

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

1833-1933

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THE late Canon Liddon of St. Paul's, who was generally recognized as one of the greatest preachers the Church of England ever produced, and a profound theologian, said, in a sermon on the influence of the Holy Spirit, preached before the University of Oxford:—

From generation to generation, there has been a succession of efforts within the Church to realize more worthily the truth of the Christian creed, or the ideal of the Christian life. These revivals have been inspired or led by devoted men who have represented the highest conscience of Christendom in their day. They may be traced along the line of Christian history; the Spirit living in the Church has by them attested His Presence and His Will; and has recalled lukewarm generations, paralyzed by indifference or degraded by indulgence, to the true spirit and level of Christian faith and life.

It is one of these movements, and perhaps the most effective and far-reaching of them all, that now claims attention, owing to the fact that it is just a hundred years since it began. The Oxford Movement, according to Newman's view expressed in his *Apologia*, dates from July 14th, 1833, when John Keble, Fellow of Oriel College, and Professor of Poetry, and curate to his father at Coln St. Aldwyn, preached the assize sermon in the University Pulpit, which was subsequently published under the title of *National Apostasy*. Its importance arose from the fact that it came at a very critical period in the history of the English Church, "men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming on the earth". Church and State alike seemed to be in danger. The old Tory administration had failed, and the Whigs had come in power. What was to become of the Church which was generally regarded as Tory in its sympathies? The Dissenters and the recently emancipated Roman Catholics were banded together against her; Lord Grey, the premier, had warned the bishops to set their house in order; and even such a strong man as Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, could write: "The Church, as it seems to me, no human power can save".

This state of things was, of course, an inheritance from the past. The Church in England had not had a free course. In the middle of the sixteenth century Protestant refugees from the Continent had been welcomed in England, and had exercised what must have seemed to them a heaven-sent opportunity to sow seeds of both political and religious discontent. A century later came the Puritan ascendancy under Cromwell, when the attempt was made to suppress the Church of England altogether by beheading both the king (who was loyal to the Church) and the primate, and making it a crime to use the Prayer Book even in private. This treatment to a great extent worked out its own cure, and after making trial of the religious anarchy of the Commonwealth, and the military rule of Oliver Cromwell, there was a willingness if not an eagerness to come back to the old Church again. But a generation had grown up which had been deprived of the nurture of the Church, which knew little of its traditions of worship, and did not see why it should change its religious beliefs and habits because it had the Prayer Book again instead of the Directory. It seemed impossible to bring people back to the orderly and reverent services of former days. And yet there were men of learning and piety then, not only among the bishops and clergy, but among the laity too, but they were only a minority. Then a serious blow came in the loss of the non-jurors, when six bishops, including the primate, and about four hundred priests, felt themselves bound in conscience by their oath of allegiance to James II, and could not take another oath to William and Mary. No one doubted their loyalty, and a way out of the difficulty could have been found; but, though five of the six bishops had gone to the Tower rather than obey an improper order from James, this seemed to the Whig Government an opportunity to strike a blow at the Church, and the non-jurors had to go. A few years later, in 1717, the Convocations, which had been for eleven centuries the deliberative assemblies of the clergy, and the legislative bodies of the Church, were suppressed, and the Church's voice was silenced. Latitudinarianism and Deism grew like weeds taking possession of uncultivated ground. Respectable people had their pews in church and occupied them on Sunday mornings, and what more would you have? And the bishops warned their clergy to beware of enthusiasm.

