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And

The Birth

Of

Anglican Catholic Identity

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 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{y}$

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ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

MASTER OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES PROGRAM

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Master of Theological Studies Committee of St. Stephen's College for acceptance, a thesis entitled, *The Oxford Movement Anglo-Catholicism and the Birth of Anglican Catholic Identity*, presented by Charles Warner in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Theological Studies.

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Date: October 17, 2005

<u>Dedicated To</u>

Cathy, Andrew, Michael and Lindsay

In their continuing support of my Goals and Aspirations

ABSTRACT

The Oxford Movement Anglo-Catholicism and The Birth of Anglican

Catholic Identity is about finding a direct link between the Oxford

Movement and the birth of Anglican Catholic identity.

Encouraged by the incredible faith of both the Caroline Divines and the Nonjurors, educated by the theology of men such as John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement, motivated by the Tractarians who brought a Catholic form of Anglicanism to the clergy, guided by Ritualists who worked in parishes re-introducing ceremonial, and protected by Anglo-Catholics, the pre-reformation English Catholic faith has been able to endure changing times. And in so doing, a direct theological, pastoral and liturgical link between the Oxford Movement and Anglican Catholic Identity can be recognized.

The questions asked, are what roles did the Oxford Movement, the Tractarians, the Ritualists and the Anglo-Catholics play in continuing catholic identity within the Anglican milieu and does Anglican Catholic Identity uphold Catholicism and Catholic principles? Conservative Anglo-Catholics proclaim that the Church possesses God-given authority and inherent power. Anglican Catholics, as Traditional Anglicans, uphold that Catholic tradition.

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Part One

Introduction

Chapter I

Preface

In this thesis, I purpose to demonstrate a direct link between the Oxford Movement and the birth of Anglican Catholic identity. By Demonstration, I mean that we will return to the nineteenth century, where a new sense of Catholic Identity began to re-emerge after hundreds of years of decline. By direct link, I mean the continuing process or connection of theological understanding begun by earlier Anglican Catholic theologians, re-introduced by the Oxford Movement, then perpetuated through the efforts of the Tractarians, the Ritualists, the Anglo-Catholics, culminating in the Anglican Catholics of the Traditional Anglican Communion. By Anglican, I mean the traditions and rites of the English Church or *Ecclesia Anglicana* existing prior to the Protestant reformation.

By Catholic, I mean belief in the Holy Scriptures, the Catholic Creeds, the Lord's Sacraments, and the Apostolic Succession; the essential nature of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. By identity I mean the characteristic that makes up the community of believers.

This thesis is divided into four parts. Part One covers the preface, a literary review of the materials and sources, the methodology behind the research, a preview of the topic and the intent of thesis. There is also a brief biography indicating my motivations for writing this particular treatise, as well as a presentation of a Thesis Statement. Part Two studies the Oxford Movement, both prior to its inception and the period of its greatest influence between 1833 and 1845.

At the eve of the Oxford Movement, the High-Church party was made up of traditional Anglicans within the Church of England. They were a minority group that held to their Catholic faith and represented a counterpoint to the more Protestant elements within the church. Traditional Anglicans were simply those of the Faithful who wanted the Church of England to return to its traditional catholic beliefs and doctrines.

The last straw for many reformed minded High-Church party

Anglicans was *The Irish Church Bill* of 1832. It connected the sad state of
the Church of England to the over-sight maintained by a predominantly
secular British Parliament. For the High-Church party, as well as for the
members of the Oxford Movement, the Church of England chose the
security of the state over the needs of the church. Because of this, the
Oxford Movement and the Tractarians called for church reform.

The Oxford Movement produced leaders that transformed the Church of England. In 1834, John Henry Newman wrote that the Church of England should be regarded as a third branch of the Catholic Church, side by side with the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church. For him and many others, the Church of England could be perceived not as a Reformation Church, but as the Catholic Church in England or the *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

Newman in <u>Doctrinal Developments and Tract Ninety</u> proved that within the core of the reformation age <u>Thirty Nine Articles of Religion</u>, Catholic principles were entrenched as a means to preserve the Catholic faith. For the first time, one could look at this seemingly Anti-Catholic document in a very different light. Newman also introduced the idea that new doctrines were authentic developments rather than additions to the primitive church; thereby indicating that doctrine grew over time and was not stagnant. God's message was both new and alive in every age.

However, because of the views presented by the Oxford Movement, problems within the Church of England intensified due to the acrimony between the Catholic and Protestant parties. The Low and Broad-Church parties within the Church of England looked down upon the Oxford Movement; with the Low church Evangelicals openly suspecting them of possessing Roman Catholic tendencies.

Part Three of this thesis covers the rise of Anglo-Catholicism in the nineteenth century. The Early-Victorian Era (1845-1870) experienced a great revival in Church life. Under Tractarian influence, the Ritualists reintroduced to the Church of England ascetic improvements to both the external and internal elements of the church. Church music received more attention as the liturgy flowered into a perceptible form of worship.

The Catholic Revival (1870-1900) saw many people joining organizations, societies and orders, including the *English Church Union* and *The Church Association*, in the defence of Catholic doctrine and ritual.

The High-Church party took the Anglo-Catholic approach of adherence to apostolic authority, church teaching and reverential ceremonial; while the Low-Church party took the evangelical approach of faithful adherence to the bible, Christian social service and aggressive evangelization.

Liberal Anglo-Catholics attempted to seek detente with rationalism and greeted *Darwinism* with open arms by understanding human evolution in scientific terms and celebrating it as a wonder of God's creation.

Conservative Anglo-Catholics proclaimed that the Church possessed God-given authority and inherent power. Influenced by the traditional High-Church appeal to history, they considered the gospel to be the story of God's direct intervention in human history and the church as the tangible connection between the incarnation and believers throughout history.

The fourth and final part of this thesis covers the link between the Oxford Movement and Anglican Catholic identity. Central to Anglican Catholic Identity is *sensus fidelium*, which preserves the faith in times of disarray, especially when church leadership is neglectful. It is that *sense of faithful* which also allows Anglican Catholics to joyfully celebrate their faith through worship. Anglican Catholics as Traditional Anglicans uphold Catholic tradition; they do not reject the world, but embrace it. They are active in the world.

The intent of this thesis is to ask the following questions. Can a direct link be demonstrated between the Oxford Movement and Anglican Catholicism? What roles did the Oxford Movement, the Tractarians, the Ritualists and the Anglo-Catholics play in continuing catholic identity within the Anglican milieu? Does Anglican Catholic Identity uphold Catholicism and Catholic principles?

I was baptized, confirmed and married in the Roman Catholic Church. However, I have also had a good deal of ecumenical experiences in my lifetime. I have attended a Baptist University and a United Church College. I married into a Presbyterian family and my wedding was officiated by a Baptist minister and a Roman Catholic priest.

From 1992 to 1998, I was a very active Roman Catholic Lay person at St. Mary's Church, East Bay, Nova Scotia. I was a Eucharist minister, a Catechist, a Baptismal preparation minister and a Bible Camp coordinator. I felt blessed to be part of this faith community. However, I felt there was more I had to do; I sensed I had a deeper calling to ministry.

On December 7th, 1998, I chose to join the Anglican Communion.

My new parish emphasised tradition and the Eucharist. After brief religious instruction, on March 17th, 1999, I became an Anglican and within three months, I was an active Lay Reader and in the process leading to Holy Orders. On December 23rd, 2003, I then chose to join the Traditional Anglican Communion. My main reason was because it represented the best opportunity for me to explore both my Catholic Faith and still take a leading role within a Catholic community.

Something which had been missing for a long time had now returned to me, that being a strong sense of what it means to relate to Christ in worship; to be part of a church that knows what it believes in and is unafraid to express it.

The Oxford Movement, the Tractarians, the Ritualists, and the Anglo-Catholics, I believe, will help me better understand, as an Anglican Catholic, just what my positions are doctrinally and where I fit in, within the Body of Christ. This thesis reflects my theological point of view.

Thesis Statement

Nourished by the faith of both the Caroline Divines and the Nonjurors, taught by the theology of John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement, inspired by the Tractarians who brought a catholic form of Anglicanism to the clergy, led by Ritualists who worked in parishes reintroducing long lost ceremonial, and defended by Anglo-Catholics, the prereformation English Catholic faith has been able to stand the test of changing times. And in so doing, a direct theological, pastoral and liturgical link between the Oxford Movement and Anglican Catholic Identity can be recognized.

Chapter II

Literary Review

There are major seven books that support this thesis. They are the foundation for the paper's historical, religious and sociological evidence.

They have supplied me with valuable information and have contributed immensely to making this thesis a scholarly body of work.

A History of the Church in England by J.R.H. Moorman was used in chapters four, five, seven and eight. This is a substantive book on the history of the Church of England spanning seventeen hundred years (208-1958).

The period from this book, covered in this thesis, is from 1820 to 1874. The book goes into incredible detail about the Oxford Movement and the Ritualists; about their struggles and eventual success in establishing a place for catholic worship within the Church of England. It beautifully portrays the Ritualists deep sense of conviction for ceremonial, as well as the theology that lay behind it. The people involved in creating the associations, orders and societies that follow are given due credit. This book also focuses on the historical events that occurred in the Church of England during the eighteenth century, following the step by step progress of the Anglo-Catholic party during and after the period of the Oxford Movement.

Worship by Evelyn Underhill contributed to chapters four, six, seven, eight and nine. This source contributed tremendously to explaining the classic style of Anglican Catholic worship based upon the Divine Offices and the Eucharist. It clearly demonstrates the attempt by the Tractarians to restore the essential link between adoration and sacrifice.

