

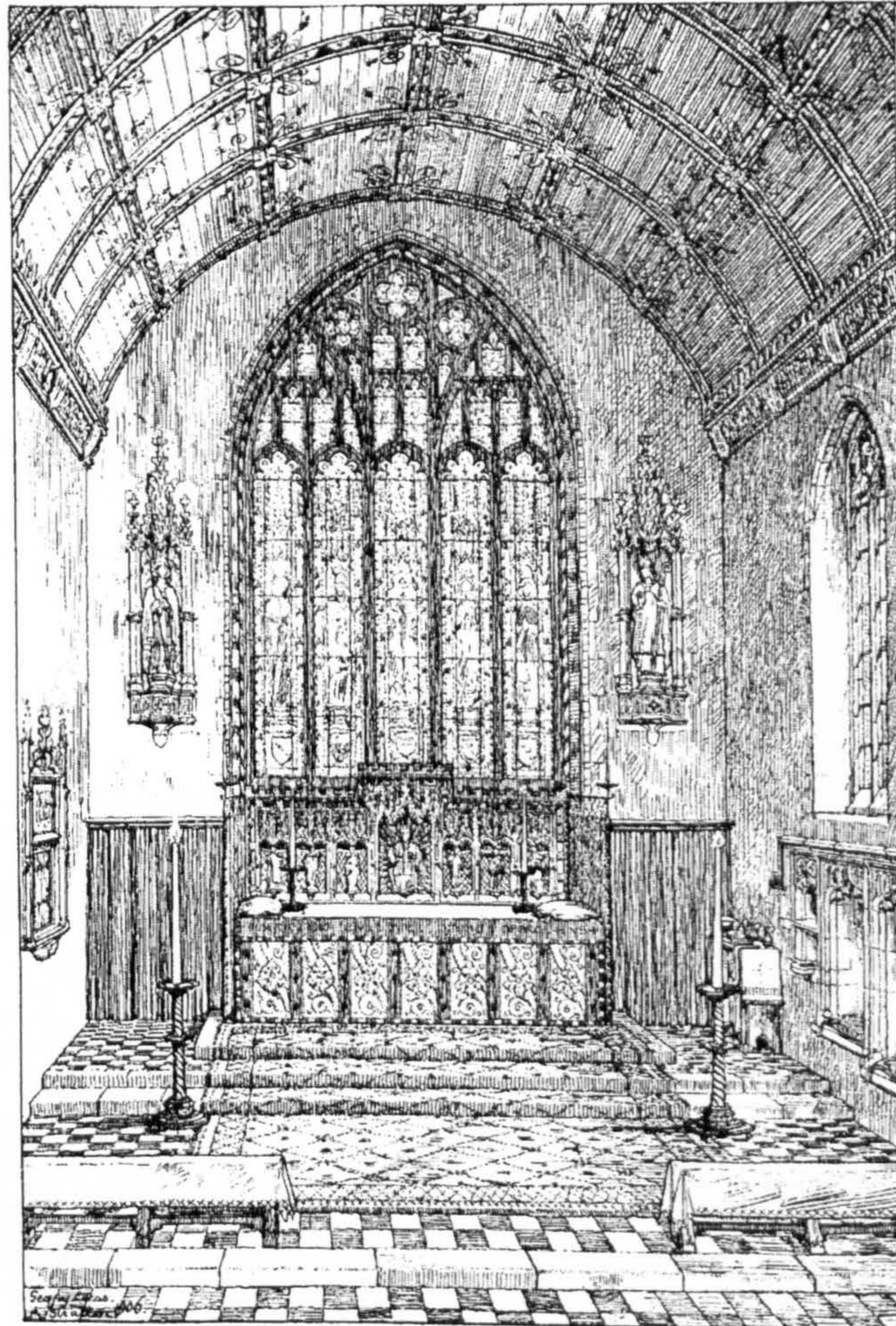
The University of Sheffield

Urban Liturgy in the Church of England:

A historical, theological and anthropological
analysis of the Mid Victorian
Slum Priest Ritualists and their legacy

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'AND THE CHANCEL SHALL REMAIN AS THEY HAVE
DONE IN TIMES PAST'

Figure 1:
'A typical chancel of fully developed English Gothic
architecture showing the arrangement which the Prayer Book rubrics were designed to continue.'
Percy Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1921), p.xiii.

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Abstract

Urban Liturgy in the Church of England: A historical, theological and anthropological analysis of the Mid Victorian Slum Priest Ritualists and their legacy

Timothy Richard Stratford

This study offers an insight into the interface between the worship and mission of the church in poor urban communities through historical, theological and anthropological analyses.

It considers the emergence of Ritualism in the mid-Victorian Church of England and the attempts of the establishment and Church hierarchy to put it down, particularly in the most deprived districts. The first preoccupation for many in the Church and for its leaders was to draw the 'masses' into church worship. In the case of the 'slum priests', who are the focus of interest here, the nature of this worship became a bone of bitter contention and ultimately led to a long period of liturgical reform in the Church of England.

The story of the Church of England's attempts at adaptation to meet the new urban context emerging since the mid Victorian period is often told in terms of politics and structure, the building of churches, the deployment of clergy, the distribution of financial resources and the parish system. Its attempts at liturgical reform are normally only told from the top down too: the party agendas, the bishops' beliefs, the ritual trials, the Royal Commission reports, the debates of the Convocations and liturgical text development. This is not that, but an attempt to discover the nature of a story at the interface between the liturgy, the church and the urban poor following the routes of narrative theology and ritual studies.

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Abbreviations

- BCP* *The Book of Common Prayer* (1662).
- ChHist* *Church History; Studies in Christianity and Culture*, (American Society of Church History).
- DCT* Alan Richardson (ed.), *A Dictionary of Christian Theology*, (London: SCM Press: 1982).
- NUS* J.C. Ryle, *No Uncertain Sound: Charges and Addresses, J.C. Ryle, First Bishop of Liverpool*, (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1978).
- ODNB* *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- PCant* *Project Canterbury* [<http://www.anglicanhistory.org>].
- RiVB* *Religion in Victorian Britain*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988)
- I *Volume 1: Traditions*, Gerald Parsons (ed.)
- II *Volume 2: Controversies*, Gerald Parsons (ed.)
- III *Volume 3: Sources*, James R. Moore (ed.)
- IV *Volume 4: Interpretations*, Gerald Parsons (ed.).

Preface

I have come to this research as an Anglican priest formed mainly by the Evangelical tradition with an interest in Liturgy, as a member of the Church of England's Liturgical Commission since 2006, and having been an incumbent in two Urban Priority Area parishes. This followed three years working as the full time chaplain to David Sheppard when he was Bishop of Liverpool. In these circles, with both Liturgy and Urban Studies as theoretical and practical interests, I have come to see the 'Slum Priest Ritualists' as fascinating specifically because of their embodiment of the Christian Gospel in a way their parishioners found tangible. There are many clergy within the current Anglo-Catholic tradition who are committed both to good liturgical practice and to ministry in UPAs for whom these priests' stories have been a significant inspiration. They offered an understanding that Christian mission among the poor demands the colourful and richly symbolic ritual of Anglo-Catholicism with a commitment to live alongside the poor and a willingness to challenge the powerful. It is evident too that those who walk this path often find themselves in hard and sometimes lonely places. This is not a formula that is guaranteed to grow a church or enhance popularity yet somehow it seems to be important and bear Gospel truths. Here is an attempt to develop some understanding of this.

I would like to acknowledge my thanks to those who have supported me along this way, particularly during the course of this research: John Vincent at the Urban Theology Unit whose idea it first was that I turned this interest into an academic research project and who as a supervisor has offered much encouragement and wisdom; those from Sheffield University who over nine years have co-supervised this project, David Clines at the very beginning, Jorunn Okland through the core of the work, and Loveday Alexander in helping to bring it to a conclusion. Thanks also to Murray and Fiona Steele who have read the text through and offered wise advice along with other colleagues in Kirkby and at the Good Shepherd West Derby who have borne with my through these years. Last and by no means least, thanks to Jen, my wife, and the family at home who have accommodated my needs and foregone that time and space that could have been theirs.

Tim Stratford
Kirkby Rectory
2007.

Part 1

General Background



Figure 2:
Our Pew at Church (by Phiz)
from Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield* (1849)

Chapter 1 Introduction

The story of the Victorian Church has been told and retold in many ways. The aim of this study is to examine the place of liturgy and worship to Christian urban mission. This will involve looking at how the Church of England and its liturgy have been challenged since the nineteenth century by the emerging significance of the urban poor and examining some particular priests who lived and worked amongst them. This is not intended to provide a history of liturgical reform nor of the Oxford Movement but the study will need to pay careful attention to these well researched episodes in order to understand the dynamic between the so-called Slum Priest Ritualists, their liturgical practice, the communities they lived in and the nature of the mission that emerged.¹

Their story has taken on a mythic nature in the church² and has affected the way that people think about liturgical and missiological praxis since. We must consider not just their history, but the nature of the myth they have become and that is still alive in the Church. We will also look at the continued challenge today to the official liturgies of the Church of England posed by churches whose mission lies in communities

¹ Reference to the events of this period is given by the Church of England's Liturgical Commission as an explanation of continued reform as late as 1980 in their *Alternative Service Book Commentary, The Alternative Service Book 1980: A Commentary by The Liturgical Commission* (London: CIO Publishing, 1980) p.9. Many of the contentious innovations of the Victorian Ritualists are now common place in Anglican worship and have had a clear influence on formal liturgical provision for the Eucharist, Initiation rites, Offices and other services.

² See for instance, J.E.B. Munson, 'The Oxford Movement by the end of the nineteenth century: The Anglo-Catholic Clergy', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975) p.391.

Even in the twenty-first century a Victorian flier continues to circulate in open fora as a reminder of the Ritualists' trials and names them as saintly martyrs by association:

THE VICTORIAN PERSECUTION HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

B.C.

533 Three Jews cast into a Fiery Furnace for conscience' sake.

583 Daniel cast into the Den of Lions for conscience' sake.

A.D.

28 S. John the Baptist cast into prison for conscience' sake.

32 Our Blessed Lord Crucified to vindicate 'the Law.'

51 SS. Peter and John cast into Prison for Preaching Christ.

55 S. Stephen stoned to death for conscience' sake.

68 SS. Peter and Paul put to death for conscience' sake.

1555 Hooper, Ridley and Latimer burned for conscience' sake.

1556 Cranmer burnt for conscience' sake.

1876 Arthur Tooth imprisoned for conscience' sake.

1880 T. Pelham Dale, R.W. Enraght, for conscience' sake, and.

They are in Gaol now, in this year 1880 of Our Lord,

and 43rd of Victoria, and,

by God's Grace,

may they light such a candle as shall never be put out,

Originally in R.T. Davidson & W. Benham, *The life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2 volumes (London: Macmillan, 1891). Volume 2, p.422.

Now also on the popular forum: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_William_Enraght, 19 November 2007.

characterized by multiple deprivation at the start of the new millennium that has brought in *Common Worship* (2000).

The Victorian Church of England struggled with limited success to relate to the working classes.³ But there were exceptions, and amongst the exceptions were the ministries of a handful of like-minded priests. These were labelled 'Ritualist'⁴ and were subject to campaigns against them. Five were sent to prison through legislative action brought or sanctioned by their bishops.⁵ More were deprived of their livings and several were led to early deaths by the pressure and spotlight they endured in the church they loved according to their biographers.⁶ They were dearly loved by many in their churches and have entered into today's hagiography.⁷ The Church of England still carries their legacy and the same capacity for division. With fresh vocabulary and theology derived from anthropological and urban and liberation theology, and with the current experience of a liturgical canon much greater than the *Book of Common Prayer*, this analysis of the Victorian story will shed light on the assumptions that persist from then into today's liturgical understanding.

Ronald Grimes places historians who are 'working on the lives of founders, saints, and reformers and utilizing the vocabulary of history and phenomenology of religion' into the first of what he has determined as six schools of narrative theology.⁸ Grimes is concerned about the separation of narrative and ritual in this school of thinking. He argues powerfully that the self is 'performatively constituted' as much as it is locked into story such that human beings are as much shaped by place as they are by time;

³ e.g. see Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974) p.323, where McLeod tabulates social inequality in church attendances across all denominations in London at the end of Victoria's reign. The Church of England attendance figures in poor districts stands at 4% rising to 22% in wealthy areas.

⁴ John Shelton Reed observes that not all ritualistic churches developed a successful mission among the urban poor. John Shelton Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, (London: Tufton Books, 1998), p. 52. See page 15 below.

⁵ See Table 3 on page 46 below.

⁶ Michael Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965) exemplifies this well. See page 18ff.

⁷ See footnote 2. Also, an extract from Arthur Tooth's biography helps illustrate the point: 'The heavenly things were always present; he was at once a mystic and yet of practical mind. He was a holy man who lived in the constant companionship of the Angels and the Saints. Every material beauty reminded him of the beauty, the glory, and the peace of God. He was a lover of the poor and the outcast, and some day the Church of this country will recognize him as a saint.' *Arthur Tooth* (London: The Catholic Literature Association, 1933), [*PCant* <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/bios/atooth.html>, 8th November 2007].

⁸ Ronald L. Grimes, 'Of Words the Speaker, of Deeds the Doer', *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 66, No. 1. (Jan., 1986), p.1.

Accademic interest in 'narrative theology' can be traced back to the original thinking of Hans Frei and subsequent works of the 1980s:

Hans Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974), Thomas Tracy, *God, Action and Embodiment* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1984), providing a philosophical underpinning, and, Ronald F. Thiemann, *Revelation and Theology: The Gospel as narrated promise* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), which reads the Gospel as the narrated promise of God.

that story telling, ritual enactment and ethical behaviour are strongly related; and that narratively inspired reflection creates problems for the theologian as much as it solves them.⁹ In this thesis we will remain conscious that this undertaking is an exercise in narrative theology but that it is also an exercise in ritual studies. Indeed the ritual aspect of history being explored may be as significant in its transmission as the retelling of the narrative. We must also remain conscious that both narrative and ritual can influence lives that are touched by them; that is to say that they are transmitters of myth.¹⁰

1.1 *The approach adopted*

The priorities, work and lives of the Slum Priest Ritualists has been transmitted to today's church in a number of ways: through historical account and the retelling of the story; in the practice and rituals of the church; and through the ferment of a mythology that can combine these both. We cannot simply use the tools of history here to understand their importance. We will need to disentangle a number of strands - mythological, theological, liturgical and historical - in order to improve our understanding. Ritual is a powerful factor at the heart of this. Nathan Mitchell reminds us that 'the power of ritual is ... far more local, strategic, messy, imprecise, ordinary, flexible, ambiguous and indeterminate than the high church liturgist might wish us to believe'.¹¹ In this work we will attempt to take account of the complex world in which our subjects lived. This does not make for clean and linear argument. Although the body of this thesis has three distinct sections (theoretical/theological, historical and ecclesiological/liturgical) there is necessarily a great deal of cross-referencing between them. Here we are attempting to follow a method outlined by Talal Asad advocating a multi-disciplinary approach to liturgical studies:

My argument ... is not just that religious symbols are intimately linked to social life (and so change with it), or that they usually support dominant political power (and occasionally oppose it). It is that different kinds of practice and discourse are intrinsic to the field in which religious representations (like any representation) acquire their identity and truthfulness.¹²

In what follows we will attempt to negotiate our way through a number of forms of discourse in as coherent a way as possible. Mitchell helps us understand the nature of the discourses we must enter into as we explore modern Christian ritual practices. Any

⁹ Grimes, 'Of Words the Speaker', p.2.

¹⁰ See Appendix 3.

¹¹ Nathan D Mitchel, *Liturgy and the Social Sciences* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1999) reprinted in Paul Bradshaw and John Melloh eds. *Foundations in Ritual Studies: A reader for students of Christian Worship* (London, SPCK, 2007) p. 127.

¹² Talal Asad, 'The construction of religion as an anthropological category' in *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Blatimore MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1993) reprinted in Michael Lambeck (ed), *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwells, 2002) p.129.

exploration of ritual practices must not simply focus on the overtly religious elements that are evident. He writes,

instead of approaching religion with questions about the doctrines and social meanings of practices or ... about the psychological effects of symbols and rituals, we need to study the historical conditions (movements, classes, institutions, ideologies) necessary for the existence of particular religious practices and discourses.¹³

Our interest in Victorian worship and churchmanship is limited here to the impact of those who, as priests of the Church of England, were representatives of the establishment but made their homes in some very tough places. Our analysis of the way that historical conditions shaped the Slum Priest Ritualists will inevitably need to give due consideration to top down movements but we will also endeavour to take seriously the history of the working classes.¹⁴ The Ritualists' emergence out of the Oxford Movement has been well documented but here we are equally, if not more, interested in their emergence out of Victorian poverty. This will determine very much the historical sources we will reference the most. We will give some priority to sources demonstrating a working-class outlook.

This work is not a revisionist history. We are chiefly interested in how this history has given rise to a myth influencing the ministry and liturgical ritual of the church today and in the nature of that myth. We will need to set the history out and look at it from the bottom up as well as the top down. Later in this first section we will set out the received narrative to which we will need to make constant reference back.

1.2 Structure

- **Part 1**

- Background**

- General Background and description of the received narrative

- **Part 2**

- Theoretical Analysis**

- This includes consideration of the received narrative in anthropological and in Liberation Theology terms. Here we will attempt to give a rationale to forming a new reading.

- **Part 3**

- Historical Analysis**

- Here we will place the received narrative alongside other significant socially

¹³ Mitchell, *Liturgy and the Social Sciences*, quoting Talal Asad, in Bradshaw & Melloh (eds), *Foundations*, p. 129.

¹⁴ Part 3

corresponding contemporary works and more recent historical interpretations of the period.

- **Part 4**

Liturgical and Ecclesiological Analysis

It is in these disciplines that the received narrative of the slum priest Ritualists has had greatest currency and at a popular level has had a myth-like currency. We will use the tools of these disciplines alongside the lessons of Parts 2 and 3 to consider the validity of this.

- **Part 5**

Theological Reflection and Conclusions

Here we will consider liturgical reform in the church today and what account might be taken of the controversies that began the process over a century ago.

1.3 Terms used

Most technical terms used in this work will be discussed as they are introduced. It will help to set our use of the following out from the start:

High Church

This term is used in the broadest of senses as it is applied to the Anglican Church. That is to say that it will refer to anyone who would argue historically or theologically the Church of England's direct lineage in the universal Catholic Church and the importance of this. This, of course, includes a great number of Anglican divines such as Richard Hooker (1554-1645), Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) and William Laud (1573-1645)¹⁵ as well as later movements.

Evangelical

This term will be used most often to refer to all of those within Anglicanism who felt a deep kinship with the Reformers. In the nineteenth century they defended biblical literalism powerfully.¹⁶ Among their early models are members of the Clapham Sect (late eighteenth century) and Charles Simeon (1759-1836). Within nineteenth century Anglicanism, leading evangelicals sought reforms to the *Prayer Book 1662* that would enable the inclusion of dissenting churches.¹⁷ Horton Davies uses the term

¹⁵ This follows for instance W.S.F. Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity* (London: SPCK, 1989) p.18.

¹⁶ R. Cant, 'Evangelicals', *DCT*, p.121.

¹⁷ R.C.D. Jasper, 'The Prayer Book in the Victorian Era', in Anthony Symonson (ed.), *The Victorian Crisis* (London: SPCK, 1970) p.111. See too Lord Ebury's attempts, as president of the *Prayer Book Reform Society*, to revise the Prayer Book, 'partly with a view to encouraging union between the

'Evangelical' from a predominantly Methodist perspective, describing three tributaries of evangelicalism: the Wesleyan, the Whitefieldian and the loyal Anglican¹⁸. David Bebbington defines the term much more widely as meaning (from the eighteenth century onwards) simply 'from the Gospel' and so bearing a non-denominational use¹⁹.

Tractarian

The term derives from *The Tracts for the Times*²⁰ published between 1834 and 1841 by leaders of the *Oxford Movement* and suggests followers of Oxford Movement teaching.²¹ This term had currency in the nineteenth century. In this thesis 'Tractarian' does not necessarily denote those who employed high ritual. Whilst 'Ritualists' tended to be 'Tractarians', not all 'Tractarians' were 'Ritualists'. Some nineteenth century literature sometimes confuses this distinction.

Ritualist

Here we refer to those priests who responded to Oxford Movement teaching by employing ritual in their worship.²² They are to be understood as developing from the Oxford Movement and not as synonymous with it. 'Ritualist' as a term was more likely to be used in the nineteenth century by those who spoke *about* Ritualists than it was to be used by the individuals of *themselves*.²³ Nevertheless it is not thought here to be a derogatory²⁴ term and appears to be a term that Ritualists accepted of themselves.²⁵ It might be thought of as suggesting that these characters had only one interest in life and were uni-dimensional. That is not intended by its use here.

In order to maintain a reasonable chronological integrity in this study it will be helpful to consider Ritualism in three periods:

established church and nonconformists', Leonard W. Cowie, 'Grosvenor, Robert, first Baron Ebury (1801–1893)', *ODNB*.

¹⁸ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England III from Watts and Wesley to Maurice 1690–1850* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996) p.210.

¹⁹ D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1989) p.1.

²⁰ *The Tracts for the Times* (1834–1841) [*PCant* <http://anglicanhistory.org/tracts/index.html>, 29 November 2007].

²¹ This is dealt with in more detail in the thesis below at 2.2.1 on page 29 and throughout.

²² This is dealt with in more detail in the thesis below, e.g. at 2.1.4 on page 27.

²³ G.J Cuming, *A history of Anglican Liturgy*, 2nd edition (London: Macmillan, 1982), p.152.

²⁴ See Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, p.19.

²⁵ 'Ritualist' would not have been a preferred term by those of whom it was used. Mackonochie is recorded as saying, 'People have taken to calling us 'Ritualists'. Knowing how small a share in my own thoughts ... the mere question of Ritual occupies, I confess to thinking the name a somewhat unsuitable one; but if we are not to be called by what the Prayer Book calls us – Catholics – we may as well be called by one name as another.' Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 109. This betrays the unwillingness of many within the Church of England to call other Anglicans 'Catholics' in the early days of Ritualism.

Early Ritualism, which will be considered here as that between the beginnings of the Oxford Movement (1833)²⁶ to the riots at St George's in the East (1859);²⁷

The Period of the Ritual Controversies, which can be considered to bracket the history of Anglican Victorian Ritualism from the time when Ritualist Priests obtained some notoriety after the riots at St George's in the East to the end of the Ritual Trials. Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln was the last clergyman to be tried. His case concluded in 1892.²⁸ There are two shades discernible in this phase which may be termed broadly as, i) *naïve*, followed by ii) *reactionary*. In the following pages those Ritualists (of which Purchas and Mackonochie are examples) who once naïvely thought that if they explained their case well enough the church would support them will be distinguished from those who later realized the strength of opposition and reacted against it (for example, Richard Enraght).

Later Ritualism, which could be described as a period of reflection and settling after the trials. Ritualism ceases to be distinct from Anglo-Catholicism in the very early twentieth century as worship that is consciously and ritually ordered becomes fairly widespread.

Anglo-Catholic

This broad term is often used loosely to cover all of the above except 'Evangelical'. Here we will use it specifically of a later development out of the High Church party and the Oxford Movement.²⁹ The phrase is a parallel to 'Roman Catholic' and is intended to emphasise the Anglican nature of this group of catholically minded people.

Slum Priest

This phrase has come to refer to a very particular style of Anglican priest whose life and work is characterized by commitment to areas with high levels of poverty.³⁰ In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the word 'slum' was commonly used to describe these places. The phrase has come to be a bit of a caricature. Although not all Anglican priests who worked in poor communities had a similar outlook this phrase is now suggestive of Anglo-Catholic clergy who put their health, comfort and personal safety at risk by engaging in close pastoral work and evangelism among the very

²⁶ See page 29.

²⁷ See 7.2.3 on page 115.

²⁸ See Table 3 on page 46.

²⁹ This follows R. Cant, 'Anglo-Catholicism', *DCT*, p.9.

³⁰ See Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious; themes and personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.116ff.

poorest.³¹ The Slum Priest Ritualists are a subset of Ritualism and those named in the section below can be seen as the fathers of this tradition.³²

Anglican

The phrase 'Anglican Communion' was coined in the nineteenth century to refer to the world-wide group of autonomous and episcopally governed churches whose worship derived from the 1549 and 1552 prayer books of Edward VI and who give primacy to the see of Canterbury.³³

Working Class

The term 'working class' is used in favour of the more common Victorian term 'lower class', except in quotations, as it is less pejorative. It should be considered to include the leaders and thinkers that Hugh McLeod calls 'the working class elite'³⁴ along with those such as artisans, shopkeepers and workshop owners who were more likely to attend their meetings,³⁵ and the workers, workless and destitute. Class is not understood here as 'structure', but, as E.P. Thompson says, 'historical relationship'.³⁶ It is something that happens. It is 'loose and evades analysis'.³⁷ Class affected life opportunities. Looking at marriage patterns, McLeod observes that unskilled workers were three times less likely to marry out of their class than those 'at the top of the manual hierarchy'.³⁸ This demonstrates the limitations of social mobility.

1.4 Scope

The scope of the thesis is limited to an interest in Ritualism distinct from Anglo-Catholicism, and particularly to those Ritualists who were prosecuted or threatened with prosecution immediately before and after the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874. It is they who have entered the church's mythology and unofficial hagiography most clearly. The chronological boundary is between the years 1859 and 1904. In 1859 there were riots at St George's in the East, London, because of the introduction of new ritual into the church's worship. So began the controversies. In 1904 the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline began its deliberations to bring some resolution.

³¹ For instance, see extract from Rowe on page 57 below.

³² See too for instance Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism* p.105.

³³ R. Cant, 'Anglican Communion', *DCT*, p.8.

³⁴ Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion*, 61.

³⁵ Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion*, 60.

³⁶ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books, 1968), Preface to the First Edition.

³⁷ Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, Preface.

³⁸ Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion*, 3.

Ritualism was not just limited to the slums in Victorian England, although by the end of this period of interest it had become predominantly an urban movement. Munson points out that by the turn of the century there were over 4000 clergy who belonged to one of the Anglo-Catholic societies that had emerged out of Ritualism.³⁹ These clergy were predominantly in the south of England and, generally speaking, the further you went from London, the fewer they were on the ground.⁴⁰ Only 75 out of the 415 clergy who used incense according to the *Church Association's Ritualist Clergy List (1902)* lived in rural parishes.⁴¹ That said, 'urban' does not always mean 'poor'. Some of Britain's wealthiest localities were and are urban. Munson is also able to assert conclusively that later Ritualism is predominantly middle-class as well as urban.⁴² We will here take an interest in mainly a handful of the earliest Ritualists whose ministries were spent in urban slum areas and whose stories are the earliest that came to be described as 'Slum Priest Ritualist'. They were undoubtedly an inspiration for others who sought to follow in their footsteps. The key characters that were among the earliest of those who have given rise to the Slum Priest Ritualist myth are outlined below. Their stories will be described more fully in later pages.

Bryan King (1811-1895)⁴³

King was a graduate of Brasenose College, Oxford. In 1842 he was appointed Rector of St George's-in-the-East in London's East End. In 1859 his introduction of High Church liturgical practices led to riots.⁴⁴ In 1860 he took leave on health grounds and went with his family to Bruges for three years.⁴⁵ He returned to quiet semi-retirement in Wiltshire. During his time in the East End he numbered among his curates Alexander Mackonochie and Charles Lowder.

Charles Fuge Lowder (1820-1880)⁴⁶

Graduate of Exeter College, Oxford, he served a curacy at St Barnabas' Pimlico.⁴⁷ In 1856 he moved to work with Bryan King at St George's taking Alexander Mackonochie as his assistant. In 1866 he opened a new church in the parish (St

³⁹ Munson, 'The Oxford Movement by the end of the nineteenth century: The Anglo-Catholic Clergy', in *ChHist*, vol. 44, No. 3. Sep. (1975), p.388.

⁴⁰ Munson, 'Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975), p.389.

⁴¹ Munson, 'Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975), p.390.

⁴² Munson, 'Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975), p.392.

⁴³ The main biography is: William Crouch, *Bryan King and the riots at St. George's-in-the-East* (London: Methuen & Co, 1904).

⁴⁴ See 7.2.3 on page 115.

⁴⁵ Jeremy Morris, 'King, Bryan (1811–1895)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁶ See L.E. Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder & the Ritualist Movement* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1982).

⁴⁷ Lida Ellsworth, 'Lowder, Charles Fuge (1820–1880)', *ODNB*.

Peter's) and in 1873 became its Vicar. He helped stabilize St George's after the riots and King's absence. He impressed local people with his care and steadfastness during the cholera epidemic of 1866. Perhaps as a response to these things he was protected by the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury from proceedings that the *Church Association* sought to take against him on account of his ritual.⁴⁸

Alexander Heriot Mackonochie (1825-1887)⁴⁹

A graduate of Wadham College, Oxford, Mackonochie served a number of curacies, including one alongside Bryan King and Charles Lowder, before becoming perpetual curate of St Alban's, Holborn in 1862.⁵⁰ Between 1867 and 1883 Mackonochie was the subject of long and protracted proceedings in court for his ritual practices brought by the *Church Association*.⁵¹ Throughout these years he also had a very productive ministry both among the poor of his parish and in the emerging Anglo-Catholic societies.⁵² He resigned his living towards the end of the court proceedings in response to a deathbed request by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He spent an unhappy year at St Peter's-in-the-Docks before going into semi-retirement. He died whilst lost in the mountains in Argyll. Arthur Stanton was among his junior curates at St Alban's.

Arthur Henry Stanton (1839-1913)⁵³

Stanton was a graduate of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1862. He was indignant at the 1860 St George's riots and went to help defend the church. He served the whole of his ordained ministry at St Alban's Holborn. After criticism of Stanton in the 1906 report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline over 3600 men signed a letter expressing their indebtedness to him.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Ellsworth, 'Lowder, Charles Fuge (1820–1880)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁹ See E.F. Russell (ed.), *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tubner & Co. Ltd., 1890), also,

Michael Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965). This is a classic example of a modern biography that presents a Ritualist as a saint.

⁵⁰ '...by the late '60s St Alban's had come to be widely regarded as *the* representative Ritualistic church, and its incumbent as *the* representative Ritualist.' Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p.126.

⁵¹ See Table 3 on page 46.

His modern biographer writes, 'It was in the spring of 1867 that the notorious lawsuit of Martin v. Makonochie began. Mackonochie was then forty-one and at the height of his powers: by the end of the affair he was fifty-seven, a broken man, with only four more years to live.' Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p.123.

⁵² Rosemary Mitchell, 'Mackonochie, Alexander Heriot (1825–1887)' *ODNB*.

⁵³ G.W.E. Russell, *St Alban, The Martyr, Holborn, A History of Fifty Years* (London: G Allen: 1913); also, Joseph Clayton, *Father Stanton of St. Alban's Holborn : a memoir* (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co, 1913).

⁵⁴ Roger T. Stearn, 'Stanton, Arthur Henry (1839–1913)', *ODNB*.

Robert William Radcliffe Dolling (1851-1902)⁵⁵

Robert Dolling was an Irishman, educated in Harrow and Cambridge. Whilst he was at Cambridge he came across Mackonochie and Stanton. When his father died he moved to London permanently and became intimate friends with them throughout the ritual trials. He was ordained himself in 1882 and was to become the minister at the Winchester mission of St Agatha's, Landport in Portsmouth. He was heavily involved in working to mitigate social problems including prostitution, drunkenness, low wages and long working hours.⁵⁶ He served ten years there and was to spend four years travelling the UK and USA speaking about poverty before his health failed.

John Purchas (1823-1872)⁵⁷

Purchas was a graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1844 and served two junior curacies before becoming perpetual curate at St James's Chapel, in a poor part of Brighton in 1866. He was tried for ritual practices between 1869 and 1872, the judgement providing a watershed in the ritual history of the Victorian Church.⁵⁸ He was suspended as a result for a year but never obeyed the order and died only months later.⁵⁹

Arthur Tooth (1839-1931)⁶⁰

Tooth was an 1862 Cambridge graduate who managed to travel around the world twice before being ordained in 1863 to St Mary-the-less, Lambeth.⁶¹ The church was apparently too 'advanced'⁶² for him. He served short curacies in two other churches before becoming Vicar of St James, Hatcham, South East London. Here he sought to support his pastoral innovations in a poor place with some simple 'ceremonial'.⁶³ Three aggrieved parishioners opposed this and took the matter to law under the new Worship Regulations Act (1874). He was eventually suspended and then imprisoned in 1877 for not stopping his ritual practices when instructed to do so by the court. His

⁵⁵ Joseph Clayton, *Father Dolling A Memoir* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co, 1902); R.R. Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum* (London: Masters & Co. Ltd, 1896); Charles E. Osborne, *The Life of Father Dolling* (London: Edward Arnold, 1903), [*PCant* <http://anglicanhistory.org/england/dolling/osborne/11.html>, 5 November 2007].

⁵⁶ W. B. Owen, 'Dolling, Robert William Radclyffe (1851–1902)', rev. Rene Kollar, *ODNB*.

⁵⁷ Purchas's contribution was significantly committed to print and is discussed at length below at 9.2.1 A Pioneer - John Purchas, on page 169.

⁵⁸ See 9.2.1.1 on page 170.

⁵⁹ G. C. Boase, 'Purchas, John (1823–1872)' *ODNB*.

⁶⁰ Joyce Coombs, *Judgement on Hatcham : the history of a religious struggle, 1877-1886* (London: Faith Press, 1969).

⁶¹ Bernard Palmer, 'Tooth, Arthur (1839–1931)', *ODNB*.

⁶² See page 69 for a discussion of this word. In short, he regarded the church as too ritualistic.

⁶³ Palmer, 'Tooth, Arthur', *ODNB*.

health never recovered from his time in prison. He quickly retired from parochial ministry to run an orphan school first in Croydon then in Otford, Kent.

Richard William Enraght (1837-1898)⁶⁴

Enraght was born in Ireland and graduated from Trinity College, Dublin. He was ordained in Gloucester Cathedral to serve a curacy in Wiltshire. He served there for two years, served as Curate to St Luke, Sheffield for two years and at St Paul, Brighton from 1866 under the Tractarian (but not Ritualist) Incumbent, Fr. Wagner. Wagner had caused some controversy in 1865 when he had refused to break the confidence of the confessional in court at the trial of a nurse accused of murder. She later confessed.⁶⁵ In 1871 Enraght was appointed as Priest in Charge of St Andrew, Portslade by the Sea, where his ritual practice and pamphlets⁶⁶ led him into some conflict with *The Brighton Gazette*. He became Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, Birmingham, in 1874, a church already established as Ritualistic.⁶⁷ He was tried under the Public Worship Regulation Act (1874) in 1879 for adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, the use of Eucharistic lights, chasuble and alb, the use of wafer bread in Holy Communion, the ceremonial mixing of water and communion wine, making the sign of the Cross towards the congregation during the Holy Communion service, bowing his head at the Gloria and allowing the Agnus Dei to be sung. He refused to recognise the legitimacy of the court and did not appear. He was arrested in his Vicarage at the end of the following year and spent forty-nine days in prison.⁶⁸ He was deprived of his Birmingham living and his family were evicted from the Vicarage. He served three other curacies in London, following his recovery from all of this, before his death in 1898.

Four of the eight named above were graduates of Oxford University, and three from Cambridge. All eight served in slum areas through their ritual controversies. The Oxford graduates were well known to each other, worked alongside one another and shared similar influences. Dolling came into this same circle having encountered Mackonochie and Stanton during his time in Cambridge. Their influence by the Oxford Movement is quite direct. It would be wrong, however, to assume that this was

⁶⁴ http://www.stnicolas.standrewportslade.btinternet.co.uk/richard_enraght.htm, 19 November 2007.

⁶⁵ Nigel Yates, 'Wagner, Arthur Douglas (1824–1902)', *ODNB*.

⁶⁶ Many of these are available at *PCant* [<http://www.anglicanhistory.org/england/enraght/index.html>, 19 November 2007].

⁶⁷ R.W.Enraght, *My prosecution under the Public Worship Regulation Act* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1883).

⁶⁸ These incidents are described vividly in Ferdinand Cartwright Ewer, *Sermon on the Imprisonment of English Priests for Conscience Sake at St. Ignatius Church, N.Y., on the Fourth Sunday in Advent, 1880; and repeated in Trinity Chapel, N.Y., on the subsequent Second Sunday after Christmas* (New York: E & J.B. Young & Co., 1881), [*PCant* <http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/fcewer/imprisoned.html>, 19 November 2007].

not a significant influence on others such as Purchas, Tooth and Enraght too. The Oxford Movement's thinking was disseminated widely through the church, not least in *The Tracts for the Times*⁶⁹. These latter three are perhaps not remembered so much as slum priests but as priests who found themselves landmarks in the history of the Ritual Trials (Arthur Tooth perhaps found himself to be a landmark accidentally, as he was hardly a Ritualist). Whether they worked in the slums or not, all of those others who became victims of ritual law (and the *Public Worship Regulation Act 1874* in particular) have contributed to the strength of the Slum Priest Ritualist myth, at least in that their persecution strengthens the memory of the persecution of the slum priests for the same causes. We might include in this non-slum priest bracket George Anthony Dennison (1805-1896), who was tried between 1856 and 1858 (contemporary with the start of the Ritual Trials) for teaching a real presence (though not material presence) of Christ in the Eucharistic elements,⁷⁰ and Bishop Edward King (1829-1910), whose hearing before the Archbishop of Canterbury and five Episcopal Assessors between 1888 and 1892 effectively closed the book on Ritual Trial.⁷¹ Though neither of these were 'slum priests' their long trials are remembered too as part of the same persecution.

There were other Victorians whose work in slums without persecution for their ritual practice has made a significant contribution to the slum priest story. Amongst them: Father Burn of Middlesborough;⁷² Ommanney of Sheffield;⁷³ Bennett of Pimlico;⁷⁴ Their names are inseparably linked with the places they served and are suggestive of the local respect they earned. More recently there have been others who have followed their paths and enlarged the story too, such as Father Diamond of Deptford.⁷⁵ This work focuses most closely on the first eight named whose myth seems, like a snowball gaining mass as it rolls, to grow from the other stories amongst which it also is told.⁷⁶ The reasons for this, the story behind it, and what it says to us today merits our interest.

⁶⁹ *The Tracts for the Times* (1834-1841) are available at *PCant* [<http://anglicanhistory.org/tracts/index.html>, 19 November 2007].

⁷⁰ M. Rigg, 'Denison, George Anthony (1805-1896)', rev. George Herring, *ODNB*.

⁷¹ John A. Newton, 'King, Edward (1829-1910)' *ODNB*.

See too Table 3 on page 46 where others who were tried are detailed.

⁷² Thomas G. Fullerton, *Father Burn of Middlesborough - a biography* (Bradford: G.F. Sewell, 1927).

⁷³ G.C. Ommanney, and G.F. Belton (ed.), *Ommanney of Sheffield: memoirs of George Campbell Ommanney, Vicar of St. Matthew's Sheffield, 1882-1936* (London: Centenary Press, 1936).

⁷⁴ *William James Early Bennett* (London: The Catholic Literature Association, 1933) [*PCant* <http://anglicanhistory.org/bios/wjebennett.html>, 19 November 2007].

⁷⁵ Rodney Bomford and Harry Potter (eds.), *Father Diamond of Deptford* (Ditchling, W. Sussex: Ditchling Press, 1994).

⁷⁶ Munson shows that the Slum Priest Ritualist myth has only a very small historical kernel in the centre of what purports to be a widely shared experience: Munson, 'Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975).

1.5 Relevance today

At the end of the 1800s very little was achieved though much had been expected of liturgical reform. The Twentieth Century has grown used to the idea of there being little connection between the worship of the Church and the majority of those who live in cities.⁷⁷ In the Church of England it is only since the publication of *Faith in the City* (1985) that there have been new and stuttering attempts to achieve for worship in poor urban communities what the Victorians began.⁷⁸ Among the *Common Worship* publications there is only one place with reference to poor urban contexts (or indeed to any other particular social context). This is in the introduction to *New Patterns for Worship*.⁷⁹ The rest of the *Common Worship* corpus only meets the challenges of contexts where the dominant (middle class) culture does not prevail through its flexibility and local adaptability rather than in any direct and considered way.

Both the pattern of liturgical provision and innovation in the Church of England at the turn of the millennium and in the mid nineteenth century have had liberating features. Both have also served to obscure the gospel. This is especially so in communities whose stake in the traditions that form the Church are slight. Such communities often suffer multiple deprivation and poverty. They have a relationship with the powers and authorities of the establishment quite different to the people of more prosperous communities. This can be illustrated, for instance, by their responses to education. In a middle class community, education is 'our right'. In a working class community it is often perceived as 'what they do to us'.⁸⁰

It is hoped that this work contributes to the debate about what disables and what enables those formed in cultures other than the dominant British middle class to worship 'in Spirit and in Truth'.⁸¹

⁷⁷ It was noted in the report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas that the 'Alternative Service Book is a symbol of the gulf between the Church and ordinary people in UPAs'. See *Faith in the City: A Call to Action by Church and Nation – The Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas* (London: CHP, 1985), p.136. See too Colin Buchanan's editorial in the *News of Liturgy* edition immediately following the publication of *Faith in the City* for its comment on the gulf between liturgical language and 'urban language': *News of Liturgy*, Issue 132, Dec. 1985 (Nottingham: Grove Books Ltd., 1985), pp.1-3.

⁷⁸ Recommendation 19 (to the Church of England) in *Faith in the City* says, 'The Liturgical Commission should pay close attention to the liturgical needs of Churches in the urban priority areas.' *Faith in the City*, p.362.

⁷⁹ The Archbishops' Council, *New Patterns for Worship* (London: Church House Publishing, 2002). The 'Planning' section of this book, pp.4-53, uses four model church contexts including one described as 'downtown'. Its predecessor volume, *Patterns for Worship* (London: CHP, 1995), specifically refers to *Faith in the City* as its rationale. p.2.

⁸⁰ This is worked out more fully in: Tim Stratford, *Liturgy and Urban Mission* (Grove Worship Series 173; Cambridge: Grove Books, 2002) p. 7.

⁸¹ John 4: 23.

Chapter 2 The Received Narrative

This chapter offers a general understanding of the historical context in which the Slum Priest Ritualists must be understood. Further detailed research into the interface between them and their society, and into the interface between them and the church, will follow in Parts 2, 3 & 4 of this thesis. The scope of this chapter is to do no more than to describe that background.

The nineteenth century was a time of rapid change in Britain despite the fact that for two thirds of the period the same monarch reigned. The monarchy may have had a settled nature to it during the Victorian period but little else did. The British Empire expanded overseas and wars were waged. At home, there was industrial and technological revolution, mass migration, huge urban growth,⁸² all with a consequent political, philosophical and theological ferment. Christian faith and church issues were highly relevant to this. The Church of England was intertwined with the establishment, expanding itself with the growing empire in a symbiotic way,⁸³ providing a means of exporting Englishness.⁸⁴ But in England it was to struggle more with the rapid changes to the physical, intellectual and cultural worlds as urban growth⁸⁵ and scientific method gained momentum.⁸⁶

In the first fifteen years of Victoria's reign there were two mini-enlightenments within the Church of England that are significant to us here: the first was a spiritual awakening that emerged through the Oxford Movement; the second was the result of the religious census that was carried out alongside the population census of 1851.

⁸² For instance in the first fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1887) the population of Liverpool grew from 246,000 to 700,000, its docks more than quintupled in number (9 to 50) and their tonnage handled quadrupled (2,000,000 to 7,500,000 tons) according to the city's then new bishop, J.C. Ryle, 'Sermon preached on the Queen's Golden Jubilee', reprinted in *NUS*, p.ix.

⁸³ Latourette argued that this was the greatest century of Christian expansion since the first. K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vols. IV & V (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1938-46).

⁸⁴ There is a great deal of research and writing about this. A thorough treatment goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Vidler says that it would be unfair to suggest that missionaries represented European domination. He points out, 'They were exporters of European religion, as the administrators were of European methods of government'. Alec R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961), p.251.

⁸⁵ See 2.2.2 on page 31. Also, K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963) p.23 where Inglis tells us, 'The Convocations of Canterbury and York each appointed a committee in 1883 'on the spiritual needs of the masses of the people', one bishop calling the subject 'perhaps the most pressing of the day'.

⁸⁶ Among the growing forces that opposed religious observance McLeod cites: doubt (with reference to Huxley and Darwin), leisure (sport, theatre, holiday resorts and the mass daily press all took shape in this period), the decline of paternalism (oppressed groups began to find a clear voice), and a growing number of experts (especially scientists) that all served to marginalize the church. Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp.179-211.

We might add to this list the active opposition to religion, and to the Established church in particular, of secularists following e.g. the towering figure of Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). See Jeremy Bentham, *Church-of-Englandism and its catechism examined* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1818).

We will return to these again below.⁸⁷ There were other strong currents around in the church too that were to impact on the Ritualists: the British sense of Papal aggression by Pius IX;⁸⁸ the growing confidence of Evangelicals within the Church of England and among the so-called dissenting traditions;⁸⁹ the emergence of Christian Socialism.⁹⁰

2.1 Four Priorities

Four sets of priorities emerged in the Church of England during the mid Victorian period that will interest us here. They competed with one another and had moments when they were all-consuming for the church. They inevitably left their mark on the liturgy and worship of the church.

2.1.1 Revivalism and the Evangelicals

The Evangelicals' interest in mission to the urban poor broke two ways: both against the Ritualists along doctrinal, historical and ecumenical lines, and in their own search for an approach to urban mission. A significant concern in their approach to liturgy and doctrine was the desire to 'comprehend'⁹¹ the 'Dissenters'. Many, such as Lord Ebury, believed them to be kindred spirits with little more than a few words of the *Prayer Book* between them and himself.⁹² Comprehension of the urban poor was a

⁸⁷ Section 2.2.1 and Section 2.2.2.

⁸⁸ Prime Minister Lord John Russell called the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England in 1850 'insolent and insidious', from Walter Ralls, 'The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 43, No. 2. (Jun., 1974), pp. 242-256.

For a further description of events around Pope Pius IX's creation of an Archiepiscopacy of Westminster, the seat of the British Parliament and symbol of British liberties, in 1850 and the resulting sense of insult see, D.G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), P.8ff.

⁸⁹ An important sign of growing strength within the 'dissenting' traditions was the abolition of the 'Church Rate'. See J. P. Ellens, 'Lord John Russell and the Church Rate Conflict: The Struggle for a Broad Church, 1834-1868', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2. (Apr., 1987), pp. 232-257;

also: Richard Brent, 'The Whigs and Protestant Dissent in the Decade of Reform: The Case of Church Rates, 1833-1841', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 405. (Oct., 1987), pp. 887-910.

Meacham traces the influence evangelicalism had on Victorian thinking through a variety of church traditions in, Standish Meacham, 'The Evangelical Inheritance', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1. (Nov., 1963), pp. 88-104.

Like Meacham, Bebbington too describes the influence of Anglican and dissenting evangelicals on Victorian society including the working classes: David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

⁹⁰ Particularly the leadership of F.D. Maurice (1805-1872) followed by Stewart Headlam (1847-1924), Charles Gore (1853-1932), Henry Scott Holland (1847-1918) and Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901). See e.g. B.K. Markwell, *The Anglican Left: Radical Social Reformers in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1846-1954* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1991).

Donald Gray has provided a good history of Christian Socialism in: Donald Gray, *Earth and Altar* (Alcuin Club Collections 68; Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1986).

See too 'The Guild of St Matthew' on page 76 below.

⁹¹ This Victorian sense of this word means more than 'understand' and is nearer 'embrace' or 'include'.

⁹² See R.C.D. Jasper, *Prayer Book Revision in England 1800-1900* (London: SPCK, 1954) p. 7, 51f.

rather more distant prospect, incomprehension is nearer the mark.⁹³ Partly out of their openness to their potential church allies many evangelicals fastened⁹⁴ on to the Revivalist movement which had developed at the beginning of the century in America and finally broke through in Britain with Moody and Sankey's 1873 visit.⁹⁵ The more emotional Holiness movement was roundly rejected by them⁹⁶ although it was actually quite influential on evangelical pietism, underpinning the Keswick convention and the Scripture Union.

This inspired a great deal of other mission activity amongst evangelicals based around great public meetings, such as the work of Robert Bickersteth, Bishop of Ripon, who undertook a series of Missions around the towns of his diocese.⁹⁷ This certainly kept his clergy busy. The focus of all this bore only a slight connection with the worship and liturgy of the church.⁹⁸

2.1.2 Meeting the challenges of Science

Among the three theological corners of the Church of England still evident today, the evangelicals were the stronger in the mid-Victorian period.⁹⁹ The Oxford Movement became associated with the Anglo-Catholics, though the adoption took some years. Advocates of the 'Broad Church'¹⁰⁰ were few in number and under pressure. Their primary concern was to address the questions felt to be a challenge to faith by the scientific world. From 1860 to 1867 the Colenso Case¹⁰¹ and the publication of *Essays*

Also footnote 17 above.

⁹³ McLeod remarks that 'the Christianity prevalent among those [the working-classes] whom they [evangelical preachers] visited was scarcely one that the missionaries could recognize'. McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.50.

⁹⁴ More a natural grouping than a calculated policy.

⁹⁵ See 8.3.1 below on page 142.

⁹⁶ J.C. Ryle described the difference between Moody & Sankey and the Holiness movement's Preesall-Smith as 'the difference between sunshine and a fog.' *Letter from J.C. Ryle re. The Brighton Convention* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1875).

⁹⁷ See 8.3.2 below on page 147.

⁹⁸ Ian Bradley suggests the major liturgical contribution of Evangelicals in the nineteenth century Church of England was the introduction of hymn books and hymn singing. He says they were, 'more interested in promoting activities which went on outside the Church than they were in revitalizing the services and the form of worship within it.' Ian Bradley, *The Call to seriousness; The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), p.66.

⁹⁹ Josef Altholz goes as far as to say, 'The orthodoxy of Protestant England, common to Anglicans and most Dissenters, was the product of the evangelical revival. It is impossible to overstate the pervasiveness and intensity of the moralism which the evangelicals had infused into every aspect of Victorian life.' Josef L. Altholz, 'The warfare of the conscience with Theology', *RiVB* (IV), p.153.

¹⁰⁰ Perhaps today called 'liberal'.

¹⁰¹ J.W. Colenso was Bishop of Natal from 1853 to 1883. He developed a universalist reading of Romans and a new reading of Genesis that took Darwin's works seriously. This offended to the English bishops but they proved powerless to unseat him. See for instance A.N. Wilson, *God's Funeral* (London: Abacus, 1999) pp.135-139.

*and Reviews*¹⁰² made opposition to scientific thinking totally consuming for most of the church's leaders and marginalized the liberal or 'broad church' voice.¹⁰³ Altholz argues that this was ultimately a debate between the newly formed clerical and scientific professions about the nature of truth.¹⁰⁴ They went their separate ways.

2.1.3 Hierarchical conservatism

The Church of England's policy-making structure in the nineteenth century revolved around the two separate convocations for the York and Canterbury provinces. Matters of dispute were settled by law courts established in the normal traditions of the legal system of the day. At the start of Victoria's reign, communications were still undeveloped and the bishops were few.¹⁰⁵ The period saw the creation of the railways, the establishment of the Royal Mail and invention of telephony along with the multiplication of bishops.¹⁰⁶ This in part enabled the bishops to play a stronger hand later on. As legal disputes over matters of doctrine and ritual multiplied, the convocations and courts gave greater discretion to bishops with the intention that the focus should move from precise definitions and case law to pastoral concerns. If the church was caught on the horns of the law at first, at the last its bishops were ill resourced to make clear decisions and often seemed simply to want to please all sides.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, their paternalistic benevolence did make more space in the church than strict adherence to the law had allowed for new expressions of worship.¹⁰⁸

2.1.4 The search for a more Christ-like Church

The story of the Oxford Movement is often told as if it were a marginal movement yet it came out of Oxford University, one of the Church of England's two greatest centres for learning. Its teaching centred on the apostolic origin of the church and its long

¹⁰² The edition available during this research was, *Essays and Reviews* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861; 5th edition).

¹⁰³ See Josef L. Altholz, 'The warfare of the conscience with Theology', *RiVB* (IV), pp.150-169;

Josef L. Altholz, 'A Tale of Two Controversies: Darwinism in the Debate over "Essays and Reviews"', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Mar., 1994), pp. 50-59;

Josef L. Altholz, 'The Mind of Victorian Orthodoxy: Anglican Responses to "Essays and Reviews", 1860-1864', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Jun., 1982), pp. 186-197;

Frank M. Turner, 'The Victorian conflict between Science and Religion: A Professional Dimension', *RiVB* (IV), pp.170-197.