When Wesley, with a zeal like that of Peter the Hermit, set out to arouse the indifferent to a new crusade, he met with a ready response, but the bishops could not approve of his Methodist society, there was no Convocation in which the Church as a body could consider the matter, and Wesley's followers came to the con-

clusion that the Church had no room for them. What has been called the "placid worldliness" of the Church at this time was its greatest weakness, and it was to counteract this that what is known as the Evangelical Movement was begun a few years later. Its leaders were of the Calvinistic type and could not assimilate with the Arminianism of Wesley, but, as is said by a modern writer who would probably be classed as an Anglo-Catholic, "During the latter part of the eighteenth century the Evangelical party was the salt of the Church of England. . . . They won their way gradually to importance by the sheer force of piety and character"; and another writer says: "They may indeed be said to have saved religion in England at the latter end of the eighteenth century." They did good work in the suppression of slavery, the improvement of the condition of the poor, prison reform, the circulation of the Bible, and other things for the benefit of their fellow-men at home and abroad. They insisted very properly on the necessity of personal religion, but their teaching was singularly lacking in the responsibility of men one to another as fellow-members of the Body of Christ. Practically the clause concerning the Church was omitted from their creed. They were the dominant power in the Church of England in the early part of the nineteenth century, but Dissent increased rapidly and the Church stood still. It is reckoned that in 1700 there was one Dissenter to every twenty-five Englishmen, and in 1800 one-quarter of the population was Nonconformist. Add to this the fact that at St. Paul's Cathedral on Easter Day 1800 there was one celebration of the Holy Communion, and at that service "no more than six persons were found at the Table of the Lord". The growth of so-called Liberalism, and its claim of the right to rule the spiritualities, was an intrusion into the things of God. Was there not need to warn the people of England of the danger of national apostasy?

Keble's sermon did not stir up much excitement at the time it was preached, for he lacked the arts of a popular preacher; but one who heard it—J. B. Mozley, afterwards well known as Canon Mozley, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford—remarked: "I cannot help thinking it a kind of exordium of a great revolution—shall I call it?—coming on, whether rapidly or slowly we cannot tell, but at any rate most surely".

Keble himself was not seeking after fame, for he was a shy and retiring man, yet by no means lacking in courage. He was only discharging as best he could a duty that was laid upon him. He was thoroughly conscientious and sincere, and respected and beloved by all who knew him. He was also a brilliant scholar and in-

herited, untainted by Puritanism, the principles and doctrines of the High Churchmen of the seventeenth century, of Hooker and Andrewes, of Laud and Jeremy Taylor, of Ken and Cosin. They were the principles proclaimed some seven years before by Hugh James Rose, a distinguished Cambridge man, and chaplain to Archbishop Howley, in the course of sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in 1826 on the Christian Ministry, which when published met with such popular favour that a second edition was issued in 1831. This indicates that the old teaching was not dead, but that there were many faithful souls only awaiting the sound of the *reveille* to rouse them to action, and Keble's assize sermon was the trumpet call. The first action resulting from it was to call a meeting of representative men at Hugh James Rose's parsonage at Hadleigh on July 25th. Those present were Mr. Rose, rector of the parish; William Palmer, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, whom Newman in his *Apologia* calls "the only really learned man among us", who was then at Oxford and had published his *Origines Liturgicae* the previous year; Arthur Philip Perceval, a Royal Chaplain, an Oriel man who had been a Fellow of All Souls; and Richard Hurrell Froude, who had been a pupil of Keble, and was afterwards College Tutor at Oriel, where he was closely associated with Newman and R. Wilberforce. "He was a man of great gifts", says Dean Church, "with much that was most attractive and noble; but joined with this there was originally in his character a vein of perversity and mischief, always in danger of breaking out".

As a result of this conference, an address was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressing adherence to the apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church, signed by 7,000 clergy and 230,000 heads of families. From this meeting also resulted the *Tracts for the Times*, though their publication did not begin until September. The forming of an Association was discussed, but it came to nothing.