The Catholic revival is a call for Anglicans to renew their sense of the Holy. This book brings out their response to that call by revealing a revitalized Church of England taking action to restore lost forms of worship, as well as re-discovering of the openness of the Book of Common Prayer, as being both Catholic and Reform in nature.

From Oxford to the People edited by Paul Vaiss contributed to chapters four, five, six, seven and eight. This book presented the fundamentals of the Oxford Movement, as well as exploring the growth of Tractarianism. Editor Paul Vaiss brought together a group of theologians to reconsider the nineteenth century Oxford Movement and its advancements within the Church of England.

This book demonstrated that some people welcomed church reforms with open arms, but others were fearful. There was even concern expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Oxford, in an 1840 letter, regarding the possible negative influence of the Tractarians upon their *Anglican Catholic Church*, but by then the tide of change could not be held back.

A History of the Modern Church by J.W.C. Wand D.D. contributed to chapters four, five, six and eight. This book explained the style and philosophy of the Oxford Movement, the concept of the *Via Media* or *Middle Way* of the Anglican Church, as well as Newman's Catholic analysis of the *Thirty –Nine Articles of Faith* in *Tract Ninety*. It showed the great output of Theological Colleges in England during the second half of the nineteenth century. This book brilliantly covers the dynamics of ecclesiastical politics which occurred during the time of educational reform.

The Oxford Movement edited by Eugene R. Fairweather contributed to chapters five and nine. It helped explain the battle fought by Ritualists at the height of opposition to Anglo-Catholic reform within both the Church of England and the Anglican Church around the British Empire. Considering this book is from *A Library of Protestant Thought*, it presents a detailed picture of the nineteenth century struggle for Catholic expression within the Anglican Church.

Snapdragon: The Story of John Henry Newman by Joyce Sugg was used in Chapters four, five and six. It presents an image of the Church of England prior to formation of the Oxford Movement; along with the enthusiasm that existed with the reception of the *Tracts for the Times*. It also illustrates Newman's deep desire to have the Anglican Church return to its Catholic roots. This book gives a very personal presentation of John Henry Newman's struggles, as he attempted to find a place for both himself and the Church of England.

Marginal Catholics by Ivan Clutterbuck is used in Chapters four, seven and eight. This book demonstrates that on the eve of Oxford Movement, there was a thirst for renewing traditions and people were ready take on the challenge of restoring the Church's Catholic past. The nineteenth century was a period of self-consciousness and a time for restoring the positive aspects of the pre-reformation church as a reply to the decadence of the existing State-Church. This source proved that Anglican devotional life was enriched because of the Catholic Revival. In many ways, Anglican Catholic liturgy benefited tremendously by Ritualist attachment to proper ceremonial, especially as it related to the Sacraments.

Canterbury; An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine;

Documents of the Christian Church; Apologia Pro Vita Sua; Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity; Orthodoxy: The Romance of Faith;

The Traditional Anglican Communion Documents; The Shape of Catholic

Theology and Discerning the Mystery. These materials were valuable assets in understanding the meaning of Catholic thought, as it relates to the Oxford Movement and the Birth of Anglican Catholic Identity.

Chapter III

Methodology

With respect to my methodology, I used the phenomenological approach. I believe that this approach best explains the development of Anglican Catholic Identity. It is in the written word that theological points of view are presented as a means to express both religious faith and doctrinal positions.

This thesis demonstrates both the common and disparate positions of various writers. Some Anglican writers are Anglo-Catholic; some are Evangelical, while others are Broad-Church. Some of the authors are Roman Catholic.

This thesis is a research in Historical Theology because it studies the Ecclesiastical struggles within the Church of England during the nineteenth century. It teaches about the Oxford Movement and its attempt to restore the positive elements of the Early Church Fathers, as a means to understanding the Divine. It demonstrates the struggle of the Tractarians as they battle truth over error. It illustrates Ritualist and Anglo-Catholic practice as a means to celebrate the Sacred.

Historical Theology has allowed Anglican Catholics, as Traditional Anglicans, to formulate their own doctrine and practice according to the dogma of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. Dogma, of course, understood as the authoritative formulation of truth.

This thesis is also a research in Systematic Theology because it studies doctrine. Case in point is the ten notable doctrines of Anglican Catholic identity. This thesis is based upon both the positive elements of Dogmatic Theology and Apologetic Theology; within the field of Systematic Theology and supported by Historical Theology.

All resources have been scrupulously analysed for relevant material as it relates to the history of the Catholic influence on the Anglican continuum. The sole purpose of using this kind of methodology is to analyse each source in order to locate and extract information that relates to the thesis topic.

All originators of ideas and theories are properly credited for their contribution to the subject. The names and titles of contributors are highlighted in the endnotes and bibliography.

Today, many people seek to find a spiritual home and/or stability in their religious life. The catholic faith, for two thousand years, has been present and alive in the world, ready willing and able to present the Good News of Jesus Christ, offering to the people hope when they feel helpless and help when they feel hopeless.

Part Two

The Oxford Movement

Chapter IV

The Eve of the Oxford Movement

In the early nineteenth century, the Church of England was going through a period of great transition. In the previous century an erosion of religious education began, especially for men studying for the Priesthood. "Neglect of orthodox theological reading had left the clergy ... uncertain about what they believed."1 Because of this, there became a clear understanding by High-Church traditionalists that something had to be done, in order to prevent further erosion.

Over the centuries, Traditional Anglicans have been influenced by a variety of personalities, movements and parties and it is no surprise that the first thing Traditional Anglicans did, in a time which demanded leadership, was to look to their past for inspiration. Traditional Anglicanism has deep roots dating back to the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, with leaders such as Richard Hooker (1554-1600) and John Cosin (1594-1672), and continuing on through to "the Caroline Divines."2

The High-Church party, traditional Anglicans within the Church of England, were a minority group that was Catholic in faith and represented a counterpoint to the more Protestant elements within the church.

These men faithfully conserved traditional catholic values and rubrics, and under the leadership of Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), William Laud (1573-1645), Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) and many others, they presented to the church a... "Catholic English tradition, based on the Divine Office and the Eucharist, and faithful to the ancient disciplines of ordered prayer, fasting and communion, which survived the disasters of the Puritan dominance and subsequent periods of reaction and of indifference." By the nineteenth century this was considered the classic model of Anglican worship.

Traditional Anglicanism has some of the greatest "Nonjuring bishops"4 and writers within the Church of England. It has produced mystic spiritualists, in the persons of Thomas Ken (1637-1711) and Nicholas Ferrar (1592-1637). However, it was the philosophical and theological thinkers of the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, who placed the greatest influence upon the Oxford Movement, in particular, Hugh James Rose (1795-1838).

Traditional Anglicans were simply those within the Church of England who wanted to return to its original catholic beliefs and doctrines. They believed that such a return would bring back vitality to a Church which had fallen on hard times. The earliest reforms date back to the sixteenth century. However, many of the old problems were left undisturbed, first of which, was the inequity in the distribution of the church's wealth. This caused terrible grief and was further aggravated by pluralism and nepotism.

Power in the church, and the positions that held sway, were in the hands of a few families. The richest rewards were given to friends and relations based on birth and not on ability. By the early nineteenth century, the class system, which had been in place for so long, was starting to show some cracks. "Reformers were murmuring that the Church must be shorn of her revenues and privileges."5

Many of these injustices were revealed in two books, "The Black Book" and "The Extraordinary Black Book" 6 in 1831. These books attacked both the church and the controlling privileged classes. The authors of these books were openly propagandist and eager to make their case for reform.

Their aim was to stir up indignation against obsolete customs.

The authors were indeed correct; the bishops took their duties lightly and found plenty of time to enjoy the good things that their affluence provided. In the early nineteenth century, there were only a few devoted parish priests who fulfilled their duties with reasonable effectiveness.

Absenteeism was considered the norm.

Slackness and indifference to church life led to a general decay, not to mention the outward physical appearances of "ill-kept churches"7 that festooned both town and country. Rural churches paid the heaviest price, as the urban parishes continued to grow due to migration into the cities, at the birth of the industrial revolution. Many parishes had only a quarterly administration of the Eucharist, though there was a push for more frequent celebrations.

A battle was also being waged during Sunday Services over the issue of Hymnody verses Psalmody. Hymn writers believed that the devil should not have all the good tunes, so they wrote hymns that could be sung to popular airs like *Rule Britannia*. It was this kind of thing that angered the advocates of psalmody. However, in the end the hymn-writers triumphed.

Some people began to realise that the church was a divine institution that came from God, through Christ, and that its authority was not given to it by the state. Authority, for them, was passed on from generation to generation through the order of Apostolic Succession. In many ways, this period re-awakened the faithful to the debate about the purpose and nature of the Church of England in the world, since it had, for so long, been regarded as nothing more than the "department of State" and a "religious aspect of national life."8

A new era in the social and political life of England began in 1832 with the introduction of *The Reform Act*. Society was now viewed in terms of 'Abuses' and 'Reforms' and the Church of England was no exception, as it came under the microscope.

Church reform was demanded, and events from both in and outside of the church would play a role in changing the way it responded to the world. The Church of England represented the majority of the English population and at the time it was considered reasonable, by many people, to think that it could levy tithe and church rates, even on a small minority who protested such taxing.

However, in 1832, *The Irish Church Bill* was enacted and it caused a furor throughout England. It was even more problematic in Ireland where the vast majority of those obligated to pay tithes were Roman Catholic. What then followed was a great deal of resentfulness against the large sums of money demanded by the Church of Ireland. Many of the Landlords refused to pay and put up a fight against the tax collectors.