¹⁰⁴ Altholz, 'The warfare of the conscience', p.154.

¹⁰⁵ Twenty seven dioceses only in the whole of England and Wales.

¹⁰⁶ Two new dioceses along with new diocesan bishops in the Canterbury Province (St Albans and Truro), five in the York Province (Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Southwell and Wakefield) and twenty two new suffragan bishops by the end of the century, source: *Crockford's Clerical Directory, 2000-2001* (London: Church House Publishing: 2000).

¹⁰⁷ See below: Ryle's prevarication on page 205; Tait's prevarication on page 56.

¹⁰⁸ e.g. See footnote 232 on page 56 below.

unbroken tradition¹⁰⁹ and was absorbed by large numbers of young men studying divinity and preparing for ordained ministry. It was a call to confidence for the church and its clergy. This is about a confidence in spirit, not a challenge to the outward forms of worship. Newman makes a rallying call in the first of *The Tracts for the Times*:

Therefore, my dear Brethren, act up to your professions. Let it not be said that you have neglected a gift; for if you have the Spirit of the Apostles on you, surely this is a great gift. "Stir up the gift of GOD which is in you." Make much of it. Show your value of it. Keep it before your minds as an honourable badge, far higher than that secular respectability, or cultivation, or polish, or learning, or rank, which gives you a hearing with the many.¹¹⁰

Although the Oxford Movement cannot be thought of as having roots at the margins of society, it did inspire clergy to see in Christ one whose life was spent sacrificially¹¹¹ and, to likewise follow him in their own day.¹¹² The Oxford Movement's search for a more Christ-like church and its scholarly research into the writings of the early church fostered a dissatisfaction with the bare post-reformation liturgies of the nineteenth century. The new churches and missions in poor city areas, many being served by the first generation of clergy formed since the Oxford Movement, were those who were at the forefront of ritual revival.¹¹³ The priests engaged in this work were often called at the time, 'Ritualists'. Those tagged as Ritualists also undertook social and community work and were committed to mission in very significant and tough ways.¹¹⁴ Their priorities were a branch out from the first concerns of the Oxford Movement fathers.

¹⁰⁹ e.g. in *Tracts for the Times No.1*, Newman says, 'I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built,—OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT.'

¹¹⁰ *Tracts for the Times No.1*. *Tracts for the Times Nos. 63 & 64* also both make a case for the antiquity of the 1662 liturgies. *Tracts for the Times No.81*, written by Pusey, is exhaustive in its treatment of ancient liturgies and asks for restraint in the church to avoid charges of being either 'ultra-protestant' or 'Papist'. It does suggest that where a priest may want to say alternative words at the altar he might do so silently, 'for the Church places no restraint upon silent prayer'.

¹¹¹ This is most easily read in some elements of asceticism such as fasting in *Tracts for the Times No.18*, and *No.66*. This is also the subject of *No.21*: 'Mortification of the Flesh a Scripture Duty'.

See page 140 below for a discussion about celibacy as possibly a further expression of this in Ritualism.

Also, for the Oxford Movement and Newman see B. W. Young, 'The Anglican Origins of Newman's Celibacy', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 65, No. 1. (Mar., 1996), pp. 15-27.

For discussion of Froude's *Remains* published by Newman betraying a 'systematic moral and spiritual self-scrutiny' in the Oxford Movement see Piers Brendon, 'Newman, Keble and Froude's Remains', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 87, No. 345. (Oct., 1972), pp. 697-716.

¹¹² *Tracts for the Times No.80* is the one above all others that develops some teaching on personal spirituality, although this is implicit in others. *Tract 80* finishes with a short section: 'The Important Practical Conclusion'. The essence of the conclusion can be captured in three sentences: 'The loss of it [God's treasure] is not only the heart being hardened, but the eyes being blinded, and the ears made dull of hearing. As if, when quickened by this internal light, all the senses were made to communicate with and to convey from things without this heavenly wisdom. Such expressions are not made use of merely as figures. Such a knowledge must include a power of setting a right value on all objects, which occupy the imagination and affections of the natural man, such as power, and wealth, and reputation, and beauty, and learning, and genius; such a light in the mind must show the right proportions of these things after some heavenly manner.'

Tracts for the Times No.87 is a Part II to *No.80*. Here the conclusion is clearer: 'we must feel after Him, and expect pain and trouble in doing so, knowing that He is "a consuming fire," and therefore will burn up what is human about us, as we approach Him. Infinitely happy if we may do so at any cost.'

¹¹³ See 2.2.4 below on page 39.

¹¹⁴ See 2.3.3 on page 56 below.

2.2 Slum Priests

It was with this back cloth of priestly formation coloured by the Oxford Movement, party divisions obscuring a common mission to new burgeoning cities, and a broad church in which the boundaries of orthodoxy were in dispute, that a significant number of clergy submerged themselves in life and work alongside desperately poor urban communities.

The so called ‘slum priests’, some of them Ritualist, made a deep impression in their parishes and districts. They reflected on and wrote their own stories. Their stories have been written in posthumous biographies by those who knew and loved them.¹¹⁵ They also feature in the biographies of those who crossed swords with them.¹¹⁶ Those who adopted a ritual approach called it their ‘system’.¹¹⁷ This was a system in which liturgical expression was vitally integrated with life's realities. They were inspired by the Oxford Movement and given opportunity in the new urban mission field of Victorian Britain. These are two contextual keys into an understanding where the Slum Priest Ritualist myth emerges from.

2.2.1 Context: Spiritual Awakening

In 1827 John Keble published his book of devotional poetry that was to sell 375,000 copies before its copyright expired.¹¹⁸ Subsequently, many verses have been set to music and turned into hymns still used 180 years later. On 14th July 1833 Keble preached the Assize Sermon at the University Church in Oxford. He attacked the Government's decision in the 1832 Reform Act to reduce the number of Bishops in Ireland by ten as a national apostasy¹¹⁹ and called on the established church to assert its authority. In these two things are the seeds of a spiritual awakening that was to shape generations of church leaders and people to come: the Oxford Movement.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ See footnotes 45 to 75 above.

¹¹⁶ e.g. R.T. Davidson & W. Benham, *The life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2 volumes (London: Macmillan, 1891).

¹¹⁷ e.g. Charles Lowder said, ‘We adopt a system which we consciously believe the Church gives us.’ Quoted in Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder & the Ritualist Movement*, p.45.

¹¹⁸ John Keble, *The Christian Year* (London: C&J Rivington, 1827).

¹¹⁹ John Keble, National apostasy: considered in a sermon preached in St. Mary's, Oxford before His Majesty's judges of assize on Sunday July 14, 1833 (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1833).

¹²⁰ Whilst the 1833 Assize Sermon was considered by Newman to be the start of the Oxford Movement [John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (London, 1864), Chapter 1, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/newman/apologia1.html>, 10 February 2007]. Owen Chadwick believes its significance to be in what it signalled in Newman's mind inspiring him to write the first of *The Tracts for the Times*: Owen Chadwick (ed.), *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: A&C Black, 1960), p.34.

The Oxford Movement's leaders included Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882: Regius Professor of Hebrew at Christ Church, Oxford); John Henry Newman (1801-1890: a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford and Vicar of the University Church of St Mary the Virgin); Archdeacon Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892) ; Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-1836); Robert Isaac Wilberforce (1802-1857: Fellow of Oriel College); Isaac Williams (1802-1865); Sir William Palmer (1803-1885: Liturgical Scholar) and John Keble (1792-1866) himself. Their initial concerns were that the church should be free from the interference of the secular realm. In the second of the *Tracts for the Times* Newman says,

Are we content to be accounted the mere creation of the State, as schoolmasters and teachers may be, or soldiers, or magistrates, or other public officers? Did the State make us? can it unmake us? can it send out missionaries? can it arrange dioceses? Surely all these are spiritual functions...¹²¹

This understanding that the church should be free to determine its own path in the spiritual realm whilst the temporal realm remains the concern of the state is often termed as Anti-Erastian.¹²² The Anti-Erastian thinking of Oxford Movement leaders was a radical departure from conventional Anglican ecclesiologies of the 19th century.¹²³ Breaking this mould led to a great degree of further free thinking. It also led several of the movement's adherents to convert to Roman Catholicism.¹²⁴

The concerns of the Oxford Movement leaders were never primarily to do with liturgy and worship. They sought the re-awakening of the church. It was the generation that was subsequently formed by their call for the church to rediscover itself who embarked on a journey of liturgical discovery and reform of worship. This end result has become what the Oxford Movement is sometimes best remembered for but it was not what the movement was about.

¹²¹ John Henry Newman, 'The Catholic Church', *Tracts for the Times No.2*.

¹²² The label springs from a loose interpretation of the works of Thomas Erastus (1524-1583), a follower of Zwingli. He based his understanding that the church should be subservient to the state on Jewish state religion, a view supported in England by Richard Hooker (1554-1600) for example.

See T.L. Harris, 'The Conception of Authority in the Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Jun., 1934), pp.115-125;

T. McNeill, 'Anglicanism on the Eve of the Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 3, No. 2. (Jun., 1934), pp. 95-114;

R. Cant, 'Erastianism', *DCT*.

¹²³ Whilst the Oxford Movement was one Anti-Erastian response in the Church of England there were others, e.g. J.N. Darby. Shortly after his ordination he was to despair of the 'worldliness' and 'Erastian nature' of the church. Rather than a journey towards High Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism he was to be led towards the less regulated spirituality and simple life-style of the Brethren. See Timothy C. F. Stunt, 'Darby, John Nelson (1800–1882)', *ODNB*.

¹²⁴ Most notably both Newman and Manning were to be made Cardinal Archbishops and exercised considerable influence on the Roman Catholic Church. Manning in particular brought Anglican experience to his Roman Catholic pastoral practice and theological insights. This is developed in David Newsome, *The Convert Cardinals: John Henry Newman and Henry Edward Manning* (London: John Murray, 1993).

Oxford Movement leaders were well placed, in one of England's centres for the formation of men preparing for priesthood, to influence a generation. From their academic perspective they challenged the establishment and as exemplar clerics they imparted spiritual courage to stand up and be counted. Their interest in the ancient fathers of the church encouraged their protégés to look to the early church as a model for the contemporary church.¹²⁵ It was this historical context that gave birth to the Ritualists whose story we consider here. They bore these marks of spiritual awakening, with an ecclesiology that would have the church free of establishment interference and a belief in the authority of early church practice. They also carried the baggage of being thought pro-Roman Catholic subversives in a protestant church.¹²⁶ Lord John Russell (1792-1878) was Prime Minister from 30 June 1846 - 21 February 1852 and 29 October 1865 - 26 June 1866. He stated the fear of subversive Roman Catholic influences as clearly as any of his contemporaries. Writing to the Queen on the Catholics within the Established Church compared with Roman Catholics, he said:

The one is the Frenchman in his own uniform and within his own praesidia; the other is the Frenchman disguised in a red coat, and holding a post within our praesidia, for the purpose of betraying it. I should honour the first and hang the second.¹²⁷

2.2.2 Context: The Urban Poor

The second awakening that is of importance was of an increased perception in the condition of Britain's poor, revealed by the 1851 Population and Religious Censuses.

The fact that people in poorer communities were not going to church¹²⁸ became a most worrying feature of city life to the higher classes of Victorian society.¹²⁹ They promoted missions and invested in church buildings as a response to this with little impact on the poor.¹³⁰ That is not to say that the poor had no religion, but that it was difficult for the establishment to connect with it.¹³¹

¹²⁵ E.g. John Keble wrote a substantial work in *The Tracts for the Times* of which the following extract is a flavour: 'the more we really come to know and think of it, the more deeply, perhaps, shall we feel ... what would become us, in making mention of those who come nearest the Apostles, and had in greatest perfection the mind of Christ.' *Tracts for the Times No.89*; 'On the Mysticism attributed to the Fathers of the Church', Ch.ii.

¹²⁶ See Denis Paz for a modern description of this. He quotes Daniel Chapman's 'The Great Principles involved in the Present Act of Papal Aggression': 'The very apostates from the simplicity of their own creed and worship within the pale of the National Church ... are the prime movers, if not the sole authors, of the present mischief; it is by them that Popery has been enacted, and Papacy emboldened to reassert the obsolete claims of its supremacy,' Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p.131.

¹²⁷ A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (Arrow Books: London 2003), p. 141.

¹²⁸ See Horace Mann, 'On the Statistical Position of Religious Bodies in England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Jun., 1855), pp. 141-159.

¹²⁹ For instance, Hugh McLeod observes, 'Non attendance at church in nineteenth century London was a thing certain to shock a great many people, and it can legitimately be seen as a form of social protest', McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.24.

¹³⁰ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp107-113, offers some analysis of the situation that prevailed in 1851 along social class lines. He tells us that the church attendance index (%) for rural areas was 71.4, for large towns 49.7 and for Preston 25.5. He concludes that this is considerably better

The face of Britain changed fast at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the churches of all denominations manifestly failed to keep up. K.S. Inglis states that

between 1801 & 1851 the population of Great Britain almost doubled, from less than eleven million to more than 21 million. The largest towns grew fastest of all, until in 1851 - for the first time in the history of any large nation - half the population was urban half the inhabitants were immigrants from the countryside many who had worshipped in their village culture where religious practice was a familiar part of the weekly round.¹³²

Up to the Irish migrations of the 1830s onwards, the Roman Catholic Church in England mainly embraced limited numbers of people in the upper and middle classes.¹³³ The Methodist Church was beginning to establish itself organisationally and was losing its working class roots.¹³⁴ The Church of England was parish based and carried the inertia of historic building and clergy deployment. By the middle of the century a picture emerges of urban communities where the visible middle classes had attracted the churches into their midst but where it was a different story for other urban communities comprising huge numbers of first, second and third generation rural migrants who lived in abject poverty.¹³⁵ With nothing to attract the churches to them, their marginal locations in cities and their invisibility to the moneyed sectors of society, these communities had been left alone. Such anomie existence inevitably led to a sense of purposelessness and the erosion of values.

In the early part of the century the primary source of national information on births, marriages and deaths was collected through the three hundred year old system of Church of England clergy sending baptism, marriage and burial details to the census

than the previous century because of evangelicalism [p.108] but that 'where middle class inhabitants were numerous, church attendance was higher', [p.110].

¹³¹ We will discuss this further throughout the thesis. McLeod argues, 'Wickham, Inglis and many historians who followed their lead, were quite right to emphasise the class dimension of Victorian religion, but they analysed it in too one-sided a way and made exaggerated claims for the extent of working-class alienation from the churches or from religion in general', Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p.222.

¹³² Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p.3f.

¹³³ E.P. Thompson says, 'By the 1841 it was estimated that over 400,000 inhabitants of Great Britain had been born in Ireland and many more tens of thousands born in Britain of Irish parentage. The great majority were Catholics and among the poorest paid labourers; most of them lived in London and the industrial towns.' Thompson, *History of the English Working Class*, p.469.

See too, McLeod, *Class and Religion*, pp.34-35 and 72. Inglis, *Churches and The Working Class*, pp.119-120.

¹³⁴ E.g. Inglis, quoting a late Victorian Wesleyan minister, writes, 'during the middle years of the century, not even the disastrous schisms and agitations had injured Methodism as much as 'the rush of the better-to-do-classes to new suburbs, ever increasing.' Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p.63.

Obelkevich sees Methodism as a 'new artificial community' that had grown prior to 1850 through class antagonism but that led its members to deny social class differences in the latter part of the century. James Obelkevich, *Religion in Rural Society; South Lindsey 1825-1875* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) p.217.

¹³⁵ Inglis details this growing awareness dawning on the Church of England, including Horace Mann's words, 'the destitute condition of this vast proportion of our countrymen appeals to the benevolence of Christians indiscriminately; but the claim for sympathy is preferred with special force upon the Church of England.' Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p.23.

See too Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Part 1 (London: A&C Black, 1971 3rd edition), p.325ff.

office.¹³⁶ The new demographics and dislocation meant that many people were not having their children baptized in the established church. On top of this, burial register information carried very little information. In 1837, as a consequence of the new *Marriage Act* and *Registration Act*, it became compulsory to obtain civil certificates of birth marriage and death.¹³⁷ So began an acknowledgement that the role of the established church in society was changing as the clergy became marginal to registration and statistical data collection. The state no longer coerced families into contact with them for births and marriages.¹³⁸

To Victorian ears the word 'heathen' carried a set of value judgements related to national identity, education and morality as much as to religious identity and salvation.¹³⁹ In 1891, J.J. Halcombe expressed strongly the fear of creeping heathenism and similar sentiments can be found throughout the second half of the nineteenth century:

...as far as two thirds of the population of this country are concerned, the Church of England has ceased, from sheer lack of men, to do in any effectual manner the work entrusted to her; whilst, as a necessary consequence, she is fast losing her hold upon the national mind, and in spite of the supplementary work of various dissenting bodies, the heathenism of our great towns has become as gross in itself and as revolting in its accompaniments as that of any barbarous people with whom we are acquainted.....¹⁴⁰

It was perhaps the fear of an emerging 'home heathen'¹⁴¹ that provoked some fact finding and hence considerable changes to the National Census of 1851, a census which was to make the urban poor more visible and to expose the churches further.

Since the beginning of the century a national census had been taken during the first spring of each decade 1801 to 1841. The first four of these only collected population and housing figures. This was strengthened in 1841 when each householder was required to fill in a form stating the address and the names, ages, sexes, occupations and places of birth of each individual residing there. In 1851 this was made more precise, collecting data on relationships of the other individuals to the householder,

¹³⁶ Chadwick observes that the clergy were very inefficient registrars. Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, Part 1, p.144.

¹³⁷ Although Registration was made compulsory in 1837, there was no penalty for not doing so. This was not introduced until the 'Births and Death Registration Act 1874', <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/Product.asp?vlnk=7205&More=Y>, 7th November 2007.

A primary reason for this act was pressure from the dissenting traditions. The inefficiency of the old system lent support to the need for reform. Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, Part 1, pp.142ff.

¹³⁸ McLeod discusses the reduction of state coercion in religion and a growing scientific world-view as significant factors that were to bite into church attendances by the end of the nineteenth century. McLeod, *Class and Religion*, Ch.8.

¹³⁹ See page 243 too. General William Booth's *Darkest England* used this theme heavily.

¹⁴⁰ J.J. Halcombe, 'On Church Extensions' (1874), *RiVB (III)*, p.264.

¹⁴¹ Gareth Stedman Jones demonstrates how widely this term was used in the nineteenth century in, Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), pp. 463.

marital status and disabilities. At the same time as this was carried out (night of 30th / 31st March) the enumerators also collected two other census forms, one of which had been delivered to every 'school' and one to every place of worship. These are commonly called the '*Educational Census*' and the '*Religious Census*'. The latter is the only official census of religious activity that has ever been carried out in the UK (although the recent 2001 Census collected data on religious affiliation from individuals). Although the exercise was never repeated, it appeared at the time to have provided a wealth of vital information and was much referred to. In anticipation of these censuses *The Times* in its *Leader* of 15th March 1851 had said:

... the relation of existing means to existing wants in both these departments; the extent to which existing means are valued and improved; the connection between the average instruction and average religiousness of districts; between the quality of that instruction and the modes of that worship; the connection of both with the general aspects of society in various localities - these are topics in which the light of universal statistics has not hitherto been shed, and which yet cannot be fairly treated without such illumination.

The Religious Census was to be warmly welcomed by some but there were others quite threatened by it.¹⁴² Mann's calculations of Church attendances across the nation as a whole were as follows:

Table 1: Religious Census 1851 by denomination¹⁴³

%	Total	Anglican		Methodist		Independent		Baptist		Rom. Catholic	
		IA	PS	IA	PS	IA	PS	IA	PS	IA	PS
Forms	58.1	27.6	47.4	14.9	25.7	6.6	11.4	5.1	8.7	2	3.5
Corr.	60.8	29.5	48.6	15.2	25	6.8	11.1	5.2	8.5	2.1	3.5

'Forms': the first row carries figures as clergy had filled in (or not) their forms
 'Corr.': the second row carries figures including corrections made by the Registrars
 IA: Index of Attendance (%) is based on the estimated number of individuals who worshipped as a percentage of the estimated size of the population who could possibly have gone to church (his guess was that 70 % of the population were old enough and well enough to have attended)
 PS: Proportional Share (%) is the proportion of each denomination against the total number of worshippers

Mann's Anglican Corrected Index of Attendance is his best calculation of the proportion of the population capable of going to church that attended the Church of England. 29.5% was shockingly low compared to previous establishment assumptions.¹⁴⁴

The gauntlet was laid down for the churches to reshape themselves for a new world they had so far failed to adapt to. The Census gave an impetus to draw more people into church services. Many clergy and bishops measured the success of their ministries

¹⁴² See Appendix 1 for a description of the Religious Census methodology.

¹⁴³ Mann, *Census*, 1851.

¹⁴⁴ See footnote 135 and footnote 140.

according to this criterion. Revivalist and Mission strategies were adopted; the ways churches were built, paid for and endowed were changed; above all, more ministers were inspired to live and work among the urban poor.

2.2.3 A Response: Church Building

In 1881 the *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent Newspaper* conducted its own *Religious Census*. Edward Wickham has been able to print tables demonstrating the growth both in number of churches and in sizes of congregations since 1851. These are placed side by side below:

Table 2: Sheffield Church Growth 1851-1881¹⁴⁵

Denomination	Buildings	Worshippers	Buildings	Worshippers
	1851	1851	1881	1881
C of E	23	14,881	50	33,835
Independent	10	4,550	22	7,847
Partic. Baptists	2	1,455	6	3,206
General Baptists	2	889		
Soc. of Friends	1	216		
Unitarian	1	1,000	2	1,188
Wesleyan Methodist	16	10,561	29	11,848
Meth New Connex	5	2,183	12	2,726
Primitive Methodist	1	2,527	25	5,402
Wesleyan Assoc.	2	402		
United Meth. Free			15	7,146
Isolated Congregns.	2	110		
Roman Catholic	1	4,000	6	5,473
Catholic Apostolic	1	490		
Jews	1	27		
Wesleyan Reformed	2	130	15	2,526
Salvation Army			4	4,054
Presbyterian			2	483
Various Minor			8	2,022
Totals	70	43,421	196	87,756

It is interesting to note an increase of nearly 100% in the number of churches for many of the denominations listed, although only the Church of England, the Independents and the Primitive Methodist Church achieve that same size of growth in the actual

¹⁴⁵ E.R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (Lutterworth Press, London: 1957), pp.109 & 148.

number of worshippers. In 1851 the population of Sheffield was 135,310 and in 1881 the population had also grown by just over 100% to 284,410. In this light the churches' attempts can be seen as just about keeping up with the population increase, something it has been unable to do since, yet it was deplored at the time by the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent Newspaper*.¹⁴⁶ The pattern in Sheffield was repeated over most of the country.¹⁴⁷

Urbanization and industrialization were causing personal and social change which had been slow to dawn on the church. Owen Chadwick puts his finger on a number of factors that help explain how people's sense of belonging to the church diminished as urban living grew:

1. Change of habitat; certainly important in breaking habits of churchgoing; and more people than ever before in English history were changing their place of dwelling.
 2. Change of habitat to a place where the individual was lost in a crowd and his individuality less evident, and his neglect of custom unperceived.
 3. Change in manner of work, from work associated with a rural economy to work associated with an urban economy...
 4. Change in relationship to the employer, from one of personal service to one of contract....
- In crude terms the farmer's employee used to go to church because the farmer went and he stood in a personal relation to the farmer. Few men working in a mill thought of going to church because the mill-owner set him an example.¹⁴⁸

Modern scholars have pointed to a romantic idyll of rural life that falsely assumes all was well before urbanization.¹⁴⁹ Chadwick is not saying that here. He does not argue that the working classes all went to churches before their dislocation into the cities and

¹⁴⁶ Wickham, *Church and People*, pp.109 & 148.

¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless this represented growth. Alan Gilbert describes this period as representing 'the one prolonged period after the Restoration in which the Church of England succeeded in improving its quantitative position within English Society'. Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England* (London: Longman, 1976), p.29.

There is evidence that Ritualists had difficulty finding appointments during this significant period of growth. Correspondence between the Bishop of Carlisle and the Vicar of Barrow over the appointment of the Revd. Thomas Dove Dove (who had previously worked with Bryan King at St George's in the East) demonstrates this. Dove was clearly having difficulty finding an appointment. The Bishop of Carlisle wrote to Barrett (Vicar of Barrow) about, 'alleged practices of yours which had created in Barrow an amount of suspicion which, in a newly formed town, was highly prejudicial to the firm attachment of the Church.' He goes on, 'Now my dear Sir, is this man needed at Barrow.' Dove's letters of orders were returned. These letters are bound at The John Rylands Library, Manchester as: John Burgess, *The Oxford Movement and the Ritualists in the Victorian Diocese of Carlisle* (Carlisle: John Burgess, 1990).

¹⁴⁸ Owen Chadwick, 'The Established Church under attack, lecture given at the National Portrait Gallery to the Victorian Society', in Anthony Symondson (ed.), *The Victorian Crisis of Faith* (SPCK: London, 1970).

More recent scholars have nuanced Chadwick's analysis, e.g. McLeod, *Religion and Society*, p.222. (see footnote 372 on page 89).

Chadwick's point is more about the relationship of new owners to their workforce than the example they tried to set but it is worth noting that there were industrialists who were keen to set an example of worship to their workers. See for instance the account of one factory owner in section 8.3.2 (beginning on page 147). There are numerous examples of others such as Sir John Brown (1816-1896), a steel industrialist, who built and supported All Saints, Eccleshall, Sheffield [see Geoffrey Tweedale, 'Brown, Sir John (1816-1896)', *ODNB*]. On the other hand, novels such as Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* describe a very different sort of mill owner, exploitative and uncaring of the workforce.

¹⁴⁹ For example: Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, page 233, where he criticizes concentrations on the conditions of 'mythical' average people as obscuring more than is revealed.

towns but makes the point that there was even less to draw them towards the church in the city than they would have known before.

The well documented factor of pew rents being used as the primary funding mechanism for the ongoing costs of newly built churches that did not have substantial endowments was also clearly an obstacle to the poor. Edward Wickham laments the abolition of the church tax which had operated as an alternative mechanism to pew rents.¹⁵⁰ Whilst the tax made provision for maintenance of the Church of England's fabric and made provision for other parochial needs such as fire buckets and fire engines, those who bore no allegiance to the Established Church resented its payment.¹⁵¹ Pew rents were an alternative (and a supplement in many churches with no endowment) but were widely recognised as a mechanism that made the churches appear as if they belonged to the moneyed classes in the eyes of the poor. Where only some seats were free there was a sense very often that the poor felt slighted. Such seats were also most often noticeably distinct from those which people had paid a rent for. Their second class nature was in tension with the Gospel the church proclaimed and with the dignity by which even the poorest in Victorian society wanted to carry themselves (especially those who were likely to go to a church), for example Henry Mayhew reports some typical reasons for non-attendance at church among women street-sellers, including:

they have no clothes to go to church in, and ar'n't a-going there just to be looked down upon and put in any queer place as if they had a fever, and for ladies to hold their grand dresses away from them as they walked in to their grand pews.¹⁵²

Mayhew's observation alludes to the poor pews separation from paid-for pews being like the quarantine of people with 'fever'. Edward Wickham reflects on the 1848 Conference of the Congregational Union as offering a significant but rare insight by the church into the real and developing aspirations of the working classes that were in tension with the church itself. He quotes Edward Swaine who lectured there:

...If the ill-clad and woe worn, or the over-worked and weary mechanic, is under strong conviction that the want of work, or the over-work, the deficiency of maintenance, or the hard struggle to secure, and the uncertainty of respecting it, are the fruit of unjust political arrangements, he will scarcely feel at home with those more favoured, even if not at variance with them...¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City*, p.114.

See too: Brent, 'The Whigs and Protestant Dissent', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 405. (Oct., 1987), pp. 887-910. Brent details why the governments of 1834-1841 were unable or unwilling to abolish the Church Rate despite pressure from their dissenting supporter. The Church Rates were eventually abolished by the *Compulsory Church Rate Abolition Act 1868*.

¹⁵¹ Brent, 'The Whigs and Protestant Dissent', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 405. (Oct., 1987), p.890.

¹⁵² Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1 (Griffin, Bohn and Company, 1861), p.461.

¹⁵³ Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City*, p.117, quoting Congregational Year Book 1848, Lecture by Edw. Swaine.

The Conference had given thought particularly to questions about why the skilled artisans were not connecting with the church despite what they thought to be the church's best endeavours. This group were growing in national importance and were becoming politically and industrially alert, sensitized to injustice. This is an important insight into the social barriers the Church needed to overcome.

Father Burn was one of the more paternalistic and disciplinarian of the Ritualist 'Slum Priests'. He was Vicar of All Saints, Middlesborough from 1884. In preparation for a Sunday night mission in December 1895 he posted fliers offering the many reasons he believed his parishioners never came to church. Whilst written against the reasons for not going to church, it is an interesting insight into what they were perceived to be.

There are a very large number of people living in All Saints' parish who never go to Church, and the reasons for not going are numerous:

(1) Some do not go because the bairns are not in bed by 6.30 - For these we are starting this later service at 8pm.

(2) Some do not go because they have to stay at home and let someone else go to the earlier service - For these, too, we are starting this later service.

(3) Others do not go because there is so much getting up and down, and they cannot find their places - No getting up and down, and no places to find at 8pm on Sunday evenings.

(4) Others do not go because there is so much ritual, candles and processions, and forms and ceremonies, and scrapings and bowings, etc. - No candles, processions, ceremonies, forms, scrapings, etc. at 8pm on Sunday evenings.

(5) Others do not go because their clothes are not 'menceful,' as they call it - it is dark at 8pm on Sunday evenings, and an old coat looks as good as new then.

(6) And some do not go because their pals might see them, and chaff them on Monday morning - pals cannot see you when it's dark on Sunday evening.

(7) Others do not go because everybody would be looking at them and saying, "Oh, there's Mr. So-and-so begun to come to our Church." - "Everybody" goes at 6.30pm and at 8pm you might easily be mistaken for a churchwarden or sidesman if you will assume a little bit of confidence.

(8) Others do not go (and I fear it is so with a great number) because they fear they would have to give up their sin - drink - lust - cheating - gambling - quarrelling - ill-treating and half starving their wives and such-like, and alas, they know of nothing half so good to give them so much pleasure as they seem to derive from these. - We do not want you to give up any of these till you do get something better, and which will afford you more happiness, and the purpose of our short one-hour service on Sunday evenings is to show you there is something far better, and to give it to you.

COME AND SEE WHAT IT IS.¹⁵⁴

All of this marks quite a breach with the established patterns of the Church of the day. New service times, less rigid service structures and relaxed dress codes may have been hated by established churchgoers but to this missionary minded priest they were essential. A hundred and fifty years later some churches are only just beginning to value these things. Point four is a surprise coming from a Ritualistic priest. It would appear that Burn sought a gradual encounter with ritual for those who were yet to learn its form.

Much of what drove the ruling bodies of the Church of England was not love for the poor but fear for their own ways of life. In 1874 J.J. Halcombe was proposing a shift of resources towards the towns and cities for fear that disestablishment might result if his church failed to cater for the masses, hardly a Gospel motivation:

...the great problem which the Church has to solve ... of which her very existence as an Established Church probably depends, is, how are we to deal with these vast masses of our town population? and how may we best rectify the disproportion which exists between the number of clergy and the amount of endowments available in country as compared with the same in town districts?¹⁵⁵

Ministry in these new churches built to serve a culture that was only just taking shape was demanded. And amongst those who rose to this were the new generation of priests formed by the Oxford Movement.

2.2.4 A Response: New priests for new churches

Part and parcel of the Victorian religious boom¹⁵⁶ was a boom in vocations to the priesthood.¹⁵⁷ Frances Knight points out that this led to an acute shortage of places for the newly ordained to find appointments either as curates or as incumbents.¹⁵⁸ This limited the choice that the newly ordained might have. Clergy unemployment was not

¹⁵⁴ Fullerton, *Father Burn of Middlesborough*, p.181.

McLeod has criticised those who overplay religious decline among the working classes. See footnote 131.

Bebbington notes that, 'to appear at church was to court the contempt of neighbours for not being able to dress the family adequately. Nor could many families afford pennies for the offering. And one of the chief deterrents was the pew rent system.' Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.112.

He also notes two other causes of non-attendance: Alcohol and increased leisure opportunities. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.113.

These scholars' comments suggest Burn was reasonably enlightened.

¹⁵⁵ Halcombe, *Church Extensions*, p.263.

¹⁵⁶ McLeod, *Religion and Society*, p.5.

¹⁵⁷ Frances Knight, 'A Boom in Ordinations that Transformed Parish Life', in Henry Chadwick (ed.), *Not Angels but Anglicans* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 2000).

¹⁵⁸ This persisted even after the 1838 Pluralities Act which stopped individuals from holding more than one benefice. Knight, 'Boom in Ordinands', in Chadwick (ed.), *Not Angels*, p.199.

unknown.¹⁵⁹ A fragile career structure often leads the majority to tread very cautiously and tends to put at risk those who dare speak out.

Formed at the more prosperous end of nineteenth century British society and educated at a public school and Oxbridge colleges, a significant number of Ritualist priests and ordinands of the 1850s were soon accepting the new missionary chaplaincies of poor urban areas. Many of the Ritualists were around London, but by the 1870s there were over two hundred across the country.¹⁶⁰

They brought with them their expectation that life ought not to be drab. They brought too a fresh spirituality nurtured through the Oxford Movement: the belief that all humankind was redeemed through Christ;¹⁶¹ of Christ's immanence in the Eucharistic Communion;¹⁶² a pastoral approach that used the private confessional as a means of releasing the bound-up spirit of oppressed people;¹⁶³ a longing to embrace the life-giving forces that the earliest church knew and an attempt to restore what they could discern of those worship practices.¹⁶⁴ In these new urban mission districts they established most often a means of community living in Clergy Houses or, when in a Vicarage, as an 'open house'.¹⁶⁵ In this they sought to mirror Gospel discipleship. And they sought to make worship beautiful and extravagant, the polar opposite of the conditions they found themselves living amongst: a picture of heaven.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁹ Henry Mayhew (see section 6.2 on page 100 below) recounts the story of a destitute cleric. The parson recalls an occasion when he had tried to establish a better relationship with a London incumbent, whose church he had been attending, by commenting to him on a Latin inscription. The incumbent was to ask a beadle who the fellow was and learnt that, 'he was just a man off the streets'. The destitute clergyman heard no more from his contact after being written off in this way. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1 (Griffin, Bohn and Company, 1861), p.104.

¹⁶⁰ Among the societies which they formed for support and reflection was the *Society of the Holy Cross* (SSC) which at its peak reached 250 members in 1870. Once it reached this size it lost most of its coherence and the older members found themselves very much out on a limb again. Munson, 'Oxford Movement', in *ChHist*, vol. 44, No. 3. Sep. (1975) p. 389, argues that just because a priest belongs to a society, he doesn't necessarily practice all of its beliefs. He calculates that there were 405 'Anglo-Catholics proper' serving in parishes at the turn of the century (of whom 208 are incumbents) out of the 4015 clergy considered 'High' by the *Church Association*.

¹⁶¹ See references at footnotes 172 and 173 below. Also, reference to *Lux Mundi* in section 2.2.6 on page 47 below.

¹⁶² 'Real presence' is a development from the teaching of Oxford Movement Fathers such as Pusey. In *Tract 81*: Pusey carefully sets out a notion of Eucharistic sacrifice that is separate from Communion. The sacrifice is a memorial, the communion is real. E.B. Pusey, *Tract 81, Testimony of Writers of the Later English Church To the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, With an Historical Account of the Changes Made in the Liturgy as to the Expression of that Doctrine*, para.3.

¹⁶³ See C.F. Lowder, *Sacramental Confession examined by pastoral experience: a letter to the Right Rev. and Right Hon. the Lord Bishop of London* (London: Rivingtons, 1874).

¹⁶⁴ E.g. *Tract No.34, Rites and Customs of the Church*.

¹⁶⁵ See for instance Reynolds's description of the house and community at St George's Mission in Wellclose Square: Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, pp.43-49.

¹⁶⁶ This is the basic proposition of *Tract No.58, On the Church as viewed by faith and the world*.

See too section 2.3.1 on page 50 below.

This was the Ritualists' innovation. The ritual practices that these priests influenced by the Oxford Movement introduced to the church when they left Oxford were of little or no interest to the movement's fathers. Indeed, in the early stages of the Oxford Movement there was considerable concern amongst its fathers about those who were proposing liturgical changes. *Tracts for the Times* No.3 is written against changing the prevailing provision on the basis that 'few would be pleased by any given alterations; and how many pained!'.¹⁶⁷

Above all, these priests sought to re-introduce into the Church of England's worship ritual practices they believed should not have been lost¹⁶⁸.

Amongst these priests was Robert Dolling. In the introduction to his *Memoir*, Joseph Clayton says,

Though he had been brought up in the Orange atmosphere of Ulster Protestantism, Dolling took to ritualism and the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments instinctively; in many respects he was evangelical, believing intensely in the need of personal conversion, but his faith in the Holy Communion - the Mass, as he always called it - and in Confession came to him as a young man, and remained with him until his death.¹⁶⁹

The leaders of the Oxford Movement may not have sought to develop ritualistic liturgical practice though they had provided a theological basis out of which Ritualism would develop¹⁷⁰ and had provoked these clergy to give their lives to the urban poor. The movement's initial leaders themselves mostly did neither. This was a second generation that wove their theology into praxis. The likes of Pusey and Keble continued to give a theological foundation to the church's mission to the poor from their Oxford base, though they were always nervous of ritualistic practices.¹⁷¹ Keble's thinking as described by Isaac Williams is perhaps foundational for many who followed his teaching:

At Harrow, as at other public schools, the poor were never spoken of but by some contemptuous term - looked upon as hateful boors, to be fought with or cajoled for political objects; but for them to be looked upon with tender regard and friendship more than the rich, and in some cases even referred to as instructors of the wisdom which God teaches - this was a new world to me.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ For further discussion see Lawrence F. Barmann, 'The Liturgical Dimension of the Oxford Tracts, 1833-1841', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2. (May, 1968), pp. 92-113.

¹⁶⁸ These we will discuss in Chapter 9 and particularly Section 9.2 'Ritual practices in dispute' along with the degree to which the ritual innovations were 're-introductions'.

¹⁶⁹ Clayton, *Father Dolling*, p.4.

¹⁷⁰ Many of the *Tracts for the Times* numbers deal with liturgical theology although they counsel against public liturgical reform, e.g. *Tract No.81, Testimony of Writers of the Later English Church To the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, With an Historical Account of the Changes Made in the Liturgy as to the Expression of that Doctrine*.

¹⁷¹ *Tract No.3 Thoughts respectfully addressed to the clergy on alterations in the liturgy*, begins, 'I beseech you, consider with me, whether you ought not to resist the alteration of even one jot or tittle of it.'

¹⁷² William George Peck, *Social Implications of the Oxford Movement* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933) p.61, quoting from Isaac William's Autobiography about Keble.

Pusey quickly saw hope in this spiritual awakening bringing change to urban communities as nothing else could. In 1857 he wrote:

The Church herself ought to debate upon remedies and should not leave to individual effort the work to be done. We need missions among the poor of our towns: organised bodies of clergy living among them; licensed preachers in the streets and lanes of our cities; brotherhoods or guilds which should replace socialism; or sisterhoods of mercy, for any office of mercy which our Lord wills to be exercised towards His members, or towards his outcast ones whom love, for the love of Him, might bring back to Him. We need clergy to penetrate our mines, to migrate with our emigrants, to shift with our shifting population, to grapple with our manufacturing system as the Apostles did with the slave system of the ancient world, to secure in Christ's name the Deltas of our population which the overflowing, overspreading stream of our English race is continually casting up.

Beautiful as is the relation of our parish priest to his flock, lovely as are the village homes of our village pastors, and gentle as are the influences radiating from those who "Point to heaven and lead the way," yet there is now an appalling need of further organisation for a harder, more self-denying, self-sacrificing warfare, if, by God's help, we would wrest from the principalities and powers of evil those portions of His Kingdom of Which, while unregarded by the Church, they have taken full possession.¹⁷³

In these words we come to understand perhaps the sort of call to mission and self-sacrifice that the Oxford Movement made. It was to this call that the young priests, later to become Ritualists, responded. Pusey was as aware as anybody that if change was to be brought to Britain's poorest areas then the ministers of that change needed to live among the poor. His tone also suggests a criticism of those clergy who preferred a more comfortable and easy lifestyle. Pusey gives us a glimpse of the rarity of priests like Mackonochie, Stanton, Lowder and Dolling.

Pusey's University Sermon on almsgiving is amongst the most hard hitting of his theological reflections. The idea to many of his day that the prosperous were more in need of conversion than the poor was very hard to catch. He used the parable of rich Dives and poor Lazarus¹⁷⁴ to make his point:

Doubtless Dives encouraged the manufacturers of Tyre and Sidon, and the weavers of Palestine, while he bound not up the sores of Lazarus ... If he were uncared for, it was that there were not enough Dives to give employment to the poor. Miserable, transparent, flimsy hypocrisy. Were the employment of the poor our end, would they be less employed in manufacturing comforts for themselves than in weaving luxuries for us? ... A reckless, fraudulent competition, whose aim is to cheapen every luxury and vanity, in order that those at ease might spend on fresh accumulated luxuries and vanities what they withhold from the poor, lowers the prices of the things we crave for by cutting down the wages of the poor.¹⁷⁵

Fired by this theology and by a deep sense of the immanence of Christ among the outcasts and especially focused in the Mass these men, some with wives or their sisters and later with religious sisters,¹⁷⁶ entered into the deprivation and abject poverty of urban life. They were perhaps not confined to poverty nor did they experience deprivation as those around them did. They had homes elsewhere, they had incomes and spacious houses though often sacrificially shared. Some spent over half their time

¹⁷³ Peck, *Social Implications*, pp.64-65, quoting Pusey's *Councils of the Church* (1857).

¹⁷⁴ Luke 16: 14-24.

¹⁷⁵ Peck, *Social Implications*, p.68 (quoting Pusey's sermon on Almsgiving from *University Sermons*).

¹⁷⁶ See section 8.3.3 on page 151 below.

out of the parish, recovering in the mountains of Austria or the shores of Italy. They had friends from school and university whose vicarages were in the countryside and so were able to arrange respite. But they are remembered mostly for living in the abject poverty of a Victorian slum. Their lot was not easy and the cultural boundary they had crossed was huge. They could have chosen much more comfortable lives for themselves. Father Stanton's biographer exemplifies the acknowledgement of wealth and privilege with memory of his poverty and simplicity:

Well, I can honestly say that of all the men I have known I have never met anyone who had succeeded in bringing down his own personal wants and expenses to such small dimensions as he. Two rooms and his board--good, ample, but not luxurious--were found for him in the clergy house. For these he paid; in truth, he over-paid. And in these rooms every piece of furniture, beyond the house property, was a gift; and so for the most part were the books upon his shelves. He had no hobbies; he collected nothing; nor had he any tastes which cost money. As for his raiment, I seem to remember the same garments doing duty for years until they shone, lost their original colour, and went into holes and frayed edges. I am puzzled to think in what way his life could have been made more simple.¹⁷⁷

Along with a theology which led them to find Christ in these places they had the knowledge that life ought to be brighter. Sometimes this looked as if they simply had big personalities.¹⁷⁸ Bringing colour to their drabness was also born of conviction.¹⁷⁹ They saw that people around them responded to extravagance. They believed also that if the Mass was proclaiming the immanence of Christ then it ought to be more heavenly than their world.¹⁸⁰

2.2.5 A Response: The Ritual Trials

The vehemence exhibited by some in the church to what the Ritualists brought into the worship patterns of their church seems to have come at first as a surprise.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Joseph Clayton, *Father Stanton of St. Alban's Holborn : a memoir* (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co, 1913), Chapter VII.

¹⁷⁸ See 2.3.2 on page 54.

¹⁷⁹ See 2.3.1 on page 50.

¹⁸⁰ E.g. 'He should be worshipped, where His worshippers possess the means, with costliness and splendour, as the loving expression of thankful and adoring hearts, and not with a niggard meanness and a beggarly absence of that "glory and beauty" which men are only too ready to bestow upon their own houses, their own honour, and their own comfort.' Richard W. Enraght, *Catholic Worship not Pharisaic-Judaism: or a brief explanation of some matter in divine service popularly misunderstood* (London: J.T.Hayes, 1873).

¹⁸¹ For instance, R.W. Enraght, who was the first of the Ritualists to be imprisoned wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury: 'I received upon applying for the Bishop's Licence, a most kind note, from him, in which he said:-"I have much pleasure in welcoming you to the Diocese of Worcester." I naturally interpreted the Bishop's reply to mean that as a clever man, a good lawyer, and an excellent man of business, having made himself acquainted with my antecedents as set forth in "Crockford," and having perused my papers, he was determined to stand by me so long as I did not innovate upon the well-known opinions and practices of my learned and venerable predecessor, Dr. Oldknow ... My surprise and grief were therefore proportionately great, when, in 1878, the Bishop permitted an order of events to commence and go forward, which necessitated either my trampling under foot my conscientious convictions of duty, or my endangering the surrender of my cure to persons whom I considered to be the avowed enemies of that embodied in the Articles and other formularies of the Church of England.' Enraght, *My prosecution*.

Table 3 on page 46 carries a summary of the principal ritual trials of the nineteenth century. That is, either those that had a significant effect on the oscillations of legal understanding or those where significant sanction against a priest brought public attention. The following points need to be highlighted:

- i. There was a significant swing in the legal position at the *Hebbert v. Purchas* appeal before the Privy Council which was concluded in 1871. This hearing effectively counter-acted the Court of Arches decision in the case of *Elphinstone v. Purchas* (*Hebbert* replaced *Elphinstone* as complainant on behalf of the Church Association after *Elphinstone*'s death). Among the numerous practices of *Purchas*'s that the Church Association objected to were four initially ruled permissible by the Court of Arches but then ruled illegal by the Privy Council: Eucharistic Vestments (including a cope [otherwise than during the communion service], chasubles, albs, stoles, tunics, dalmatics, birettas¹⁸²), eastward position whilst celebrating Communion, use of Wafer Bread and mixing water with wine in the chalice.¹⁸³
- ii. After twenty years of court proceedings, a new 'Worship Regulation Act' was introduced by Disraeli in 1874.
- iii. Under the *Worship Regulation Act* the Privy Council reversed its earlier decision (*Hebbert v. Purchas*) against wafer bread and the eastward position in 1877 (*Clifton v. Ridsdale*) and it reversed its position against the mixed chalice in 1892 (*Read v. Bishop of Lincoln*). This prevarication finally handed moral authority to the Archbishop of Canterbury and effectively ended proceedings through the courts as a means of resolving principles.
- iv. As a result of these hearings three people are remembered by biographers and historians as having been driven to their grave: Colonel Charles James Elphinstone (d.1870), Revd. John Purchas (1823-1872) and Revd. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie (1825-1887).
- v. Five Clergy were sent to prison for contempt of court serving each an average of 147 days.

The *Gorham Controversy*¹⁸⁴ had concluded with a final Judgement of the Privy Council on 8th March 1850 with an evangelical victory over a High Church bishop.¹⁸⁵ This

¹⁸² G. C. Boase, 'Purchas, John (1823–1872)', rev. G. Martin Murphy, *ODNB*.

¹⁸³ There is further discussion of this case at 9.2.1 on page 169.

¹⁸⁴ Clement Charles Julian Webb, *Religious Thought in the Oxford Movement* (London: SPCK, 1928).

Peter J. Jagger, *Clouded Witness; Initiation in the Church of England in the Mid-Victorian Period 1850-1875* (Pennsylvania: Pickwick Publications, 1982).

must have had some bearing on the inclination of evangelicals in particular to seek recourse in the courts of law over church matters. The Tractarians were most unlikely to choose the same route because of their anti-Erastian views.¹⁸⁶

Gorham's was not a ritual trial. The issue at stake was not the practice of Baptism but what it meant. The Tractarians and High Church party argued 'we can assert ... infants ... are certainly regenerate after baptism and that if they die as infants are certainly saved'.¹⁸⁷ Evangelicals were likely to hold a wide range of views. Alternative understandings of the precise meaning of the word 'regenerate' partly accounts for this diversity.¹⁸⁸ The Gorham Controversy appears to have hardened a party line with Evangelicals beginning to call baptismal regeneration a 'soul-destroying error'.¹⁸⁹

If this was intended to resolve an entangled doctrinal dispute it failed, resulting instead in further controversy and division.¹⁹⁰ It most likely laid the ground for further recourse to the secular courts by Evangelicals where controversy with the High Church arose. The doctrinal trial of Archdeacon Dennison¹⁹¹ and the tabulated ritual cases below follow in the wake of this case.

John Wolffe, 'Gorham, George Cornelius (1787–1857)', *ODNB*.

¹⁸⁵ George Cornelius Gorham (1787-1857) was Vicar of St Just, Penwith, in Cornwall when at the age of sixty he was offered the living of Bampford Speke near Exeter by the Lord Chancellor. Gorham, a Calvinist, had already crossed swords with the High Church Bishop of Exeter, Henry Phillpotts. Gorham taught that baptism did not confer regeneration. This had nearly prevented his ordination in 1811 (Jagger, *Clouded Witness*, p.2.). He was examined on this matter by Phillpotts who refused to institute him. Gorham appealed to the Court of Arches which upheld the Bishop's decision. He then appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which pronounced: 'This Court was unanimous in holding that Gorham's doctrine was not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrines of the Church of England, and that therefore the Judgement of Sir H. Jenner Fust in the Arches Court of Canterbury ought to be reversed', (Jagger, *Clouded Witness*, p.3.). G.C. Gorham was subsequently installed as Vicar of Brampton Speke by the Archbishop of Canterbury without the Bishop of Exeter's consent.

¹⁸⁶ e.g. 'Are we content to be accounted the mere creation of the State, as schoolmasters and teachers may be, or soldiers, or magistrates, or other public officers?' J.H. Newman, *Tracts for the Times (1834-1841) No.2 'The Catholic Church'*.

¹⁸⁷ Jagger, *Clouded Witness*, p.10, quoting J.B. Mozeley.

¹⁸⁸ Webb, *Religious thought in the Oxford Movement*, Ch.3 para.3.

¹⁸⁹ Jagger, *Clouded Witness*, p.19.

¹⁹⁰ Jagger, *Clouded Witness*, p.189.

¹⁹¹ See page 22.

Table 3: The nineteenth century Ritual Trials¹⁹²

A large print fold out of this table is also supplied.

