different attitude towards life, and towards action. Something clearly occurred. When we ask what, we are told that there was a great turning towards emotionalism, that there was a sudden interest in the primitive and the remote – the remote in time, and the remote in place – that there was an outbreak of craving for the infinite.[27] (emphasis mine)

John Keble, who was the central personality within the Oxford Movement and whose poetry will be outlined further on in this paper, also displayed within

---

[26] S. T. Coleridge, *Anima Poetæ,* 2.

[27] Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism*, 16.

his work as well a decided Romanticism of feeling. To some extent this was a contextualisation, conscious or unconscious, with the prevailing aesthetic forms of the times.

> Keble had been introduced to the poems of Wordsworth and Coleridge in 1809 at Oxford when he made the acquaintance all John Taylor Coleridge, nephew of the poet, at Corpus Christie College. Keble was in his third year there as an undergraduate, having come up as a scholar in 1806 at the precocious age of 14.[28]

If poetry defined the new consciousness through the feelings evoked by nature and nostalgia it was the historical novel that was to create a propaganda form to communicate to a much wider audience. Beers speaks of the historic novel being born like Romantic poetry in Walter Scott:

> But the literary form under which Scott made the deepest impression upon the consciousness of his own generation and influenced most permanently the future literature of Europe, was prose fiction. As the creator of the historical novel and the ancestor of Kingsley, Ainsworth, Bulwer, and G. P. R. James; of Manzoni, Freytag, Hugo, Mérimée, Dumas, Alexis Tolstoi, and a host of others, at home and abroad, his example is potent yet. English fiction is directly or indirectly in his debt for "Romola," "Hypatia," "Henry Esmond," and "The Cloister and the Hearth." In several countries the historical novel had been trying for centuries to get itself born, but all its attempts had been abortive.[29] (emphasis mine)

---

[28] Brown, Nockles, and Pereiro. *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, 67.

[29] Beers, *A History of English Romanticism*, 30.

The historical novel became a central feature in the communication of Oxford Movement form and spirituality. The central figure and personality in this role was Charlotte Yonge. Charlotte Yonge wrote approximately 200 works 120 being in prose in the form of the novel. Her own audience was extensive in England, but she also inspired a pedagogical movement for women in the Church which was previously unknown. During the 19th as a whole 60% of all books printed were religious or religious based morality novels. The vast majority of these books were written by women who were following in the footsteps of Charlotte Yonge.

Charlotte Yonge was the surrogate and spiritual daughter of John Keble who had no children of his own. He catechised and confirmed her and was her mentor in her development of the vast corpus of literature that brought the Oxford Movement, through the modality of prose fiction, to millions of readers in England and Wales. From her writing she developed a monthly magazine, The Monthly Packet, which was instrumental in bringing Tractarian theology into the homes of millions of English people who would not have chosen to read any of the deeper works written by John Keble.

One of the characteristics of Yonge's writing was her emphasis upon the noble role of individual heroes and heroines who stood for what is right even if it meant suffering and self-sacrifice. It is important not to underestimate the influence of Charlotte Yonge and her novels. The great Dutch theologian Abraham Kuyper came to Christ whilst reading one of her novels, The Heir of Redclyffe. In the intro to Kuyper's Lectures on Calvinism is written:

> Another experience came to him about this time in the reading of the famous English novel, The Heir of Redclyffe, by Charlotte Yonge. He devoured the book. It gave him an impression of church life in England such as was almost altogether lacking at the time in the church in The Netherlands. It brought him in touch with the deep significance of the sacraments, with the impressive character of liturgical worship, and with what he afterward used

> to speak of as "The Anointed Prayer Book." But over and above this, he felt in his own soul an irresistible acknowledgment of the reality of every spiritual experience through which the book's hero, Philip de Norville, passed. The utter self-condemnation of the broken-hearted man, indeed, his complete self-abhorrence, the brilliant young student applied to himself; it became to him a power of God unto salvation.[30]

Moving beyond Walter Scott and the late 1700's it is the alliance of Coleridge and Wordsworth that bring to focus how nostalgia, feeling and nature combine into the potent force absent from Western Christianity from 8th Century. It is a feeling of wonder through imagination. Coleridge writes:

> During the first year that Mr. Wordsworth and I were neighbours our conversations turned frequently on the two cardinal points of poetry, the power of exciting the sympathy of the reader by a faithful adherence to the truth of nature, and the power of giving the interest of novelty by the modifying colours of imagination. . . The thought suggested itself that a series of poems might be composed of two sorts. In the one, the incidents and agents were to be, in part at least, supernatural; . . . for the second class, subjects were to be chosen from ordinary life. . . It was agreed that my endeavours should be directed to persons and characters supernatural, or at least romantic. . . With this view I wrote 'The Ancient Mariner,' and was preparing, among other poems, 'The Dark Lady' and the 'Christabel,' in which I should have more nearly realized my ideal than I had done in my first attempt.[31]

---

[30] Abraham Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism,* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. 1943), 11.

[31] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria or my Literary Life and Opinions,* (London: Rest Fenner, 1817), Chapter XIV.

Church of England Christianity had lost its ability to create wonder and mystery in its communicants. The dead formalism of the decayed Church had left a profound sense of emptiness among a population that was saturated by a cultural worldview that demanded an historic Christianity whose symbols evoked wonder and mystery. This informal "Theology of Wonder" was present in the Eastern Church and the impact of the Russian spiritual renewal that was beginning to take place was to have a subliminal effect upon certain of the Tractarians through the writings and correspondence of William Palmer who was one of their members.[32]

The Fine Arts were also deeply affected by this period of time with Nature itself taking on a wonder evoking milieu. Constable and Turner each in their own way drew from and inspired in return an intensity of feeling that had otherwise been absent in painting and drawing. As the 'Tale of the Ancient Mariner' by Coleridge was to poetry so Constable's 'The Hay Wain' was to the fine art of painting. The ideal of the country village, (which in real terms had been radicalized by industrialization), was given a place of the solid, the deep, the unmovable yet balanced with love and security. Much of painting during this period did touch on the heroic, the truthful as self-sacrifice but touching sheer beauty it was Constable who was able to capture the age on canvas.

Theology especially influenced from the Eastern Church was to be shaped or rekindled by the overall setting of this period. Historically Liturgical Divine Order has always been defined by three specific attributes, symbol, liturgical ritual and the sacraments. The English Church, especially through the influence of the Puritans and those within the 16th Century that advocated for a more legal and detailed forensic view of truth, were very uncomfortable with this paradigm. The concept of ineffable mystery built into the total worldview of the East was resisted by the neo-scholasticism of the Protestant thinkers and

---

[32] Robin Wheeler *Palmer's Pilgrimage: The Life of William Palmer of Magdalen,* (Oxford: Peter Lang Academic Publishers, 2006).

opinion brokers. As mentioned above, with all epistemic issues by the 19th century the two divided forms of knowledge expressed in the philosophy of René Descartes prevailed with the greater value being placed upon fact. Fact in the Church sense of the word was dominated by the Law.

Law being a public standard of ethical expression in the public realm and subjective totems, taboos, feelings and moralities were by default placed within the realm of the private. As with knowledge this ethical paradigm has traversed the various epochs since mid 19th Century and is the prevailing view that has created the situational ethics of the 20th century leading the way to existential ethics in the 21st Century. The importance of this is not easily over stated. Christianity in the West since Augustine had built its essential presuppositions around the concept of law. In this case law as moral and ethical choices before a law giving God. In Reformed Christianity the dilemma of modern man is best described as being unregenerate man is morally guilty before a "Just Lawgiver" who demands perfection. Any break with perfection then creates a totality of moral guilt, which cannot be overcome, other than by selective intervention by God to remove that moral guilt. This is in juxtaposition of the Eastern Orthodox view of man's dilemma as being an issue of spiritual sickness that requires spiritual healing from a constantly willing Divine Healer. For 19th Century man, the inability to identify truth at any kind of propositional and scientific level demands that some other means and process is required to communicate the essential truth of the Gospel. A truth that is scientifically non-verifiable but never the less true by faith. Historically within Christianity prior to the 16th Century the dominant container within which this truth was communicated was through the earlier mentioned three primary forms; symbol, ritual and Sacrament. Symbol as corresponding to truth, ritual as a mimetic and kinesthetic enactment of truth claim propositions and Sacraments being ontological, existential and phenomenological experiences of truth.

Chapter Two

The Oxford Movement 1833 – 1845

In this chapter I will explicate that the Oxford Movement was not based upon a monolithic message that was responding to a given set of problems or needs. To make this point I will show how the three primary personalities involved were very different in their interpretations, especially in how to communicate their convictions in writing. I will also show there was no primary strategy but rather an organic outworking of ideas in the form of the 90 Tracts that were published between 1833 and 1841. I will also show how the outcome of the movement was as much a redefining of the theologies of the writers themselves and how various evolving ideologies developed as the studied, wrote, were criticized and interacted with each other. I will also show how all of these issues fit into the context of the Post Napoleonic social construction in England that was dominated by Reform Movements in all the major institutions. This context being within as has been dealt with in the previous chapter a cultural milieu or epoch that was called The English Romantic Period.

A New Movement is Born

The following passage from August B. Donaldson, one of the seminal writers on the Oxford Movement, best characterizes how this paper has outlined the context and the actual outworking of the Oxford Movement:

> […] it was something more than a reaction, it was a new growth, and a revival of long dormant principles. There here had been rising in England, from various quarters, a fresh life of culture and art. Men had grown dissatisfied with the old commonplaces in poetry, painting and architecture. Poetry had with Wordsworth taken nature and religion into an alliance and had planted the seeds of a mystic spirituality. Walter Scott had recovered juster [sic] views of the Church of the past; and, with others, had shown that the Middle Ages were not altogether times of unmitigated darkness and corruption. Added to this, opportunities for foreign travel, which had increased enormously since the end of the great wars with France, had removed not a little of the narrow and insular prejudice that declined to see anything good in the religion and worship of Continental Churches.[33]

The birth of the Movement, as all ideological movements, was built upon and around the relationships of those that wrote the Tracts, a clear contrarian position of what was being resisted and a set of cultural and ideological frameworks that drove the form in which the movement would take.

> Friendship gave to the Oxford men a camaraderie, a sense of common cause and team unity which produced a feeling of invincibility and rightness. The Tractarians were friends as well as allies; they were a band of brothers. And from their radical and fraternal position at Oriel College they launched their attack on the apparent apostasy and Erastianism of the times [...] All the principal participants in the Oxford Movement were fellows of Oriel. Keble, Newman, Froude, and Pusey had all passed Oriel's gruelling week-long fellowship examination. And during their time as college fellows they (with the exception of Pusey, who remained at Oriel only a short time) gradually coalesced as both colleagues and friends. Oriel was the base for their project of Church revival and social renewal. The Movement worked outward from the college, and the friendships established there sustained it in its early, hectic

[33] August B. Donaldson, *Five Great Oxford Leaders: Keble, Newman, Pusey, Liddon, and Church,* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900), 4.

> years. But the passing of time and the alteration of views brought an end to these fraternal links even while other such like-minded clusters of friends were established later on and in other places. [34]

One additional source of the Movement was Blanco White who brought to the group a level of anti-Rationalism that was to affect the intellectual environment that Tractarian writers, with the exception Newman in his early writings, functioned within.

> Thus, he evoked in the Tractarian writers that reasoned and sensitive resistance to even incipient Rationalism which characterized all their writings. Of Blanco White's positive influence, it is not too much to say that he is the real founder of the modern Latitudinarian school in the English Church. Whately and Hampden were in different senses his pupils: Arnold and even Hawkins felt his positive influence, though less directly.[35]

By the time that the Tractarian movement had begun there had been mass 'defections' from the Church of England into the plethora of Evangelical groups that had grown. These 'defections' were originated partly from the Wesley and Whitefield revivals but also as a result of "End Times" prophecies emerging from the new wave of independent Evangelical Churches. One of the fastest growing movements was the Plymouth Brethren of which some estimates have claim that over 1 million people joined in the post- Napoleonic era up until the 1st World War.[36] These numbers were staggering and acted as a

---

34 C. Brad Fought, *The Oxford Movement: A Thematic History of the Tractarians and Their Times*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 74.

35 John McClintock and James Strong, "Latitudinarians," Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1882), 267.

36 Robert Bernard Dann, "The Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves" *Echoes of Service*, (2004): 551.

pincer movement against the Church of England as its own institutional decay exacerbated by political reform brought mass exodus and redefinition to the institution as whole.

Seemingly, without any strategy, a movement was born that saw the corrective to the dilemma and went on to see a restoration of the Liturgical Sacred Divine Order; A required order which had been replaced by a growing secularism and a dead formalism. Donaldson writes:

> [The] Church of England had been passing through a long period of deep and chronic religious lethargy. For many years, perhaps for some generations, Christendom might have been challenged to show either then or from any former age, a clergy (with exceptions) so secular and lax, or congregations so cold, irreverent, and indevout. [37]

Or as Edward Pusey, one of Donaldson's "Five Great Oxford Leaders" states:

> […that] the Church of England has a good deal of ground to recover, a good many stray sheep to win back, whom she lost in the stiffness and chill of the last century.[38]

The movement has often been mischaracterized as a Roman Catholic renewal movement within the Church of England and even to this day there is a tendency to represent it as such. It is important to stress at the beginning of this chapter that the Oxford Movement was not a move towards Roman Catholicism. Bishop J.C. Ryle, one of the most beloved of Evangelical leaders in the Church of England in the 19th Century, was equally also one of the most outspoken

---

[37] Donaldson, *Five Great Oxford Leaders*, 7.

[38] Henry, Parry, Liddon. "The Spiritual Letters of Edward Bouverie Pusey" (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1898). 136. [Available Online at www.archive.org] https://archive.org/stream/a605473000puseuoft/a605473000puseuoft_djvu.txt. [Accessed on September 3, 2017].

advocates of the idea that the Oxford Movement had opened up once-sacred territory in the Church of England to the invasion of Roman Catholicism. Bishop Ryle writes strongly:

> It has been furthered immensely by the proceedings of the Ritualistic party in the Church of England. That energetic and active body has been vilifying the Reformation, and sneering at Protestantism, for many years, with only too much success. It has corrupted, leavened, blinded, and poisoned the minds of many Churchmen, by incessant misrepresentation. It has gradually familiarized people with every distinctive doctrine and practice of Romanism, – the real presence—the mass—auricular confession and priestly absolution—the sacerdotal character of the ministry—the monastic system—and a histrionic, sensuous, showy style of public worship—and the natural result is, that many simple people see no mighty harm in downright genuine Popery![39]

In real terms the anger and hyperbole that Bishop Ryle uses is calmed by the words of Isaac Williams who puts the record straight on this subject:

> It seems to be a popular notion that the original writers of the Tracts have generally joined the Church of Rome, and that, therefore, that Movement of itself has been so far a failure; but this is very far from being the case, for it is a very remarkable circumstance, and one which I find very much strikes everyone to whom I have mentioned it, that, out of all the writers in the Tracts for the Times one only has joined the Church of Rome.[40]

---

[39] J.C. Ryle, *"What The Times Require". The Church Association Tracts, Vol. 3.* (London: The Church Association, 1865), Tract 147.

[40] Isaac Williams. *The Autobiography*, ed. George Prevost, (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1892) 119. [Digitalized for Internet Archive 2013, available online PDF at archive.org] https://archive.org/stream/auphyofi00will/auphyofi00will_djvu.txt. [Accessed September 2, 2017].

We shall see as this chapter continues that John Henry Newman one of the most prolific of the Tractarian writers was “the one” mentioned by Isaac Williams and because of his profile he has tended to draw attention by his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1845. The paper hopes to argue that there was diversity in the Tractarians and that the two poles were exemplified in Newman and his friend John Keble. I will argue that Keble at his most forceful was still tempered by grace as opposed to Newman who was a blunt-edged instrument of law in his earlier Tracts which then modified his position as he moved towards the critical year for him being 1839.

John Keble’s Sermon in the Oxford University Chapel to the Board of Assizes on 14 July 1833 entitled National Apostasy was called by Newman the beginning of the Tractarian Movement. In light of the 1828 Repeal Acts that were pulling back from the previous demands that Public Servants must be members of the Church of England, there were those at Oxford who saw this as a move towards a pluralistic society, or a practical atheism. This serious ‘move’ towards pluralism would be considered by them as the breaking of their covenant as a Christian nation with God. Keble gave his sermon in Oxford and stated concerning the Church and the Christian nation:

> One of the most alarming, as a symptom, is the growing indifference in which men indulge themselves, to other men’s religious sentiments. Under the guise of charity and toleration we are come almost to this pass, that no difference, in matters of faith, is to disqualify for our approbation and confidence, whether in public or domestic life. Can we conceal it from ourselves that every year the practice is becoming more common of trusting men unreservedly in the most delicate and important matters, without one serious inquiry whether they do not hold principles which make it

> impossible for them to be loyal to their Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier?[41]

Keble sees the trend in the State's rejection of the status quo privilege of the Church of England the beginning of a downward spiral into apostasy. He continues:

> What should be the tenor of their conduct who find themselves cast on such times of decay and danger? How may a man best reconcile his allegiance to God and his Church with his duty to his country, that country which now, by the supposition, is fast becoming hostile to the Church, and cannot therefore long be the friend of God?[42]

Keble's tone moderates however, as he is calling the Church to act within the biblical frameworks of Grace and as he calls the Church to prayer over the conditions. He states:

> The Church would, first of all, have to be constant, as before, in INTERCESSION. No despiteful usage, no persecution, could warrant her in ceasing to pray, as did her first fathers and patterns, for the State and all who are in authority. That duty once well and cordially performed, all other duties, so to speak, are secured. Candour, respectfulness, guarded language, all that the Apostle meant in warning men not to "speak evil of dignities" may then, and then only, be practised, without compromise of truth and fortitude, when the habit is attained of

---

[41] John Keble, *The Christian Year, Lyra Innocentium and Other Poems,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), 548.

[42] Ibid., 551.

> praying as we ought for the very enemies of our precious and holy cause.[43]

A Movement of Eclectic Opinion Brokers

It is important to establish, as has been mentioned earlier that there was no central monolithic message that came from the Tractarians although they were united in their belief in the need for a restoration of the sacred within the Church of England. In the early Tracts, Newman put enormous emphasis upon the independence of the Church as a God-ordained entity, whereas Keble emphasized drawing nourishment from the Patristic writings that gave a spirituality dimension to the debate. As the years passed Newman softened his attacks upon government and joined Keble in deep research of the Patristics. Pusey brought the strength of a highly regarded academic base to proffer an Apostolic role of the Church to the group with the other writers of the Tracts following to some extent along these three basic lines. In this chapter I will follow these three primary lines of enquiry within Newman, Keble, and Pusey.

Of all the writers Newman was initially, the most distant from understanding both public opinion and also the consequences of his writing of re-enforcing the stereotypes of the Institutional Church. Newman writes:

> Should the Government and Country so far forget their GOD as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honours and substance, on what will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you have been upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth,

---

[43] Ibid., 552–553.

