

THE ECUMENICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

Richard Penaskovic

A major conference was held at Keble College, Oxford from July 11th to the 15th, 1983 commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Oxford Movement, a powerful and widely influential religious, political and social phenomenon. The purpose of the conference was to reconsider some of the major themes of the Oxford Movement, both historically and theologically, and thus to add to the renewal of Anglican theology. One theme which the conference did not consider explicitly was the ecumenical significance of the Oxford Movement, the subject of this essay.

The Oxford Movement is important on many levels. First, it makes explicit and conscious the English evolution from a single society to a pluralistic one. After the writings of Locke, Hobbes, Bacon, Butler and Hume had set the stage, the Oxford Movement signalled the end of the earlier participative system of social organization in which Church and State were coextensive and mutually inclusive. Henceforth to be a citizen of the State was not synonymous with being a member of a divine society.⁽¹⁾ Second, the Oxford Movement reflects the larger movement of European thought in its concern for the historical continuity between past and present, its idealization of the principle of authority in both Church and State, which the French Revolution had denounced, and in its later stage, its emphasis on development and organic growth.⁽²⁾ Third, although the prose of the Tractarians may be sometimes tainted by provinciality and thus sound archaic today, it does contain some important means for interpreting not only the Victorian age, but our own as well, according to H. Fulweiler.⁽³⁾

Born in 1941, RICHARD PENASKOVIC, is Tenured Associate Professor in the Humanities Division at the College of Saint Rose, Albans, New York. He obtained his M.A. in 1967 from the University of Wuerzburg and his Ph.D. in Theology, in 1973 from the University of Munich, Germany. He was also Mentor at the Empire State College, Saratoga, New York. He is married to Nancy Ann Marie Hare.

1. Howard W. Fulweiler, "The Oxford Movement 1833 – 1845," *Victorian Prose. A Guide to Research*, ed. David J. De Laura (New York: Modern Language Association Of America, 1973) 364. Cf. *Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude II*, i (Derby, England: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1839) 199.
2. Horton Davies, *Worship And Theology In England. From Watts And Wesley To Maurice, 1690 – 1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961) 244.
3. Fulweiler, "The Oxford Movement" 364.

This essay consists of three distinct but related sections. First, I shall situate the Oxford Movement within its historical context. Second, I shall show how the theme of reunion finds expression in the thought of the Tractarians. Third, I shall offer some concluding reflections on the ecumenical significance of the Oxford Movement.

Historical Context

Most historians agree that the Oxford Movement may be divided into generations.⁽⁴⁾ The first phase, 1833 – 45 had Oxford as its center, whereas the second, which commenced with the consecration of St. Saviour's Leeds, built through Pusey's generosity, was centered in the expanding towns of England and tried to live out the teaching of Froude, Keble and Pusey at the parochial level. This second generation is often called "high church" and continued throughout the Victorian era.⁽⁵⁾ A third generation, who called themselves Anglo- or English Catholics, arose in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Their opponents labelled them Ritualists, Sacramentalists or Romanists. They argued against much high church teaching and did not believe that the church in any one country could cut itself off from the rest of Western Christianity.⁽⁶⁾ In this essay my main focus of attention will be on the early phase of the Oxford Movement between 1833 – 45 excluding such topics as the aftermath of ritualism, the Roman Catholic revival and later Catholic socialism.⁽⁷⁾

The Oxford Movement begins with the publication of Keble's Assize Sermon on July 14, 1833, and the first phase ends in 1845 with Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism. More than casual significance is attached to the name, "Oxford" Movement. As C. Dawson points out, the ethos of Tractarianism finds its natural setting in the Oxford of the 1830's which still preserved its own social tradition and kept its independence

4. D.L. Edwards, *Leaders Of The Church Of England 1828–1944* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971) 45. For a bibliographic survey of the Oxford Movement see Unge Brillioth, *The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925) 334–342; Fulweiler, "The Oxford Movement" 363–386; and John R. Griffin, *Newman: A Bibliography Of Secondary Sources* (Front Royal, Virginia: Christendom Publications, 1980) 24–31.
5. High churchmen put great stress on the sacred nature of the church, saw the need for sacramental channels of grace, maintained that the Reformation gave the essentials of the Mass in the English Communion service and felt that catholicity had always been taught in the English Church. Of course, catholicity had nothing to do with the Pope but implied that those churches in apostolic succession which administered Baptism and Holy Communion revered the ancient creeds and believed in the inspiration of Scripture. Cf. J.E.B. Munson, "The Oxford Movement by the End of the Nineteenth Century: The Anglo-Catholic Clergy," *Church History* 44 (1975) 383.
6. *Ibid.*
7. For a competent discussion of these topics see Richard Helmstadter, "The Victorian Churches," *Victorian Prose* 387–432.

vis-à-vis the new political and economic forces that were starting to gain the upper hand in nineteenth century British culture.⁽⁸⁾ In 1833 Oxford had, to be sure, some serious liabilities: isolated, out of date, inefficient, even cumbersome. On the other hand, it was rich in beauty and stood like a monastery consecrated to religion and learning, a foil to the main current of modern, industrialized life. For these reasons Oxford could still inspire loyal affection and could serve as a rallying point for a movement, particularly for a religious movement.⁽⁹⁾

In early nineteenth century England religion loomed large in the lives of the upper and middle classes. The importance of religion was helped along by the prevailing Romantic climate of the 1830's, which was partially a reaction to the rationalism of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Since so many influential persons accepted Christianity as the focal-point of their existence, the history of the period becomes, de facto, the history of the church. Even the politician Gladstone wrote that "he who would understand England must understand her Church – for that is half of the whole matter".⁽¹⁰⁾

At the time Oxford was the chief school for Anglican theological studies and the training of the clergy. Without the clergy squarely behind it, the Oxford Movement was dead. The Oxford Movement caused theology to become a subject of passionate debate at Oxford and, in fact, all over England. The movement had the net effect of piquing the interest of the country clergy in theological questions and church principles.⁽¹¹⁾

The Tractarians brought before the English public this question, "What does it mean to be a Church?" The Tractarians desired a "pure Church" and felt bound to work for such an ideal.⁽¹²⁾ The forces which the Tractarians generated sooner or later revived the art, architecture, teaching and worship not only of the Anglican Church but other churches