Date	Parties	Court	Ruled legal	Ruled illegal	Result	Notes
1855-57	Westerton (churchwarden of St Paul's) v. Liddell (Rcvd) & Beal (churchwarden of St Barnabas) v. Liddell (Rcvd)	Consistory Court	Installation of: High (eastward facing altar), Cross, Coloured altar cloths, Credence table.	Candlesticks.	Appealed against	
.	Westerton (churchwarden) v. Liddell (Rcvd) Beal (churchwarden of St Barnabas) v. Liddell (Rcvd)	Court of Arches (appeal)	Installation of: High (eastward facing altar), Cross, Coloured altar cloths, Credence table.	Candlesticks.	Confirmed Consistory Court ruling	Candlesticks were removed from St Paul, Knightsbridge & St Barnabas, Pimlico.
1868-70	Martin (Church Association) v. Mackonochie (Rcvd)	Court of Arches	Kneeling during the prayer of Consecration (to be governed by the Bishop).	Use of: incense during Holy Communion, mixed chalice, elevation of the chalice & paten.	3 months suspension	A similar case also proceeded in 1866-68 Flamank v Simpson. Reynolds argues that Martin was pushed into this case by "some unseemly colloquing", (p.130).
1870	Sumner (Bishop of Winchester) v. Wix (Rcvd)	Court of Arches		Lights on altar not needed for reading, Incense preparatory to Holy Communion.		
1869-71	Elphinstone (Church Association) v. Purchas (Rcvd)	Court of Arches	Eucharistic Vestments, Eastward Position, Wafer Bread & Mixed Chalice.	There were 35 accusations levelled at Purchas. He was asked to abstain from all bar the 4 left.	Appeal to Privy Council	Among the accusations was an instance of Purchas hanging a stuffed dove above the Holy Table on Whitsunday.
.	Hebbert (Church Association) v. Purchas (Rcvd)	Privy Council (appeal)	Cope for Holy Communion on high feast days in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches only.	Eucharistic Vestments, Eastward Position, Wafer Bread, Mixed Chalice.	Taxed costs against Purchas amounting to £7661 18s 7d	Elphinstone died between the first hearing and the appeal. Hebbert was given leave to take his place. The only occasion when Purchas attended court was to object to this latitude. Purchas died within months of the conclusion.
1874	Martin (Church Association) v. Mackonochie (Rcvd)	Court of Arches		Lights at Morning Prayer, Singing the <i>Agnus Dei</i> , Signing the cross.	6 weeks suspension	
1874	<i>Disraeli's new Worship Regulation Act came into force</i>					
1874-78	Combe v. Edwards (Rcvd)	Court of Arches	No Judgement.		Combe appealed to the Privy Council.	As Combe was not a parishioner and was renting a pew in a dissenting place of worship the case didn't proceed.
	Combe v. Edwards (Rcvd)	Privy Council (appeal)		Vestments, Lights, Mixed Chalice.	6 Months Suspension	Edwards refused to accept that he was suspended and was finally deprived of his living.
1875-77	Clifton (Church Association) v. Ridsdale (Rcvd) (supported by English Church Union)	Court of Arches		Vestments, Wafer Bread, Eastward Position.	Appeal to Privy Council	It was Ridsdale who appealed.
.	Clifton (Church Association) v. Ridsdale (Rcvd) (supported by ECU)	Privy Council (appeal)	Wafer Bread, Eastward Position (providing manual acts are not rendered invisible to the congregation), Use of cope at all services of Holy Communion in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches.	Vestments, Lights, Mixed Chalice.		This effectively reversed the Purchas Judgement on Wafer Bread and Eastward Position.
1876-77	Hudson (parishioner) v. Tooth (Rcvd) (supported by ECU)	Court of Arches	Charges: Lights, incense in procession, Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc.		Suspended for 3 months then imprisoned for contempt.	The case was 'undefended'.
1878-81	Serjeant (churchwarden) (Church Association support) v. Dale (Rcvd)	Court of Arches	Charges: Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc. There was no ruling as the defendant did no appear.		Suspended then imprisoned for contempt.	Undefended.
1879-81	Perkins (Church Association) v. Enraght (Rcvd) (supported by ECU)	Court of Arches	Charges: Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc. There was no ruling as the defendant did no appear.		Suspended then imprisoned for contempt.	Undefended.
1879-82	Dean (Church Association) v. Green (Rcvd) (supported by ECU)	Court of Arches	Charges: Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc. There was no ruling as the defendant did no appear.		Suspended then imprisoned for contempt.	Undefended.
1880-83	Martin (Church Association) v. Mackonochie (Rcvd)	Court of Arches		Same as 1868-70	Resigned from St Alban's after Archbishop Tait's deathbed request.	AHM resigned from St George's after a further year and soon retired. He died alone and sad on a Scottish mountain.
1880-81	Combe v. DeLaBere (Rcvd)	Court of Arches		Vestments, Lights, Mixed Chalice	Deprived	
1885-92	Hakes (Church Association) Cox (Rcvd)	Court of Arches	Charges: Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc. There was no ruling as the defendant did no appear.		Suspended then imprisoned for contempt.	Undefended.
1888-92	Read (Church Association) v. Bishop of Lincoln (Edward King)	Archbishop of Canterbury & 5 episcopal assessors	Eastward position (providing manual acts were not hidden), Mixed chalice (provided not mixed ceremonially in service) Ablutions, Altar Lights, Singing <i>Agnus Dei</i> .	Sign of the cross in absolution, Benediction.	Appeal to the Privy Council	This effectively reversed the Purchas Judgement on the mixed chalice, significant alongside the final Clifton . Ridsdale Judgement.
.	Read (Church Association) v. Bishop of Lincoln (Edward King)	Privy Council	Eastward position (providing manual acts were not hidden), Mixed chalice (provided not mixed ceremonially in service) Ablutions, Singing <i>Agnus Dei</i> .	Sign of the cross in absolution, Benediction.	The Privy Council left the issue of Altar Lights 'undecided'.	This judgement effectively put an end to the bitter ritual trials. The Archbishop gained moral authority and the Privy Council was seen as not being infallible.

¹⁹² Sources: *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty* (1906); S.L. Ollard (ed), *A Dictionary of English Church History* (London: Mowbray, 1912); George Harford & Morley Stephenson (eds), *The Prayer Book Dictionary* (London: Pitman, 1912); *Oxford Journal Notes and Queries* (12 S. VIII. JAN. 22, 1921.); F. Michael Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism; Father Mackonochie of St Alban's, Holborn* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965); Nigel Scotland, 'Evangelicals, Anglicans and Ritualism in Victorian England', *Churchman* 113/3 1997; *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Table 3: The Nineteenth Century Ritual Trials

Date	Parties	Court	Ruled legal	Ruled illegal	Result	Notes
1855-57	Westerton (churchwarden of St Paul's) v. Liddell (Revd) & Beal (churchwarden of St Barnabas) v. Liddell (Revd)	Consistory Court	Installation of: High (eastward facing altar), Cross, Coloured altar cloths, Credence table.	Candlesticks.	Appealed against	
"	Westerton (churchwarden) v. Liddell (Revd) Beal (churchwarden of St Barnabas) v. Liddell (Revd)	Court of Arches (appeal)	Installation of: High (eastward facing altar), Cross, Coloured altar cloths, Credence table.	Candlesticks.	Confirmed Consistory Court ruling	Candlesticks were removed from St Paul, Knightsbridge & St Barnabas, Pimlico.
1868 -70	Martin (Church Association) v. Mackonochie (Revd)	Court of Arches	Kneeling during the prayer of Consecration (to be governed by the Bishop).	Use of: incense during Holy Communion, mixed chalice, elevation of the chalice & paten. Lights on altar not needed for reading, Incense preparatory to Holy Communion.	3 months suspension	A similar case also proceeded in 1866-68 Flamank v Simpson.
1870	Sumner (Bishop of Winchester) v. Wix (Revd)	Court of Arches				
1869-71	Elphinstone (Church Association) v. Purchas (Revd)	Court of Arches	Eucharistic Vestments, Eastward Position, Wafer Bread & Mixed Chalice.	There were 35 accusations levelled at Purchas. He was asked to abstain from all but the 4 left.	Appeal to Privy Council	Among the accusations was an instance of Purchas hanging a stuffed dove above the Holy Table on Whitsunday.
"	Hebbert (Church Association) v. Purchas (Revd)	Privy Council (appeal)	Cope for Holy Communion on high feast days in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches only.	Eucharistic Vestments, Eastward Position, Wafer Bread, Mixed Chalice.	Taxed costs against Purchas amounting to £7661 18s 7d	Elphinstone died between the first hearing and the appeal. Hebbert was given leave to take his place. The only occasion when Purchas attended court was to object to this latitude. Purchas died within months of the conclusion.
1874	Martin (Church Association) v. Mackonochie (Revd)	Court of Arches		Lights at Morning Prayer, Singing the <i>Agnus Dei</i> , Signing the cross.	6 weeks suspension	
1874	<i>Disraeli's new Worship Regulation Act came into force</i>					
1874-78	Combe v. Edwards (Revd)	Court of Arches	No Judgement.		Combe appealed to the Privy Council.	As Combe was not a parishioner and was renting a pew in a dissenting place of worship the case didn't proceed.
	Combe v. Edwards (Revd)	Privy Council (appeal)		Vestments, Lights, Mixed Chalice.	6 Months Suspension	Edwards refused to accept that he was suspended and was finally deprived of his living.
1875-77	Clifton (Church Association) v. Ridsdale (Revd) (supported by English Church Union)	Court of Arches		Vestments, Wafer Bread, Eastward Position.	Appeal to Privy Council	It was Ridsdale who appealed.
"	Clifton (Church Association) v. Ridsdale (Revd) (supported by ECU)	Privy Council (appeal)	Wafer Bread, Eastward Position (providing manual acts are not rendered invisible to the congregation), Use of cope at all services of Holy Communion in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches.	Vestments, Lights, Mixed Chalice.		This effectively reversed the Purchas Judgement on Wafer Bread and Eastward Position.
1876 -77	Hudson (parishioner) v. Tooth (Revd) (supported by ECU)	Court of Arches	Charges: Lights, Incense in procession, Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc.		Suspended for 3 months then imprisoned for contempt.	The case was 'undefended'.
1878-81	Serjeant (churchwarden) (Church Association support) v. Dale (Revd)	Court of Arches	Charges: Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc. There was no ruling as the defendant did not appear.		Suspended then imprisoned for contempt.	Undefended.
1879-81	Perkins (Church Association) v. Enraght (Revd) (supported by ECU)	Court of Arches	Charges: Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc. There was no ruling as the defendant did not appear.		Suspended then imprisoned for contempt.	Undefended.
1879-82	Dean (Church Association) v. Green (Revd) (supported by ECU)	Court of Arches	Charges: Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc. There was no ruling as the defendant did not appear.		Suspended then imprisoned for contempt.	Undefended.
1880-83	Martin (Church Association) v. Mackonochie (Revd)	Court of Arches		Same as 1868-70	Resigned from St Alban's after Archbishop Tait's deathbed request.	He resigned from St George's after a further year and soon retired. He died alone and sad on a Scottish mountain.
1880-81	Combe v. DeLaBere (Revd)	Court of Arches		Vestments, Lights, Mixed Chalice	Deprived	
1885-92	Hakes (Church Association) Cox (Revd)	Court of Arches	Charges: Stock Charges of: vestments, eastward position, mixed chalice etc. There was no ruling as the defendant did not appear.		Suspended then imprisoned for contempt.	Undefended.
1888-92	Read (Church Association) v Bishop of Lincoln (Edward King)	Archbishop of Canterbury & 5 episcopal assessors	Eastward position (providing manual acts were not hidden), Mixed chalice (provided not mixed ceremonially in service) Ablutions, Altar Lights, Singing <i>Agnus Dei</i> .	Sign of the cross in absolution, Benediction.	Appeal to the Privy Council	This effectively reversed the Purchas Judgement on the mixed chalice, significant alongside the final Clifton . Ridsdale Judgement.
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Sources: *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty* (1906);
S.L. Ollard (ed), *A Dictionary of English Church History* (London: Mowbray, 1912);
George Harford & Morley Stephenson (eds), *The Prayer Book Dictionary* (London: Pitman, 1912);
Oxford Journal Notes and Queries (12 S. VIII. JAN. 22, 1921.);
F. Michael Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*;
Father Mackonochie of St Alban's, Holborn (London: Faber & Faber, 1965);
Nigel Scotland, 'Evangelicals, Anglicans and Ritualism in Victorian England', *Churchman* 113/3 1997;
Oxford National Dictionary of Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

2.2.6 A Model to Follow

So far, this received narrative seems to present a fairly straightforward history. Our concern, though, is not just to lay the story open. It is to understand more fully how the patterns laid down by a few people at the centre of this story have continued to have force in the church throughout the following century. Here we may call this a myth, not because there is doubt about whether it ever happened but because accounts of it as an urban mission praxis have led others to follow. This has become a story that others today shape their practice by, and even model their lives upon.

The essence of the narrative thus described is of missionaries following what they discerned to be God's call by giving up comfort and ambition and a place at the Top Table to share a Godly way of life among the poor. In some sense this relives what Christ in his earthly incarnation did. It is not possible to argue that this was a conscious connection made by the Slum Priest Ritualists, but it is that their practice contributed to this connection dawning on the next generation.¹⁹³ The incarnation was the major theme of the '*Lux Mundi* Essayists'.¹⁹⁴ This work was edited by Charles Gore and the essayists clearly saw themselves as 'heirs to the Tractarian tradition'.¹⁹⁵ The work was not received without controversy and some thought it worldly.¹⁹⁶ To others it demonstrated that social commitment was a key expression of devotion.¹⁹⁷ The writings of, for example, Ken Leech today appear to be a direct inheritance of both the Slum Priest Ritualists' praxis and the thinking of the *Lux Mundi* group.¹⁹⁸ Ken Leech's writings reflect too a lifestyle characterized by commitment to a poor urban community. It is in this 20th century Anglo-Catholic tradition that Ritualism and a more self-conscious incarnational theology combine.

¹⁹³ Cheryl Walsh has argued that the incarnational theology worked out by F.D. Maurice (1805-1872) as early as the 1840s was an influence on the church of his day including early Ritualists involved in the Guild of St Matthew (see page 76 below). He argued, she says, that poor men should be seen as men and not just as poor. Cheryl Walsh, 'The Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience in the Victorian Church of England', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Victorian Subjects. (Jul., 1995), pp. 351-374.

Note that Arthur Stanton's biographer comments of him that he saw 'in every poor fallen man or woman some image of the Divinity he worshipped', Clayton, *Father Stanton of St. Alban's Holborn*, Chapter VII. Note that Stanton's gender inclusivity is a step beyond Maurice's.

¹⁹⁴ Charles Gore (ed.), *Lux Mundi: a series of studies in the religion of the Incarnation* (London: J. Murray, 1890).

Jane Garnett, 'Lux mundi essayists (act. 1889)', *ODNB*;

Ruth Kenyon, 'The Social Aspect of the Catholic Revival', in N.P Williams and Charles Harris (eds.), *Northern Catholicism; Centenary studies in the Oxford and parallel movements*. (London: SPCK, 1933).

¹⁹⁵ Garnett, 'Lux mundi essayists', *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁶ Richard Meux Benson, founder of the 'world denying' Cowley Fathers (see 8.3.3 on page 151 below) described *Lux Mundi* (Light of the World) as *Lux Mundana* (Worldly Light): Garnett, 'Lux mundi essayists', *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁷ Garnett, 'Lux mundi essayists', *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁸ See, for instance, Kenneth Leech, *Believing in the Incarnation and its Consequences* (London: Jubilee Group, 1976).

The impact of this form of mission is not easily assessed. It needs to be considered qualitatively but there is often an institutional pressure to consider its impact quantitatively. That impact was obviously prevalent in the Victorian church and the Ritualists often responded to it. For instance, Joseph Clayton records:

'Dolling hated statistics, and knew the danger of measuring progress by the counting of heads. Yet he kept account of all whom he prepared for Confirmation during the ten years, and the number stands at 580 - more than half of whom were over twenty. Nearly 300 of these left the parish for the colonies, the army, the navy or the grave, but 202 remained members of the Communicants' League and did not desert the church when Dolling left.'¹⁹⁹

Charles Lowder's biographers also describe his effectiveness partly in terms of numbers.

There were two hundred and seventy [communicants] at the early Communion at seven, a great number of them poor, and two hundred at midday. It was a beautiful sight in the early morning, the procession chanting the hundred and eighteenth psalm up the aisle, and, as it happened we came to the nineteenth and twentieth verses as we entered the chancel gates. The church was, of course, nicely decorated with flowers. And then to find so many prepared, at so early an hour, for Holy Communion was very comforting. It was far more than a recompense for one's labours during Lent. I had seen about fifty or sixty of them privately, one by one, during the last fortnight of Lent, besides having a great many confessions. Our congregations during the rest of the day were very large - in the evening more crowded than I had ever seen before; very many obliged to go away for want of room [the church seated five to six hundred], and persons standing close in all the aisles.²⁰⁰

The numbers cited are significant but not huge. We will return to assess this in the Historical Analysis (Part 3). In the Ecclesiological Analysis (Part 4) we will consider ritualistic mission alongside that of the Revivalists and Evangelicals²⁰¹ in which light this looks very small. We must also bear in mind that the innovation and notoriety of the Ritualists brought along a fairly eclectic gathering. All were not local by any means, e.g.

Of course, the congregation of St. Alban's is not confined, and never was from the first, to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood; it is made up of people from far and wide--many of them, it is true, old parishioners who have removed to a more salubrious district, but who are bound by ties of association and lasting affection to the church where they first heard the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST and learnt the meaning of religion.²⁰²

We may deduce from these observations by three Ritualists on their own missionary practice that: their commitment to poor communities was reciprocated with commitment in return; their ministry first and foremost was to individuals (e.g. confirmees and penitents) rather than crowds; and that they worked with individuals both at a high rate and in depth suggesting a considerable share of their time.

¹⁹⁹ Clayton, *Father Dolling*, p.27.

²⁰⁰ This is from from Lowder's own account of his last Easter at St Barnabas Pimlico recorded by his biographer Maria Trench, in Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder*, p.17.

²⁰¹ See 8.3 on page 141.

²⁰² Clayton, *Father Stanton of St. Alban's Holborn*, Chapter 3.

2.3 *Three interpretations of the early Ritualist Slum Priests*

Because of the divisiveness they were accused of bringing to the Church of their day, and their later significance as fathers of a new spiritual approach, a great deal of writing about them tends to be polemic. They had their opponents such as the *Church Association* who were prepared to chase them through the courts with the intent of purging them from the church. But it was those who saw some value in their mission and who appreciated their appeal to the urban poor who tried to offer explanation as to the popularity of their churches. Contemporary writings that do this, and the biographies written by their contemporary friends, typically adopt either or both of two views about them. These are: that in their mapping out a 'system' which represented heavenly things on earth, its colour and significance, lay their appeal;²⁰³ or that their own personalities were larger than life, their education and background being so different from urban poverty that people were attracted by this.²⁰⁴ More recently there has also been a tendency to understand them as social reformers bringing welcome material change to the living conditions of the slums,²⁰⁵ for instance in Lowder's work to combat cholera. This is the more common modern commentary. It may be that these three explanations are not mutually exclusive. Reed's conclusion that it was the 'saintliness'²⁰⁶ of some Slum Priest Ritualists that brought success to their mission does pull together their characters and practice of social action.

But to the observer who knows that oppressed people have sophisticated motivations and real political aspirations these analyses still fall short. They are all one-sided in relation to the action of the Ritualists upon the urban poor. The Victorian urban poor were capable of doing more than just responding to colour or personality or kindness. Oppressed people are well capable of identifying God's work in their own terms, which the Liberation Theologian knows will involve finding freedom from the shackles of Godless and unjust systems.²⁰⁷ We must also look beyond the three interpretations summarized below.

²⁰³ E.g. in the words of the Victorian ritualist Orbey Shipley, 'What would attract the masses and penetrate their minds more easily was the use of symbol, colour, processions, music, drama - a pattern which the sacramental system justified theologically.' in John Kent, *Holding the Fort, Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London: Epworth Press, 1978) p.226.

²⁰⁴ E.g. The Bishop of London's view that Lowder could attract a crowd in a whitewashed room (footnote 275).

²⁰⁵ See Nigel Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* (London: The Historical Association, 1983) p. 27.

²⁰⁶ Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p. 168.

²⁰⁷ Reference to Liberation Theology is worked out more fully in Chapter 4 'Liberation Theology Perspectives' on page 69.

2.3.1 Heaven's riches made plain in a drab world

There is much evidence that the colour, beauty, drama and heartfelt significance of the early Ritualists' worship was where they themselves thought their appeal lay. These things were not simply packaging but were, they believed, fundamental to heaven's being represented on earth. As such they expected this to attract people and they saw as happy the coincidence that it attracted mostly the poor whose surroundings were the drabest. Many followers and critics alike have lighted on this interpretation of the Ritualists' missionary success as the key.²⁰⁸

Charles Lowder, one of the earliest and most formative amongst the Ritualists wrote of his worship being a counterpart to heaven in his own account of his ministry:

...the ritual of St Peter's is not a mere aesthetic embellishment but the outward expression of a great reality. It exactly meets the wants of those who have been taught to value their Lord's sacramental Presence; they rejoice to see His Throne made glorious, His priests ordering themselves as His representatives, and the whole arrangement of the service typical of its heavenly counterpart.²⁰⁹

The Ritualists had been inspired by the fathers of the Oxford Movement: men who had appealed to the Early Church Fathers as more authoritative than the English and European Reformers.²¹⁰ Their ritual harked back to a time when they believed God's ways were most authentically seen, the period in England after the Reformation having been 'an unprofitable parenthesis'.²¹¹ Their cause was not just about missionary expediency but in their minds it was about an ontological truth. It is for this reason that such strong words as 'rightful claim' are used by Lowder. Alexander Machonockie linked the ontological and the missionary in saying, 'No doubt ceremonial has a double aspect. That of the Altar is beyond question..... the other I call the Missionary.'²¹²

Such a stance left no place for dialogue with those whose appeal was to the post-Reformation traditions of the Protestant Church. In this case the common language becomes one of numbers. Whilst members of the establishment may have wanted to see the masses being brought further into the orbit of their influence, and saw the Church of England as an instrument of this, they were nervous of ritualistic innovation not hitherto part of its culture. The Ritualists saw the response of significant numbers of people to their services as a vindication and proof of their rightness. This is seen

²⁰⁸ Reed says, 'It was almost an article of faith among the Ritualists that the ignorant found beautiful services unusually attractive.' Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p150.

²⁰⁹ C.F. Lowder, *Twenty One Years at St George's Mission* (London: 1877) pp. 163-7.

²¹⁰ For instance *Tracts for the Times (1834-1841) No.6 'The Present Obligation of Primitive Practice'* asks, 'Is there any one who will deny, that the Primitive Church is the best expounder of our SAVIOUR'S will as conveyed through his Apostles?'

²¹¹ Following Munson, 'Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975), p.383, quoting A.J. Balfour recorded in *Hansard* (1899).

²¹² Russell, *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie*, p.223.

clearly in an exchange between Robert Dolling and his bishop Harold Browne (then Bishop of Winchester). Dolling had replied to a letter from the bishop who was anxious that the proliferation of ritualistic practices might be inappropriate saying that he would comply with the Prayer Book but it would mean:

'a great diminution in the congregations, especially on the week-days, when the services complained of were used....²¹³

The Bishop replied,

I do not wish to define legal ritual, but to suggest that you should be satisfied with what is purely Anglican, as sufficient for all purposes of devotion, and not liable to create suspicion, or to stir up strife. Stations of the cross, acolytes in crimson cassocks, incensing the Magnificat, and the like, certainly excite bitter animosity in an eminently Protestant town like Portsmouth.²¹⁴

But the Ritualists didn't want to hide their worship away. One of the real points at which the missionary advantages of Ritualism were brought to bear was in processions which took their religion out of the confines of the church building.²¹⁵ Processions in the streets also led to a degree of ridicule and here again appeal is made to the Gospel and the ridicule that Christ faced. This is paralleled interestingly with Augustine of Canterbury as the father of the church in England:

...The preaching of the Cross in the streets and lanes of this godless city I believe to be a true missionary work; and as St Augustine began his mission in this country, not only with a cross in front of his procession, but even with a banner, I am not ashamed to own that with such a glorious precedent I do not fear the charges of irreverence or folly in going forward in the same manner with the same message, and for the same grand object.²¹⁶

The spectacle, far from being an embarrassing excess, was viewed by Mackonochie and Lowder as being among the church's missionary tools, a true missionary work.

The Ritualists wanted their church buildings themselves to speak of heaven. They sought a rich and vibrant decoration inside that made dramatic contrast with the deprivation found outside the doors. A strong part of many of their stories is the gradual ornamentation of the plain churches they first built. It was important to their defence from hierarchical assaults that it was the congregation who wanted the ornamentation and decoration. They are often at pains to stress how new candlesticks or vestments were provided by parishioners 'much to their own surprise!'²¹⁷ The degree to which such expressions were just pure rhetoric is difficult to assess.

²¹³ R.R. Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum* (London: Masters & Co. Ltd, 1896) p.144.

²¹⁴ Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum*, p.144.

²¹⁵ Alexander Machonockie said, 'If you want to touch people's hearts and rouse them, give them a procession. It may be dull and stupid and unmeaning to you and me, but it comes home somehow to the poor people with a loud call.... It is certainly manifest among our people.' Russell, *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie*, p.223.

²¹⁶ Charles Lowder replied to *The Times* which was itself an instrument of this ridicule but his letter was never published. According to his modern biographer, Dr Ellsworth, his letter included this paragraph. Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder & the Ritualist Movement*, p.105.

²¹⁷ E.g. Reynolds points out that vestments were presented to Mackonochie by members of the congregation before he was prepared to use them. Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 99.

New church buildings in poor communities were rarely built with no expense spared and most often would be quite rough and brick-built. They were built defensively to offer protection from the harsh environment they were in, akin to earlier gothic churches with high windows out of reach and a lot of brick.²¹⁸ Robert Dolling's church was St Agatha's in Portsmouth. He encouraged his people to see the potential beauty in the church that they would establish as years went by.

We have built the roughest of brick walls. And I feel this is of infinite importance, that each generation should be able to say, "my" church. ... These great wall spaces of Italian architecture are designed for the very purpose of being the ignorant man's Bible, and the poor man's opportunity of offering his mite to God; and I have no doubt that S. Agatha's people will, by degrees, create it, what Mr. Ruskin says S. Mark's is to the Venetians - "an open Bible", which even the most unlearned and ignorant may easily read.²¹⁹

If the Ritualists' contemporary biographers are to be believed, the view that their colourful liturgy was especially appealing to the urban poor was not only theirs but was also accepted by their opponents. The Church Association was the evangelical group that most effectively waged war against the Ritualists. E.F. Russell was one of the most prolific biographical writers in support of the ritualistic priests and as a member of St Alban's, Holborn, had been very close to the ministries of Alexander Mackonochie and Arthur Stanton in particular. He shared their belief that liturgy rich in symbolism appealed to those deprived of richness in other ways and understood the Church Association to be threatened by this:.

From the consecration of St Alban's, Holborn, in 1863, the ritual of the Holy Eucharist adopted there included the eastward position, unleavened bread, the mixed chalice, altar lights, and linen vestments..... In 1864 coloured silk vestments presented by the congregation and incense, were added..... they gave great offence to the Church Association, which was quick to see much more danger to the system it upheld in the spread of ornate services to the classes represented in the congregation of St Alban's than had threatened it so long as they were confined to the section of society attending such churches as St Paul, Knightsbridge and St Barnabas, Pimlico.²²⁰

To paraphrase: ritual was OK for the educated and middle classes; it is truly dangerous among the urban poor.²²¹

²¹⁸ The term 'Gothic' is a derogatory term used to describe architecture mimicking the pre-Renaissance period. Harold Turner observes, 'In church building the manifestation of this golden age was fourteenth century decorated gothic architecture, which was therefore accepted by the Gothic Revivalists as the normative or only truly Christian form.' Harold W. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House; The Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship*, (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979) p.4. See also page 175 below.

²¹⁹ Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum*, p.231.

²²⁰ Russell, *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie*, p.148.

²²¹ In fact legal action was taken against Liddell, the minister at both St Paul, Knightsbridge and St Barnabas, Pimlico by the churchwardens for the installation of an eastward facing altar, cross, candlesticks, credence table and coloured altar cloths. This action proceeded in the Consistory Court (local diocesan) and the Court of Arches (provincial). The churchwardens lost on all matters except the candlesticks. Mackonochie's point is that neither the court nor the Church Association pressed the matter any further for these churches serving a wealthy society. The actions he was pressed on were of ritual action rather than church furniture. The legal processes were different. Nevertheless, he is indignant at the injustice of the pressing.

If he is right, it suggests that there was no argument over the missionary value of extravagantly ornate worship. The real question was whether ritualism encouraged the poor into a misplaced faith. The Church Association acknowledged that ritualistic worship could grow a church – but it was not the sort of church they could accept.

The concern to bring colour to the drab world of poor people can seem a little paternalistic. But the drabness and harshness of the environment in which the slum priest Ritualists worked cannot be understated. However, the Ritualists were likely to make a big issue of congregation members who presented a chasuble or candlestick but seem to have had much less to say about the poor who were engaged in political struggle. We will look more closely at this in Part 3. The clergy were not the only players in what was happening. They themselves were inevitably also acted upon by their flocks. It is not untypical of the church that it was often blind to this. Father Burn of Middlesborough reads as one of the most paternalistic of all Ritualists. The adage ‘Father knows best’ seems to fit.²²² Writing after his death, Thomas Brackner (then Vicar of St John Tuebrook in Liverpool) said of his time with Burns who made a mission to Saltley:

It all sounds very unlike the spirit of the Gospels, but it was not. He used to say that in dealing with very simple and ignorant people, the only plan was to tell them exactly what they were to do, and see that they did it. "It is the method they are accustomed to in the factories, and you cannot expect them to understand anything else." He was always comparing himself to a colonel of a regiment, and thought there were very few priests who could work on those lines, it certainly answered with him....²²³

In tension with this paternalism, the Oxford Movement and theologians such as F.D. Maruice had provided a theological basis that regarded all people as equally valued by God. (Not all of the Ritualists took the same line as Burn.) Their pastoral praxis was founded on this and was formed at the coal-face of the most deprived Victorian communities. Arthur Stanton bore testimony to this and saw his place as being more clearly alongside those he ministered to. A journalist spent a day with him and noted:

I soon found that my animated interlocutor was no mere dreamy or dilettante admirer of an ecclesiastical past galvanised into seeming spasmodic vitality in the present, but firmly convinced that his form of Christianity was the only one that could get a grip on living men and women - especially on the degraded ones swarming around the clergy house. The basis of Ritualism, he said, was a belief that all human flesh was loveable and venerable, because CHRIST had worn the human form and therefore the most depraved ought to be looked on and looked after as saintly brethren in obstructed embryo. Confession, this politely but unflinchingly outspoken young priest did not apologise for, but championed as the only means by which a spiritual director could give individual guidance to his people: "mere preaching was like talking to a flock of sheep."²²⁴

²²² This is not an unfounded adage. Nigel Yates, in a book review, comments: ‘... findings that Tractarians espoused generally conservative and paternalistic opinions, though with a genuine concern for the evils of the day, or that they tended to see that these could best be rectified by returning to a more theocratic form of government, will not come as much of a surprise.’ Nigel Yates, Review of S.A. Skinner, *Tractarians and the Condition of England. The Social and Political thought of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2004) in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (56), 2005, p.792.

²²³ Fullerton, *Father Burn of Middlesborough*, p.192.

²²⁴ From an article by journalist Richard Rowe in *The Good Works* reprinted in Lee Jackson (ed.), *A Dictionary of Victorian London: An A-Z of the Great Metropolis* (London: Anthem Press, 2006) p.358.

Burn's paternalism does not seem to be replicated in Stanton. He regards poor people personally and individually rather than offering the sort of collective response apparent in Burn.

Bringing colour and drama back to Church of England worship is undoubtedly a great part of the Ritualists' legacy and it is understandable that later generations might fix onto this. There were undoubtedly other factors than this too in their time. If this is the contemporary explanation by those most involved in what was happening, it is not necessarily the only one. As we have seen, a major flaw in this analysis is that it ignores the aspirations and movements of the people who lived in these deprived communities themselves. They are assumed to be a passive crowd responding to whatever is bright and colourful by those who argue this explanation of the Ritualists' effect and by Ritualists such as Burn who operated in a way that betrayed this assumption. Undoubtedly these things helped lift people's eyes above the mundane, but it is not satisfactory to reduce working class worshippers' aspirations to this. Reed observes that the theory might have worked better when applied to the 'culturally elite'.²²⁵

2.3.2 Characters larger than life

This idea that the success in attracting poor urban people around the slum priest Ritualists was because of their larger-than-life character is largely one supplied by those who needed to find an answer not based on their ritual practice. A century after their deaths and well away from the heat of their day, it is possible to see the contribution that their colourful and symbolic liturgies made to their reception. In their own day there were those may not have wanted to admit this and as the temperature rose through legal action further polarization is evident.

An example of somebody who struggled to see beyond the personality of Ritualist Priests is the social investigator Charles Booth.²²⁶ Of the Ritualistic Incumbent at St Augustine's, Stepney in 1898 Booth says:

...my impression is that the influence wielded by the vicar of St. Augustine's is due rather to the vigour of his personality than either the doctrines taught or 'the attractive force of £4000 a year'.²²⁷

²²⁵ Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.181.

²²⁶ See section 5.1 on page 91 below for analysis of Booth's approach to Ritualism. There we discuss the strong filters that coloured Booth's perception and the notion that personality was the only explanation he had left to offer.

²²⁷ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London; Religious Influences*, Series 3, Volume 2 (London: Macmillan, 1902), p.26. Here we focus on personality. We will return to funding in section 5.1.

The background of these priests was quite different from those they went to live amongst. The Oxford Movement had inspired them with new energy for living in religious communities and they often established in their parishes a 'Clergy House' model. These clergy houses not only included the small number of priests that might minister together in the place but also served as a magnet to others in deep need around them. This was a means of healing to many, focused on the generosity of a priest whose vicarage it would otherwise have been. Often food and housework was shared by all but the inconvenience was significant to the Parish Priest. In Alexander Mackonochie's case the living conditions of his parsonage became so cramped that he moved himself into far less salubrious accommodation elsewhere.

It has to be acknowledged that the personal charisma and generosity of priests who moved into urban slum areas with Oxford Movement ideals must have been attractive. It is also plain from the testimony of their biographers that the communities established in their houses were like a honey-pot to people in need. To put their evangelistic success purely down to this, as K.S. Inglis does, however seems too simple:

When a ritualistic clergyman asked a number of his fellows: 'Are the working men influenced by the High Church movement?' the answer suggested that where working-class people attended a 'High' service it was more out of respect for the personality or secular opinions of the clergyman than out of appreciation for the doctrines or symbols of his party.²²⁸

Inglis's opinion stated clearly in his book seems to depend on this one report. Others give testimony to this view too but the number of those whose views differ about the importance of the ritual far outweigh this. Given the heat of controversy at the time it is not surprising that clergy were putting the Ritualists' popularity down to other tangible things.

Nigel Yates is another modern scholar who takes the same line, but again uses the Ritualists' opponents as evidence:

He (Bickersteth) did not think that the labouring population would be attracted by "the extravagant decoration of churches, nor by gorgeous ceremonial, nor by startling appeals to the senses".²²⁹

Richard Bickersteth was Bishop of Ripon (1857-1884). The main city was Leeds. He was a great evangelical character appointed as bishop by Lord Palmerston during the first of his periods as Prime Minister. A number of great evangelical bishops were appointed by him and became known as the 'Palmerston Bishops'. Bickersteth clearly

²²⁸ Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p.46, referring to J. Adderley in G. Haw (ed.), *Christianity and the Working Classes* (London: Macmillan, 1906).

²²⁹ According to D.N. Hempton, 'Bickersteth, Bishop of Ripon: the episcopate of a mid-Victorian evangelical', *RiVB IV*, p.53.

sought to engage in credible mission among the urban poor but did not adopt Ritualism.²³⁰

On the other hand it is undoubtedly true that personal charisma did play some part and evidence such as that of Leeds cannot be swept aside. Yates points to the failure of ritualistic missions to the working classes of Leeds - St Saviour's & St Barnabas' relying on middle classes to swell the congregation. Yates believes this to be true of other cities too: 'the personality of parish priests was probably more important than their theological beliefs or liturgical practices'.²³¹

It is probably also fair to say that at least in the case of some of the Ritualists their personality commended them to those very people who took legal action against them and sometimes softened the blow. Ellsworth writes of Bishop Tait when Bishop of London,

....although the bishop never really understood ritualism as a system or ritualists as a genre, he could and did value individual ritualist priests, and frequently chose to turn a blind eye....²³²

Nevertheless this remains an unsatisfactory analysis on its own for the effect that these clergy and their ritualistic system were able to have in poor Victorian urban communities. The strong weight of evidence from those who were close to these priests runs counter to it. It also fails to respect the influence that these poor communities themselves exerted. It fails to do this in much the same way as the first analysis we have considered.

2.3.3 God's social workers

Another means of accounting for the way that these priests and their system were accepted in their communities can be seen in other more recent thinking. It is suggested that they earned their credibility as priests by making a real difference to the living conditions that people endured. The recent scholars quoted above can be seen appealing not just to the personality of the Ritualists themselves but also to their social concern for individuals.²³³ This is more than social work and includes real pastoral care at personal cost but we use the label of 'God's social workers' because it betrays better a very limited understanding of the Ritualists' lives. As we have shown above,

²³⁰ See 8.3.2 on page 147 below.

²³¹ According to Hempton, 'Bickersteth', *RiVB IV*, p.53. Reed says, 'The real attraction of some Ritualist churches, and the explanation for the differences among them, lay in the lives and persons of the clergy, not in the doctrines they preached or the ritual they practiced.' Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p149f.

²³² Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder*, p.45.

²³³ Reed writes, 'In time a popular conception of Slum Ritualism emerged, a conception shared in large measure even by many of the Ritualists' antagonists, building on a base of undeniable fact – that these clergymen and sisters were hard working, self-sacrificing, and devoted to the spiritual welfare of the poor.' Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.149.

their liturgy and their personalities were significant parts of the story. Spirituality was at the heart of their importance.

The biographies of Lowder, Mackonochie, Stanton and Dolling are full of accounts where they gave time to visiting people in conditions so sad that unforgettable impressions were left on occasional visitors they took with them. Their own health and well-being was put at risk day in and day out. For instance Charles Rowe recorded joining Stanton on a parish visiting round:

At the top of a squalid house lay two small-pox patients, in the same room with a corpse, disfigured by the same dreadful disease. I started back with a sick shudder when I ascertained who and what were the occupants of that room; but my companion entered it as calmly, to all appearance, as he had entered any other. Whilst he was in that awful chamber, with the dying and the dead, I stood at an open window on the landing below. At a workshop on the other side of a dirty little yard, in which the sunshine seemed to stagnate, carpenters were whistling music-hall tunes over their planes and up-curling shavings; up the staircase every minute came the filthy, blasphemous language of a knot of sluttish women, squatting on the step of the open door, uttered with as little malice propenae as when the decently-bred use "the" or "and." The London poor die under dreariest, most repulsive circumstances; and honour, I say, to the brave men, whether City Missionaries or Ritualistic Clergymen, who risk life to solace their last moments.²³⁴

But there are not so many incidences of public action being taken by them in campaigning for things to change. The most celebrated is Lowder's work to combat cholera. This was partly inspired by his insight into the inequality of those who died during epidemics as a burier of the dead. It was also made possible by his ability to research and read scientific and political works of the day. His most sympathetic modern biographer accounts for this as partly contributing to his stature amongst those with whom he worked:

The impact of years of parochial service, visibly witnessed by St Peter's, had eroded much of the wall of opposition which the Mission had first met. The remainder crumbled under the impression made by the clergy and Sisters during the cholera. From the end of the epidemic, Lowder was known in Wapping simply as 'the Father', and any outsiders rash enough to threaten him or his work risked the filial outrage of his people.²³⁵

Dolling's social concern beyond the immediately pastoral is perhaps the most extensive among the early leading Ritualists. Owen records:

he did much to mitigate the social problems of slum life, especially prostitution, poverty, and drunkenness. He also supported the campaign for shorter working hours and better wages, and believed that it was 'not far distant when employers will find that the men's Unions are really a great gain in the solution of the whole Labour Question'.²³⁶

Shortly before his death Dolling moved from Portsmouth to Poplar in East London. Again he argued a social concern perspective on a large scale:

At Poplar he again sought to solve the social and municipal problems of the district; the east London water famine of 1898, the evils of overcrowding, and the smallpox epidemic of

²³⁴ Rowe in Jackson (ed.), *A Dictionary of Victorian London*, p.379.

²³⁵ Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder*, p.85.

²³⁶ W. B. Owen, 'Dolling, Robert William Radclyffe (1851–1902)', rev. Rene Kollar, *ODNB*.

1901 roused all his energies, and he fiercely denounced those responsible for these scandals.²³⁷

The Guild of St Matthew²³⁸ was the main organ with which the Ritualists, especially Dolling, were associated and which developed a Christian Socialist agenda. But the larger part of their work by far remained the personal care they brought to people caught in the depths of poverty and sickness. The contribution that their social work made to their place in their communities was undoubtedly valuable.

Nevertheless it is not possible to build a case on this accounting solely for the relative success of their churches or the longevity of their remembrance. The instances of socio-political activity that are recorded are primarily local and personal with the exception of the GSM's and Dolling's campaigning. But even his work is not remembered as part of the grand account of political and social struggle. They do not feature significantly in histories of Britain other than for ecclesiastical reasons. His is remembered particularly because of the inspiration springing out of his religious praxis. Nevertheless, this work no doubt contributed to their prominence and positive profile among their allies.

²³⁷ Owen, 'Dolling', *ODNB*.

²³⁸ See page 76 for discussion on the GSM.

Part 2

Theoretical Analysis



Figure 3:
William Holman Hunt, *The Light of the World*, (1853)
'Behold I stand at the door and knock.'

In this section of the work a deeper understanding of the Ritualists' gospel is sought beyond the three caricatures of the received narrative.

Chapter 3 Mythological Perspective

Bronislaw Malinowski said, ‘Myth, in fact, is not an idle rhapsody, not an aimless out-pouring of vain imaginings, but a hard-working, extremely important cultural force’.²³⁹ The Slum Priest Ritualist narrative as described needs to be considered both within the mythical terms of the Victorians and in the way that it has become a myth today.

3.1 *Myth and the transmission of the Ritualists’ story*

It is a reasonable proposition that their liturgy made the beauty of heaven present amid the dreariness of their surroundings.²⁴⁰ This is a myth today, albeit a weak one, that has given impetus to much liturgical practice and reform. It is conventionally understood in terms of colour, light, action, movement, dress, symbol, and language. Some would go as far as to say that Christian worship should follow a set of divine rules replicating heaven’s standards. Indeed, it will be shown later how the Slum Priest Ritualists themselves built on this argument.²⁴¹ Here we will consider what it was about their lives’ stories that transmitted these ideas more strongly.

3.1.1 The Influence of a poor urban Context

John Henry Newman was one of the fathers of the Oxford Movement. It was the theological and ecclesiological discourse that he and scholars around him entered into and developed in the 1830s and 1840s that was to prove formational to the later Ritualists. In the Oxford of Newman and Pusey the embryonic Ritualists were young men who were studying and preparing for ministry in the Church of England. In the second half of the century they were to find themselves in a Church that was building places of worship rapidly and creating new parishes in the poor urban communities that had emerged through the Industrial Revolution.²⁴² These new churches had no historical tradition. Their parishioners were to a large extent thought to be the ‘home heathen’.²⁴³ The priests who had found spiritual awakening through the Oxford

²³⁹ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and other essays* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), p.97.

Building on Malinowski and following Luzbetak we will work with a general concept of myth in terms of humans dealing with notions of the supernatural, their destiny and ultimate questions. Luzbetak says, ‘that is how God reveals himself to creatures – mythically.’ Louis J. Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures; New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology* (New York: Orbis, 1989), p.267.

²⁴⁰ See page 50 above.

²⁴¹ See page 173 below.

²⁴² Section 2.2.3 on page 35.

²⁴³ See Stedman Jones, ‘Working-Class Culture’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), pp. 463.

Also Appendix 2, page 243.

Movement were in the vanguard of those willing to rise to this new challenge.²⁴⁴ With their new learning and a spirit dissatisfied with the established church, they were to find themselves in a mission field with a blank canvas. The pattern of worship and ornamentation that they brought to these churches has lent them the title of ‘Ritualists’.

Without the poor urban context in which they were to find themselves it is by no means certain that their liturgy and ritual would have emerged as it did. Although this was later to transfer to many other contexts around the world it was born in the mid Victorian slums of England’s rapidly growing cities. Whilst not all Ritualists were Slum Priests, those who brought Ritualism to notoriety were.

A.N. Wilson offers a very sharp critique of John Henry Newman who seems to represent another side of the Oxford Movement to the Ritualists; a side that was to stay cosseted within the cloisters of academia and ecclesia²⁴⁵. He does this by comparing Newman’s *Apologia* (1864)²⁴⁶ with Charles Kingsley’s *The Water-Babies* (1863)²⁴⁷ from the point of view of a twenty-first century reader. He points out that within a year of the publication of *The Water-Babies* parliament had banned pushing little boys up chimneys.²⁴⁸ Newman’s work had little such effect. In Wilson’s words:

Newman’s book chronicles in obsessive detail the squabbles between High Church and Low Church divines during the 1830s..... Never once in the whole book do we get a sense of the world outside Newman’s college walls – or come to that, outside his own head. It is something of a shock at the end to be told ‘I have never seen Oxford since, excepting its spires as they are seen by railway.’ The reader is jolted into a recognition that all these intense theological debates happened not in the time of St Augustine, but in the railway age. Never once does Newman’s quest for a perfect orthodoxy, a pure belief in the Incarnate God, appear to prompt him to consider that if God took flesh, then this has social implications, that the Church should be engaged with the lives and plight of the poor.²⁴⁹

But Newman did inspire his students to engage with this. Those for whom Newman was formational, and who were later to find themselves in Clergy Houses and Vicarages amid squalor and deprivation, such a seclusion was not an option. The condition of the people they lived amongst was itself a powerful filter through which they saw their mission; something the pioneers amongst them were only to encounter on leaving academia. Wilson’s observation highlights the contrast between Newman’s world and the world that some of his students left Oxford to enter. Their controversies were also beginning as Newman and Kingsley wrote.

²⁴⁴ Section 2.2.4 on page 39.

²⁴⁵ Wilson, *The Victorians*, p.303f.

²⁴⁶ Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*.

²⁴⁷ Charles Kingsley, *The Water-Babies*, originally serialized in two columns of *Macmillan’s Magazine* from August 1862 to March 1863.

²⁴⁸ Wilson, *The Victorians*, p.304.

²⁴⁹ Wilson, *The Victorians*, pp.303-4.

The reaction against the Slum Priest Ritualists was also lent a violence conditioned by the context of their adversaries. Archibald Campbell Tait (1811-1882) was Bishop of London from 1856–1868 and later Archbishop of Canterbury. He had a longing to bring Christianity to the poor and had, for instance, insisted on services at Westminster Abbey being free and open to the public. He encouraged the building of churches in slum areas and went to preach in places where he knew the poor gathered: omnibus yards and ragged schools amongst them.²⁵⁰ It was Tait who was Primate when the Public Worship Regulation Act became law under Disraeli's government (Disraeli, as a converted Jew, was not well placed to lead on church affairs and seems to have found it convenient to follow the Queen and Archbishop in presenting this bill).²⁵¹ Queen Victoria wrote at the time that the Archbishop should be given more power to put the Ritualists down:

She thinks a *complete Reformation* is what we want. But if *that is impossible*, the Archbishop should have the *power* given him, by *Parliament*, to *stop* all these ritualistic practices, dressings, bowings, etc. and everything of that kind, and *above all*, all attempts at *confession*.²⁵²

Although Tait's missionary concern was as alive as that of the Slum Priests he found himself set against them by the climate of anti-Roman Catholicism, betrayed here by the Queen, that so conditioned the English establishment at the time.²⁵³ The difference that those responsible for the church at a high level could see between the form of worship that they knew best and these new 'advanced'²⁵⁴ churches was that the latter looked more Roman. If their concern for a mission to the urban poor was as much for their cultural incorporation into established English patterns²⁵⁵ as it was for the sake of their spiritual journey and destiny then these Roman influences were indeed a threat.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ Percy V. Norwood, 'A Victorian Primate', *ChHist*, Vol. 14, No. 1. (Mar., 1945), p.10.

²⁵¹ Disraeli demonstrated some naivety in the comment that this was 'a bill to put down Ritualists'. See Norwood, 'A Victorian Primate', p.13.

Wohl suggests that Disraeli's involvement with PWR exposed him to accusation of intolerable interference in church affairs. Anthony S. Wohl, '"Dizzi-Ben-Dizzi": Disraeli as Alien', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Victorian Subjects. (Jul., 1995), p.402.

Parry says that in supporting PWR at the behest of the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Disraeli was making a stand for Anglicanism against Catholicism in a way that conveniently reinforced his foreign and Irish policies. J. P. Parry, 'Disraeli and England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 3. (Sep., 2000), pp. 699-728.

²⁵² Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Part 2 (London: A&C Black, 1966) p.321.

²⁵³ Norwood says that Tait's liberalism and championship of 'larger room' in the church set both Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical against him. Norwood, 'A Victorian Primate', p.4.

²⁵⁴ See page 69.

²⁵⁵ Tait said in his 1862 *Charge* as Bishop of London: 'Our Church, has, committed to it by God, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in an inquisitive and restless age, the difficult task of gathering together, fostering, developing, restraining, and guiding the Christian feelings and thoughts, and energetic life of many millions of intelligent Englishmen, impatient both of political and still more ecclesiastical control.' From M.A. Crowther, 'Church Problems and Church Parties', in *RiVB* IV, p.4.

²⁵⁶ Norwood says, 'Certainly, the Bishop who had first attracted public notice as one of the "four tutors" in protest against Newman's Tract Ninety (and it is pretty certain that Tait himself composed the Protest) was not a man to take lightly the restoration of vestments and ceremonies which seemed designed to

Those senior clerics whose spiritual formation had been cultivated in the days of the squarson and magistrate²⁵⁷ and whose adult lives were spent amongst the concerns of the establishment were, like Newman, a long way far apart from those who had found spiritual awakening in the Oxford of the 1830s and who lived among the urban poor.²⁵⁸ The offence was all the more deep because the former regarded the latter as their ambassadors whilst the latter looked to the established church that had hitherto nurtured them as a source of support. The Ritualists had largely been children of the establishment and in a middle class context they might well have been tolerated.²⁵⁹ Operating as they did in communities that the elite and middle class feared was a much more threatening scenario.²⁶⁰

3.1.2 The myth of 'Ritualism'

The Ritualists, for their part, never publicly argued to import foreign practices into England but said they were trying to restore to the English the primitive (traditional) rites that they believed a slovenly church had neglected.²⁶¹ They wanted to do things properly.²⁶² They believed they had an ontological mandate:²⁶³ they were about representing heaven on earth. Their Godly quest, missionary endeavours and subsequent persecution now in turn form a myth that continues to influence the church.²⁶⁴ But it would appear that those who were seeking to recover an eternal ritual

overthrow the Reformation and to express doctrine hardly distinguishable from that taught by the Church of Rome.' Norwood, 'A Victorian Primate', pp.6-7.

²⁵⁷ See Peter Virgin, *The Church in an age of Negligence; Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform 1700-1840* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1989), pp.109-131. Also on p.23 Virgin describes the concern for spiritual renewal in the Church of the Evangelicals, the Hackney Phalanx and the Oxford Movement set in tension against against the interests of the suqarson who combined dutes of squire and parson around 'the jostle of the hunt, the suspense of the card table *and* the merriness of the port decanter'.

See too Obelkevich, *Religion in Rural Society*, p.177.

²⁵⁸ McLeod suggests, 'In spite of efforts of those like Stuart Headlam, the prevailing image of the clergyman ... was still that of a highly educated gentleman, who mixed more readily with the elite than with ordinary parishioners.' He considers this to have prevailed into the twentieth century.

McLeod acknowledges that 'Celibacy and the cultivation of a distinctly priestly image no doubt helped [the Ritualist] in the attempt to get away from a privileged life-style.'

McLeod, *Religion and Society*, p.19.

²⁵⁹ See footnotes 220 and 221.

²⁶⁰ See footnote 140.

²⁶¹ The idea that the Ritualists thought they were restoring England's primitive worship rather than innovating with new worship is worked out below in Part 4. This is but one early aspect of what in the late nineteenth century was to emerge as a strong cultural interest in the medieval period as a purer 'pre-capitalist' world.

²⁶² For instance, John Purchas (See section 9.2.1 on page 169 below) develops this when he writes, 'Ritualism is a science as well as theology'. John Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanun: being a Manual of Directions for the right Celebration of the Holy Communion, for the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of the other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church*, (London, 1858), p.xii.

²⁶³ E.g. 'The primary use of Ritual and Ceremonial is founded on the claims of Almighty GOD', Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.xiii.

²⁶⁴ Munson sets out to demonstrate that this myth is bigger than the historical reality but perhaps only succeeds in demonstrating that the historical reality was limited. He gives no evidence of the reality of the myth. Munson, 'Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975).

in their approach to worship have by their own history of persecution provided further cause for its propagation. They have become models of ministry and practice and a part of Anglo-Catholic mythology.