> your connexions; should these secular advantages cease, on what must CHRIST'S Ministers depend?[44]

Newman at this point is addressing the Repeal Acts and the sentiment they evoked by the government that have now affected both the "honour" and "substance" of the Church. In short, honour being status and substance being money. He now makes first mention of the subjectivity or "feelings" within the Consciousness of the times which certainly– conscious or unconscious– alludes to the Romantic milieu. He is bewailing the authority of the Church having been diluted by the State and at the same time claiming that authority by popularity will have little spiritual effect upon the souls of men and women in their Pastoral care:

> How can we "hold fast the form of sound words," and "keep that which is committed to our trust," if our influence is to depend simply on our popularity? Is it not our very office to oppose the world? can we then allow ourselves to court it? to preach smooth things and prophesy deceits? to make the way of life easy to the rich and indolent, and to bribe the humbler classes by excitements and strong intoxicating doctrine? Surely it must not be so; and the question recurs, on what are we to rest our authority, when the State deserts us?[45]

Newman still in Tract 1, gives the call to arms or a rallying cry to the faithful to resist the spirit of the age represented by the State's diminishing the authority of the Church and in so doing people moving away from the Church of England to Evangelical non-conformists such as the Baptists and the Plymouth Brethren:

> But, if you will not adopt my view of the subject, which I offer to you, not doubtingly, yet (I hope)

---

[44] R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833-1845*. (London: Macmillan, 1891), 100.

[45] Ibid., 100-01.

> respectfully, at all events, CHOOSE YOUR SIDE. To remain neuter much longer will be itself to take a part. Choose your side; since side you shortly must, with one or other party, even though you do nothing. Fear to be of those, whose line is decided for them by chance circumstances, and who may perchance find themselves with the enemies of CHRIST, while they think but to remove themselves from worldly politics. Such abstinence is impossible in troublous [sic] times. HE THAT IS NOT WITH ME, IS AGAINST ME, AND HE THAT GATHERETH NOT WITH ME SCATTERETH ABROAD.[46]

When Newman's words are put in the context of Wade, albeit a polemicist critic of the Church of England, his words seem to fall on unfertile soil.

> In all this there is no authority for tithing, and the fathers of the Church were equally hostile to this species of extortion. The council of Antioch, in the fourth century, allowed the bishops redistribute the goods of the Church, but to have no part to themselves. " Have food and raiment, be therewith content," says the canon. It was only as real Christianity declined that tithing it began the simple worship of Christ was corrupted by the adoption of Jewish and Pagan ceremonies; when the Saints and Martyrs were put in the room of the Heathen Deities; when the altars, the bishops, prebends, and other corruptions were introduced; then tithes commenced to support the innovations on the primitive faith. They were first demanded as charity and held as a trust for the poor.[47]

---

[46] Ibid., 103.

[47] John Wade, *The Black Book; or, Corruption Unmasked*, (London: J. Fairburn, 1828), 10.

Correlation and causality cannot obviously be used as any form of proof and yet the inherent dissatisfaction within Newman appears not only in his early Tracts but also in the migration as a whole from Low Church Evangelical to Status Quo High Churchman and then a Via Media Anglican to Roman Catholic. I would suggest that Newman, as important as he was from an iconic standpoint was far from a consistent theologian in the early 1830's. The very subjectivity that he bemoans in terms of the non-conformist Churches is a projection of his own Theological struggles and insecurities. For Newman the same theme continues in Tract 2, initially written anonymously by him. It seems as we read these first two Tracts that Newman is focused above all things upon the betrayal of the State of the Established and Institutional Church of England. He writes:

> There is an unexceptionable sense in which a clergyman may, nay, must be political. And above all, when the Nation interferes with the rights and possessions of the Church, it can with even less grace complain of the Church interfering with the Nation.[48]

Newman continues in the same Tract 2:

> The Legislature has lately taken upon itself to remodel the dioceses of Ireland; a proceeding which involves the appointment of certain Bishops over certain Clergy, and of certain clergy under certain Bishops, without the Church being consulted in the matter. I do not say whether or not harm will follow from this particular act with reference to Ireland; but consider whether it be not in itself an interference with things spiritual.[49]

---

[48] J. H. Newman, 'The Catholic Church', *Tracts for our Times* (Tract #2), par.3. [Available online] http://anglicanhistory.org/tracts/tract2.html, [Accessed April 23, 2018].

[49] Ibid., par. 4.

This single paragraph betrays much of what was going on inside Newman's thinking. It was Newman who called John Keble's sermon on National Apostasy the true birth or genesis of the Oxford Movement. Certainly, for Newman this would be his perspective as it was the role of the State to attempt to block and repeal the feudal abuses of the Church that was so odious to him. Despite Keble's Sermon being moderate there was a need within Newman to identify with his friend as being on the same basic track.

In actuality, Keble and Newman were at heart very different men. Newman then moves to a style that is both sarcastic and built upon a deductive fallacy. He uses a sentence, "For in what is the English state at present different from the Roman formerly?"

To equate Nero's Rome with 19th Century England is under any set of circumstances built upon fallacy and in many senses, Newman disqualifies much of his argument by this fallacy. The full quote still in Tract 2 is:

> Would St. Paul, with his good will, have suffered the Roman power to appoint Timothy, Bishop of Miletus, as well as of Ephesus? Would Timothy at such a bidding have undertaken the charge? Is not the notion of such an order, such an obedience, absurd? Yet has it not been realized in what has lately happened? For in what is the English state at present different from the Roman formerly? [50]

As we will see further on, Newman in advance, deconstructs his own reasoning for his conversion to Roman Catholicism. This helps us to understand the enormous migration process that began to shape his life.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of Tract 2 that the modern reader will find to digest is the way in which Newman places the respect of the Church as under the stewardship of the State. We are to assume that he did not follow the

---

[50] Ibid., par. 5.

position put forward earlier by Robert Beverley who saw the disrespect of the Church as being the responsibility of the Church itself. Newman continues:

> Lastly, is it not plain that by showing a bold front and defending the rights of the Church, we are taking the only course which can make us respected? Yielding will not persuade our enemies to desist from their efforts to destroy us root and branch. We cannot hope by giving something to keep the rest. Of this surely, we have had of late years sufficient experience. But by resisting strenuously, and contemplating and providing against the worst, we may actually prevent the very evils we fear. To prepare for persecution may be the best way to avert it.[51]

John Keble was an excellent balance to Newman primarily based upon the goodness of Keble's character. R.W. Church wrote of him when making a contrast of those people that Keble was surrounded by at Oxford:

> He had before him in John Keble a spectacle which was absolutely new to him. Ambitious as a rising and successful scholar at college, he saw a man looked up to and wondered at by everyone, absolutely without pride and without ambition. He saw the most distinguished academic of his day, to whom every prospect was open, retiring from Oxford in the height of his fame to busy himself with a few hundreds of Gloucestershire peasants in a miserable curacy. He saw this man caring for and respecting the ignorant and poor as much as others respected the great and learned.[52]

John Keble enters the debate and writes with both a different style and spirit than the early Newman. It is a perfect example of how and why the

---

[51] Ibid., par.11.

[52] Church, *The Oxford Movement,* 59-60.

Tractarians should not be thought of as having a monolithic worldview or spirituality. Newman suffered from a deep sense of persecution by the State that needed to be resisted. In comparison, Keble speaks both positively and proactively with large measures of Grace that are missing in Newman's early Tracts. Keble writes in Tract 4:

> Or is our languor rather to be accounted for by the want of express scriptural encouragement to the notion of a divine ministerial commission? Nay, Scripture, at first sight, is express, whether we take the analogy of the Old Testament, the words of our LORD, or the practice of His Apostles. The primitive Christians read it accordingly, and cherished, with all affectionate reverence, the privilege which they thought they found there. Why are we so unlike them?[53]

Keble has the advantage over Newman in both his style and the rhetorical and literary devices he employs to make his point. There is a poetic meter to the prose and the arguments themselves are tightly bound with a warmth that was both pastoral and statesman like. Keble writes:

> Nor need any man be perplexed by the question, sure to be presently and confidently asked, "Do you then unchurch all the Presbyterians, all Christians who have no Bishops? Are they shut out of the Covenant, for all the fruits of Christian piety which seem to have sprung up not scantily among them?" Nay, we are not judging others, but deciding on our own conduct. We in England cannot communicate with Presbyterians, as neither can we with Roman Catholics, but we do not therefore exclude either from salvation. "Necessary to Salvation," and

---

[53] John Keble, 'Adherence to the Apostolical Succession the Safest Course', *Tracts for the Times, Tract #4,* (Oxford: King Printer, St. Clement, 1833), par. 3. [Available Online PDF] https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Tracts_for_the_Times/Tract_4 [Accessed April 24, 2018].

> "necessary to Church Communion" are not to be used as convertible terms. Neither do we desire to pass sentence on other persons of other countries; but we are not to shrink from our deliberate views of truth and duty, because difficulties may be raised about the case of such persons, any more than we should fear to maintain the paramount necessity of Christian belief, because similar difficulties may be raised about virtuous Heathens, Jews, or Mahometans.[54]

This style of writing is both classically Keble and representative of the open wing of the Oxford Movement. In short, whilst in no way affirming the broad church opinions of the day he is suggesting very strongly that the core message of the Repeal Acts can be assimilated into the thinking of the Church. As Keble's writings continue there is greater emphasis upon the role of symbol, ritual and sacrament rather than upon the demands for privilege which was what Newman was calling for. The following words from one of Keble's poems perhaps touches on his sense of awe and sensitivity within the call to sacred ritual:

> A mortal youth I saw
> Nigh to God's Altar draw
> And lowly kneel, while o'er him pastoral hands
> Were spread with many a prayer,
> And when he rose up there
> He could undo or bind the dread celestial bands.[55]

It is at this point that I would suggest there was a distinct separation in Tractarian Movement. It was obviously not something the writers were aware of as they were writing from a coalface or here and now perspective, whereas we

---

[54] Ibid., par.14.

[55] Keble, *The Christian Year*, 362.

can look back and see how the difference of perspective was far greater than they would have been aware of at that time. Newman is appealing to Law and Keble is appealing to Grace. It is the line that Keble follows and several other of the writers after him that were also seeking to restore the depth of spirituality that had been lost to the institution.

I would also suggest that as we continue we will see that Keble, Froud and Pusey ultimately focused upon spirituality as opposed to Newman who appealed more to the institutional structure. From Newman's first tract in 1832 up to the entrance of Edward Pusey on December 21, 1833, in all 17 tracts had been written. When Pusey entered the movement, a definitive key change took place. Edward Pouverie Pusey wrote Tract 18 on the subject of fasting:

> Yet, as in every case in which the current of prevailing opinions, either in faith or practice, has for some time set in one direction, there have not been wanting indications, that Christians have felt their system incomplete; that there was something in the tranquil piety of former days, which they would gladly incorporate into the zealous excitement of the present; that although religion is in one sense strictly individual, yet in the means by which it is kept alive, it is essentially expansive and social; that the only error here to be avoided, is a reliance upon forms; that the forms themselves, as soon as they are employed to realize things eternal, and to cherish their communion with their SAVIOUR, become again spiritual and edifying.[56] (emphasis mine)

---

[56] Edward Pouverie Pusey, 'Thoughts on the Benefits of the System of Fasting, Enjoined by our Church', *Tracts for our Times, Tract # 18,* (Oxford: King Printer, St. Clements, 1833), par. 4. [Available Online] https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Tracts_for_the_Times/Tract_18 [Accessed April 24, 2018,

.

Like Keble there is balance in Pusey's writing. He is also calling for the symbol, ritual and sacrament to be the environment in which true spirituality develops. This call to the nostalgia of the past–as seen in the Romantics– is used as a means of reaching deep into the Church's roots to bring personal and societal renewal. Pusey had been strongly influenced by the Evangelical Movement within the Church of England and spoke in a language that used pietistic terminology. Pusey's contribution gave academic authority as he was highly respected as an academic but with a warmth and depth that was missing in Newman. I would suggest that on the last day of the year of 1833, Pusey, and with him Keble, sought to present a fundamental difference between Evangelical pietistic spirituality and their own emerging Sacramental spirituality.

The difference had created struggles within both camps in the Church of England and there is no indication of a synthesis. My research points me to the opinion that pietistic spirituality creates certain sets of emotions that relate to the inner man and causes clear emotional outcomes. In Sacramental spirituality the heart has to be trained to participate in the sense of awe that is involved within the rupture of time and eternity. The emotions are involved but are far less connected to the external generation of feelings by music and preaching. In real terms, faith is connected to the truth that the dimensions of the seen and unseen are merging as a result of covenant promise by Jesus in the upper room as recorded in the Gospels.[57]

For Newman 1839 was the critical year in which he moved his position to a place from which there was no turning back. It was his historical searching for theological cohesion that ultimately led him to firstly take a position in which he described himself as a monophysite which then developed into a complete rejection of his Anglican Via Media position. Newman read Nicholas Wiseman's article 'The Anglican Claim'. In response to which he wrote:

[57] Gospel of John 14-16.

> For a mere sentence, the words of St Augustine struck me with a power which I never had felt from any words before. ...They were like the 'Tolle, lege, — Tolle, lege,' of the child, which converted St Augustine himself. 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum!' By those great words of the ancient Father, interpreting and summing up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theology of the Via Media was absolutely pulverised.[58]

He writes later in life:

> "But so it was, in June and July 1839 reading the Monophysite controversy I found my eyes opened to a state of things very different from what I had learned from my natural guides. The prejudice, or whatever name it be called, which had been too great for conviction from the striking facts of the Arian history, could not withstand the history of St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. I saw that, if the early times were to be my guide, the Pope had a very different place in the Church from what I had supposed. When this suspicion had once fair possession of my mind, and I looked on the facts of the history for myself, the whole English system fell about me on all sides, the ground crumbled under my feet, and in a little time I found myself in a very different scene of things. What had passed could not be recalled.[59]

This was in fact only six years after Newman's stellar appearance on the national stage of the Church of England. In many senses he would have served his friends and colleagues to withdraw from the Tractarian debate. He did not, and it was his Tract 90 that brought the Movement to a close in terms of a public forum.

---

[58] John Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, 1.

[59] *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others* 1839-1845 (New York: Longmans, Green, And Co. 1917), 17.

> In the famous Tract No. 90 (1841) he advocated the interpretation of the Thirty- Nine Articles in a sense generally congruous with the decrees of Trent. The Tract, which caused a violent controversy, was condemned by the Hebdomadal Board, and R. Bagot, Bp. of Oxford, imposed silence on its author.[60]

With the level of scrutiny confined to this one Tract, Tract 90 and also the fact that it was the last Tract in the series it is important to see what lie behind his writing and what were some of the issues that caused such consternation.

At the outset it is important to state there are three basic stages to Newman's writing during the process from 1833 to 1841. Initially there was the initial institutional commentary, shown earlier in this work, which suggests to Newman as having been a blunt instrument whose use of rhetorical and literary devices is economic at best. The second are where he sought to outline the vision for the Church of England being the Via Media between Rome and the Protestant world. Finally, is this last era in which he uses one device after another to exegete brilliantly, and in the Tractarian group peerlessly, as he sought to deconstruct the 'Thirty-Nine Articles' in such a way that the essence is retained but the forensics are stripped. For this work, due to space, it is impossible to go through the whole Tract and explore the richness of meaning there but the following outlines the obvious change in Newman over the last 10 years and his reasoning for calling for a rethinking of the Book of Common Prayer.

Newman saw that the only way forward for "the whole Church to be the whole Church" there would need to be have been a return to its conciliar roots and a seeking to come to conclusion on matters that relate to the 'whole Church'. I suggest that Newman's desire above all else would have been that he

---

Cross and Livingstone, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1149.

stayed within the Church of England, fulfilling a vocation of what today would be thought of as an 'Ecumenist' in bringing the East and the West in its two parts– Roman and Reformed– together to become the singular one Holy Catholic Church.

> Religious changes, to be beneficial, should be the act of the whole body; they are worth little if they are the mere act of a majority. No good can come of any change which is not heartfelt, a development of feelings springing up freely and calmly within the bosom of the whole body itself […] they would cease to be good to a Church, in which they were the fruits not of the quiet conviction of all, but of the agitation, or tyranny, or intrigue of a few; nurtured not in mutual love, but in strife and envying; perfected not in humiliation and grief, but in pride, elation and triumph.[61]

Newman had moved away from his earlier tone, of seeing the answer to the problems of the Church being that the State was required to give the Church its due honour and respect. His position change to a place where he was calling the Church back to the source of their spiritual life, which is Christ and Christ alone. He was rejecting temporal power as being the source of institutional power but rather calling the Church back to its supernatural origins.

> There is but one way towards a real reformation, a return to Him in heart and spirit, whose sacred truth they have betrayed; all other methods, however fair they may promise, will prove to be but shadows and failure […] We can do nothing well till we act "with one accord;" we can have no accord in

[61]John Henry Newman, 'Remarks on Certain Passages on the Thirty-Nine Articles, *Tracts of our Times, Tract #90*, (Oxford: King Printer, St. Clement, 1833), par. 1.

> action till we agree together in heart; we cannot agree without a supernatural influence; we cannot have a supernatural presence unless we pray for it; we cannot pray acceptably without repentance and confession.[62]

Newman all through the tract calls upon two main sources. The early Divines of the 16th and 17th Centuries and the early Church Fathers. He effectively brings together the minds of history into one consistent whole when it comes to the issues of authority within the Church.

> We are not better than our fathers; let us bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker; let us not faint under that body of death, which they bore about in patience; nor shrink from the penalty of sins, which they inherited from the age before them.[63]

> Thus we see the authority of the fathers, of the first councils, and of the judgements of the Church generally, holiness of the Primitive Church, the inspiration of Apocrypha, the sacramental character of marriage other ordinances, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, Church's power of excommunicating kings, the profitableness of fasting, the propitiatory virtue of good works, the Eucharistic commemoration, and justification by a righteousness [within us], are taught in the Homilies.[64]

With a singular authority he takes the most contentious issue of all, that being the actual and real presence of Christ among us and explains it in a way that is both pre-Descartes and Eastern ontological and existential at the same time.

---

[62] Ibid., par. 2

[63] Ibid., par. 1-2.

[64] Ibid., See nt. 67, ß 11. *The Homilies*. Art XXXV.