The first three of the Tracts appeared September 9, 1833, and the names of the writers were not given. The first was but a four-page leaflet which opens with these words: "*Fellow-Labourers*, I am but one of yourselves—a Presbyterian; and therefore I conceal my name, lest I should take too much on myself by speaking in my own person. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them." And then he goes on to tell of the dangers threatening the Church. Two others were published the same day. The Tracts were the work of some of the ablest men in England, and pains were taken to see that they were widely distributed. One who was living in England at that time has told how eagerly

they were looked for, like the instalments of some interesting serial. The character of the Tracts has been well summarized in one sentence: "Their cardinal doctrine was that the Church of England was a part of the visible Holy Catholic Church, and had unbroken connexion with the primitive Church; they inculcated high views of the sacraments, and emphasized points of agreement with those branches of the Catholic Church which claim apostolic succession." Newman, Froude and Keble—all Oriel men—were the first contributors.

John Henry Newman was at the time vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, and his outspoken sermons were already famous. He was brought up a devout Evangelical, and Froude at first was shy of him and described him to a friend as "a fellow that I like more, the more I think of him; only I would give a few odd pence if he were not a heretic." But he learnt much from Froude, and through Froude became a friend of Keble's. Speaking in the *Apologia* of the English Church, Newman says: "I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As for leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination". It is said of the progress of the Tracts that Keble gave the inspiration, Froude the impulse and Newman the work. The cry of disloyalty was raised, but the answer was that there was nothing in them but had the indisputable sanction of the Prayer Book, and of the most authoritative Anglican divines.

It was not until 1835 that Dr. Pusey took an active part in the movement. "Dr. Pusey", Newman writes, "gave us at once a position and a name. Without him we should have had no chance of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggression." Pusey was a Professor and a Canon of Christ Church, a man of massive learning, of deep religious seriousness, and no one in the university was held in higher respect. He was not a man to deal with serious subjects in a terse, sententious way, but his Tracts were theological treatises. He is spoken of as lacking brilliancy as a preacher, but he attracted large congregations and held them under his spell for over an hour. Frederick Temple (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), as an undergraduate, writes of a sermon by Pusey to which he listened in 1839: "I do not think I ever heard a more beautiful sermon. . . . The sermon lasted nearly two hours, but I could have listened more than an hour longer, I am sure". It was the natural thing, both from his position and his character, that Dr. Pusey should be considered the leader of the Movement, and he had to bear the brunt of the attacks and abuse from all sides with which it was assailed. He preached a sermon on the Real Presence

which was "delated" to the Vice-Chancellor as teaching heresy. A copy of the sermon was given to the Vice-Chancellor by Dr. Pusey, with a request for a hearing; six Doctors of Divinity were summoned as assessors, one of whom was the accuser; Pusey was not heard, and no specification was made of the charges against him, but the sermon was condemned and he was suspended from preaching for two years. It was characteristic of Pusey that he made no appeal, but patiently submitted, and at the end of the two years he published the sermon as it was delivered, with a catena of authorities justifying every statement, and filling a thick volume. There was nothing more left to say.

The Tracts, which collected fill five volumes, came to an abrupt conclusion with the publication of Newman's Tract No. 90 in 1841, entitled "Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles". It was the fashion of the day to interpret the Articles with a strong Protestant bias which their literal and grammatical construction will not bear, and which historical investigation does not justify. Newman argued that there was no Catholic doctrine and very little Roman doctrine which the Articles condemned. "Some of the interpretations", says Dean Church, "undoubtedly seemed far-fetched and artificial. Yet some of those which were pointed to at the time as flagrant instances of extravagant misinterpretation have now come to look different", and he adds: 'The admission both that Rome, though wrong, might not be as wrong as we thought her, and that the language of the Articles, though unquestionably condemnatory of much, was not condemnatory of as much as people thought. . . . was looked upon as incompatible with loyalty to the English Church'. Oxford thought, and the feeling ran throughout the country, that it was not the time for argument but for protest. It was time to put a stop to such dishonest, immoral, treacherous teaching. The Heads of Houses promptly condemned the Tract. The Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce) asked that the issue of Tracts be stopped. Newman retired to Littlemore in 1842, and resigned his living at St. Mary's in 1843. "How vividly comes back the remembrance", wrote the Presbyterian Principal Shairp some years afterwards, "of the aching blank, the awful pause which fell on Oxford when that voice had ceased, and we knew that we should hear it no more".