A Structuralist Argument

Claude Lévi-Strauss held the Chair of Social Anthropology at the College de France from 1959. He believed that the characteristics of people, across divisions of time and place, are everywhere identical.²⁶⁵ Lévi-Strauss spent more than half his life studying the behaviour of the North and South American Indian tribes. He developed 'Structuralism' to study the social organization of these tribes. Structuralism, says Lévi-Strauss, 'is the search for unsuspected harmonies...'²⁶⁶ Lévi-Strauss derived structuralism from a school of linguistics whose focus was not on the meaning of the word, but the patterns that the words form. Humanity passes from a natural to a cultural state as it uses language, learns to cook, etc. Structuralism offers an account that in the passage from natural to cultural, humans obey laws which they do not invent. Lévi-Strauss also argued that there was an underlying universal structure to mythology. He describes myth as being like language but on a more complex level.²⁶⁷ Myth shares with language the following characteristics:

1. It is made of units that are put together according to certain rules.
2. These units form relationships with each other, based on opposites that provide the basis of the structure.²⁶⁸

From a more recent anthropological perspective Wendy James states:

Anthropologists have long concerned themselves with 'myth', agreeing this to be a kind of storytelling which transcends ordinary narrative. What makes myth so special? Why are there extraordinary similarities between myths drawn from all over the world?²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵ E.g. Strauss wrote: 'if, as we believe to be the case, the unconscious activity of the mind consists in imposing forms upon content, and if these forms are fundamentally the same for all minds-ancient and modern, primitive and civilized (as the study of the symbolic function, expressed in language, so strikingly indicates)-it is necessary and sufficient to grasp the unconscious structure underlying each institution and each custom, in order to obtain a principle of interpretation valid for other institutions and other customs, provided of course that the analysis is carried far enough.' Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (tr. Claire Jacobson) (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967), pp.21-22.

²⁶⁶ Sarah Schmitt, 'Claude Lévi-Strauss 1908-present', in *eMuseum@Minnesota State University* (<http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/information/biography> accessed 29 December 2005).

²⁶⁷ Wendy James, *The Ceremonial Animal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) p.45.

²⁶⁸ Schmitt, 'Claude Lévi-Strauss'

²⁶⁹ James, *Ceremonial Animal*, p.106.

The universal human vision of Lévi-Strauss's structuralism forms the basis of much anthropological discourse today.²⁷⁰ Wendy James describes Lévi-Strauss's view of myth in these terms:

The elements and patterns that Lévi-Strauss identifies are characteristically those of a *plot*: of key encounters between representative moral figures, often establishing contact or separation between regions of space – sky and earth, north and south, water and land, etc., or between other opposed elemental principles such as male and female, nature and culture, animal and human.²⁷¹

We have established above that the most enduring manner in which the story of the Slum Priest Ritualists is told is that in their worship they made heaven present amid the most unheavenly of surroundings and in their lives they suffered. The colour and light that they introduced, the action and dance (their 'bowings and scrapings'), and the ritualizing of divine 'real presence' through their Communion²⁷² merit analysis in terms of myth. It is perhaps not surprising that there is a symmetry between that which was ritualized (the sacrifice of Jesus Christ) and the mythology that the story of the Ritualists has become (their own sacrifices). These practices place them clearly on the mythological boundary between heaven and earth. This fits with James's and Lévi-Strauss's observation that myths appear to focus on the relation of opposites. In this case: heaven and earth; light and dark; drab and colourful. It also fits with the observation that myths are concerned very often with sacred topics, the Gods, spirits and our origins.

It was apparent to some in the Ritualists' own day that this understanding of a priest's role on the boundary between heaven and earth lay behind their liturgy although they may not have had today's anthropological vocabulary to use.²⁷³ The majority of the church's establishment found this quite objectionable. We will describe in Chapter 9 the protestations against the use of altar lights, eastward facing celebrants, incense, wafer bread, a mixed chalice and vestments. In all of these we can see a concern that they represented a belief that the priest in worship made the divine presence real and local. Even in their own day the danger of this myth of priests on the boundary of

²⁷⁰ For a critique of Lévi-Strass see Zygmunt Bauman, 'Structuralist Promise', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 24, No. 1. (Mar., 1973), pp. 67-83. Bauman suggests that Structuralism is more of a hope than a reality.

Even if the world isn't as tidy as Lévi-Strauss thought, his theory still offers us a framework we can use for analysis.

²⁷¹ James, *Ceremonial Animal*, p.106.

When we turn later to discuss the ritual of worship we will observe this same mechanism. See *liminality* and *communitas* on page 156 below.

²⁷² This will be treated more fully in the liturgical discussion, Chapter 9.

²⁷³ Enraght makes the link between the priests on earth and the saints of heaven as clearly as any: '...as all holy men in the Bible ever did; and as all holy men in the best days of the Church ever did; as our own branch of the Church directs us to do; "as is done in Heaven."' Enraght, *Bible-Ritualism, A Sermon*. (1866).

heaven and earth taking a hold on people, as myths do, was perceived. This was also suspected of being a very Roman myth, politically dangerous in England.²⁷⁴

We find amongst some of the Ritualists' opponents a certain amount of demythologizing. So, Charles Lowder's bishop said of him that he could 'gather a crowd in a whitewashed room'.²⁷⁵ This is a reference to his personality and debunks the importance of his liturgical practice. The point was meant to be that Charles Lowder was simply a figure that people liked to be around. The surroundings did not matter. There is a sense in which the legal proceedings of the Ritual Trials attempt to do the same thing: to prove by legal authority that the Ritualists had no religious authority except that conferred by the establishment.

We can also discern a structural similarity to the contention of the Gospels that, in Jesus of Nazareth, God was made present on earth and heaven touched the world.²⁷⁶ The Ritualists set themselves up as the ritual re-enactors of this.²⁷⁷ In the world of artists like the Pre-Raphaelites, where allegory and symbol were part of the currency of ideas, it is impossible to think that the significance of their symbols representing the sacrifice of Christ could be missed. Many in the church of the day sought to avoid such powerful claims of the clergy.²⁷⁸ Whilst the power of the courts or the establishment was considered legitimate, this religious power was regarded as dangerous.²⁷⁹

In these terms, we can contend that the Gospel myth was being re-lived in a way that still has currency in the modern or post-modern world. Underlying their story is the struggle between rich and poor, powerful and powerless, establishment and the disenfranchised. Their relation to power and authority was an inversion of the religious establishment. They stood among the powerless. This inverted relation to power is

²⁷⁴ See footnote 88.

²⁷⁵ Ellsworth, *Charles Fuge Lowder*, p.149, quoting *Chronicle of Convocation*, Canterbury Province, 6 Jul. 1877, p.316.

²⁷⁶ This myth approach makes a connection between the liturgical practice of the Ritualists and the theology of the later Tractarian *Lux Mundi* Essayists. See page 47.

²⁷⁷ E.g. 'In this Service, the Priest on earth ministers "in the Name of" and "in the Person of Christ," our Great High Priest, and as representing Him', Enraght, *Bible-Ritualism, A Sermon*. (1866).

²⁷⁸ The Ritualists' claims were made most importantly in mythical ways through ritual action and not so much in rhetoric or word. David Bebbington observes: 'Ritualism touched a raw nerve in Evangelicalism ... Acts like the elevation of the bread and wine for adoration seemed in the full sense of the word "idolatrous"'. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.146.

Ryle used blunt language: 'Our Reformers found our clergy sacrificing priests, and made them prayer-reading, preaching ministers – ministers of God's Word and sacraments. The extreme Ritualists glory in calling every clergyman a 'sacrificing priest'.', J.C. Ryle, 'The Present Distress', in *NUS* p.360.

Also note that Percy Dearmer, writing his Anglo-Catholic apologia and manual of good practice after the Ritual Trials described ritual actions 'designed to hide the man' See page 192.

See too footnote 927 on page 211 for further discussion about this form of ritualization.

²⁷⁹ See Error! Reference source not found. and particularly pages Error! Bookmark not defined.f.

also to be found in the Gospels of Jesus and has strong references to theologies of Incarnation.

So, some similarities in the narratives of Gospel and Ritualist biography can quite easily be identified: identity with the poor; threats to religious principle; claims to represent heaven on earth; self-sacrificial attitudes; persecution and for some an early death; attraction to the masses made stronger by persecution.

This builds on some of the very real social phenomena of popularity wrapped up in the subjects' alignment with the poor and the consequent fear given to the powerful that their hold on the poor might be loosened.

So we can add to the three received caricatures described in the previous chapter a fourth possible interpretation of the Ritualists' enduring importance to the Church: that they lived, reenacted and suffered the gospel. That is to say that they lived the Gospel idea (metanarrative) and made it tangible in the material world through ritual worship and actual persecution.

3.2 A fourth interpretation of the Ritualist myth – Incarnational Character

Ronald Grimes has written that liturgies do two things: 'They re-present events and event-ualize structures'.²⁸⁰ He says that 'some events become definitive ones ... we allow those events to define us.'²⁸¹ So Grimes points out that we use ritual to save us from loosing the event.²⁸²

Now the Slum Priest Ritualist narrative we have been describing has a historical basis. The work here is intended to understand how these historical happenings related to the cultural contexts in which they happened and in which they are still remembered.

It is apparent that the Gospel metanarrative and the Ritualist myth have parallels. The history of Jesus of Nazareth is transmitted in the Gospels as one who touched the needy with healing and was executed by the elite.²⁸³ This bears a similarity with the slum

²⁸⁰ Ronald Grimes, 'Modes of Ritual Sensibility', *Studia Liturgica* 23 (1993), pp.51-69, reprinted in P. Bradshaw and J. Melloh (eds.), *Foundations in Ritual Studies*, p. 142.

²⁸¹ Grimes, 'Modes of Ritual Sensibility', p. 142.

²⁸² Grimes also points out that some structures are so common-place (e.g. birth, death, the seasons) that again we ritualize these as otherwise they threaten to evaporate through generality. Grimes, 'Modes of Ritual Sensibility', p. 142. Here though, we are more concerned with the 're-presenting of events' than the 'event-ualizing of structures'.

²⁸³ Robert Karris has argued that Jesus was crucified because of the way he ate with the poor, following Luke's Gospel: Robert Karris, *Luke: Artisan and Theologian* (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), p.47. Edward Foley argues that this is what is ritualized in the liturgy. Edward Foley, 'Engaging the Liturgy

priests' story of having lived among the poor and being imprisoned by establishment figures. In their celebration of the Lord's Supper the Ritualists 'event-ualized' Christ's heavenly nature being present in the world, but this ritual also had the capacity to represent their own experience of persecution. We will show later how they were aware of this and made their congregations aware too.²⁸⁴

Wendy James encourages a view of the human species as at heart a 'ceremonial animal'²⁸⁵ saying that understanding is not found in knowledge of a series of events but in their interrelation.

We could usefully underscore the principle that with respect to the phenomena of human life, at some level 'the whole' involves relational connections between the constituent elements. Thus, for example, it is not enough simply to add up economic, political, cultural, and religious facts; they are constituted in relation to each other, and the real challenge is to understand the interrelation.²⁸⁶

We have sought here to examine the political, cultural and religious strands of the Ritualists' stories. We can determine a structural similarity in the interrelation between the Gospel and those stories. Unlike many of their contemporaries, those priests who publicly suffered on account of their ministry also made the Christian Gospel tangible. There was an integrity to the pattern of their lives and their ritual practice which were both interrelated with the Gospel. This was undoubtedly an integrity that could be recognized and respected in their own day as today. This 'Incarnational Character' is much more concrete than Reed's preferred term: 'Saintly lives'.²⁸⁷

of the World: Worship as Public Theology', Lecture to *Societas Liturgica* in Palermo, August 2007, para [IV.2].

²⁸⁴ See for instance reference 1003 on page 225.

²⁸⁵ James, *Ceremonial Animal*, p.33.

²⁸⁶ James, *Ceremonial Animal*, p.41.

²⁸⁷ Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.168.

Chapter 4 Liberation Theology Perspectives

4.1 Introduction

By the end of the nineteenth century, practices that had sent priests to prison only two decades earlier had become part of the very fabric and institution of the church. This was the same church that had opposed them vehemently.²⁸⁸ Percy Dearmer wrote a book that became for nearly a century the definitive guide to this new Anglo-Catholic liturgical practice. The turn about was so complete that by 1899 he was able to write in this book:

The object of this handbook is to help, in however humble a way, towards remedying the lamentable confusion, lawlessness, and vulgarity which are conspicuous in the Church at this time... The confusion is due to the want of liturgical knowledge among the clergy, and of consistent example among those in authority. Some years ago it was natural and inevitable; but at the present day it has no right to exist.... The lawlessness is due to more complex causes. It is not confined, as is popularly supposed, to the 'advanced' clergy. Indeed it is even greater among those who are often called 'moderate', and among those who dislike ceremonial.²⁸⁹

The 'advanced clergy', in Dearmer's words here, are those who have been following in the liturgical footsteps of the Ritualists with whom we are concerned. In that respect it was a limited term. They were termed by their contemporaries 'advanced' only in relation to their conduct of worship and the ecclesiastical furnishings they used. We will explore here too whether their socio political understanding was also well advanced.²⁹⁰

The term 'advanced' as used here was one that had a widespread currency by the end of the nineteenth century. The phrase was used both by opponents and friends and cannot be read as having any positive value judgment such as when it is used of technology, an assumption that modern minds often jump quickly to. 'Advanced' did not mean the start of something everybody would ultimately follow. It did mean that they had gone a long way down their particular road. But an advanced party of soldiers in a war could very easily find themselves in the wrong place and cut off. They were path-finders, explorers, and exposed.

Their advanced and exposed position led to oppression for what they perceived to be the missionary work of taking the gospel to Britain's forgotten poor. This oppression

²⁸⁸ This development is analysed well in J.E.B. Munson, 'The Oxford Movement by the end of the nineteenth century: The Anglo-Catholic Clergy', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975), pp.382-395.

²⁸⁹ Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*, First Edition (London: Humphrey Milford, 1899) page 1.

²⁹⁰ The advanced Ritualists often claimed themselves to be moderate. R.W. Enraght, in his published letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury after the conclusion of his prosecution goes out of his way to impress his moderation saying both that he had been willing to submit to the Bishop of Worcester on his four substantial issues and of most of the ritual allegations levelled against him, 'I have never done so'. Enraght, *My Prosecution*.

placed the Slum Priest Ritualists into a different relation with power. Unlike others who had a theological education, ordination, church sanction and a sacramental ministry, these men were also seen to be in the same relation to the powers, authorities and rulers of the day as the deprived to whom they ministered. They were placed clearly on the same side as others who were marginalized and oppressed.²⁹¹ This relation to temporal power alongside sacramental Ritualism we are terming ‘Incarnational Character’.

With reference to two modern liberation theologians, Leonardo Boff (born 1938) and Gustavo Gutiérrez (born 1928), we will look at the case for the slum priest Ritualists representing the gospel to the poor through their relation to temporal powers inverted by the experience of prosecution.

This liberation theology has emerged from the oppressed peoples of Latin America. It doesn't sit comfortably in the academies of the northern hemisphere. Glenn Bucher describes liberation theology's importance in these terms:

It is safe to suggest that liberation theologies will continue to frequent the theological scene for some time since they do not arise from the “edge” but from the emerging, vast, human *centre* only misperceived by some as the “edge”.²⁹²

He addresses the question of whether those on the outside of movements for liberation can work with liberation theology.²⁹³ Bucher's thesis is that liberation theologies provide a powerful means for western theologians to develop their own theological methods and praxis²⁹⁴ that can ultimately liberate the western oppressor. That is to say that these insights from Latin America provide a method by which those in western academies can focus on the experience of oppression to help understand accounts of oppression. There are those who would question this but here we seek to work with it.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ For instance, when Enraght was eventually deprived of his Birmingham parish by the Institution of a replacement Vicar there was a public outcry. His churchwardens wrote to the London *Guardian* about this expressing the sense of being ‘done to’ that the parishioners shared with their evicted Vicar: ‘they have learnt to love and respect Mr. Enraght, who has laboured in his parish, with unwearied kindness, and to value the many agencies for good, which had grown up under his ministry. They were indignant at the wrong done to their clergy and to themselves, and if they expressed it by interrupting the services on Sunday, it was meant as no irreverence to God, but as a repudiation of a clergyman whose presence they rightly regarded as an insult to the church.’ Published in Enraght, *My Prosecution*.

²⁹² Glenn R. Bucher, ‘Toward a Liberation Theology for the “Oppressor”’, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1976), p.519.

²⁹³ Bucher, ‘Toward a Liberation Theology’, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1976), p.517.

²⁹⁴ Bucher, ‘Toward a Liberation Theology’, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1976), p.534.

²⁹⁵ For a critique of liberation theology that questions its ability to aim at communion with the enemy rather than mere triumph see, James Tunstead Burtchaell, ‘How Authentically Christian Is Liberation Theology?’, *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2. (Spring, 1988), pp. 264-281.

4.2 *Leonardo Boff*

Whilst seeking to understand the Slum Priest Ritualists from the perspective of the later tradition that they themselves had advanced offers a tidy and coherent picture it is not complete. This is bound up with the problem of any closed system describing itself. The perspective of Liberation Theology as it has emerged in the twentieth century Latin American Roman Catholic church is to some extent disconnected from their tradition but does offer an ability to look at them from a standpoint other than that of history's winners.

In his book, *Church Charism & Power*²⁹⁶, Leonardo Boff uses four models of the church as a tool to examine the base ecclesial communities of Latin America. Three of these models are historical and traditional and a further one he calls 'A new model: A Church from the Poor'.²⁹⁷ These models are useful comparative tools in the examination of any church community and can be applied here to the mid Victorian Slum Priests.

4.2.1 Model 1: Church as City of God

This is a model which treats the church as a complete community representing heavenly values on earth and which Boff understands as little more than an expedient to affirm ecclesiastical power. In such a model of the church, the hierarchy are imputed a God given and unquestionable power. They control a community apart from temporal power, which is understood to be the only way through which salvation and the supernatural are made explicit. In Boff's own words:

In this understanding, the Church is the exclusive bearer of humanity's salvation; it makes real the redemptive acts of Jesus by means of the sacraments, the liturgy, study of the Bible, and by organizing parish activities around the religious-sacred in a strict sense.... It is an essentially clerical church, for without the clergy nothing decisive can happen.²⁹⁸

This model of the church represents very well the pre Vatican II Roman Catholic Church in Boff's mind. As such it is also clearly the model of the Fathers of the Oxford Movement and the formative teachers of those who were to become known as Ritualists by the second half of the nineteenth century. The interference of secular authorities in church affairs was one of the key triggers for Keble's assize sermon of

Andrew Kirk also offers criticism of the theology of revolution bound up with liberation theology but a defence of using the new methods emerging from the work of liberation theologians: J. Andrew Kirk, *Theology encounters revolution* (Leicester: Inter Varstiy Press, 1980).

²⁹⁶ Leonardo Boff, *Church Charism & Power; Liberation Theology and the Institutional Church* (London: SCM Press, 1985).

²⁹⁷ Boff, *Church Charism & Power*, p.7.

²⁹⁸ Boff, *Church Charism & Power*, p.3.

1833. In his history of the Oxford Movement written towards the end of the century Dean RW Church reflected:

Churchmen had hitherto taken for granted that England was a nation which had for centuries acknowledged, as an essential part of its theory of government, that, as a Christian nation she is also a part of Christ's Church, and bound, in all her legislation and policy, by the fundamental laws of that Church.²⁹⁹

Victorian churchmen could see the balance of power shifting. No longer was the established church able to exercise the control they believed it once had over its own affairs and those of the nation.³⁰⁰ This was brought to a head by the suppression of Irish Bishoprics against the will of the church in what Keble had termed as 'National Apostasy'.³⁰¹ It is this concern of the church with state affairs and concern of the state with church affairs that Keble challenged in his sermon and which remained a fundament of the Oxford Movement:

Public Concerns, ecclesiastical or civil, will prove indeed ruinous to those who permit them to occupy all their care and thought, neglecting or undervaluing ordinary duties, more especially those of a devotional kind.³⁰²

This model of the church as a complete heavenly community, *City of God* in Boff's words, weighed heavily with the Slum Priest Ritualists in their approach to the legal battles that were waged against them. They did not believe that the courts of the land held any jurisdiction over them.³⁰³ Their belief about the authority of their bishops was however much higher.³⁰⁴ Here was ecclesiastical authority. They found themselves in deep distress when their bishops refused to give a lead themselves but appealed to the secular courts to settle disputes provoked in the church by Ritual practices.³⁰⁵ In each

²⁹⁹ R.W Church, *The Oxford Movement; twelve years 1833-1845* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1892) p.93.

³⁰⁰ The 1851 Religious Census is one example of the power of the Church of England being exposed as a lesser force than it was presumed to be. See for instance: W. S. F. Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census: A Useless Experiment?' *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 18. (1967), p.383;

Note also the educational influence: Horace Mann, 'On the Statistical Position of Religious Bodies in England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Jun., 1855), pp. 141-159.

or on religious decline in general, McLeod, *Religion and Society*, pp.179-211.

³⁰¹ See page 29.

³⁰² Keble, National apostasy: Assize Sermon July 14, 1833.

³⁰³ For instance, R.W. Enraght, 3 years before his imprisonment, lectured on the state's incompetence to judge spiritual matters: 'This is treatment to which no secular body of men would submit for an hour, say the medical, or the military, or the legal professions, and if such Churchmen as are worthy of the name have at last been driven to desperation under such treatment ... The Crown once tyrannised over the Temporality; but the Temporality at length asserted its constitutional rights. We must do the same. The Temporality (the State) having forcibly got back its constitutional rights from the Crown in trampling on the constitutional rights of the Spirituality (the Church). The Crown, acting through the Lords and Commons, claims now to have the right to legislate by its sole authority for the Church of England, and to adjudicate its spiritual causes by any Courts and by any judges it may see fit to set up and appoint.' R.W. Enraght, *Not Law but Unconstitutional Tyranny: A Lecture on the present unconstitutional exercise of The Royal Supremacy in matters spiritual* (London: T.Hayes, 1877), [PCant <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/england/enraght/law.html>, 11 November 2007].

³⁰⁴ E.g. 'I believed to obey my Bishop, if possible, was my plain duty.' Enraght, *My Prosecution*.

³⁰⁵ E.g. '...but surely to assign to any secular Court under the authority of the Sovereign, the power of declaring, in last resort, what may or may not be taught in the Church as the word of God, is to give to

and every case of those who were imprisoned, the offence was contempt of court, the court being that of the secular authority.³⁰⁶ These men were less likely to deny those who they saw as holding religious authority, though they would the secular courts. So Mackonochie is able to say when he was first suspended for three months in 1869 that his object had been to obey the law of the Church without disobeying the law of the State.³⁰⁷ In 1879 he was suspended for three years for contempt of the state court and yet when required to do so by his archbishop he resigned his living at St Alban, Holborn in 1882 by free will. What secular courts could not make him do his bishop could.

Boff's 'City of God' model is marked by clericalism.³⁰⁸ It is also evident in the practice of the Ritualists that little happened in their church communities of which the priest was not at the centre. Indeed one of the criticisms that was levelled at them in their own time was that they were at the centre of personality cults. So for instance Bishop Robert Bickersteth of Ripon (1857 - 1884) could declare, 'the personality of parish priests was probably more important than their theological beliefs or liturgical practices'.³⁰⁹

On these grounds it seems fair to conclude that the *City of God* model of church is a model which fits the Slum Priest Ritualists' practice. This is a model that to the modern liberation theologian represents repression, control and an authoritarian church which is not well equipped to work amongst the poor. To the poor the gospel should be a message of liberation from all of that. It is possible to see the seeds of this model being inherited from their Oxford Movement Fathers such as Keble. Both the personalities of some Slum Priest Ritualists and the Oxford Movement's model of church are capable of the paternalism of 'Father knows best'. This would appear to replicate other patterns prevalent in the church. Yet also the experience of prosecution would appear to have inverted these priests' relatedness to the powerful and to the poor.

4.2.2 Model 2: Church as Mater et Magistra (mother and teacher)

In Boff's understanding of the Roman Catholic Church this is a model that superseded the church as *City of God*. But the Church of England's history is different from the

our Princes, in the highest sense, the ministering of God's Word; ... How widely apart from the spirit of these professions and promises was the Constitution of the late Committee of Privy Council.' Enraght, *My Prosecution*.

³⁰⁶ See Table 3 on page 46.

³⁰⁷ Russell, *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie*, p.155f.

³⁰⁸ Boff, *Church Charism & Power*, p.3.

³⁰⁹ See footnote 231.

Roman Church as is its partnership with the powers of state.³¹⁰ Boff sees this model as still assuming God's kingdom to be exclusively within the church but with a mission practice that is different:

The Church allies itself with the dominant classes that control the state, organizing its projects around these classes, giving rise to colleges, universities, Christian political parties and the like.... In order to help [the poor] the Church approaches those who have the means to help them.³¹¹

Alan Gilbert argues that in the second quarter of the nineteenth century the Church of England became a 'denomination'.³¹² He says,

... in Berger's words, a church can behave 'as befits an institution exercising exclusive control of a population of retainers', a denomination must organize itself so as 'to woo a population of consumers, in competition with other groups having the same purpose'.³¹³

He points out that the growth of 'extra-Establishment' religion in the 1830s had helped the church realize that it was operating in a pluralistic society.³¹⁴ The Church of England found itself confronted with a new 'ex-monopoly status'.³¹⁵ In this context we find the sorts of alliances described by Boff as suggestive of a 'Mater et Magistra' model blossoming in the mission to the poor.

The driver for the building of new churches in Britain's slums in the first place had been the 1851 National and Religious Census. In the years following this, the Church of England embarked on a huge church building enterprise.³¹⁶ Twice the government donated over £1 million and numerous wealthy benefactors and philanthropists contributed too.³¹⁷ Mann was able to demonstrate that the Church of England's Sunday

³¹⁰ E.g. there were attempts during Gladstone's government to favour the established church in its ability to make education provision through the *Education Act 1870* and to teach its faith. This was against the hopes of non-Conformists who had helped the Liberal Party to power. These attempts met with partial success and illustrate the outworking of the Church of England's cosy relationship with the powers of state. See for instance:

N. J. Richards, 'Religious Controversy and the School Boards 1870-1902', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Jun., 1970), pp. 180-196.

For a general background to the Act see: W. H. G. Armytage, 'The 1870 Education Act', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Jun., 1970), pp. 121-133.

For discussion of the prevailing situation before the Act see: Henry Roper, 'Toward an Elementary Education Act for England and Wales, 1865-1868', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2. (Jun., 1975), pp. 181-208.

³¹¹ Boff, *Church Charism & Power*, p.4.

³¹² Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England* (London: Longman, 1976), p.143.

³¹³ Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p.143.

³¹⁴ Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p.132.

³¹⁵ Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p.132.

³¹⁶ Section 2.2.3 below on page 35.

³¹⁷ In Jeremy Morris's words: 'The Victorian Church of England's material achievements were staggering.' He reckons that over 4000 church were built or enlarged between 1825-1875 and that in the last half of the century the number of clergy increased from 16000 to 24000. Jeremy Morris, 'Scholars, Slums and Socialists', in Chadwick (ed.), *Not Angels but Anglicans*, p.223.

For an analysis of the lack of development of provision in the Church of England compared to the 'Dissenting' churches prior to the 1851 census see: Mann, 'On the Statistical Position of Religious

worship share of the population was dropping in 1851 against the dissenting churches, but he also showed clearly that its number of day schools and its interest in education was nine times greater than all the other churches' and chapels' schools put together.³¹⁸ This is a share that the Church of England sought to maintain or increase after the 1870 Education Act too.³¹⁹ The unchurched were feared and the mission field of the urban poor was perceived as a place to which civilization must be brought.³²⁰ The Church of England fed on this service that it thought it could offer the state.³²¹

It was largely in the new churches with no inherited tradition of their own that the Slum Priests, motivated by a commitment to sacrificial ministry encouraged through the Oxford Movement, developed their Ritualism. Nevertheless it seems that although this 'Mater et Magistra' ecclesiology prevailed in the wider church and created the opportunities for their ministries it was never a model which they owned. Their spiritual formation had brought them to see greater value in the church as it had been prior to the reformation.³²² Boff sees the appeal of this 'Mater et Magistra' model to the dominant political powers in its reduction of the Church's field of activity to the sacristy.³²³ This is not such a good fit for the Victorian context. Whilst the Church of England may have had an interest in its particular religious affairs (the sacristy as Boff puts it), it also had interests beyond its own doors. It clearly had a hand in politics through its Lord Bishops and powerful patrons (not least, the Queen). On the other hand we find that in its schools it had an interest in a more religiously focused curriculum of classical languages and religion than, for instance, mathematics, physical science, modern languages, economics, law, or music.³²⁴ To the late Victorians the sacristy was also a place of great public interest and political fervour. This model may have been dominant in the church of the Ritualists' day, but it was not their model so much as the City of God model.

Bodies in England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Jun., 1855), pp. 141-159.

³¹⁸ Mann, 'On the Statistical Position of Religious Bodies in England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Jun., 1855), Table A, p.150.

³¹⁹ Footnote 310.

³²⁰ See Susan Smith Tamke, 'Separating the Sheep from the Goats: Victorian Didactic Hymns', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3. (Autumn, 1976), pp. 255-273.

Pickering describes the reasoning for conducting the 1851 Census in the first instance in these terms. See W. S. F. Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census--A Useless Experiment?' *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 18. (1967), p.383.

³²¹ Compare, for instance, the picture of Church of England decline painted by Mann after the 1851 census and the story of growth by 1875 described by Morris (footnote 317).

³²² Page 50 above.

³²³ Boff, *Church Charism & Power*, p.5.

³²⁴ See F. Rosen, 'Bentham, Jeremy (1748–1832)', *ODNB*, also:

Jeremy Bentham, *Chrestomathia : being a collection of papers, explanatory of the design of an institution, proposed to be set on foot, under the name of the Chrestomathic Day School, or Chrestomathic School, for the extension of the new system of instruction to the higher branches of learning, for the use of the middling and higher ranks in life* (London : Messrs. Payne and Foss, and R. Hunter, 1816-17).

4.2.3 Model 3: Church as Sacrament of Salvation

Boff understands this model in terms of the post Vatican II Roman Catholic Church (though writing twenty years ago). It may be that under the late John Paul II the Roman Catholic Church turned back towards the *City of God* model much as many of those influenced by the Oxford Movement in England did. Boff describes this model as a partnership between church, scientific, technological and political authorities shaped to meet the new demands of modernity. He writes:

It is important to understand that fundamentally salvation is universal and impregnates all history. The Church is the focus and the celebration of this universal salvation. The Church, in turn, becomes universal in the measure that it points out the salvific love of the Father for all people through his Son and in the power of the Holy Spirit. Because this is the case, so-called worldly realities are also possible means of salvation and grace.³²⁵

So in its very nature, this model of the church cannot call for another type of society. In the liberal outlook of this model everything is a sacrament of God that the church brings into focus and demands wider and greater participation.

In England the seeds of this model's occurrence were evident by the mid Victorian period during the early days of the Christian Socialist Movement. F.D. Maurice (1805-1872) was an early pioneer of this. As early as the 1840s he was developing his Incarnational Theology and as a Chaplain at Lincoln's Inn was an influential teacher. Cheryl Walsh outlines his new thinking:

The Church, for Maurice, was the representative of true humanity, which he believed to be the living Body of Christ-the legacy of the Incarnation to the world.³²⁶

By 1854 Maurice's early attempts to establish a Christian Socialist Movement fell back into abeyance³²⁷ and were not revived again until 1877 when Maurice and S.D. Headlam established the Guild of St Matthew (GSM). The objects of the Guild were:

- I. -- To get rid, by every possible means, of the existing prejudices, especially on the part of "Secularists" against the Church -- her Sacraments and Doctrines; and to endeavour to justify God to the people.
- II. -- To promote frequent and reverent Worship in the Holy Communion, and a better observance of the teaching of the Church of England as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.
- III. -- To promote the Study of Social and Political Questions in the light of the Incarnation.³²⁸

The concerns to promote a sense of the action of the same God in the world outside of the church as inside the church are clear.

³²⁵ Boff, *Church Charism & Power*, p.6.

³²⁶ Cheryl Walsh, 'The Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience in the Victorian Church of England', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Victorian Subjects. (Jul., 1995), p.355.

³²⁷ Bernard M. G. Reardon, 'Maurice (John) Frederick Denison (1805-1872)', *ODNB*.

³²⁸ Donald Gray, *Percy Dearmer: A Parson's Pilgrimage* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 2000), p.18.

Stewart Headlam notoriously attacked conventional teaching about everlasting punishment and championed the stage and music hall which many within the church regarded as dens of iniquity.³²⁹ When Headlam founded the Guild of St. Matthew he drew heavily on those who had been influenced by the Tractarians. Amongst its members were Father Stanton (Alexander Mackonochie's curate at St. Alban's) and H.C. Shuttleworth who was the first priest to combine 'chasubles before the altar with flannels before the stumps'³³⁰.

Although Boff's model of the Church as Sacrament of Salvation can only be seen in genesis in the nineteenth century it is clear that there was sympathy for this understanding of the church amongst the Ritualists; one which sanctified all of humanity even where conventional religion had not gone before. This is partly evidenced by Stanton and Shuttleworth's membership of the GSM. It is also clear that Headlam found the Ritualistic churches a fertile and open ground to work in. There are accounts of his preaching both at St. Alban, Holborn and at St. Agatha's, Landport, Portsmouth where R.R. Dolling was priest. In February 1890 Stewart Headlam preached at St Agatha's and the then Bishop of Winchester was furious, writing on 28th February 1890 to Robert Dolling,

'... I am not indifferent to varieties of ritual and the like; but tapers, and incense, and red-vested acolytes, nay! Romanism, Methodism, and any other varieties of Christian worship may be compatible with true faith in Christ and true love to Him and His. This so-called Christian Socialism, as exhibited in the report of Mr Headlam's address, in the writings of Count Leo Tolstoi and others, appears to me to strike at the very root of all Christianity. I have, as you know, declined to interfere with your proceedings, lest I should mar your Mission work. If you are to introduce teachers of such strange doctrines into a church or chapel, which you hold by virtue of my license, I must consider whether the good of our Mission is not more than neutralized by the evil of those whom you associate with you.³³¹

Robert Dolling's biographer gives an indication of the lecture's tone when he writes:

Socialism in the strictest sense was not directly dealt with, but the whole tone of the lecturer was certainly not calculated to reassure anyone who mainly valued the Church of England as a form of the police force in the interests of landed estates and of property generally.³³²

This observation of Stewart Headlam's words demonstrates clearly the difference of ecclesiology between the bishop and Headlam. One read the church in Erastian terms (we could perhaps say, Mater & Magistra), the other in Boff's terms as 'Sacrament of Salvation'.

Ultimately it is not clear whether it were Headlam's theology or his also being exiled to the edge of the church which made him a kindred spirit with the Slum Priest Ritualists.

³²⁹ In 1877 Headlam was banned from preaching by the Bishop of London for expressing these views. Jeremy Morris, 'Headlam, Stewart Duckworth (1847–1924)', *ODNB*.

³³⁰ Alec R. Vider, *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1961) page 99.

³³¹ Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum*, p.147ff.

³³² Charles E. Osborne, *The Life of Father Dolling* (London: Edward Arnold, 1903), Chapter 11 [*PCant* <http://anglicanhistory.org/england/dolling/osborne/11.html>, 5 November 2007].

Nevertheless, their openness to his understanding of church suggests they were not as monochrome nor narrow in theirs as Anglo-Catholic history would sometimes suggest. Robert Dolling's contemporary biographer records his overlapping political concern with Headlam's quoting Dolling's reply to his bishop:

'I fear that in all honesty I must tell you, though I hate paining your lordship, that I hold myself, and have preached, and must continue to preach, all that Mr. Headlam's lecture taught, except on some matters of detail.'³³³

Whilst it was their liturgical practice which brought them into conflict with the church authorities of their day, this was undoubtedly galvanized by their belief that it was a missionary tool to the urban poor and was further galvanized by the support of their parishioners. It seems fair to conclude that their contact with the most oppressed and deprived of their day changed them and left them open to understandings of the church beyond the two discussed above which had dominated their formation. For instance the same biographer who believes:

It could not be said that the world was made beautiful by the poor children of the docks. Half-naked, stunted, deformed, many half-witted, they lived in a vast brothel in which their parents, their brothers and sisters and themselves were all more or less implicated.³³⁴

also records Lowder's words:

God made children to make the world more beautiful.³³⁵

Charles Lowder, immersed in his poor world, could see the humanity of his neighbours. This was obviously missed by an author, who though sympathetic, sees through the spectacles of establishment seventy years later.

4.2.4 A New Model (model 4): A Church from the Poor

Boff has seen since the 1970s the emergence of a new model of church in Latin America which is the result of a deliberate strategy to bring liberation for the oppressed from a system that keeps them in dependency. This is something that the three models discussed above do not do. The model involves a method of developing a consciousness amongst the poor of their oppressed situation so that they can organize themselves and take steps towards freedom. He says:

Other classes may and should join this project of the oppressed, but without trying to control it. In this way, beginning in the early seventies, countless young people, intellectuals, and a whole range of movements arose to make such a liberation viable. They made an option for the people: they began to enter the world of the poor, embracing their culture, giving expression to their claims, and organizing activities that were considered subversive by the forces of the status quo.³³⁶

³³³ Osborne, *The Life of Father Dolling*, Chapter 11.

³³⁴ H.F.B. Mackay, *Saints and Leaders* (London: Philip Allan & Co. Ltd, 1928), p.191.

³³⁵ Mackay, *Saints and Leaders*, p.191.

³³⁶ Boff, *Church Charism & Power*, p.8.

The results of this movement were base ecclesial communities; communities which began with the aim of deepening faith in God through preparation of the liturgy, the sacraments and the life of prayer but which also moved on to an analysis of society's structural problems, marginalization, private ownership and capitalism. To summarize Boff, they are communities that are founded on the categories of the People of God, *koinonia*, prophecy and *diakonia*. These are churches *of* the poor and not churches *for* the poor. As such the priest is very much somebody who is on the journey with the people rather than somebody who is taking the people along on his journey.

It is clear that the Slum Priest Ritualists never gained such insights, which is only to be expected given the models of leadership, authority and community that prevailed in their day. But the Oxford Movement had begun something new and different in the church's relationship towards the poor.³³⁷

The personal priestly concerns of the Ritualists who were formed by Keble were clearly the concerns that dominated their own churches' characteristics and in particular the liturgical, sacramental and prayer life. In addition, they are to be seen as representatives of the establishment in the communities they served. They were brought there by wealthy and powerful benefactors and by a church that understood itself to be strengthening British civilization. They may have been amongst the very few clergy willing to give themselves to this work but were not really in a very good place to encourage an analysis of society's structural problems, marginalization, private ownership and capitalism; they were part of this system.

We might describe the Slum Priest Ritualists as for a while having a foot in both camps. They were connected to the Establishment with the associations of wealth and power that the Church of England could collect but lived amongst the very poorest. And from time to time we catch glimpses of them bringing these two worlds together. There might have been something levelling about their liturgical practice. Anybody could join in. The doors were open to the poor and the rich were inquisitive. From time to time accounts of their congregations are suggestive of this strange mix.³³⁸

³³⁷ See Keble and Pusey's words, for instance, quoted on page 41.

³³⁸ Joseph Clayton's account of Stanton's funeral serves to illustrate the fact that although the congregation at St Alban's was essentially local, it could be an unusual mix: 'There was no representative of the Episcopate at the funeral of Father Stanton, nor were there many whom the world would call persons of importance in that vast congregation that filled the church. Lady Henry Somerset was there; among the devout laymen, the Duke of Newcastle, the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell, and Mr. Ian Malcolm, M.P., churchwarden of All Saints', Margaret Street. The Rev. R. J. Campbell came across from the City Temple--had not Father Stanton been present at Dr. Parker's funeral service?--representing the least orthodox of Nonconformists. But the great bulk of the congregation were the 'old guard' of St. Alban's, and the regular worshippers at the church, who are not to be classified by any system of social caste.' Clayton, *Father Stanton*, Chapter VIII.

Beyond the early understanding of poor people in relation to God, demonstrated by Keble, the Oxford's Movement's Fathers offered prophetic criticism of emerging capitalism. This was a lead that Slum Priest Ritualists such as Robert Dolling and Charles Lowder responded to. There was much personal correspondence between Pusey and Mackonochie, as a further example of this, and Pusey's thinking is amongst the most openly prophetic and critical. In a sermon on the danger of riches he said:

Covetousness, says the scripture, is idolatry, and yet this is the very end and aim of what men do, the ground of their undertaking, to keep and enlarge their wealth. The spirit of enterprise affects all; it is the very air men live on. Prosperity is their idol, the very end to which they refer all other ends; and what is this but their God?³³⁹

As the Ritualists' own disenfranchisement was deepened by a hostile church,³⁴⁰ perhaps too their eyes were opened further to the injustice of English establishment. Certainly in turn we can discern their conscientization of church members proceeding to take a deliberate line. For instance, Arthur Stanton was once visited by a titled lady who in talking about a Mothers' Union meeting with him said:

'I suppose, Father Stanton, you read these women a chapter in the Bible while they are at work?' 'Not so,' he said, 'I am at present reading *Nicholas Nickleby*, and have just finished *Adam Bede*.' 'Then you begin at least with the Collect for the week.' 'As that Collect happened to be *Blessed Lord, who hast caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning, &c.*, I did not think it quite so appropriate as *Nicholas Nickleby*,' he said.³⁴¹

Comparison of these novels by George Eliot and Charles Dickens to a Prayer Book Collect is a clear indication of the identification with social injustice that Stanton found. The socially challenging novels were more appropriate than the church's prayer. Exposing the social injustice to its victims was as significant to him as the prayers of his church.

It is in the shock of the Victorian establishment persecuting and oppressing those who were supposed to be its own representatives sent to its most deprived and forgotten corners that these characters might be best understood. In the persecution that the leading Ritualists faced for the sake of making Christian worship come alive amid nineteenth century urban deprivation, the sense in which they had been sent *to* the poor changed to a perception and a new reality that they were *of* the poor. This strengthened their 'Incarnational Character'. Their communities rallied around them when they were prosecuted and the categories that Boff associates with his base ecclesial communities

³³⁹ Peck, *Social Implications*, p.66.

We have quoted more extensively one of Pusey's sermons about poverty at footnote 175.

³⁴⁰ E.g. Enraght's view: 'It is plain, however, that the present persistent attempt, upon the part of certain nominal Churchmen and others, to brand as traitors the Catholic-minded Clergy of the Church of England, cast them out of the Church, cannot be tolerated.' R.W. Enraght, *Who are true churchmen and who are conspirators? An appeal to the last settlement of the English Reformation in 1662* (London: J.T Hayes, 1870).

³⁴¹ C.M. Davies, 'Father Stanton at St Alban's 1873', in *Orthodox London; or, phases of Religious Life in the Church of England* (London: Tinsley Bros., 1876), reprinted in *RiVB (III)*, page 273.

of the People of God, *koinonia*, prophecy and *diakonia* can be discerned. So William Peck could write in 1933:

Amongst these men there was a sense of mystical brotherhood with the poor, that carried them far beyond the consideration of "status," and far beyond the attitude of ordinary philanthropy..... Theirs was not the conception that the service of the poor was a way of gaining heaven..... It was all this because it arose from that corporate consideration of salvation, and the idea of the Church as human sociality redeemed.³⁴²

So in these echoes of Maurice's incarnational thinking and in the religious praxis that set the Slum Priest Ritualists against their church establishment and helped identify them more with the poor we see something that approaches a model of church described by Boff as 'A Church from the Poor'. This is not the same as Boff's own 'Church from the Poor' but it bears some key characteristics that help us see the Slum Priest Ritualists in relief from other expressions of the church in their day.

4.2.5 Learning from Boff's terms

In Boff's terms, the Oxford Movement itself represented a regression from the dominant Victorian model of *Church as Mother & Teacher* to *Church as City of God*. But the Oxford Movement also equipped the later Slum Priest Ritualists to discern God's hand in everything much as Boff describes his *Church as Sacrament of Salvation* model. It also led them unwittingly on a more painful journey. This was towards what for Boff is a very advanced form of relation to power and the poor which can possibly only be born out of oppression – *Church from the Poor*.

Rarely does part of the Church of England find itself in a place where it experiences oppression but here it did for the sake of its worship. This seems to have brought a great shift in the cultural dynamic of those parishes affected.

4.3 Gustavo Gutiérrez

Now we turn to the methods of the definitive modern Liberation Theologian, Gustavo Gutiérrez. Here we find another tool to understand the relations of these early urban priests with the poor of their day, the powerful, and their God.

4.3.1 Theological method

Gustavo Gutiérrez is a Roman Catholic Peruvian Priest and theologian. His childhood was dogged by ill health and exclusion. His early home was amongst the poor of Lima. He experienced both political upheaval in Latin America and the upheavals of the Roman Catholic Church through the Second Vatican Council first hand. This was the

³⁴² Peck, *Social Implications*, p.80.

ground in which his ‘theology of liberation’ was formed. His influence in Latin American ‘Liberation Theology’ has been enormous and the new theological method which he worked towards is a vital tool for those who want to ‘talk about God’ (his literal equation for the word ‘theology’) across the world.

Theology for Gutiérrez is a way of looking at the world. It is not a fabrication nor does it fabricate; it is, like sociology or anthropology, a discipline which gives insight and exposes truth in human structures and history. So he says:

Theology does not initiate this future which exists in the present. It does not create the vital attitude of hope out of nothing. Its role is more modest. It makes these explicit and interprets them as the true lifeblood of history.... It does not mean being the caboose of the present. Rather, it is to discern among present realities, in the movement of history, that which is driving us toward the future.... it means sinking roots where the pulse of history is beating at this moment and illuminating it with the Word of the Lord of history....³⁴³

For Gutiérrez, theology is not engaged into simply with the purpose of deepening understanding of the past. This searching and reflection into what happens between God and human beings, as their interaction is worked out in the stuff of life, offers to those with faith, those with eyes to see, hope for a new future.

... the goal - which ought to be made clear at the outset - is to examine social reality so as then to understand better - thanks to the light which comes from faith - the challenges and possibilities that this reality presents to the church in its work of evangelization.³⁴⁴

Gutiérrez is always aware of the risk in the world’s patterns and events being interpreted without the eyes of faith. Analysis of human history without the faith dimension is inadequate to him. To look, for instance, at patterns of power and wealth with purely political eyes might lead to a pragmatic and ultimately unjust conclusion. Politics is the art of the possible, theology points towards the absolute. So, writes, Gutiérrez:

Theology may (also) be asked to help us avoid losing a comprehensive vision of a given historical process and reducing it instead to the political dimension.³⁴⁵

It is crucial to an understanding of Gutiérrez to realize that theology cannot be done in a vacuum; neither a vacuum of faith nor one of experience. You can only ‘talk of God’ once your eyes are open to God’s beckoning and when you experience the consequences of this in the realities of life.

God is first contemplated when we do God’s will and allow God to reign; only after that do we think about God. To use familiar categories: contemplation and practice together make up what we call a *first act*; theologizing is a *second act*. We must first establish ourselves on the terrain of mysticism and practice; only subsequently is it possible to formulate discourse on God in an authentic and respectful way.³⁴⁶

³⁴³ Gustavo Gutiérrez, ‘Theology of Liberation’, in James B. Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings* (London: SCM Press, 1996) p.34.

³⁴⁴ Gustavo Gutiérrez, ‘The Truth Shall Make You Free’, in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.44.

³⁴⁵ Gutiérrez, ‘Truth’, in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.48.

³⁴⁶ Gutiérrez, ‘Commentary on the Book of Job, in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.52.

In other words, theology is only possible with an openness to God and the experience of 'practice' or action'. Christian theology, of course, is deeply rooted in the incarnation. To Gutiérrez this has a number of consequences. By incarnation God located himself within the confines of time and space. God met people face to face in the particular of their circumstances. It continues to be necessary that Christian theology is worked out within each particular time and place. Dogma and doctrine belong to the particular and are not necessarily always universal. But the normative story of Jesus of Nazareth remains a key reference. It is not Christian theology if it does not refer to him. So:

The Christian message must be proclaimed to persons living in a particular historical and cultural situation, but it takes on its full meaning only when connected with Jesus, born of Mary and a member of human history, in whom we recognize the Son who invites us to a lasting, saving incarnation.³⁴⁷

Gutiérrez, then, gives us a method to shed light on the events of history by reflectively theologizing on them in reference to Christ's gospel. Where our history touches Christ's story then the God of salvation's hand can be seen. Gutiérrez's concept of history seems largely to be both the history that Christ lived and the history that he, himself, has lived. Nevertheless it is not necessary to limit his application to those two instances only. It would seem that Gutiérrez's theological method encourages the use of the normative story of Jesus to be put alongside the particular stories of the mid-Victorian Slum Priest Ritualists as a way of shedding light on, and trying to perceive, God's work in their world.

Jesus is the irruption into history of the one by whom everything was made and everything was saved. This, then, is the *fundamental hermeneutical circle*: from the human being to God and from God to the human being, from history to faith and from faith to history, from the human word to the word of the Lord and from the word of the Lord to the human word....³⁴⁸

Gutiérrez's method encourages us to move from a 'scientific' or 'explanatory' approach to this history to a hermeneutical approach based on the fundamental hermeneutical circle of the Gospel.³⁴⁹

4.3.2 Applying Gutiérrez's theological method

Gutiérrez starts his theologizing with both an analysis of history and a deep understanding of the Gospel to hand. Here we have already offered an account and some analysis of the Ritualists in relation to the circles of power and authority in their

³⁴⁷ Gutiérrez, 'Truth', in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.53.

³⁴⁸ Gutiérrez, 'Truth', in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.60.

³⁴⁹ For an account of the origins of historical hermeneutics see Michael J. Maclean, 'Johann Gustav Droysen and the Development of Historical Hermeneutics', *History and Theory*, Vol. 21, No. 3. (Oct., 1982), pp. 347-365.

day. Gutiérrez offers us an understanding of the Gospel in relation to those same factors:

In our age, the assertion of the human person as subject of its own history, as well as our increasing ability to transform nature, have gradually led to a different approach to God. In the context of the phenomenon we call “secularization” there is a growing sensitiveness to a God who is revealed in humility and suffering. Confronted with human beings who are conscious of their strength, theology speaks of a God who is “weak”.³⁵⁰

To discern the hand of God, Gutiérrez would bid us look on the side of the weak and powerless and the points at which they confront those conscious of their own strength. This we can appropriate for mid-Victorian England.

There were, of course, many people and places to which we could next refer and amongst them would be our Ritualists. They had placed themselves deliberately or accidentally into positions of relative powerlessness. They brought with them symbols and rituals which they believed helped make Christ known and they found themselves put down. At first they were put down by popular dissent³⁵¹ but as the agenda of the powerful became clear the popular mind changed. Their confrontation was then with the powerful.³⁵² Gutiérrez’ method helps us see a gospel paradigm in this.

But what we observe at the time of the Ritualists is the Church turned in on itself. Gutiérrez seems ever hopeful about the place of the Church in God’s work.

The church is not a non-world; it is humanity itself attentive to the Word. It is the People of God which lives in history and is oriented toward the future promised by the Lord. It is as Teilhard de Chardin said, the “reflectively Christified portion of the world.”³⁵³

Might it be that the church, even in its catastrophes, can do what Gutiérrez terms ‘signify the reality in function of which it exists’?³⁵⁴ That is to say, can it point to the Kingdom of God which is what it exists to serve? As Gutiérrez says:

If we conceive of the church as a sacrament of the salvation of the world, then it has all the more obligation to manifest in its visible structures the message that it bears. Since the church is not an end in itself, what matters is its capacity to signify the reality in function of which it exists.³⁵⁵

Gutiérrez’s ecclesiology is a very ‘high’ one. It is probable that in his mind-set the ‘one, holy, catholic and apostolic church’ is a rather more limited institutional structure than the model this author is working with and it is one to which he attributes huge significance. Nevertheless, for our purposes here, the language ‘sacrament of

³⁵⁰ Gutiérrez, ‘The God of Life’ (1982), in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.62.

³⁵¹ For discussion on the riots see Section 7.2.3 on page 115.

³⁵² The trials are tabulated at Table 3 on page 46.

³⁵³ Gutiérrez, ‘Theology of Liberation’, in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.246.

³⁵⁴ Gutiérrez, ‘Theology of Liberation’, in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.247.

³⁵⁵ Gutiérrez, ‘Theology of Liberation’, in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.247.

salvation' is still illuminating. In Gutiérrez's terms, the church's sacramental nature is conveyed by its struggle as much as by its success. What those who oppressed the Ritualists from within the church then provoked was the re-aligning of those priests with others who were marginalized and conferring their 'Incarnational Character' in such a way as could not have been otherwise engineered. For a time their work and presence among the poor was truly sacramental in Gutiérrez's terms. The priests themselves, in their oppression, signified the pattern of Christ's incarnation.