8. Christopher Dawson, *The Spirit Of The Oxford Movement* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1934) 86. For the feeling in Oxford at the start of the movement see *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman IV: The Oxford Movement July 1833 to December 1834* ed. Ian Kerr and Thomas Gornall, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) 5; Richard W. Church, *The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years 1833–1845* 3 ed. (London: Macmillan, 1892) 92–94 and R.D. Middleton, *Magdalene Studies* (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936) 82–85. It was not solely an "Oxford" movement, however, since one of its original sponsors, Hugh J. Rose, was a capable Cambridge don. Cf. V.H.H. Green, *Religion At Oxford And Cambridge* (London: SCM Press, 1964) 260.
9. After Newman left the movement in 1845, the direction of it stayed in Oxford, but it was largely shared by men and women in London and in the country. Cf. Bernard and Margaret Pawley, *Rome And Canterbury. Through Four Centuries* (New York: Seabury, 1975) 130.
10. Piers Brendon, *Hurrell Froude And The Oxford Movement* (London: Paul Elek, 1974) xiii.
11. Alec Vidler, "The Tractarian Movement, Church Revival And Reform," in *Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians* (ed. British Broadcasting Corp.; London: Sylvan Press, 1949) 114.
12. *Letters And Diaries IV*, 63.

as well.⁽¹³⁾ The Tractarians made their appeal to the educated classes not to the popular masses. Up until 1845 the Oxford Movement was an academic and religious movement. It had political implications as well. In fact, one of the major themes of Victorian history is the close linkage between religion, politics and education. Until the 1820's only Churchmen had full political rights in England.⁽¹⁴⁾

The Oxford Movement found its sources of inspiration in the faith and piety of the early Church and the Church of the Middle Ages, as opposed to the secularism and rationalism of the Age of Reason. The movement may also be seen as part of the Romantic Movement sweeping through Europe at the start of the nineteenth century.⁽¹⁵⁾ Far from being a liberal or progressive movement, the Oxford Movement was a conservative or reactionary movement. It was, in fact, so conservative that it was on that very account thought to be almost revolutionary in nature.⁽¹⁶⁾

In order to understand the movement one must consider the condition of English society between the union with Ireland (1800) and the passage of the great Reform Act (1832).⁽¹⁷⁾ During this time England was undergoing a genuine transformation. Just as the issue of nuclear power is a *piece de conversation* today, so was steam and its uses a topic of conversation in the early nineteenth century. The introduction of the railway system, for example, was simply the application of steam power to transportation. The revolutionary impulse which commenced with the French Revolution in 1789 beat on in the Victorian period. The slogans of "freedom" and "the sovereignty of the people" had wide, popular appeal. Reformers spoke of grandiose schemes to alter the national structure.⁽¹⁸⁾

At the start of the nineteenth century a new textile industry was on the rise and England had a powerful export industry to complement it. The new machines in the cotton factories were a tangible sign of progress but brought in their train automation. Hence unemployment rose sharply and

13. Vidler, "The Tractarian Movement" 118.
14. John Roach, "The Rudiments of Faith and Religion: Religious Controversy at Oxford, 1860–1865," *JEH* 22 (1971) 333. The Tractarians strongly felt that the clergy must become political "when the Nation interferes with the rights and possessions of the Church." *Tracts for the Times* No. 2 (London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1834) 1.
15. Brendon, *Hurrell Froude*, xvii. Cf. C.P.S. Clarke, "The Genesis Of The Movement," in *Northern Catholicism* (ed. N.P. Williams and C. Harris; London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1933) 9; Brilioth, *The Anglican Revival* 76; and Michael H. Bright, "English Literary Romanticism And The Oxford Movement," *Journal Of The History Of Ideas* 40 (1979) 385–404.
16. I disagree with John R. Griffin who argues that the politics of the Tractarians were not conservative or Tory. Cf. *The Oxford Movement: a Revision* (Front Royal, Virginia: Christendom Publications, 1980) 1–2. See John T. Ford, "Newman Studies: Recent Resources And Research," *Thomist* 46 (1982) 291.
17. Marvin O'Connell, *The Oxford Conspirators. A History of the Oxford Movement 1833–45* (New York: Macmillan, 1969) 4.
18. *Ibid.*

rioting began as workers tried to destroy the machinery which put them out of work.⁽¹⁹⁾

The bill for the emancipation of Roman Catholics from their civil disabilities was passed in 1829. More important than this single emancipatory act was the political union with Ireland passed in 1800–01, by reason of which England was forced to change its religious policy. The London government now became responsible for seven million people, of whom five and one-half million were Roman Catholic. To maintain the special disabilities of so many people was impractical. Hence the establishment of the Churches of England and Ireland had to be altered since home rule was out of the question.⁽²⁰⁾

The Tory party under Wellington and Peel were forced to push through Catholic emancipation, still in all, this action split the party. In November, 1830 Wellington said that the system of representation needed no reform. This statement caused the Tory government to fall and a Whig cabinet under Earl Grey took office, pledged to work for the reform of both State and Church.⁽²¹⁾ The first reform bill passed the House of Commons in 1831 only to be rejected in the House of Lords mainly through the efforts of the bishops. In 1832 an amendment was carried in the House of Lords postponing the vital clause disfranchising the pocket boroughs. Lord Grey asked the king to create peers to defeat the opposition and resigned when the king refused. Grey's resignation and the fruitless attempt of Wellington to form a Tory government revived the popular fury of the previous autumn. Some observers thought that a civil war might be imminent.⁽²²⁾

After Wellington abandoned the hopeless task of forming a Tory government, Grey returned to power and the king said he would create peers. The third reading passed the Lords on June 4, 1832. This Reform Act eliminated pocket boroughs, gave new industrial cities an adequate number of representatives and established a vote in the boroughs for every householder rated at £ 10, and a vote in the counties for £ copyholders and £ 50 leaseholders.⁽²³⁾

Superficially, the Oxford Movement originated in the suppression of the Irish bishoprics. The church temporalities bill abolished two (Cashel

19. Thus Froude writes on Jan. 9, 1831 "Things are still in a bad way down here. . . . Two very great fires have taken place in our neighbourhood, and, for three or four nights, we expected that our thrashing machine would be set on fire." *Remains I*, 245–246.
20. Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966) 9.
21. *Ibid.* 25. Actually Lord Grey saw the Reform Act as an aristocratic measure calculated to preserve the status quo against further innovation by turning some of the middle class "poachers" into "game-keepers". Cf. Brendon, *Hurrell Froude xv*.
22. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church I*, 22.
23. *Ibid.* 25. Unfortunately, many of the poor and disadvantaged never benefitted from the Reform Bill of 1832, which gave the franchise to the upper and middle classes, but not to the farm workers or the urban, blue collar workers, the very people who most needed the chance for free expression. Cf. R.P. Boas and B.M. Hahn, *Social Backgrounds Of English Literature* (Boston: Little, Brown, And Company, 1930) 207.

and Tuam) of the four Irish archbishoprics and eight of the bishoprics.⁽²⁴⁾ The Tories lacked a unified front in opposing the Irish Church bill, and the passage of the church temporalities bill (Ireland) made Tory churchmen apprehensive of the approaching parliamentary session of 1834. Now that a precedent was set in Ireland what would happen to the Church of England?