> In answer, then, to the problem, how CHRIST comes to us while remaining on high, I answer just as much as this, that He comes by the agency of the HOLY GHOST, and by the Sacrament. Locomotion is the means of a material Presence; the Sacrament is the means of His spiritual presence. As faith is the means of our receiving It, the HOLY GHOST is the Agent and the Sacrament the leans of His imparting It; and therefore we call It a sacramental Presence. We kneel before His heavenly throne, and the distance is as nothing; it is as if that throne were the Altar close to us.[65]

> Let it be carefully observed, that I am not proving or determining anything. I am only showing how it is that certain proposition which at first sight seem contradictions in terms, are not so, I am but pointing out one way of reconciling them. If there is but one way assignable, the force of all antecedent objection against the possibility of any at all is removed, and then of course there may be other ways supposable though not assignable. It seems at first sight a mere idle use of words to say that CHRIST is really and literally, yet not locally, present in the Sacrament; that He is there given to us, not in figure but in truth, and yet is still only on the right hand of GOD. I have wished to remove this seeming impossibility.[66]

As Newman moves to conclude he puts forward the logic that few would have disagreed upon. That being that the Thirty-Nine Articles were as much a political compromise to a vast number of factions in the 16Th and early 17th Centuries

---

65 Brian Douglas. *A Companion to Anglican Eucharistic Theology: Volume 1: The Reformation* to the 19th Century, Leiden: Brill, 2007) 554.

66 John Henry Newman 'A Letter to the Rev. Godfrey Faussett on certain points of faith and practice [in reply to the revival of popery.] (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1838), 62.

that by their nature needed a certain level of looseness to them to satisfy the wide range of dogmatic opinions that existed within the Reformation:

> Further: The Articles are evidently framed on the principle of leaving open large questions, on which the controversy hinges. They state broadly extreme truths and are silent about their adjustment. For instance, they say that all necessary faith must be proved from Scripture, but they do not say who is to prove it. They say that the Church has authority in controversies, they do not say what authority. They say that it may enforce nothing beyond Scripture, but do not say where the remedy lies when it does. They say the works before grace and justification are worthless and worse, and that works after grace and justification are acceptable, but they do not speak at all of works with GOD'S aid, before justification.[67]

His conclusion is interesting as he is writing it to himself and the other Tractarians. He saw such an entity as Anglo-Catholics as existing. Existing not as a sectarian movement nor as a schismatic entity but a true via media that could function and dwell safely in both Rome and Canterbury.

> Lastly, their framers constructed them in such a way as best to comprehend those who did not go so far in Protestantism as themselves. Anglo-Catholics then are but the successors and representatives of those moderate reformers; and their case has been directly anticipated in the wording of the Articles.[68]

The Oxford Movement in Crisis

---

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

For many this work, undoubtedly brilliant was the last straw and the vast array of responses and the speed of the response was an indication of how fractured the thinking was theologically within the Church of England. In my opinion, Tract 90 is more erudite and effective than anything that Luther proffered. And that the Luther, present in the early Newman was left far behind as he moved beyond Erasmus to holding his own position as both a lover and critic of the One Holy Catholic Church.

In many senses the response should have been expected and his condemnation was swift, harsh and in many senses, brutal.

> The censure was published in Oxford on the morning of March 16th. The Preamble refers to the University Statutes which obliged all students to subscribe, as well as be instructed and examined in the Thirty-nine Articles. It then glanced at Tract 90 as belonging to 'a series of anonymous publications, purporting to be written by members of the University, but which are in no way sanctioned by the University itself.' It then proceeded to declare:
> 'That modes of interpretation, such as arc suggested in the said tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes.'[69]

After the sanction from the Bishop, Newman decided to leave the University officially and then withdrew from his connections with Oriel College. There was universal outrage that the Tractarians had been forced by the Bishop of Oxford to cease writing any more in the series, Tracts for our Times, this outrage was expressed in a in a letter to Edward Pusey from William Palmer:

---

[69] Liddon, Henry Parry. *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*. Vol. 2 (London, Longmans, 1894), 175.

> You are scarcely aware of the dissatisfaction at the present state of affairs which exists in the minds of the advocates of Church principles throughout the country. They have seen protests, and censures, University and Episcopal, explanations, concessions, the Tracts relinquished-and it seems to some of them as if people are acting under the influence of a panic. I had a letter yesterday from a man of great abilities and most moderate views, totally unconnected with the Tracts, expressing great dissatisfaction at the Tracts being relinquished at this crisis, and saying that the enemy had only to 'rush in and spike the guns '-that the cry seemed to be 'Sauve qui peut' I have had letters from several most influential Churchmen in the same strain, and I might mention the name of one who doubts as to the propriety of discontinuing the Tracts which would command general reverence. I merely mention this to show the dissatisfied state of people's minds just at present. They see that all is concession to popular error, and to a hostile party, and that in the meantime nothing is done to save Church principles-nothing is done to remove popular mistakes nothing is done to encourage Churchmen-and some of the most deserving men in the country arc trampled under foot. On the one side all is triumph and ferocity, and on the other all is timidity, and apology, and humiliation. Is this a proper position for the great and influential body who hold Church principles?[70]

The war of letters and claims and counter claims continued those both supportive and adversarial expressed very strong views in pulpit and print:

> On the 3d of October 1845 Mr. Newman requested the Provost of Oriel to remove his name from the books of the College and University, but without giving any reason.[71]

---

[70] Ibid., 205.

[71] R.W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*. 394

Newman was resigned to his removal and yet hurt deeply by the sanctions and he wrote in his earlier style with brutal force:

> I saw indeed clearly that my place in the Movement was lost; public confidence was at an end; my occupation was gone. It was simply an impossibility that I could say anything henceforth to good effect, when I had been posted up by the marshal on the buttery-hatch of every College of my University, after the manner of discommoned pastry-cooks, and when in every part of the country and every class of society, through every organ and opportunity of opinion, in newspapers, in periodicals, at meetings, in pulpits, at dinner-tables, in coffee-rooms, in railway carriages, I was denounced as a traitor who had laid his train and was detected in the very act of firing it against the time-honoured Establishment.[72]

Newman left public life and moved into an Anglican community of celibate Priests. He then began a process of catechism and eventually joined Rome:

> In 1845, at the age of forty-four, he was received into the Roman Catholic Church. The same year he published The Development of Doctrine, which B. Reardon calls "one of the most significant books of the century" (From Coleridge to Gore [Harlow: Longman, 1971], 146). He argued that the bubbling spring of the NT becomes a full-flowing river in the modern Catholic Church.[73]

The tale ends with John Keble extending Grace within the frame of sadness as he wrote his final letter to Newman following his conversion to Rome. Keble writes affectionately:

---

[72] Newman *Apologia.100.*

[73] Anthony C. Thiselton, "Newman, John Henry," *The Thiselton Companion to Christian Theology,* (Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2015), 616.

> My dearest Newman, you have been a kind and helpful friend to me in a way in which scarce anyone else could have been, and you are so mixed up in my mind with old and dear and sacred thoughts, that I cannot well bear to part with you, most unworthy as I know myself to be; and yet I cannot go along with you. I must cling to the belief that we are not really parted you have taught me so, and I scarce think you can unteach me and, having relieved my mind with this little word, I will only say God bless you and reward you a thousand-fold all your help in every way to me unworthy, and to so many others. May you have peace where you are gone and help us in some way to get peace; but somehow, I scarce think it will be in the way of controversy. And so, with somewhat of a feeling as if the Spring had been taken out of my year,
> I am, always, your affectionate and grateful,
> J. KEBLE [74]

The process that Newman went through was documented by himself in a candid and honest form. The process was the picture of a modern man in many respects in terms of a slow migration of ideas. In previous generations this process would have been by necessity something that would have been kept private.

> Newman sums up his ' position in the view of duty,' from the autumn of 1841 to the autumn of 1843 under nine headings :
> '(1) I had given up my place in the Movement in my letter to the Bishop of Oxford in the spring of 1841: ; but (z) I could not give up my duties towards the many and various minds who had more or less been brought into it by me ; (3) I expected or intended gradually to face back into Lay Communion; (4) I never contemplated leaving the Church of England ; (S) I could not hold office in its service, if I were not allowed to hold the Catholic

[74] *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others* 1839-1845 (New York: Longmans, Green, And Co. 1917), 39.

> sense of the Articles; (6) I could not go to Rome, while she suffered honours to be paid to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints which I thought in my conscience to be incompatible with the Supreme, Incommunicable Glory of the One Infinite and Eternal ; (7) I desired union with Rome under conditions, Church with Church ; (8) I called Littlemore my Torres Vedras, and thought that some day we might advance within the Anglican Church as we had been forced to retire ; (9) I kept back all persons who were disposed to go to Rome with all my might.'[75]

The process explained above will unfold with detail as both time and opinion change in Newman's writing. The stages he recounts are specific and detailed. I would suggest that we can identify in Newman three specific phases. The first stage has been documented above, the second stage will be viewed and identified as the Via Media stage, and the final stage taking place after 1839 as Newman moves towards Rome, culminating as we shall see in the final tract of the movement, Tract 90.

In Tracts 38 and 41 Newman begins to write in a much more apologetic style with far more use of both rhetorical and literary devices. I would suggest that Tract 38 is certainly a turning point in style. In these two Tracts he outlines his views of the difference between the Roman Catholic Church and that of the Continental Reformation. He places the Church of England as being neither a Puritan Reformed Church nor Roman Catholic and coins the term for the Church of England as being via media. He stages this in an imaginary conversation between a Layman and a Cleric using a question-and-answer style to put forward what in effect was a creative catechism for via media:

---

[75] John Henry Newman, John Keble, *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, 1839-1845,* Birmingham, Eng. Oratory of St Philip Neri, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1917), 166. [from old catalog]. [Available Online PDF] https://archive.org/details/correspondencej00keblgoog [Accessed April 23, 2018].

C. This surely is beside the point. We were speaking of probabilities. I observed that change of opinion was probable. Probable in itself you can hardly deny, considering the history of the universal Church; not extravagantly improbable, moreover, in spite of articles, as the extensively prevailing opinion to which I alluded, that the clergy have departed from them, sufficiently proves. Now consider the course of religion and politics, domestic and foreign, during the last three centuries, and tell me whether events have not occurred to increase this probability almost to a certainty; the probability, I mean, that the members of the English Church of the present day differ from the principles of the Church of Rome more than our forefathers differed. First, consider the history of the Puritans from first to last. Without pronouncing any opinion on the truth or unsoundness of their principles, were they not evidently further removed from Rome than were our Reformers? Was not their influence all on the side of leading the English Church farther from Rome than our Reformers placed it? Think of the fall of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Reflect upon the separation and extinction of the Non-Jurors, of the rise of Methodism, of our political alliances with foreign Protestant communities. Consider especially the history and the school of Hoadley. That man, whom a high authority of the present day does not hesitate to call a Socinian, was for near fifty years a bishop in our Church.[76]

"L. You separate then your creed and cause from that of the Reformed Churches of the Continent?
C. Not altogether; but I protest against being brought into that close alliance with them which the world now a-days would force upon us. The glory of the English Church is, that it has taken the via media, as it has been called. It lies between the (so called) Reformers and the Romanists; whereas there are religious circles, and influential too, where it is

---

[76] John Henry Newman, 'Via Media No.1, Tract 38' & 'Via Media No.2 Tract 41', *Tracts for Our Times,* (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, And Waterloo Place, 1834), Via Media I, par. 18.

> thought enough to prove an English Clergyman unfaithful to his Church, if he preaches anything at variance with the opinions of the Diet of Augsburg, or the Confessions of the Waldenses. However, since we have been led to speak of the foreign Reformers, I will, if you will still listen to me, strengthen my argument by an appeal to them.[77]

When he states above, "but I protest against being brought into that close alliance with them which the world now a-days would force upon us", he defines that which continues to this day; The Church of England is not a Protestant Church but a Reformed Sacramental Church. This was highly unpopular within the Evangelical wing of the Church as increasingly throughout the 18th Century the connectivity to the Puritan worldview caused a mythical narrative concerning the Church of England identifying it essentially as a Protestant Church in the line of the Continental Reformation.

All through this process Keble was developing and honing his own theological positions and history affirms that Keble's theology deepened but did not change. We find Keble writing very much in a prophetic way concerning Liturgical Sacred Divine Order within the services of the Church but not so much as a contrarian but a positive and proactive builder of bridges. In Tract 22 Keble is calling for a restoration of the sacred in the attitude towards the Holiness of God. It was the elevation of the subjectivity of the Romantics that caused by default a growing pluralism and tolerance towards belief and practice that would be thought of as inexcusable. In Tract 22 he writes:

> And if the Church or her Ministers through like false pity should no longer endure to hold out to our consciences the terrors of the LORD, we of the people shall no doubt have cause to lament their

[77] Ibid., par. 39-40

> mistaken tenderness; even though now, like over-indulged children, we may many of us be impatient of strict restraint or of warnings seemingly severe: yet, if the Church will be but firm to her sacred trust, many souls will doubtless in the end bless GOD for these very warnings and threatening; which now they fancy to be almost intolerable.[78]

In Tract 84 Keble quotes John Cosin to emphasise the importance and role of Morning and Evening Prayer being said in the Churches. The appeal to the late 16th and then 17th Century English Church was in many senses an expression of the nostalgia that was written about in Chapter of this work. Andrew Starkie one of the 21st Century scholars on this period explains effectively when he writes:

> The Tractarian narrative of a Caroline golden age followed by somnolence and indifference of the 18th century church has been slow to fade despite the strong evidence to the contrary from studies of church and society in 18th century England. The Caroline church itself, however, was rather further from the model of primitive purity by the portrait which the Tractarians, in their construction of the via media, were attempting to paint of it, whatever the cultural affinity was of the Tractarian party with the Laudians.[79]

This once more is a picture of the longing for a Church whose spirituality is rich and deep and one can see increasingly in his and others writings the call to prayer as being primary.

> Every curate is enjoined to say the Morning and Evening Prayer daily in the Church, unless he be

[78] Keble, *Tract 22*

[79] Starkie, et.al. ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, 9.

> otherwise reasonably letted. Which requires an explanation (against them that account themselves 'reasonably letted' by any common and ordinary affairs of their own) whether
> anything but sickness, or necessary absence abroad, shall be sufficient to excuse them from this duty.[80]

This subject of Prayer within the Church was picked up by other writers as well as reprints of earlier Church leaders. The concept of Prayer as a disciplined, scheduled and based upon Divine Order was and is one of the key differences between the sacramental spirituality and Evangelical spirituality.

> And then the Church taking notice that Daily Prayers had been in some places neglected, at the end of the Preface she added two new Rules, or, as we call them, Rubrics; which are still in force, as ye may see in the Common-Prayer Books which we now use.
>
> The first is this:
>
> And all Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or other urgent cause.
>
> By this, every one that is admitted into Holy Orders, although he be neither Parson, Vicar, nor Curate of any particular place, yet he is bound to say both Morning and Evening Prayer every day, either in some Church or Chapel where he can get leave to do it, or else in the house where he dwells, except he be hindered by some such cause which the Ordinary of the place judges to be reasonable and urgent.
>
> The other Order is this:
>
> And the Curate that ministereth in every Parish Church or Chapel, being at home, and not being

[80] Keble, *Tract 84.*

> otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the Parish-Church or Chapel, where he ministereth, and shall cause a bell to be tolled thereunto, a convenient time before he begin, that people may come to hear God's Word, and pray with him. [81]

In Tract 89, Keble uses the writings of Irenaeus to confront the Cartesian epistemology that dominated the thinking of so much of both English and German Rationalism. Newman's Tract 90 caused such attention that this work by Keble is often missed. There are a series of subtexts here in that Keble was now drawing from the deep wells of the early Fathers but so heavily relying on Augustine which had been the case for scholarship since the 13th Century. He creates with this quotation a prioritization of knowledge in the form of faith or belief.

> It is better to know nothing at all, no, not so much as one single cause of any of the things which are made, but to believe in God, and to persevere in love, than to be puffed up with that sort of knowledge, and fall from love, which gives life to man. It is better to seek nothing in the way of knowledge but Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was crucified for us, than to fall into impiety through subtle questions and minute verbal discussions. Suppose, e. g. that anyone, more or less elated with efforts of this kind, should take occasion from our Lord's saying, 'The very hairs of your head are all numbered,' to make curious inquiry, and search out both the number of hairs in each person's head, and the cause why one has so many, and another so many
> [. ..] and so persons fancying they had discovered the right number, should endeavour to give it a meaning in reference to the teaching which they

[81] *Tract 25* Reprint William Beverage Sermon

> had devised for their own sect : or again, suppose that any one, upon the saying in the Gospel, 'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing, and not one of them can fall to the earth without the will of your Father,' should take upon him to enumerate the sparrows which are daily taken in this place and that, and in all places, and make out the reason why so many were caught yesterday, so many the day before, and again so many today and connect the said number of sparrows with his own argument : doth not such an one altogether deceive himself, and are not those who agree with him forced along with him into great impiety ? Men being always forward in such speculations, that they may obtain the credit of having made out each something more than his master.[82]

Keble was clear in his own mind in what he believed. He was though always under the constant shadow of Newman's move to Rome. He had made it clear in his writings and in his letters that he saw no place for leaving the Communion one had committed to for life. He was though very aware that now powerful forces were at work and that these were not the polemical criticisms of the Evangelicals but rather the broad move towards liberalism in the Church. The period around 1841 left him wrestling with the fact that he may be forced out of his beloved Church of England. He writes to J.T. Coleridge the following:

> Nothing could justify one's quitting one's Communion, except a long, deliberate, unwilling conviction, forced on one's heart and conscience, as well as intellect, that it was incurably fallen from being a Church. No private judgment of the comparative perfection of another Church, did such exist, would at all justify such a change. This, as far as I understand myself, is my present judgment in this awful matter; but, believe me, my dearest

[82] Keble, *Tract 89.*

> ·friend, I want prayer and help quite as much as (Newman) though for very different reasons.[83]

Coleridge writes with deep affection for his friend John Keble but it was clear to all his friends that he had been placed in an almost impossible position by Newman's conversion to Rome. As the years continued to pass there were two immediate outcomes of the Tracts written between 1833 and 1841. A new spirituality was sweeping the Church of England and there was ongoing confusion and dismay by Newman's crossing the aisle. It was so difficult for Keble he could not bring himself to read the new post-conversion works of Newman. Coleridge writes:

> When Dr. Newman's "Essay on the Development of the Christian Doctrine" was sent to him, I presume from the author, he declined to read it; and, having done so, when Dr. Moberly sent him his "Sermons-on the Sayings of the Forty Days" with a Preface containing Strictures on that Book, he equally declined to read that.[84]

The work by Newman mentioned above, "Essay on the Development of the Christian Doctrine" written in 1878[85] is a critical work in that it explains and documents his own reasons for his development and what were fundamental changes in his thinking and in some senses, it is a written act of remorse, almost repentance, concerning the things he had earlier written. If in fact it is true that Keble never read the material it must have been seen in retrospect as a mistake in terms of understanding why Newman had pulled back from their earlier

---

[83] John Taylor Coleridge. *A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble*. (London: J. Parker and Co., 1869), 299.

84 Ibid., 298.

[85] Newman, John Henry. *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. (London: B.M. Pickering, 1878).

attacks on Rome. With this in mind I suggest that to look at Newman's statements are of value to the modern scholar on these times.