Part 3

Historical Analysis



Figure 4:
A Costermonger Girl

In this section we will consider what historical reality is embedded in the myth of the Slum Priest Ritualists' signifying the incarnation through identification with the urban poor of their day. Here we must investigate the culture and religious assumptions of those living in Victorian urban deprivation. We will do this with particular reference to three significant publications spanning fifty years. We will also consider the work of some more recent historical scholars who have provided influential narratives describing the relationship of the Victorian poor with the middle classes, most notably E.P. Thompson's groundbreaking *The Making of the English Working Class*³⁵⁶. The three contemporary Victorian works we will consider are:

London Labour and the London Poor, volume 1, Henry Mayhew (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Company, 1861)³⁵⁷ with some reference to volumes 2, 3 & 4 (1861).

³⁵⁶ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books, 1968).

³⁵⁷ Available in electronic form at: <http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/MayLond.html>, 19 November 2007.

Volume 1 is a useful survey of over half a million words comprising interviews with the poor of London conducted by Henry Mayhew as an attempt to understand and interpret their condition from their perspective and in their words.³⁵⁸ This work was mainly undertaken between 1849-1851³⁵⁹ and provides some insight into conditions before Ritualists became notorious.³⁶⁰

We will also refer to *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, William Booth (London: The Salvation Army, 1890).³⁶¹ This manifesto from the founder of the Salvation Army is pitched at correcting the ills of poverty in the light of forty years of governmental failure since the 1851 census and the recognition of England's 'savages' (Booth's word). It offers a top down solution.³⁶² William Booth's work was undertaken during the ritual trials and presents an alternative manifesto for the church.

The latest of the Victorian works we will look at is part of Charles Booth's seventeen volume work entitled *Life and Labour of the People in London*.³⁶³ We will take a particular interest in his enquiry into 'Religious Influences' of the inner ring of London, north of the Thames.³⁶⁴ This volume gives us some comparison of St. George's, in-the-East, St Peter's, in-the-Docks, and St Alban, Holborn with their neighbouring churches and those of other traditions. The date he gives to this enquiry is 1898,³⁶⁵ and it describes these churches after the Ritual Trials.

In the next two chapters we will do this by looking in both directions, top down and then bottom up. The third of the chapters in this section will consider how the poor contributed to the formation of the Ritualists.

This approach is necessarily diachronic between chapters.

³⁵⁸ J.R.T. Hughes describes this work as being in tencolor and carrying the smells too. See footnote 458, p.102.

³⁵⁹ Deborah Vlock, 'Mayhew, Henry (1812–1887)', *ODNB*.

³⁶⁰ In the Introduction on page 69 we have termed this 'Early Ritualism'.

³⁶¹ Available in electronic form at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/plucker/475/475>, 19 November 2007.

³⁶² Both of these publications have only been available in electronic format. References are therefore in the case of Booth only to section and chapter numbers. Mayhew vol. 1 was supplied in electronic format with page numbers.

³⁶³ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 17 volumes (London: Macmillan, 1902).

³⁶⁴ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London; Religious Influences*, Series 3, Volume 2 (London: Macmillan, 1902).

³⁶⁵ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.1.

Chapter 5 Insights into a Divided Society

E.P. Thompson argues that in the middle part of the nineteenth century, trade unionism was formed, organised and spread among the working masses. At one and the same time important changes were taking place. According to Thompson:

The 'average' English working man became more disciplined, more subject to the productive tempo of 'the clock', more reserved and methodical, less violent and less spontaneous. Traditional sports were displaced with more sedentary hobbies: The athletic exercises of Quoits, Wrestling, Foot-ball, Prison-bars and Shooting with Long-bow are become obsolete... they are now Pigeon-fanciers, Canary-breeders and Tulip-growers.....³⁶⁶

And quoting Francis Place, a commentator of 1820s Lancashire:

Until very lately it would have been dangerous to have assembled 500 of them on any occasion. Bakers and Butchers would at the least have been plundered. Now 100,000 people may be collected together and no riot ensue.³⁶⁷

So Thompson demonstrates that middle-class culture and the Churches may have tamed (though not won the hearts of) large sections of the working population during the nineteenth century but there were a new critical elite developing among this section of the population.³⁶⁸ They were forming new insights into the oppression that applied against the culture they were a part of. Often they had grown up in families that were very much a part of chapel and church life. It was here that their insights had been sharpened. But now they were likely to attack the Church though not necessarily Christian faith. In the words of Owen Chadwick:

They assailed Christians because they failed to follow Christ, not because they sought to follow him.³⁶⁹

Keir Hardie's (1856-1915) family had itself deserted the Presbyterian Church when he was young because they had associated it with middle-class, hypocritical and unjust conduct.³⁷⁰ A split was beginning in which the more formative elements of the working class were working with new ideals and patterns of society different from the prevailing standards of the time. In the words of Edward Wickham:

It was evidence of a social cleavage and a subsequent social revolution, hardly realised because of its gradualism; but it was none the less indicative of a fracture in society, in which the churches were found almost wholly on one side of the break.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, p.451.

³⁶⁷ Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, p.451.

³⁶⁸ See too McLeod, *Class and Religion*, pp.60-61.

³⁶⁹ Chadwick, 'The Established Church under attack', in Symondson (ed.), *The Victorian Crisis of Faith*, p.94.

³⁷⁰ He was the illegitimate son of Mary Kerr, a farm worker. The family did not fit with conventional patterns. At 21 Kier Hardie was himself to become a lay preacher in the anti-Calvinist 'Morrisonians', a radical offshoot of the United Secession Church which allowed its preachers a great deal of latitude. See Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Hardie (James) Keir (1856-1915)', *ODNB*.

³⁷¹ E.R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957) p.161.

Whilst this may be true of the Established Church at large, Hugh McLeod suggests that such a view of Christianity might be too one sided. He says,

Christianity in Victorian Society was such that it played a major part both in most systems of authority and in most emancipatory movements.³⁷²

Such movements included efforts to extend the political franchise to all levels of society;³⁷³ to improve the rights of women;³⁷⁴ Corn Law reform;³⁷⁵ Poor Law reform;³⁷⁶ reform of the contagious Diseases Act;³⁷⁷ improved conditions for children³⁷⁸ including the 1870 Education Act.³⁷⁹ It must be admitted that the Slum

³⁷² McLeod, *Religion and Society*, p.222.

McLeod also argues that there has been strong Christian involvement in political movements for social change, 'there have never been in Britain explicitly 'Christian' labour unions. The main reason for this is clear: since secularism has never exercised a dominant influence within the labour movement, Christians have never had sufficient motive to establish their own separate organizations.' The picture is of church as divided on political lines as society. Quoted by Nigel Yates in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (58) 2007, p.366.

³⁷³ The British electorate was expanded through Reform Acts in 1832 (Addition of a £10 property test), 1867 (to include urban working male householders) and 1884 (including rural working class households). See Gary W. Cox; James W. Ingram III, 'Suffrage Expansion and Legislative Behavior in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Social Science History*, Vol. 16, No. 4. (Winter, 1992), pp. 539-560.

³⁷⁴ Marriage in Victorian Britain conveyed all of a woman's property to her husband while he lived. Women's rights were at a very low ebb. In 1867 parliament narrowly decided not give women a vote in elections but a head of steam for women's rights was building up. (Suffrage for women was also defeated in Parliament in 1884.) In 1870 the new Education Act gave girls the right to an education as well as boys and allowed to women to be elected onto local Schools Boards. 1870 also brought a Married Women's Property Act which was strengthened in 1882. Olive M. Stone, 'The Status of Women [Symposium], The Status of Women in Great Britain', *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, Vol. 20, No. 4. (Autumn, 1972), pp. 592-621.

NB. The Married Women's Property Act also prevented men from collecting their wives' wages at the factory office as a right. This made it as important to slum women as it was to those with significant property.

³⁷⁵ The 1818 Corn Law was a control on the import and price of corn leading to high prices and causing difficulty for the poor. It was seen by middle class free trade campaigners and the working classes alike as a symbol of the aristocracy's feudal power. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846. See Anna Gambles, 'Rethinking the Politics of Protection: Conservatism and the Corn Laws, 1830-52', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No. 453. (Sep., 1998), pp. 928-952.

³⁷⁶ For an account of the 1834 Poor Law Reform, the establishment of poor law unions, boards of guardians and workhouses, see, Peter Dunkley, 'Whigs and Paupers: The Reform of the English Poor Laws, 1830-1834', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2. (Spring, 1981), pp. 124-149.

C.L. Mowat points out that the Poor Law was not an attempt to give paupers a right to relief but was an attempt to limit it. Although the Poor Law stayed on the statute books for 70 years, Mowatt suggests the seeds for change were sown with the 1867 Reform Act and moved on a pace in the 1880s. C.L Mowatt, 'The Approach to the Welfare State in Great Britain', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 58, No. 1. (Oct., 1952), pp. 55-63.

³⁷⁷ The Contagious Diseases Acts (1864-69) were ostensibly passed to protect members of the armed forces and gave police officers the right to arrest any woman they considered to be a prostitute for medical examination. Josephine Butler, wife of the Clergyman Principal of Liverpool College, was a powerful opponent. She argued that the Acts breached the *Magna Carta*. The Acts were repealed in 1886. See for instance, Margaret Hamilton, 'Opposition to the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1864-1886', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1. (Spring, 1978), pp. 14-27.

Note that Josephine Butler's status as a clergy wife was important to her choice by the Langham Place Group because she could be regarded as 'squeaky clean'.

³⁷⁸ The Factory Acts were designed to limit the working hours of women and children. Ten of them span the nineteenth century. There is some debate about whether they led to the decline of child labour or merely speeded it up. Clark Nardinelli argues that rising income and improved technology were the real reasons child labour in Britain declined during the nineteenth century: Clark Nardinelli, 'Child Labor and the Factory Acts', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 40, No. 4. (Dec., 1980), pp. 739-755.

³⁷⁹ See footnote 310 on page 74.

Priest Ritualists do not feature in this history in any significant way either by name or by category. Yet their social conscience and association with Christian Socialism looms large in their biographies. Bill Pickering states:

Anglo-Catholics failed to make any lasting impression on the non-Christianized working class masses and therefore failed to stem the forces of secularization. Those Anglo-Catholic laity who were of such a background, for better or for worse, were in no way drawn into the Labour Party or into socialism, either secular or Christian. Hence the fact that these movements were uninfluenced by Anglo-Catholic laity in the worst of the slums. They showed a minimal interest or ability of entering into politics and were far from the 'aristocracy of labour' which gave rise to leadership at various levels in socialist movements in England. Thus Anglo-Catholic thinking never penetrated the Labour Party: this is in marked contrast to that of Methodism.³⁸⁰

The biographies appear to tell a different story. Here it seems that Ritualist priests were at the centre of working class aspiration and movements for social change. Outside of the biographies it does not look like this and they barely achieve a footnote. Whilst these priests were undoubtedly significant in the communities that were their parishes, they were only marginal in the mainstream social struggles of the British Working Class in the Victorian era. The working class followers of Ritualism and their activist interests are a further indication for us of the priorities of their priests and teachers. Self-improvement through education, temperance and religion was the message they brought. They may have been radicalized by the poverty they encountered and they may have found themselves in conflict with the state but their battle was to make religion appropriate to the poor. H.P. Liddon, a second generation Oxford Movement leader who was to become Chancellor of St Paul's Cathedral and Ireland Professor of Scripture at Oxford in the 1870s,³⁸¹ lent academic support to their approach in his Lent Lectures of 1870 delivered at St James' Piccadilly.³⁸² His argument was chiefly pitched at people he regarded as replacing the Christian world-view with a scientific one.³⁸³

While its (religion's) influence upon human life is strong and various in proportion to its high aim and object; while it is felt, when it wields real empire, in every department of human activity and interest, as an invigorating, purifying, chastening, restraining, guiding influence, it too has a work peculiarly its own... This work is prayer. Prayer is emphatically religion in action.³⁸⁴

His lectures were still being reprinted twenty years after they were delivered and make a strong case for every effort to be given to the spiritual regeneration of society and not just the temporal. As we look for the primary contribution to working class life made

³⁸⁰ Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, p117. Pickering quotes as a source for this statement S. Mayor, *Churches and the Labour Movement* (London: Independent Press, 1967) p.337. (We might read 'Labour Movement' for 'Labour Party'.)

³⁸¹ Michael Chandler, 'Liddon, Henry Parry (1829–1890)', *ODNB*.

³⁸² H.P. Liddon, *Some Elements of Religion*, (London: Rivingtons: 1872/1890; 7th edition).

³⁸³ Liddon, *Elements of Religion*, p.xx.

³⁸⁴ Liddon, *Elements of Religion*, p.171.

by our subjects we might need to look more at the ‘work of prayer’ and what this led to rather than the work of politics and emancipation.³⁸⁵

5.1 Life and Labour

The two substantial works contemporary with the later phases of Ritualism that consider the conditions of the poor by William Booth and Charles Booth offer us some insight. William Booth’s work is an example of a top down prescription. Although the Salvation Army that he had founded was engaged in significant work around the world among poor communities, this work of his is more born out of judgement on the ‘submerged tenth’³⁸⁶, that is the ‘colonies of heathens and savages in the heart of our capital’.³⁸⁷ It is mocking of the Ritualists’ praxis.³⁸⁸ William Booth’s ultimate prescription is to deport the poor and unemployed to the New World.³⁸⁹ They are clearly regarded less as people with homes and families in England but more as a social problem and a potential labour force in the new colonies.

Charles Booth’s (1840-1916)³⁹⁰ enterprise was of an altogether different nature to his name-sake’s although he still took an interest in policy and top down solutions.³⁹¹ He was an undistinguished Liverpool business man until his marriage to Mary Catherine Macaulay (1847–1939).³⁹² It is quite possible that she was the inspiration behind his investigation into London life that was to last seventeen years.³⁹³ His work, unlike William Booth’s, is almost entirely descriptive rather than prescriptive. By the lights of its day this work was groundbreaking in its thoroughness and its scientific method. Booth’s obituary in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* describes him as ‘one of its most distinguished fellows’.³⁹⁴ Gareth Stedman Jones observes that unlike Charles

³⁸⁵ Hugh McLeod says that they ‘won many individual converts; but their impact on the community as a whole was very limited.’ McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.80. This may partly miss the point as numbers of converts cannot tell the full story either.

³⁸⁶ William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: The Salvation Army, 1890), Chapter 2.

³⁸⁷ Booth, *Darkest England*, Chapter 1.

³⁸⁸ See Appendix 2, page 243.

Appendix 2 discusses William Booth’s work more fully.

³⁸⁹ Booth, *Darkest England*, Chapter 4 ‘New Britain – The colony over seas’.

³⁹⁰ Two significant biographies exist:

T.S. Simey and M.B. Simey, *Charles Booth: Social Scientist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), and, Rosemary O’Day and David Englander, *Mr. Charles Booth’s Inquiry. Life and Labour of the People In London Reconsidered* (London/Rio Grande: Hambledon, 1993).

³⁹¹ Jose Harris, ‘Booth, Charles (1840–1916)’, *ODNB*.

³⁹² ‘Mary was renowned as one of the cleverest and most widely read women of her day, and the marriage brought Booth into the orbit of a cosmopolitan intellectual aristocracy quite different in outlook from the business classes of Liverpool.’ Harris, ‘Booth, Charles’, *ODNB*.

³⁹³ Harris, ‘Booth, Charles’, *ODNB*.

³⁹⁴ ‘Right Hon. Charles Booth, D.C.L., F.R.S.’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 80, No. 1. (Jan., 1917), pp. 94-98. We are told in this obituary, ‘The practical measure that will also be chiefly

Booth, Mayhew's work a quarter of a century earlier, provoked very little change in the understanding of poverty in the following years.

Mayhew's approach found no echo in the slum life literature of the ensuing forty years. London workers were 'heathen.' 'Civilization' had not reached them. The poor lived in inaccessible places, in 'dens,' in 'swamps,' in the 'deeps,' in the 'wilds,' or in the 'abyss.' The Light of 'civilisation' did not shine upon them because they dwelt in 'the shadows,' 'the shade,' 'the nether world,' the 'darkest' regions. When missionaries from 'civilisation' ventured into that 'Babylon,' they were confronted by 'terrible sights,' and if struck by guilt or fear, they recalled the stories of Dives and Lazarus or Jacob and Esau.³⁹⁵

Jones argues that Booth's work 'signalled the beginnings of a new attitude towards the working class'.³⁹⁶ Some suggest that Booth was the father of modern sociology and empirical science and even McKibbin, a critic of Booth's work concedes,

The comparative success of Booth and then Rowntree in constructing a generally acceptable 'poverty line', and in demarcating working class wages generally, established the fashion for numbers and ensured that most future enquiries into social class would be quantitative ones.³⁹⁷

Although there are many weaknesses in this work,³⁹⁸ *Religious Influences* provides a glimpse into church life in 1898 that we could not find anywhere else. Twelve years after the full set of Booth's work was published Victor Branford commented:

the problem is to discover some method of observing and recording ... the thoughts and emotions, the habit of mind and life, of persons in their interior relations with one another and with their surroundings. The sort of question that this more intensive survey has to put before itself is-How can we decipher and record people's ideals, their characteristic ideas and culture, and the images and symbols which habitually occupy their minds.³⁹⁹

Booth's *Religious Influences* does not take us into the inner life of the people and institutions he surveys. There is no analysis of their worship nor description of the liturgy.⁴⁰⁰ He says very little about their priorities and the symbolic world that they

associated with him is that of 1908 which conferred National Pensions on the Aged' (p.97). Harris also describes his work to this end saying, 'he was appointed to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in 1905 but that ill health limited his contributions.'

³⁹⁵ Stedman Jones, 'Working-Class Culture', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), p.463.

³⁹⁶ Stedman Jones, 'Working-Class Culture', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), p.463.

³⁹⁷ R. I. McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observation in Edwardian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., Vol. 28. (1978), p.175.

³⁹⁸ Harris summarizes some common criticisms: 'despite its huge accumulation of facts, the survey had little or no explanatory validity ... Many have regretted the lack of a historical dimension; and Booth's own manuscripts reveal that he was himself troubled about his survey's rather static quality, and by the fact that it said little about whether conditions were deteriorating or improving.' Harris, 'Booth, Charles', *ODNB*.

In his criticism of the latest Booth biography, Paul Johnson notes the need to recognize 'that Booth consciously processed and selected material,' and that analysis is needed on the degree to which 'the published ... material exhibits systematic bias in terms of the residence, occupation or class of interviewees and respondents.' Paul Johnson, 'Review: Mr Charles Booth's Inquiry. Life and Labour of the People in London Reconsidered by Rosemary O'Day; David Englander', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 440. (Feb., 1996), pp. 244-245.

³⁹⁹ Victor Branford, *Interpretations and Forecasts* (London, 1914) quoted in McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observation', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., Vol. 28. (1978), p.176.

⁴⁰⁰ McKibbin says, 'The 'Religious Influences' section of Booth's *Life and Labour* is extraordinarily ill-conceived for its purpose, and its information is redundant to most questions the historian might wish to

inhabit is missed altogether. But he does give us a handle on the size and activity of the churches, their missionary success and on how churches were regarded by their neighbours. He makes a judgement on the leadership of the churches and details their weekly activities and attendances. He places this data alongside the demographic information he had collected for the previous volumes and includes colour fold-out maps depicting the relative wealth of each district.⁴⁰¹

A key lesson from Booth's survey drawn out by Gareth Stedman Jones is:

where the poor did attend church, it was generally for material reasons. Church attendance was rewarded by church charity. When charity was withdrawn, the congregation disappear.⁴⁰²

This observation seems to characterize Booth's description of the work at St Alban's, Holborn. He tells us:

They owe much to the work of the Clewer Sisters, work which, although devoted, seems to be based to some extent on gifts.⁴⁰³

He primarily characterizes this church as eclectic, that is to say that its relations with those who lived around it were weak but that this was 'accompanied by an extraordinary success in personal relations between the clergy and many individuals amongst those who formed the congregation'.⁴⁰⁴ We are told that the local poor tended to fill the church at the 9.15am Sunday morning service whilst those who live at a distance attend the later morning service.⁴⁰⁵ He gives no reason why this should be, whether the two classes didn't want to mix or whether the sheer logistics of travel and routines of daily life made this so. He does observe that the church is unusual in being full during morning services and half empty in the evening. This he puts down to a Catholic mind-set that religious duties need to be done at the beginning of the day.⁴⁰⁶

The elements of church life that he singles out for praise are: the brotherhood of the clergy, two of whom had served the parish for thirty years (presumably Stanton and

ask.' McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observation', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., Vol. 28. (1978), p.175. Here we find ourselves able to use Booth's observations with interest.

⁴⁰¹ At first sight all the colour on these maps make poor parishes look relatively prosperous but it is worth noting that the poorest areas (shaded black) held four or more persons to a room whereas the middle bands held less than one person to a room and the wealthiest had more than four rooms to a person with up to seven servants (Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.172). In this sort of representation a very small area of black could be a most significant element of a parish population otherwise largely shaded in the Booth's middle band colours.

⁴⁰² Stedman Jones, 'Working-Class Culture', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), p.471.

⁴⁰³ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.145.

⁴⁰⁴ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.145-6.

⁴⁰⁵ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.146.

⁴⁰⁶ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.146.

Note that Jasper describes the evening service as a growth industry across the country from 1858, see page 132. It would be difficult to conclude that Booth simply hadn't noticed that something on a large scale across churches in London had happened and may suggest that St Alban's was in the vanguard.

Russell);⁴⁰⁷ and, the magnificent interior of the church ‘adorned with a huge gilt crucifix or “rood” suspended in mid air.’⁴⁰⁸ He describes a substantial number of mid-week meetings and guilds at St Alban’s but then concludes:

as with the Church of Rome, the work of this church is very much bound up with its services, and its main care is the religious life thus reflected. Its local influence rests mostly upon the effect that must gradually be produced by the devoted lives of the clergy.⁴⁰⁹

This observation probably suggests that much of the mid-week work was religious in nature. Harris tells us that Booth himself had come to the conclusion that ‘science had as clearly disproved His [God’s] existence as Galileo had demonstrated the correct solar system’.⁴¹⁰ According to his first biographers he ‘expressed similar disenchantment about the philanthropic traditions of the Liverpool bourgeoisie, dismissing them as ‘the useless shell of an old world society’’.⁴¹¹ These aspects of his outlook help us notice the filters through which he was reading the religious institutions of his day. Booth undoubtedly saw less value in the gifts given by the Clewer Sisters and the development of people’s religious spirit encouraged by the clergy than the people on the inside of St Alban’s life would. Nevertheless, he observes the existence of these works.

Turning to St Peter’s in-the-docks, where Charles Lowder had been Vicar, Booth says he found, ‘one of the most concentrated and distinctive pieces of parochial work that London has to show.’⁴¹² He compares this church with St Augustine, Stepney, another Anglican Ritualist parish:

There is a repetition of the extreme Anglicanism of St. Augustine’s, the same importance attached to confession, which is regarded as the ‘real test’, and the same success.⁴¹³

Again Booth reports the importance of gifts in the missionary practice, saying ‘the treats and charities are on a lavish scale’.⁴¹⁴ He is fairly critical of this style:

The charitable funds are available for all, irrespective of creed, and the administration is of course attacked as bribery, not, perhaps without reason.⁴¹⁵

Booth is equally critical of St Augustine’s where he sees the ‘attractive force of £4000 a year.’⁴¹⁶ Despite this, however, at both St Peter’s and St Augustine’s he regards the personality of the Vicar to be the main reason the churches are filled rather than either

⁴⁰⁷ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.146.

⁴⁰⁸ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.146.

⁴⁰⁹ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.146-7.

⁴¹⁰ Harris, ‘Booth, Charles’, *ODNB*.

⁴¹¹ Harris, ‘Booth, Charles’, *ODNB*, quoting Simey & Simey, *Charles Booth*, p.37.

⁴¹² Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.35.

⁴¹³ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.35.

⁴¹⁴ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.35.

⁴¹⁵ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.35.

⁴¹⁶ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.26.

the charitable gifts or the ritual and doctrine.⁴¹⁷ Through the heavy filter that makes it difficult for Booth to value charity and the inner religious life he struggles to assess the value of these ritualistic churches:

The value of it is difficult to measure. Religion, to gain strength, is lowered to superstition; other churches are robbed, but still the bulk of the population are untouched; the devotion to the poor is complete, but it is to be feared that they can hardly escape pauperization. In these matters we need to attach many different meanings to the word success.⁴¹⁸

Booth discerns large numbers in these church's congregations and a good spirit between the church and the poor who live around them. Still he is left uneasy. Booth's own values may go some way towards explaining this. Of the eight classes he divided the population between, he had very little empathy with the lowest two.⁴¹⁹ The Ritualistic churches were located in communities with high concentrations of these classes and, as this thesis demonstrates, appear to have been well adapted to ministry among them. Booth's social judgementalism is an obstacle to his appreciation.

By contrast with his criticism of these two churches, Booth is entirely complimentary of St George's in-the-East. By the time of his survey the Ritualists had been evicted and the Reverend J.L. Ross had been put in place of Bryan King.⁴²⁰ Ross had, according to King's biographer, found the church left by King in very good order except for the power exerted by 'dissenters'.⁴²¹ Ross was not a Ritualist but was evidently prepared to build on King's work.⁴²² Booth reports:

Into the parish work of St. George's great energy has been put. Leaving out such as are distinctive of and only found with extreme Evangelicalism or Ritualism, the church organizations are very complete, and they are successful ... Of this parish it may be said without any serious exaggeration that 'though few are grasped, all are touched.'⁴²³

The church appears to have the same sort of missionary set-up as many Evangelical and Ritualist churches (possibly inherited from the days of King, Lowder and Mackonochie) but without their religious fervour or financial backing. This is evidently the sort of church that Booth understands the best.

⁴¹⁷ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, pp.26, 36.

⁴¹⁸ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.36.

⁴¹⁹ E.g. 'at an early stage of his poverty inquiry Booth had concluded that the 'crux of the social problem' lay in the treatment of the parasitic group whom he had labelled as class B. This was the group, just above the savage outcasts of class A, who nevertheless performed no real economic or social function, but survived on the fringes of society as parasites upon the prosperity of the classes above them. This class was fostered by the structural phenomenon of casual labour, which enabled inefficient workers to eke out an occasional livelihood by undercutting the wages of the more efficient classes above them. Booth's policy solution, spelt out in a series of public inquiries from the select committees on distress from want of employment (1894–5) to the royal commission on the poor laws (1905–9), was the widespread regularization and 'decasualization' of employment, which would concentrate regular work on the efficient majority, and make it possible to apply remedial treatment to the inefficient "residuum"'. Harris, 'Booth, Charles', *ODNB*.

⁴²⁰ Crouch, *Bryan King*, p.120.

⁴²¹ Crouch, *Bryan King*, p.120, quoting a letter written by Ross to the *Standard*, dated September 2nd, 1872.

⁴²² Crouch, *Bryan King*, p.122.

⁴²³ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Ser.3, Vol.2, p.31.

John Shelton Reed provides a reality check on the success of Ritualism in terms of numbers. He says that in comparison with other Church of England traditions working among the urban poor the Ritualists were ‘not conspicuously unsuccessful’ but ‘neither were they unusually successful’.⁴²⁴ Reed uses figures from a *Daily News* religious survey of church attendance from 1886 along with the maps of urban social demography drawn by Charles Booth⁴²⁵ to compare churches serving poor areas. Reed may not be far from the mark but he makes a few assumptions that must be questioned:

- i. Because a neighbourhood may have only a small section shaded black on Booth’s map it does not mean that only a small proportion of the population were among the very poorest. We have already noted that the poorest (black) areas of Booth’s maps had the densest population. Booth must be read with this in mind.
- ii. Robert Dolling noted how likely the poor of his congregation were to move their residence from one location to another including the colonies, the army, the navy and the grave.⁴²⁶ Missionary success in such communities cannot be measured simply by the size of a congregation. Dolling preferred to count the number of confirmees. The property owning classes have a more fixed investment in their place of residence.
- iii. The 1886 survey only counted late morning services. Reed tells us that a subsequent survey (1902-3) told a similar story and this counted all services between 9.30am and 11.45am.⁴²⁷ But multiple early morning services were common in Ritualist churches⁴²⁸ and an observer at Lowder’s church had counted 270 communicants at a 7.00am service noting that ‘many were poor’. The same observer counts only 200 at midday and makes no comment about their poverty.⁴²⁹ It is highly likely that a count of mid morning worshippers would miss the working class and destitute attending in early morning.

Whilst Reed’s assessment brings hard data to bear on the success of slum Ritualism, its limitations must be born in mind against the Victorian accounts of something special happening in some Ritualist churches’ missionary engagement with the urban poor.

⁴²⁴ Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.159f.

⁴²⁵ See above page 93.

⁴²⁶ See reference 199 on page 48 above.

⁴²⁷ Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.159.

⁴²⁸ Reed tells us that Sunday morning services held at St Columba’s Haggston were: 7.00am, 8.00am, 10.15am, 10.45am and 11.15am. Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.156.

⁴²⁹ See reference 200 on page 48 above.

5.2 Taking sides

It is clear that there was a fissure between rich and poor in Victorian Society that created deep mistrust and not a little misunderstanding. The ruling classes had feared the working classes since the American War of Independence (1775 – 1783) and the French Revolution (1789 – 1799). The French ‘July Revolution’ of 1830 and the ascendancy of the French Republic after the 1848 Revolution could only serve to heighten the fears of the English equivalents to those who had been overthrown on the continent.⁴³⁰ Charles Booth’s surveys betray his judgements on the ‘undeserving poor’.⁴³¹ William Booth offered an even more radically considered prescription.⁴³² For their part, advocates and leaders of the working classes continued to press an agenda for change and achieved a great deal that has shaped Britain since.⁴³³

In such a context it is often vital to ask which side a person is on.⁴³⁴ It is apparent that the Slum Priest Ritualists were sent to poor communities as ambassadors from the establishment to bring about cultural change through a religious mission.⁴³⁵ It is not clear to what extent they thought of themselves in these terms. Their infamy though, grew as they dwelt among the poor, were in conflict with the establishment and were changed.

The Slum Priest Ritualists never seem to have taken up the cudgels of those working class movements that have since changed British politics and society so profoundly. But it is quite clear that their most immediate neighbours had no doubt whose side they were on and we will turn to this in the next chapter. They came increasingly to be seen as ‘of the poor’ the more their establishment masters took action against them.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁰ The growth of Chartism in this period and its violent put-down serve as an example. See for instance: Wilson, *The Victorians*, pp.34ff.

This movement is very heavily treated by historians. For an review of recent thinking see, Miles Taylor, ‘Rethinking the Chartists: Searching for Synthesis in the Historiography of Chartism’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 2. (Jun., 1996), pp. 479-495.

⁴³¹ Gareth Stedman Jones suggests that this term was conscripted to help press the working class poor towards middle class norms. Those found ‘undeserving’ (e.g. drunk or improvident) were consigned to the workhouse. Stedman Jones, ‘Working-Class Culture’ *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), p.478.

Perkin also offers a valuable critique of the notions of ‘deserving and undeserving poor’ from a working class perspective in Harold Perkin, ‘“The Condescension of Posterity:” The Recent Historiography of the English Working Class’, *Social Science History*, Vol. 3, No. 1. (Autumn, 1978), pp. 87-101, esp. p.91.

⁴³² Appendix 2.

⁴³³ See footnotes on page 89.

⁴³⁴ Richard Wilkinson provides compelling evidence that where there is sharp inequality there will also be low levels of trust. Richard G. Wilkinson, *The Impact of Inequality* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.288-289.

⁴³⁵ See section 2.2 on page 29ff.

⁴³⁶ This is evidenced further in the damage done to those who made the prosecutions. David Bebbington tells us that the evangelical, Samuel Garratt wrote, ‘If there is one thing which more than another has injured the estimation in which Evangelical truth is regarded, by thoughtful and religious men, it is these prosecutions.’ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p.147.

Chapter 6 Church as seen by the Poor

It is self evident that much popular, or elite, history works from the top down. The actions of parliament are more likely to be retold and analysed than those of the working men's club. Indeed it may be that the actions of parliament are more likely to have an impact on successive generations of people reading history than those of a locality. But this is an exploration of a story about people who gave their lives to poor localities and out of concern for their mission discovered conflict with national authorities. The history of the Slum Priest Ritualists is one that can be seen from the top down but most needs to be looked at from bottom up.

Here we will try to look at the Slum Priest Ritualists from the perspective of their poor neighbours. This is a difficult thing to do. It is much easier to look at their influence on later movements and events as it is also easier to look at the views of them that the powerful and well connected of their day formed too. Above all history has tended to focus on the liturgical legacy they left the Church of England but the relationships they formed with those they lived among in deprived urban communities and the way this affected their mission is also a vital, if often understated, legacy too.

Of course it is not possible to interview those who shared life in these communities alongside them. Most were unable to write and their thoughts have perished now long ago with them. The Ritualists' biographers were on the whole formed in a very different culture to the slum parishes and it is hard to find reliable evidence here. They were among their eclectic supporters. Much that they wrote is romantic and projected. Newspaper reports and the perspectives of bishops on these characters are also not born of urban poverty and focus on the detail of the trials.

We are much more limited in what we can turn to in this quest. We will chiefly use two sources: i) the oral historical observations of Sarah Williams in her published thesis, *Religious belief and popular culture in Southwark c. 1880 – 1939*⁴³⁷, and ii) the recorded interviews of Henry Mayhew in *London Labour and the London Poor (1861)*.

⁴³⁷ S.C. Williams, *Religious belief and popular culture in Southwark c. 1880 - 1939* (Oxford: OUP, 1999).

This work along with the oral history of Alan Bartlett is surveyed further in McLeod, *Religion and Society*, p.73ff.

6.1 Victorian Working Class Religiosity

S. C. Williams's recent work on Southwark between 1880 - 1939 has provided some valuable insights into the religious conscience of Londoners in the last twenty years of Victoria's reign as well as into the early twentieth century.

It is Williams's proposition that the traditional understanding of religiosity amongst the urban poor such as that derived from Mann's 1851 Religious Census report⁴³⁸ and developed by such recent writers as Ted Wickham⁴³⁹ and K.S. Inglis⁴⁴⁰ focuses too much on the 'formal outward signs' of institutional religion and neglects important and subtle nuanced dimensions. Williams has restricted her work to the particular context of Southwark within a sixty year period. Her method of establishing an understanding of working class religious practice and belief is by free flowing oral interviews. Her interviewees were those who would have retained first hand memories from their parents and grandparents of the period. She has taken account of similar work⁴⁴¹ and of other work on rural folk religion but has been careful in her own work to avoid creating a context for her interviews which either provoked church oriented or folk religion oriented responses. Her work also takes account of modern criticism of oral history; Williams's is not an attempt at fact finding but is an assessment of the language in which social meaning is created.⁴⁴²

Williams's work clearly demonstrates the inadequacy of the more conventional institutionally oriented history. It will not do to say that, 'the poor soon lost the desire for the religion which was so persistently denied them,'⁴⁴³ with all of the assumptions that lie behind this. She suggests it is evident that a primary concern amongst many working class people at the turn of the century was to discharge their responsibilities towards the deity and to ensure good fortune or luck.⁴⁴⁴ There was a continuum of meaning from throwing salt over one's shoulders and the carrying of charms and amulets through to the churching of women and baptizing of babies.⁴⁴⁵ Williams calls the places in which the working class religion overlapped with the church 'occasional and conditional conformity'.⁴⁴⁶ These points of contact are made chiefly through

⁴³⁸ Mann, *Census 1851*. See 2.2.2 above on page 31.

⁴³⁹ Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City*, see footnote 371.

⁴⁴⁰ Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, see footnotes 131 and 132.

⁴⁴¹ e.g. Alan Bartlett, *The churches in Bermondsey 1880-1939* (Birmingham University Ph.D. thesis, 1987).

⁴⁴² Williams, *Southwark*, p.20.

⁴⁴³ Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 56, quoting Magee from *Hansard* 3rd series CCCIII 928.

⁴⁴⁴ Williams, *Southwark*, p.96.

⁴⁴⁵ This is well treated in the final section of Obelkevich, *Religion in Rural Society*.

⁴⁴⁶ Williams, *Southwark*, Chapter 4.

Churchings, Baptisms, Weddings and laying out the dead.⁴⁴⁷ There is a clear connection between these and a more ritualistic understanding of worship. All four are dramatic and in a sense sacramental. That is to say that the action of the liturgy effects a transformation both with God and with society. It is something that is real and tangible in each case. It is the very fact of engaging in them that is considered to bring about ontological change. It may well be that the Slum Priest Ritualists brought a dramatic and sacramental understanding of worship that had a natural resonance with perceptions of God and church held by their parishioners.

A second observation of Williams is that not all churches were regarded equally. Religious figures who were particularly associated with bringing relief and kindness were also deemed to have particular potency at times of benediction too.⁴⁴⁸ There is further resonance here with the generous and open-house approach to life of a number of the Ritualists. Here again their style may have chimed with popular working class perceptions. They cared, they gave of themselves, and they knew their parishioners personally. In a society where the poor's dead were normally disposed of in anonymity, the slum priests established requiem chapels (often called 'third altars') in their churches,⁴⁴⁹ there recording the names of the departed. Williams helps us recognize that such actions represent true godliness to people.

Hugh McLeod describes Victorian religiosity in terms that he says missionaries and evangelical preachers couldn't recognize:

values - achievement in keeping afloat; avoiding the humiliation of charity; virtue in bringing children up well; and, goodness in generosity to neighbours.

Failures - wasting time on questions of doctrine and sabbatarianism.⁴⁵⁰

Williams's observations offer a nuance to perceptions that the Victorian Working Classes may have formed of ritualistic churches and their clergy which is missed in the biographical histories, although they may be discerned in local memory.

6.2 *The voice of the urban poor*

In Mayhew's work, *London Labour and the London Poor*,⁴⁵¹ forty years earlier than William Booth's *Darkest England* and Charles Booth's inquiries, we find a deep

⁴⁴⁷ Gareth Steadman Jones emphasizes the importance of these 'religious' occasions to the poor, 'What saving there was among the casual workers, the unskilled and the poorer artisans was not for the purpose of accumulating a sum of capital, but for the purchase of articles of display or for the correct observance of ritual occasions', Gareth Steadman Jones, 'Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900; Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), p.473.

⁴⁴⁸ Williams, *Southwark*, p.99.

⁴⁴⁹ See Figure 6, Robert Dolling's Third Altar, on page 128.

⁴⁵⁰ McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.50.

awareness of poverty understood from the inside.⁴⁵² By contrast, William Booth's work is written from the outside and the reference to Africa in his analysis of the urban poor invites a detached political approach to understanding their society. Charles Booth manages to remain semi-detached. Henry Mayhew conducted his field-work before the modern science of ethnography had yet come to be, but provides much raw material for students today. Mayhew was a failed solicitor and reasonably successful playwright, who in 1841 became founding co-editor of *Punch* magazine with Mark Lemon.⁴⁵³ After the 1849 cholera outbreak, which killed over 13,000 people in London, Mayhew suggested to John Douglas Cook, editor of *The Morning Chronicle*, that he should investigate the conditions of the working classes in England and Wales. Cook agreed and recruited Angus Reach, Charles Mackay and Shirley Brooks to assist. Mayhew was to take on London whilst the others were assigned other parts of the country. (Reach was to take on the manufacturing districts of Manchester, Oldham, Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester and Sheffield; Mackay, Scotland; and Brooks the mining areas of the North East.) It is Mayhew's writing that is by far the most interesting for our purposes as he made heavy use of interviews with his subjects, canvassing their perception of their world in their own words.⁴⁵⁴ The others read much more like a visitor's impression of a particular location.

The issues in which Mayhew takes an interest betray his middle class Victorian interests. In his attempts to determine the spiritual motivations of the poor he writes of 'church' and of 'religion'. Neither of these words had real currency with his subjects. His conclusion is that they had had no interest in the spiritual. In his own words:

The costers have no religion at all, and very little notion, or none at all, of what religion or a future state is.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵¹ Mayhew's writing in *The Morning Chronicle* were later published by Griffin, Bohn, and Company of London in 1861 and is now made available in electronic format by the University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Center.

Volume 1 is subtitled, *A Cyclopædia Of The Condition And Earnings Of Those That Will Work, Those That Cannot Work, And Those That Will Not Work* and includes interviews with Street Sellers, Street Buyers, Street Finders, Street Performers, Street Artizans and Street Labourers. These he breaks down into a further sixteen categories.

⁴⁵² Deborah Vlock says that Mayhew's work, 'remains a seminal study of London street life in the middle of the century, and has been often reprinted. It is required reading for anyone interested in the minutest details of Victorian lower-class life, such as what kinds of foods were sold on the streets, how financial transactions with street-sellers were conducted, and how vendors 'cried' their wares.' Deborah Vlock, 'Mayhew, Henry (1812–1887)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁵³ Vlock, 'Mayhew, Henry', *ODNB*.

⁴⁵⁴ Mayhew ended up severing his ties with *The Morning Chronicle* and completed *London Labour and the London Poor* on his own. See Richard Maxwell, 'Henry Mayhew and the Life of the Streets', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2. (Spring, 1978), p.87.

⁴⁵⁵ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor, volume 1* (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Company, 1861) p.22.

McLeod describes the Costermongers as typical of the 'rough' working class, saying: 'This was the most extreme form of secularism and parochialism that pervaded working-class London. It was a typical proletarian response to a world in which most decisions were made by other people, in which the environment, however unattractive, appeared to be unchangeable, an in which only the most intent

But, for reasons discussed by Sarah Williams, we may need to explore under the surface. Fortunately Mayhew provides enough depth of material for us to do this. It is simply evidence that there is nothing that Mayhew could recognize as religion discernible in his interviews with these people. In his interviews with the more erudite class of patterers (a form of satirical orator of the streets) Mayhew is able to be rather more nuanced:

It is, I am satisfied, quite a mistake to suppose that there is much real infidelity among these outcast beings. They almost all believe in a hereafter; most of them think that the wicked will be punished for a few years, and then the whole universe of people be embraced in the arms of one Great Forgiving Father. Some of them think that the wicked will not rise at all; the punishment of 'losing Heaven' being as they say 'Hell enough for anybody'. Points of doctrine they seldom meddle with.⁴⁵⁶

This demonstrates some of Mayhew's own theological blinkers. Whilst he sees fidelity in the patterers' view of the hereafter he fails to see this as part of a doctrinal debate worthy of engaging with. His comment that they seldom meddle with points of doctrine suggests that he never found the religious interests of his social circle shared by the street people he interviewed. His interviewees were clearly capable of far-sighted theological conjecture still discussed into the next century by academics. Interestingly, Mayhew carries little in his work about the great church debates of the day. Considering the preoccupation about religion that there was in these times, this is perhaps surprising. To many comfortable members of society, the church seemed to be part of the solution to the ills of poverty⁴⁵⁷ and, for them the church's debates loomed large. Mayhew seems not to have taken these preoccupations with him in the field-work he conducted. His is a genuine attempt to understand the concerns and preoccupations of his subjects with only a rare slip into his own and his readers' assumptions. This is an ethnography that stands up today as remarkable.⁴⁵⁸

In the first three of his substantial volumes the word 'ritual' only appears twice and these in relation to Judaism.⁴⁵⁹ This would have been inconceivable had he been

parochialism could serve the individual and those who depend on him from disaster.' McLeod, *Class and Religion*, pp.56-57.

⁴⁵⁶ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.249f.

⁴⁵⁷ e.g. Holcombe, 'Church Extension', in *RiVB* (III) p.262-4 The argument against this is also made in D. Macleod, 'Non-church-going and housing of the poor in Glasgow, 1888, 1874', in *RiVB* (III), p.284

⁴⁵⁸ This assessment of Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* is supported by Maxwell. He says, 'This vision of the Metropolis was lost by Mayhew's successors in the journalism of street-life.' Although Maxwell also reserves some criticism for later works ascribed to Mayhew too. Maxwell, 'Henry Mayhew and the Life of the Streets', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2. (Spring, 1978), p.104.

J.R.T. Hughes contrasts Mayhew's work with Charles Booth's later *Life and Labour of the People of London* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902-3): 'The Booth volumes are interesting but Mayhew's is fascinating.' He says, 'Mayhew takes you into London Town in stereo and Technicolor, and provides the smells too.' J. R. T. Hughes, 'Henry Mayhew's London, Review Articles, *London Labour and the London Poor*, A Cyclopaedia of the Condition and Earnings of those that Will Work, Those that Cannot Work, and Those that Will not Work, Henry Mayhew', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 29, No. 3. (Sep., 1969), pp. 526-536.

⁴⁵⁹ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, pp.125-126.

The fourth and final volume is not available in an electronic searchable format.

writing just a few years later. Although the date of publication of Mayhew's work in book form was 1861, the work began in 1849 and had substantially been published by *The Morning Chronicle* before the end of 1851. Archdeacon Denison's popular court victory over the efficacy of the sacrament was in 1852. But the events that really brought ritualism to mainstream attention and led to riots at St George's-in-the-East revolving around Bryan King and his curates Lowder and Mackonckie, were not to reach their peak until 1858.⁴⁶⁰ It was after the riots at St George's-in-the-East and the interventions of the Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury that the Ritualists were seen to be in opposition to the establishment. Nevertheless, we can learn much about the spiritual concerns of London's street people in the 1850s, their views of church and religion, from Mayhew.

6.2.1 Opinion on the papacy – A Litany

Edward Bouverie Pusey, father of the Oxford Movement, features in one of the Patterers' street patters and there is some distinction made between the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, City Missions and other denominations. The patter that Mayhew quotes demonstrates quite a good knowledge of religious and liturgical language. This is parodied and mocked in the patter. Presumably the listeners would also have needed to know as much to catch the humour. Part of the patter adopts the rhyme and rhythm of *The Litany*.⁴⁶¹ Mayhew provides for us a shortened form:

Let us say,
 From all Cardinals whether wise or foolish. Oh!
 Queen Spare us.
 Spare us, Oh Queen.
 From the pleasure of the Rack, and the friend-
 ship of the kind hearted officers of the Inquisition.
 Oh! Johnny hear us.
 Oh! Russell hear us.
 * From the comforts of being frised like a devil'd
 kidney. Oh! Nosey save us.
 Hear us Oh Arthur.
 From such saucy Prelates, as Pope Pi-ass. Oh!
 Cumming's save us.
 Save us good Cumming.
 And let us have no more Burnings in Smithfield,
 no more warm drinks in the shape of boiled oil, or,
 molten lead, and send the whole host of Puseyites
 along with the Pope, Cardinals to the top of mount
 Vesuvius there to dine off of hot lava, so that we may

⁴⁶⁰ See 7.2.3 on page 115.

⁴⁶¹ The Litany is a form of prayer in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer provided for use after Morning Prayer on Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays and other days 'commanded' by the Bishop.

live in peace & shout long live our Queen, and No
Popery!⁴⁶²

The overall thrust here is to tie Pusey, father of the Oxford Movement, together with the Pope and to mock them in the style of traditional English worship which both were considered to threaten. A minister might conventionally begin *The Litany* by saying, 'Let us pray.' Our Patterer begins, 'Let us say.' The reference to cardinals 'whether wise or foolish' is a reference to Cardinal Wiseman (1802 – 1865) first Archbishop of Westminster after Roman Catholic emancipation in England (1829). He was a symbol of Roman Catholic resurgence and held strong 'ultramontane' beliefs.⁴⁶³ The appointment of Wiseman in 1850 as a Roman Catholic Cardinal Archbishop with the territorial title of Westminster had caused a furore. Some termed it 'Papal Aggression'.⁴⁶⁴ In 1851, under the Prime Minister Lord John Russell, the 'Titles Bill',⁴⁶⁵ was passed by parliament making such Roman Catholic territorial titles illegal. The law was never used and was repealed under Gladstone twenty years later. This is a street commentary on the Titles Bill and the Oxford Movement.

Our Litany continues with the mock versicle and response,

Oh Queen spare us.
Spare us, Oh Queen.

In the *Book of Common Prayer* Litany we find,

Spare us, good Lord.

The second stanza makes reference to the Spanish Inquisition. The rack is an implement of torture used to draw an honest confession from the captive. The memory is revived here to evoke fear of a papal lord replacing the prevailing powers in the land. The mock versicle and response this time refers to Prime Minister, Lord John Russell:

Oh Jonny, hear us.
Oh Russell, hear us.

In the *Book of Common Prayer* Litany it says,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

⁴⁶² Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.238

⁴⁶³ The word 'ultramontane' strictly means 'from beyond the mountains' (from beyond the Alps, i.e. Rome). It is a reference to the view that the Bishop of Rome exercised spiritual and temporal authority over national arrangements.

⁴⁶⁴ See Walter Ralls, *The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism*, *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 43, No. 2. (Jun., 1974), pp. 242-256 for a critique of the phrase and its use.

⁴⁶⁵ The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill (1851) was an attempt to satisfy the 'No Popery' cries during what *The Times* termed the 'Papal Aggression' (*The Times*, 7 November 1850). It prevented anybody outside of the Established Church from being titled as a British Bishop. See Ralls, 'The Papal Aggression of 1850', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 43, No. 2. (Jun., 1974), p. 243.

In the third stanza we have reference to the Duke of Wellington, Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852) and Prime Minister when the Catholic Emancipation Bill was signed. The fourth stanza makes ruder reference (Pi – Ass) to Pope Pius IX whose ‘aggression’ it was that had elevated Wiseman. The versicle and response to this stanza make reference to The Reverend John Cumming, a popular minister of the National Scottish Church in Covent Garden. He lectured against Cardinal Wiseman and published a number of pamphlets about what he termed ‘Romish error’.⁴⁶⁶ The ‘burnings at Smithfield’, ‘warm drinks in the shape of boiled oil’ and ‘molten lead’ hark back to the inquisition times in England from when there appears to still have been a popular memory of the execution of ‘heretics’ by fire.⁴⁶⁷

This is a sophisticated patter that demonstrates familiarity with the ways of the church and some knowledge of key church figures who were thought to be bringing a stronger form of Roman Catholicism to Britain. The patterer is quite clearly uncritical of his patter. Whilst it demonstrates familiarity with the issues it does not necessarily demonstrate agreement. If the patterer is to be paid by passers-by, his patter needs to be popular with them. Mayhew himself helps his readers to recognise this by recording the words of an Irish patterer in conversation:

One quick-witted Irish-man, whom I knew to be a Roman Catholic, was ‘working’ a ‘patter against the Pope,’ (not the one I have given), and on my speaking to him on the subject, and saying that I supposed he did it for a living, he replied: ‘That’s it then, sir. You’re right, sir, yes. I work it just as a Catholic lawyer would plead against a Catholic paper for a libel on Protestants.’⁴⁶⁸

It is clear that the patterer’s words demonstrate some knowledge on the streets of the subject about which they spoke but, as the Irishman illustrates, they did not necessarily consent with them. This was after all a job of work to earn a living.

6.2.2 Opinions on Church Attendance

Mayhew’s work shows quite clearly the broken relation of many of London’s street people to the establishment and the established church. It also shows a strong negative disposition to anything that looked ‘Popish’ in the Established Church.

At one point in Volume 1 Mayhew takes this head on:

A few women street-sellers, however, do attend the Sunday service of the Church of England. One lace-seller told me that she did so because it obliged Mrs. -- , who was the

⁴⁶⁶ e.g. John Cumming, *The Romish Church a Dumb Church* (London: Arthur Hall, 1853), and John Cumming, *Ritualism, the Highway to Rome* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1867).

⁴⁶⁷ e.g. Spurgeon used this memory in a sermon: C.H Spurgeon, *Sermon delivered on Sunday Morning, July the 21st, 1861 At the Metropolitan Tabernacle, Newington*, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/spurgeon/sermons07.xv.html> (5th November 2007).

The last person to be burnt at Smithfield was Bartholomew Legate on 18th March 1612; see David R. Como, ‘Legate, Bartholomew (d. 1612)’, *ODNB*.

⁴⁶⁸ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.238.

best friend and customer she had, and who always looked from her pew in the gallery to see who were on the poor seats. A few others, perhaps about an equal number, attend dissenting places of worship of the various denominations -- the Methodist chapels comprising more than a half. If I may venture upon a calculation founded on the result of my inquiries, and on the information of others who felt an interest in the matter, I should say that about five female street-sellers attended Protestant places of worship, in the ratio of a hundred attending the Roman Catholic chapels.⁴⁶⁹

This needs to be further set in context by his gloss on the women street-sellers:

The localities in which the female street-sellers reside are those (generally) which I have often had occasion to specify as the abodes of the poor.⁴⁷⁰

These people whose high level of church attendance he comments on he clearly counts as amongst the very poorest.