The whole question of the relationship between 'Church and State' now entered the national consciousness. The final straw occurred in 1833 when, "the Government proposed the abolition of ten useless and overendowed Church of Ireland bishoprics." Keble declared this a 'National Apostasy'. On Sunday July 14th1833, John Keble (1792-1866) preached a Sermon before the Judges of Assize at Oxford on the subject of National Apostasy.

For Keble, the Apostolic Catholic Church was greater than the Church of England, and although the Church of England was a very real part of it, ultimate loyalty belonged to the Universal Catholic Church. He made it clear that he saw church and state as separate and opposing forces. The Church of England must move away from being, "a mere Parliament Church."10

For Keble 'National Apostasy' meant a disloyal church leadership who were under the influence of public opinion and chose the security of the state over the needs of the church. The Church of England should and must act as a separate entity from the State if it wants to be true to its traditions and part of the Catholic Church.

Keble had no idea that he lit a torch for religious revival, but when his sermon was printed, he no doubt realised that his message had "reached followers who were waiting for a battle signal."11 This battle cry was acknowledged by a group of Oxford dons who decided to awaken their church. They wanted the faithful to consider Keble's words on the notion of just what churchmanship really meant and truly involved. Traditional Anglicans had found a voice and from this point on it can be said that "the Oxford Movement"12 had truly begun.

End Notes

- 1. Ivan Clutterbuck, Marginal Catholics, (Leominister, Gracewing 1993), 30.
- 2. Project Canterbury, Caroline Divines,
 - (http://justus.anglican.org/resources/pc/ caroline/), 1. The school of Anglican preachers and theologians living under King Charles I, the Interregnum and Charles II are known collectively as the Caroline Divines. Their extensive patristic and scriptural learning was put to use in defence of the continuity of the Church of England with the pre-reformation Ecclesia Anglicana, as well as the Episcopal form of church government against the contemporary claims of Presbyterians. They taught the Real Presence, the use of auricular confession, and the observance of the fasts and festivals of the Church year.
- 3. Evelyn Underhill, Worship, (Harper Torchbook, New York, 1957), 326.
- 4. Lathbury, T., (1845). History of the Nonjurors: Their Controversies and Writings, with Remarks on Some of the Rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer. London: Pickering. Project Canterbury: Liturgies of the Nonjurors http://justus. anglican.org/resources/bcp/ Nonjurors.htm. (2005),1. The Nonjurors were a group of Anglican clergy who, after the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 in which Parliament removed King James II and installed William and Mary declined to take an oath to the new monarchs, believing that would violate their oath to the previous king. Because of this, they were relieved of their offices. Many continued to serve independent

- congregations as priests and bishops, giving rise to the first separation of clergy and bishops in apostolic succession from the Church of England.
- 5. Joyce Sugg, Snapdragon (C.Goodliffe Neale, Alcester, 1964), 46.
- 6. J.R.H. Moorman, *History of the Church in England* (Adam and Charles Black, London, 1953), 333.
- 7. Sugg, 46.
- 8. Moorman, 335.
- 9. Sheridan Gilley, From Oxford to the People, The Ecclesiology of the Oxford

 Movement: A Reconsideration, (Gracewing, Leominster, 1996), 61.
- 10. Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford University Press, London, 1963), 445.
- 11. Clutterbuck, 25.
- 12. J.W.C. Wand, A History of the Modern Church (Meutheun & Company, London, 1930), 213.

Chapter V

The Oxford Movement and the Tractarians

It is not surprising that Keble's Sermon would come out of Oxford. The University of Oxford was the centre of Anglican theological thought and study and Oriel College was the most progressive of the colleges. It contained among its fellows some of the most interesting thinkers of that generation. It is here where church reform would begin.

Keble's sermons asserted the spiritual independence of the Church of England from the interference of Parliament and it became a rallying-cry for a group of Oriel College clerical dons and Churchmen.

Among them was a group, known as the *Noetics*. Though not historians or philosophers, they were heavily influenced by the French Revolution and regarded authority, as it related to intellectual matters, as non-influential. They treated every question as an open ended question and endeavoured "to settle it by reference to fundamental principles."13 They were considered liberal in their outlook, and were very quick to challenge authority.

They were critical of 'Party Men', whether 'High-Church' or 'Evangelical'. They were confident, confrontational and very thought-provoking. Their leaders were the Provost, Edward Copleston (1776-1849); a Spanish Priest in the Roman Catholic Church, Blanco White (1775-1841); and Richard Whately (1787–1863). These men were also considered noisy, overly assertive and very dogmatic.

A second tier of leaders amongst the Noetics proved to play a vital role in the movement for church reform. The first person in this group was John Keble (1792-1866). He was a true child of the Caroline Divines and a disciple of Richard Hooker. Keble was a Professor of poetry who eventually served as curate to his father in Cotswold village.

Another young man was Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-1836), a dashing aristocrat who also belonged to the world of poetry. His main interest was French thought and he died from tuberculosis at the age of thirty-three. Thirdly, there was Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882). He was the Regis Professor of Hebrew and was a great scholar. He was a recluse and opposite in character to Froude in every way.

Finally, there was John Henry Newman (1801-1890). He was considered the most able of them all. His dynamic personality would dominate church reform for next twelve years.

He was brought up an Evangelical and at the age of fifteen had experienced a sudden conversion. After a rather unimpressive undergraduate career, he won a fellowship to Oriel College. Newman flourished as a Noetic and became a close friend and associate of Richard Whately, their most potent spokesman. By 1825, Newman appeared to be developing himself into a theological liberal much like the first tier of Noetics.

In 1826, Richard Hurrell Froude became a Fellow of Oriel College.

Immediately, he was not impressed with Newman's religious opinions. In

September of 1828, he wrote that he "would give a few odd pence" if

Newman "were not a heritic."14

Newman, however, was impressed with Froude and he became influenced by the man and his "admiration for the Church of Rome."15

Newman slowly converted to the strict High Churchmanship of Froude.

Though it should be noted that in reality, Newman's theological liberalism was quite shallow and in his time of deep personal stress, he turned toward Anglo-Catholicism for comfort. Certainly, his nervous breakdown in November of 1827 and the unexpected death of his nineteen year old sister Mary in January of 1828 brought him closer to Catholic spirituality.

Catholicism seemed to offer him a sounder theological foundation, compared to the rather thin theology of the Evangelicals.

Newman's Sermon on <u>The Usurpations of Reason</u>, preached before the University on December 11th1831, clearly expressed the beliefs of the future Movement. All its themes were Tractarian in nature. His sermon possessed a consistent faith in the self-disclosure of the Transcendent God, the authority of the Church as translator of divine revelation the inability of human reason to define the mysterious truth given in revelation and the necessity of a moral acceptance to the "message of judgement and grace."16

This sermon also clearly articulated Newman's longing for the dogmatic religion of his childhood. In his own words looking back to the early days of the Movement: "From the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion: ...religion as a mere sentiment is to me a dream and a mockery. As well can there be filial love without the fact of a Father, as devotion without the fact of a Supreme Being... Even when I was under Dr. Whately's influence, I had no temptation to be less zealous for the great dogmas of the Faith and at various times, I used to resist such trains of thought... Such was the fundamental principle of the movement of 1833."17

The 'Assize Sermon' of 1833 created two lines of thought among those anxious for reform. The 'Noetics' subdivided into two groups, the 'Static Group' and the 'Radical Group'.

The Static group was, for the most part, defensive. It took the church of the Caroline Divines as its model for reform. It wanted to rally the country to a greater understanding of Churchmanship. This was the party of R.H. Froude, H.J.Rose and William Palmer (1811-1879). They planned on forming a league for the defence of the church and considered drawing up a "Churchman's Manual."18 This Manual would present to the laity a set of standards for Christian living.

The Radicals waged a much more aggressive campaign, the chief weapon was a series of pamphlets collectively known as the <u>Tracts for the Times</u>, which was to rally all loyal churchmen and infuse new life into the church. "The members of the movement thus became known as the <u>Tractarians</u>."19 The first tract was entitled, <u>Thoughts on Ministerial Commission Respectfully Addressed To Clergy</u>. It was a passionate plea for the clergy to unite in defence of their holy office in the apostolic succession.

Tract number two was entitled, <u>The Catholic Church</u> and the third was, <u>Thoughts on the Alterations in Liturgy</u>. These three tracts all appeared in September 1833, and were all written by John Henry Newman. The tracts were printed inexpensively and distributed in large numbers to the parochial clergy throughout the nation.

In dramatic fashion, Newman and his fellow Tractarians rode the country-side "with a bundle of tracts in front of their saddles,"20 and delivered them to each clergyman's house.

In 1834, thirty more tracts were produced, and the two most important of these were by Newman (numbers 38 and 41) On the Church of England and the Via Media. On Christmas Eve 1833, in Tract Twenty, Newman had written that, in his words, "Popery must be destroyed: it can not be reformed."21 He was still very much Anti-Roman in his thoughts, but that was slowly changing during the 1830's. As a matter of fact, in his tracts about the Church of England, Newman claimed that the church was Catholic in every way, and he based this on the traditions of both the Apostolic Church and the teachings of the Early Church Fathers. Over time the tracts became more adept and extensive, which provided a deeper understanding of Catholic thought for both the authors and their readers.

Without John Henry Newman, the Oxford Movement would have been much less impressive and much less energetic. Between 1833 and 1845, during a critical period for church reform, he was the most dominant and articulate personality: twenty-eight of the ninety <u>Tracts for the Times</u> were written and edited by him.

Each Sunday his sermons, at St. Mary's Parish, Oxford, defined the Movement's essential messages. He stood in one of England's most influential pulpits. It was Newman's homilies and theological essays that became the first comprehensive statement by the Tractarians.