The following statements are all taken from his 'Advertisement', or 'Preface', to the above- mentioned work, "Essay on the Development of the Christian Doctrine":

> For instance, in 1833, in the Lyra Apostolica, I called it a "lost Church". Also, in 1833, I spoke of "the Papal Apostasy" in a work upon the Arians. True, Rome is heretical now—nay, grant she has thereby forfeited her orders; yet, at least, she was not heretical in the primitive ages. If she has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then, indeed, it is to be feared the whole Roman Communion bound itself, by a perpetual bond and covenant, to the cause of Antichrist.[86]

Newman states quite unambiguously in this statement the perpetual bond and covenant to the cause of the Anti-Christ was at the time of the Council of Trent. It is in 1841 in Tract 90 that Newman affirms the Council of Trent as being fully in cooperation with the Thirty-Nine Articles of The Book of Common Prayer Newman states quite unambiguously in this statement "the perpetual bond and covenant to the cause of the Anti-Christ" was at the time of the Council of Trent. The language in this attack on Rome has the style of the 16th Century with its literary device being designed to exaggerate any redeeming quality by over stating the negative.

> Their communion is infected with heresy; we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth, and, by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed."—Tract 20. (1833)[87]

---

[86] Ibid., 'Preface', vi.

[87] Ibid. 'Preface' vii.

The term Heresy, even in the 19th Century was used sparingly as it was the basis for anathematization. The term however, is used in the early years quite freely and unapologetically by Newman, much less so by Keble or Pusey.

> In 1834, I said, in a Magazine,—
> "The spirit of old Rome has risen again in its former place and has evidenced its identity by its works. It has possessed the Church there planted, as an evil spirit might seize the demoniacs of primitive times and make her speak words which are not her own. In the corrupt Papal system we have the very cruelty, the craft, and the ambition of the Republic; its cruelty in its unsparing sacrifice of the happiness and virtue of individuals to a phantom of public expediency, in its forced celibacy within, and its persecutions without; its craft in its falsehoods, its deceitful deeds and lying wonders; and its grasping ambition in the very structure of its polity, in its assumption of universal dominion: old Rome is still alive; nowhere has its eagles lighted, but it still claims the sovereignty under another pretence. The Roman Church I will not blame, but pity—she is, as I have said, spell-bound, as if by an evil spirit; she is in thraldom.[88]

In 1834, the invective reaches even higher levels of expression. The analogy of the Church of Rome being like an 'evil spirit' and the making of analogy also that Rome was making claim to the role of the Roman Empire in all its cruelty:

> I say, in the same paper,—
> "In the Book of Revelations, the sorceress upon the seven hills is not the Church of Rome, as is often taken for granted, but Rome itself, that bad spirit which, in its former shape, was the animating principle of the fourth monarchy. In St. Paul's prophecy, it is not the Temple or Church of God, but the man of sin in the Temple, the old man or evil principle of the flesh

[88] Ibid.

> which exalteth itself against God. Certainly, it is a mystery of iniquity, and one which may well excite our dismay and horror, that in the very heart of the Church, in her highest dignity, in the seat of St. Peter, the evil principle has throned itself, and rules. It seems as if that spirit had gained subtlety by years: Popish Rome has succeeded to Rome Pagan: and would that we had no reason to expect still more crafty developments of Antichrist amid the wreck of institutions and establishments which will attend the fall of the Papacy! … I deny that the distinction is unmeaning. Is it nothing to be able to look on our mother, to whom we owe the blessing of Christianity, with affection instead of hatred, with pity indeed, nay and fear, but not with horror? Is it nothing to rescue her from the hard names which interpreters of prophecy have put on her, as an idolatress and an enemy of God, when she is deceived rather than a deceiver?[89]

It is difficult to read these statements without coming to the conclusion that Newman had an almost pathological hatred from the Church of Rome. It seems almost inconceivable that in eleven years he would be received into the Church of Rome and become soon afterwards one of her Cardinals and greatest apologists.

> In 1834 I also used, of certain doctrines of the Church of Rome, the epithets "unscriptural," "profane," "impious," "bold," "unwarranted," "blasphemous," "gross," "monstrous," "cruel," "administering deceitful comfort," and "unauthorized," in Tract 38. I do not mean to say that I had not a definite meaning in every one of these epithets, or that I did not weigh them before I used them. [90]

Newman unleashes in the above statement the type of rhetorical device used in early Byzantium whereby only the negative in its most extreme form is used to show the limitations of the person being argued about. This writing is just

---

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid. viii.

slightly above the statements made by Luther in the early to mid-16th Century. In the follow on from that writing Newman tries to bring a certain amount of justification for his use of language by saying he was not writing about the Roman Church as a whole but the portion of it he saw as corrupt.

> [As to this extravagant passage, I will but say, 1. That it was not in the writer's mind to use such language of the Catholic Church, but of what he considered to be a portion of it, a branch or local church, the Roman branch, as another branch was the widely-spread Anglican communion. 2. That he considered all these branch churches, the Anglican inclusive, inhabited and possessed by spirits of a middle nature, neither good angels nor bad; as he quotes himself in Apologia, p. 29, "Daniel speaks as if each nation had its guardian angel. I cannot but think that there are beings with a great deal of good in them, yet with great defects, who are the animating principles of certain institutions, &c. Has not the Christian Church, in its parts, surrendered itself to one or other of these simulations of the Truth?" 3. Though he had very vague ideas of what Catholic divines hold on possession and obsession, he might urge that obsession, and even possession, by evil spirits, may befall the saintly and elect servants of God as well as bad or ordinary men.][91]

The final statement below shows, to some extent the conflict that Newman had gone through. He wanted to “prove” to his readers that the restoration of Sacred Divine Order that he was calling for in the Church of England was not in any way a move towards Rome. This was his reasoning for using such strong language in his appeals as he writes:

> Perhaps I have made other statements in a similar tone, and that, again, when the statements themselves were unexceptionable and true. If you ask me how an individual could venture not simply to hold, but to publish such views of

[91] Ibid. ix.

> a communion so ancient, so wide-spreading, so fruitful in Saints, I answer that I said to myself, "I am not speaking my own words, I am but following {433} almost a consensus of the divines of my Church. They have ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most able and learned of them. I wish to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say, I am safe. Such views, too, are necessary for our position." Yet I have reason to fear still, that such language is to be ascribed, in no small measure, to an impetuous temper, a hope of approving myself to persons I respect, and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism.[92]

Newman's concern that he not be in anyway connecting the Tractarian Movement to a revival of "Romanism" is due to the fact that the anti-Roman Catholic sentiment in the country was so antagonistic and filled with rhetorical invective that he felt it necessary to position the movement as being clearly and alternative to, rather than an alliance with the Roman Catholic position.
The strength opinion against the Tractarians as being Romanist tools may explain why there was such an earlier need to be anti-Rome as a means of being heard within the Church of England.

> The FACTS of the case are very simple. No intelligent observer can fail to see that the tone of public feeling in England about Romanism has undergone a great change in the last forty years. Father Oakley, the well-known pervert, an ally of Cardinal Newman, asserts this triumphantly in the last number of the Contemporary Review. And I am sorry to say that, in my judgment, he speaks the truth. There is no longer that general dislike, dread, and aversion to Popery, which was once almost universal in this realm.[93]

---

[92] Ibid., ix.

[93] Ryle, 'What do the Times Require?', Tract 147.

Coleridge had mentioned that his friend Keble had never seemed to recover from the loss of Newman to Rome and yet an important aspect of this inner conflict is the way that Keble himself chose to go deep into the Patristic writings to establish what should be the position of the Church of England concerning the dividing doctrines between this Communion and the Church of Rome. I would suggest that turmoil and pain that was caused Keble by Newman's move to Rome it produced a maturity and depth of scholarship that in the post Tractarian years was able to establish a clear theology of Divine Order for the Church of England to follow. My own opinion is that his work Eucharistic Adoration is both a seminal work on the subject and along with his work on Mysticism are some of the greatest erudition on the subject given to the English Church. In Chapter One of Eucharistic Adoration we read Keble as Pastor and Theologian when he writes:

> THE object of this Essay is to allay, and, if possible, to quiet, the troublesome thoughts which may at times, and now especially, occur to men's minds on this awful subject, so as even to disturb them in the highest act of devotion. For this purpose, it may be well to consider calmly, not without deep reverence of heart, First, what Natural Piety would suggest; Secondly, what Holy Scripture may appear to sanction; Thirdly, what the Fathers and Liturgies indicate to have been the practice of the Primitive Church; Fourthly, what the Church of England enjoins or recommends.[94]

His goal is to "quiet troubled hearts" so that they would set free from the disturbance of "the highest act of devotion". He then lays out his schemer. He will draw from Natural Piety, Holy Scripture, the early Church Fathers and their Liturgies and what the Church of England recommends. It is not an over statement to suggest that this balanced view of worship grew through the years

---

[94] John Keble. *On Eucharistical Adoration*. (Oxford: J. Parker, 1867), 1.

of his heart and mind being molded in the fires of debate and fashioned on the anvil of suffering. His work on Eucharistic Adoration fires not a warning shot but a decisive, destructive, dismantling of the Evangelical argument that symbol and ritual was born of idolatry. Keble writes:

> They (The Hebrews) did the same, and much more, when Aaron, for the first time after his consecration, "lifted up his hand toward the people and blessed them, ... and the glory of the Lord appeared unto all the people. And there -came a fire out from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar· the burnt-offering and the fat: which when all the people saw, they shouted, and fell on their faces a." There was no one at hand, to say to them, "Take care: people will call it fire-worship.[95]

He then draws this into our own times when he writes:

> If we kneel, and bow the knees of our hearts, to receive a blessing in the Name of the Most High from His earthly representatives, Father, Priest, or Bishop, how should we do other than adore and fall prostrate, inwardly at -least, when the Son of Man gives His own appointed token that He is descending to bless us in His own mysterious way? And with what a blessing! -" the remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion!'' His Flesh, which is meat indeed, and His Blood which is drink indeed! mutual indwelling between Him and' us; we, living by Him, as He by the Father![96]

Keble's ministry through his engagement with the Oxford Movement was that he brought in a unique way and understanding of Divine Order to a Church that

---

[95] Ibid., 2.

[96] Ibid., 3.

was floundering. It was though the purity of thought and life that made Keble so important in an era of decay and hypocrisy.

> Dr. Liddon, in a well-known sermon, has pointed out three leading characteristics found in Keble: (1) A strong sense of Divine truth centering itself on the Personality of Christ. (2) A holy severity in his own personal life. This exhibited itself not only in such details as fasting, which he practiced rigorously, even in his old age refusing to take food before a Celebration, though at a late hour, but also in a marvelous self- restraint under difficult and trying circumstances. (3) A remarkable courage, tempered by gentleness, which led him to befriend an unpopular cause, or acknowledge principles of which the world was afraid.[97]

A Diversity within a Unity

If Newman and Keble were the two poles of a dialectic within the Oxford Movement, it was Edward Pusey who was a fulcrum and centerpiece. He was not the synthesis of Newman and Keble but rather an accountability factor. Pusey was far less rigid at the emotional level between Newman and Keble. He was an Aristocrat and was at ease in the circles of high society. He had been affected by the Romantics and lived to some extent a carefree existence. Donaldson describes the change that came over Pusey whilst travelling on the Continent.

> […] during that time his mind appeared to be largely affected by what he called Byronism. Perhaps what he meant by that was a lack of appreciation of the serious nature of evil, and a sense of disappointment, resulting in a dreamy, listless way of looking upon things, which, to some extent, was caused by the opposition raised to his engagement.

---

[97] Donaldson, *Five Great Oxford Leaders*, 21.

> During this tour he came in contact with a young man who was largely affected by unbelief, and the efforts of Pusey to remove his friend s doubts had a wholesome result on his own spiritual life.[98]

There is more to this statement what appears at first. It was Pusey's praxis in helping another that was to cause him to renew his own commitment to walking with God. In 1826 – 1827 he was travelling again this time to Berlin where he was established as an Orientalist academic more than a theologian. It was on his return from this visit that he made his views clear concerning German Rationalism that was emerging as the root cause of the new theological liberalism that was soon to sweep through Europe.

> […] he published An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany (followed by Part 2 in 1830), in which he traced German rationalism to the dead orthodoxy of a Protestantism lacking in spiritual vitality.[99]

As the earlier statement there is a subtext worthy of mention. He saw the cause of liberal theology as an outcome of Protestant Church that lacked spiritual vitality. This was a motivating factor for Pusey as he saw the dead formalism of the Church of England and the anti-intellectualism of the non-conformist Churches as fertile ground to receive from Germany this "other" Gospel.

It is interesting that Pusey only wrote seven of the Tracts and three of those were a series 66, 67, 68 all on Baptism. Pusey dominated the later Oxford Movement as much by his status and personality as by his Tractarian writings.

---

[98] Ibid., 153.

[99] Cross and Livingstone, eds., 'Pusey', *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 1361.

He was one of the leading Orientalists academic as well as being a formidable Theologian. Church writes of him thus:

> Dr. Pusey was a person with whom it was not wise to meddle, unless his assailants could make out a case without a flaw. He was without question the most venerated person in Oxford. Without an equal, in Oxford at least, in the depth and range of his learning, he stood out yet more impressively among his fellows in the lofty moral elevation and simplicity of his life, the blamelessness of his youth, and the profound devotion of his manhood, to which the family sorrows of his later years, and the habits which grew out of them, added a kind of pathetic and solemn interest.[100]

As well as status and a rapier mind, Pusey brought a clear and present stabilizing effect upon the Movement. His appeal to antiquity as the source of commentary on Scripture was peerless. He referred to himself in the following way:

> His most influential activity however, was his preaching which drew on the Greek Fathers and the Christian mystical tradition.[101]

Pusey embodied along with Keble the longing for revival within the English Church. The desire not just of the leaders but in the country as a whole, that was marked by something deep, filled with wonder and a spirituality that would connect to antiquity. Donaldson wrote about this desire:

> It was a fresh attempt to satisfy the longings of earnest men and women for a religion less narrow than the dominant evangelicalism of the day.

---

[100] R.W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*, 327.

[101] Cross and Livingstone, 'Pusey', *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1361.

> Something nobler and less selfish was needed, so men felt, than the search for and possession of mere personal salvation; some corporate life, in spiritual as well as in social matters, appeared to be essential, if the highest aspects of Christianity were to be realized and its best ideals reached. Above all, some real and strong-voiced authority, to guide men to the truth, was looked for amid the jarring discord of private opinions and unrestrained criticism.[102]

Pusey had for the most part taken the position as leader of the Tractarians as the group moved closer to the end of the decade. As a result, he was taken aside for special ostracism and persecution in the public space of opinion within both the Church and the University.

> As Newman struggled inwardly, Pusey brought the whole weight of university discipline down upon his own head by preaching a sermon in May in Christ Church Cathedral in which he upheld the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. The sermon was immediately branded heretical by Godfrey Faussett, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and a strident foe of Tractarianism, and the com plaint made its way to the university's vice-chancellor, Philip Wynter. A court of six Doctor of Divinity was convened, which included the anti-Tractarian Edward Hawkins from Oriel and the dyspeptic Faussett himself. Pusey's fate was clear from the fact that he was not allowed to speak in defense of his own position. From his Christ Church entrenchment Pusey refused to recant, and the court promptly suspended him from preaching in Oxford for two years.[103]

1844 and 1845 were difficult years from the movement. Newman, who just a few years previously had spoken of the Church of Rome and as evil spirit of the

---

[102] Donaldson, *Five Great Oxford Leaders*, 173.

[103] C. Brad Fought, *The Oxford Movement,* (The Pennsylvania State University Press University Park, Pennsylvania), 94.

Anti-Christ was now on the verge of converting to Rome. Pusey, had been humiliated and placed under the title as a heretic and had been banded for two years from preaching publicly. The University was turning its full fire power to destroy the influence of the Tractarians.

> Keble, similarly isolated at Hursley, was also insulated from the brunt of the events at Oxford. Only Pusey was on site to witness the spitefulness that the Oxford Movement had engendered within the university. And in part, the poisonous atmosphere of Oxford was responsible for spurring the export of the tenets of the Movement further afield. Keble and Pusey corresponded regularly throughout 1844 and 1845 over the best ways to extend Tractarian principles, including the revival of women's orders in the Church of England. But it was the ''approaching parting,'' as Pusey lamented Newman's anticipated Roman conversion in a letter to Keble in the spring of 1845, that occupied much of his thinking. ''I fear whenever it is, the rent in our poor Church will be terrible.[104]

Pusey continued with the leadership of the group even though it had been brought to an end by Tract 90 and his own impeachment. In the coming generation Pusey was to become the "Bogey-man" of the Tractarians and the term Tractarian and Puseyite became interchangeable.

What is important to acknowledge in any study of the Oxford Movement is the deep emotional bond that existed between Newman, Keble and Pusey. The impact upon their friendship was to take a huge toll in each of their lives and in many senses the maturity that grew in all their experiences could be seen as a result of the suffering they experienced. Their convictions were the bonding agents of their friendships and it is hard for us in these times to even begin to enter into the complexity of the break at the intimate friendship level.

> The last meeting of the three surviving friends took place at Hursley in 1865, the year before Keble's death. The few hours

---

[104] Ibid., 95.

> Newman, Keble, and Pusey spent together were a mixture of awkwardness and intimacy. For Newman and Keble, especially, the meeting—their first since Newman's conversion in 1845—re-established the emotional bond rent twenty years earlier. Nostalgia hung over them like a shroud. They were never to meet again, the two men whose friendship had begun when Newman, the painfully shy newest member of the Oriel fellowship in 1822, had been introduced to Keble and almost shrank from the seeming audacity of the moment. But Oriel and all that it had meant to Newman stayed with him always. Across from his rooms at the Oratory in Birmingham, which he built and where he spent most of his Roman Catholic life, is the library. To stand in it is to stand in a smaller reproduction of Oriel's Senior Library. That is no coincidence.[105]

There were secondary writers within the Movement but who have not captured the minds of historians in the same way as Newman, Keble and Pusey. That being said they contributed to the overall framework of the Movement. John Bowden who was close to Newman, Keble and Pusey, in Tract 5 established the earliest appeal to Apostolical Succession. He writes using the term Branch for the first time in the Tracts, which goes on to influence the semantics of the movement:

> A branch of this holy Catholic (or universal) Church has been, through God's blessing, established for ages in our island; a branch which, as has been already stated, we denominate the Church of England. Its officiating ministers are divided into the three original orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and into no other. In the exercise of that authority which is inherent in every society, of making salutary laws and regulations for its own guidance, it has been found expedient to vest in two of the principal members of the episcopal order in England a certain authority over the rest, and to style them Archbishops, but this is not by any

[105] Ibid., 98.

> means to be understood as constituting them another order in the Church. They are but, in strictness of language, the first and leading Bishops of our land.[106]

Richard Hurrell Froude who contributed to the early Tracts died in 1836 just three years into the twelve-year movement. Certainly, Froud would have contributed more if he had lived. He also evoked the Patristics in defending Apostolical Succession as well as the forms of Divine Order that were extant in the early Church.