Mayhew's perception would appear to be that the poor of the early 1850s did not really frequent the Church of England. He puts the figure at less than five percent attending protestant places of worship of which only a half go to the Church of England. By far the larger part of the poor he has researched attend Roman Catholic Churches.⁴⁷¹ It is further illuminating that his calculation is based on the women's attendance. One must assume that men's attendance was far less significant. In this short passage he also tells the tale of one of the women who does attend the Church of England to illustrate the sort of reasons he believes any poor person might do such a thing. The woman is a lace seller and her reason for attending a Church of England place of worship appears to be that it is good for business. It is her view that people who wear lace, worship in the Church of England and are more likely to buy from her if she is seen to go too. It is also worth noting here that the dissenting places of worship attract only as many of the street people to their worship combined as does the Church of England in Mayhew's estimate. Their brand of challenge to the establishment seemed to carry little resonance for the poorest.⁴⁷²

The huge proportion of Roman Catholic church attendance has to be seen in the light of Irish immigration. Mayhew observes:

At the time of the famine in Ireland, it is calculated, that the number of Irish obtaining a living in the London streets must have been at least doubled.⁴⁷³

The famine in Ireland spanned the years 1845-1849 and was still a reason of mass emigration into 1851. Much of Mayhew's work with the street sellers includes notes on their Irishness. Of the costermongers for instance:

⁴⁶⁹ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.461f.

⁴⁷⁰ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.462.

⁴⁷¹ This pattern is born out by McLeod, although Mayhew's percentages are rather more exaggerated though nevertheless indicative of the impression. See McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974) p.323.

⁴⁷² Mayhew does not distinguish between forms of Methodism. He probably uses the word chapel of every church that was not Church of England.

⁴⁷³ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.6.

The costermongering class or order has also its many varieties. These appear to be in the following proportions: -- One-half of the entire class are costermongers proper, that is to say, the calling with them is hereditary, and perhaps has been so for many generations; while the other half is composed of three-eighths Irish, and one-eighth mechanics, tradesmen, and Jews.⁴⁷⁴

He develops further the influence of the forty percent or so of the costermonger population's Irish heritage and the impact of their Catholicism:

But I'm satisfied that if the costers had to profess themselves of some religion tomorrow, they would all become Roman Catholics, every one of them. This is the reason: -- London costers live very often in the same courts and streets as the poor Irish, and if the Irish are sick, be sure there comes to them the priest, the Sisters of Charity -- they are good women -- and some other ladies. Many a man that's not a Catholic, has rotted and died without any good person near him.⁴⁷⁵

These observations highlight the question of who the churches and clergy were identifying with. It was self-evident to people that there were clergy who both associated with and cared for the poor and there were those who did not. In early 1850s London it was also apparent that it was Roman Catholic clergy and sisters who were with the poor and the rest were not. The Irish immigration had particularly served to highlight this in the mind of Henry Mayhew.

6.2.3 Opinion on Establishment

In his section on Patterers, Mayhew makes clear where his subjects stand in relation to the establishment:

They hate the aristocracy. Whenever there is a rumour or an announcement of an addition to the Royal Family, and the news reaches the padding-ken, the kitchen, for half-an-hour, becomes the scene of uproar -- 'another expense coming on the b -- y country!'⁴⁷⁶

The 'padding-kens' were cheap daily rented spaces where people might spend the night sleeping in overcrowded rooms and sharing just a little communal space.⁴⁷⁷ The Patterers, who it would appear characteristically lived in such places, had an occupation that might be described as street entertainer cum political commentator. It may not be surprising they might take such a stance against the aristocracy as that recounted by Mayhew.

This was not universally applied across all the nobility figures of the day. Mayhew reports that they took a very different line on the Earl of Carlisle:

The 'patterers' are very fond of the Earl of Carlisle, whom, in their attachment, they still call Lord Morpeth; they have read many of his lordship's speeches at soirées, &c., and they think he wishes well to a poor man.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁴ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.7.

⁴⁷⁵ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.20.

⁴⁷⁶ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.250.

⁴⁷⁷ Reynolds makes the link with Mayhew's observation that this would have been typical of the area around St. Alban's, Holborn: Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 72.

⁴⁷⁸ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.250.

The judgement appears to be based on whose side the statesperson is on. There are those who do not care about the plight of the poor and there are those that do. The patterers were able to distinguish between these and, no doubt, would have influenced many who listened to their oratory.

Establishment figures need not have deliberately set out to injure the poor but could easily have found themselves set against the patterer by pure bad luck. One of Mayhew's more amusing asides records the distain the patterers held for Sir James Graham (a Whig parliamentarian) because of the way the fourpenny piece had reduced the value of the small change they would be thrown. Something for which he appears to have received personal blame:

Sir James Graham had better not show face among them; they have an idea (whence derived we know not) that this noble- man invented fourpenny-pieces, and now, they say, the swells give a "joey" where they used to give a "tanner."⁴⁷⁹

The 'joey' was a common word for the fourpence; a 'tanner' was worth sixpence.

Mayhew also manages to elicit the views of his patterer subjects on the church. The distinction between those who represented the establishment and those who seemed to be its victims is quite clear:

The name of a bishop is but another name for a Beelzebub; but they are very fond of the inferior clergy. Lay-agents and tract-distributors they cannot bear; they think they are spies come to see how much "scran" they have got, and then go and "pyson" the minds of the public against poor people.⁴⁸⁰

'Scran' means food and 'pyson' means poison. Bishops and lay missionaries are objects of suspicion. Ordinary local clergy are viewed in a much more friendly light. The tract distributors are not to be confused with the Tractarians. These would have more likely been those who handed out printed evangelistic and moralizing material on the streets.

Mayhew was able to spot that some of those he interviewed were consciously subversive. On the surface they played a game of naïve compliance but in reality there was much more to them. In an interview with another of the more erudite poor, a street book seller, we read:

The old fellow used to laugh and say his stall was quite a godly stall, and he was not often without a copy or two of the 'Anti-Jacobin Review,' which was all for Church and State and all that, though he had 'Tom Paine' in a drawer.⁴⁸¹

The reference to Tom Paine demonstrates an appreciation of revolutionary politics and resentment of the condition of the English as subjects. The notion of a 'godly stall' apparently had no space for such. The *Rights of Man* were here regarded in opposition

⁴⁷⁹ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.250.

⁴⁸⁰ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.250.

⁴⁸¹ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.295.

to church and state. In middle class Victorian Britain you were not likely to be thought godly if you read Tom Paine. That Tom Paine was kept in the drawer and the surface of the stall looked godly is resonant too with the lace seller who needed to be seen in church.

6.2.4 Views about the Established Church

At the end of a section of interviews with some of the most well read poor Mayhew quotes at length the writing of one. He does not give us this person's name but gives his reason for quoting their written comments at length:

I have given the comments in the writer's own language, because I was anxious that the public should know the opinions of the best informed of the street-people themselves on this subject

He sees real wisdom and value in the observations of those he has reached out to interview and takes care not to adulterate the words they use.⁴⁸² Our anonymous commentator's interest extends to two things, both establishment impositions in poor districts: the building of new churches and the building of new lodging houses. This work comes from the pen of an individual who clearly had a wide-ranging grasp on what was happening and real political insight. This is also somebody who could see clearly the depravity that surrounded him. There is no argument to leave things as they are here but there is real awareness in the futility of the impositions. I will quote those paragraphs that deal with the church extensively. Here we have a prophetic commentary from a poor man's perspective that serves to offer good evidence for the primary question posed in this work about the Slum Priest Ritualists' success among the poor.

The object of erecting churches in poor neighbourhoods is to benefit the poor; why is it, then, that the instruction communicated should exercise so little influence upon the vicious, the destitute, and the outcast? Is it that Christian ordinances are less adapted to them than to others? Or, rather, is it not that the public institutions of the clergy are not made interesting to the wretched community in question? The great hindrance (in my opinion) to the progress of religion among the unsettled classes is, that having been occasionally to church or chapel, and heard nothing but doctrinal lectures or feverish mental effusions, they cannot see the application of these to every-day trade and practice; and so they arrive at the conclusion, that they can get as much or more good at home. Our preachers seem to be afraid of ascertaining the sentiments, feelings, and habits of the more wretched part of the population; and, without this, their words will die away upon the wind, and no practical echo answer their addresses.⁴⁸³

This wise man of the streets who speaks these words is at one with Henry Mayhew himself. It is only in true identification with the 'wretched' that the church can begin to bring about the change that is needed. Whilst the church continues to decree from on

⁴⁸² This ability of Mayhew to represent authentically the mind of the poor is commended by Gareth Stedman Jones who describes Mayhew as 'ahead of his time and class in so many respects'. Stedman Jones, 'Working-Class Culture', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), pp. 463. See too text referred to by footnote 395.

⁴⁸³ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.316.

high it will get nowhere. It is not that the poor are not adapted to the church but that the church is not adapted to the poor.

Mayhew's correspondent goes on to tell of a conversation with some of Bethnal Green's poorest in a pub, the *Cat & Bagpipes*. He describes the group as miserably clad, some without a shirt. He and they had been to a heavily promoted service at which the Bishop of Hereford preached on the occasion of ten new churches being opened. The Bishop, Dr Hampden, was under some fire in the press at the time for his liberal theology.⁴⁸⁴ Mayhew's correspondent questions his associates on whether they thought their preacher sound or not and comments:

They did not even understand the meaning of these words. All they did understand was, that 'a top-sawyer parson at Oxford, called Dr. Pussy,' had "made himself disagreeable," and that some of the bishops and nobility had "jined him;" that these had persecuted Dr. Hampden, because he was 'more cleverer' than themselves; and that Lord John Russell, who, generally speaking, was "a regular muff," had "acted like a man" in this instance, and "he ought to be commended for it".⁴⁸⁵

In this matter Dr Pusey is seen as an establishment figure among other bishops and nobility ('jined' means joined). It is the Bishop of Hereford who is counted as one of the excluded. The prime minister (not a man normally thought of highly in the *Cat & Bagpipes*) is congratulated for standing with Dr Hampden against these other powerful forces. This is an interesting social comment in itself demonstrating the propensity of the poor to side with others perceived as victims of the establishment irrespective of the issues at stake. Mayhew continues with the words of one of the friends in the pub:

'it's just a picture of ourselves.'⁴⁸⁶

The drinking mates clearly recognized a likeness between themselves and others who were harried by the establishment in completely different contexts. Mayhew's correspondent further interprets this:

It was a case of oppression; and whether the oppressors belonged to Oxford University or to Scotland-yard militated nothing against the aphorism: 'it's just a picture of ourselves!' "It seems to me that these poor creatures understood the circumstances better than they did the sermon."⁴⁸⁷

Now, whilst it was possible for particular churchmen to escape being tarred with the same brush as the establishment and nobility, it is clear that the poor took sides on

⁴⁸⁴ Hampden (Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford) was appointed Bishop of Hereford by Lord John Russell in 1847. Hampden considered that Bible, creeds and formularies of the church should all be exposed to scientific, literary and historical criticism. Both his appointment to the Regius Professorship and as a Bishop were strongly opposed by more conservative priests and theologians including the Tractarians. By 1847 Newman had already become a Roman Catholic and this second of the storms around Hampden was not as great as the first. Both the Archbishops of Canterbury and York had visited the Prime Minister to object to Hampden's appointment to Oxford but on this second occasion the Archbishop of York defended his orthodoxy. See, Richard Brent, 'Hampden, Renn Dickson (1793–1868)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁸⁵ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.316.

⁴⁸⁶ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.316.

⁴⁸⁷ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.316.

behalf of society's victims: 'It's just a picture of ourselves'. Further, it is instructive to see where general perceptions of the church lay. The church is overwhelmingly seen as belonging to a world apart from the poor. This was sometimes termed 'respectable'. McLeod says of 'respectability':

Behind all of this there was a feeling that manual work, however skilled or highly paid, was not really respectable ... In a society acutely aware of the more minute, as well as the all too blatant, distinctions of status, the most struggling member of the lower middle class was aware of being different from anyone who worked with his hands.⁴⁸⁸

It seems that this was a two sided coin. The respectable were suspicious of the working classes; members of the working classes did not necessarily want to associate with the 'respectable' either. Mayhew's commentary on the Costermongers' (barrow traders) perceptions of church demonstrates this clearly:

They see people come out of church and chapel, and as they're mostly well dressed, and there's very few of their own sort among the church-goers, the costers somehow mix up being religious with being respectable, and so they have a queer sort of feeling about it.⁴⁸⁹

Church culture, of most denominations, is an alien one to most costermongers. Mayhew considers that the Roman Catholic Church is perhaps differently placed. We have already noted his assessment of this church's strength in proportions of poor women who attended.⁴⁹⁰ The Roman Catholic Church was itself substantially only in marginal relation to the British Establishment. Indeed whilst Mayhew was writing it was embattled under the *Titles Bill*. Even into the late Victorian period, Roman Catholics were excluded from many public, academic and social establishments. That the poor were most likely to be found in this church of the excluded suggests that the relation of the church to powers and authorities affects its missionary interface with the poor. Mayhew helps expose how hard it is for a church of the establishment to be a church of the excluded too. The Church of England, as it was before the notoriety of the Ritual Trials, was largely on the opposite side of establishment, power and respectability to the poor working class.

⁴⁸⁸ McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.13.

⁴⁸⁹ Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, volume 1, p.22.

⁴⁹⁰ He reckoned that about ninety-five percent of the poor women who went to any church went to a Roman Catholic Church. See footnote 471.

Chapter 7 The Ritualists in Relation to the Poor

7.1 *Lessons learnt from Booth and Mayhew*

Mayhew's interviews with the London poor gives substantial material to assess the spiritual condition of the street people in the capital through the eyes of one who understood spirituality substantially in terms of relation to an established church. Mayhew's eyes were opened through his research. The obstacle to religious observance described to Mayhew by the poor was the very fact that the establishment had appropriated spirituality: the established church was 'theirs', it belonged to the 'respectable'. The established church was never going to be able to cater for the poor on its normal terms. Nor indeed could any other middle-class church. Somehow a change in relation of the church towards the poor was needed. To the poor the church would need to become 'ours'. The Ritualists found themselves in difficulty with their church during the years between Mayhew and Booth. Our survey of Mayhew predates their advent but serves as a good description of the context into which they came. Through their trials they were put in the same relation to power and authority as the poor themselves. Their churches became natural places where a Jesus who fell foul of established authority could authentically be preached and met.

There appears to be some relation between Victorian notions of respectability and the anthropological category of 'purity'⁴⁹¹ manifested in Judaism as 'clean'. The Ritualists would appear to have lost their 'respectability' and to have associated with the 'not-respectable'. We have previously discerned a parallel with the Gospel which we can further explore. Norman Perrin writes:

Jesus welcomed ... outcasts into table fellowship with himself in the name of the kingdom of God, in the name of the Jews' ultimate hope, and so both prostituted that hope and shattered the closed ranks of the community against their enemy. It is hard to imagine anything more offensive to Jewish sensibilities.⁴⁹²

It is of interest to the liturgist that worship was the cause of setting these urban clergy in a Christ-like relation with the poor and with the powerful. As we ask how liturgy might bring the people of God into the presence of God it may be to these lessons of marginalization that we must turn.

⁴⁹¹ See the short extract of Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, in Bradshaw and Melloh (eds.), *Foundations*, pp.43-56.

⁴⁹² Norman Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p.103.

7.2 **Acknowledging the role of the populace**

We have set out above⁴⁹³ three common interpretations of the Slum Priest Ritualist myth of missionary success:

- That they made heaven's riches plain through their worship in a drab world.
- That they were characters larger than life, bearing a social and faith formation the likes of which had never been encountered by their parishioners before.
- That they were God's social workers improving the lot of the poor.

Whilst these are all illuminating they are all to some degree incomplete, even in compound with one another. This is primarily because they all fundamentally look at the narrative in a top down way. The slum priests were also formed by the communities they became a part of and this action upon them from street level must also be read as a part of the story. We have developed above a fourth interpretation:

- They bore an 'Incarnational Character'.

7.2.1 **Nothing else quite like it in the Church of England**

Although the three popular interpretations above undoubtedly give partial explanation, none takes seriously the aspirations and movements amongst the poor themselves. It is not adequate to treat the people of slum districts so simply as to suggest that they respond to bright colours, or big personalities or to those who do good to them. Just because people are poor it does not mean that they have no mature critical faculties. The history we have discussed so far demonstrates this.

Further to this, the Ritualists created churches in which people found real spiritual experience. They never just filled their churches with the bored and the loyal. The following extract from a letter by Fr Maturin to Fr Dolling, Vicar of St Agatha's, Portsmouth, offers a typical description:

.... the extraordinary simplicity and reality of the people's worship. I do not think I have ever seen anything quite like it in the Church of England, though I have had a rather exceptionally wide experience of different parishes in England and America. The stiffness and formalism which haunts us and hampers us everywhere, was not known at S.Agatha's. You somehow succeeded in laying that ghost, and in teaching the people that the church is their home..... I shall never forget that devout congregation kneeling in perfect stillness in the dark church, having apparently learnt that lesson so hard to teach, especially to those who cannot read, how to pour out their souls to God....⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ Section 2.3 on page 49.

⁴⁹⁴ Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum*, p.201f.

Amongst those affected by this Ritualist ministry something of significance was happening, something that was in tune with the Christian Gospel provoking responses of faith and something that was in harmony with the issues of the poorer classes themselves. Owen Chadwick, in his history of the Victorian church, observes:

The Labourer disregarded the church not because he disbelieved beforehand the doctrine which might be taught there. The literature of the working man was violently anticlerical, antichurch, antimethodist, antichapel. It rollicked in abuse of the establishment. But it was not usually heathen..... The Chartist leader Lovett, asked for his religion when he was admitted to prison, said that he was 'of that religion which Christ taught, and which very few in authority practise'.⁴⁹⁵

It is not surprising, therefore, that when priests living amongst the urban poor are found challenging the establishment, then the spirit of poor people, also oppressed by establishment, might begin to resonate with them. Indeed the more a priest took risks by challenging the establishment the more visible might be his association with others who felt oppressed.

7.2.2 Popularity in challenging the establishment

George Anthony Denison was Archdeacon of Taunton and in 1852 when examining candidates for ordination he insisted they confess that the inward reality of the sacrament was received by all, wicked or faithful.⁴⁹⁶ This was a challenge to the evangelical doctrine of reception and was inspired by Oxford Movement theology. He was eventually taken to court over this and won on the procedural grounds that legal action had taken too long.⁴⁹⁷ It is interesting to note the popular wave that followed his defeat of the establishment despite it having been fought over an issue not high on the popular agenda:

Over the years Denison as stalwart Martyr achieved a popularity which he was far from possessing at the start of the suit. In the Bath court even the tradesmen clapped him, and when he returned from the judicial committee every man, woman and child in the parish met him and drew his carriage a mile and a half to church and home.⁴⁹⁸

This does not read as a middle class wave of support but one that is born itself out of being on the wrong side of the establishment and wanting to celebrate a victory.

In Appendix 3 are figures for the growth of the English Church Union (ECU) from its foundation in 1859 until the end of the Ritual Trials in 1893 drawn from the ECU's published minutes. Figure 9 and Figure 10 on page 248 show the membership, District

⁴⁹⁵ Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, Part 1, p.333.

See too footnote 372 on page 89.

⁴⁹⁶ See Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, Part 1, p.491ff.

⁴⁹⁷ Note that this trial was about doctrine and not ritual.

⁴⁹⁸ Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, Part 1, p. 495, quoting Denison's Notes on my life.

and Branch numbers graphically. Although this body became worldwide⁴⁹⁹ the figures provided are only those for England. Figure 10 (District and Branch numbers) demonstrates a steady increase over the period. The membership numbers are far more interesting.

There are four clear periods of steep growth in membership of the ECU.⁵⁰⁰ The first correlates with the Mackonochie and Purchas trials between 1868 and 1871. The second was noticed at the time by the ECU Secretary and is put down to the Tooth case of 1876-1877. The graph suggests that the rapid growth began before then and it may be noted that it also correlates with the Parish Worship Regulation Act promulgation in 1874. The third steep part of the graph correlates with the Enraght case of 1879-1881. The fourth and largest steep growth in membership was again noticed by the Secretary at the time and put down to the case of the Bishop of Lincoln.

These graphs along with the contemporary commentary provide strong evidence of the trials bringing a wave of public support. The ECU Secretary particularly noted the boost in membership from members of the Freemason's Tavern during the trial of Arthur Tooth. The tone of the discussion recorded suggests that the concerns were fairly church centric and anti-Erastian⁵⁰¹ but it nevertheless demonstrates popular support being galvanized by the trials. This helps us understand something of the nature of 'Incarnational Character'.

7.2.3 Riots

One of the anomalies running counter to this are the riots against Ritualistic practices in east London at the start of Lowder and Mackonochie's ministries. They were curates to the Rector of St George's-in-the-East, Bryan King. This was a church in London's poor dock-land whose parish included over 30,000 souls. He had introduced some simple reforms to the worship much as was happening up and down the country.⁵⁰² These included the wearing of surplices, taking collections and intoning the liturgy. The then Bishop of London was Charles Blomfield who had resolved to hold the tide of ornaments in worship back. Arguments ensued which are well documented and which continued to be pressed by King's adversary, Allen, into the episcopacy of Blomfield's

⁴⁹⁹ In 1874 the Church Unions of Scotland, Bombay, and Calcutta, were in union with the ECU. G. Bayfield Roberts, *The History of the English Church Union 1859-1894* (London: Church Printing, 1895), 1874.

⁵⁰⁰ Note that the dip in 1872 is probably due to improved counting procedures. See footnote 1045 on page 248.

⁵⁰¹ See Bayfield Roberts, *History of the ECU, 1876-7*.

⁵⁰² Paz provides strong evidence for the spread of Ritualism across the country and suggests that the focus of attention on events such as this in London serve to obscure that fact. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, .134.

successor, Tait. As attention focussed on this church and as the riots developed each Sunday, a resolution became more urgent. Chadwick takes the story up:

In November 1859, after Tait offered clumsily to arbitrate and King yielded the vestments and the time of the service, it was suddenly seen that neither could King end the riot by yielding nor Allen by withdrawing. St George's had become a Sunday afternoon fairground like Cremorne Gardens, a Sunday trip like Hampton Court. Fifty uniformed policemen appeared in church for six weeks of November and December. They were withdrawn on 1 January 1860, partly because the home office and police thought that they were protecting sin, partly because the police authorities alleged that their routine work elsewhere was suffering, and partly because no squad of truncheons can establish reverence. When they were withdrawn the rioters behaved worse than before.... The riots of St George's-in-the-East raised Anglo-Catholic ceremonial into a flag..... restraint was now associated with cowardice and lack of principle. The riots ensured that in the long run, unless Parliament devised some form of high commission to maintain discipline, chasubles and incense and roods and tabernacles would establish themselves more widely in the Church of England...⁵⁰³

So Chadwick suggests that it was these riots that raised the flag on the Ritual Controversies. This was where the battle lines were most clearly drawn and it was here that there was no going back for the Ritualists (Chadwick's word is 'restraint'). When eventually Archibald Tait encouraged the Ritualists to take a couple of steps back there was no end to the riots. The moderation in worship should have ended the accusations of Popery. The riots' continuance suggested that ritual practices were not the source of agitation and they may in the long run have done much to strengthen the Ritualists' popular support. We find the poor most likely to be on the side of the Ritualists as the lines became defined in the events that followed. Charles Lowder himself could see gain to his cause in the riots:

It proved a good test to the sincerity of our people; threw us back upon the soundness of our own principles; and tended to consolidate and establish our work.... Many were brought to church through the unhappy notoriety which we had gained; and some who came to scoff remained to worship.⁵⁰⁴

Other contributory factors are now recognised in relation to these riots than those Chadwick observed. The area immediately around St George's depended heavily on ale houses and brothels. The new mission came as a threat to these. The impact of drink, brothel owners and Jewish sweat shop owners were all blamed at the time. Lowder's modern biographer, L.E. Ellsworth, prefers Bryan King's belief that the brothel owners inspired the riots to maintain their businesses amongst the docks and sailors.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, Part 1, p.500-501.

⁵⁰⁴ Lowder, *Twenty one years*, p.141.

⁵⁰⁵ See Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder*, p.50. Of the riots she quotes M. Reynolds 'It's all a question of beer, sir, and what else they can get. We know them. They're blackguards, like ourselves here. Religion ain't anything more to them than it is to us. They gets paid for what they do, - and they does it, like they'd do any job.' She observes that J.M. Ludlow, the Christian Socialist, thought that the riots 'were largely stimulated by the Jewish sweaters of the East End, whose proceedings Mr Bryan King's curates, Messrs Mackonochie and Lowder had the unheard of impertinence to interfere with.' Also, Ellsworth observes, 'King (who was probably closer to the mark) placed most of the blame on the brothel owners and pub-keepers whose trade suffered from whatever religious revival he and his curates effected (King, *Sacrilege and its encouragement* page 7)'.⁵⁰⁵

Bryan King's successor, Ross, was later to put the opposition down to dissenters and wrote of the church formed by their opposition to King:

This is, as I have found shortly after my appointment, one of the worst parishes in England, and the people are most base, ungrateful, impracticable, and irreclaimable. I am sorry I can give you no better an account of your former flock, who seem to oppose all ecclesiastical authority.⁵⁰⁶

7.2.4 Fear of riots

The trouble the Ritualists courted with the Church's establishment deepened as they discovered value in more dramatic and elaborate practices. In 1866 the prosecutions led by the Church Association against Alexander Mackonochie started and the beginnings of mass sympathy with him followed. In the early stages of his prosecutions Mackonochie kept pushing his actions to the limits of what the courts allowed: when altar lights were banned during the celebration of Holy Communion he kept them lit for most of the service just blowing them out at the Prayer of Consecration;⁵⁰⁷ on a ban against genuflexion or prostration he bent low enough to allow his garments to scrape the floor but kept his knee clear of it (barring 'accidentally' touching the ground);⁵⁰⁸ over kneeling he bowed his torso horizontal whilst remaining on his feet;⁵⁰⁹ over elevation of the host he ensured his arms never went above his shoulders but stretched what was possible to the limit.⁵¹⁰ There is a strong sense in the accounts of those services where the limits of lawfulness were being tested that the congregation was backing him all the way and urging him on.⁵¹¹ By

⁵⁰⁶ Crouch, *Bryan King*, p.123.

⁵⁰⁷ *The Telegraph* commented on the case in verse:

*'I never knelt – I only bent,
And brushed the ground by accident;
I held the sacred wine and bread
Just level with – not o'er my head;
And lighted candles only flamed
Before and after time you named.'*
Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 162.

⁵⁰⁸ In a written affidavit Mackonochie said, 'I admit that it is my practice ... reverently to bend one knee at certain parts of the said prayer, and occasionally in so doing my knee momentarily touches the ground, but such touching of the ground is no part of the act of reverence intended by me.' Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 161.

⁵⁰⁹ In Mackonochie's submission to the Privy Council he argued that kneeling meant a posture of rest upon the knees, whereas in standing and bowing, the body was supported by the feet. Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 161.

⁵¹⁰ After the Privy Council hearing the Lord Chancellor said about Mackonochie's elevation of the paten: 'the offence as pleaded in the articles was 'above the head', and their Lordships were bound by the pleadings'. That is to say that there had been a literal compliance if not a compliance with the monition in spirit. *The Times* leader responding to the case compared Mackonochie's literal compliance with 'the amusingly ostentatious way in which children, when they dislike a command, show their resentment by observing the very letter of it, and no more.' See: Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 162.

⁵¹¹ This can be read most clearly in the *Daily News* account of a parish meeting in the Baldwin Gardens School attached to St Alban's, Holborn, during the course of Mackonochie's trials. Nine times the proceedings were broken by '(Cheers)' and '(Loud Cheers)'. *Daily News* (London) Wednesday December 16, 1874.

On Epiphany 1867, in response to his Bishop's request, Mackonochie made some liturgical changes at St Alban's but announced to the congregation, 'Personally I believe that they [incense and elevation] are

1873 (after Mackonochie's first of three trials) the religious affairs writer, C.M. Davies, reported Mackonochie's Curate, Arthur Stanton, as saying,

The only two points in which we have made concessions are, that we do not light the candles or burn incense during celebration. All else is as before.⁵¹²

His visit to the church had been on a dreadful winter's day and he clearly had not expected to find many there. Nevertheless the beauty of the occasion had impressed him deeply against his expectations and of the congregation he writes:

There were grizzled men and young women in plenty. The women were in excess that snowy morning, it is true; but the congregation was more evenly balanced than in most London churches, and the poor were decidedly in the ascendant....⁵¹³

After a protest against the *Public Worship Regulation Act*, all of the clergy at St Alban's, Holborn, were prevented by the Bishop of London from officiating at any church in London for three weeks. The church sent a deputation to the Archbishop of Canterbury which Reynolds tell us ended by their saying:

This is a working man's question; and when the working classes of this country become aware of the way in which their heritage in Church matters is being attacked, they will rise up, and the Church of England, as an established Church will fall. The working men of themselves could cause the whole fabric to fall about your ears.⁵¹⁴

Although Mackonochie alone was in the sights of the Church Association in court during the 1860s he was not alone in the public eye. In London Diocese, Charles Lowder was courting controversy and the Bishops were under pressure from the likes of *The Times*. Its leader on Easter Monday 1869 was harsh in its criticism of both the bishops and of Lowder's Stations of the Cross which he had taken into the streets - a criticism to which no reply, though drafted, was ever published.

Mr Lowder has chosen to drag the most sacred of subjects through the streets, and to celebrate the most awful of events by an imitation of the vulgarist excesses of plebeian vanity..... Mr Lowder has the reputation of a most earnest and energetic clergyman, and is said to have won his way, against many prejudices, into the respect of a very rough population. It is easy to understand that their very excellencies betray such men in an East End parish into offences against good taste and judgement.

The tone of the article gives the modern reader the impression that the cross taken out of church was something obscene. The word used is 'vulgar'. The obscenity of the Jesus who carried it though the streets of Jerusalem is completely missed. The contrast between the Ritualistic urge to bring the Gospel to life and the establishment's concern to keep it tame and safe could not be more clearly illustrated.

legal, and your right. I must add that I cannot regard their relinquishment as more than temporary.' Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p.128.

⁵¹² Davies, 'Father Stanton at St Alban's 1873', in *Orthodox London*, reprinted in *RiVB* (III), p.273.

⁵¹³ Davies, 'Fr. Stanton', *RiVB* (III). p.273.

⁵¹⁴ Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, pp.190-1.

Reed observes that Ritualism was marginally more successful among poor men than other mission traditions (p.159). He describes the Church of England Working Men's Society as a Ritualist body that 'allowed its members to be menacing in a respectable sort of way'. Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.163.

A satirical cartoon from *Punch* magazine poking fun at the Bishop of Chichester's public pursuit of John Purchas was published in 1874.⁵¹⁵ By 1878 it is evident that establishment figures were themselves sensing danger that the masses were rallying behind the Ritualists and that the deeper their public remonstrations with them, the stronger the masses resolved to do support them. The likelihood of the earlier riots, which were felt to support the hierarchy, had turned to a likelihood that any rioting would be in support of the slum priests.

After Mackonochie's first two trials but before the *Public Worship Regulation Act 1874* was promulgated, Coombe and Clifton were both tried. Arthur Tooth was then imprisoned under the Act for contempt of court. Charles Lowder at St Peter's-in-the-Docks, soon found himself in the firing line. On 18th November 1878 John Jackson (Bishop of London) wrote to Tait (Archbishop of Canterbury) a letter marked private:

My Dear Archbishop, The prosecution of Mr Lowder is very awkward. If it proceeds there is much probability, as Harry Jones will tell you, of rioting and fighting, and a certainty (which I dread much) of a strong expression of sympathy with Mr Lowder if he goes to prison, which he will with the greatest of pleasure. I doubt whether the Public Worship Act (unamended) could ever be put in force again. On the other hand Lowder is so obstinate that he will not give way on a single point: at least I have not succeeded in persuading him.....⁵¹⁶

So if at first the riots were in opposition to the Ritualists' cause, ten years later the fear of rioting now played in the opposite direction. Establishment figures now needed to be careful of action they might make against the Ritualists for fear of alienating further the 'masses' and cementing their allegiance with the victims. The public discernment of oppressor and victim had been clarified. The Ritualistic priests were no longer on their own but retreat was no longer an option either. They may have set the direction for travel but they were also assisted by a tide of support from the poor they ministered to.

⁵¹⁵ Figure 5 on page 120.

⁵¹⁶ Ellsworth, *Charles Fuge Lowder*, p.158.

Reed also notes, 'Many who had demanded energetic action against Ritualists ... directly the Ritualists began to go to prison, demanded their release.' He sees the putting down of Ritualism as contributing to its popularity. Reed, *Glorious Battlei*, pp.243ff.

Figure 5
 'The Chichester Extinguisher'⁵¹⁷



THE CHICHESTER EXTINGUISHER.

BISHOP OF CHICHESTER. "GO! GO! YOU INSOLENT, REBELLIOUS BOY! WHAT WITH YOUR NONSENSE AND INCENSE AND CANDLES YOU'LL BE SETTING THE CHURCH ON FIRE!"
 MASTER PURCHAS. "JUST WHAT I'D LIKE TO DO, THERE!"

The satirical comment made by this cartoon illuminates the case being explored here. Richard Durnford, Bishop of Chichester (1870 – 1896), is seen to be berating Fr. John Purchas⁵¹⁸ with the Thirty Nine Articles as a symbol of the Book of Common Prayer rules governing the Church of England. Purchas had been responsible for writing *Directorum Anglicanum*,⁵¹⁹ a manual that drew together for the first time guidance on the Ritualists' practices.⁵²⁰ Many who were sympathetic to the Ritualists regarded his manual as excessive and unhelpful. The association of candles with ritualistic practices proved a useful satirical device for *Punch*. The cartoon makes the point that the more the establishment waved the law and used their power against the Ritualists, the more

⁵¹⁷ *Punch*, 18 July 1874. [*PCant*, <http://www.anglicanhistory.org/england/enraght/purchas.html>, 3 April 2008].

⁵¹⁸ See, G. C. Boase, 'Purchas, John (1823–1872)', rev. G. Martin Murphy, *ODNB*, also, Table 3 on page 46., also, Section 9.2.1 on page 169.

⁵¹⁹ John Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum: being a Manual of Directions for the right Celebration of the Holy Communion, for the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of the other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church*, (London, 1858). See also, Section 9.2.1.2 below on page 172.

⁵²⁰ This is explored in further detail in Part 4 below.

they fanned the flames of their popularity in the wider community. Indeed, the thirty-nine articles are themselves seen to be aflame – caught by the candles. Ritual drama is overcoming *Prayer Book* words. This picture of Purchas's cause being fanned by establishment opposition even after his death may shed more light on the Ritualists' missionary success amongst the urban poor than do the traditional appeals to the colour of their liturgical practices.

7.3 A contemporary analysis of the Ritualists

Horton Davies's comprehensive survey of worship and theology in England from 1500 to today⁵²¹ covers most expressions of the Christian Church that have prevailed here in those years. This includes chapters about the Church of England, the Oxford Movement⁵²² and Ritualism.⁵²³ He sheds some light on our contention that the offence the Ritualists caused was not fundamentally liturgical but was rather in the challenge they offered to established order. Liturgy was partly the means by which that challenge was transmitted but their relation to the poor was at the heart of it. This study has shown elsewhere, that in the more well-heeled parts of the country where there were ritualistic experiments,⁵²⁴ the church's hierarchy was far less anxious than it was over Ritualism in poor communities. It was where the marginalized were being encouraged into religious practices that were not thought of as mainstream, that there was the strongest reaction.⁵²⁵ So Davies writes,

Lowder barely escaped being thrown into the dock. What were his offences? Ostensibly, the use of Eucharistic vestments, the cross on the altar, the surpliced choir in the chancel, the turning eastward at the end of the sermon, and the chanting of Matins, Evensong and the Litany. In fact, however, it most probably was that self-denying spirituality which, in its

⁵²¹ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England* (5 volumes) (Princeton USA: Princeton University Press, 1961 - 1975).

⁵²² Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England III From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850* (Princeton USA: Princeton University Press, 1961), Chapter X.

⁵²³ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England IV From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), Chapter V.

⁵²⁴ Such as Knightsbridge. See page 52 above.

⁵²⁵ It is also true that Ritualism was far more prevalent in poor urban areas as this was where new churches with no history of worship in any one particular tradition were being built. These were places where clergy renewed by spiritual life of the Oxford movement were more likely to go than others were and places more open to innovation. One of the strongest nineteenth century arguments about this is from R.W. Enraght who was imprisoned after his trial in 1881. He wrote to his bishop about the experience on 13th April 1883. He begins his letter by pointing out the working class nature of the parish, its size and the terms of his appointment: 'At the commencement of my Prosecution a common idea seemed to prevail that the Parish of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, was pleasantly situated in the country, some miles removed from Birmingham. The fact being that Holy Trinity was taken in 1823 out of the very extensive parish of Aston, and became the mother church of "the ancient Hamlet of Bordesley," which now contains several other churches, and has for many years formed a very populous part of the town of Birmingham. The population of Holy Trinity is 12,500, or, with the populations of two other ecclesiastical Districts—S. Alban's; and All Saints', Small Heath—not yet completely separated from it, upwards of 33,000. The population are mostly of the artizan or working classes.....' R.W. Enraght, *My prosecution under the Public Worship Regulation Act: A statement laid before the Most Rev. The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1883).

search for the buried image of Divine Royalty in the most dirt-encrusted coins of a derelict humanity, infuriates the exploiters.⁵²⁶

In Davies's view, Lowder's innovations in worship and proclamation of the presence of God being wrought amongst the poor was what was most offensive.

7.3.1 Changing public opinion

Davies also spots that there was something about the Slum Priests being aligned with the poor that resonated with a broadly Christian public's sense of right and wrong more strongly than the ecclesiological fundamentalism [my words] of those opposed to them.

He writes:

.... a fair minded public was as revolted by the vindictiveness of the prosecutors as it was full of admiration for the courage of the Anglo-Catholic priests, most of whom were esteemed for their self-denying devotion to their parishioners in some of the foulest slums of the metropolis.⁵²⁷

He supports a description of them as men whose ministry amongst the poor was thought in their day to threaten established patterns of power and control. They emerged from the theological formation of the Oxford Movement with an anti-Erastian ecclesiology and developed a new symbolic vocabulary⁵²⁸ that was alien to the dominant church context. Yet at one and the same time their persecution won them friends amongst the not-so-powerful who might otherwise have been sceptical. Indeed, because of what was to be perceived popularly as genuine saintliness,⁵²⁹ the church had eventually to come to an accommodation with them.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward White Benson (Archbishop from 1883-1896), wrote after visiting the Anglo-Catholic Sisterhood of St Augustine at Kilburn:

The idea of 'putting down Ritualism' which a large number of these magnificent bodies are sedulously propagating with every advantage worldly and spiritual, with their own saintly lives first and foremost! 'Agree with thine adversary quickly' is rather the course that now seems practicable.⁵³⁰

It seems plain that the church's acceptance of the Ritualists was at first pragmatic and that the hierarchy followed public opinion rather than led it.

⁵²⁶ Davies, *Worship and Theology in England IV*, p.124.

⁵²⁷ Davies, *Worship and Theology in England IV*, p.115.

⁵²⁸ For symbolic literacy see page 166.

⁵²⁹ See also above footnote 7 and reference at footnote 516.

⁵³⁰ A.C. Benson, *Life of Edward White Benson*, Vol II (London: 1899), p.273.

7.4 Themes from the biographers

One of the main liturgical themes of the Ritualists' worship was their intention to mediate the immanence of Christ,⁵³¹ a further key to our term 'Incarnational Character'. Their biographers tell us that what they proclaimed in the worship they also sought to live out in their lives. The following pages explore several themes from autobiographies and biographies that describe their relation to the poor among whom they lived and that help interpret their approach to worship. These are key themes that it is possible to discern as common across a range of biographical sources.

7.4.1 Living among the poor

Robert Radcliff Dolling was Vicar of St Agatha, Landport, Portsmouth 1885 – 1896 and wrote two autobiographical works of his life in what he called 'a Portsmouth slum'. Joseph Clayton also wrote a memoir after Dolling had died, in 1902.⁵³² He paints a picture of a true charismatic figure whom he describes as an evangelical first and also a Catholic. That is to say that Dolling's initial spiritual formation was plainly evangelical. Clayton tells us that Dolling later ran an open house with his sisters and gave his life sacrificially to his priesthood. He seemed to have no possessions of his own and valued his transient residential community. He was not an academic nor a classic Ritualist but a missionary. He suggests:

The District of St Agatha's in 1885 with its six thousand people, its fifty public-houses and fifty brothels, its sailor population, its riotous licenses, its open disregard for the decencies of civilization, its shrill, its gaiety, its poverty, its thieves and prostitutes, its savagery and heathenism, might have discouraged a braver spirit than Robert Dolling.⁵³³

Dolling's openness to his community is carried through to his style of leadership too. The Ritualists are often characterized as domineering in style,⁵³⁴ and indeed some such as Fr Burn of Middlesborough appear to modern eyes to have been so,⁵³⁵ but in Dolling we find something different. Having built the new church of St Agatha's, Landport, he

⁵³¹ R.W. Enraght wrote: 'This truth, that we are to be renewed and restored to the image of God, not merely by the intercourse of our minds and spirits with God, or even merely by the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, but by the very infusion into our fallen humanity of the perfect humanity of Christ, to thereby cleanse ours, is one of the "great mysteries" of the Gospel, and one of the intended fruits of the Incarnation.' R.W. Enraght, *The Real Presence and Holy Scripture* (London: J.T. Hayes, 1872).

See also Chapter 9.

⁵³² Joseph Clayton, *Father Dolling A Memoir* (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co: London, 1902).

⁵³³ Clayton, *Father Dolling*, p.21f.

⁵³⁴ See footnote 222.

⁵³⁵ It is worth noting that the Victorian higher classes did tend to be paternalistic and that a veneer of deference (and in many instance real deference) was shown in the opposite direction. Burn is perhaps just a reflection of this. See footnote 154 on page 39 and footnote 223 on page 53.

Obelkevich says, 'Calculated paternalism from above evoked an increasingly calculated deference from below.' Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p.91.

regarded it still as unfinished and defended the slowness of time that further decoration would take by writing:

The hideous desire to get things finished is the secret of shoddy, ugly churches, which disfigure Christianity, and having to pay nothing for them is one of the greatest wrongs that can be done to a congregation.⁵³⁶

Dolling believed that the congregation needed to take ownership of their church building. This ownership meant they needed to contribute towards its design and ornamentation. The building needed to be theirs spiritually and materially.

Alexander Mackonochie's biographer, E.F. Russell, tells us that his house was so open to those in need and that Mackonochie himself needed to move out to a far less comfortable place across the road.⁵³⁷ Russell part blamed the damp conditions there for Mackonochie's poor health and ultimately his early death.

Undoubtedly those whose lives were voluntarily spent in these places earned some admiration from others in the church whose choices had been different. This was something that from time to time they used to their advantage. In pleading the case for his expression of worship to A.C. Tait, then Bishop of London, Charles Lowder leant on the discomfort of his living conditions. In his letter of 13th May 1867 he argued:

To put it even on a lower ground, the Church permits these ceremonies and outward expressions of devotion, and we find them a help to our own devotion and that of our people, is it too much to claim from your Lordship and the world in general, that we should be allowed the comfort of them in our work, which requires us to give up other comforts, and that which we willingly resign in our own homes we should enjoy in our churches?⁵³⁸

But such an approach to the hierarchy is rare. There is little evidence that these priests made the sacrifices they did for the sake of their esteem in other people's eyes. Their choices though, were made for the sake of their mission. Their residence in the poor communities that were their parishes gave them a relation to their neighbours that would never have been achieved had they simply commuted in.

7.4.2 Confession of sinfulness

Those who live in a community are also far more able to understand and challenge its ills. Whilst moralizing condemnation from the outside can seem high-handed and even prejudiced; those who speak from the inside are often thought to have the right to do so.

⁵³⁶ Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum*, p.231.

⁵³⁷ This was not an uncommon pattern as we have discussed before. See footnotes 165, 177 and 224.

⁵³⁸ Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder*, p.40.

The call to confession was, to the Ritualists, a vital response to the Gospel.⁵³⁹ In the evangelical tradition the sort of response to God that new converts were expected to make was far more disparate. For instance, the success of the (evangelical) Leeds Mission (1875) is calculated by the size of congregations, Bible Classes, Communicant Classes and the number of Confirmations over the year.⁵⁴⁰ The Ritualists' missions almost inevitably revolved around confession. One occasion, that made a significant impression on commentators, was the final service of the London Mission 1869 in St Alban the Martyr, Holborn. St Alban's historian described it:

At eight o'clock St Alban's Church was crowded, the whole of the centre part of the church being railed off for penitents, one side for men and one side for women.... The scene was very striking; the body of the building was a blaze of light, while the chancel was very nearly dark. Father O'Neill, addressing the penitents, said: "This is indeed a happy time; you are in the presence of God, and stand like wise virgins with their lamps trimmed". He said then very slowly and solemnly: "Do you here in the presence of God and of his congregation renew the solemn promise and vow that was made in your name at your Baptism?" To this there was the loud and startling response of "I do", and so ended the London Mission of 1869.⁵⁴¹

It is interesting that what might have become later known as an 'altar call' in the evangelical tradition is here described in confessional terms. Evangelicals criticized this in the emerging Catholic tradition because of its confessional nature.⁵⁴² The celebrant's reference to the wise virgins (*c.f. Matthew 25*) is at first a little surprising in a tough working class culture and a service that included men but it demonstrates the level of trust that had been achieved. It also gives an insight into the theology of those offering the rite: They were helping people make a fresh, new, unadulterated start to life. This was about turning away from the life they had hitherto known. Penitence was their description but surely their theology is not far from those who would talk about being 'born again'.

⁵³⁹ e.g. C.F. Lowder, *Sacramental Confession examined by pastoral experience: a letter to the Right Rev. and Right Hon. the Lord Bishop of London* (London: Rivingtons, 1874), also, Clayton, *Father Dolling*, p.4.

Enraght deals with this at some length in *who are true Churchmen*, arguing: 'The duty of Confession from the penitent to the Priest hath been commanded by the Church in the purest times of antiquity, and, however misused by the Church of Rome, hath been reformed, and not abolished, by this of England.' Enraght, *Who are true churchmen and who are conspirators?*

⁵⁴⁰ *The Leeds Mission* (The Yorkshire Post: Leeds, 1875), bound @ St Deiniol's - pressmark G10/13.

⁵⁴¹ G.W.E. Russell, *St Alban, The Martyr, Holborn, A History of Fifty Years* (London: G Allen: 1913) p.89. See also below, page 154.

⁵⁴² Reynolds observes that the confessional element of the mission 'limited the co-operation with other sections of the Church.' Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 159.

Chadwick points out that confession was not illegal in the Church of England and that the many 'protestants' who were disturbed by its practice were actually seeking to change the church. 'The difficulty was always to distinguish what was lawful from what was popularly supposed to be lawful'. Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, Part 2, p.356.

There was an account in *The Manchester Guardian* of the same service.⁵⁴³ It is instructive that in this account the term ‘penitents’ is used of candidates who appear essentially to have renewed their baptismal vows. It is also interesting that there is no account of water being used here though in baptism that is the primary symbol of new birth and being washed clean. There is a strong sense that such worship as this was an innovation. It was still a work in progress, yet to be fully thought through.

John Kent in his modern survey of Victorian Revivalism also draws some parallels between Evangelical and the emerging Anglo-Catholic practices:

Where Evangelicals had talked to the poor about the Spirit, Anglo-Catholics would bring them the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Where the Evangelical offered them a subjective kind of self-forgiveness for their sins, Anglo-Catholics should offer them the objectivized forgiveness of priestly absolution in the Confessional. Where the Evangelical talked only about sin in general, Anglo-Catholics should not hesitate to point to particular sins.⁵⁴⁴

For those who lived in the most deprived communities it was not just theologically consistent for them to point to particular sins but the direct approach of the Ritualists was much clearer to those they addressed. These Ritualists lived in places where they found a great gap in accepted morality between the standards they regarded as necessary for a Christian person and those that prevailed. Confession said corporately was not the whole picture. This was normally accompanied by private and personal confession. It was often by this means that the corporate confession was earthed and it was this that suggested an embracing of Romanism to their adversaries. Arthur Stanton answered critics of his personal approach to confession in the following terms during conversation with a journalist:

The basis of Ritualism, he said, was a belief that all human flesh was loveable and venerable, because CHRIST had worn the human form and therefore the most depraved ought to be looked on and looked after as saintly brethren in obstructed embryo. Confession, this politely but unflinchingly outspoken young priest did not apologise for, but championed as the only means by which a spiritual director could give individual guidance to his people: "mere preaching was like talking to a flock of sheep."⁵⁴⁵

There are two important aspects of his reply here: that he considered each enquirer as an individual and that he saw each as a saint in embryo. This contrasts with others who spoke of the urban poor as ‘depraved’ and regarded them as ‘the masses’. He demonstrates a radically different relation to the poor from that encountered more broadly in church and politics of the day. It is because of this that he wants to offer a personal ministry and not one just led from the pulpit.

⁵⁴³ According to John Kent, *Holding the Fort, Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London: Epworth Press, 1978), p.262f. The same article is to be found in four other regional newspapers. This is treated more extensively below at 8.3.3.

⁵⁴⁴ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.266 See too: Lowder, *Sacramental Confession* (1874).

⁵⁴⁵ *Father Stanton of St Alban's, Holborn*, Joseph Clayton (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co.: London 1913) quoting the *Good Works* journalist, Richard Rowe p. 27f.

Stanton's was not the only approach, however. Father Burn of Middlesborough tended to take a rather more didactic and sometimes high-handed approach. His enforcement of individual confession as a requirement for Confirmation caused some conflict:

In the Lent of 1893 he declined to present for Confirmation anyone who did not first make a Sacramental Confession and receive Absolution. This was regarded by some as very high-handed action, and led to some trouble. A certain number of parents withdrew their children, and some adults departed. But having once decided on this line of action, he maintained it to the end of his ministry. As people got to know his policy, trouble diminished.⁵⁴⁶

In this instance Burn makes the requirement of children. It is not clear whether the response of some families in the community would have been the same had it not been that their children were involved. A host of views about family secrets, the essential goodness of children and their vulnerability are brought into play that are less of an issue for adults but it does serve to highlight the trust such priests needed to achieve to win people over. It is reported that Burn won over many in Middlesborough eventually.

7.4.3 Taking suffering and death seriously

One of the architectural innovations of Robert Dolling in his Portsmouth church was the establishment of what he called a 'Third Altar'.⁵⁴⁷ This was essentially a requiem chapel (third to the High Altar and the Lady Chapel). It was regarded as unnecessary to his adversaries but for Dolling it was a place where the dignity and humanity of the poor dead could be held before God. Behind the altar was a reredos depicting Christ's death on the cross. Alongside that on either side were great marble tablets on which the names of the departed could be recorded. This was a society where the rich's dead were commemorated on great marble edifices and in mausoleums in their cemeteries whilst the poor were buried in unmarked graves. Dolling's chapel and memorial made a powerful statement to rich and poor alike, but most especially the poor. It helped communicate the Gospel teaching about eternity having a place of importance for the marginalized. It was both a pastoral support for the grieving and a matter of justice. Amongst the things that his new bishop in 1891 (Anthony Wilson Thorold) wanted to see were these memorials, we are told.

Especially he was interested in our schools - he thought we had been very brave in gaining them - in our house, in which he hoped soon to stay; and, above all, in our temporary church, and the manner of our memorials, the lists of soldiers, sailors, emigrants, the confirmed, and the blessed dead; and this led to explaining to him how we used the Holy Communion as our best and most prevailing intercession.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ Fullerton, *Father Burn of Middlesborough*, p.95.

⁵⁴⁷ See Figure 6 on page 128.

⁵⁴⁸ Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum*, p.152.



Figure 6:
Robert Dolling's controversial Third Altar
at St Agatha's where the memory of the poor dead was treasured rather than discarded.

That the requiem chapel had an altar at which the Mass could be said was vital to Dolling's practice of prayer.

When London was in the grip of a cholera epidemic Charles Lowder and others put themselves at great risk in continuing to minister among the dead and to the grieving. When some were simply wanting to make hasty disposal of the dead, Lowder is credited with bringing comfort to the dying and ensuring that they were afforded a Christian funeral. In doing so he risked his own health. L.E. Ellsworth attributes the warmth with which he was subsequently held in Wapping substantially to this as much as to all the years beforehand.⁵⁴⁹ Slum Priest Ritualist approaches to suffering, dying and grieving brought to the poor much that the rich expected for themselves: memorials, pastoral care and dignity. Their lifestyle also subjected them to the same suffering and frailty to disease of their neighbours. This ministry was locally rooted and authentic in its sentiment. Prayers for the dead were perhaps an inevitable consequence of this approach and led to some controversy.⁵⁵⁰ These were amongst the

⁵⁴⁹ Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder*, p.85.