The Oxford Movement began on account of these reasons: 1) ten bishoprics in Ireland were suppressed by Parliament; 2) the prelates were threatened and insulted by the Minister of State; 3) certain pamphlets urged the abolition of the Athanasian Creed; 4) some writers wanted the removal of all mention of the Trinity, baptismal regeneration and absolution; 5) Erastianism or the doctrine of state supremacy in church affairs; and 6) there was no principle in the public mind to which concerned clergymen could appeal.⁽²⁵⁾ The Oxford Movement began, then, in a concerted effort on the part of a handful of concerned clergymen to defend the Church of England against the serious dangers arising from the violent temper of the days of the Reform Bill (1832). Perceptive minds realized the necessity of a broad and intelligible basis on which to maintain the cause of the Church.⁽²⁶⁾

At this point in time the Church of England looked backwards rather than forwards. It could not adapt its structure to the needs of the new industrial towns and was incapable of reading the signs of the times. The Church also needed reform badly. Doctrines were nowhere and the sacraments, except for formalities, had gone with the Non-Jurors. The Articles of Religion were signed with indifference at the university. Even the bishops were not all that they should be. As Shane Leslie wryly observes, the Upper Clergy were men of the world but good men of the world.⁽²⁷⁾

At the Oriel common room in 1833 William Palmer and Richard Hurrell Froude decided to form an association to defend the liberties and principles of the Church. Froude secured the support of John Keble, and Palmer enlisted the aid of Hugh James Rose, editor of the *British Magazine*. Rose, who was vicar of Hadleigh in Essex invited Froude, Palmer and Keble to a four day conference there beginning on July 25, 1833. The main question they discussed was this: How to keep the Church from being liberalized?⁽²⁸⁾

Six resolutions emerged from their deliberations: 1) they affirmed the principle of apostolic succession; 2) said it was sinful to allow the interference of non-Church members in matters spiritual; 3) stated that the Church should try to secure a more popular base, consistent with apostolicity; 4) protested against the separation of Church and State;

24. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church I*, 56.

25. Church, *The Oxford Movement* 101.

26. *Ibid.* 2.

27. Shane Leslie, *The Oxford Movement 1833 - 1933* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1933) 43. Cf. Brian Martin, *John Henry Newman His Life and Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 56.

28. Church, *The Oxford Movement* 103.

5) warned of the need for preparation for such an eventuality; and 6) asserted the duty to raise the consciousness of the clergy on these issues. The debates at Hadleigh disclosed a radical divergence of opinion. John Keble, for example, refused to support points number three and four.⁽²⁹⁾ They also decided to form an association dedicated to promote Church principles and to publish tracts. Newman joined this association and took the leading role in the publication of tracts.⁽³⁰⁾

There were two main dimensions to the Oxford Movement. First, there was a theological dimension. The Tractarians were deeply interested in the nature of the Church. They emphasized the transcendental, sacramental and other-worldly nature of the Church.⁽³¹⁾ Second, the Tractarians had a keen interest in the liturgy. They felt that the ancient and undivided Church must be the model, not only in doctrine, but also in liturgy and devotion. In appealing to antiquity the Tractarians put the *Book of Common Prayer* under a microscope and discovered that its rubrics, understood in their historical context, commanded daily worship, frequent celebrations, and more ornaments and vestures than were commonly found in English parish churches.⁽³²⁾

The Tractarians put such stress on external rites and worship because they were imbued with the sacramental principle which says that God uses created means as instruments in acting on a person. The liturgical renewal was thought to be the work of the Spirit, and the Tractarians naturally assumed that what had developed in the way of the liturgy ought to be respected. The Anglican bishops rejected the Catholic-sacramental system, the source of the liturgical changes, accusing the Tractarians of propagating "Catholic" ideas. The Tractarians, for their part, had an ecumenical motive in mind. They believed that liturgical uniformity should lead the way to the visible unity of the Catholic Church.⁽³³⁾

29. O'Connell, *The Oxford Conspirators* 139.

30. William Palmer thought it unfortunate that Newman published these tracts without consulting others. Since the tracts were published anonymously, the whole association became responsible for their contents. As the tone of the tracts drifted toward Rome, Palmer could no longer associate himself with them. Cf. Palmer, *Tracts for the Times* (London: Rivingtons, 1833) 55.

31. Green, *Religion At Oxford* 261.

32. Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961) 56.

33. Alf Haerdelin, "Kirchliche Einheit und liturgische Einheitlichkeit in der Sicht der Oxford-Bewegung," *Bijdragen* 29 (1968) 297. Mention should be made of the anonymously published *Ecclesiastical Almanacs* which appeared yearly between 1839 and 1843, and which belonged to the Tractarian circle. They contain a calendar noting the feasts and fasts of the Prayer Book but also give the Roman rules for fasting and liturgical commemoration. The Almanacs had an explicitly ecumenical purpose, namely, that of hastening the union between the churches and of rendering ourselves "worthy of entering into it." Cf. Alf Haerdelin, *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1965) 245.

According to the Tractarians, the liturgical system of the Church rested on apostolic authority. The term, "Catholic Church", signified not the empirical Church but the primitive Church. The authority of the primitive Church included liturgical forms. As Alf Haerdelin notes, the Tractarians arrived at an understanding of the Church which was essentially catholic. In *A Fairwell Letter to his Parishioners*, W.J. Bennet said that the rites of the Anglican Church should be formed on the model of universal order, in order to lead to communion with the other churches. Bennet also raised this important ecumenical question:

"Should we, in our liturgy, just as in our dogmas, be so cut off, and exist, in an insular fashion, within the great Christian family?"⁽³⁴⁾

Ecumenical Significance

The Oxford Movement was led by a group of dedicated individuals who despite sharing some common concerns still clung to their own opinions. To some extent, then, the term, Oxford Movement, is a misnomer if it is understood to represent one simple idea or issue. For this reason I will treat the ecumenical views of each of the central figures connected with the Oxford Movement in its first phase. It should be noted that the Tractarians did not have reunion as their primary aim. However, the stress they put on the authority of the primitive Church and on the basic catholicity of the Anglican formularies emphasized beliefs held in common with Rome, rather than on those dividing them.⁽³⁵⁾

Richard Hurrell Froude (1803 – 36)

The Oxford Movement was generated largely by the influence of mind on mind, personality on personality. This was particularly the case in reference to Richard H. Froude who brought Keble and Newman to understand each other.⁽³⁶⁾ Froude in turn, was greatly influenced by Keble who stressed the importance of tradition, conscience, reverence and duty. It is from Keble, from Bishop Lloyd's lectures at Oxford on the liturgy and

34. Ibid.

35. R.T. Brandreth, *The Ecumenical Ideals Of The Oxford Movement* (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1947) 14. Cf. V.A. Mc Clelland, "Corporate Reunion: A Nineteenth Century Dilemma," *TS* 43 (1982) 7.