By the late 1830's, the notion of the Church of England as a branch of the Catholic Church pursuing the *Via Media*, or *Middle Way* between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism became a proposed theory. The idea was to "distinguish between Catholicism and Roman Catholicism, and to place the English Church side by side with the Eastern Orthodox and Rome as part of the one universal Church."22 This theory found many supporters.

However, there was a small minority, led by Froude, who did not accept this in any form. To them, this theory appeared to be a position of compromise and caution, leading ultimately to a capitulation to Rome. In 1838-39, after Froude's death, Newman and Keble published <u>Remains</u>, a collection of his writings, which caused the static group to split in two.

Some Static members could accept the branch theory, much like the Radical Noetics, while others rejected it outright. Had Froude lived, it would have been difficult for him to remain in a Church of England that accepted the Via Media. His model of the church was primarily medieval.

Froude saw little reason to move away from the legacy of the protestant reformation, especially as a theological and doctrinal foundation for the direction of a reformed Church of England. He had the utmost dislike for any advance toward Rome and his church could not belong to any perceived Catholic branch.

Remains caused something of a sensation. It supported the tradition of the Protestant Reformation and was truly competent in the defence of its opinions. Even Newman, for a brief time, began to lose faith in the Via Media, and W.G. Ward (1812-1882), an outspoken leader of the Radical group began to lose outright faith in the Anglican Church. Fortunately for them, with the help of Roman Catholic clergymen Nicholas Patrick Wiseman (1802-1865) and Blanco White, Newman and Ward ultimately regained their theological footing.

Meanwhile, <u>The Tracts for the Times</u> continued to make a great stir in England. Some welcomed them, while yet many others were horrified. The strict Evangelicals were appalled at the Tractarians and their alleged Romanism, not to mention their attitude toward the Reformation. The tracts by E.B. Pusey <u>On Fasting</u>, offended the so-called 'sophisticated thinkers', and the notion of exhorting the church to a greater sense of responsibility seemed foreign.

Feelings ran high at Oxford. Along with the Evangelicals and the Secularists, a powerful movement of Liberal thought under the leadership of R.D. Hampden (1793-1868) was present. In 1834, Hampden wrote Observation on Religious Dissent. The paper was the antithesis of even the mildest Tractarian thinking and it caused great turmoil. Additional controversy arose at Oxford, when in 1837 the Evangelicals proposed to erect a memorial to the three Reformers, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, who had suffered martyrdom there in 1555-1556. Tension remained high for a number of years at the University.

While the opponents of the Tractarians were busy gathering their forces, the High-Church party also became energized. For the most part, the High-Church party was sympathetic to the Oxford Movement and the Tractarians. They quietly promoted both the information that the Tractarians were distributing as well as their catholic outlook, viewing it as desirable for a church seeking reform. With the assistance of the High-Church party, "Articles by Tractarian writers were appearing regularly in the *British Magazine* and the *British Critic* and... In 1839, a College for training ordination candidates in the principles of the movement was opened at Chichester."23

However, in spite of the general kinship between the High-Church party and the Oxford Movement, the Tractarians were considered too radical. In Tract One, Newman declared that people would eventually have to take a side with regard to the direction of the Church of England, and that even neutrality was taking a stance. This gave the impression of no middle ground and no doubt was considered an uncompromising position for the less assertive High-Church party.

The Tracts for the Times was an appeal for real change amongst radicals and reformers, and it appeared that the positions that it presented, to both the Church of England and the larger Anglican world, was causing a fissure. The issues that separated the older High-Church party and the Tractarians became clearer and the possibility of compromise became less likely, as the Oxford Movement began to develop outside the confines of its birthplace.

Internal Church machinations aside, the average person had a difficult time comprehending the idea of the Via Media and the notion of the Church of England being Catholic rather than Protestant. For many, this sort of language appeared to be a threat to the nation and English identity. To be part of anything Catholic or any branch meant not being somehow English. Catholicism was foreign and not to be trusted.

"Fear of Rome was deep-seated in the English mind."24 and a call to suppress Via Media thinking was taking hold. For those who held on to the views of the Protestant Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church was seen as the 'scarlet woman' and the Tractarians were viewed as too close to the woman. Tractarians were frequently spoken of as enemies of the Church of England and their principles were put on display in order to provoke "those in the state who were only too ready to interfere in the organisation, worship and doctrine of the church."25

The thought of a more 'Catholic' Church of England raised an interesting question. If the Church of England was in reality the Catholic Church in England or the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, where did this leave the Roman Church, especially as they were becoming more involved and influential, since the passing of the *Emancipation Act of 1829*. As mentioned earlier, Newman, in the early 1830's, believed that the Roman Church was corrupt, and had introduced doctrines and practices that had not been part of the primitive church. But various forces were beginning to affect Newman's thought processes.

In 1839, Nicholas Patrick Wiseman, a zealous Roman Catholic Priest, was sent to England and began publishing articles on the "Donatist Schism" 26 Fr. Wiseman attacked the branch theory.

He hypothesised that the Church of England was schismatic in the same manner as the Donatists were in the fourth century, that being State involvement in church matters. He demonstrated that the Church of England acted outside of the bounds of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. By referencing the early church fathers, particularly St. Augustine, Fr Wiseman hit Newman where it hurt. Newman knew that "the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized."27

Newman was impressed with both Wiseman and a small group of radical thinkers among the Tractarians, including W.G. Ward (1812-82) and F.W. Faber (1814-63). These men were drawn to Fr. Wiseman's vision of the Church, and unlike Froude, who seemed inspired by medieval Rome, the Church out of which the Anglican Church had emerged. They looked more to the Rome of the Counter-Reformation with its Post-Tridentine theology and practice.

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- 20. Joyce Sugg, Snapdragon (C.Goodliffe Neale, Alcester, 1964), 67.
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- 26. John Chapman, Catholic Encyclopaedia: The Donatist

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 The Donatist schism in Africa began in 311 after the Diocletian

 persecutions and flourished just one hundred years, until the conference at

 Carthage in 411, after which its importance waned. Its name is derived from

 Donatus, bishop of Carthage, one of the leaders. The Donatist held that

 sacraments were invalid outside the one visible Church, that sinners should

 be excommunicated, and that the state has no rights in ecclesiastical matters.

 The schism drew from St. Augustine his lasting definition of the nature of
 the ministry and sacraments of the Church. Obviously, Fr. Wiseman was
 pointing toward the nature of the Church-State relationship of the Church of
 England and Parliament.
- 27. Newman, 116.

Chapter VI

Doctrinal Development and Tract Ninety

John Henry Newman was introduced to the *Doctrine of Development* by Wiseman, Ward and Faber. As early as 1834, in a private letter, Newman expressed an awareness of doctrinal development. To him, the vast amount of theological and ecclesiastical dogma, implicitly contained in Scripture "was developed at various times according to circumstance." 28 Christ promised that the Holy Spirit would guide the church into all truth, which could only be revealed gradually over time. Moreover, since the primitive church did not formulate absolute truth it could not be a model of perfection. New doctrines developed over time, such as the *Doctrine of Transubstantiation*, and the Roman Church claimed that these new doctrines were authentic developments rather than additions to the primitive church.

Newman decided to tackle this issue in his final Oxford University sermon in 1843. In <u>The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine</u>, Newman preached "that developments were not simply explanations of doctrines already formulated but further doctrines implied by and arising out of these original dogmas."29

However, these new doctrines must, "support, extend, and refine the truth that was previously known." 30 The church, over time, displaying the signs of holiness, and of being the true body of Christ would be that model. Every dogma expresses an authentic aspect of Christian revelation.

However, the manner in which it is revealed depends on cultural conditions in that particular era. "Thus 'irreformability' of dogma does not prevent its reformulation and further refinement."31 In other words, the church is not stagnant, but lives and grows throughout history, until the return of Christ. The Apostles had an implicit understanding of the whole of revelation, and that, which was implicitly understood, became explicitly expressed in Church doctrine and teaching. For example, "St. Paul could hardly have understood what was meant by the 'Immaculate Conception', but if he had been asked, whether or not our Lady had the grace of the Spirit anticipating all sin whatever, including Adam's imputed sin, ... he would have answered in the affirmitative."32

This is a concept of a church that is alive and growing over time, from generation to generation, building upon a *Deposit of Faith*. At this point, Newman looked on Rome in a new and more positive way.

Meanwhile, there remained the problem within the Church of
England of the dichotomy between the Catholic and Protestant parties.

Writers like Newman could make more of a case for Catholicism than other thinkers. Because of his incredible ability to put forth the catholic position,

Protestant elements within the Anglican Church were on the defensive.

Evangelicals felt, however, they had a safeguard with the *Thirty-Nine*Articles of Religion, one of the pillars of the Reformation Church and

Protestant England.

Recognizing this, Newman worked on creating a bridge between Catholicism and the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion. In February 1841, Tract 90, Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles was produced by Newman. In this amazing pamphlet, Newman dealt with fourteen of the articles, especially those which appear to be Anti-Roman. He shows that the articles do not really condemn the official teaching of Catholicism, but only particular 'unreasonable positions' which have crept into the Roman Catholic Church.

He wanted to show that while the "Prayer Book is acknowledged, on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine".33

In essence, this Protestant Confession was created to include Catholics and that they created it "in accordance with the general background of Catholic doctrine".34 By presenting Tract 90 to the Church of England, Newman, and those within Oxford Movement, demonstrated that, as Anglo-Catholics, they were "the successors and representatives"35 of the moderate reformers who helped frame the Thirty-Nine Articles.