See also section 2.3.3 on page 56 above.

⁵⁵⁰ Enraght addresses the controversy by quoting Bishop Cosin [John Cosin (1595–1672) was Bishop of Durham immediately after the Restoration of Charles II to the monarchy and is often quoted as a source of liturgical practice in the Church of England at that time by the Ritualists] arguing: 'The body lies dead in the grave, and but by Christ's power and God's goodness shall never be raised up again (and the benefit is so great that sure it is worth the praying for; because then we may pray for what we ourselves, or our deceased brethren, as yet have not); therefore doth the Church pray for a perfect consummation and bliss both in soul and body to be given to our brother departed. We believe the Resurrection, and yet may pray for it, as we do for God's Kingdom to come', Enraght, *Who are true Churchmen?*

things that in 1889 the then Bishop of Guildford had asked Robert Dolling to refrain from.⁵⁵¹

7.4.4 In opposition to establishment

The treatment by the institutional church of these priests is a feature that characterizes all the biographies deeply. It is apparent that in their living amongst the poor they were regarded well. After all, they were taking seriously a responsibility that many in the church were glad to avoid. On the other hand, in their living with the poor they also found the value confirmed of such things as personal confession and prayers for the dead. These were confirmed by life amid squalor in a very direct way and formed an integral part of their missiology. Along with their other liturgical ‘flags’, primarily revolving around celebration of the Eucharist, they received the condemnation of their church hierarchy and adversaries.

Bebbington describes an Evangelical interest by the end of the nineteenth century as more Adventist – a focus on Christ the coming king. He says that Shaftesbury described this as something to ‘delight in’, ‘a moving principle in my life’. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p.84.

⁵⁵¹ Dolling, *Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum*, p.145f.
We will explore this further in Part 4.

Part 4

Liturgical and Ecclesiological Analysis



Figure 7:
Plate in *Directorium Anglicanum*⁵⁵² showing vestments.

In this section we consider some of the ecclesiological and the liturgical concerns of the Ritualists in relation to the myth and history already described. It is their liturgical innovation that is often declared to be the source of the Ritualists' missionary importance. That innovation will be explored alongside other Victorian expressions of urban mission in the historic and theological context we have set out.

⁵⁵² John Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum: being a Manual of Directions for the right Celebration of the Holy Communion, for the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and for the Performance of the other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church* (London: Joseph Masters, 1858).

Chapter 8 The Church of England’s Mission to the Urban Poor

The new mission to the Urban poor that the Church of England embarked on during the mid-Victorian period, and in which some Ritualists were central, raised a number of questions about the Church’s very identity. These were born out of the experience of planting new churches staffed with priests who were alive to spiritual renewal ignited by the Oxford Movement.⁵⁵³ We have shown that the questions emerged both out of the academic life of Oxford University and through those priests’ parish ministries. They went to the heart of the church’s ecclesiology – its self understanding and sense of order.

This Chapter will compare and contrast a Ritualist model of mission with those of the Revivalist Movement and of Evangelicalism within the Church of England. First, it is necessary to crystallize out of the previous chapters two missiological challenges and a number of ecclesiological challenges.

8.1 Two Missiological Challenges

8.1.1 Social Difference

It has been shown that by the time of Horace Mann's census data publication⁵⁵⁴ the churches clearly had reason to regard themselves as having lost touch with the new urban masses. Church interests were firmly with the political rulers and industrial managers. Dr Andrew Ure wrote in *The Philosophy of Manufacturers* (1835),

It is, therefore, exceedingly the interest of every mill-owner to organize his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical, for otherwise he will never command the steady hands, watchful eyes, and prompt cooperation, essential to excellence of product.... There is, in fact, no case to which the Gospel truth, ‘Godliness is great gain,’ is more applicable than to the administration of an extensive factory.⁵⁵⁵

E.P. Thompson argues that this betrays a view that knowledge of godliness was the prerogative of the managing class. Ure’s advice to managers is not that they review their own morals, but that they put in place in their factories the right moral guidance and restraint for their workers. Like the plant machinery, this was something that could be controlled.

⁵⁵³ See 2.2.1 on page 29.

⁵⁵⁴ 1853.

⁵⁵⁵ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.397, quoting Andrew Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835). Thompson characteristically critiques this publication at length seeing in it a fully worked out religious work ethic that benefited the owners in this life and promise to the workers in the next.

The new urban communities grew before there were churches to cater for them. Anglican parishes of 60,000 or 70,000 souls were not uncommon. The average size of a rural parish was 750.⁵⁵⁶

In 1850s London the church building programme was extensive. So too were other attempts to reach those that parish churches were not catering for. After a change in the law promoted by Lord Shaftesbury in 1855 alternative buildings were used for worship. In the summer of that year simple services of evening prayer filled Exeter Hall until the Anglican Vicar of the parish, feeling threatened, put a stop to it. Nonconformists were able to continue the series after this and Church of England initiatives moved into seven theatres. Lord Shaftesbury's biographer comments:

It was a strange sight; from floor to ceiling the vast house was thronged; in boxes, stalls, pit, and gallery were costermongers, street cadgers, and labourers, women in fluttering rags, many with babies in their arms, boys in shirt sleeves and corduroys, young men and maidens in their gaudy Sunday best. The people listened with extraordinary attention, as if they had never heard of the subject before.⁵⁵⁷

The idea had repercussions. By 1858 Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral began simple evening services and for a while were packed. Bad acoustics, cold buildings, poor preachers and a Chapter unhappy to see their Cathedrals filled with masses of poor people ended the experiments according to Ronald Jasper, who nevertheless puts the growth in popularity of services of Evening Prayer for the next century down to these initiatives.⁵⁵⁸

Harold W. Turner has noted at this point in history a shift of direction in the phenomenology and theology of church building. He describes many primitive and pre-Christian sacred places as being of a 'Temple type' or *Domus Dei* (house for God).⁵⁵⁹ He sees the authentic norm for the Christian tradition as being a 'house for the people of God' or *Domus Ecclesiae* (meeting house)⁵⁶⁰ tracing its roots through Judaism. He regards the Gothic Revival as marking the return of *Domus Dei*.⁵⁶¹ He sees this as 'testifying to its inherent value in ministering to the hunger of the human spirit for a sacred place instinct with the divine presence'.⁵⁶² Today he notes a strong sense of Christian church buildings being both *Domus Dei et Ecclesiae*.⁵⁶³ This

⁵⁵⁶ Halcombe, 'Church Extensions', in *RiVB* (III), p.262. Halcombe had done some extensive work on the 1861 Census data.

⁵⁵⁷ Jasper, 'The Prayer Book in the Victorian Era', in Symondson (ed.), *The Victorian Crisis of Faith*, p.115.

⁵⁵⁸ Jasper, 'The Prayer Book in the Victorian Era', in Symondson (ed.), *The Victorian Crisis of Faith*, p.116.

⁵⁵⁹ Harold W. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House; The Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship*, (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979), p.11.

⁵⁶⁰ Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House*, p.12.

⁵⁶¹ Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House*, p.241.

⁵⁶² Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House*, p.258.

⁵⁶³ Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House*, p.339.

understanding of worship space lends further nuance to our appreciation of the difference between the likes of Shaftesbury’s approach and the ritualizing of divine presence in the slum priests’ churches.

It was in this period of concentration on numbers, much energy and resource being given to church building, and with a focus on the sector of society rarely actually present in church as seen by Horace Mann, that the Slum Priest Ritualists were in genesis. Their interest seems to have been primarily ecclesiastical.⁵⁶⁴ Furthermore their personal and priestly formation took place well away from the mills, mines steel works, and indeed chapels, where working class culture and its new consciousness were themselves being formed.⁵⁶⁵

In their slum parishes these well heeled and theologically idealistic priests encountered the worst of conditions. Previous chapters have demonstrated that along with the church building programmes which swept them along there, they undoubtedly brought energy, personality and colour to places deprived of these things. Although this itself is not enough to explain their significance it is probably the most well treated. One of Charles Lowder’s assistants described Sunday mornings in 1860 at St Peter’s, London Docks in glowing terms:

I suppose there is not a more beautiful service in London or England than the High Celebration at St Peter’s, London Docks... Besides the ennobling feeling thus engendered by a service offered willingly and not for money, the reverence and solemnity of the whole sacred act has had a surprising influence for good on the lives and tone of mind of those who took part in it. Indeed this is the practical value of such a service, apart from its aspect towards God as our “bounden duty”, that it raises the hearts of the poor out of the miseries of their earthly lot into the majesty and peace of heaven. The beauty and brightness of the services, the glorious music, the solemn dignity of the ritual, all these contrast with the squalidness and nakedness of their homes, and makes the church to them the very house of God, the gate of heaven.⁵⁶⁶

This is as clear a statement as is found in the Ritualists’ contemporary writings that suggests they understood the beauty of their worship to represent heaven on earth. The degree to which any indignation they might have felt in the contrast of conditions they encountered drove them into any social or political leadership is uncertain.⁵⁶⁷ The direction of the Church and the direction of the leadership emerging from the working population were divergent.⁵⁶⁸ The slum priest Ritualist certainly bridged the gap between the Established Church and the poorest in society but we have seen that their

⁵⁶⁴ The organized working class movements of the time seem to have grown disconnectedly from the Church they knew. This is discussed at Section 5.2 on page 97.

⁵⁶⁵ Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, pp.437f and pp.491ff.

⁵⁶⁶ Jasper, ‘The Prayer Book in the Victorian Era’, in Symondson (ed.), *The Victorian Crisis of Faith*, p.94.

⁵⁶⁷ See page 76ff.

⁵⁶⁸ Whilst working class and radical leaders were finding a voice and slowly gaining attention (see page 89) Hugh McLeod says of the Established Church: ‘From the seventh to the nineteenth century, such authoritarian and hierarchical versions of Christianity as fitted the requirements of the state were in England used as instruments of political discipline, and deviation from the current orthodoxy was subject to official harassment.’ McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.214.

concerns were primarily pastoral, missiological and liturgical.⁵⁶⁹ Whilst this was welcome it remains apparently unrelated to the more deliberately conscious political and social movements also fermenting in the culture they ministered to. Whilst the Ritualists may have taken action on behalf of the poor or ministered to the poor there were also movements that were of the poor.

Charles Lowder is the Ritualist most often named as turning from suspicion to hero in social action on the poor's behalf. Best remembered are his actions during the epidemic of Asiatic Cholera that struck the area of London around St Peter's just after the church was consecrated. One of the early biographers who tells his story in a most rosy way (almost a hagiography) is very strident about this:

In this visitation the Anglo-Catholics won their spurs. Dr Pusey came down to help, laymen, among them Lord Halifax, came to work with Lowder and his priests. Morning after morning they met for communion in the newly consecrated St Peter's, and separated the appalling labours of the day, each recognising that the day might be his last. When at length the cholera vanished, it left Lowder completely master of the field. Nobody wanted to attack him or his methods again. As he was seen carrying some cholera-stricken child in his arms to the hospital, the people began to call him "Father."⁵⁷⁰ Thus was the title "Father" won for the secular clergy of the Anglo-Catholic movement.

The style of Mackay's biography seems to have a propagandist feel to it. Whilst there may be a great deal of truth in all that Lowder did to care for the cholera stricken and draft in support, we are also offered this story as an explanation for the word 'Father' being used of an Anglican Priest. And here it is located in his care for children, where 'Father' is a less religiously loaded term than it would be in his relationship to adults. In this sort of biography we see quite clearly a myth emerging out of the undoubted risks that Lowder exposed himself to. The quality of it is not unlike one of Aesop's Fables.⁵⁷¹ This is characteristic of many of the early biographies. It alerts us to the way that the truth of the myth emerges from the truth of the history.

8.1.2 Social Justice

It may be true that accounts of pastoral and social care had real significance in the way that some of the Ritualists were regarded. It is unlikely that these really explain the effectiveness of their parish ministry amid poor and deprived communities and their propensity to draw people into worship. There are very few accounts of their connecting with any conscious working class movements. Those accounts that do exist

⁵⁶⁹ Ref. discussion on Boff's 'Model 1: Church as City of God', section 4.2.1 on page 71.

⁵⁷⁰ H.F.B. Mackay, *Saints and Leaders* (Philip Allan & Co Ltd. London: 1928), p.193. Ellsworth recounts the same story. See page 57 above.

⁵⁷¹ See also footnote 235 on page 57. Ellsworth reports the same reason for the word Father being used, possibly using Mackay as her source.

largely surround the Christian socialist Stewart Headlam.⁵⁷² But it was in the Ritualists’ oppression for the sake of their liturgy that these priests were felt to be alongside the poor more so than many of their contemporaries. Typically the clergy of the day were regarded quite differently to them:

He (*working class man*) sometimes had an obscure feeling that the church worker was an unconscious agent of the Conservative party or even of the police, leisured classes did no work that could be called work.... He was apathetic to nearly every other interest that was not connected to his daily bread. In the midst of his apathy he felt inarticulately that the world was unjust to him and that ... parsons were mysteriously associated with the injustice.⁵⁷³

If the slum priest Ritualists escaped this association which stuck to most clergy, it may well have been because the Ritual Trials demonstrated that here were priests set against the establishment. Maybe not for the same issues as Trades Union and Labour movement leaders, but nevertheless under oppressive powers rather than in command of them. They too may have been victims of injustice.

8.2 Ecclesiological Challenges

Social difference and social justice posed particular challenges to mission. There are also a number of issues that played on the inner life of the Church of England and its institutional response to the Ritualists’ mission.

State authority over the Church.

When the Church of England removed itself from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in the sixteenth century it broke new ground as a national church. The monarch was termed ‘Defender of the Faith’ and had a powerful influence over the Church of England. As parliamentary democracy developed, this power was increasingly shared. In the nineteenth century, governmental involvement in church affairs was challenged from the earliest moments of the Oxford Movement by its leaders.⁵⁷⁴ This was to lend strength to the Ritualists who later found themselves brought before secular legal authorities on account of their liturgical developments. They were theologically prepared to take this on through their anti-Erastian teachers.⁵⁷⁵ They were also buoyed by the anti-establishment sentiments of the poor amongst whom they had made their homes.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷² See Section 4.2.3 on page 76ff. Headlam and leading Slum Priest Ritualists worked together through the establishment of the GSM but the issues that Headlam took on and was criticized and ostracized for were not those that the Ritualists went to the stake over.

⁵⁷³ Chadwick, ‘The Established Church under attack’, in Symondson (ed.), *The Victorian Crisis of Faith*, p.93,

⁵⁷⁴ See 29 above.

⁵⁷⁵ See 30 above.

⁵⁷⁶ As the Ritual Controversy unfolded, local support for Ritualist priests grew. Arthur Stanton was to say of Mackonchie’s predicaments in a 1907 speech: ‘The Bishop of London prohibited me from

The monopoly of the Established Church.⁵⁷⁷

The growth of Methodism among the working classes at the beginning of rapid urban migration, along with the political socialism of other non-conformist churches, heightened these churches' profiles in urban areas.⁵⁷⁸ The Irish migrations of the early nineteenth century made the Roman Catholic Church strongly represented amongst the new urban poor. The 1851 Religious Census exposed the strength of both non-conformist and Roman Catholic churches. Newman, Manning and others had left the Church of England, no longer believing it to be *catholic*, and had found themselves in leadership roles within the Roman Catholic Church in England. This left the established church looking vulnerable.⁵⁷⁹ Its church building initiatives were a response to this,⁵⁸⁰ particularly targeted toward poor and unchurched communities. Inevitably this gave rise to a parent and child relationship between the individuals (and church bodies) who had provided the resources, and the new churches. Many of the founders of new churches were pillars of the establishment. These patrons and the mother church were threatened when the newly established churches appeared to diverge from traditional practices.⁵⁸¹ This was apparently particularly treacherous where the new practices bore a likeness to those of the Roman Church.

A plurality of historical reference points.⁵⁸²

Three historical reference points were significant throughout these ritual controversies. These were used to defend particular approaches to worship. Establishment objections to many ritual challenges revolved around adherence to the *1662 Prayer Book* 'Ornaments Rubric', harking back to the second year of the reign of King Edward VI⁵⁸³ although there was no clear idea of what actually prevailed then. They were most

preaching anywhere but at St. Alban's; the Bishop of Gloucester inhibited me; the Bishop of Rochester inhibited me; and the Bishop of Llandaff as well. I remember sitting round a table one day when we at St. Alban's asked ourselves plainly this question: "Can we go on? Is it possible?" And then again the old thing came back--the consideration and the love and the help of the people who supported us; and on we went again.' Clayton, *Father Stanton*, Ch.2.

⁵⁷⁷ Gilbert writes, 'A truly monopolistic religious establishment does not, ipso facto, have to worry about growth: it has no competition. Ostrich-like, many sections of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Church of England had either failed to recognize that Anglicanism had lost the virtual monopoly it once had enjoyed, or had failed to act on the recognition.' Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, p.132.

⁵⁷⁸ Bebbington reckons the chief social reform concerns of Evangelical churches to have been in three categories: i. Blocks to the Gospel such as slavery; ii. Substitutes for the Gospel such as Roman Catholicism; and iii. sin such as sexual wrongdoing and drunkenness.

⁵⁷⁹ It is Gilbert's belief that the growth of 'extra-Establishment religion' helped the Church realize it was operating in a pluralist society. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, p.132.

⁵⁸⁰ See section 5.2 on page 97.

⁵⁸¹ See 2.2.3 on page 35.

⁵⁸² The ecclesiological challenges posed by historical reference points has not been fully discussed yet. The key issues were primarily liturgical and are introduced in Chapter 9.

⁵⁸³ See footnote 696 on page 161 below.

likely to appeal to the custom and practice of the day (or ‘living authority’) as definitive.⁵⁸⁴ The Oxford Movement fathers looked for the Catholicism of the Church of England to be rooted in the ancient Christian Church one thousand years before Edward VI. Dean Church, in his criticism of Newman’s *Tract 90*, writes:

In the confusion and sins and divisions of the last fifteen centuries, profound disorganisation had fastened on the Western Church. Christendom was not, could not be pretended to be, what it had been in the fourth century.⁵⁸⁵

For the Ritualists to look back at the ancient church provided no easy answer, and the 1662 settlement was ambiguous and in need of interpretation.⁵⁸⁶ The Ritualists, under these influences, felt free to look back to a third reference, medieval English practice,⁵⁸⁷ as a means of recovering the heritage that the ancient church had passed up through history. To their opponents, the Reformation itself seemed to be under threat by this.⁵⁸⁸

Whilst these three periods of history may have been looked to separately by the various camps as authoritative there was also some common ground. All three camps accepted that the *BCP* was definitive. The problem was that it didn’t have an answer to every liturgical question. The Tractarians and the Ritualists both put a great deal of energy into researching the views and practices of those who had been formative towards the *Prayer Book 1662*. Most appealing to them was John Cosin (1595-1672) who was appointed Bishop of Durham by Charles II at the Restoration. He had contributed a

⁵⁸⁴ E.g. The Bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wiberforce) and the Bishop of Carlisle (Harvey Goodwin) both dissented from the recommendations of the 1867 Royal Commission on Ritual, stating, ‘We are convinced that the Ritual of the Church must be regulated by living authority acting, as such authority always must act, under a strong sense of individual responsibility and under public observation, although the complete avoidance of offence must after all depend upon the prevalence of good sense and good feeling in each parish; even if all the greater circumstances of ceremonial could be distinctly fixed by law, there must still remain questions of gesture and posture which may involve much offence, but which no law can completely regulate.’ *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the rubrics, orders, and directions for regulating the course and conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the use of the united Church of England and Ireland; with Minutes of Evidence and appendices, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1867).

⁵⁸⁵ R.W. Church, *The Oxford Movement; twelve years 1833-1845* (London: Macmillan & Co. 1892), p.275.

⁵⁸⁶ This will be considered more fully in Chapter 9 on page 160.

⁵⁸⁷ e.g. ‘Hence this attempt to read our Rubrics by the light of the pre-reformation Service Books and ancient ecclesiastical customs: and not only have the old English Missal and Breviary rubrics been so used in putting together the *Directorium*, but also the most ancient Liturgies, agreeable with the King’s warrant for the Conference at the Savoy, 25th of March, 1661.’ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.xi. This caveat referring to 1661 is itself an argument to look back beyond the Reformation to the medieval source texts used in the seventeenth century.

⁵⁸⁸ See 2.3.1 on page 50.

We have already noted Turner’s work demonstrating the parallel trajectory of Church Architecture with the Ritualistic liturgical interest in the pre-Reformation church. Infact Reformation ideals were being chipped away at from all sides. Turner notes that the restoration of the table to the east wall and enclosing it with rails marked the beginning of a return to *Domus Dei* (p.231). Whilst Wren may have designed churches with only a single chamber with no distant or elaborate altar, thus maintaining a close unity between word and sacrament (p.232), the Gothic Revival brought Chancels 1/3 the length of the nave and separated by several steps with a further raised sanctuary altar (p.245). Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House*.

great deal to the Savoy Conference.⁵⁸⁹ Archbishop William Laud (1573-1645), last Archbishop of Canterbury before the Restoration, and Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), Bishop of Winchester, are both frequently referred to also by Ritualists and Tractarians. Evangelicals also were enthusiastic about Andrewes's personal piety whilst the Tractarians appealed to him as a patriarch of Anglo-Catholicism.⁵⁹⁰ The Ritualists mined his chapel inventories and evidence of his liturgical practice.⁵⁹¹ Here was a little potential common ground.

Regulations for new churches in a missionary context

It would appear that the challenges of engaging in mission to poor urban communities was learnt substantially through the experience of being there.⁵⁹² This is not unique and characterizes much Christian mission throughout history. In the Victorian Church of England it seemed as if religion and civility belonged together, so new churches were planted in areas of urban deprivation to build civil society. The experience of those whose mission was to grow these churches served in turn to challenge the rules that governed them.

A good example of the rule-book being rewritten through experience is the abolition of 'Pew Rents' mentioned above.⁵⁹³ This was undertaken through a clear analysis of the cost of renting a pew and the second class nature of not doing so being objectionable to the poor. It may well be that the abolition of pew rents did not lead to full churches⁵⁹⁴ but the intention was plain.

Worship regulation in these new churches with no pre-existent tradition provides a far more complex case.

⁵⁸⁹ Detailed discussion of the Savoy Conference is out of the scope of this thesis.

The Savoy Conference (1661), out of which emerged the *Prayer Book 1662*, provided a great deal of published liturgical background to the BCP of interest to the Ritualists. The source most referred to by them is a secondary source: Edward Cardwell, *A history of conferences and other proceedings connected with the revision of the Book of common prayer : from the year 1558 to the year 1690* (Oxford: University Press, 1840).

Colin Buchanan, *The Savoy Conference Revisited* (Alcuin Club/ GROW Joint Liturgical Study No.54; Cambridge: Grove Books Ltd., 2002), provides helpful background together with parallel columns displaying the Presbyterian General Exceptions and the Bishops' Answers in Chapter 3; and in Chapter 4, the 1604 Text, The Presbyterian Exception to the Text, The Bishops' Answers and the author's notes.

⁵⁹⁰ See P. E. McCullough, 'Andrewes, Lancelot (1555-1626)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁹¹ In the Royal Commission Report of 1906, Andrewes's liturgical practice is appealed to on the Ritualists side over both Eastward facing celebrants and the use of incense. *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, [PCant <http://anglicanhistory.org/pwra/>, 19 November 2006].

⁵⁹² See 7.4 on page 123.

⁵⁹³ See on page 37.

⁵⁹⁴ Inglis observes, 'Here and there, clergymen announced that poor people were attending church now who had never come while the pew system lasted; but nowhere was it claimed that a general flow of working-class people had occurred as 'free and open' principles spread', Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p.55.

The validity of inculturation

Much of the impetus to build new churches in poor urban areas came from a desire to make the poor and working classes more like the middle and ruling classes.⁵⁹⁵ Those hoping for this outcome would require that the religion of the new churches was like that of their own church. A church 'of the poor' or 'from the poor'⁵⁹⁶ does not fit with this model. There were others whose theology demanded that the church stayed true to the Reformation. The *Book of Common Prayer* and examples such as Charles Simeon, the eighteenth century evangelical divine, were important models for them.

The argument that the Ritualists would make was that their model of church was best adapted to the missionary context they found themselves in.⁵⁹⁷ They argued the appropriateness of their approach to worship both on theological and missiological ground,⁵⁹⁸ 'for the sake of the altar and for mission'.⁵⁹⁹

Worship and the redeeming of communities

Whilst the nation builders inside and outside the church simply wanted the church to extend its reach towards the poor, Evangelicals and Ritualists alike were concerned with a spiritual movement. In their missionary impetus they shared a great deal. Indeed there were some who were described as Catholic Evangelicals. We have already seen how this was a fair description of Robert Dolling.⁶⁰⁰ But in their missionary models there were significant differences, particularly over the nature and appropriateness of worship.

Pickering⁶⁰¹ points to the work of Raoul Allier⁶⁰² to claim that whilst both Catholics and Evangelicals might have the same object in mission fields and church growth, their methods are quite different. The Catholic model involves planting a church with

⁵⁹⁵ See page 74.

⁵⁹⁶ See Boff's model described in 4.2.4 above on page 78.

⁵⁹⁷ E.g. 'Orbey Shipley.... argued that Evangelical Protestantism had failed to talk England into Christianity, that the poorer and less educated classes were left unmoved by the complicated theological presuppositions and peculiar language of the Evangelical preachers, whom Charles Simeon had fixed in what seemed, and often still seems, an unbreakable mould. What would attract the masses and penetrate their minds more easily was the use of symbol, colour, processions, music, drama - a pattern which the sacramental system justified theologically.' Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.266.

⁵⁹⁸ Whilst the Ritualists' Missiological concerns may have suggested to them a measure of inculturation, the theological concerns were givens.

⁵⁹⁹ By this was meant 'for ontological and for practical purposes'. See Alexander Mackonchie's comment at page 50 above (footnote 212).

Also note Lowder's words: 'We adopt a system which we consciously believe the Church gives us, we adopt it as a whole.' Ellsworth, *Charles Fuge Lowder*, p.45.

⁶⁰⁰ See 7.4.1 on page 123.

⁶⁰¹ Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, p.68.

⁶⁰² R. Allier, *La psychologie de la conversion chez les peuples non-civilis*, (Paris: Payot, 1925) 2 vols.

building and priest to which the non-Christians are invited. It is hoped over time that their interest will grow, they will follow instruction and commit through baptism. The Evangelical model tends to revolve around the preaching of an individual sent to a new community. After the conversion of some, amongst those encountered, a group is established who are seen to possess a strong common faith. When their needs demand it, a church building might be erected. We can see this demonstrated in the nineteenth century context.⁶⁰³

This helps us see that the place of worship in the missionary endeavour is understood quite differently between those operating on these two different models. The Catholic model described by Allier is clearly more adapted to take advantage of the church building endeavours in the mid-Victorian period. The Evangelical model can perhaps travel lighter and not be encumbered by church buildings.⁶⁰⁴ The Church of England would appear to have set its face towards Allier's 'Catholic' missionary model but with an 'evangelical' mindset. Some tension is not surprising.

Clerical life-style (celibacy)

Dean Church, in his history of the early Oxford Movement, also raises the celibacy of those in holy orders as an issue to the Church. Writing of the influence of the Oxford Movement, he states:

Celibacy came to be regarded as an obvious part of the self-sacrifice of a clergyman's life, and the belief and the profession of it formed a test, understood if not avowed, by which the more advanced or resolute members of the party were distinguished from the rest. This came home to men on the threshold of life with a keener and closer touch than questions about doctrine.⁶⁰⁵

Whilst parish clergy were commonly married, those who taught at Oxford University could not marry and stay within the University. Those who later most ardently adopted the Movement's principles also adopted celibacy in their parish ministries. This was both in response to the lifestyles of the Oxford Movement's university based fathers whom they had grown to respect, and in response to a spiritual challenge of self-sacrifice.⁶⁰⁶ It was also a pattern of life seen in the Roman Catholic Church that the Tractarians regarded as having ancient Christian roots. This partly accounts for their

⁶⁰³ See reference to Lord Shaftesbury's endeavours on page 132 (footnote ref. 557).

We might note both the fact of the Church of England's mission being supported by a pattern of church building and the nature of those buildings marking a return to *Domus Dei*. This would have well suited ritualist priests.

⁶⁰⁴ E.g. Lord Shaftesbury's parliamentary endeavours leading to worship in Exeter Hall. See page 132 above.

⁶⁰⁵ Church, *The Oxford Movement*, p.369.

⁶⁰⁶ See Duc Dau, 'Perfect Chastity: Celibacy and Virgin Marriage in Tractarian Poetry', in *Victorian Poetry* Volume 44, Number 1 (Spring 2006), pp.77-92. Here Dau analyses Newman's exposition of celibacy, virginity and desire through Newman's poetry. C.f. especially p.81, where the connection between celibacy, virginity, desire and marriage to Christ is demonstrated.

attempts at establishing religious communities⁶⁰⁷ and ‘clergy houses’⁶⁰⁸ as alternative expressions of their relatedness to other people. All of the slum priest Ritualists except for Richard Enraght that we have discussed in this work adopted a celibate life-style.

Munson points out that these celibate clergy, in an age much less cynical than our own, were noted for their work among young men; but their motives were not always above suspicion.⁶⁰⁹ To support the notion of an implied sexual ‘aberration’ he quotes John Kensit (1853-1902) describing the Ritualists as ‘Clergymen in petticoats ... a peculiar sort of people, very peculiar indeed.’⁶¹⁰

8.3 Some mission examples

Although resolution or comprehension of these missiological and ecclesiological challenges were still remote, the church’s mission continued pragmatically. There may have been an imperialistic flavour to the missiological approach of the Church of England’s hierarchy but at the local level a range of approaches to growing the church were in play. A number of examples serve to highlight this. We will consider the method of three roughly contemporary mission practices in particular: Revivalist, Diocesan and Ritualist - respectively those of: Moody and Sankey to Great Britain (1873 to 1875); John Bickersteth to Leeds (1875); and the Cowley Fathers to London (1869).

Although the Cowley Fathers’ mission is the earliest example, Dwight Moody had already established a reputation by then for his Revivalist missions in the USA and must be considered to some extent at least as the primary model here. His practice follows that of other Revivalist preachers including preachers who visited Britain such as Lorenzo Dow (1806 & 1818), Charles Finney, James Caughey, Phoebe Palmer (1859 - on the back of the 1857-8 American revival and the 1858 Northern Ireland revival).⁶¹¹ The three models we consider below are not original or unique but serve as

⁶⁰⁷ See 8.3.3 on page 151.

⁶⁰⁸ See 7.4.1 on page 123.

⁶⁰⁹ Munson, ‘Oxford Movement’, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975), p.387.

⁶¹⁰ Munson, ‘Oxford Movement’, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975), p.387.

Reed says, ‘the key word in it is “sublimation”’. Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.222.

For further discussion of ‘manliness’ and the effeminacy of High Church clerics, see Peter Gray, ‘The Manliness of Christ’, in R.W. Davis and R.J. Helmstadler (eds.), *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society* (London: Routledge, 1991). Here there is a discussion of Thomas Hughes’s answer to the critics in Thomas Hughes, *The Manliness of Christ* (London: Macmillan, 1879).

Celibacy and effeminacy were both reasons for ‘protestant malevolence’ against Roman Catholic priests too according to, Philip Ingram, ‘Protestant Patriarchy and the Catholic Priesthood in Nineteenth Century England’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 24, No. 4. (Summer, 1991), pp. 783-797, esp. p.786.

This ‘ambiguity’ is a key concern in Pickering, *Angli-Catholicism*, esp. Ch.8.

⁶¹¹ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.124.

examples of worship and mission against which the Ritualist practice can be considered.

8.3.1 Revivalist: Moody & Sankey

Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899) began adulthood as a Unitarian and a shoe salesman until he was converted to Congregationalism at the age of 18 and entered full time work for the Chicago YMCA five years later.⁶¹² Ira David Sankey (1840-1908) was a life-long Methodist and a banker who met Moody at a YMCA conference in 1870 and was persuaded to give up a lucrative career to join him in leading missions by ‘singing the gospel’.⁶¹³ They were to make several trips to the UK, the most significant being for a two year period from 1873 – 1875. The first three missions in York, Sunderland and Newcastle were a little flat but publicity around the pair gave them a boost⁶¹⁴ and subsequent campaigns in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham and Liverpool attracted large numbers.

David Bebbington puts the growing success of their tour through its long duration substantially down to improving publicity. A further insight is offered by the ‘*Christianity Today*’ *Christian History and Biography* (a publication from within the revivalist tradition) which suggests success was because of their innovative evangelism.⁶¹⁵ Here, Moody’s early evangelistic practice in Illinois is described:

He drew the children of the German and Scandinavian immigrant underclass to his mission with candy and pony rides, and he drew the adults through evening prayer meetings and English classes. He was convinced, “If you can really make a man believe you love him, you have won him.”⁶¹⁶

This revivalist commentary considers that Moody’s invitation to Sankey to join him was because he saw in music another ‘hook’ to attract people to his mission. Moody’s approach to mission is considered within this tradition to have been refined during the first British campaign:

Moody pioneered many techniques of evangelism: a house-to-house canvass of residents prior to a crusade; an ecumenical approach enlisting cooperation from all local churches and evangelical lay leaders regardless of denominational affiliations; philanthropic support by

Also note that Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892) used the Exeter Hall and the Surrey Gardens Music Hall in London for worship and preaching meetings through 1858-1859 when his congregation grew too large for his own church. Although Spurgeon was undoubtedly a most significant evangelist, his mission primarily revolved around growing the church he ministered directly to. Whilst his prominence was boosted by preaching tours of the country and Europe, his practice of mission is not as useful a comparison for us here as others. See Rosemary Chadwick, ‘Spurgeon, Charles Haddon (1834–1892)’, *ODNB*.

⁶¹² D. W. Bebbington, ‘Moody, Dwight Lyman (1837–1899)’, *ODNB*.

⁶¹³ Bebbington, Moody, *ODNB*.

⁶¹⁴ Bebbington, Moody, *ODNB*.

⁶¹⁵ *Christian History & Biography*, ‘Dwight L. Moody’, <http://www.christianitytoday.com/history/special/131christians/moody.html> (26 September 2007).

⁶¹⁶ *Christian History & Biography*, ‘Dwight L. Moody’.

the business community; the rental of a large, central building; the showcasing of a gospel soloist; and the use of an inquiry room for those wanting to repent.⁶¹⁷

By the time Moody and Sankey reached London in 1874 these techniques are clearly in place. Their substantial impact in the Capital City was probably a combination of the publicity as Bebbington suggests, missionary technique, and Moody’s own stubborn and charismatic personality. C.M. Davies was an observer of both the established church, which he described as ‘orthodox’, and of the wider church, which was to him ‘unorthodox’. In his *Unorthodox London; or, Phases of Religious Life in the Metropolis*, he recounts a couple of days he spent following Dwight Moody and gives us an insight into the pattern followed. These days following Moody and Sankey were supposed to be first days of their mission to the well heeled West End of London with meetings held in the Opera House, Haymarket. As it happened, Dwight Moody wanted to extend the time for his mission to the poorer district of Islington, much to the chagrin of the wealthy patrons in the West End. Davies describes for us a preliminary prayer meeting ahead of a main meeting that evening in Islington presided over by Lord Radstock but with neither Moody nor Sankey present.

Rev. Chapman, chaplain to the Lock Hospital, delivered a suitable address. The number of ministers, clergy and laymen on the platform was very large, and the singing of Mr Sankey’s beautiful hymns was admirably conducted by Miss Bonar and a choir of ladies. Those selected were, first the 100th Psalm, which was given full-voiced and formed a most appropriate commencement; then ‘Rejoice in the Lord,’ with its refrain, ‘Sound His praises, tell the story;’ then ‘I hear the Saviour say, thy strength, indeed, is small;’ and finally, ‘Halleluia, thine the glory, revive us again.’ It was in every respect a real revival service. The request for prayers were numerous and significant.⁶¹⁸

It would appear that the purpose of this preliminary meeting was to pull together and encourage a wide range of local church leaders and members. They were clearly led to pray for the revival of faith in London. This preliminary meeting is described as ‘in every respect a revival service’. Unsurprisingly, that evening’s meeting in the Agricultural Hall described by Davies had the same tone and began also with Psalm 100. This time there were 15,000 people present, he estimated. We can discern the structure as:⁶¹⁹

- One hour of gathering with the choir singing
- at 7.30pm Dwight Moody introduces the *Doxology*
- Brief Prayer
- *Psalm 100* sung by the congregation

⁶¹⁷ *Christian History & Biography*, ‘Dwight L. Moody’.

⁶¹⁸ Davies, *Unorthodox London*, in *RiVB* (III), p.274.

⁶¹⁹ From the journalistic account in Davies, *Unorthodox London*, in *RiVB* (III), p.275-6.

- Brief silent prayer
- Supplication for London by Mr Moody: ‘give us a Pentecostal blessing’
- ‘Jesus of Nazareth Passeth by’ solo by Ira Sankey
- ‘*Rock of Ages*’ sung by the congregation
- 1 Corinthians 1: 17ff read by Moody
- Address by Moody
- ‘*Hold the fort*’ sung by Sankey
- *Benediction*: Revd Dr Allon of Islington

Davies outlines the sermon as an encouragement to the congregation to bring London to faith no matter how inadequate they might feel, and a call to one who was lost to remember ‘his mother loves him still, and so too, like that poor mother, God loves us all.’⁶²⁰ Davies concludes:

It was impossible to imagine a more signal success than that which attended this open meeting. There was nothing sensational in the address, though there were several outbursts of genuine eloquence, agreeably varied with quaint touches of humour that provoked a smile, while they conveyed truth which one felt would go straight home to the hearts of the hearers.⁶²¹

John Kent reckons that nearly a million and a half people heard Moody and Sankey in London⁶²² but also sees some truth in one of the West End patrons’ criticisms of the Islington meetings that the poorer people did not attend.⁶²³ The argument between Moody and the West End leaders about whether the mission to Islington should be extended at the expense of the West end mission was that Moody would rather address 10,000 poor people than the 3,000 wealthy ones who would fill the Opera House. Davies reports the same argument from first hand experience of being in the room with both Dwight Moody and Lord Shaftesbury. He tells us how Lord Shaftesbury responded:

though it was quite true that the poor man’s soul was worth as much as the rich man’s, yet Mr Moody must remember that when one of the upper ten thousand was converted, his wealth and influence were turned into a channel, and so he became the means of doing more good.⁶²⁴

⁶²⁰ Davies, *Unorthodox London*, in *RiVB* (III), p.276.

⁶²¹ Davies, *Unorthodox London*, in *RiVB* (III), p.276.

⁶²² Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.155.

⁶²³ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.157.

⁶²⁴ Davies, *Unorthodox London*, in *RiVB* (III), p.278.

Davies also gives us a good insight into Moody’s blunt and stubborn character. When he could argue no more he simply responded, ‘I wun’t’. When the point was made that if Moody would not come to the West End then perhaps Sankey would, Moody’s response was, ‘No, Sankey wun’t’.⁶²⁵ We are left with the impression that Moody wanted his mission to reach the largest possible number of people and that he valued giving his energy to a poor person as much as to a rich one. He was unimpressed by appeals to class and power.

Dwight Moody was clearly an independent spirit, and quite unconcerned about the remonstrations of elder evangelical Anglican statesmen such as Shaftesbury. His mission depended on co-operation with pre-existing churches and amongst Anglicans it was always going to be evangelicals who bore most affinity with his approach but he was not bound to their demands. Indeed Moody and Sankey were not universally welcomed by the Church of England. If, on the one hand, Anglican leaders were in conflict with ritualism, on the other hand they were opposed to the anti-sacramentalism betrayed by Dwight Moody. About baptism, for instance, Moody had said:

You cannot be baptised into the Kingdom of God. If I thought that I could baptise men into the Kingdom of God it would be a good deal better of me to do that than preach. I should get a bucket of water and go up and down the streets and save men that way. If they would not let me do it while they were awake I would do it while they were asleep; I would do it anyway.⁶²⁶

Archbishop Tait expressed his concern both about the deprecation of baptism in this way and also his understanding that Moody was advocating the necessity of a moment of conversion for every Christian.

I am not alluding so much to any deprecation of the ordinances which Christ established for the edification of his Church but rather to the allegation that in the discourses of the missionaries there are unwise and untrue representations of the almost universal necessity of instantaneous conversion, and an ignoring of the full scriptural teaching as to the nature of repentance.⁶²⁷

J.C. Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool (1880-1900), was a powerful advocate for Moody and Sankey’s form of mission but even he criticized its propensity to be ephemeral:

Incessant running after sensational preachers; incessant attendance at hot, crowded meetings protracted to late hours, incessant craving after fresh excitement and highly spiced pulpit novelties – all this kind of thing is calculated to produce a very unhealthy style of Christianity; and in many cases, I am afraid, the end is utter ruin of the soul.⁶²⁸

Ryle’s words here are spoken during the run up to Moody and Sankey’s ninety-nine city tour of Britain and Europe through 1891-92. His warning to his church is not against the mission, but that on its own it was not enough for people. He wanted the

⁶²⁵ Davies, *Unorthodox London*, in *RiVB* (III), p.279.

⁶²⁶ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.177.

⁶²⁷ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.177.

⁶²⁸ J.C. Ryle, ‘Hold Fast: the fourth triennial charge to the Diocese of Liverpool, November 4, 1890’, *NUS*, p.220.

church to give more attention to what he called *private religion* through which faith could be seen outside of ‘full religious meetings’. David Bebbington points out that Ryle generally was supportive of Moody and Sankey⁶²⁹ although he opposed the Keswick Movement because he regarded it as ‘too American’.

We have exemplified the Victorian Revivalist movement here by referring to Moody and Sankey’s visits to Britain. Although there had been earlier visits by American Revivalist preachers it was Moody and Sankey who best caught the imagination and they were reasonably contemporary with the Ritualistic mission to London that we consider below. In their approach we see much that is akin to the Ritualists’ history we are exploring here:

- They gave some priority to mission among the poor masses.
- They came to poor parts of Britain from an alien and more self-confident culture.
- They gave an emphasis to making beautiful worship.
- They were mistrusted by the Anglican establishment for their sacramental theology but valued because of their missionary endeavours.
- They were prepared to defy the wealthy classes.

There is also a great deal of obvious disparity between the Revivalists’ ways and the Ritualists’:

- The Ritualists began with a building in a local community around which they gathered a worshipping community. The Revivalists began by amassing people from all walks of life in a secular space and sought to bring about a change in their relationship to God as individuals first and foremost.
- The Ritualists were well suited to their *Domus Dei* church architecture. The Revivalists were suited to the theatre and auditorium.⁶³⁰
- The Ritualists lived within the communities they evangelized, the Revivalist preachers were itinerant although they used local ministers as co-workers.
- The Ritualists elevated the importance of the sacraments, particularly Eucharist⁶³¹ and Baptism,⁶³² whereas the Revivalists diminished them.

⁶²⁹ David Bebbington, *JC Ryle, First Bishop of Liverpool, Lecture at Liverpool Cathedral 2 July 2005* (Liverpool, Liverpool Cathedral).

⁶³⁰ The auditorium led to the dissolution of *Domus Ecclesiae* for Turner. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House*, p.258.

It is difficult to make a judgement about the effect of the Revivalists in comparison to the Ritualists. The Revivalists clearly had an immediate impact on much greater numbers of people than the Ritualists saw in a lifetime of mission. Moody & Sankey preached to an estimated 1.5 million⁶³³ on their first visit to Britain and an estimated 100 million⁶³⁴ world-wide in total. The Revivalist missions also enlivened people in churches across a broad ecclesial spectrum and not just the Church of England. But John Kent critiques Sankey’s songs and concludes that their themes were not those that would appeal to working class men. They focus substantially on the mother/child relationship as a picture of the human relation to God, especially so where the child has spurned its mother.⁶³⁵ From out of both Revivalism and Ritualism, a story emerges that continues to drive urban mission in parts of the Church of England even today. Whilst the impact of the Ritualists’ mission in their life-time may have had only a narrow base, touching a small number of people, one can be left in no doubt of the depth of transformation in people’s lives that their mission brought. Similarly, the continuing ‘success’ of Gospel Halls and Independent Missions in poor areas continues the Revivalist tradition.

8.3.2 Evangelical Anglicans: John Bickersteth

Mission events were not just the prerogative of the Revivalists. Within the Church of England, missions were organised by both Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals. They were inspired partly by the revivalist meetings such as Moody & Sankey’s but were led by people normally rather more firmly connected to particular local churches. They were born from within those churches and betrayed a considerable amount of local knowledge and sympathy.

One of the evangelicals who threw himself wholeheartedly into local missions was Robert Bickersteth (1816-1884), appointed Bishop of Ripon in 1856 under the patronage of Prime Minister Lord Palmerston (1855-58 & 1859-65). He had served beforehand for five years as the Vicar of the huge London slum parish at St Giles-in-the-Fields where he had established a significant preaching ministry and developed a considerable charitable effort to improve the area.⁶³⁶ He was one of a number of evangelicals appointed to diocesan sees during the eighteen fifties. Amongst the missions he encouraged in his diocese were those of Bradford, Huddersfield & Leeds.

⁶³¹ We begin to demonstrate this fully in Section 9.1 from page 164.

⁶³² See page 154.

⁶³³ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.155.

⁶³⁴ Christian History & Biography, ‘Dwight L. Moody’.

⁶³⁵ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.225-7.

⁶³⁶ John Wolffe, ‘Bickersteth, Robert (1816–1884)’, *ODNB*.

In the words of his biographer, he showed that 'religion was distinctly in its place in working days and scenes, a thought that seemed new to many'.⁶³⁷ *The Yorkshire Post* began its report on the completion of the Leeds Mission by saying:

It was indeed well said towards the close of the Mission Week, by one of the clergymen conducting the mid-day devotional service in the Church Institute, "The effects of the Leeds Mission have been and are truly wonderful. Thousands are flocking to hear the Word of God, the inquiry is heard on every side, 'What must I do to be saved?' the whole town seems shaken by the Spirit of God."⁶³⁸

Such missions were based heavily upon the Parish and District Churches of the area, though more as preaching venues and sources of manpower than for worship. The worship that took place seems to have been predominantly arranged for those already confirmed and committed to the church.⁶³⁹ The Bishop's own aim seems to have included increasing further his confirmation figures with the new converts. These are cited amongst the measures of the success of the mission.⁶⁴⁰ There is an obvious link here too. After all, if he were to be the initiator of their enquiry into faith through the mission, at confirmation later he would also be the sealer of that faith.⁶⁴¹ As a bishop, Bickersteth was able (not without some difficulty) to encourage the vast majority, if not all, of the Anglican churches in an area to join in. Mission meetings revolved around extended programmes additional to the churches' normal activity, and a series of meetings in the work places of the area, often addressed by the bishop. By throwing his episcopal weight and kudos behind these events he was able to encourage employers to make space in the day for their workers to hear a call to faith. There was also an implicit call to those employers' self-interest in encouraging the work-force toward Christianity. Employers were not slow to realize the benefits of a converted work force.⁶⁴² There is evidence of employers imploring the Bishop to visit their firm:

In one instance the head of an important firm wrote to say that if the Bishop would come, all the machinery throughout the works should be stopped at any hour of the day or night. That no noise might disturb the service, a large room should be prepared; if in the evening gas

⁶³⁷ M.C. Bickersteth [Dean of Worcester], *A sketch of the Life and Episcopate of the Right Reverend Robert Bickersteth DD* (1887), p.239.

⁶³⁸ *The Leeds Mission* (Leeds: The Yorkshire Post, 1875), bound in St Deiniol's Library, Hawarden.

⁶³⁹ See reference at footnote 646.

⁶⁴⁰ *The Leeds Mission* (Yorkshire Post)

⁶⁴¹ Colin Buchanan says, 'During the years from 1830 to 1891, four different factors made for this greater availability [of Confirmation] in England: i. the division of dioceses, giving diocesans a smaller area; ii. the provision for retirement of bishops, giving diocesans a way of escape when they could no longer cope physically; iii. the addition of suffragans, giving extra chance of providing itinerant, confirming, Episcopal ministry; and, iv. the spread of the railways, giving quick and easy access to distant corners of the diocese.' Colin Buchanan, 'Confirmation' in David R. Holeton (ed.), *Growing in Newness of Life: Christian Initiation in Anglicanism today* (Toronto: International Anglican Liturgical Consultation, 1993), p.106.

Buchanan suggests that 1870 marked a turning point in the history of Confirmation and that 'within fifty years or so it was almost entirely gone from common memory that dissenters had once received Communion in the Church of England without benefit of Confirmation'. Buchanan, 'Confirmation' in Holeton (ed.), *Growing in Newness of Life*, p.107.

⁶⁴² See also page 131 footnote 555.

should be put in where needed, and bills, hymns, or any other papers provided at the expense of the firm....⁶⁴³

This extract from *The Yorkshire Post* uses part of a letter written to the Bishop, and no doubt also supplied to the newspaper by him, as evidence of the support local industry was prepared to give to such a mission.

Although Bickersteth largely thought of his style as using plain words to bring the gospel home there was obviously far more than words that impressed itself on his hearers. He certainly had an eye for drama.

No one who was present at any of these services can forget the unwonted spectacle. A wagon or engine, sometimes formed the pulpit. Huge pieces of machinery, destined for different parts of the world, surrounded, or were visible amongst, the crowd of hearers; men and boys were often seen perched in most apparently impossible places, on beams, cranes, and steam hammers.... The services were of the most solemn and impressive character. A paper containing the four well-known Hymns, "Jesus, Lover of my Soul," "Just as I am," "Rock of Ages," and "When I survey the wondrous Cross," was given to each man, and the singing of the hymns was most hearty.⁶⁴⁴

Whilst Bickersteth thought that his plain words were powerful it is clear that his biographers' observation of his ability to make religion come alive in working day scenes also carried vitality.

This Leeds mission followed shortly after the second of the Anglo-Catholic Missions to London (see below) and was roughly contemporary with Moody & Sankey's arrival in London after a tour of Britain and Ireland. The conclusion of *The Yorkshire Post* article demonstrates the effect of an approach quite distinct from either the appeal to emotions of Moody & Sankey or the ritual of the Anglo-Catholic Missions:

It has been computed that during the Mission about 40,000 persons were at one and the same time listening to the Word of God. But what is the outcome of the whole?.... The Mission has been remarkably characterised by the absence of every kind of excess and of undue excitement. Our churches have been crowded with eager and attentive listeners. Many have come inquiring about their soul's salvation. Many have been anxious who were never anxious before about their spiritual state.... Amongst the results of the Mission may be mentioned the following:- 1. Large additions to the congregations in the churches throughout the town..... The increase in attendance at church on Good Friday (March 26th), and the more general observance of that solemn day were very evident. 2. Many who lived in sin, regardless of the offers of mercy or of God's claims upon them, have, so far as man can judge, been brought to a saving knowledge of Christ.... The marks of spiritual life are seen where before there was only a form of godliness. Bible Classes, and Communicants' Classes have been commenced, or, where they before existed have received additional members. 3. At the Confirmation held in Leeds a few weeks after the Mission, 2030 persons, an unusual proportion of whom were adults, in that solemn ordinance declared themselves to be Christ's servants. The increase in the number of candidates will be seen when compared with the average of past years - 1200 to 1400, the number last year was 1314. 4. A greater desire for and striving after holiness.... 5. Greater confidence in God and trust in His promises.... 6. a more kindly spirit has pervaded the various Christian denominations towards each other.... 7. the clergy of the town have much to thank God for.... Several of the clergy, who at first consented to take part in the Mission, did so with some degree of misgiving, hesitation, and doubt as to the usefulness of the contemplated movement. Reports had reached them of extravagances and eccentricities that had marked the proceedings elsewhere, and they feared lest these which, after all, had been but the accidents of some, might be in the nature of all Missions. Now, however, most assuredly,

⁶⁴³ *The Leeds Mission* (Yorkshire Post).