> In ancient times Christians understood very literally all that the Bible says about prayer. David had said, "seven times a day do I praise Thee;" and St. Paul had said, "pray always." These texts they did not feel at liberty to explain away, but complying with them to the letter, praised God seven times a day, besides their morning and evening prayer. Their hours of devotion were, in the day time, 6, 9, 12, and 3, which were called the Horæ Canonicæ; in the night, 9, 12, and 3, which were called the Nocturns; and besides these the hour of daybreak and of retiring to bed;—not that they set apart these hours in the first instance for public worship, this was impossible; but they seem to have aimed at praying with one accord, and at one time, even where they could not do so in one place. "The Universal Church," says Bishop Patrick, "anciently observed certain set hours of prayer, that all Christians throughout the world might at the same time join together to glorify God; and some of them were of opinion, that the Angelical Host, being acquainted with those hours, took that time to join their prayers and praises with those of the Church." The Hymns and Psalms appropriated to these hours were in the first instance intended only for private

[106] John William Bowden. 'Tract 5', *Tracts for Our Times,* (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, And Waterloo Place. 1834).

> meditation; but afterwards, when religious societies were formed, and persons, who had withdrawn from secular business, lived together for purposes of devotion, chanting was introduced, and they were arranged for congregational worship. Throughout the Churches which used the Latin tongue, the same Services were adopted with very little variation; and in Roman Catholic countries they continue in use, with only a few modern interpolations, even to this day.[107]

Froude was Newman's protégé and his death shook Newman as he saw in Froude not just a brilliant academic mind but a spiritual soul mate as they would fight together for their convictions. Pusey wrote in support of Froude's ideas and they shared the view that the English Church was not a Protestant Church in the same sense as those that came out Geneva and Zurich.

> It must not also be forgotten, that a popular portion of our religious teaching is ultimately drawn from the same source as that of America—the divines, who, with those of Geneva, fell away from the doctrines of the Ancient Church upon the Sacraments: that (whatever be its other merits or defects) it is founded on the supposition of the inefficacy of the one Sacrament, and throws the other into the shade; leading men to appropriate its benefits, without reference to itself; to ascribe our whole spiritual life simply to the action of faith, not to GOD'S gifts in His Sacraments, whereof faith is the mere channel only. And now, because this preaching is popular, and has claimed to itself the exclusive title to warmth and sincerity and undefiledness, men are falling into it, or rather are amalgamating it with the old system; not upon conviction, and often with a sort of suppressed surmise that there was much good in that former

---

[107] Froude, Richard H. 'Tract 9', *Tracts for Our Times,* (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, And Waterloo Place. 1834).

> system, as exhibited in its genuine representatives; but because the tide is set too strongly, and they dare not withstand it.[108]

Another person who died early but wrote one of the Tracts, Tract 14 in 1833, was Alfred Menzies like Froude he died young also in 1836. In his Tract 14 he calls the Church to the early Church emphasis upon set days for prayer and fasting. This along with several of the other Tracts were to be the substance of a new praxis in Church of England worship and added weight to the larger frames of Theology that Newman, Keble and Pusey brought to the Movement.

> In conformity to this Apostolical custom, the Church of England views with peculiar solemnity the times at which her Ministers are ordained; and invites all her members to join, at these sacred seasons, in prayer and fasting in their behalf. It is the object of these pages to bring this subject especially before the reader's notice; for the observance of this ordinance of the Church has fallen so generally into disuse, that few comparatively feel the value of it; and some perhaps are not even aware of its existence. To those who may be in this case, I would say briefly that the Ordination Sundays occur four times a year, and that the days of fasting, or Ember days, (as they are called,) are in the week immediately before those respective Sundays. These days are as follows; the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after the first Sunday in Lent; after the Feast of Pentecost; after Sept. 14.; after Dec. 13.; as may be seen by referring to the Prayer-Book. And particular prayers are ordered during the whole of the weeks, in which these days occur; that the Bishops may make a wise and faithful choice, and that those who are to be called to the Ministry, may

---

[108] Pusey, Edward. 'Tract 67', *Tracts for the Times*, University of Oxford. *Tracts for the Times*. London: Printed for J.G.F. & J. Rivington & J.H. Parker, Oxford, 1843).

> especially be blessed with GOD's grace and heavenly benediction.[109]

Tract 15 was written by William Palmer in 1833 and was thus in the first wave of writers. Palmer was supportive of the Movement but soon turned away from Newman which then placed him outside of the Movement. Whilst saying that Tract 15 does outline the beauty of Divine Order as an expression at the allegorical level. This Tract was basically Palmer's but it was in fact Newman who completed it.

> It will be remarked, moreover, that many of the religious observances of the early Church are expressly built upon words of Scripture, and intended to be a visible memorial of them, after the manner of St. Paul's directions about the respective habits of men and women, which was just now noticed. Metaphorical or mystical descriptions were represented by a corresponding literal action. Our LORD Himself authorised this procedure when He took up the metaphor of the prophets concerning the fountain opened for our cleansing (Zech. xiii. l.) and represented it in the visible rite of baptism. Accordingly, from the frequent mention of oil in Scripture as the emblem of spiritual gifts, it was actually used in the Primitive Church in the ceremony of admitting catechumens, and in baptizing. And here again they had the precedent of the Apostles, who applied it in effecting their miraculous cures. (Mark vi. 13. James v. 14.) And so from the figurative mention in Scripture of salt, as the necessary preparation of every religious sacrifice, it was in use in the Western

---

[109] Alfred Menzies, 'Tract 14', *Tracts for the Times*, University of Oxford. *Tracts for the Times*. London: Printed for J.G.F. & J. Rivington & J.H. Parker, Oxford, 1843).

> Church, in the ceremony of admitting converts into the rank of catechumens. [110]

To summarise the salient points of this chapter, I would suggest that the lives of the writers were deeply affected by both the times and what they themselves contributed. As mentioned John Keble's maturity, compassion and depth was enhanced and deepened by the emotional struggles he had to deal with in terms of Newman's move to Rome. Newman himself outlined the stages of growth which I would suggest as being seasons of change that moved from one place, Evangelicalism ultimately to Roman Catholicism. Edward Pusey established himself as the High Statesman of the movement though only contributing a small number of the Tracts. The Movement itself seemed to have very few fixed points other than the basic commitments to Apostolical Succession, The Church of England being a Branch of the One Holy and Catholic Church and the High view of the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist which in turn expressed themselves in a renewed freedom in Liturgical expression. I will seek in the next chapter to outline some of the outcomes of the movement and how it reached far beyond its intellectual borders to create new sacramental Movements within the Church of England and then explore the attack on the movement from both spiritual and intellectual enemies as well as the State.

---

[110] William Palmer, 'Tract 15', *Tracts for the Times*, University of Oxford. *Tracts for the Times*. London: Printed for J.G.F. & J. Rivington & J.H. Parker, Oxford, 1843).

Chapter Three

The Identifiable Outcomes of the Oxford Movement for the Remainder of the 19th Century

The Roots of Institutional Persecution of The Oxford Movement

The Oxford Movement seemed to create controversy wherever and whenever the subject would arise. In Oxford University itself there was a daily infectious debate through the years 1833 up to and after Newman's joining the Roman Catholic Church. Among the students at the university a microcosm of the atmosphere as a whole can be seen in the lives of two men who went on to have significant input into the religious life of England as the next generation of those caught up in the movement. Archibald Tate who would become Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury was a very strong opponent of the movement. His friend and fellow debating partner in the Common Rooms of the University was William George Ward. Tate who was more associated as a Broad Church advocate wrote to his brother in Scotland from Baliol College concerning the Movement in February 1838.

> Mv DEAR JOHN, -I have just time before post to call your attention to what has struck me. There is a party in this University who have become somewhat famous of late (vide the last Edinburgh Review), persons who hold extremely High-Church doctrines about Episcopal authority, and who

> regard the Kirk of Scotland as the synagogue of Baal. With these it would be peculiarly hard if I was at all identified on the present occasion, as I have spent my breath and influence for a long time back in protesting against their (what I conceive to be) most dangerous and superstitious opinions [...][111]

Principal Shairp spoke of Tate as someone who was not willing to look closely for anything positive within the movement. It is important to note that Tate would go on to become one of the most ardent adversaries of the movement. Shairp wrote:

> "His Scotch nature and education, his Whig principles, and, I may add, the evangelical views which he had imbibed, were wholly antipathetic to this movement; so entirely antipathetic that I do not think he ever, from first to last, caught a glimpse of the irresistible attraction which it had for younger and more ardent natures, or of the charm which encircled the leaders of it, especially the character of John Henry Newman. To his downright common sense the whole movement seemed nonsense, or at least the madness of incipient Popery. Evening by evening, m Balliol common-room, he held strenuous debate with Ward…." [112]

Tate would take these developed ideas about the inherent dangers of the Tractarians with him through his life and his career in the Church of England. Certainly, Tate would be forever known as the man who hounded Newman out of Oxford and who single headedly as Archbishop was able to introduce a Private Members Bill into the House of Lords, The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874 which went on to ruin the ministries of so many clergy leading to their

---

[111] Randall Thomas Davidson, and William Benham. *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury Volume 1*. (London: Macmillan, 1891). 67.

[112] Ibid., 76.

loss of income, vocation and in some cases incarceration. Tate was able to create, no so much alliances as co-belligerency in his focus in bringing down the Tractarian Movement as a whole. When Newman's Tract 90 appeared on January 25, 1841 Tates first stop was to visit William Ward and confirm that it said what he believed it to be saying. Before fully reading the Tract Tate drafted a response in the form of a letter and had it co-signed by three of his associates, John Griffiths, Henry Bristow Wilson and Thomas Churton. The letter came to be known as The Four Tutors Response which accused Newman of not being honest in not addressing what they believed to be the core issues of difference with Roman Catholicism.

His friend Willian George Ward was placed on the other end of the spectrum. He was deeply impressed by Newman and also the reactionary ethos of the Tractarians. In Mr. Mozley's Reminiscences Ward is described as representing:

> the intellectual force, the irrefragable logic, the absolute selfconfidence, and the headlong impetuosity of the Rugby school. Whatever he said or did was right. As a philosopher and a logician, it was hard to deal with him. He had been instantaneously converted to Newman by a single line in an introduction to one of his works […][113]

Ward went on to convert to Roman Catholicism and became a prolific writer as an apologist resulting in a significant move towards Rome by many in sphere of Oxford in the early 1840's. Two men who had enormous influence in coming years were nurtured within the dialectic of Newman's Tract 90. It is certainly true that the only actual convert to Rome from the Tractarians themselves was Newman. His influence though on men like William George Ward would have enormous consequences upon bringing significant numbers of Anglicans into the Roman Catholic fold. From the conflicts of those early days deep dyes were

[113] Ibid., 75.

set with Tate after becoming Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury went on to have an extreme influence culminating in the The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874. It is difficult to understand how this was able to get through the House of Commons as a Private Members Bill put forward in the House of The Lords. It is hard to think of any legal document in modern history that was so specific in the State's legislation about what was allowed and prohibited in the performance of the Liturgy of the Church. The salient points are listed in Appendix 1. It took until 1906, for the Act to be repealed and the following outlines the impact of the anti-Ritualist agenda and sentiment within a religious culture that had lost so many converts to Evangelical Christianity on the one hand and then the huge loss of intellectuals to the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1840, Parliament passed the Church Discipline Act which paved the way for the highly prohibitive Public Worship Act of 1874. The feelings of animosity towards the Tractarians and their progeny was so pronounced that there seemed to be no ground upon which the Evangelical wing of the Church of England could be reconciled to the new Ritualist Movement not was there any ground to made between the emerging Liberal wing of the Church nor with the Baptist and post Puritan non-conformist groups. It seems almost impossible to think that a time so close to our own could be filled with such invective and acrimony and yet sadly it was. The feelings in the Evangelical wing of the Church of England were perhaps the most aggressive and cruel. JC Ryle writes:

> The consequences of this changed tone of feeling, I am bold to say, will be most disastrous and mischievous, unless it can be checked. Once let Popery get her foot again on the neck of England, and there will be an end of all our national greatness. God will forsake us, and we shall sink to the level of Portugal and Spain. With Bible-reading discouraged,—with private judgment forbidden,—with the way to Christ's cross narrowed or blocked up,—with priestcraft re-established,—with auricular confession set up in every parish,—with monasteries and nunneries dotted over the land, —with women everywhere kneeling like serfs and slaves at the feet

> of clergymen,—with men casting off all faith, and becoming sceptics,—with schools and colleges made seminaries of Jesuitism,—with free thought denounced and anathematized,—with all these things the distinctive manliness and independence of the British character will gradually dwindle, wither, pine away, and be destroyed, and England will be ruined. And all these things, I firmly believe, will come, unless the old feeling about the value of Protestantism can be revived.[114]

It is difficult to read these words especially in light of what was to come. The metaphoric division just mentioned in Oxford with the young men Tate and Ward that came to represent an ideological war was going to be both brutal and unforgiving. The war upon the Anglo-Catholics within the Church of England represented by JC Ryle and The Church Association. The Church Association was formed in 1865 and had as its Mission Statement in its founding articles the following:

> The dangers which threaten her [The Church] are internal and arise from two opposite sources. On the one hand, there are public teachers within her Communion, who hold and preach rationalistic doctrines plainly opposed to her Articles and Formularies. On the other hand, there is an increasing section of the clergy who, having for their object the restoration of our Church to the Romish communion, are introducing into her worship vestments and ceremonies repudiated by our Reformers, and which are unauthorised by constitutional usage during the three centuries since the Reformation.
>
> "It is the latter danger which presses at the moment, and the members of the Church may well be asked whether, reflecting with gratitude on the great work of the 16th century, they will tamely give up the pure ritual and liturgy of their Church, handed down by their Protestant forefathers. If they would preserve these, they must lose no time in

[114] Ryle, 'What do the Times Require?', Tract 147.

> exposing the practices, and withstanding the efforts which are now made to undermine the purity of her doctrine and simplicity of her worship […][115]

The attack upon those who had moved to a sacramental position were going to be hounded by the law, by the Church and by the sentiment of the people. It was the needs of those very people that the Anglo-Catholic Movement was seeking to enrich.

> "The object of the Methodists outside, and of the Evangelicals inside the Church, had been to break down the barriers between the soul and God, and in a dual revelation to show men their sins and their Saviour. Upon this foundation-stone of faith it was the aim of the Anglo-Catholics to raise a superstructure of ordered prayer and praise, and daily self-denial; to lead men onward step by step in the life of conversion-a life of union with Christ of which the Sacraments should be no empty symbols, but the very means and pledges; the condition at once of individual sanctification and of the Church's corporate existence." [116]

Astonishingly, those who would attack the Tractarian view point often did so from the very point the above quotation seeks to address. One of the clear outcomes of the movement was that the categories that had previously been so narrow were now being replaced by new definitions. The concept of a Eucharistic Community that acts as the harbinger of spiritual life was as new to the Church of England as it was to the Evangelical world. Sadly, the level of

---

[115] Richard P. Blakeney. 'The Church Association' Mission Statement, *The Church Society for Bible Church and Nation* [Available Online] http://churchsociety.org/aboutus/History/ChurchAssociation.asp [Accesssed Apriil 27, 2018].

[116] Eleanor A. Towle, and Edward Francis Russell. *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie,* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., ltd., 1890), 46.

suspicion that the various camps had towards each other was so deep that the ability to even find language to create a consensus was not available.

In a polemical Tract against the Tractarian viewpoint published by the Church Association, Richardson writes:

> Many an earnest minister of Christ is mourning, wondering over the want of spirituality in his people. Many a servant of Christ is grieving over the want of spirituality in his own soul. There is coldness, deadness, rigidness; and the servant of God wishes to find warmth, life, freshness, activity in himself; and others. And it may be, by God's good hand upon us, that coming together as brethren, we may strike out some thought which may explain and enable us to deal with the practical causes out of which the mischief springs.[117]

A Crisis of Spirituality and Theology

The crisis of Spirituality that had been affecting the whole of the Church for nearly 100 years was now ultimately coming down to a point of division. It was to be found either in more emotional motivational commitment at the subjective level through the Evangelical pietistic movement or it was to be found in a hybrid of the sacramental and personal piety.

The rejection of any kind of deviation from what was seen as Popery and Ritualism by the Evangelical Movement meant there was no ground to meet in discussion. This era, very similar to Southern Fundamentalism in the United Sates in the 1950's was totally uncompromising in its position.

> Ritualism and Popery are perhaps his master pieces in this way; for, in these, with much that is true he has mixed up the

---

[117] J. Richardson, 'The Relation of Soundness in the Faith to Spirituality in the Life', Tract 17. (London: The Church Association, 1865), Tract 17. [Available Online PDF], http://archive.churchsociety.org/publications/tracts/CAT017_FaithSpirituality.pdf [Accessed April 26, 2018].

> most positive contradictions to the Word of God,and has linked with a portion of true Christianity the most palpable and fatal absurdities: and he works these in spite of knowledge, education, civilization, refinement, and common sense. He finds he can make the greatest fools of those whom the world and themselves reckon to be the most sensible, learned, acute, and well-informed; for he well knows the secret, that the carnal mind is enmity against God; and that, without grace, all the talents of men, however vast, and their natural excellencies however surpassing, only make them the more easy victims of his fearful delusions, and the fitter tools for working upon others to draw them into the same fatal net of destruction, in which they have themselves become entangled. Names will at once occur to you illustrating all this; but I forbear to adduce personal instances.[118]

The Laws of 1840 and 1874 were constructed for no other reason than to destroy the Anglo-Catholic movement. The Church both liberal and Evangelical were both merciless in their willingness to destroy men's income and careers. The sentiment of the people was easily turned into violence by Church leaders who would appeal to the base in man to further their goals of eliminating the Anglo-Catholic movement. The following describe the disorder and attacks in Liverpool upon the Anglo-Catholics. In Liverpool the Anglo-Catholic Movement was takin up residence in the new Roman Catholic areas of the City and thus a third adversary came into being. Church of England minister, Father Howard at times needed to take on disguise in his desire to move around the area.

> On several occasions this was no more than 'a cap and muffler with turned up collar', but more dramatically Howard revealed he had had a false beard and moustache made for him and was thus able to mingle with his would-be attackers. The

---

[118] C.J. Goodheart, 'The Errors of Ritualism Have Their Source in the Unregenerate Human Heart'. (London: The Church Association, 1865), Tract 42.