Protest soon followed the publication of <u>Tract Ninety</u>. Four Oxford tutors, including A.C. Tait (1811-1882) future Archbishop of Canterbury, sent a letter of protest to the *Times of London*. The heads of the houses at Oxford met and openly condemned the tract. It caused such a stir that Richard Bagot (1782-1854), the Bishop of Oxford, extracted from Newman a promise that no more tracts would be written.

John Henry Newman truly believed that "if the Church of England would remember that she was a Holy and Apostolic Church, and rely not so much on worldly support and worldly authority, her voice would be listened to. There was no need for a second reformation!"36 After the furor, created by the publication of <u>Tract Ninety</u>, he retired from public life. Newman became obsessed by the idea of holiness as the only mark of the true Church.

By 1843, the pull to Rome became unbearable and in September of that year, he resigned the Benefice of St. Mary's. He lost faith in the Church of England because the Anglican hierarchy had explicitly rejected his attempt of a Catholic interpretation of the faith. Hereafter, "Conversion became imperative."37

Edward Bouverie Pusey became the leader of the Movement at Oxford. In 1843, he "was suspended from preaching before the University for two years because of a sermon he had delivered on the subject of the Eucharist."38 Genuine fears were articulated earlier in a July 20th, 1840 letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury William Howley (1866-1848) to Bishop Bagot expressing that E.B. Pusey and Tractarian thought could actually "generate schism, to make each diocese a separate Church with customs and practices of its own, instead of a member of our Anglican Catholic Church."39

Archbishop Howley was an ardent High-Churchman and Tractarian aims were certainly close to his heart, however "their strategies for achieving the same ends were very different." 40 Tractarians had always proclaimed loyalty to the Church of England, but from this point on, they had great difficulty convincing the critics of their fidelity to the church.

In spite of this, his loyalty to the Church of England was unshakable, and not even the venomous and ignorant diatribes of his opponents would persuade him to leave. Dr. Pusey's pamphlets were not trivial, "but were thick, solid and learned."41 He also helped the Movement by translating the works of the early Church Fathers and holding evening parties at his house, in which theological papers were read and discussed. Once Newman left the Church of England, many Tractarians, and certainly those within the Oxford Movement, acknowledged Pusey as the true prophet of the movement.

E.B. Pusey was a man whose temperament was 'ascetic' and 'contemplative'. His life was nourished by the writings of the great Catholic mystics whose influence can be detected within his sermons. "Indeed, the modern recognition and restoration of the mystical element in religion, in so far as it is a factor in the Anglican Revival, began with this scholar-saint."42

Other parties within the Church of England simply looked down upon the Tractarians, with the Evangelicals suspecting them of having Roman Catholic tendencies. They felt that the publication of Newman's Tract 90, *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles* justified their suspicions. For them, this Tract interpreted the Articles of Religion as acceptable to, and even in line with, the body of Roman Catholic doctrine.

Nevertheless, the tracts, their writers and supporters left their mark on both Oxford and the Church of England. Ninety <u>Tracts for the Times</u> appeared over an eight-year period. It called on Anglicans to a revitalize their Catholic heritage, including a new look at Apostolic Succession, Prayer Book liturgy and theological discourse.

The Tractarians also paid serious attention to the ascetic life; the liturgical year; the works of the Fathers; and the writings of both the Caroline Divines and Non-jurors. "The greatest thing which they did...is... in the restoration of this other-worldly temper, and with it the essential link between adoration and sacrifice."43 Over the next century, Tractarian thought and Anglo-Catholic liturgical practice affected the theology, worship, and spiritual life of the Anglican world. The church was never the same again.

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- 33. Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford University Press, London, 1963), 449.
- 34. J.W.C.Wand, A History of the Modern Church, (Meuthuen, London, 1930), 215.
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- 37. Ratzinger Cardinal Joseph, *Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity* (SPCK, London, 1994), 275. (Primary source from C.S. Dessain's John Henry Newman page 75.)
- 38. Wand, 216.
- 39. Henry Parry Liddon, D.D. *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey Volume II*, (Longmans, London, 1894) Chapter XXIV.

- 40. James Garrard, From Oxford to the People, Archbishop Howley and the Oxford Movement (Gracewing, Leominster, 1996), 284.
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Part Three

Anglo-Catholicism

Chapter VII

The Ritualists

The Mid-Victorian era saw a great revival of Church life. Under Tractarian influence, Ritual was re-established within the Church of England as it became more conscious of its very nature and responsibilities. This revival was essentially "a re-awakening of worship, a renewed response to the Holy."44 There was an increasing number of clergy who provided direction on ceremonial by producing books on the subject.

In 1859, the Rev. John Purchas published the "Directorium Anglicanum" 45, which was followed by the very popular The Ritual Reason Why in 1866. Ritual practices were becoming fully realized as focus was placed upon corporate devotion.

A typical service in the 1830's consisted of Morning Prayer and Litany. The only vestment worn by the celebrant was a simple black gown, and the high point of the service was the sermon, which could last as long as an hour.

Holy Communion was usually celebrated four times a year. At this service, the priest wore a white surplice, academic hood, and black scarf, and celebrated from the *north end* of the Holy Table, with no usage of ceremonial gestures.

The church building was plain, with no stained glass windows, pictures, or religious statues. "The dignified beauty of Caroline ceremonial was forgotten, liturgical services were badly rendered, both Saints' days and days of abstinence were generally ignored."46 So as to emphasise the importance of the sermon, a gigantic pulpit was the focal point in the interior, which dwarfed the small wooden Holy Table and other sanctuary furnishings.

While the Low-Church party emphasised Evangelical Preaching aimed at producing adult conversions, the High-Church party emphasised the Sacraments and the Apostolic Succession. Whereas the Low Church party stressed the similarities between the Episcopal Church and Protestant denominations, the High-Church party stressed the uniqueness of catholic worship.

Another problem that faced the Church was the matter of the expanding and overcrowded urban areas and the atrocious living conditions of the poor and working class.

The Evangelicals were practical and philanthropic. They believed that Societies and Acts of Parliament would help bring relief to those suffering from poverty and injustice. The Tractarians approached the problem from a different angle. Parochial Missions now became a "regular feature of parish life."47 Since they were more theological and eschatological, their answer to problems was to send out socially active priests to work in communities and offer hope to both the poor and oppressed as they struggled in their daily lives.

As a result of Tractarian influence, big changes took place in both dioceses and parishes alike. Churches were built at a rapid pace and both new schools and parsonages were created. More and better liturgical services were held and the clergy became energized in their duties. By the 1840's, the Oxford Movement spread from the university to the parishes and Tractarian doctrinal influence set in motion the call for improvements in both church appearances and the manner of worship.

The Oxford Movement emphasized "the authority of tradition, apostolic succession and communion as the centre of Christian worship."48

They taught a doctrine of the Eucharist that emphasised the real presence of Christ and they demanded a greater reverence for the altar.

Priests studied the past and re-introduced customs and garments, which had died out in the sixteenth century. Priests appeared in chasubles or copes, and introduced tapers and incense into services.

Crosses and candles were also introduced, and chancels were filled with surpliced choirs. Ecclesiastical furniture such as choir stalls, litany desks, and lecterns were produced in large numbers. There were windows filled with highly coloured glass; walls were covered with stencilled designs and ornaments appeared everywhere. Fabric embroidery, as well as brass and marble were added to the re-designed churches.

Church music received more attention. Settings for the canticles were added, as well as anthems. The best known composer of anthems of the age was Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810-1876). As mentioned previously, hymnals ascended into predominance over psalmody in worship and as a result, in 1857, experts came together and formed a committee with the sole duty of producing a quality hymnal book for the entire church.

One of the most notable accomplishments of the Oxford Movement was to recover for the church, a faith deeply rooted both in Scripture and the early Church Fathers. The revival of patristic theology is perhaps the most significant "characteristic" 49 of the Oxford Movement.

The Tractarians declared that the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, is the visible divine society founded by Christ to continue his mission on earth. For them, Christ gave authority in the Church to the apostles and their successors, the Bishops. The essential mark of the Catholic Church is Apostolic Succession and the existence of the threefold ministry's of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon.

The Catholic Church is found fully in the historic denominations, who have maintained both Apostolic Succession and adherence to the faith of the ancient Creeds and Councils. These denominations are commonly known as the 'Three Great Branches' of the Catholic Church, that being the Anglican, Roman, and Orthodox Communions.

Significant to these branches of the Catholic Church is the experience of Christ through the Sacraments, beginning with Holy Baptism. Therefore, faith is not the cause but rather the benefit of Christian identity and Church membership. All Christians are called to a life of holiness through the spiritual disciplines of Worship, Sacraments, and Prayer. These disciplines are central to a true understanding of faith. The Tractarians related faith to conduct and action. Faith is not simply entertaining an idea or point of view, "but the uniting of such an idea or view to the springs of one's action." 50

The Oxford Architectural Society was founded in 1838, which was followed the next year by the Cambridge Camden Society which, in 1841, began to publish a magazine called the <u>Ecclesiologist</u>. It was devoted to the study of worship and its setting. These Societies were committed to experiencing Christ as presented by the Tractarians and the Catholic Church.

In 1840, W.J.E. Bennett (1804-1896) became the Rector of the parish church of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. "He introduced lighted candles on the altar, the intoning of services, and a surpliced choir."51 Wishing to do more, he began to preach in a surplice instead of a black gown, and adopted the eastern position at the altar. In a very real way, and reminiscent of the 17th century Surplice Controversy which resulted in the Martyrdom of the Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud (1573-1645), Bennett broke ecclesiastical law.

Lighting altar candles, for example, was an equal offence to not saying the daily office. Under church law, such offences were a breach of the rubrics. Because of his approach to worship, as well as his theological understanding of it, Bennett and other Tractarian devotees became known as *Ritualists*.