If Newman had had the steadfastness and faith of Pusey or of Keble he would have weathered the storm, but doubts grew in his mind and he could not resist them. In November, 1844, J. B. Mozley wrote to a friend: "Newman has been regularly down about things for a year or two. . . . and has expressed doubts as to the Catholicity of the English Church."

On the 8th of October, 1845, he was received into the Church of Rome. "No man", says Canon Ollard, "had more devoted friends than he, and yet no one of his original colleagues in the Movement went with him to Rome. Pusey, Keble, Church, Charles Marriott loved Mr. Newman as few men have been loved, but... their belief in the English Church remained firm, unshaken, clear." There were other defections later, and Sibthorpe and Ward had preceded him. The former of these came back again, but later seceded a second time, while the latter was a clever and paradoxical writer, whose book *Ideal of a Christian Church* was condemned by the Oxford Convocation; its author was deprived of his degree. It is remarkable too that most, if not all of those who felt the attraction of Rome irresistible were not the men who had been brought up with a high appreciation of the doctrines and tradition of the Church of England, but men of the opposite school. Amongst these were Newman, Manning, Robert and Henry Wilberforce, Faber, Dalgairns, Sibthorpe and others. They did not find in their mother Church a safe *via media*, but like the pendulum (it would seem), if inclined to one side, when they began to move they could not stop at the perpendicular but swung over to the other side. "Pusey, Keble, Isaac Williams and older Tractarians," says Foakes-Jackson, "loved their Church and were under no illusions as to its present imperfections. They had never 'discovered' the Church of England, but had always known it. Newman, on the contrary, first idealized Anglicanism and then found it wanting".

It was not the *Tracts for the Times* that were responsible for the defection of the men of 1851, but the decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case. This was an instance of Erastianism, which Hobbes defined in the seventeenth century as the view that neither the Church nor the Bible was the final authority in religious matters, but the State. It is not necessary to go into the details of the case. The Bishop of Exeter refused to institute a priest named Gorham to a living in his diocese because of his unsound views concerning Baptism. The matter was taken to the courts, and finally the Privy Council decided in favour of Mr. Gorham, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as directed, instituted the man whom his own bishop had refused to accept. The case hung on a question of doctrine, it was entrusted to a lay court to discuss and interpret spiritual points entirely beyond its jurisdiction, and this was recognized as a proper court of appeal. "By them", wrote Manning, "the Church of England is bound, and for them the Church of England is responsible". It was Erastianism—the government

of the Church by the State—and this is a menace from which the Church is scarcely ever free. Henry VIII. styled himself the Head of the Church, and Churchmen faced the alternative of acknowledging him as such, or having their heads cut off. Strange to say, there are a few—a diminishing few—who have a similar view of royal supremacy to-day. The things of the Spirit, according to St. Paul, “must be spiritually discerned.” What degree of spiritual discernment could you hope to find in such a conglomerate parliament as rejected the Prayer Book in 1928? The Gorham case was certainly unjustifiable, but, after all, it was only a passing scandal, no worse than many both in England and on the Continent which the Church had had to endure, and the wiser course was to wait patiently “until this tyranny be overpast”. This the stronger men of the Movement did, and time has justified their action.

Opposition was aggravated and not allayed by the defections, and it was commonly said that those who had fallen away were the only honest men of the lot; but the renewed life and growth of the Anglican communion since that time speaks for itself. The Church Association was formed in 1865 for the express purpose of combating the “Puseyites”. Paid agents went about to find cases for action against priests who were suspected of being unsound, and to bring them to the courts. Notable amongst these suspects was Archdeacon Denison, of Taunton, who was charged with teaching Eucharistic doctrine contrary to the Church of England in two sermons preached in Wells Cathedral in 1853. He was teaching exactly what was taught by Bishop Lancelot a century and a half earlier, but the court was ignorant of this fact, and Denison was found guilty and ordered to be deprived of his vicarage and archdeaconry. He appealed, and the sentence was reversed.