> church gates were often tied with tarred ropes following the Monday evening meetings, and step-ladders had to be used to exit from the church. When Howard attempted to burn the ropes this merely acted as a signal for 'rioters' to 'swarm' down Naylor Street and chant in front of the church. One Sunday an attempt was made to fire the church coal store; another Sunday witnessed a gun discharged outside during church service hours; in another, more minor incident, the mat was stolen from the church (with the vicar in hot pursuit of the culprits); whilst vegetable refuse and dung were regularly thrown into the church during the evening service:
>
> The relationship between the Anglican Church and the local Catholic community could, therefore, be tense. When the Bishop of Liverpool came to preach an evening service at St Bartholomew's, he was rather perturbed when his carriage was roughly jostled and dung thrown at it. Upon remonstrating that this should not happen to the bishop of the diocese, Howard shot back the reply that this had happened to him at least a dozen times, and that he was the parish priest.[119]

One of the high-profile personalities that was hounded and ultimately led to his emotional collapse and premature death was the outstanding Anglo-Catholic leader Alexander Heriot Mackonochie. Mackonochie was one of the exceptional leaders of what was to become known as the Sacramental Socialists. Ostensibly, these were the many persons who had been touched deeply by the concept of the Eucharist and being of a more praxis-based ontological view found themselves with a desire to serve the poor and the oppressed within the teeming slumlands of the large urban centers in England. They represented a

---

[119] A. Wilson. *The Church and the Slums: The Victorian Anglican Church and its Mission to Liverpool's Poor*. (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 24.

new profile of Church of England Christianity. A people that was more reachable and touchable as opposed to the absent, distant and aloof profile that had become accepted as being the profile of so much of the Church. When having been spoken of as being always available to his community one of his biographers wrote:

> As a confessor he was exceedingly popular. All kinds of persons, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, found their way to him, literally in hundreds. Doubtless the intense reality of the man attracted them, his unclouded faith, so calm, masculine, and strong, his quick sympathy, and really heroic patience. Whilst they knelt by his side they seemed to catch the contagion of his courage. Heart and hope revived, and the horizon brightened. And then they knew that for the time he was wholly and without distraction at their service. If occasion called for it, he would give hours to a single soul and betray no signs of impatience or weariness. This individual dealing was often continued by letter for a long time after the person had left London.[120]

In short, this was Evangelical Christianity in a Sacramental context that was able to fit seamlessly into both the cultural milieu of the times plus find its greatest points of engagement among the poor and the oppressed. Mackonochie was the forerunner in many senses of an engaged spirituality that was able to find its place within a Eucharistic Community. His biographer recalls:

> If I were asked to state in the shortest, simplest way, Mackonochie's most noteworthy achievement, that for which we are most deeply indebted to him, I should point the enquirer, not to the things he did and endured in defence of ecclesiastical right; not to the immense stimulus he has given to the revival of the solemnities of

[120] Towle, and Russell. *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie,* Preface xiii.

> divine worship, nor yet to any of the numerous works inaugurated or developed by him, but simply to himself, to the noble manhood of the man. ' Quid docent nos apostoli sancti ? ' asks St. Bernard. 'What do the holy apostles teach us? ' Not the fisher's art, nor yet the tent-maker's, nor anything of that sort ; not, how to study Plato or pursue the subtleties of Aristotle, ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. 'Docuerunt me vivere,' 'they have taught me how to live.' It is the one lesson of sovereign concern. It is the lesson for which we who knew and loved him thank him most."[121]

In St. George of the East where Mackonochie was serving the Church Wardens were part of the movement to try and stamp out the influence of the Oxford Movement within their Church. In the East End of London, it was not a difficult task to excite and engage mob violence and this is exactly what took place when Mackonochie came to minister. Services were constantly broken up and aggressive and violent behaviour of the mob made life extremely uncomfortable for those that wanted to minister there:

> I cannot conceive anything more unsatisfactory. For three months they have allowed these scenes to occur weekly, nor has their sympathy with the rioters been any secret […] A great deal is said about things being quieter, but on Sunday last I find that just as the clergyman was ready to go from the vestry into church he was told by the churchwardens that the tumult was so great as to render it impossible to say the service at all. As soon as the clergyman had consented not to attempt it, the fact was communicated to the crowd in church by the churchwardens in a tone of apparent triumph. [122]

---

[121] Ibid., Preface xvii.

[122] Ibid., 58.

Archibald Tate who at this point was the Bishop of London seemed to have a genuine respect and even affection for Mackonochie. Sadly, Tate was not to be a friend of the Oxford Movement at the local Church level in the same way he had been so focused on being an adversary at Oxford University. At this stage though there was a genuine level of respect in the Bishop for someone of Mackonochie's character who would be willing continuously to serve in such difficult circumstances:

> It is interesting to place the unsolicited testimony of the Rev. R. H. A. Bradley as a sequel to these letters:
> During the riots in St. George's, East, at Mr. Mackonochie's request, I celebrated early on a Sunday morning at the parish church. On Monday the bishop sent for me, complaining of altar lights, eastward position, &c. On my telling the bishop that these were matters that concerned the rector of St. George's, and not me, he asked how I came there, and on receiving the answer that Mr. Mackonochie was a friend of mine, Bishop Tait replied, 'Well, I have not a better man in my diocese than Mr. Mackonochie.' This was when St. George's and the Docks Mission was in the worst possible odour, and the bishop was harassed on all sides, and there was scarcely an incumbent in London who stood by Mr. Bryan King and the Mission. At the end of my interview with the bishop he urged me not to mix myself up with St. George's, and when I declined to accept his advice, he replied: 'Well, I can't say anything against your wishing to help such a man as Mr. Mackonochie.[123]

In 1860, Mackonochie moved to an equally destitute part of London but inside of the City:

> Close to the great thoroughfares along which the wealth of the richest city in the world passes in a continuous flow to minister to the luxury of its inhabitants, there was within the narrow area of 500 by 200 yards, in dark courts and high

[123] Ibid., 60-1.

> tenement buildings, a population of about 8,000. The locality is described by Mr. Spiller, who was the first churchwarden and had known the place for thirty years, as full of the poorest people and a rally. ing point for the worst characters, and a very notorious thieves' kitchen once stood where the church now stands. The inhabitants were for the most part vendors of fish and vegetables, a few very poor shopkeepers, and many foreigners.[124]

It was here, ministering to the lowest cultural segment of the city that we see Sacramental outreach to the poor and the oppressed that grew as an outcome of the Tractarian movement at its most effective. The Church, St. Alban was a Mission Church especially for the purpose of ministering to a totally unchurched population. The Church was built through the funds of a Mr. Hammond who wrote a letter to the community concerning the vision for the Church:

> St. Alban's church is free. It has been built especially for the sake of the poor; but, rich or poor, all alike may enter it without fee or payment, and may find in it a place where they may kneel to pray and stand to praise God, and where they may sit to hear the good tidings of the Gospel. Rich and poor may often meet in that church; but as rich and poor are alike in the sight of God, so in that House of God they will meet with no distinctions.[125]

As the ministry continued in St. Alban in the Clerkenwell district a far greater sense of the connection between the theoretical ideology of the Tractarians as expressed in a ministry to the poor and oppressed. This took shape as a 'theology' as much as anything else. An awareness was developing of

---

[124] Ibid., 69.

[125] Ibid., 86.

a correlation between the Eucharistic Community and the expression of itself in their ministry to the marginalized:

> The work of Dr. Pusey, and of the great men who with him were instrumental under God in the latest of the many reformations of the Church of England, was mainly the restatement of forgotten or half-forgotten truths; [...] but it was the work of a younger generation of clergy and laity to apply these truths to the hearts and consciences of the people; […] to teach men to use the penitential system of the Church as Christ's means of restoring and assisting the sinful; and to awaken men not only to the duty of Communion, but also to the duty of Eucharistic worship. For these ends, with simple common sense, devotion, and reality, Father Mackonochie lived and worked.[126]

Good Friday 1865, was a turning point as the Three Hours of Prayer were instituted into the life of the Church. The reaction was predictable by those who were growing in their opposition to the 'Ritualists', a pejorative to which they had become referred. Mackonochie's response was characteristic of a man who walked with God. The following coming later after the attacks on his view of the Eucharistic Community had reached their climax:

> "You will need patience (he writes in 1869, when judgment had just been given against him); patience with your opponents lest you lose love; patience with your friends lest you break up your forces; patience above all with yourselves lest you lose heart. You must be patient at home and patient in society, patient in discussion and patient under abuse." [127]

The first official action against Mackonochie was in 1867. The legality of the Law Suit was based upon the 1840 Church Discipline Act of Parliament:

---

[126] Ibid., 100-01.

[127] Ibid., 103.

> I am very thankful to say (wrote Mr. Mackonochie, in his parochial address of this year) that it proceeds neither from the Bishop nor from the parishioners. The nominal prosecutor is, as you know, a gentleman [Mr. Martin] who has an official connection with school premises in Baldwin's Gardens, and thereby is legally a parishioner, but who lives out of the parish and has allowed his name to be substituted for that of another who had taken steps to begin the suit on the general ground of his belonging to a party in the Church adverse to the views of her teaching which I believe to be the truth. The real prosecutor is said to be an irresponsible Society, formed with the object of forcing upon the Church of England one particular form of opinion, not easily reconciled with her own Prayer Book.[128]

The trial and the appeal process was long and drawn out with varying political sensitivities being very much a part of the proceedings. The judgement of the Appeal Court was mixed partially in support Mackonochie and partly in the demanding that he desist from raising the Cup and Host at Eucharist. Likewise, he was demanded to desist from kneeling at any time during the process of the Eucharist. The Church Society was not satisfied:

> Ten days after the delivery of this finding, the Church Association again sent spies to St. Alban's, and on receiving their report, again charged Mr. Mackonochie with disobeying the monition by sanctioning on the part of others the acts he was forbidden to do himself, to wit, elevation and kneeling, or prostration ; and affidavits were filed describing the acts done by the officiating clergy upon seven Sundays in the months of December 1869, January and February 1870. The hearing was appointed for March 26; but Mr. Mackonochie, acting under legal advice, did not appear by counsel to defend himself, but filed counter-affidavits from the accused

[128] Ibid., 111.

> officiants and from the churchwardens, denying the truth of the charges alleged.[129]

Looking from the viewpoint of today it is hard to imagine that a faction could operate with such acrimony as the Evangelical Church Society. Though it was not their aim, the Evangelical party within the Church of England was responsible for driving High Church ministers to the Roman Catholic Church. What is even more detestable is that within a generation it was Protestant Englishmen who joined forces with the Russian Orthodox and the French Roman Catholics to enter a war with a largely Protestant Germany where all sides left a generation rotting in the earth of the battlefields of France and Flanders.

The adversarialism of the Protestant wing of the Church pushed until a judgement that was considered ‘unsafe’ by many was made which in turn forced Mackonochie to be suspended from ministry for three months.

> Judgment was pronounced upon November 25, and was to the effect that Mr. Mackonochie had not complied with the monition in respect of elevation; that the low bow he had substituted for genuflexion was ' a humble prostration of the body in reverence,' and was also a disobedience to the monition, and therefore that he should not only, as on the former occasion, pay all the costs of the application, but be suspended from office and benefice for three months; and it was specifically observed that his main offence was that he had 'carefully scanned the monition and the Order in Council, to see how nearly he could preserve the prohibited ceremonies . . . without disobeying the law of the State ; ' but that he had been again foiled in his ' attempt to satisfy his conscience, and shelter himself behind a strictly literal obedience.' [130]

---

[129] Ibid., 156.

[130] Ibid., 157-58.

The Church Association that saw its primary goal of destroying any vestiges of Romanism or Popery from the Church of England were intent on the ruination of Mackonochie's work in London.

> However, at the annual meeting of the Church Association on March 27, 1874, the chairman informed the audience that a fresh suit was to be instituted against Mr. Mackonochie, not only renewing all the former complaints, but introducing a new count, that of having erected a confessional in the church, and given notice of the times at which confessions would be heard.[131]

He was at first suspended from ministry for six-weeks but the wave of opinion was against the Ritualists. Whenever there was a legal breakthrough The Church Association in particular would renew their threats:

> Mr. Mackonochie declined to appeal at this stage to the House of Lords, the sentence of suspension for three years was pronounced anew in the Public Worship Regulation Court by Lord Penzance on November 15, 1879, to take effect upon November 23 next following. Upon that day, a Sunday, the Rev. W. M. Sinclair, a chaplain of the Bishop of London, accompanied by Mr. Lee, the Bishop's secretary, presented himself at St. Alban's Church, and tendered a licence which the Bishop had issued to him, appointing him curate-in-charge, to conduct the services during the continuance of the suspension. Mr. Mackonochie declined to acknowledge the validity of either the suspension or his own supersession as minister of the church, and Mr. Sinclair withdrew, no further steps being taken at the time.[132]

The process did continue but after each appeal or retrial the three-year suspension was confirmed. The tragedy was multiple. A Church had lost its lead

---

[131] Ibid., 160

[132] Ibid., 177.

minister. A community of the poor and the oppressed were deprived of the light in their midst, and the Church of England as a whole established itself to become an object of scorn and mockery. Mackonochie was hounded out of the Church he loved and had served from his youth. His ministry in the City of London in Clerkenwell had been brought to an end. He went on to serve in other ministries and had a special ministry of mentoring younger ministers, but the reality is that he had been persecuted and treated badly by the Church he loved and the stress that he lived under led to his premature death in 1888.

Mackonochie was persecuted for one reason only, that being his commitment to seeing Sacred Divine Order at the very centre of the Church in the areas of Ecclesiology and also Mission. He was clearly a product of the Tractarian movement and he was and is an effective model for the role of a Eucharistic Community in Mission today. He was far from being an anomaly as there were so many men who lost their ministries and their livelihood in the wake of the aggressive co-belligerency of the Liberal Church and the Evangelical Church.

Cultural Expressions as an outcome of the Oxford Movement

In the first chapter there was discussion of how the Romantic Period influenced the milieu of the Oxford Movement. It can be equally said that a new wave of artistic expression flowed out from the Oxford Movement into the ambient flow of culture in the 19th Century. John Keble's work especially held influence at this time and his prodigious output of poetry was staggering for one who was involved at so many levels in both the Academic and theological realm.

> Meanwhile, Keble, long a practitioner of catholic spirituality and Froude's chief mentor in this regard, was busy composing the poetry that would result in The Christian Year. This work of High Anglican religiosity was an early literary representation of the Oxford Movement. Typically, Keble was sceptical of its worth: ''It will be still-born, I know very well,'' he told Isaac Williams, another of the Oriel group.19 He was

> wrong. Keble's thin volume of poetry was immediately popular and sold well. The Christian Year also reawakened institutional Oxford to some-one who had departed from the place four years before and had not been much on the scene since.[133]

This Eucharistic base for his output was to affect many others perhaps the greatest of them all being Christina Rosetti. As a teenager Christina, her mother and sister having been influenced by the writings of John Keble, moved from the Evangelical wing of the Church of England, and joined the Anglo-Catholic movement within the Church of England at that time.[134] They worship in Christ Church Albany Street, which was located on the street in which they lived. Christina was close to her sister Maria and they were both ardent in their faith. They were both influenced by the novels published at that time that were being written from the Christian perspective.

Whereas Maria was strongly drawn to Charlotte Yonge's material Christiana gravitated more towards Elizabeth Gaskell. Yonge's work was far more based on ideals whereas Gaskell's work took the reader into the squalor and poverty of the large industrial cities. Gaskell's reaching out to the poor obviously effected Christina whose own inner, almost excessive, sensitivity was to evoke both her most tender poetry and her most dark days of depression. [135]

Elizabeth Ludlow, who is one of the leading academics of our day on the subject of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement, writes regarding Christina's brother, Dante Gabriel Rossetti who was generally thought of as the leader of the Pre-Raphaelites:

---

[133] Fought, *The Oxford Movement,* 79.

[134] Kathleen Jones, *Christina Rossetti, Learning Not to Be First* (The Book Mill. Kindle Edition), (Loc. 167).

[135] Ibid., Locs. 314-315.

> Dante Gabriel's poem 'My Sister's Sleep' (1850) characterizes the emphasis on the 'intimate intertexture of a spiritual sense with material form' that guided the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in its early stages. Dante Gabriel's designation of his early poems and paintings as 'Art Catholic' indicates that this emphasis was informed by the Tractarian preoccupation with ancient and medieval hermeneutics.[136]

A central feature of the theology of the Oxford Movement was the Patristic understanding of the rupture of time and eternity that takes place within the Eucharist. Conceptually the very idea that a point within the liturgy causes the eternal in real ontological terms to be made present in the space of time has many implications that relate to personhood. Men and women whoever they are in terms of poor or rich become fully united as one in communion with each other as well as the saints and angels in the eternal frame. This view of the Eucharist forces the revaluation of personhood at every level. If indeed the whole body of Christ is mysteriously present with Christ in the Eucharist the unveiling of unity at every level is dramatically radicalised. Christina's poetry seeks to take this concept and express it in and through verse:

> In seeking to foster a Tractarian understanding of personhood, Rossetti's work repeatedly adopts an existential vantage point to blur boundaries between heaven and earth. Charting the process whereby 'bells' of the world become indistinguishable with the 'chimes' of eternity, and 'man's daily life' becomes intertwined with the experience of the saints who have been redeemed, her poetry realises the vision of the ' intimate intermixture between spiritual sense and material form' that William Michael Rossetti described as a guiding principle of Pre-Raphaelite art. As a consequence, she contributed to the dissemination of the Oxford Movement in the second half of

[136] Elizabeth Ludlow, 'Christiana Rossetti and the Pre-Raphalites', *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement,* ed. S. J. Brown, P. Nockles, and J. Pereiro. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 447.

> the nineteenth century and significantly extended the vision of God's immanence and transcendence.[137]

Ludlow again writes:

> Rossetti took this (Tractarian) aesthetic forward and, in turn used it to inform and disseminate Anglo-Catholic theology, contributing to the maturing of the Movement's theology rather than being simply an inheritor of the Tractarian devotional mode of poetry.[138]

A similar set of observations can be made by the role of Religious Fiction. It was not just an extension of Tractarianism. It also had properties that deepen the narrative and matured it at the aesthetic level for an audience that would not be able to intellectually keep up with the technical aspects of the theology. The role of the novel in Tractarian Theology was aimed at the female youth of the age who were by default the influencers of the values within the Victorian family. The models were in many senses expressions of the Romantic Period: A high view of value, courage, duty, self-sacrifice, displaying many individual heroes and heroines. Also, the novels tended toward a 'looking-back' to the more 'ideal' times– in this case the medieval period.

In Charlotte Yonge's novels, Yonge, had a sub-textual mode of writing. Innocence, whilst being able to be defiled, carried a power that was built into it. A force that was able to exercise authority far beyond its natural scope. The Heroine Christina, in The Dove in the Eagle's Nest, and Amy in the Heir of Redclyffe are clear examples of this. They have the appearance of neediness and fragility and yet are the characters within the narrative who make the greatest of influence for goodness and beauty. Built into this concept is the spiritual germination of the Kingdom of God that has an eschatological ontology built

---

[137] Ibid., 436-37.

[138] Ibid., 447.

into it that effects history. It is also a similar subtext to the theology of person that is observed in Christina Rossetti's poetry.

Restoration of Sacred Sisterhoods

In 1534, with the Parliament Act of Supremacy, Henry VIII closed all of the convents and monasteries in England and confiscated the land for his own exchequer. This brought to an end one of the vital aspects of the Church that have existed for nearly 1000 years. The importance of this decision from an historical viewpoint is that 'Monastic Orders' as well as the monastic communities themselves had existed in England prior to the Roman Church having sent Augustine of Canterbury to England in the 6th century.