Charles James Blomfield (1786-1857), the Bishop of London "was not naturally sympathetic towards the 'Ritualists'"52, yet he tolerated Bennett and the other priests under his charge; perhaps because the tide had begun to flow in the Ritualists' favour. Nevertheless, he took a cautious approach toward them. In 1850, Bennett built St. Barnabas, Pimlico. The ceremonial at this parish was even more elaborate than that at Knightsbridge, and it was not too long before riots broke out. A large number of people observed the ritual revival with deep suspicions, mostly because they feared that it would lead to the return of Roman customs.

Ritualism was not the only matter that troubled the Church. For many, the danger of liberal thought and its undermining effect on the faith of the church was another problem. The conservative minded Oxford Movement, especially in its early days, had been acknowledged as a counter-point to liberalism.

On the other hand, the liberals viewed the Tractarians as archaic and far too interested in dogmatism, sacerdotalism and medievalism. Their leader, Dr. Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) thought the Tractarians were a very destructive party that would ultimately destroy the Church of England.

He "rushed to the defence of liberalism by a counter-attack on the Tractarians in an article called 'The Oxford Malignants'."53 Arnold was a major contributor of liberal thought, especially as it related to the church and he wrote extensively on the subject.54

By 1850, much of the inspiration for change came from Bishops. There still, however, existed the old-school prelates who considered their position as an accepted reward for political work, but they were quickly dying off. In their place stood a new type of Anglo-Catholic Bishop who saw the Church of England as a force for positive change and not a religious institutional dinosaur. The most notable examples are Blomfield, Wilberforce and Edward Stanley (1779-1849). These men re-modelled the episcopate and showed a vigour that had been long absent from within the Church of England.

And with these faithful and industrious Bishops, also came a countless number of parish priests who steadfastly transformed the parochial life of England. The greatest of these priests was Walter Farquhar Hook (1798-1875) who became Vicar of Leeds in 1837. He discovered that his parish was bitterly divided, and for the most part under the influence of dissenting churchwardens who were elected primarily for the purpose of lowering church rates and opposing any change in the worship.

Hook arrived with grand ideas of what the church should be and how worship would be conducted. Over the next twenty-two years he gradually overcame opposition and won the respect and the love of his parishioners. Hook rebuilt the parish church and introduced a surpliced choir and full Cathedral services. He preached five times a week, supported and advised the clergy, conducted a great amount of correspondence and found time for writing literary and historical work.

The early Ritualists based there style of worship on the <u>Book of Common Prayer</u> and in particular the <u>Ornaments Rubric</u>, which states that the ornamenting of the church and the vesting of ministers would be maintained and remain in use for the Church of England. The Ritualists held firm to these rules and because of this, legal action against them would prove to be very difficult.

In 1854, legal action against the Ritualists did in fact begin.

However, the Privy Council declared that crosses were lawful, so long as they were placed on the altar. They also permitted the use of the Credence Table and declared Eucharistic Vestments legal.

In 1860, those who were fighting for the 'Ornaments Rubric' and 'Worship Reform' established a new society called *The English Church Union*. The Ritualist Movement took hold and the Church of England was fully in the process of reform. Yet, various competing religious and secular views continued to influence the Church. In many ways, the Anglo-Catholic struggle to enrich Church of England had only begun.

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- 45. Ivan Clutterbuck, Marginal Catholics (Leominister, Gracewing 1993), 45.
- 46. Underhill, 329.
- 47. J.R.H. Moorman, *History of the Church in England* (Adam and Charles Black, London, 1953), 366.
- 48. Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity Volume 2*, (Harper Collins, San Francisco, 1985), 272.
- 49. Nicholas Lossky, From Oxford to the People, The Oxford Movement and the Revival of Patristic Theology, (Gracewing, Leominster, 1996), 77.
- 50. Andrew Louth, *Discerning The Mystery*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983), 138.
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- 54. Spartacus Educational Pavilion, *Thomas Arnold*,

 (http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/EDarnold.htm, London, 2002),

 Arnold wrote several book including <u>Principles of Church Reform</u> (1833),

 <u>History of Rome</u> (1838) and <u>Christian Life</u> (1841).

Chapter VIII

Catholic Revival

Between 1870 and 1900, there was incredible acrimony between the Evangelicals and the Anglo-Catholics. This period saw fierce Evangelical counter-attacks to Ritualist advances. The issue of vestments led to discord at the *Convocation of Canterbury* in 1866. In 1869, John Purchas, curate of St. James, Brighton, faced legal action, which lasted three years, on the question of his vestments.

Once again, the Privy Council, which had previously pronounced that even though copes in Cathedrals were legal, declared that the chasuble in a parish church was an illegal vestment. It also disallowed the eastward position and the use of wafers. The whole issue became confusing and expensive due to litigation and thus, in 1867, a Ritual Commission was appointed to deal with the issue. As a result of their work, a <u>Public Worship Regulation Act</u> was passed in 1874. "Anglo-Catholics found themselves in direct constitutional opposition to the decisions of a Protestant State."55 Regrettably, this act was deliberately designed to restrain the activities of the Ritualists by putting pressure on clergy who refused to submit to its authority.

The Act resulted in the imprisonment of five priests... for ritualist practices." 56 After 1874, defiance was treated as contempt of court and punishable with imprisonment. Ultimately though, the act was ineffective because it only succeeded in making heroes out of prosecuted clergy and brought both sympathy and support to their cause. Simply put, persecution defeated the aim of the Act.

The traditionally Anglican, patristic centered High-Church party grew in confidence as it prodded the Church of England to better appreciate its catholic heritage. Many more people joined the *English Church Union* and the *Church Association* in the continued defense of Catholic doctrine and ritual. In general, the objective of the English Church Union was to promote the interest of religion and to be Christian witnesses to an increasingly pluralistic world, done all for the glory of God and the good of the church.

However, the goal of the English Church Union in 1860 was straightforward. It was to defend the doctrines and disciplines of the Church of England, as well as provide legal aid to all people who were deemed to be "under unjust aggression or hindrance in spiritual matters."57

Another indication of revival was the interest in the two great

London Churches, St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. They were
transformed from archaic museum pieces into National Shrines from
symbols representing the union between Church and State into Spiritual
homes representing all that is good in the life of the British nation.

Perhaps one of the most notable achievements of the Catholic Revival in the Anglican Church was the restoration of Religious Orders. In many ways it was "the fullest expression of this spirit of adoration"58 to the Catholic faith. The *Societas Sanctae Crucis* or *Society of the Holy Cross* was founded in London in 1855 by a small group of Anglo-Catholic priests led by Father Charles Fuge Lowder (1820-1880), Vicar of St. Peter's, London Docks.

At a time when the Catholic Revival within the Church of England was endangered by the harassment of her adversaries, these priests came together to support, encourage and pray for one another. The aims of the SSC were quite simple; "To defend and strengthen the spiritual life of the clergy, to defend the faith of the Church, and to carry on and aid Mission work both at home and abroad."59

Other "communities for men"60 soon followed. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament was founded in 1862, followed by the Guild of All Souls. Joseph Leycester Lyne (1837-1908), under the name of Father Ignatius, started a Benedictine House in Suffolk in 1863. In 1866, Richard Meux Benson (1824-1915), Vicar of Cowley, founded the Society of St. John the Evangelist. In the latter part of the nineteenth century numerous other orders were founded, such as the Order of St. Paul in 1886; the Society of the Sacred Mission in 1891, the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield in 1892 and the Society of the Divine Compassion in 1894.

Anglican sisterhoods and religious communities also came into prominence during the Catholic Revival. Catholic ritual became part of Anglican Church life. As early as 1839, "Pusey had pleaded for the institution of Sisters of Charity to work among the poor."61 The communities justified the change on the grounds that the lives of the working class were drab and that this cried out for more colour and richness, along with the need for a sense of dignity and reverence in worship.

So in 1845, a community started in London "For the relief of distress wherever it may be found"62, and in 1848, Miss Priscilla Lydia Sellon (1821- 1876) founded a house for the Sisters of Mercy at Plymouth. Other Women began to work in prisons and take up the cause of prison reform.

In 1849, Mrs. Marquita Tennant, the Spanish widow of an English clergyman, began the work which eventually grew into the Community of St. John the Baptist. She turned her home into a place where prostitutes could stay and be brought into Christian influence. That same year, the Community of St. Mary was formed at Wantage, and in 1854, the Community of St. Margaret at East Grindstead was established.

Both men's and women's communities shared an inter-communion with each other, thereby offering a unique way for Priests, Religious and Laity to experience various forms of spiritual discipline at retreats and quiet days. The Church of England gained a great deal when it embraced Catholic Spirituality and encountered a sense of the sacred. Because of this experience, it came back into "harmony with Catholic tradition."63

Something that both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics did well on behalf of their theological camps was to establish theological colleges. The nineteenth century was the great era of theological colleges. St. Bee's was established in 1816, followed by Lampeter in 1822. Things were well under way when the Tractarians entered the scene, but the building of new schools advanced rapidly after their appearance.

"Chichester was founded in 1839, Wells in 1840, S.Aidan's,
Birkenhead, in 1846, Cuddesdon in 1854, Litchfield in 1857, Salisbury in
1860,"64 During the Catholic Revival, between 1870 and 1900, AngloCatholic institutions served as beacons of hope for defenders of traditional
Anglicanism.