36. *Remains I*, 438. Cf. Dawson, *The Spirit Of The Oxford Movement* 11 and Brendon, *Hurrell Froude* 84. In the *Apologia* Newman says that Froude brought him to an appreciation of the value of tradition, of the exaltation of the priestly office, and the claim of the Church over against that of the State. *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (ed. Martin J. Svaglic; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 34, and R.D. Middleton, *Newman & Bloxam: An Oxford Friendship* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947) 21. On the relationship between Froude and Newman, see G. Biemer, "Richard Hurrell Froude Und John Henry Newman," in *Begegnung: Beiträge Zu Einer Hermeneutik Des Theologischen Gesprächs* (ed. M. Seckler, et al; Graz: Verlag Styria, 1972) 697 – 714.

from his own reading that Froude acquired some of his Catholic views which were later to be incorporated into the Oxford Movement.⁽³⁷⁾

Keble taught Froude the importance of an unbroken historical tradition and a catholic faith which transcended the confines of sectarian Protestantism. Keble also led Froude to question the assumption that the Pope was the Antichrist. Already in 1827 Froude's friends were commenting on his sympathies with the Roman Church. Correspondingly, Froude began to look with suspicion on the English Reformers. Central to Froude's indictment of the English Reformers was their lack of a good *etos*, meaning the tone of one's moral character. According to Froude the motives of the English Reformers such as Cranmer, Jewel, Latimer and Ridley seemed so ambiguous that he could hardly see what distinguished them from Catholics. Froude saw the Reformers as the initial false prophets of progress who set afloat an individualistic spirit when they doubted ordination, emphasized experience as opposed to faith, and questioned the traditional doctrines of the Church.⁽³⁸⁾

Concomitant with his rejection of the Reformers, Froude increasingly sympathized with the Non-Jurors of 1688 – 1714. He was attracted by their stress on the ancient fathers, the liturgy and the Church Universal. Froude seconded their belief in the independent authority of the Church. As he opposed the Erastianism prevalent in England at the time of the Reform Bill of 1832, Froude had a sense that he was simply following in the path blazed by the Non-Jurors.⁽³⁹⁾

Froude did more than anyone else to bring the Tractarians to the point where they questioned the finality of the Reformation. One finds in Froude's *Remains* for the year, 1834, such statements as "I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation".⁽⁴⁰⁾ Today we recognize the fact that Froude did not do justice to the thought of the Reformers. He looked at history in moral categories of black and white, and did not read widely in the original documents of the Reformation. His indictment of the Reformers may best be seen as a reaction against the glorification of them by the Evangelicals.⁽⁴¹⁾

37. Brendon, *Hurrell Froude* 75. For the influence of Bishop Lloyd on Froude, Newman and Pusey, see William J. Baker, *Beyond Port and Prejudice: Charles Lloy of Oxford, 1784 – 1829* (University of Maine at Orono, 1981).

38. William J. Baker, "Hurrell Froude and the Reformers," *JEH* 21 (1970) 249.

39. *Ibid.* 251.

40. *Remains I*, 336. Froude writes that the "Reformation was a limb badly set – it must be broken again in order to be righted." Cf. *Remains I*, 443 and 380.

41. Evangelicalism may be traced back to the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century where one finds the beginnings of the parish, as opposed to itinerant, ministries of clergy, for example, in William Romaine of London. See Peter Toon, "Evangelicals and Tractarians: then and now," *The Churchman* 93 (1979) 29; Davies, *Worship And Theology* 210 – 240; and David Newsome, "Justification And Sanctification: Newman And The Evangelicals," *JTS* 15 (1964) 32 – 53. For the distinction between Evangelicals, High Church and Low Church see John C. de Saigé, "Evangelical Traditions in Anglican Worship," *One in Christ* 4 (1968) 32 – 65.

One may speak of the ecumenical significance of R.H. Froude in this way: after 1838 churchmen were less inclined to see the Reformation as absolutely pure in its origins and unmixed in its blessings, nor could the Reformers be uncritically acclaimed as the saintly heroes of churchmen. After Froude history could no longer be used as a weapon in sectarian warfare. With his strange indictment of the Reformers and his inadequate historical method, Froude underscored the need for a more balanced interpretation of the Reformation. As Baker observes, the development of a professionally serious and reflective historical method in the second half of the nineteenth century can be traced, in part, to a reaction against the way in which history was manipulated in the controversies surrounding the Oxford Movement, as well as to the increasing availability of primary sources.⁽⁴²⁾

There are other ways in which Froude helped the cause of reunion. It was he who revived the important ideal of celibacy in the Oxford Movement. He also began to veer toward other doctrines, for example, he put a great deal of emphasis on the value of the sacraments especially the Eucharist. Limitations of space preclude a more detailed exposition of his thought on these points.⁽⁴³⁾

John Henry Newman (1801 – 1890)

This section contains a brief tabulation of certain key features in regard to Newman's ecumenical vision. One does not find a systematic treatment of ecumenical theology in Newman. For that matter Newman never even claimed to be a theologian.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Newman's theology grew organically and found expression in sermons, letters, marginal notes and papers, tracts, controversial works and long essays.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In fact, Newman's lack of systematization may be partially responsible for John Griffin's thesis that little of the ecumenical spirit finds expression in Newman's published volumes.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The first important source for Newman's ecumenical vision is the *Via Media I* (1837), which contains, *in nuce*, the ecclesiology of the Tractarians. It was occasioned by the need for explaining why the Tractarians who were

42. Baker, "Hurrell Froude" 259.

43. Cf. Church, *The Oxford Movement* 47 – 54 and Brendon, *Hurrell Froude* 77.

44. Nicholas L.A. Lash, "Was Newman a Theologian?" *HJ* 17 (1976) 322 – 25. Tract 90, written in 1841 shows that the 39 Articles are capable of a catholic interpretation. This tract may also be regarded as an ecumenical work. Cf. A. Heidelberger, "J.H. Newman Und Die 39 Artikel Der Anglikanischen Kirche," *Catholica* 31 (1977) 252 – 272.