Others were charged with hearing confessions, a practice which was denounced as a violation of Anglican custom and teaching, in spite of the fact that in the Prayer Book the priest is directed to say to his people: “If there be any of you who cannot quiet his own conscience. . . let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned Minister of God’s Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God’s Holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience”. Dr. McNeile, of Liverpool, declared: “I would make it a capital offence to administer Confession in this country. Transportation would not satisfy me, for that would merely transfer the evil from one part of the world to another. Capital punishment alone would satisfy me. Death alone would prevent the evil”.

The Tractarian party was broken up by Newman’s secession in 1845, but the Oxford Movement was not stopped. It was no

longer centred around a few persons in Oxford. It lost to some extent its academic character, and its principles were put into practice in the work of the Church. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, who never fully sympathized with the Tractarians, recognized the fundamental truths for which they contended and did much to rouse the Church from slumber. Offley Wakeman says:—

He set an example of episcopal activity which was only possible in one who believed strongly in episcopacy and the Church. Signs of the revival of Church life became everywhere visible. Churches were cleaned, services multiplied and made brighter with music. The Holy Eucharist was celebrated more frequently and with greater reverence. Devotional meetings for clergy were held. Greater attention was paid to preparation for Confirmation. Societies were formed for promoting the work of the Church at home and abroad. Fresh interest was visible in foreign missions. A real effort was made to cope with the spiritual destitution in large towns. New parishes were formed, new churches were built and endowed. The rising appreciation of Gothic art was pressed into the service of the Church, and... English churches began once more to look like homes of worship and centres of devotion.

Whatever advance was made was only in the face of great opposition. Even the Prince Consort recommended in a letter to Lord Aberdeen, the Prime Minister, in 1853, that a system of marked disfavour should be adopted and steadily persevered in towards those who promulgated "principles likely to disturb the peace of the Church"; observing that even the most active and talented of the High Church party were not likely long to hold principles which permanently excluded them from preferment. This policy was carried out for some years. It has been remarked of Keble that he never became an Honorary Canon, or even a Rural Dean.

But there were men of the next generation who could not be kept in obscurity. Such were Liddon and Church, to whom the position of St. Paul's Cathedral to-day is largely due. Their scholarship, their intellectual power, their devotion, their thorough loyalty to the English Church are never questioned. Liddon did a wonderful work as Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon, and at the same time he was the most popular preacher at Oxford. Then came his famous Bampton Lectures in 1866, and in 1870, on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, he was made Canon of St. Paul's, a position which he held with great distinction for twenty years. Church, the following year, against his will, was taken from a Somerset rectory to become Dean. The two worked in harmony to make St. Paul's what they thought a cathedral ought to be. James B.

Mozley, Canon of Worcester, and Regius Professor of History at Oxford, was another great scholar, who in the opinion of Mr. Gladstone combined "the clear form of Newman with the profundity of Bishop Butler". His Bampton Lectures on "Miracles", delivered in 1865, were highly esteemed, and eclipsed only by Liddon's. In a brief sketch one can only mention the names of a few others, as G. A. Selwyn, first Bishop of New Zealand (afterwards of Lichfield); Edward King, Principal of Cuddesdon, and Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford, (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln); Butler of Wantage (afterwards Dean of Lincoln); William Bright, Canon of Christ Church and Professor of Church History at Oxford; J. M. Neale, who won fame as a historian, a theologian, a hymn-writer; and among laymen, Joshua Watson,¹ A. J. Beresford-Hope, W. E. Gladstone and J. D. Coleridge (afterwards Lord Chief-Justice)