"The Tractarians hardly dominate most histories of nineteenth century social reform."65, but from an Anglo-Catholic perspective, progress was being made. The Catholic Revival played an important role as guide for those seeking a more divine and just society. Anglican Catholics, as continuers of the Catholic Revival, carry on this task. What this means is that the Church and all who belong, are together "walking towards the New Jerusalem."66

End Notes

- 55. Peter Nockles, From Oxford to the People, 'Church and King': Tractarian Politics Reappraised, (Gracewing, Leominster, 1996), 111.
- 56. Project Canterbury, Ritualism, (Canterbury, London, 2005), 1.
- 57. Ivan Clutterbuck, Marginal Catholics (Leominister, Gracewing 1993), 47.
- 58. Evelyn Underhill, Worship (Harper Torchbook, New York, 1957), 333.
- 59. Tom Hightower SSC, A Brief History of the Early Years of the Society of the Holy Cross, (Societas Sanctae Crucis, London, 2004), www.sanctaecrucis.org/ history.htm. 1.
- 60. J.R.H. Moorman, *History of the Church in England* (Adam and Charles Black, London, 1953), 367.
- 61. Moorman, 366.
- 62. Moorman, 366.
- 63. Underhill, 334.
- 64. J.W.C.Wand, A History of the Modern Church, (Meuthuen, London, 1930), 229.
- 65. Stephen Prickett, From Oxford to the People, The Social Conscience of the Oxford Movement: A Reappraisal, (Gracewing, Leominster, 1996), 83.
- 66. G.K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy-The Romance of Faith*, (Image Books, New York, 1990), 106.

Chapter IX

A Theological Assessment of the Nineteenth Century Anglo-Catholic Movements

The Romantic Movement attempted to restore a sense of mystery which lay deep within human consciousness, mainly expressed through arts and literature. The Oxford Movement was an extension of this movement and a partner in the joint response to Rationalist thought. Rationalist thought acknowledges the reality of things which are tangible. If one can not quantify it, it doesn't exist. Conversely, the Romantic thinker can not and will not accept this line of thinking as the only path to reality.

Newman developed the doctrine of the *Sacramental System*. It demonstrated that material phenomena are both "the types and instruments of real things unseen."67 This mode of Romantic thought goes beyond the boundaries of the material world into a reality which is considered imaginary to the Rationalist thinker. "By insisting specially on the transcendence of God, we get wonder, curiosity, moral and political adventure, righteous indignation...."68 Tractarians sought awareness of this transcendent mystery and aspired to a renewed sense of human life, as guided by a transcendent power to a transcendent goal.

The Tractarians also insisted that God resides in each person and that each person resides in him or herself; that God transcends each person, and that each person transcends him- or her-self. In this way, the divine is accessible both inside and outside of each person.

The Oxford Movement declared that the Church has God-given authority and inherent power. For them, authority of the church meant witness to the grace and truth that came through Jesus Christ. The Christian revelation was written down and accepted by the Church and by doing so, "the Church became its interpreter, being aided by the Holy Spirit."69 This Catholic Principle is a safeguard against erroneous methods of arriving at truth, which to the Anglo-Catholic Tractarians, had occurred continuously over the centuries in both the Roman and Protestant traditions.

The Tractarians believed that Protestantism preached about a Grace that, in essence, denied its real presence and power in human life.

Protestantism also denied a Catholicism which backed up the proclamation of Grace with an affirmation of its objective signs and fruits. For the Tractarians, as it is for all Orthodox Christians, the centre of the Christian soul holds the story of God's saving and self-revealing action, which culminates in union between God and humanity through the person of Jesus Christ.

It is absolutely clear in Anglo-Catholic thought, that the Church by way of its Sacraments, is an extension of the Incarnation and that it represents Christ through its actions in worship. The primary message is that Salvation comes from God alone and every day it penetrates and transforms humanity. Without this awareness, the integrity of the Church is in jeopardy.

The Tractarians could come to terms with the Protestant view of Christian life. But, they saw the Evangelical Anglicans as harping too much on the single issue of *Justification by Faith alone*. For the Tractarians, this line of thought undermined the sacramental instruments of grace and obscured the real moral effects of grace. It seriously compromised the objectivity of God's gift of new life in Christ.

The Tractarians also held a different view, in comparison to the Evangelicals, of the gospel and its message. Where the Evangelicals regarded the gospel message as the divine standard for right living and salvation, the Tractarians, influenced by their High-Church heritage, viewed the gospel as the story of God's direct intervention in human history, and the church as the tangible connection between the incarnation and believers throughout history. Simply put, to the Evangelical, faith in the gospel message meant salvation. To the Tractarian, yes salvation is presented in the gospel message, but it is mediated throughout history in the person of Jesus Christ.

The Tractarians regarded the Church of England as a willing slave to an increasingly secular state and a liberal culture. They believed that this Church-State relationship was an absolute abandonment of the Catholic Faith and a national failing. To be Catholic means to be universal in one's faith. There should be no allegiances with the nation-state. As responsible citizens, under no circumstances were the Tractarians going to be willing partners with Parliament- the religious wing of a political body.

Their greatest concern was for the unfortunate condition of the church. They felt that it was weak and corrupt due to its unsavoury relationship with the secular authority. They were ready to break with the state for the sake of the Church of England's integrity and mission in the world. In this sense, the Tractarians stood more in line with the Nonjurors, but ultimately parted company with the majority of conservative High-Churchman.

Perhaps because of this desire to part from state sponsorship,

Tractarian ideas began to influence Bishops from around the British Empire.

Men like Robert Gray (1809-1872) in South Africa, George Augustus

Selwyn (1809-1878) in New Zealand and John Medley (1804-1892) in

Canada would return to England to fight and win "a war of skirmishes

against Parliament and the Privy Council and the Crown."70

These bishops and their Ritualist parish priests played leading roles in the drive for responsible self-government and independent Anglican churches in the British colonies.

These Anglo-Catholic Bishops firmly believed that the Church possesses an innate authority outside the influence of the state. Their authority is based upon *Apostolic Authority* and the *Apostolic Tradition* of *Christian Dogma*; meaning the bishops, as pastors and educators over their dioceses, have the divine authority to shepherd their flock and interpret the teachings of the church. This authority comes from God through Jesus Christ to His assigned leaders on earth, the Apostles; and from generation to generation to the Bishops who have inherited this responsibility, until the return of Christ.

It is a divinely inspired faith that becomes empowered, if it chooses to look to its inherent powers of authoritative teaching and action. The Church is created by God and possesses a divinely authorized order. At the top of that order is the Bishop and his role is to make that inherent power come alive in the world.

Given their views on the condition of the Church of England's ills and their rejection of the Protestant tradition, it was a natural move for the Tractarians to search for ecclesiastical salvation in Catholicism, which affirmed all that Protestantism had denied. The Via Media attempted to formulate a distinctive Anglican model of Christianity, neither Protestant nor Roman Catholic. However, the predominant tendency of Anglo-Catholicism has been to assimilate doctrine and worship common to the Catholicism of the Roman Catholic Church and Eastern Orthodox Churches.

Tractarian theology was meant to be a medicine for a very sick

Church of England, and administered accordingly to the condition of the

patient. As a result, the theological literature was not timid when it came to
taking on the serious issues confronting the church. Unfortunately, they did
not present a wide range of systematic construction or go into areas of
philosophical speculation or philosophical criticism.

Their theology stayed very close to the text of scripture and to the early church fathers, while their main line of defence against contemporary rationalism was to assert the impotence of reason in the face of supernatural mysteries. Because of this, their theology was open to criticism. Their theology lacked clarity of definition and argument and failed to respond to the world, as a Christian theology should: being a response to the intellectual and religious challenges of the day.

Fifty years later, in 1889, a group of young Oxford-based Anglo-Catholics led by Charles Gore (1853-1932) was much more successful on this count. As a response to Darwin's *Theory of Evolution* they published a theological reassessment in the symposium volume, <u>Lux Mundi</u>, subtitled, <u>A Series of Studies in the Doctrine of the Incarnation</u>. The message that "Gore and the Liberal Anglo-Catholics"71 proclaimed was that Christianity did not have to back away from Darwinism and fall into some kind of inflexible fundamentalism.

In fact, all Christianity had to do was to recognise that the magnificence of the Incarnation was the reality that God chose to become man in the person of His Son. Humanity, therefore, held a sacred position in creation and in the Creator's plans. Meanwhile at Cambridge, the three New Testament scholars, Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901), Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828-1889) and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828-1892), all followers of F.D. Maurice, came to the same conclusion.

Nevertheless, one should not be too critical. The end of the Georgian era was a time of spiritual crisis for the state, the church, and the English people. To the Tractarians, this was no time to depend on intellectual argument, especially because the predominant philosophy of the age was a major reason for the spiritual crisis.

The Tractarians believed that they were called to proclaim the word of God to a nation on the brink of rejecting their religious faith and the only suitable argument was an appeal to the conscience to submit reverently to divine truth. Within this framework, the founders of the Oxford Movement did, in reality," make a substantial contribution to theological science, as well as to worship, spiritual discipline, and other aspects of the Church's common life."72 They possessed a broad understanding of the gospels as the story of the ministry of Jesus Christ, embodied in his life, death and resurrection, and continued in the life, teaching and sacraments of His Church.

Nevertheless, the Oxford Movement was "in part, a movement of return to the Fathers"73 and because of this, the Catholic Revival created a renaissance of Patristic and other historical studies, and thereby provided a critical theological understanding of the Church and its history. However, what mattered most to the Oxford Movement and the Tractarians, was the theological vision of Church history as the story of Christ's ongoing work with humanity. Christ's ongoing work with humanity is accomplished by the Sense of the Faithful or the *Sensus Fidelium*, "which is the continuing experience of the Holy Spirit through his faithful people in the Church."74 Newman described it as a kind of instinct that lies deep within the mystical body.