45. James Tolhurst, "The Idea Of The Church As A Community In The Anglican Sermons Of John Henry Newman," *DR* 101 (1983) 140.

46. John R. Griffin, "Newman – the Ecumenist?" *Faith & Reason* 8 (1982) 295. Griffin argues that Newman's anti-ecumenical stance will be a major obstacle in the way of his beatification. One wonders how Griffin can come to such a conclusion when Newman writes in the *Apologia* "... I began to wish for union between the Anglican Church and Rome, if, and when, it was possible; and I did what I could to gain weekly prayers for that object." *Apologia* 116.

so anti-Protestant were not thereby pro-Roman as some were saying.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In the *Via Media I* Newman points out how the Church of England is a true branch of the Church Catholic with the Churches of Constantinople and of Rome as coordinate branches.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In this work Newman insists on catholicity or the Universal Church identifying it with the Church of England. I would observe that the direction the Oxford Movement took from the start in insisting on catholicity was bound to promote reunion.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The first characteristic of Newman's ecumenical vision is its realism. He stresses the common ground between the Church of England and the Roman Church without glossing over the differences.

"In both systems the same Creeds are acknowledged. . . . we both believe in the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, and Atonement; in original sin, in the necessity of regeneration; in the supernatural grace of the Sacraments; in the Apostolical succession; in the obligation of faith and obedience, and in the eternity of future punishment".⁽⁵⁰⁾

In the *Via Media I* Newman charts a moderate course between a false irenicism and polemicism. This same realistic attitude surfaces in his reply to Pusey's *Eirenicon*. It is true that Newman had a number of reservations to make about Pusey's *First Eirenicon* of 1865.⁽⁵¹⁾ However, Newman's lack of enthusiasm for the *Eirenicon* was partially dictated by the internal dissensions among the English Roman Catholics.⁽⁵²⁾ Newman knew that the whole area of Anglican-Roman Catholic relations had a thick ice-cap of 1) theological differences; 2) historical baggage and 3) a folklore of religious

47. For a discussion of the *Via Media I* see: Jean Stern, *Bible et Tradition chez Newman: Aux Origines de la Theorie du Developpement* (Paris: Aubier, 1967) 136–141; Günter Biemer, *Newman on Tradition* (New York: Herder, 1967) 42–48; and Muriel Trevor, *Newman: The Pillar Of The Cloud* (London: Macmillan, 1962) 212; A.M. Allichin, "The Via Media – An Anglican Revaluation," in *Newman: A Portrait Restored* (ed. John Coulson, et al; London: Sheed & Ward, 1965) 62–111.
48. Bernard M.G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore: A Century of Religious Thought in Britain* (London: Longman, 1971) 96.
49. Brandreth, *The Oecumenical Ideals* 14. In speaking about the purpose of the universal primate's jurisdiction, The Windsor Report of 1981, "Authority in the Church II" links together the issues of "catholicity" and "unity." Cf. Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, *The Final Report* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Forward Movement Publications, 1982) 90, hereafter as *The Final Report*.
50. Newman, *Via Media I* 44. The Malta Report of 1968 also makes a similar point when it stresses the faith held in common by the Roman Catholics and Anglican Communions. Cf. *The Final Report* 109.
51. I believe that Griffin is wide of the mark when he says that Pusey's *Eirenicon* was not read "as an *Eirenicon* at the time." Cf. Griffin, "Newman – the Ecumenist?" 293. For an opposing viewpoint, see H.P. Liddon, *Life Of Edward Bouverie Pusey IV 1860–1882* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897) 130–134.
52. Liddon, *Life IV*, 135. For a history of the English Catholics see M.D.R. Leys, *Catholics in England 1559–1829: A Social History* (London: Longmans, 1961).

and of national hostility in both communions. Some Anglicans still clung to the idea that the Pope was the Antichrist. After all, had not Newman himself as an Anglican maintained such a view of the Pope?⁽⁵³⁾

Newman believed in reunion through reform. He saw that the denominational rigidity of his day precluded reunion. The two communions were like frozen streams in winter. As they became fluid again in the sunlight of the apostolic tradition and its legitimate development, they could flow together and merge into unity, as Crabtree notes.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Newman was realistic enough to see some truth in all traditions and would acknowledge the truth wherever it could be found, even though such a move might involve breaking with his Anglican heritage as it did with his conversion in 1845.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Secondly, Newman believed that reunion was a work of God rather than a human work. Newman thought, then, that reunion was a matter for prayer, devotion and a religious spirit. These were for him the ecumenical tools, *par excellence*. In the *Sermons on Subjects of the Day* (1843) Newman looks upon the division of the churches as rooted in a corruption of hearts.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The doctrine of the communion of saints is the source of Newman's ecumenical vision. Simple believers participate in the ecumenical movement by leading holy lives in response to God's grace. For Newman and the other Tractarians, sanctity is everything:

"Let us but raise the level of religion in our hearts, and it will rise in the world. . . . Let us try to serve God more strictly than heretofore; . . . He will bring together the different parts of the Church, and restore peace and unity as at the first".⁽⁵⁷⁾

53. Newman, *Apologia* 57. Cf. Paul Misner, "Newman and the Tradition concerning the Papal Antichrist," *Church History* 42 (1973) 377 - 395.
54. Arthur B. Crabtree, "Newman's Views on Reunion," *Moravian Theological Seminary Bulletin* Fall (1968) 18.
55. One of Newman's maxims was "*Magna est veritas et praevalabit.*" See Richard Penaskovic, "Saint Augustine's *Confessions* and Newman's *Apologia*: Similarities and Differences," *Aug. St.* 9 (1978) 91.
56. John Henry Newman, *Sermons on Subjects of the Day* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1843) 133. One of the urgent tasks Anglicans and Roman Catholics have is to develop together a spirituality in order for them to carry out Christ's mission in the world. Cf. Herbert J. Ryan, "The New Dynamics Of Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue," in *Episcopalians And Roman Catholics: Can They Ever Get It Together?* (ed. Herbert J. Ryan and J. Robert Wright; Denville, New Jersey: Dimension Books, 1972) 19.
57. Newman, *Sermons on Subjects of the Day* 134. One may call the Victorian period the age of the preacher. The Victorians felt incomplete if they did not hear one sermon each Sunday. Many listened to two or three sermons every Sunday. Cf. R. Green, "Hard Times: The Style of a Sermon," *Texas Studies In Literature And Language* 11 (1970) 1375 - 96.