After its ineffectual attempts to convict men of heresy in the civil courts, the Church Association turned its attention to the outward and visible, for it was easy to stir up men against things which they could see for themselves and to which they were unaccustomed, and so the miscalled "ritual" prosecutions were begun. Pusey, Newman and Keble had made no changes in ceremonial; but when men awoke to a realization of the Church's heritage, they asked themselves why the beauty and solemnity which had characterized the services in the past should not be brought back. Loyalty to the Prayer Book was a principle of the Tractarians, and the Prayer Book rule was that the Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers, which were in use in the reign of Edward VI., should be retained and be in use, and such men as Bishop Andrewes and Bishop Cosin had recognized the propriety of their use. It was not a matter of clerical aggression, but as congregations became more educated they began to demand such aids to worship. The Privy Council, however, governed (one of them afterwards said) by policy, not by law, decided that the proper interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric was that the ornaments therein mentioned should *not* be in use. But to make these decisions effective an Act of Parliament was needed, and in 1874 Disraeli, supported by the Primate (Dr. Tait, who afterwards regretted his action), secured the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, "to put down Ritualism", and a new Court was created under the presidency of Lord Penzance, ex-judge of divorce, and the penalties were imprisonment and deprivation. Before the passing of the Act, riots had been instigated at St. George's-in-the-East, where Charles Lowder was carrying on his remarkable slum mission, and in September, 1859, a mob attempted to seize him and

1. A persona friend of Bishop John Inglis of Nova Scotia

throw him into the dock. Twenty-one years later, thousands whose lives had been transformed through his devoted ministrations pressed forward weeping to touch the pall that covered his coffin. What wrong had he done? "The chief cause or remaining irritation and disturbance", according to the bishop's own statement, "is the practice of turning round in the pulpit with the back to the congregation after the sermon"! The mixed chalice, wafer-bread, altar lights, vestments, the eastward position, incense—it seems strange to us fifty years later that men could work themselves up to insensate fury over these things, most of which are now in use in cathedrals and royal chapels throughout the kingdom. Mackonochie, whose work will never be forgotten in East London, where, through the munificence of Lord Leigh and Mr. J. G. Hubbard, he built St. Alban's, Holborn, on the site of a notorious thieves' kitchen, suffered persecution almost to the end of his life, and a suit under the P. W. R. A. would have lodged him in prison had not Archbishop Tait, on his death-bed, brought the suit to a close by arranging an exchange between him and the vicar of St. Peter's, London Docks. In 1874 Arthur Tooth, vicar of St. James's, Hatcham, was imprisoned, and four others suffered in the same way, notably Sidney F. Green, who spent a year and seven months in Lancaster Gaol. It was not obstinate determination to have their own way which moved these priests—all of them workers among the poor—but their unflinching determination not to recognize any authority in civil courts to deal with ecclesiastical matters. As a result of the Oxford Movement, Convocation was restored in 1850, but the personnel of that body was not yet sufficiently educated to do much to remedy the evil.

The founding of Religious Orders, for both men and women, was another great feature of the Movement. The Society of St. John the Evangelist at Cowley was founded in 1866 by Fr. R. M. Benson, and has done a great work in preaching and teaching, conducting parochial missions and holding retreats, not only in Great Britain, but in India, South Africa and the United States; and next to that would be reckoned the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, founded by Dr. Gore in 1892. The great Sisterhoods of All Saints, Clewer, of St. Margaret, East Grinstead, and of St. Peter, Horbury, were founded in the sixties, and a number of others have grown up since, and have won their way to general favour by their good works.

In educational work perhaps the most notable is the establishment of the Woodward Public Schools for the Middle Classes, which are now scattered over England, the first, St. John's College,

Hurstpierpoint, being opened in 1853. St. Chad's College, Denstone, opened in 1873, and which cost over £70,000, was largely built by the generosity of Sir Percival Heywood. There are a number of schools for girls as well. The amount raised by Dr. Woodward for these schools is reckoned at over half a million pounds.