George Bernard writes:

> The dissolution of the monasteries in the late 1530s was one of the most revolutionary events in English history. There were nearly 900 religious houses in England, around 260 for monks, 300 for regular canons, 142 nunneries and 183 friaries; some 12,000 people in total, 4,000 monks, 3,000 canons, 3,000 friars and 2,000 nuns. If the adult male population was 500,000, that meant that one adult man in fifty was in religious orders.[139]

The destruction of a spiritual tradition that had existed for so many centuries had a dramatic influence upon the religious culture of 16th Century England. The sheer acreage involved was extensive and the revenues were a significant financial income for the Crown.

---

[139] G. W. Bernard, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries' *History* 96, no. 324, (2011): 390.

> An English medieval proverb said that if the Abbot of Glastonbury married the Abbess of Shaftesbury, the heir would have more land than the King of England. [140]

A similar but less draconian movement had taken place in the Continental Reformation:

> Erasmus who satirized monasteries as lax, as comfortably worldly, as wasteful of scarce resources, and as superstitious; he also thought it would be better if monks were brought more directly under the authority of bishops. At that time, quite a few bishops across Europe had come to believe that resources expensively deployed on an unceasing round of services by men and women in theory set apart from the world [would] be better spent on endowing grammar schools and university colleges to train men who would then serve the laity as parish priests.[141]

Erasmus held a very Continental view of the 'Monastery problem' which fit into the sense of unrest that existed among a disenfranchised peasantry. In the England the move against the Monastic Orders had come from and was largely limited to the Crown.

On June 5, 1841 Marian Rebecca Hughes was consecrated as the first "Nun" inside the Anglican Church in over three hundred years. Her society named, 'The Society of The Holy and Undivided Trinity" was based in Oxford and had come into being as a result Edward Pusey's advocacy. This began what was to become a substantial movement of bringing Religious Orders into the common life of the Church of England again.

---

[140] Laurence Keen, ed., *Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey*, (Dorset: Dorset County Council, 1999).

[141] Bernard, "The Dissolution of the Monasteries", 390.

> One of the most significant and long-lived achievements of the Oxford Movement was the establishment of religious life for women in the Church of England. Beginning in the 1840's, over 100 Sisterhoods were established by Tractarian clergymen, women who sympathised with the Movements ideals and the spiritual successors of both groups.[142]

It can be clearly stated that the origin of this move to re-establish monastic life was based upon two primary objectives. Firstly, the facilitating of a Sacred Space whereby communities of prayer could be established that would give a sense of mutual support to those who were committed to an ongoing daily Sacred Divine Order. As in other places and times in history the Monastic Orders were an intense and focused movement of prayer. This distinctive is important as it separates the Orders from religious social work but reaches back to the commitment of an elite body who devoted themselves by vows to a rule of prayer and life.

Secondly, the restoring of a vision for the Church to serve the poor and oppressed was given practical facilitation, as the Sisterhoods could devote themselves uniquely to the task of nurture to the sick, the dying the fatherless, widows and orphans within their respective communities.

> […] in 1900 several thousand women were living in sixty communities and approximately 10,000 women had spent at least some time in a Sisterhood between 1845 and 1900.[143]

This was a ground-breaking work s the role of women in all aspects of public life were very limited the emancipation at the spiritual gift level was not only

---

[142] Carol Herringer Englehart, ed. Stewart J. Brown, Peter Nockles, and James Pereiro. 'The Revival of the Religious Life: The Sisterhoods', *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 408.

[143] Ibid.

progressive and considered dangerous, it was within the Tractarian movement seen from the outside as another example of a Church that had lost control. Lydia Sellon who initially was responding to a need to help the poor in Devon as a result of an advertisement placed by the Bishop of Exeter in the went on to become the pioneer of a vast movement of women who made devotion and commitment to the Lord their avowed calling.

> Miss Sellon was the daughter of an officer in the Royal Navy, who had retired from the service and was living in Devonshire. She was on the point of leaving England for her health, when she saw the Bishop of Exeter's appeal of New Year's Day, 1848, for help to relieve the spiritual and moral destitution of the great seaport in his diocese, the population of which had altogether outgrown all existing provisions for religious teaching and worship.[144]

Like many regions in the country there were dramatic demographic shifts taking place which in turn created large new population centres that in turn had no educational, health or spiritual resources devoted to them. It was to one of these new populations that Lydia Sellon was called.

> Devonport, which had been taken out of the parish of Stoke Damerel. It had a population of between 4,000 and 5,000, almost entirely of the labouring classes, and was without church and schools.[145]

Sellon was entrepreneurial in the way that she attacked problems and was under any circumstances formidable in her organising and administrative skills. Her style seems to be to capture a vision of need, saturate that need in prayer

---

[144] Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 192.

[145] Ibid.

and then raise the resources to accomplish what she believed God was calling her to accomplish.

> After they had brought some order and discipline into a school which had lately been started, Miss Sellon attempted a more difficult problem. This was to form a free industrial school for girls and to organize a night-school for boys from twelve to sixteen, who were employed in the Government works. Her success in these directions won the warm approbation of those who were best qualified to judge. These schools naturally led on to her undertaking in some measure the preparation of candidates for baptism and confirmation; for the clergy were too few to grapple with the many spiritual needs of the district. She also established a school for starving children and a Home for the orphan children of sailors. She interested herself also deeply in the case of the female emigrants on board vessels which touched at the port. [146]

This largescale way of thinking was an expression of Pusey's style and imagination. It is almost impossible to imagine either Keble or Newman travelling up and down the country inspiring those to work on what at the time seemed to be impossible projects.

Pusey wrote to E Coleridge about the work:

> The works of mercy opened at Devonport embrace the whole range of which our Blessed Lord speaks relatively to the Day of Judgment. There are thousands of little ones to receive in His Name and with them to receive Him; hungry and thirsty in whom to feed Him and give Him drink; strangers in whom to take Him in; sick in whom to visit Him.[147]

He concludes by writing:

---

[146] Ibid., 193.

[147] Ibid.

> For who is to teach the 5,242 children in Devonport, where there are no local funds? Then, there lies beyond, the visiting of the female emigrants, where a few hours' work may be the means, in God's Hands, of [promoting] an orderly and Christian mode of life during months of their voyage, in which they have no one to take care of their souls. There is the multiplied visiting of sick, starving, fevered, dying, recovering, poor; all ignorant, all neglected except by the clergy, who ought themselves to be many more (for what are seven clergy among 40,000 souls?).[148]

The new movement brought swift reaction and within a Diocesan system the Bishop had total power to either allow or demand the cessation of any Church based work.

> The Bishop of Exeter came to Devonport for a Confirmation, and after seeing the work, gave his hearty sanction to the establishment of a community of Sisters of Mercy to carry it on. This indeed was the origin of the Sisterhood afterwards known as the Devonport Society. Its rules were simple, and the Bishop became the official visitor.
> The outward badge of membership was a plain black dress, with a black cross.[149]

Of this Pusey wrote:

> 'When our ladies may wear crosses of diamonds or rubies in ballrooms or at dinner-parties, who will grudge these Christian women their black wooden Cross, to assure the poor people that their visitors are not come curiously to pry into their distress, but on their Saviour's message of love, or to awe the bad? '[150]

---

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid., 194.

[150] Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 194

It is difficult to think of how such an innocuous group of young devoted women whose sole aim was to love God and serve the poor could create such a wave of negative press and reaction. Whereas the term spiritual warfare was not used in the same way that it is today within the Church this fledgling movement was a model of spiritual warfare. The earlier mentioned mimetic models of innocence that were a distinctive of Charlotte Yonge's writings was put into practice by Sellon and her Sisters of Mercy.

> It was inevitable that the Sisterhood should come in for their share of denunciations ; and the Low Church Vicar of St. Andrew's, a local solicitor, and the editors of two local papers, contrived to extract from three poor girls, who had been inmates of the Orphans' Home, such information with respect to the private and devotional habits of the Sisters as might produce an inflammatory effect on the imaginations of the less religious or less instructed people.[151]

Another public enquiry was held with a variety of attacks on the Tractarian emphasis of the Sisterhood. The press and many influential people wanted the work to cease. The Bishop of Exeter gave a defence of the work and allowed it to continue.

> Mr. Dyke Acland, who had been present, sent Pusey an enthusiastic report of the proceedings.
> 'The Bishop,' he wrote on Feb. 16, 1849, 'spoke as boldly with regard to you in public as he had done to me warmly in private, perfectly fearless of any reproach it might bring upon himself; he spoke of her intimacy with you as one of which he felt, however the public might choose to cast opprobrium upon it, was in his opinion an honour to anyone. The day was a wonderful one-I should think altogether unseen in our times. It was a great privilege to serve her anyhow. Surely the

[151] Ibid., 197.

> prayers of many were heard; and those who withstand what is good must have gone away ashamed.[152]

The attacks, rumours, lies and gossip continued against the Sisterhood but when Cholera broke out in a nearby Parish to Devonport the Sisters responded to the need. This event and then the sending of nurses to the Crimean War had the effect of silencing much of the gossip and criticism

A local Clergyman writes:

> The Sisters,' wrote the Rev. G. R. Prynne, 'were not Jiving in my parish at the time, and when the cholera broke out with deadly violence, I had a visit from Miss Sellon one evening. "I am come," she said," to ask if you will accept the services of myself and Sisters to visit the sick and dying in your parish.'' A distrustful thought crossed me. Shall I bring these devoted ladies from another parish, I thought, to such scenes and such danger? I must ha\'e hesitated, and said some words to this effect. "You must not look upon us as mere ladies," said Miss Sellon, "but as Sisters of Mercy; and the proper place for Sisters of: Mercy is amongst the sick and dying; if yon refuse our aid, we must offer it elsewhere.[153]

Another local eye witness puts in almost superlative terms the impact the Sisters of Mercy had at that time.

> Mr. Prynne's curate, the Rev. G. H. Hetling, in his report to the Bishop of Exeter, concludes his eloquent and detailed account as follows:-
> ' It has been my lot in life for one quarter of a century to have seen, and borne an active part in, very much of suffering, pain, and death. Formerly, in medical practice, I have seen the whole course of cholera in London, Paris, and Bristol, and

[152] Ibid., 197.

[153] Ibid., 199.

> lastly here in my office of deacon. I have beheld many acts of self-devotion to its sufferers and victims, yet never have I witnessed anything that surpassed, or even equalled. the self-abandonment and self-sacrifice of these humble Sisters .... Miss Sellon (who, though ill, has been on the spot every day) and her fellow-workers may justly be added to the list of female heroines. In this opinion persons of all views coincide, and they who formerly opposed them cannot now withhold the need of praise. Truly one more reason may be deduced from such visitations for the establishment of Sisterhoods, for in what other manner could such effectual assistance have been secured?'[154]

The Sisterhood movement flourished and continued to grow. Central was their personal Sacred Divine Order of worship that expressed itself in Sacred Service to the poor and the oppressed. The Sacramental nature of the movement also took the ideals of Matthew chapter 25 as a guiding principle. In serving the poor they were in a role of continuation of serving Christ as they did in the devotion through prayer.

The Restoration of Patristic Teachings

The fact that the Tractarians and many of their associates were some f the most gifted academics in England in historical theology and biblical languages leant itself to a vast number of projects in restoring to the English Church the writings of the early Church Fathers. The place of early Church teaching was limited to anthologies and commentaries many coming from Continental Reformation. The project before the Tractarians was to translate into English the vast corpus of material that existed in Greek and Latin.

Pusey wrote:

> Scripture is reverenced as paramount: 'the doctrine of the Old or New Testament' is the source; the 'Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops' have the office of 'collecting out of that same doctrine'; the Old and New Testaments are the fountain; the

[154] Ibid., 200.

> catholic Fathers the channel through which it has flowed down to us. The contrast then in point of authority is not between Holy Scripture and the Fathers, but between the Fathers and us; not between the book interpreted and the interpreters, but between one class of interpreters and another; between ancient Catholic truth and modern private opinions; not between the Word of God and the word of man, but between varying modes of understanding the Word of God.[155]
>
> From 1838 The Library of the Fathers began to appear in what eventually became 43 volumes. Choice was largely conditioned by the availability of reliable texts which they took over from the Maurists. Most were of 4th and 5th Fathers with only four ante-Nicene volumes.[156]

From this starting point the work was taken up by Lightfoot who brought to the English language a vast corpus on the ante Nicene Fathers:

> "Lightfoot knew early on in his time at Cambridge that Ignatius was the key to dealing the theorists of Tübingen a serious blow. If it were possible to date the letters of Ignatius at the beginning of the second century then so many of the arguments advanced by Baur and others would be shown to be without foundation. He had already written three major commentaries and a major work on Clement before he turned his attention, in 1877, to Ignatius. His two substantial volumes appeared seven years later. The demands of episcopal office meant he was often unable to attend to the work for 'weeks and sometimes for months' but he still produced a work of some 700 closely argued pages.[157]

Oxford Movement Spirituality

---

[155] Rodney Hacking, *St. Ignatius of Antioch and the Renewal of the Anglican Episcopate, Project Canterbury* 2002), Pt 1, par. 7. [Available Online] http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/hacking1.html [Accessed April 26, 2018].

[156] Ibid., Pt. I, par. 9.

[157] Ibid. Pt. II, par. 3.

The emphasis of Tractarian spirituality is built into the earlier mentioned concept of symbol, ritual and sacrament. Edward Monro also saw this spirituality as being didactic as well especially for the teaching of the uneducated classes that still existed in large numbers in rural England. He writes:

> Our people are most deficient in a living comprehension of the simplest and most essential doctrines of Christianity, and to those doctrines are attached necessarily many practices and points of holy living; cut off from them, they are cut off from fountains from which issue streams of purity, truth, and holiness. When these doctrines are connected with religious acts and rites, they become far more easy of apprehension to the poor. Of no act is this more true than of holy Baptism; the doctrines connected with it, its regeneration, its promises, are the hinge and spring of holiness of life, and affect materially the whole view of the Christian warfare; and those truths become much clearer when the rite itself is carefully administered, and due preparation made.[158]

To narrow the focus on this issue of God and Man in engagement concerning the condition of God and the condition of Man is the central dominating the Oxford Movement spirituality. John Keble addresses this issue in his work, Eucharistic Adoration.

> It is as impossible for devout faith, contemplating Christ in this Sacrament, not to adore Him, as it is for a loving mother, looking earnestly at her child, not to love it. The mother's consciousness of her love, and her outward manifestation of it, may vary; scruples, interruptions, bewilderments may occur; but there it is in her heart, you cannot suppress it. So must there be special adoration and worship in the heart of every one seriously believing a special, mysterious presence

---

[158] Edward Monro, *Parochial Ministry*, (London: John Henry Parker,1850), 105.

> of Christ, God and man, expressed by the words, This is My Body.[159]

From Exodus 25 through to the final chapters of Deuteronomy there is a clear pattern of how symbol, ritual and sacrament are embodied and express the relationship between God and man. The Holy Place had three primary symbols; The Golden Lampstand, The Table of Shew Bread and The Altar of Incense.

> This is a very delicate and difficult point on which to write. For those who know most of the Lord Jesus are most reluctant to unveil to us their secrets. But we all of us know holy people to whom the external presence of our Lord Jesus in the sacrament, as they approach to receive Him, is as real as anything on earth. And we are also aware that those who have gone farthest in the knowledge of God within them are the most ready to perceive the Lord Jesus as He comes. One such saint, who died not many years ago, was so alive to Christ's presence, in the sacramental mode, that he was able to detect the absence of the sacrament from a tabernacle fully veiled, with its lamp burning. He knew Christ's presence was not there vouchsafed externally. His companion argued, from the veil and the burning lamp, that certainly the Host was present. Inquiry was made. The saint was right. The sacrament had been removed. He knew; he did not require outward signs.[160]

In the Holiest of Holies there was the Ark of the Covenant, The Tables of Stone with the Law and The Pot of Golden Mana. These symbols act as a microcosm for the vast plethora of symbols that existed within the Hebrew Tabernacle to illustrate the role of symbol concerning the presence of God with us within the “First Covenant Epoch”.

---

[159] John Keble. *On Eucharistical Adoration*. (Oxford: J. Parker, 1867), 2.

[160] Frank Weston, D.D. *God With Us: The Meaning of the Tabernacle* (London: Mowbray and Morehouse,1920), 3.

> The ascended Christ on His throne of glory sends to us the Holy Spirit because His own manhood has become the fit and proper temple of the Holy Ghost And He, the Eternal Word, now indwells the redeemed race by the personal activity of the Spirit, who works from His manhood as centre, within the members of His manhood as sphere, and by means of the virtue of His manhood as vehicle of divine life and grace. So that our consciousness of Christ within us is not of the Master manifest as by Himself. Rather, it is of the manhood of Christ, as it both veils and reveals the Blessed Trinity. It is of God within us Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The agent of the presence is the Spirit, Divine Love; while its instrument is the manhood of the Word incarnate.[161]

The production of these symbols and their exactitude left no place for innovation. They had to be created exactly as God had revealed them to Moses and they were to be crafted by chosen craftsman who were filled by the Holy Spirit. Each of the Divine Symbols corresponded to sets of truths that were either given at the time or explained in other places within scripture. I would suggest that Divine Symbols that correspond to Divine Truth are the first part of God's Divine Order. The role of ritual in the Tabernacle is well recorded. The meaning of ritual is also recorded but the didactic aspects of ritual are relative to different epochs.

Each ritual has a pre-liminal state, a liminal state and a post liminal state. A clear example far from unique defines the liminality process in the ritual of the Day of Atonement. The pre-liminal state is the spiritual condition of the Congregation of Israel prior to Atonement being made. The liminal state is the Congregation of Israel after the Priest has begun the ritual by sacrificing the various offerings on the Altar of Sacrifice. The Post-Liminal state is when the Priest has taken the Blood into the Holiest of Holies, fulfilled the ritual and then comes to pronounce the Congregation as being atoned for.

---

[161] Ibid., 2.

The Sacramental with the use of both symbol and ritual is seen also in the Day of Atonement. When the High Priest enters the Holiest of Holies and has sprinkled the blood on the Mercy on the Ark of the Covenant, he then places incense into his censor and approaches the Ark of the Covenant. The smoke of the incense and the smoke of the presence of God become mingled.

> Thus, the Christian Church already serves, in heaven and on earth, partially, in places dimly, to show forth God in Christ. And the bread and wine of the Sacrament, taken up by the Christ, are on a level different from the earthly creation. When God uses them as true symbols and efficacious signs of His presence, as forms under which Christ's manhood is with us, He is merely doing now, under terms of earth, what He is doing in the supernatural universe. He is, in the Incarnate Word, using creation as His garment. So that, strictly speaking, the sacrament is not of the earthly order. It belongs to the order of the Incarnation. It cannot, therefore, be classed with the old meeting-places of God with His people, named in the Old Testament. Much less may it be compared with man-made shrines and temples. It is a supernatural thing, in its essence. That it is visible is due to the circumstances of the redeemed creation.[162]

There is the real and actual presence of God meeting man uniquely within this Sacrament. It is the Sacrament of the smoke of incense and the smoke of God's presence that "performs" and turns the ritual and symbol into an ontological reality.