John Keble (1792 – 1866)

Politically, John Keble was a sentimental Jacobite, who adopted the position of the Non-Jurors, those who did not accept the political settlement of the Anglican Church consequent upon the abdication of James II. They were on good terms with the Anglican Church by the late eighteenth century but held fast to a tradition of nostalgic Jacobitism and hostility to the establishment.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Keble seemed to accept the establishment but still looked for a chance to cause some trouble. Hence Keble's reaction to the political situation in the 1830's was to preach a sermon on "National Apostasy".⁽⁵⁹⁾

One finds Keble's views on reunion scattered throughout his writings. One does not find a systematic exposition of his views on reunion because Keble had a penchant for the concrete and the imaginative rather than for the abstract.⁽⁶⁰⁾ However, Keble still had some strong views on matters ecumenical. Keble, like Newman, emphasizes the doctrine of the communion of saints. One finds this doctrine mentioned in many of Keble's sermons although it is not developed at length.⁽⁶¹⁾

As a corollary to the doctrine of the Mystical Body, Keble insists on the unity of the Church. For Keble there exists a oneness in the Church deeper than any visible signs. Keble opted for the Branch Theory which states that the Anglican, Greek and Roman communions are part of the one Church of Christ. Each part has preserved true doctrine and valid sacraments. Keble believed that a real mysterious unity existed between each branch, and in his sermon, "The Church One" emphasizes this essential oneness.⁽⁶²⁾

Because he considered each branch to have preserved valid sacraments through the apostolic succession, Keble argued that a sacramental unity bound all Christians together. In his *Sermons, Academic and Occasional* Keble speaks of a sacramental unity which transcended all differences that separate the branches. Keble explained this profound unity in its analogy with the unity of the human race.⁽⁶³⁾ For Keble each branch has maintained the elements of the true Church and must wait until a council of the whole Church may bring them together again.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Keble writes,

58. H.C.G. Matthews, "Edward Bouverie Pusey: From Scholar To Tractarian," *JTS* 32 (1981) 102.

59. *Ibid.* 113.

60. W.J.A.M. Beek, *John Keble's Literary And Religious Contribution To The Oxford Movement* (Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij N.V., 1959) 102. Keble was a religious poet with affinities to the metaphysical poets, Henry Vaughan and George Herbert. See John Keble, *The Christian Year* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1827) x.

61. Michael A. Mc Greevey, "John Keble On The Anglican Church And The Church Catholic," *HJ* 5 (1964) 29. Keble anticipates the Venice Statement of 1976 which looks upon the Church as a *koinonia*. Cf. *The Final Report*, 52 – 56; 63 – 65.

62. Michael A. Mc Greevey, "John Keble's Way to Christian Unity," *one in Christ* 1 (1965) 53.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Mc Greevey, "John Keble On The Anglican Church," 27.

“However. . . it seems to be of the very most importance that we should keep in our minds. . . the fact that we stand as orthodox Catholics upon the constant virtual appeal to the oecumenical voice of the Church, expressed by the four great Councils, and by a general consent in all ages during which she continued undivided. And if that voice be disputed, is there any conceivable way of bringing the dispute to an issue, except only another true Oecumenical Council, when such by God’s grace may be had?”⁽⁶⁵⁾

Keble’s ecclesiology gives primacy to the whole Church, which is superior to any of its three branches. Keble regretted the fact that those who, without intending schism, were cut off from the Roman Church in the sixteenth century were called “protestant” rather than the term he preferred “appellant”. The latter term would have recalled Luther’s appeal to a General Council.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The strong emphasis put by Keble on the term appellant shows that he considered the present division between the branches as temporary in nature, and that all three branches must submit to the higher authority, namely, the Church Universal.⁽⁶⁷⁾ In short, Keble desired to see a united Catholic Church, one in which Christians could communicate wherever they might travel, as he says in his *Sermons on the Liturgy*.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Finally, Keble believed that the best way to full visible unity involved trodding the path of personal holiness, a path which Keble himself knew so very well. Close union with one another would be the result of a close union with Christ. For Keble as for Newman, deeper personal holiness in each Christian is *the* ecumenical tool. Keble did not believe in individual conversions from one communion to another. Keble wanted others to remain where they were to work diligently for the reform of abuses in their own respective communions. In this matter Keble and Newman were again kindred spirits.⁽⁶⁹⁾

William Palmer (1803 – 85)

W. Palmer was a rigid High Churchman called by the great Roman theologian, Fr. Perrone, “*theologorum Oxoniensium facile princeps*”.⁽⁷⁰⁾

65. Ibid. 31.

66. Ibid. 30.

67. Ibid. 31.

68. Ibid. 32.

69. Mc Greevey, “John Keble’s Way” 59.

70. There were two William Palmer’s in nineteenth century Oxford. William Palmer of Magdalene College (1811 – 1879) wanted to join the Eastern Orthodox Church but was refused permission in 1840. He believed that the separation between Rome and Constantinople was caused by misunderstandings on both sides, rather than by any serious doctrinal differences between the two churches. Cf. R.D. Middleton, *Magdalene Studies* 112. This essay deals with William Palmer of Worcester College (1803 – 85). Cf. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 2 ed. (ed. F.L. Cross; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973) 197.

Palmer's *Treatise on the Church* (1838) sheds important light on his ecumenical views.⁽⁷¹⁾ In these two tomes Palmer sets forth the famous Branch Theory of the Church. Palmer believes that particular churches were instituted by the Apostles in obedience to the will of God, not to divide but to organize the Church Universal. Scripture, notes Palmer, does not promise that the Church should never be divided. Palmer argues that the Roman Church continued to be a true Church, that is, a Church of Christ, both before and after the Reformation.

Palmer asserts that the Roman Church was impressed with a revered opinion which regarded the Pope as the divinely appointed center of unity. Everyone who did not communicate with the Pope was cut off from the Church.⁽⁷²⁾ Palmer is quite willing to grant the ancient, legitimate privileges of the Pope. He remarks that the bishops have influence and authority in proportion to the dignity of their churches. For this reason whenever the bishop of Rome was in communion with the entire Church he would naturally be the center of unity because of his authority in the Church Universal, which would lead churches in every part of the world to communicate with him often.⁽⁷³⁾

Palmer would grant the Pope privileges but not jurisdiction or coercive power. He sees the papacy as no longer the principle of unity but as the grand stumbling-block to reunion between the Western and Eastern churches. Palmer argues that whoever is separated from communion with the Pope is not necessarily cut off from the catholic church. For Palmer the unity of the one fold may subsist even if external communion were at times interrupted through misunderstandings or infirmities. He believes that the Anglican Church removed herself from the Pope's jurisdiction but not from the communion of the Universal Church. Palmer uses the same kind of logic in regard to Protestants on the Continent whom he refuses to see as cut off from the unity of the Church.⁽⁷⁴⁾

I have two observations to make about Palmer's importance for ecumenism. First, he saw clearly how crucial the issue of the papacy was to the dialogue between the churches. Palmer's underlying question remains with us today, namely, to what extent is the concept of papal primacy integral to ecclesiology and how should such a primacy be exercised in the

71. William Palmer, *A Treatise On The Church Of Christ I* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1841) 113. Palmer argues that not all errors, even in matters of faith, are heretical. Palmer's treatise develops the solid Anglican tradition rooted in Pearson, Bramhall, Field and Hooker. Cf. A.S. Duncan Jones, "The Oecumenical Ideals Of The Oxford Movement," in *Northern Catholicism* 458.