Such liberality shown by those who were sympathizers with the Oxford Movement, both rich and poor, is an evidence that their religion was sincere. The first notable instance of this was the building of the beautiful church of St. Saviour, Leeds, in 1845. This was the anonymous gift of one who tried to realize an ideal of the founders to Christianize the neglected masses of the cities, who were heretofore untouched. It was afterwards learned that the donor was Dr. Pusey. Sir A. J. Beresford-Hope brought the ruins of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury,¹ and rebuilt the Abbey as St. Augustine's Missionary College, which has done so much for the Church in various parts of the world. Large sums were contributed for building Keble College at Oxford and Selwyn College at Cambridge. New churches were built throughout the land, many of them by single individuals; new missionary organizations, like the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. These are but a few of many objects which called for a large expenditure of money that was freely given.

And the standard of worship has been greatly raised, not only throughout the Anglican Communion, but among non-episcopal bodies as well. The two great features of Christian worship are the glory of God and the edification of men. Probably because the latter was largely overlooked in pre-Reformation times, the reaction was for Protestantism to give to it such prominence as to neglect or ignore the former, and people met together for what they called public worship for the benefit they could get, and not for what they could give in the way of adoration, thanksgiving and praise. This is not the Anglican view, as you can see by reading the exhortation at the beginning of Morning or Evening Prayer. A hundred years ago there was little suggestive of worship in the churches. The royal arms were prominent, but the symbol of the Faith was hardly seen. There was no visible reminder of the Lord's own service, for the altars were small and mean, and if seen at all, appeared to be a sort of appendage to the huge pulpit which dominated the chancel. The service was read, but the people did not respond; it was the clerk's part to do that. Outside the cathedrals the can-

1. There is in Fredericton Cathedral a pastoral staff carved from old oak dug up at St. Augustine's Abbey and sent out by Sir A. J. Beresford-Hope to Bishop Medley, who was a personal friend, for use in his cathedral.

ticles were rarely, and the Psalms never sung; the only hymns were Tate and Brady's metrical version of the Psalms. The centre of the church was frequently filled with blocks of box-pews with alleyways at the side, and "meekly kneeling upon your knees" was a direction which it was not easy to follow. With the Oxford Movement came the restoration, cleaning and adornment of churches, so that people might think of them as houses of God. Hymn-writers of the day—Keble, Newman, John Mason Neale, Isaac Williams, Christopher Wordsworth and others—set themselves to the work of providing hymns (many of them translations of the beautiful Latin hymns of the old Breviary), poetical, rich in teaching and suitable for the worship of God. There is not a hymn book of modern days that is not enriched with many of these hymns. Then there came orderly and well-conducted services, as people began to realize what it meant to "give the Lord the honour due unto His name".

And it was this feeling that led to the wonderful revival of architecture. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Puritanical zeal set itself to destroy all that was beautiful in the churches, "breaking down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers", and, with the exception of the work done in Sir Christopher Wren's period, no churches worthy of the traditions were built. The Oxford revival inspired not only a desire to build churches, but artists capable of building them. William Butterfield, J. L. Pearson, G. E. Street, Sir Gilbert Scott have left their mark on England by the erection of churches which compare favourably with the best work of former days; the example they set has been followed not only in the old country but on this side of the water as well, and even the Protestant bodies which felt that religion could best express itself in unadorned simplicity are recognizing the fitness of providing things "for glory and for beauty" in the worship of God.

We seek in vain for perfection, and as we look back over the past century we may find much to criticize. Mistakes perhaps have been made; some men have gone too far, and in their zeal have seemed to do more harm than good; but one has only to look at the condition of the Anglican Church to-day, its recognized position in the world, the wealth and value of its theological literature, its work amongst the outcast and poor, its missionary activity at home and abroad, its sincere efforts to promote the unity of Christendom, to see how much has grown from such small beginnings.