Sense can be defined as that innate desire of the Church to demonstrate "care for the poor and disadvantaged conviction about holiness of human love... insight about the shape of Christian Ministry."75 Faith is a skill "and not a method like 'scientific reason'."76 Newman argued that such skills preserve and protect Christian belief.

The Sense of the Faithful especially preserves the faith in times, when church leadership is neglectful of its own vocations; when it has moved away from sound doctrine and theology. *Sensus Fidelium* is both a consensus and a confident intuition of the Holy Spirit proper to all believers. In this way, the Sense of the Faithful is not simply belief, but Christian action in the world. It takes the whole Body of Christ, through its faith in action, and by the grace of God, to perpetuate the continuation of the Church.

According to Newman, the Church of God throughout history has been on visitation here on earth "surveying, judging, sifting, selecting, and refining all matters of thought and practice; detecting what was precious amid what is ruined and refuse, and putting her seal upon it."77 It is precisely this transcendent action which allows the Church of God to be open to any age.

As a matter of fact, the church does not reject the world; but it embraces it. This is in part what 'Catholic' means. Because the Church is so dynamic and universal in its capacity, it is able to show the world its vast hidden mysteries and "in this way they convey their reference to the mystery of God in the very act of opening themselves to the surrounding culture." 78

End Notes

- 67. Stephen W. Sykes, *Christian Theology*, (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1994), 292.
- 68. G.K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy-The Romance of Faith*, (Image Books, New York, 1990), 134.
- 69. Vernon Staley, *The Catholic Religion*, (Morehouse Publishing, Ridgefield, 1996), 79.
- 70. Eugene Fairweather, *The Oxford Movement: John Henry Newman*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 1964), 7.
- 71. Anglo-Catholic Socialism, *Charles Gore and the Lux Mundi School*(http://www. anglocatholicsocialism.org). In 1892 Gore founded the

 'Community of the Resurrection'; a religious community of men with a

 strong Christian social commitment. Some of its priests, like Fr. Paul Bull,

 played a major role in the Church Socialist League in the early 1900's and in

 support of the Independent Labour Party, then forming in the north of

 England. The Community's influence continues.
- 72. Fairweather, 14.
- 73. Aidan Nichols, O.P., *The Shape of Catholic Theology*, (The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, 1991), 201.
- 74. Ratzinger Cardinal Joseph, Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity (SPCK, London, 1994), 274.

- 75. James D. Whitehead and Evelyn Eaton Whitehead, *The Emerging Laity*, (Image Books, New York, 1988), 59.
- 76. Andrew Louth, *Discerning The Mystery* An Essay on the Nature of Theology, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989), 139.
- 77. Erich Przywara, S.J., *The Heart of Newman* (Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 1997), 106. (Primary source from John Henry Newman's <u>Discussions and Arguments</u> pages 211-212)
- 78. Frans Josef van Beeck, S.J., *God Encountered* A Contemporary Catholic Systematic Volume 1, (Harper and Row, San Francisco, 1989), 61.

Part Four

Chapter X

The Link between the Oxford Movement

And

The Birth of Anglican Catholic Identity

Initiated by the nineteenth century Anglo-Catholics, the idea of Anglicanism, as *Western Orthodoxy*, has a "firm rooting within the Anglican Communion."79 Western Orthodoxy, as represented by the original precepts of the Oxford Movement, is held with deep devotion by 'Traditional Anglicans and Anglican Catholics.'80 The Tractarians regarded the Church of England as a willing slave to an increasingly secular state and the liberal culture represented by the state. On the other hand, they believed that the Church is created by God and possesses a divine authority.

Such Western Orthodoxy, as represented by the original precepts of the Oxford Movement, is held most profoundly by the Anglican Catholics and Traditional Anglicans. Traditional Anglicans have been determined to maintain the unbroken continuity with the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, starting "from its inception to the present day, especially as expressed in the precepts of the Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church."81

Western Orthodoxy introduced to the Anglican world a wide range of Patristic, Medieval, Modern Roman modes of thought, as well as forms of spirituality and liturgical usages. Ritualism also restored the old forms of spiritual discipline. Fasting was brought back, especially for Lenten observance; the Daily Office, retreats, mental prayer, and other traditional practices became part of Anglican Spirituality. Both laity and clergy were encouraged to participate in a more pious lifestyle.

Private confession and sacramental absolution also came into the forefront and became recognized as part of the Anglican priest's 'cure of souls'. All these developments are, for the most part, the result of the Tractarian call for personal holiness. Another great achievement of Anglo-Catholicism was the revival of the religious life as a recognised path to Christian perfection. Against severe opposition, men and women's communities were formed. From these centres, the influence of Anglo-Catholicism grew and spread to the entire Anglican Continuum.

Prompted by the Founders of the Oxford Movement, expressed in Tractarian thought and presented with Ritualist ceremonial splendour, Anglican Catholic Identity has been formed. Anglican Catholics celebrate the beauty of God's Creation. They rejoice in the Humanity of Christ and His Sacrifice. The Church is both the Body of Christ alive in our world, as well as with the Communion of Saints who continue to live in heaven.

Anglican Catholics are inspired by The Scriptures, and they seek the knowledge and wisdom that comes from both the Bible and the Prayer Book in daily worship. It is in The Sacraments of the Church that we experience Christ and it is in The Holy Spirit that we share Christ. Anglican Catholics have embraced their Catholic roots within the framework of their English church heritage, which existed prior to the Protestant Reformation. Anglican Catholics respect many of the sixteenth century reforms, especially the Book of Common Prayer, but they confidently place the pre-eminence of "authority and value of dogma" over "private judgement."82

Traditional Anglicanism is based on the affirmation that

Anglicanism is a true part of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. Anglican

Catholic identity is built upon the principle of following the faith and

practice of the early undivided church. That was the model of faith for the

Oxford Movement which enabled the birth of Anglican Catholic identity,

who as Traditional Anglicans upholds Catholic tradition.

End Notes

- 79. Eugene Fairweather, *The Oxford Movement: John Henry Newman,* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1964), 9.
- 80. Anglican Church in America, *Traditional Anglican Communion Documents*, (www.acahome.org/tac/library/library.htm). To examine the three major documents which form the Traditional Anglican Communion, one should study The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1886-1888; The Affirmation of St. Louis in 1977, and the Concordat of 1990 establishing the Traditional Anglican Communion. Each document builds on the other in the process of establishing the Ecclesia Anglicana or the English Catholic Church.
- 81. Traditional Anglican Communion, *Concordat of 1990: Preamble*, (http://www.acahome.org/tac/library/docs/concordat.htm). 1.
- 82. Ratzinger Cardinal Joseph, Anglicans and Roman Catholics: The Search for Unity (SPCK, London, 1994), 275. (Primary source from William Ledwich's With Authority, not as the Scribes Page 17.)

Chapter XI

Epilogue

I believe that this thesis has been able to show the connection between the Oxford Movement and Anglican Catholic Identity. By using sources that help present the progress of catholic thought within the Anglican Continuum, I have been able to make that connection.

I am very pleased with the body of work that I was able to find on the Oxford Movement, as well as books regarding the dynamics between the Church and State. I would like to see more materials written about Traditional Anglican Worship and Anglican Catholic Theology.

I believe that it is time for more Traditional Anglican Apologetics. I believe that books of this kind would have been a great source of information for this thesis. That being said, I hope to contribute to this field of study both now and in the future.

With regard to further study, I believe that one could go deeper into the lives of Newman, Pusey, Keble and the early leaders of Catholic Revival, even though this subject has been covered quite extensively by other researchers. Another topic which would be of great interest is the relationship between the Church and State. This subject could be quite lively.

The study of Anglican Catholic Liturgy would be fascinating. There are numerous forms of worship which could not be discussed in this paper and I believe that exploring traditional Anglican rubrics would make a very good thesis.

A further topic that warrants study is the 20th century advancements in the Anglican Catholic Movement. It would be interesting to explore how the Anglican Continuum has evolved beyond the rather innocent parties of High, Broad and Low, into so many different elements of faith, some unrecognizable to each other.

For example, one could study the Anglican Church in the Africa or
Asia and compare it to the Episcopal Church in the United States or
Anglican Church in Canada, or study the Traditional Anglican Communion
and Compare it to the Anglican Communion.

I believe that this Thesis could be used as a starting point in understanding the history of catholic thought and practice within an Anglican milieu. It is helpful to know that one is not in a religious vacuum and that nothing is truly new under the sun. This Thesis will also help others by showing the link between the past and the present within Traditional Anglican thought and practice. That being said, it can also be used as a means to exploring the potential direction of the Anglican Catholic Church and the Traditional Anglican Communion.

This Thesis has been a valuable tool for me, as a way to better understand the direction of my personal faith journey. To be able to go back into history, and in particular the nineteenth century, and receive insight from others who sought the 'Sacred' for their Church, is a tremendous feeling. It took the Oxford Movement, as a response to secular impingement on the Church, to recover that which was perceived as lost.

The intent of this Thesis was to ask the questions. Can a direct link be demonstrated between the Oxford Movement and Anglican Catholicism? What roles did the Oxford Movement, the Tractarians, the Ritualists and the Anglo-Catholics play in continuing catholic identity within both the Anglican Communion and the Traditional Anglican Communion? Does Anglican Catholic Identity uphold Catholicism and Catholic principles? In part, I believe that these questions have been answered.

I have looked to find the connection between where I have been and where I want to go. For me, the link between the pre-reformation English Church, the Caroline Divines, the Non-Jurors, the Oxford Movement, Tractarians, Ritualists, Anglo-Catholics, and the Anglican Catholics of the Traditional Anglican Communion is a natural line of Catholic thought and practice. This has given me the strength to carry on in my journey, assured in my faith, knowing that I am not alone, that I journey Home with others, with Christ at my side.

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