72. Palmer, *A Treatise I*, 267.

73. Palmer, *A Treatise II*, 505. The Venice Statement (1976) sounds a similar note when it states that early in the Church a "function of oversight of the other bishops of their region was assigned to bishops of prominent sees." Cf. *The Final Report* 56.

74. Palmer writes that Luther and his followers did not separate from the Roman Church but were excommunicated and forcibly expelled by the Pope. Cf. *A Treatise I*, 337.

Church.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In saying that there exists no inbuilt resistance in the Church of England to the concept of primacy as such, Palmer stands solidly in the tradition of Archbishop Wake, Field, Laud, Bramhall and Cosin, all of whom would also grant a primacy of order/dignity to the Pope within the context of a strongly collegial setting. Even today Anglicans share Palmer's views about primacy having its essential context in collegiality and have trouble in squaring the teaching of Vatican I on infallibility and immediate jurisdiction with this framework.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Second, one reason Palmer and his fellow Tractarians had reunion on their mind had to do with their extensive knowledge of history. Indeed, a cursory reading of Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, not to mention his book, *Origenes Liturgicae* (1832) on the history of the English liturgy, bears out Palmer's great knowledge of history. Even the Anglican bishops in 1845 acknowledged the fact that the Tractarians made us aware of certain subjects such as "the unity of the Church. . . subjects on which we have so long been silent that the very terms seem strange to the ears of our congregations. . . ." ⁽⁷⁷⁾

Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–82)

One must be aware of Pusey's family background to understand his position in the Oxford Movement. By descent the Bouveries were French walloons, sixteenth century Protestant emigrants to England who subsequently made a modest fortune in the Turkish trade. The home life of Pusey was Hanoverian and moderately aristocratic since his father succeeded to the estates of the Pusey family in 1788, having already taken the surname, Pusey, as a requirement for this succession.⁽⁷⁸⁾

After preparatory school Pusey attended Eton, Christ Church, Oxford and then Oriel College. Christ Church was a college closely linked with politics and administration. It aimed to create a first-rate governing élite class. At Christ Church Pusey found himself in a Hanoverian, scholarly but worldly, practical atmosphere. Whereas Christ Church was designed to export undergraduates, Copleston's Oriel was constructed to encourage intellectuals within Oxford at the postgraduate level. As H.C.G. Matthews

75. Palmer, *A Treatise II* 498–505. Cf. Heinrich Fries, "Das Petrusamt im anglikanisch-katholisch Dialog," *Stimmen der Zeit* 107 723–38.

76. The Venice Statement sees the purpose of the episcopal function of the bishop of Rome as one of promoting Christian fellowship in faithfulness to the teaching of the apostles, and not that of stifling the distinctive features of the local churches. Cf. *The Final Report* 57–58. Misunderstanding of the terms, "universal", "ordinary", and "immediate jurisdiction", as applied to the Pope by Vatican I has not helped matters. Cf. *The Final Report* 89.

77. W.S. Bricknell, *The judgment of the bishops upon Tractarian theology* (Oxford: J. Vincent, 1845) 149. Bishop Bagot of Oxford cautioned the Tractarians already in 1838 "lest, in their exertions to re-establish unity, they unhappily create fresh schisms;" (ibid. 151).

78. Matthews, "Edward Bouverie Pusey" 102.

observes, it did so with considerable catholicity and with a readiness to defend Anglicanism in fresh and challenging terms.⁽⁷⁹⁾

As part of his Hanoverian background, Pusey brought to the Oxford Movement the certainty that the Church of England was a national Church. With his keen political sense, nurtured at Christ Church, Pusey saw the danger in 1833 on a much wider scale than the battle with the Whigs in regard to Church reform. He realized that the very existence of Christianity was on the line. Consequently, Pusey felt free to use whatever measures worked, even if these remedies were Roman. Hence the ease with which Pusey could point out the positive features of Rome as in his *Eirenicon* of 1865.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Pusey's *Eirenicon* of 1865 is his most important contribution to ecumenism. He wrote this work in reaction to Manning's attack upon the Anglican Church. In this first *Eirenicon* Pusey knew that he was carrying on the ecumenical spirit of Du Pin and Archbishop Wake. He points out the fact that the differences between the formal teaching of the Anglican and the Roman churches is smaller than is often supposed. As Pusey said in an explanatory letter to *The Weekly Register*:

"I am thankful that you have brought out the main drift and object of my *Eirenicon*. . . to show that, in my conviction, there is no insurmountable obstacle to the union of the Roman, Greek and Anglican communions. I have long been convinced that there is nothing in the Council of Trent which could not be explained satisfactorily to us, if it were explained authoritatively. . . nothing in our Articles which cannot be explained rightly, as not contradicting anything held to be *de fide* in the Roman Church. The great body of the faith is held alike by both".⁽⁸¹⁾

Pusey felt that Anglican objections to Rome relate to Mary, and to the popular teaching about Purgatory and indulgences. However, this teaching is not found in the formal decrees at Trent. What Pusey implies is this: that there exists a hierarchy of truth in regard to the faith. Statements which are authoritatively asserted to be not *de fide* need not necessarily to be taken into account in discussions about reunion.⁽⁸²⁾ As a precedent for such explanations Pusey points to the overtures which Du Pin and Archbishop

79. Ibid. 104.

80. Ibid. 119. In his first *Eirenicon* Pusey consciously knew that he was continuing the ecumenical spirit of Du Pin and Archbishop Wake. Cf. Liddon, *Life IV* 106. Griffin believes that Pusey never intended his book to be an *Eirenicon* yet Pusey himself writes, "At last my book is finished. I think that I said that it was meant to turn out an *Eirenicon*" (ibid.).