> (i) We cannot abide in Christ unless He be both external to us and present with us. The Head is external to, and permanently present with, the members of His Body. He is within the Church as Head, and external to the other members; at the same time that, in the Spirit, He is within us all. (ii) The sacramental system is evidence to His permanent external presence as well as to His indwelling. His ministry is within the

[162] Ibid., 10.

> Church; external to His members, as well as within them. (iii) The doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews is meaningless unless we have a High Priest in heaven, whose presence there, external to us, is permanently accessible to us here on earth. He is within the Church, but external to His members, as well as within them.[163]

Whereas in the Old Testament the writings are saturated with symbols and Liturgy in the New Testament there is little to appeal to for the continuation of a Liturgical form or worship. It is as we turn to Church history we observe the Common Life of the Christian communities that utilized symbol, ritual and sacrament. One clear observation is there is little or no evidence that any worshiping communities existed that did not use symbol, ritual and sacrament. All of the evidence available is that the early Church was a liturgical Church. I will outline this using three points, Symbols as Truth Correspondence, Ritual as organisation of Symbols into a liturgy and the Sacramental as Ontological.

John Keble writes:

> First, as to the matter of fact; we need not perhaps hesitate to admit in the most unreserved way, indeed it might be hard to find anyone who has ever denied,-the universal adoption, by the early Christian writers, of the allegorical way of expounding the Old Testament. They do undoubtedly profess to find an intended figurative and Christian meaning, in innumerable places, which are neither express prophecies, nor alluded to as types in the New. Not only in the prophetical writings do they find our Lord and His Gospel everywhere; not only do they trace throughout the Levitical services the example and shadow of the future heavenly things; but they deal also in the same way with the records of history, whether Patriarchal or Jewish; and with the fragments which the Holy Ghost has caused to be preserved out of the moral and devotional poetry of the Hebrews, -the Book of Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs, and (what is in some respects the

[163] Ibid.,1.

> most significant and remarkable instance of all) the Song of Solomon from beginning to end.[164]

The role of symbols to correspond to truth is an Old Testament model as seen in the earlier statements about the Day of Atonement. Clearly the New testament uses symbols in terms of water for baptism and bread and wine which correspond to the truth attached to the Body and Blood of Christ. As we move into the early centuries of Christianity we observe several symbols emerging in the Churches. The Cross being a correspondence to the truth of the death of Christ, The Dove as a symbol for the Holy Spirit, the Peacock representing the beauty of the royal priesthood and the fish as a symbol for the Lord Jesus and then the Chiro also representing the Lord Jesus Christ. We add to those symbols oil for anointing as correspondence for the Holy Spirit, Water for Baptism and the earlier mentioned Bread and Wine for the Body and Blood of Christ. We also see the emergence of Christian calendar following on from the Leviticus 23 where the Feasts of the Lord are outlined. A similar outline developed into the life of the Church and then colours being associated with each of the seasons within the Church calendar.

As time progressed we saw other symbols brought into the life of the Church. The candle as correspondence to the Light of the World, our Lord Jesus Christ. The holding of fingers in a set pattern that corresponds to the Trinity and the Two natures of Christ. By the 4th Century all of these symbols were in use and part of the life of the Church. It was also these symbols that were being purged from the Church of England under the guise that they evoked idolatry. By the time of the Oxford Movement there was form but it was lifeless and colourless form. Going back to the early Church we discover that these truth corresponding symbols were then organised into rituals and given liturgical form. The three primary liturgies were those of James, Basil and Chrysostom. On

---

[164] John Keble. *On the Mysticism Attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church*. (London: J.G.F. & J. Rivington, 1841), 14.

a regular basis at least once every week part of this ritualising of mimetic symbols was the Eucharist. Symbols were used Bread and Wine but in this case there was an element of faith that was applied that when the symbols of bread and wine were used then the actual presence of Christ himself was manifested. Ontologically, Christ was present at the partaking of the Bread and wine. There were strict guidelines on how this was to be done coming from traditions that originated with the Apostles themselves who received them form the Lord Jesus. Symbols, Ritualization of symbols and then selective symbolism with an order to create the sacrament where the life of Jesus was real and present. This richness and depth of spiritual nourishment was lost almost completely from the Evangelical arm of the Church and the formal dead Church had form but not in the manner that I have outlined.

It was the Restoration of this Sacred Divine Order that stood as the central message of what would become the Oxford Movement. This kind of theology that evokes wonder is what was the undergirding of the Tractarian worldview. In 1834, John Henry Newman published the first bound copy of the Tracts for our Times, the first of what ultimately would be three volumes. In the Advertisement preceding the first tract he gives a mission and purpose statement for why the movement was being born. It would encompass, invariably a wide range of topics but its core was to see the restoration of a Sacred Divine Order becoming the common life of the Church of England.

> The neglect of the daily service, the desecration of festivals, the Eucharist scantily administered, insubordination permitted in all ranks of the Church, orders and offices imperfectly developed, the want of Societies for particular religious objects, and the like deficiencies, lead the feverish mind, desirous of a vent to its feelings, and a stricter rule of life, to the smaller religious Communities, to prayer and bible meetings, and ill-advised institutions and societies, on the one hand […]These remarks may serve as a clue, for those who care to

> pursue it, to the views which have led to the publication of the following Tracts.[165]

Conclusion

This work has been a dialogue between the various primary sources of the Tractarian Oxford Movement, in the form of the Tracts themselves, correspondence between the wider fellowship involved with the movement and then the plethora of opposition both at the time of the Movement and then its aftermath. The originality of this work is the fact of the dialogue itself which has been focused primarily upon the Sacred Divine Order that was restored by the Oxford Movement.

The opposition to the Movement should be viewed, if the sources I cited are correct and not out of context, as a period of shame in the history of the Church in England. The Centralised Bureaucracy of the institutions of both the Church and the State acted in ways that damaged the cause of Christ and his Church. Whereas the Tractarians had the weaknesses that have been recorded in this work, I would suggest that the exhibition of the Fruit of the Spirit in so many of the personalities that made up the Movement do inspire future generations with and by their message.

The outcomes of the movement are not just to be seen in the 19th Century but the models that were created obviously connected with the renewal movement in the Eastern Church, especially with the translation of the Philokalia in the Russian language, which is comparable to the translation and publishing of the patristics in England and also as a key forerunner for the Ressourcement within the Roman Catholic Church through the same reaching

---

[165] University of Oxford. *Tracts for the Times*. (London: J.G.F. & J. Rivington & J.H. Parker, Oxford, 1834) (Advertisement).

back to the early Church fathers through the writings of Henri de Lubac and Hans Urs von Balthasar.

Appendix 1 The Public Worship Act of 1874

In the performance of the services it has been held to be illegal: -

1. For the celebrating priest during the prayer of consecration to kneel or prostrate himself before the consecrated elements; and

bowing with the knee is kneeling, and unlawful, and bowing the head down towards the table, and remaining some seconds in that position, is prostration, and unlawful.

2. For the celebrating priest during the Communion Service, and also during the Prayer of Consecration, to stand at the north end of the west side of the table, or with back to the people, the north side of the table, where the chancel faces the east, being his proper position.

3. To elevate the cup, paten, or bread more than is necessary to take them into the hand of the priest, during the administration of the Holy Communion.

4. To adore the consecrated elements.

5. To mingle water with the wine, whether the act of mingling takes place during, or before the performance of the service of the Holy Communion.

6. The use of incense during the celebration of the Holy Communion, or as subsidiary, or preparatory thereto.

7. To form a procession immediately before or after morning or evening service, composed of thurifer carrying and swinging incense, crucifer with crucifix, acolytes with lighted candles, deacons or others with banners, ceremoniarius, &c., and so conducted as to constitute a rite or ceremony in connection with the service.

8. For a crucifer bearing a crucifix and bearers of banners to stand by or near the minister during the reading of the Gospel, or at other times during the service, and hold same near the minister, as a matter of ceremony.

9. To bless black powder resembling ashes and rub portions thereof on the foreheads of members of the congregation, as a matter of ceremony, in connection with Divine Service.

10. During the performance of Divine Service to cense and sprinkle with holy water candles placed on a small table close to the Communion table, to light such candles, and distribute them to members of the congregation to hold them up.

11. To use sanctus and sacring bells during the Prayer of Consecration.

12. To cause to be said or sung ‘the Agnus Dei' before the reception of the elements, and immediately after the Prayer of Consecration.

13. To interpolate during the Communion Service the following words: ‘O God, whose property is ever to have mercy and to forgive, be favourable unto the soul of this thy servant’ (thereby meaning the soul of a deceased person, for whose repose a mortuary celebration is made), ‘and blot out all her iniquities that she may be loosed from the chains of death, and be found meet to pass into the enjoyment of life and felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.’

14. To admit an acolyte immediately before the commencement of Evening Prayer with certain ceremonies.

15. To cense a crucifix standing on the Holy table or narrow ledge thereon.

16. To use lighted candles on the Holy table, or ledge immediately over the said table, during the celebration of the Holy Communion, as a matter of ceremony, when not wanted for the purpose of giving light.

17. To use lighted candles standing on, and about, and before the Communion table during the performance of other parts of the Morning Service than the Communion Service, as a matter of ceremony, and when not wanted for the purpose of giving light. To keep a large lighted candle, called a paschal candle, on the Communion table during Divine Service, when not wanted for the purpose of giving light.

18. During the performance of Divine Service to cause acolytes or attendants, as a matter of ceremony, to bear about, move, set down, and lift up various lighted candles, when the same were not needed to give light.
19. To use, or sanction the use of, incense for censing persons and things, and for other purposes, as a matter of ceremony, during Divine Service.
20. To elevate the offertory alms, and instead of suffering them to remain on the Holy table, removing them to the Credence table.
21. To use wafer bread.
22. To place on the Holy table, or re-table, a large crucifix with a figure of the Saviour thereon, for a ceremonial or religious purpose, and to cause same to remain there during the performance of Divine Service.
23. To bow and do reverence to such crucifix.
24. To place on a shelf above the Credence table a modelled figure of the infant Saviour with two lilies on each side, on the occasion of the celebration of the Holy Communion, and as a part of the ceremonial of the service.
25. To place, and to keep placed during Divine Service, hanging over the Holy table, a figure, image, or stuffed skin of a dove in a flying attitude as part of the ceremonial of the service.
26. To leave the Holy table bare and uncovered during Divine Service.
27. To make the sign of the cross, during Divine Service, the same being intended as, and constituting a ceremony.
28. To kiss, and permit, during Divine Service, the kissing of the book from which the Gospel is read.

29. While reading the Prayer for the Church Militant, during the service of the Holy Communion, at the word “oblations,’ to take up the chalice, and elevate it over the head.
30. To read the Collect next before the Epistle for the day, standing in front of the middle of the table, and with back to the people.
31. While reading the Collects following the Creed during Divine Service, to stand in front of the middle of the Holy table, at the foot of the steps leading up to the same, with back to the people.
32. To read the Epistle with back to the people.
33. giving notice of the celebration of the Holy Communion to use the phrase ‘a high celebration of the Holy Eucharist’.
34. To give notice during Divine Service of holy days which the Church has not directed to be observed.
35. To place the alms and the basin containing them on the Credence table instead of on the Holy Communion table.

When a clerk in Holy Orders is found to have offended against the laws ecclesiastical in matters concerning the ornaments of the minister, or observance of the rubrics relating to the performance of Divine Service in a Cathedral or Collegiate Church, he may be inhibited from performing any service of the church or exercising the cure of souls within the diocese, and be subject to deprivation, and to have the profits of the preferment held by him sequestered, as in the case of the incumbents of parochial churches.

Appendix 2

The text of the letter of the Four Tutors runs as follows:
To the Editor of the 'Tracts for the Times.'

SIR,-Our attention having been called to No. 90 in the series of' Tracts for the Times by Members of the University of Oxford,' of which you are the Editor, the impression produced on our minds by its contents is of so painful a character that we feel it our duty to intrude ourselves briefly on your notice. · This publication is entitled ' Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles; and, as these Articles are appointed by the Statutes of the University to be the text-book for Tutors in their theological teaching, we hope that the situations we hold in our respective colleges will secure us from the charge of presumption in thus coming forward to address you.

The tract has, in our apprehension, a highly dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England: for instance, that those Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines,

1.Of Purgatory
2.Of Pardons,
3.Of the Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics,
4.Of the Invocation of Saints,
5.Of the Mass,

as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome; but only of certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do. It is intimated, moreover, that the Declaration prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, sanctions this mode of interpreting them, as it is one which takes them in their 'literal and grammatical sense,' and does not ' affix any new sense' to them. The tract would thus appear to us to have a

tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own, and to shake the confidence of the less informed members of the Church of England in the Scriptural character of her formularies and teaching.

We readily admit the necessity of allowing that liberty in interpreting the formularies of our Church, which has been advocated by many of its most learned Bishops and other eminent Divines; but this tract puts forward new and startling views as to the extent to which that liberty may be carried. For if we are right in our apprehension of the author's meaning, we are at a loss to see what security would remain, were his principles generally recognised, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the University and from the pulpits of our churches.

In conclusion, we venture to call your attention to the impropriety of such questions being treated in an anonymous publication, and to express an earnest hope that you may be authorised to make known the writer's name. Considering how very grave and solemn the whole subject is, we cannot help thinking that both the Church and the University are entitled to ask that some person, besides the printer and publisher of the tract, should acknowledge himself responsible for its contents.

T. T. Churton, M.A., Vice-Principal and Tutor of Brasenose College. H. B. Wilson, B.D., Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. John's College.
John Griffiths, M.A., Sub-Warden and Tutor of Wadham College.
A.C. Tait, M.A. Fellow and Senior Tutor of Balliol College.

Oxford March 8, 1841.

Bibliography

Bernard, G. W. 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries' History 96, no. 324, (2011): 390.

Blakeney, Richard P. 'The Church Association' Mission Statement, The Church Society for Bible Church and Nation [Available Online] http://churchsociety.org/aboutus/History/ChurchAssociation.asp [Accesssed Apriil 27, 2018].

Bowden, John William. Tracts for Our Times, Tract 5, London: J. G. & F. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, And Waterloo Place. 1834.

Brown, Stewart J., Peter Nockles, and James Pereiro. The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Beers, Henry A. A History of English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1918.

Berlin, Isaiah The Roots of Romanticism: Second Edition. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Beverley, R. M. (Robert Mackenzie). A Letter to ... the Archbishop of York on the Present Corrupt State of the Church of England. Beverley: W.B. Johnson, 1831.

Church, R.W. The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833-1845. [Online PDF] London: MacMillan & Co. 1892.

Coleridge, John Taylor. A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble. London: J. Parker and Co., 1869.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, Biographia Literaria, Chapter XIV. 1817.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor Anima Poetæ from the Unpublished Note-books of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Houghton: Mifflin, 1895.

Cross, F.L. and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, eds., The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Dann, Robert Bernard. 'The Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves', Echoes of Service, 2004.

Davidson, Randall Thomas, and William Benham. Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury Volume 1. London: Macmillan, 1891.

Donaldson, D Aug. B. Five Great Oxford Leaders: Keble, Newman, Pusey, Liddon and Church, Third Edition, London: Rivingtons, 1902.

Englehart, Carol Herringer 'The Revival of the Religious Life: The Sisterhoods'. ed. Stewart J. Brown, Peter Nockles, and James Pereiro. The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Eliot, George. Impressions of Theophrastus Such. London, 1879.

Fought, C. Brad. The Oxford Movement, University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Garrard, James. Archbishop Howley, 1828–1848. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016.

Goodheart, C.J. 'The Errors of Ritualism Have Their Source in the Unregenerate Human Heart' Church Association, Tract 42.

Hacking, Rodney, St. Ignatius of Antioch and the Renewal of the Anglican Episcopate, Project Canterbury, 2002. [Available Online] http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/hacking1.html [Accessed April 26, 2018].

Howley, William. 'Archbishop of Canterbury.' Geni-Family-Tree. Accessed April 16, 2018.

Johnson, Paul. The Birth of The Modern: World Society 1815-1830. Orion. Kindle Edition.

Keble, John, On Eucharistical Adoration. Oxford: J. Parker, 1867.

Keble, John. Tracts for Our Times, Tract 22, London: J. G. & F. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, And Waterloo Place. 1834.

Keen, Laurence ed. Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey. Dorset: Dorset County Council, 1999.

Kuyper, Abraham. Lectures on Calvinism. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. 1943.

Liddon, Henry Parry. The Spiritual Letters of Edward Bouverie Pusey, London: Longmans, Green & Co, London 1898. 136. [Available Online at archive.org] https://archive.org/stream/a605473000puseuoft/a605473000puseuoft_djvu.txt. [Accessed on September 3, 2017].

Ludlow, Elizabeth 'Christian Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites', The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement, ed. S. J. Brown, P. Nockles, and J. Pereiro. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 447.

McClintock, John and James Strong, 'Latitudinarians', Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1882.

McElroy, Wendy. 'The Enclosure Acts and the Industrial Revolution', The Future of Freedom Foundation, March 8, 2012.

Monro, Edward. Parochial Ministry, London: John Henry Parker,1850.

Nevins, Allan ed., Diary of John Quincy Adams 1794–1845. New York: Frederick Unger, 1951.

Newman, John Henry. Tracts for Our Times, London: J. G. & F. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, And Waterloo Place. 1834.

Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, 1. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864.

Newman, John Henry. An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine. London: B.M. Pickering, 1878.

Newman, John Henry, John Keble, and Eng Oratory of St Philip Neri. Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, 1839-1845 [from old catalog Birmingham., London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1917.

Prickett, S., Stewart J. Brown, Peter Nockles, and James Pereiro. The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Richardson, J. 'The Relation of Soundness in The Faith to Spirituality in The Life, The Church Association, Tract 17.

Ryle, J.C. What Do the Times Require? Church Association, Tract 147.

'The Free Masons Quarterly Review' 1835 [Available Online PDF at archive.org] https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.68888 [Accessed April 27, 2018].

Thiselton, Anthony C. 'Newman, John Henry', The Thiselton Companion to Christian Theology, Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2015.

Towle, Eleanor A., and Edward Francis Russell. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie, London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., ltd., 1890,

Toynbee, Arnold The Industrial Revolution. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1884.

Starkie, Andrew, Stewart J. Brown, Peter Nockles, and James Pereiro. The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

University of Oxford. Tracts for the Times. London: J.G.F. & J. Rivington & J.H. Parker, Oxford, 1834.

Wade, John. The Black Book; or, Corruption Unmasked. London: J. Fairburn, 1828.

Williams, Isaac The Autobiography, ed. George Prevost, London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1892., [Available online PDF at archive.org] https://archive.org/stream/auphyofi00will/auphyofi00will_djvu.txt. [Accessed September 2, 2017].

Wilcox, A. The Church and the Slums: The Victorian Anglican Church and its Mission to Liverpool's Poor. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.