81. Brandreth, *The Oecumenical Ideals* 41.

82. Liddon, *Life IV* 108. Even today the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption raise a special problem for those Anglicans who do not consider that "the precise definitions given by these dogmas are sufficiently supported by Scripture." *The Final Report* 96.

Wake made to each other when the former proposed a union between the Gallican and English Churches.⁽⁸³⁾

Concluding Reflections

As a conclusion to this study of the ecumenical significance of the Oxford Movement, I offer for reflection the following four points, which are closely knit together.

First, instead of regarding the division between the churches as a *fait accompli*, the Tractarians attempted to look at the possibilities for dialogue so as to effect an eventual reunion. They accomplished this in several ways. Richard H. Froude refused to glorify the Reformers and did not regard the Reformation settlement as fixed and final. William Palmer went further and said that the reformed were not exempt from faults and errors both in doctrine and discipline.⁽⁸⁴⁾

John Kelbe took a different track. He viewed the present division between the churches as temporary in nature rather than as written in stone. Newman stressed the common ground that exists between the Anglican and Roman communions thus anticipating the Malta Report of 1968.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Pusey, on the other hand, wrote that the differences in formal teaching between Rome and the Church of England are smaller than are commonly supposed. He believed that the Anglican objections to Rome related to Mary and to popular teaching about indulgences and purgatory. Thus Pusey anticipated The Venice Statement of 1981 Authority in the Church I which said that special difficulties are created by the recent Marian dogmas.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The influence of the Oxford Movement was not limited to the Anglican

83. There were other aspects of Pusey's life which advanced the cause of ecumenism. In 1845 Pusey helped establish the first Anglican sisterhood and encouraged such efforts throughout his life. He also preached the sermon, "The Entire Absolution of the Penitent" in 1846 from which dates the practice of private confession in the modern Church of England. Cf. "Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800 – 82)" in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 1147.
84. Palmer, *A Treatise I* 268. Cf. A.M. Allchin, "The Oxford Movement. Some New Perspectives," *One in Christ I* (1965) 45. Today there exists a proposal for a covenant before four English churches (the Church of England, the Moravian Church, the Methodists and the United Reformed Church), which has two main features: agreement at the outset for full communion and a solemn commitment to grow into visible unity as God leads the way. Cf. Martin Reardon, "The Proposed English Govenant from an Anglican Viewpoint," *One in Christ 18* (1982) 103 – 116.
85. *The Final Report* 109. For a discussion of the Malta Report and the Windsor and Venice Statements see H.R. Mc Adoo, "Anglican/Roman Catholic Relations, 1717 – 1980. A Detection of Themes" in *Rome and the Anglicans: Historical and Doctrinal Aspects of Anglican-Roman Catholic Relations* (ed. Wolfgang Haase; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982) 219 – 273. Cf. William Purdy, "Dialogue with the Anglican Communion," *One in Christ 18* (1982) 211 – 222; and "Relations interconfessionelles" *Irénikon 55* (1982) 214 – 234.
86. *The Final Report* 96; 117.

Church. It also had an impact on the English Free Churches and on the Church of Scotland. This occurred in various ways. Some churches began to pray and think in terms of the Universal Church as opposed to the *ecclesiolae*, their thoughts turning to the reunited one Church.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The Oxford Movement made the Free Churches in England question their own *raison d'être* and look to their own traditions and the corporate witness of their own churches.

Some churches, as a result of the Oxford Movement, began a re-evaluation of worship as such instead of just regarding prayers and praises as a propedeutic to preaching. Other churches in England and Scotland put liturgical elements or even entire liturgical forms into their services, as Horton Davies observes.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Finally, the correlation of Christianity with culture on the part of the Tractarians influenced the building and furnishing of sanctuaries in which symbolism, as opposed to mere functionalism, played a major role.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Second, the Tractarians highlighted the fact that there exists a oneness in the Church which runs deeper than any visible signs. John Keble would say that there is a sacramental unity which transcends the differences that separate the three branches of the Church Catholic, namely, the Anglican, the Orthodox and the Roman.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The Tractarians were remarkable for their insistence on the "whole Church" which they consider to be superior to any of its branches. There appears to be a correlation between Keble's distinction of internal versus external communion and the distinction drawn by Vatican II between full and partial communion.⁽⁹¹⁾

William Palmer pursues a similar line of thought when he writes that unity may subsist even if external communion was sometimes interrupted through misunderstandings or infirmities. At the third Lambeth Conference in 1888 the famous "Quadrilateral" was written which formed the basis for all subsequent Anglican action in regard to reunion. The Quadrilateral was the adoption of a line of thought found in W. Palmer, which may be traced back to the seventeenth century Caroline divines. To the Oxford Movement the Lambeth Quadrilateral owed a sense of the unity of the Church as an essential object of religious faith and the need to make unity a visible fact, an idea which finds expression in the Windsor Statement of 1981, "Authority in the Church II".⁽⁹²⁾

Third, the Oxford Movement continually reminds us that the goal of complete reunion transcends human efforts and possibilities, but is a work of God, as Keble and Newman pointed out. The best theological scholarship in the world will not bring about Church unity. It has to be scholarship

87. Davies, *Worship And Theology In England* 245.

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

90. Mc Greevey, "John Keble's Way" 54. Cf. *The Final Report* 5;8.

91. *The Final Report* 110.

92. *Ibid.* 99.

rooted in prayer, devotion and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.⁽⁹³⁾ This idea of Newman finds expression in the Decree on Ecumenism from Vatican II, *Unitatis Redintegratio* where it says that no ecumenism worthy of the name will come about without interior conversion.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Fourth, the Tractarians desired corporate reunion or organic unity in contradistinction to individual conversions from one communion to another. Pusey, for example, wanted corporate reunion because he saw the operation of the Holy Spirit upon the Church as a whole.⁽⁹⁵⁾ In a letter to W.E. Gladstone Pusey writes, "it is God the Holy Ghost, the Author of Peace and Lover of Concord, Who is putting into people's hearts to wish to be one".⁽⁹⁶⁾ In having organic unity as their implicit goal, the Tractarians anticipated both the Malta Report of 1968 and the Final Report of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission.⁽⁹⁷⁾

93. J.R. Wright, ed. "Documentation and Reflection: The Venice Statement," *ATHR* 60 (1978) 311. Cf. John Pinnington, "The Vocation Of Anglicanism," *Dublin Review* 515 (1968) 46.

94. *Unitatis Redintegratio* 7, in W. Abbott, ed. *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966).

95. Liddon, *Life IV* 110.

96. *Ibid.* 112.

97. *The Final Report* 99; 113.