⁶⁴⁴ *The Leeds Mission* (Yorkshire Post) p.25.

there is not a single Clergyman who took any part, even the humblest, in the Leeds Mission, but is right thankful to God....⁶⁴⁵

This is the best clue we have to Bickersteth's marks of success. Swollen numbers in church and Confirmations are the key quantitative evidences. There is also an interest here in holiness, confidence, kindness and the morale of the clergy which is far more qualitative and inevitably subjective. These latter marks of the mission's success could well have as much to do with the impact of the mission on the existing church members as it might have on the newly evangelized. The account of its success does not distinguish between pre-existing church members and non church members except perhaps in the number Confirmed.

The liturgy associated with these events seems to have been plain but substantial. We are told little about the events in each of the local churches (thirty three parishes) but at Leeds Parish Church the programme was:

Sundays

7.45 Short Meditation
 8.00 Holy Communion
 10.30 Morning Prayer, Litany, Sermon and Holy Communion
 2.15 Children's Service and Address
 3.30 Special Address to Men
 6.30 Evening Prayer, and After-meeting

Weekdays:

7.30 Holy Communion with short Meditation
 9.15 Address to School Children
 10.00 Morning Prayer and Holy Communion
 11.15 Mission Address
 12.00 Service for Church Workers with Special Prayers
 4.00 Evening Prayer
 7.30 Mission Service and After-meeting

There were, on an average, 100 communicants every day at the two celebrations⁶⁴⁶

The nature of worship in this programme suggest it is heavily geared towards the already converted. The exceptions are the Sunday afternoon events and the mid-week mid-morning Mission Address. We are told that in all the churches the seats were free throughout the week and that there was much diversity among the congregants. It is also evident that in some churches the whole congregation was invited to stay for a meeting following the official service. The meeting would consist of hymns, addresses, readings from scripture and extempore prayer. Although uncomfortable with disruption to the givenness of Prayer Book worship, evangelicals clearly recognized the importance of encouraging free prayer too. Furthermore, there were occurrences remarkably like the street processions which the Ritualists were often persecuted for:

Church Workers, both male and female, were largely employed in visiting persons, in the districts assigned to them, half an hour or an hour before the evening Services, and inviting them to come to the House of God; some made it their business to try and induce the

⁶⁴⁵ *The Leeds Mission* (Yorkshire Post) p.27f.

⁶⁴⁶ *The Leeds Mission* (Yorkshire Post) p.19.

loiterers at street corners, at the doors, or even within the doors of public houses, to come. In a few parishes bands of earnest workers marched down the street singing, the procession increasing as it advanced, and usually the march ended only when the motley assembly arrived within the church at the time carefully arranged, when Divine Service was about to commence. Sometimes short, heart-stirring, and pointed addresses were given at intervals on the route.⁶⁴⁷

Here, then, we see liturgical freedom that was considered safe in an Evangelical’s hands but that could result in condemnation for a Ritualist. The evangelical view was not simply the action that was done, but what it was seen to mean. A Ritualist procession might be perceived as taking religion out into the streets whereas an Evangelical procession was suggestive of bringing the street in to church. We may also conclude that party and tribal concerns as much as liturgical consideration were evidently in play.

Such missions as Bickersteth’s were clearly attempts by leaders of the established church on a grand scale to reach the working classes and those that the church had failed since the growth of the cities. Their main objective appears to have been larger church congregations and a heightened spiritual awareness in the locality; the main focus for this was amongst the working classes. Moody & Sankey, as international itinerant evangelists, were neither particularly adapted to the culture they addressed nor did they have a great personal investment in the continuing growth of the church in that particular place. Nevertheless, their revival meetings were successful in their own terms of numbers attending. Anglican town and city events like Bickersteth’s were both locally rooted and heavily invested in growing a strong local church. Statistics provided to *The Yorkshire Post* by organizers of the Leeds Mission suggest that they too considered their efforts to be a success in terms of their impact on the local church.

8.3.3 Ritualistic: Cowley Fathers

The missionaries who supported Ritualistic parishes were sometimes the members of new Anglican religious orders. The Oxford Movement’s academic leaders had an interest in Patristic research. They looked back to a time when the church was not contaminated by a cosy relationship with the state. Through this, they re-discovered the value of ordered religious communities. At first this was evidenced by a number of communities for women (possibly partly because there were fewer vocational opportunities for them) and later for men. The first of these was just twelve years after Keble’s Assize Sermon: The Sisterhood of the Holy Cross in St John’s Wood, London. In 1848 there was a veritable blooming in the number of religious communities for women including the foundation of The Nursing Sisters of St John the Divine in Wantage and the Devonport Sisters in Plymouth (which is thought to be the first chapel

⁶⁴⁷ *The Leeds Mission* (Yorkshire Post).

where a daily Eucharist was established in the Church of England⁶⁴⁸). After early attempts at establishing communities for men by Newman in Littlemore and F.W. Faber in Elton the first group to become properly established was the Society of St John the Evangelist in Oxford during 1865 (better known as the Cowley Fathers). This history is more fully written up by Peter Anson.⁶⁴⁹ As these communities were outside of the strictures of the parish system their chapels could be flexible and became important places of ritualistic innovation.

The Society of St John the Evangelist was formed in 1866 when Richard Meux Benson (1824-1915) gained approval from the Bishop of Oxford for ‘a Congregation of Priests and Laymen, giving up the world, living by simple rule and devoting ourselves to prayer, study and mission work’.⁶⁵⁰ There were two other founding members of the society, Charles Chapman Grafton and Samuel Wilberforce O’Neill. Known as the Cowley Fathers, this was the first sustained Anglo-Catholic male religious community and sprung out of the Oxford Movement. R.M. Benson had come under the influence of Pusey when he went up to Oxford in 1844 and remained a life-long friend.

The movement grew in strength and was characterized by the practice of community life and disciplined liturgical prayer modelled on Benedictine patterns, a contemplative emphasis on solitary prayer in the cell and asceticism, but also mobility and availability for missions modelled on the Society of Jesus.⁶⁵¹

They developed expertise and a good reputation in contributing to Anglo-Catholic missions and published a *Book of Missions* of which there are none apparently still surviving. John Kent believes it probably included:

- a form of evening service which began with the Lord’s Prayer,
- lessons from the Bible to be read according to the minister’s discretion;
- suggested Psalms:
Psalm 51 (‘Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness’), and
Psalm 120 (When I was in trouble I called upon the Lord’);
- the Collect for Trinity 21 (which prays for absolution of sins) and
- the Third Collect (‘Lighten our Darkness....’) as a conclusion.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁸ Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, p.131.

⁶⁴⁹ Peter Anson, *The Call of the Cloister* (London: SPCK, 1955/1964).

⁶⁵⁰ Martin L. Smith, ‘Benson, Richard Meux (1824–1915)’, *ODNB*.

⁶⁵¹ Smith, ‘Benson, Richard Meux’, *ODNB*.

⁶⁵² Kent, *Holding the Fort*.

The prayers and readings that are detailed are all an approach to repentance. They are about moving from darkness to light, from impurity to cleanliness, from confusion and trouble to clarity and hope. In the Revivalist message we saw clearly the notion of being lost then found.⁶⁵³ There is not a huge contrast between the two approaches. The eighteenth century John Newton hymn, *Amazing grace*, popular throughout the nineteenth century, holds together both the idea of being lost then found, and that of being blind then sighted.

Amazing grace! how sweet the sound,
that saved a wretch like me!
I once was lost but now am found,
was blind but now I see.⁶⁵⁴

One is left with the impression that the Revivalists would proclaim the love of God whilst the judgement of God more likely was proclaimed by the Ritualist. Confession, absolution and commitment to a new start was certainly always at the heart of Ritualist practice and very much at the centre of the controversy they stirred.

A significant step in Anglo-Catholic mission was the mission to London in 1869. Paz says, ‘This mission marked the coming of age of Anglo-Catholicism.’⁶⁵⁵ It was planned between a number of the Capital’s more ritualistic churches, including those of Lowder and Mackonochie and was led by Grafton of the Cowley Fathers.⁶⁵⁶ In our analysis above of the Ritualists’ biographers’ themes⁶⁵⁷ we quoted G.W.E Russell’s account of the final 1869 London Mission service. This was led by Father O’Neill of the Cowley Fathers at the notable Ritualist church of St Alban’s.⁶⁵⁸ The accounts of worship we have of this mission tend to focus on that service. It was clearly the culmination of much preparation and face to face work involving both the missionaries and people from the participating churches. It is much smaller scale than Moody and Sankey’s massive undertakings and smaller even than Bickersteth’s missions. It might even be seen as an Anglo-Catholic reaction to these sorts of undertakings although indeed it predated the two particular examples described above. It differs not just in its scale and localness but inevitably also in the way that liturgical ritual is employed to mark and effect the transformation of the ‘penitents’.⁶⁵⁹ We might even term those affected by this mission ‘neophytes’ in line with anthropologists’ use for communities

⁶⁵³ Page 144 above.

⁶⁵⁴ John Newton (1779).

⁶⁵⁵ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p.151.

⁶⁵⁶ Arthur Michael Ramsey, ‘Charles C. Grafton, Bishop and Theologian’, in *Nashotah House Quarterly Review* (Wisconsin: Nashotah House, 1967), p.8.

⁶⁵⁷ Section 7.4.2 on page 124.

⁶⁵⁸ G.W.E. Russell, *St Alban The Martyr, Holborn, A History of Fifty Years* (London: G Allen, 1913), p.89

⁶⁵⁹ Reynolds observes that the confessional nature of the Mission had the effect of limiting the co-operation with other sections of the Church. Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 159.

who ritualize a transition in their lives.⁶⁶⁰ There is a great deal of preparation of the penitents in bringing them to a state of readiness for such a service too. The examples of mission above have no equivalent to this sort of occasion, except perhaps in the Rite of Confirmation offered by Bickersteth, although this would come later in his mission year. Despite Moody and Sankey expecting Christian people to know the moment of their conversion, there appears to have been no public ritual that marked their transformation. It was a personal spiritual change perhaps occasioned as a crowd member in a Revivalist meeting. In many other ways the nature of what is understood as a mission is similar in that it involves preparation of church-goers and leaders, the drafting in of mission leaders, groups of co-operating and supporting churches, inspirational talks and rallying events. It is most likely that these approaches to mission are not independent of one another.

The Manchester Guardian account of the concluding act of liturgical worship to the 1869 London Mission amplifies the description by G.W.E. Russell.

O'Neill said he would explain the service. First the candles would be blessed in the same way that vessel and all vestments were blessed before they were used. A candle would be given to each one who was about to renew his vows. This candle he would have lighted and what was not consumed of it might be taken home.... The questions which would be put would be taken from the Prayer Book, and he trusted that all would give their answers in a bold and manly way, so that the Church might be glorified and the Devil might tremble. The candles were then blessed at the 'altar'; but how this ceremony was performed was not seen by anyone who was not in the Chancel.... In a minute or two afterward these were lighted (they were thin wax ones of about a foot long) and each of the penitents, to the number of nearly five hundred men and women, held one of them while a penitential hymn was sung.... "Do you here in the presence of God and of this congregation renew the solemn vows and promises that were made in your name at your baptism".... After this part of the ceremony Mr O'Neill went to the altar and was vested in a splendidly embroidered cope. He was joined by the Revs Mackonochie, Walker, Hows and Willington, several members of the Society of St John the Evangelist, and a large number of choristers - and the procession accompanied by banners moved round the church, the five hundred men, women and children, following in their train.... When the clerical part of the procession had reached the Chancel and the penitents had regained their places, the Blessing was pronounced, and the candles having been as if by one single breath blown out, the congregation dispersed.⁶⁶¹

The use of light, colour, symbol and movement was an important part of the Ritualists' mode in making heavenly truths plain to communities where words alone cut no ice. The idea of a movement from uncleanness to cleanliness betrayed in the baptismal references is acted out with a ritualistic movement from darkness to holy light and in procession from separation to incorporation. What they were doing may not have been totally new,⁶⁶² but it was fresh in the British context and set in communities that the church had as yet barely touched, even with its words. The resonances with Baptism are also a key to understanding the sacramental movement that these Ritualist liturgists

⁶⁶⁰ e.g. Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), p.94

⁶⁶¹ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.262f. This same account is in *The Daily News* (London) Thursday November 25, 1869, the *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow) Friday November 26, 1869, the *Western Mail* (Cardiff) Friday November 26, 1869, and the *Derby Mercury* (Derby) Wednesday December 1, 1869.

⁶⁶² Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.263, argues that some of the ritual elements described are pale imitations of much more dramatic events spilling into the streets from French Catholic churches.

were trying to encourage in their communities. These were means of drawing people to God stemming from Oxford Movement principles of deferring more to the Church of the Early Fathers than the fathers of the Reformation. They would track, sometimes erroneously, the heritage of their practice back to these times.⁶⁶³ The centrality of baptism in the early church’s mission is certainly more evident than it is in the Christendom culture of the *BCP*.

In fact, O’Neill’s words to the candidates recorded by newspapers ‘Do you here in the presence of God.....’ are drawn directly out of the *1662 Prayer Book Confirmation Service*.⁶⁶⁴ What would follow in the *BCP* would be prayer, the Confirmation, two collects and the blessing. The *BCP* rite of Confirmation is very thin and very plain, only provided in an outline form.⁶⁶⁵ Confirmation tended to be a very rare and minimalist affair across most of the Church of England until, as we noted earlier, the Victorian transport and communication systems made it possible for bishops to travel easily within their diocese and raise its profile. The Ritualists’ use of part of that service here demonstrates their concern to give adults an opportunity to declare their faith. This was at the same point in history that a renewal in interest in Confirmation was growing as it was made logistically more possible too.⁶⁶⁶ Here, in St Alban’s, the question and answer, ‘I do’, is accompanied by candles and hymn singing and is followed by a procession. Confirmation on this occasion was not an option for the Ritualists who were without a Bishop necessary to preside at such a service. Bickersteth, whose confirmation services were not directly a part of his mission on the other hand would have used the simple outline of the *BCP* without embellishment most likely.

In this attempt to restore what they saw as the traditional and ancient practices of the church the Ritualists also tapped into these practices’ power to mark transformations in people’s lives. Even where a modern historical (or archaeological) liturgist would say that the nineteenth century Ritualists got it wrong,⁶⁶⁷ the anthropologist might see

⁶⁶³ See footnote 587.

⁶⁶⁴ Buchanan makes the point that the rite of Confirmation itself appears to have had very little significance to R.M. Benson and the Puseyites. Buchanan, ‘Confirmation’, in Holeton (ed.), *Growing in Newness of Life*, p.105, footnote 4.

⁶⁶⁵ Buchanan says, ‘Liturgically the 1662 rite looked fairly denuded if it were to be taken seriously as a main service in this period (1890-1970). [It was a main service, of course, though one without scripture, hymnody, sermon, presentation, welcome, or communion as it stood in its 1662 form. The great English precedent was for it to happen mid-week and to be followed by a special ‘first Communion’, as likely as not at 8 a.m. on the Sunday following.]’ Buchanan, ‘Confirmation’, in Holeton (ed.), *Growing in Newness of Life*, p.108 [and footnote 8].

⁶⁶⁶ Increase in the Episcopate, Train and telephone. (It tended to be the candidates who were required to travel to the Bishop rather than vice-versa). See Jagger, *Clouded Witness*, pp. 106-108, 150-151, 168-169.

⁶⁶⁷ Reynolds notes, ‘Liturgical Studies were then in their infancy, and it is not surprising that Mackonochie, for all his caution, should sometimes have introduced ceremonies based on what now may seem doubtful precedents.’ He particularly cites Mackonochie’s penchant for changing his white stole to

symbolic and ritual wisdom being relearned. This is perhaps best expressed by reference to the work of Victor Turner (1920-1983). He builds on van Gennep's threefold model for rites of passage⁶⁶⁸ and Gluckman's approach to social process⁶⁶⁹ in describing how people negotiate transitions in their lives through ritual.⁶⁷⁰ Turner spots two elements that he regards as having vitality in marking transition: *Liminality* and *Communitas*.⁶⁷¹ In considering this work here we need to bear in mind that Victor Turner's observations belong to a world where the rites of passage he explored were part of an all embracing cultural system in a homogeneous society. This cannot be claimed for the church in Victorian cities so easily although the Ritualist priests themselves were fully immersed in their system.

Limen signifies 'threshold' in Latin⁶⁷² and is used by van Gennep as a metaphor for being 'betwixt and between'.⁶⁷³ The process of transition can be expected to have three phases: pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal. Turner, particularly in his work on the Ndembu of Zambia, observes extravagant ritualizing of the liminal phase of transition for neophytes.⁶⁷⁴ A western example of well defined liminality that Turner uses in parallel with his Ndembu examples is that of the Rule of St Benedict. This was no doubt important in the formation of the Cowley Fathers⁶⁷⁵ and the London Mission concluding service of 1869 is to some extent undoubtedly born out of this tradition. Among the characteristics of liminality described by van Gennep and Turner we see for example:⁶⁷⁶

- i. separation from and reintegration into the community
- ii. absolute control of the neophytes in the liminal phase
- iii. levelling and commonality among the neophytes

a purple one for the renunciation in the Baptism rite, and back to white again afterwards as having no precedent. Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 118.

⁶⁶⁸ A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960).

⁶⁶⁹ Max Gluckman, *Rituals of rebellion in South East Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954).

⁶⁷⁰ Michael Lambeck (ed.), *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion* (Massachusetts: Blackwells, 2002), p.358.

⁶⁷¹ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), pp.94-130, and also Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp.93-111.

⁶⁷² Victor Turner, *Forest of Symbols*, p.94, and also Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.359.

⁶⁷³ Ronald L. Grimes, *Readings in Ritual Studies* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996), p.511.

⁶⁷⁴ e.g. Victor Turner, *Forest of Symbols*, p.94, and also Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 'The Liminality of an Installation Rite', in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.361f.

⁶⁷⁵ The Benedictine influence is described in Smith, 'Benson, Richard Meux', *ODNB*.

⁶⁷⁶ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.366. Note too the discussion on 'Structuralism' above, page 65.

iv. humility and homogeneity

v. simplicity, foolishness and acceptance

Turner contrasts these characteristics with those that prevail in the every day community. It is quite evident, from the accounts we have of the 1869 London Mission concluding service, that the liturgical ritual, a mixture of both fresh innovation and worship with deep roots in older Christian traditions, bears these marks. We might look for instance at: the seating arrangements separating 'penitents' from the rest of the gathering and separating men from women; the authority, dress and mysterious action of the priests; the uniformity of the candles they shared; the unity of their responses; the childlikeness of their procession. There is a strong correlation here with Turner's points above.

This cannot be something that the missionaries designed in from any knowledge of social theory. It has carried through to them from the traditions that they had reached back into - traditions that resonate with their own human experience and spiritual wisdom. Although the 'penitents' may not have belonged to a closed and homogeneous system marked by necessary rites of passage, we can conclude that the transformation negotiated by them would have made an impact on their own self understanding, future horizons, and status in society.⁶⁷⁷ This follows in transition rituals of other cultures, as Turner shows. Dan Sperber offers a more individually oriented approach to ritual and symbol than Victor Turner.⁶⁷⁸ He describes symbolism as cognitive and as such, a learning mechanism.⁶⁷⁹ This also supports the importance of symbols in the transformative process.⁶⁸⁰ He suggests a three stage personal process or realization: putting in quotes a defective conceptual representation (where the mind is open to see things and understand symbols differently); focalization on the underlying condition responsible for the defect; and evocation in a field of memory delimited by focalization.⁶⁸¹ Sperber's terms again support this Ritualist praxis towards the 'penitents' and helps to nuance Turner's notion of liminality better in relation to the Victorian context.

It is difficult to see this innate wealth in other examples of British missions from the period, although not impossible. In Bickersteth's mission practice we can see the importance of Confirmation acknowledged, again tapping the deep spiritual roots of the church. It may be possible to interpret Moody and Sankey's mission meetings as

⁶⁷⁷ This is an argument to some extent based on Lévi-Strauss's structuralist approach, page 64 above.

⁶⁷⁸ Dan Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p.87.

⁶⁷⁹ Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism*, p.89.

⁶⁸⁰ See too page 166 below.

⁶⁸¹ Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism*, p.123.

potentially a *liminal* moment for those on the threshold of conversion although it is difficult to describe this as ritualized beyond the crowd experience. Certainly though, one of Turner's marks of *liminality*, '*communitas*', may have been vaguely realized in the gathering.

For Turner, 'community', or preferably '*communitas*' (a word less likely to be laced with non technical meanings that can confuse his intended meaning), is a key to understanding how ritual transformation is negotiated. He defines *communitas* as a perfect manifestation of community:

... the being no longer side by side (and, one might add, above and below) but *with* one another of a multitude of persons.⁶⁸²

He sees *communitas* expressed in a variety of idealistic contexts such as in Millenarian movements, amongst Hippies etc. He also sees *communitas* invariably in *liminality*. Where people are on the threshold of transformation in a ritual setting alongside others then a sense of ideal community often prevails. *Communitas* is subversive and transforming toward the prevailing society. In rites such as those being explored here, Turner's principles help us see that it is ritually manifested and helps effect transformation. Turner terms (following van Gennep) such a ritual approach to transformation of people and community a *rite of passage*. So he says:

...in *Rites de Passage*, men are released from structure into *communitas* only to return to structure revitalised by their experience of *communitas*.⁶⁸³

Again, this wisdom of the ages, not intellectualized but belonging to a more inherited spiritual make-up of humanity, is betrayed in the Ritualists' approach. They might argue that they were searching for an approach ordained by God and manifest in the ancient church; the reader of Ritual Studies sees that the approach they adopted had resonance with the spiritual quest of people the world over. They had tapped into deep structures that had to some extent been pruned away across the post-enlightenment church. These structures are less well defined in Bickersteth or Moody and Sankey - structures that Turner describes in a generalist sense in these terms:

In the action situation of ritual, with its social excitement and its directly physiological stimuli, such as music, singing, dancing, alcohol, incense and bizarre modes of dress, the ritual symbol, we may perhaps say, effects an interchange of qualities between its poles of meaning. Norms and values, on the one hand, become saturated with emotion, while the gross and basic emotions become ennobled through contact with social values. The irksomeness of moral constraint is transformed into the 'love of virtue'.⁶⁸⁴

Whilst we can't make too direct an equation with the Ritualist conversion, Turner helps us see that the very colourful and dramatic expression of the Ritualists' worship was

⁶⁸² Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.372, quoting Martin Buber (1961).

⁶⁸³ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.373.

⁶⁸⁴ Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, p.30.

more than just lighting up the drab world of the nineteenth century urban working class. These things were enabling people to express their humanity and spirituality and effect change in their lives in ways that seem to be timeless and spread across continents.

The Ritualist missions of the 1860s would appear to have attracted smaller gatherings than those of either Bickersteth or Moody and Sankey. What we can see of their ritual pattern suggests that they were able to take people a long way through a journey of change. Whilst there is some evidence of Bickersteth encouraging long term change through ritual too, it is not possible to see this in Moody and Sankey's mission gatherings although some accounts of their mission meetings betray a suggestion of *communitas*. It may well be of course, that some local church congregations carried on where Moody and Sankey left off. It must also be stated that people can negotiate transformation without elaborate ritual. But the body of anthropological research surveyed would suggest that that ritual supports it.

Chapter 9 Ritualism and Liturgical Innovation

The prevailing liturgical prescription in the Church of England during the nineteenth century was *The Book of Common Prayer 1662*. The *BCP* was first drafted in the reign of Henry VIII (1491-1547), published when Edward VI (1557-1553) was king⁶⁸⁵ and revised under Elizabeth I (1533-1603)⁶⁸⁶ and James I (1566-1625).⁶⁸⁷ It has since been the definitive reference for worship patterns in the Church of England. There were a few short years during the time of Cromwell's republic when the Church of England operated under Presbyterian principles and the *BCP* was replaced by the *Westminster Directory*⁶⁸⁸ which gave much more flexibility to local priests than they had been used to. At the restoration of the monarchy the *BCP* was lightly revised and republished under an Act of Uniformity promulgated in the reign of Charles II (1630-1685)⁶⁸⁹ establishing it as the only legal form for Divine Worship. A few small changes were made to the *BCP* in 1871 under the *Shortened Services Act*.⁶⁹⁰

The context of the book is dominated by the church of Edward VI and of Charles II's nation building⁶⁹¹ when the bishops reclaimed their roles after a brief excursion towards republicanism and Presbyterianism.⁶⁹² The Preface to the *BCP* states:

By what undue means and for what mischievous purposes the use of the Liturgy came during the late unhappy confusions to be discontinued, is too well known to the world, and we are not willing to remember. But when, upon His Majesty's happy Restoration, it seemed probable that amongst other things the use of the Liturgy also would return of course..... In which review we have endeavoured to observe the like moderation, as we find to have been used in the like case in former times. And therefore of the sundry alterations proposed unto us, we have rejected all such as were either of dangerous consequence or else of no consequence at all, but utterly frivolous and vain.⁶⁹³

The phrase 'we are not willing to remember' is important to us here. Presbyterianism and the *Westminster Directory* were wiped comprehensively from the popular

⁶⁸⁵ 1549-50 & 1552.

⁶⁸⁶ 1559.

⁶⁸⁷ 1604.

⁶⁸⁸ *Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the three Kingdoms* (1645).

⁶⁸⁹ 1662. This is discussed further in footnote 589 on page 138 and also below.

⁶⁹⁰ This is properly called, *The Act of Uniformity Amendment Act 1871*. It made provision for shortening Morning and Evening Prayer, for a third Sunday service, and for services for special occasions. See, Donald Gray, *The 1927-28 Prayer Book Crisis, 1. Ritual, Royal Commissions, and Reply to the Royal Letters of Business*, Alcuin Club/GROW Joint Liturgical Study No.60 (Norwich: SCM Canterbury Press Ltd., 2005), p.13.

⁶⁹¹ Collins argues that Charles II's attempts to maintain personal control of the church and to encourage toleration within the Established Church of the Presbyterians failed. He suggests that, although the bishops may have been Royalists, they saw spiritual power as their's too. They revived a dualist concept of spiritual and secular authority. See Jeffrey R. Collins, 'The Restoration Bishops and the Royal Supremacy', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 68, No. 3. (Sep., 1999), pp. 549-580.

⁶⁹² Detailed discussion is outside of the scope of this thesis.

Refer to footnote 589 on page 138.

⁶⁹³ *Book of Common Prayer 1662*, Preface: paragraphs 2 and 3.

consciousness of the Church of England.⁶⁹⁴ With Charles II, that remnant of Presbyterian Puritanism which remained in England after Cromwell may substantially have become Unitarian.⁶⁹⁵ *The Book of Common Prayer 1662* and its historical reference point of the second year of the reign of King Edward VI became accepted authorities. This year is especially mentioned in the *BCP Ornaments Rubric* which became a major battle ground between Ritualist and Evangelical.⁶⁹⁶

This had not always been without question. After the 1688 Revolution a substantial section of the Church of England refused to take oaths of allegiance to William III and Mary II. This would have meant breaking their oaths to James II. They became known as Non-Jurors and remained in influence in the church and occupied a considerable number of Episcopal sees. James David Smith divides the Non-Jurors into two camps, the 'Usagers' and the 'non-Usagers', with a third 'Unionist' camp seeking reconciliation between these two in the middle of the eighteenth century. From then on the other two camps were considered 'Extreme'.⁶⁹⁷ The Usages Controversy that had split the Non-Jurors was over four 'usages' in the Communion Service: the mixed cup, the epiclesis, a prayer of oblation at the consecration in the Eucharist, and prayers for the dead.⁶⁹⁸ Of these eighteenth century concerns for lost ritual, only the mixed cup and prayers for the dead were to become nineteenth century causes for dispute and

⁶⁹⁴ See James C. Spalding, 'The Demise of English Presbyterianism: 1660-1760', *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. 28, No. 1. (Mar., 1959), pp. 63-83. He traces three phases of this 'demise'; The loss of hope in Comprehension with the Established Church 1660-1689 including through the Savoy Conference; The Union with Independents 1690-1719; Free and candid religious enquiry 1720-1760 (which might be paraphrased as loss of conservatism).

⁶⁹⁵ D.H. Tripp, 'Protestantism and the Eucharist', in Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright & Edward Yarnold SJ (eds), *The Study of Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1983), p.260.

⁶⁹⁶ The 1662 Ornaments Rubric is drawn from the Act of Uniformity printed at the front of the 1552 Edward VI Book of Common Prayer: 'PROVIDED alwayes and be it enacted, that suche ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers therof, shalbe reteined and be in use as was in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second yere of the raygne of Kyng Edward the vi. until other order shalbe therein taken by thauthority of the Quenes Majestie, with the advise of her Commissioners appointed and auctorized under the great Seale of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realme. And also that if there shal happen any contempte or irreverence to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church, by the misusinge of the orders appointed in this boke: The Quenes Majestie may by the like advise of the sayd commissioners, or Metropolytan, ordeine and publish such further ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advauncement of Gods glory, the edifyng of his Church, and the due reverence of Christes holy mysteries and Sacramentes.'

In the 1662 Prayer Book of the Victorian period the rubric preceded the liturgical texts for The Order of Morning Prayer and read: 'And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion and at all other times in his ministration shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of the book.'

See Buchanan, *The Savoy Conference Revisited*, Appendix 1.

⁶⁹⁷ James David Smith, *The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Later Non-Jurors; A Revisionist View of the Eighteenth Century Usages Controversy*, Alcuin Club/GROW Joint Liturgical Study (Cambridge: Grove Books, 2000), p.4.

⁶⁹⁸ James David Smith, *Later Non-Jurors*, p.3.

legal action. Revision of the epiclesis and prayer of oblation were to return as issues in the twentieth century.⁶⁹⁹

The Ritualists' concerns are much more extensive and a little confused. They changed between the middle of the nineteenth century and the end. There was also a plurality of bodies arguing for other different causes. J.E.B. Munson summarizes how these stood towards the end of the century as the 'party' matured:⁷⁰⁰

- i. The English Church Union (ECU) argued for 'six points', namely the eastward position while celebrating Holy Communion, altar lights, unleavened bread, Eucharistic vestments, mixed chalice and incense.⁷⁰¹
- ii. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament's (CBS) concern was for the doctrine of the Real Presence as well as fasting communions along with continuous reservation of the sacrament.
- iii. The Society of the Holy Cross (SSC) wanted sacramental confession, fasting communions and the concept of the Mass.
- iv. The Guild of All Souls advocated Masses for the dead and taught the concept of purgatory.

9.1 *Ritual and Symbol*

New priorities

The followers of the Oxford Movement who were beginning to work in the urban slums of the 1850s, and who adopted Ritualism, brought another priority to bear on the practice of worship; that of mission. Worship was not the end of mission. It was in worship that people were transformed. Worship was the means of mission, that is more than the brackets around a preacher's sermon or a 'hook' to attract attendance. The

⁶⁹⁹ Mark Dalby has documented the series of manuals published by various editors through the late nineteenth century that supplemented the *BCP*. All four of these issues were of interest in these printed works. Mark Dalby, *Anglican Missals and their Canons; 1549, Interim Rite and Roman*, (Alcuin Club/GROW Joint Liturgical Study No.41; Cambridge: Grove Books Ltd., 1998), esp. pp.5-6.

⁷⁰⁰ Munson, 'Oxford Movement', *Ch. Hist.*, vol. 44, No. 3. (Sep., 1975), p.388.

⁷⁰¹ James Bentley suggests that these six points emerged out of what previously had been significant disagreement about priorities. See, James Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain: the attempt to legislate for belief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p.21.

The minute of the ECU debate that settled the Six Points reads: 'That, without intending to put all the following points on the same ground, nor wishing to go beyond what recognised Anglican authorities warrant as to their use, the English Church Union is of opinion that, in order to bring about a generally satisfactory settlement of the present ritual controversy in the Church of England there should be no prohibition of the following usages when desired by clergy and congregations--viz.: (a) The eastward position; (b) the vestments; (c) the lights; (d) the mixed chalice; (e) unleavened bread; (f) incense', Rev. G. Bayfield Roberts, *The History of the English Church Union 1859-1894*, (London: Church Printing, 1895), 1874-1875.

slum priests' liturgical practice was driven both by theology and pastoral experience. To them the two met in worship by God's good providence. For instance, in the words of Charles Lowder:

The poor and uneducated are thus taught by the eye and ear, as well as by the understanding..... Surely those who know the trials and hardships of the working classes, the dreariness of their homes, the dark and cheerless surroundings of their work, and the few innocent pleasures which are within their reach, cannot deny them the gratification to be derived from the one bright spot in their neighbourhood..... Festival seasons duly observed; vestments, processions, lights, incense, choral services, flowers, pictures, music - grand hearty and inspiring; the details of ceremonial carried out carefully and reverently; these accessories of worship are the rightful claim of the clergy and people of such a church as St Peter's.....⁷⁰²

Lowder here would appear to invest a great deal in his liturgical practice. We must certainly conclude that for him, if not his parishioners, the experience of deprivation in his slum dwelling was severe and he found much 'gratification' in well ordered and beautiful worship. 'Gratification' must surely be read here as meaning much more than mere pleasure. In the light of our discussion in the previous chapter we could perhaps describe the intention as 'inspiring'. The persistence in the Church of England of the myth that this worship brought heaven's light into a drab world also suggests that others around saw things similarly. The liturgical matters that Lowder highlights here are certainly those that relate to beauty, drama and light, but there was suspicion that this served to mask the sacramental theology that underlay ritualistic liturgical development. L.E. Ellsworth tabulates how the priorities of Catholics changed from the beginning of their effort to broaden the forms of worship in the Church of England through to the time of the slum priests' trials epitomised by Alexander Mackonochie⁷⁰³:

<i>G.R. Prynne (1840s)</i>	<i>Liddell (mid 1850s)</i>	<i>Mackonochie (1868)</i>
Surplice when preaching	credence table	elevation of the sacrament
Prayer for Church militant when no Communion	stone altar	incense
bowing at Jesus' name	rood screen	mixed chalice
Chanted Psalms	altar cross	kneeling at prayer of consecration
Intoned prayers	altar cloths of seasonal colours	altar lights
Collection of alms in bags	altar lights	
Omission of prayer before sermon		

⁷⁰² Lowder, *Twenty One Years at St George's Mission*, pp.163-7.

⁷⁰³ Ellsworth, *Charles Lowder*, p.56.

Table 4: Liturgical Priorities

She observes that the later issues are more Eucharistic in nature than the earlier ones. Whilst this is true, we must explore below whether the matters these priests held to most tenaciously were those which represented Christ better to the non literate culture they found themselves in the midst of. Issues before the law courts were Eucharistic, but there was much they were persecuted for (though perhaps not prosecuted for even in later phases) that was not simply to do with the Eucharist: private confessions⁷⁰⁴; praying for the dead⁷⁰⁵; seasonal observances; processions in church⁷⁰⁶ and into the streets such as with stations of the cross,⁷⁰⁷ as well as the issues tabulated by Ellsworth. Their stand was not founded on their view of theological correctness nor beauty alone but also on their belief that high ritual was the right and need of those deprived by the comfortable and powerful in so many other ways.⁷⁰⁸ It was perhaps in this battle against the powerful elite of the day that they were most alongside their congregations and parishioners more than they themselves recognised. To the elite of the day, what the Ritualists were doing looked very Roman. Their concern that it might be Roman was not without foundation. Indeed with the perspective of history it is possible to see very clear influences from the nineteenth century Roman Catholic Church that have stayed with the Church of England.

The Eucharistic focus

Whilst Ellsworth's list is not exhaustive, it does help demonstrate that the Eucharist was the most fought over area. Sherry B. Ortner's theories suggest that this could be an indication of what she calls a *Key Symbol*.⁷⁰⁹ She provides a list for fieldworkers of indicators for *Key Symbols*. Her list is intended for fieldwork in contemporary cultures and so uses the word 'native' of its subjects, but we can still appropriate it to our use here. (She uses X to stand for the symbol.)

- 1) The natives tell us that X is culturally important.
- 2) The natives seem positively or negatively aroused by X, rather than indifferent.
- 3) X comes up in many different contexts. These contexts may be behavioural or systemic...
- 4) There is a greater cultural elaboration surrounding X, e.g., elaboration of vocabulary, or elaboration of details of X's nature, compared with similar phenomena in the culture.

⁷⁰⁴ See Lowder, *Sacramental Confession*.

⁷⁰⁵ Enraght, *Who are true churchmen and who are conspirators?*

⁷⁰⁶ R.W. Enraght, *Catholic Worship not Pharisaic Judaism: or A brief explanation of some matters in divine service popularly misunderstood* (London: J.T. Hayes, 1873).

⁷⁰⁷ See page 118.

⁷⁰⁸ Section 2.3.1 on page 50ff.

⁷⁰⁹ Sherry B. Ortner, 'On Key Symbols', in *American Anthropologist* 75 (1973), reprinted in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.159-167.

5) There are greater cultural restrictions surrounding X, either in sheer number of rules, or severity of sanctions regarding its use.⁷¹⁰

Before the emergence of Ritualism, it would have been difficult to discern elements of a Eucharist in the Church of England as *Key Symbol* in these terms. During the Reformation and the development of the *BCP* this may then have been discernable, and once more it is discernable at this nineteenth century period of controversy. Application of Ortner's signs to indicate a *key symbol* through the Reformation however might more likely have highlighted the Bible than the Eucharist, with printing and distribution of the scriptures in the vernacular as a source of controversy.

She also helps to break these symbols down into two categories: *summarizing symbols* and *elaborating symbols*.⁷¹¹ The first of these are objects that synthesize complex experience and relate respondents to the grounds of their system. The bread and wine of a Eucharist would fall into this category. Ortner splits these second *elaborating symbols* down into a further two sub-categories: *root metaphor* and *key scenario*. These *elaborating symbols* are not likely to be thought of as holy in their own right but are valued for their contribution to the ordering of experience. Ortner tells us that we might expect the *root metaphor* to help us understand how thought proceeds in the broadest sense⁷¹² and *key scenarios* help us understand how the restructuring of attitudes and relationships occurs out of the drama of ritual.⁷¹³ Amongst the *root metaphors* of interest to the Ritualists we might place candles, incense or vestments. They support the notion of God's presence and action as signs of light, prayer and sacrifice.⁷¹⁴ Amongst the areas of dispute we also find a great deal of action that could be thought of as serving like *elaborating symbol* in an orienting manner a little like these *root metaphors*. Here we might place eastward facing position for celebrants, genuflexion, use of wafer bread or a mixed chalice. Among the *key scenarios*, we could include confession⁷¹⁵ and prayers for the dead. These *elaborating symbols* were the focus of dispute in the nineteenth century and are the symbols we will analyse further here. It is important to note that the symbols are not important in their own right.⁷¹⁶ What matters, and what became a bone of contention, was the way that they served to elaborate the *key summarizing symbol* of Eucharistic action in particular - an action that was shared across all traditions in the Church of England, but as the *elaborating symbols* will show, came to be understood quite differently.

⁷¹⁰ Ortner, 'Key Symbols', in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.160.

⁷¹¹ Ortner, 'Key Symbols', in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.63.

⁷¹² Ortner, 'Key Symbols', in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.166.

⁷¹³ Ortner, 'Key Symbols', in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.166.

⁷¹⁴ See 9.2.1.3 to 9.2.4 on pages 177ff, for a fuller discussion of this.

⁷¹⁵ See 8.3.4 above for a discussion of confession and personal transformation.

⁷¹⁶ See Sperber, *Rethinking Symbols*, p.85.

Symbolism

We will need to develop some further symbolic literacy in order to read their symbolism. Language, whether it be written, spoken or sign-language, is itself based on symbol. Roy Rappaport tells us that ‘the symbol appears to be unique, or virtually unique to humanity’.⁷¹⁷ This is not so of rituals. One form is where the subject (you or me) uses the symbol (a word) to conceptualize an object. Susan Langer describes this as a discursive form of symbolism.⁷¹⁸ This must be distinguished from *presentational symbols* that address questions of meaning. A further helpful distinction is to clarify the difference between a *symbol* and a *sign*. A sign would be, say, a grey cloud in the sky indicating that bad weather was on the way. A symbol of bad weather would be a weather map covered in tight isobars.⁷¹⁹ A sign points the subject directly to the object; a symbol causes the subject to conceptualize the object. Here we are considering *presentational symbols* - that is, a system that seeks to help human beings conceptualize meaning.⁷²⁰ In the context of the Christian worship that we are considering, the language of these presentational symbols goes right to the heart of the way worshippers come to understand themselves in relation to their world and eternity. It is not surprising that they were to become a bone of contention.

E.E. Evans-Pritchard’s work also serves to sharpen up our notion of the way that symbols operate.⁷²¹ From his extensive fieldwork in the Nuer religion he gives us some indication of what can be meant when people draw a direct relationship between a tangible symbol and a spiritual truth. He noticed that when Nuer say, for instance, ‘rain is spirit/God’, (*kwoth*) they do not mean that God is rain. They are more profoundly saying that rain bears a relation to God.⁷²² It does after all come out of the sky and give life on the ground. In rain, God / spirit / life is poured out from above. Whilst Evans-Pritchard is sometimes criticized for appearing to allow his western Catholic tradition to be a lens through which he reads other cultures, many anthropologists and students of ritual today recognize the inevitability and legitimacy

⁷¹⁷ Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.8.

⁷¹⁸ Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.136.

⁷¹⁹ Susan Langer, *Philosophy in a new key: A study of the symbolism of reason, rite and art* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1942) reprinted in Lambeck (ed.), *Anthropology of Religion*, p.140. (My example following Langer’s principles.)

⁷²⁰ Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism*, p.112.

⁷²¹ Maurice Bloch argues both against understandings of ritual that reduces it to a socially regulative function and against the sort of intellectualist approach of Evans-Pritchard that constructs a ‘cosmology’ or ‘pseudo-history’. Here we are not engaged in that debate but in Evans-Pritchard’s illustration of a way in which symbols can be seen to operate. Maurice Bloch, *From Blessing to Violence; History and ideology in the circumcision ritual of the Merina of Madagascar*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.7-8.

⁷²² E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p.124.

of doing so.⁷²³ It is not possible for human beings to be acultural. Evans-Pritchard's commentary on the Nuer is very helpful to us here, irrespective of such criticism, as it helps us understand the way that truth is communicated in western symbol as well as the Nuer's. He says:

Fundamentally, however, this is not a relation of Spirit to things but a relation of Spirit to persons through things...⁷²⁴

Evans-Pritchard's conclusions are drawn through exhaustive consideration of Nuer language, action, culture and cosmology. Even though the language seems imprecise, 'rain is God', 'twins are birds', the symbol actually says more than the poverty of the words. So in this culture where it is observed that birds, like twins, are of multiple birth, so twins will never eat eggs and are always laid to rest after death above the earth.⁷²⁵ We might equally expect to see symbols that speak more eloquently than words and act as controls on behaviour in the Ritualists' system as in any other. Symbols can convey truth and mediate the divine.

Sperber argues that symbols are one step removed from meaning, and are a property of the conceptual representation that describes them.⁷²⁶ This is highly individualized. Symbols can mean one thing to one person and something else to another. He demonstrates that symbols are not simply signs paired with their interpretations in a code structure.⁷²⁷ They operate in an evolving way. He suggests that smells are 'symbols par excellence': they evoke thought and memory for an individual in a manner independent of vocalization.⁷²⁸ The play of incense on the senses each time a Eucharist is celebrated enables the Ritual to become increasingly more evocative through the accretion of memories.

9.2 *Ritual practices in dispute*

What follows here is an attempt to outline the symbols and innovations in worship that became the 'flags'⁷²⁹ of the mid-Victorian Ritualists through their trials and controversy. It was these very things that set the establishment of the Church of England against them and it was to these things that the Ritualists themselves attributed

⁷²³ This is similar to the hermeneutics discussed above in section 4.3.1 on page 83.

See for instance, Melford E. Spiro, 'Cultural Relativism and the Future of Anthropology' *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 1, No. 3. (Aug., 1986), pp. 259-286. E.g. as an explanation for better self-understanding of the anthropologist: '... self-conscious awareness of one's own biases is an important means for controlling (if not reducing) perceptual distortions and the like.' (Spiro p.282, footnote 12).

⁷²⁴ Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, p.130.

⁷²⁵ Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, p.129.

⁷²⁶ Sperber, *Rethinking Symbols*, p.112.

⁷²⁷ Sperber, *Rethinking Symbols*, p.85.

⁷²⁸ Sperber, *Rethinking Symbols*, p.118.

⁷²⁹ Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, Part 1, p.500-501.

their success in urban mission. The words of the church and the use of their symbols did not correspond with one another. Roy Rappaport reminds us that ‘the way understanding is reorganized in ritual differs markedly from ordinary learning’.⁷³⁰ This distinction between the ordinary and sacred symbol was something the Victorian Church of England was unable to reconcile.

We will consider below the understanding of symbol and ritual discernible in *Directorium Anglicanum* (1858)⁷³¹ and *The Parson’s Handbook* (1899)⁷³² representing early Ritualistic and emerging Anglo-Catholic thought respectively. We will also consider the writings of Richard W. Enraght as indicative of Ritualistic thought during the height of the controversies (1865-1883).⁷³³ Alongside these we will consider responses by J.C. Ryle (Bishop of Liverpool 1880-1900) and the reports of two Royal Commissions: The Royal Commission on Ritual (1867-1870)⁷³⁴ and the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1904-1906),⁷³⁵ which provide material contemporary with Enraght and Dearmer respectively.

John Purchas (1823-1872) is accredited as having introduced to the Church of England the use of vestments such as the cope, chasuble, alb, biretta, etc., and used lighted candles on the altar, crucifixes, images, and holy water, together with processions and incense. In his wake six specific practices, which became known as the ‘Six Points’, were recognized as constituting the main features in the claims of the less extreme Ritualists and were particularly advocated by the ECU.⁷³⁶ Four of these were issues

⁷³⁰ Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, p.388.

⁷³¹ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, (1858).

⁷³² Percy Dearmer, *The Parson’s Handbook*, First Edition (London, Grant Richards: 1899). Both the first edition (1899) and the tenth edition (London, Humphrey Milford: 1921) have been used here. The first edition was published in 1899 whilst events were still fast moving. There were a number of other publications that year that he could only take account of in his later editions. There was some confusion in the early reprints of *The Parson’s Handbook* as the publisher called them new editions. Significant editing was done before the fourth and before the sixth editions when on both occasions the book was considerably enlarged.

This is a key and authoritative source of late Ritualist thinking that was still in print decades later and is still used in the 21st century. See, Donald Gray, *Percy Dearmer: A Parson’s Pilgrimage* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 2000), Chapter 3.

⁷³³ These writings are fragmentary and diverse. Many can now be found at *PCant* [<http://www.anglicanhistory.org/england/enraght/index.html>, 29 November 2007].

⁷³⁴ This commission issued two reports. The first dealt with vestments and the second with altar candles and incense. They are titled: *First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the rubrics, orders, and directions for regulating the course and conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the use of the united Church of England and Ireland; with Minutes of Evidence and appendices, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1867), and *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the rubrics, orders, and directions for regulating the course and conduct of Public Worship, &c. according to the use of the united Church of England and Ireland; with Minutes of Evidence and appendices, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1867).

⁷³⁵ *The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Report, Minutes or Evidence, Record, Appendices, Index, Analysis* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1906).

⁷³⁶ See above on page 162.

Purchas was taken to court over.⁷³⁷ The six were: the eastward position; the use of incense; the use of altar lights; the mixed chalice; the use of vestments; and the use of wafer bread. We will turn to Purchas, to Enraght then to Dearmer in their chronological order to seek an understanding of these particular symbols.

9.2.1 A Pioneer - John Purchas

*Directorium Anglicanum*⁷³⁸ was the first in a line of manuals published to help Anglican clergy apply the Ritualist principles that were emerging in the mid nineteenth century to their practice of worship.⁷³⁹ It was a beautifully made book bound in a pure white cover with gold block lettering and it had the appearance and feel suggesting that it belonged on the church prayer desk or altar rather than a study bookshelf. Some ten years earlier a scholarly exposition that supported new ritual practices through a historical survey of past English practices had been published. This was called *Hierurgia Anglicana*.⁷⁴⁰ It was not a manual, but was intended to argue a case. Purchas's manual, *Directorium Anglicanum*, then sought to take this case into the sanctuary.

Purchas's was not the only manual of ritual practice published in mid-Victorian England but it was most influential. It was not just a contribution to the controversies but became a part of them. When the prominent Slum Priest Ritualist, Alexander Mackonochie, was considering an appointment at St Alban's, Holborn he was quizzed. One of the issues he needed to assuage anxiety about was his view of Purchas's *Directorium Anglicanum*. In a letter to his then Vicar as part of an attempt to explain his position to the Patron he wrote:

There are four points which you ask - The sign of the cross, bowings, vestments, Purchas's book; besides these four you make an allusion to the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist..... Of course in a new sphere I should not feel bound to conform my practice in all points to what it is here, but he (Hubbard the Patron) would be able to form an idea..... I cannot say that I regard Purchas's book as inspired or an infallible guide. At the same time I think he deserves some credit for the industry with which he has hunted out old rubrics and customs, which help us to understand the mind of our own Church in her office. I believe however that he is often wrong even according to the old Ritual, and certainly in one case shows an ignorance of the modern rubrics. So far as I have used it at all, it has been to read what is said and decide for myself what is best to be done.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁷ Section 9.2.1.1 on page 170 below.

⁷³⁸ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*.

⁷³⁹ Mark Dalby has demonstrated the concerns of subsequent manuals, many more suited to the altar than Purchas's. His is of chief interest to us here because, unlike other editors, he was pursued through the courts. Our interest is in the mark that personal oppression has left on the church. Dalby, *Anglican Missals (JLS 41)*.

⁷⁴⁰ John Fuller Russell (ed.), *Hierurgia Anglicana; Documents and extracts illustrative of the ceremonial of the Anglican Church after the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society, 1848). (This was later considerably enlarged and revised by Vernon Staley and published in London by Alexander Moring, 1902)

⁷⁴¹ Russell, *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie*, p.75f.

Mackonochie's inquisitor is as concerned about his view of Purchas's book as he is about Mackonochie's own ritual practice. The book is part of the controversy and significantly, Mackonochie distances himself from the book in a measured reply. Mackonochie became Vicar of St Alban's in 1882. Between its publication and 1882 there had been a storm over the sorts of practices espoused in the book and twenty-four years after the publication of *Directorium Anglicanum* even the most favourable assessments such as Mackonochie's were luke-warm at best.

Nevertheless, the importance of this book should not be diminished. It had set out in a systematic way the practices that were developed in subsequent manuals, and two further editions of *Directorium Anglicanum* edited by Lee, and that were to provoke controversy. It made these practices accessible to parish clergy and became a device that actually promoted and facilitated change in churches. *Directorium Anglicanum* was intended to help the Church of England to embrace a form of worship that the author believed best represented heaven's ways but it also helped turn those who followed its guidance to become perceived as subversives. As we will see, both of these effects had a deep impact on the relation of some of the church's clergy to the inhabitants of Britain's poorest communities.

9.2.1.1 The man John Purchas (1823 – 1872)

John Purchas was born and educated in Rugby and then Cambridge University, completing a BA at Christ's College in 1844. He served two curacies in Cambridgeshire before moving to Brighton in 1861 where he served both as Curate at St Paul's then in 1866 became perpetual curate of St James' Chapel in the same parish.⁷⁴² *Directorium Anglicanum* was published before he left Cambridgeshire but it was whilst he was at St James' Chapel that he became most embroiled in Ritualistic controversies. No doubt the book had bought him some notoriety.

Scott deHart observes that in 1810, when St James was founded, pew rents were still the order of the day but that this church was unusually built through voluntary subscriptions.⁷⁴³ This is evidence of an intention to make provision for the poor who were often excluded from the established church and who inhabited that district. Ritualists often found that it was only in such new churches that they could find the freedom to experiment. By 1868 Purchas was in dispute with the Vicar of the parish, Rev Wagner, over his (Purchas's) Ritualistic excesses. Wagner appealed to the Bishop of Chichester. Purchas was inhibited from preaching and administering the sacraments.

⁷⁴² G. C. Boase, 'Purchas, John (1823–1872)', rev. G. Martin, *ODNB*.

⁷⁴³ Scott de Hart, *Anglo-Catholics and the Vestments Controversy in the 19th century and Questions of Authority*, PhD dissertation submitted to Wycliffe Hall, Oxford University in a collaborative research programme with Coventry University in 1997, http://firstmartyr.org/essays/jpurchas_ritualism.htm.

He refused to acknowledge the validity of the inhibition and escalated the dispute.⁷⁴⁴ The following week he staged an extravagant procession including 30 vested officiants and provoked rioting outside in the streets.⁷⁴⁵

Eight months later, in July 1869, Colonel Charles James Elphinstone brought a case to the Court of Arches against Purchas. He was a resident of Brighton and was acting on behalf of the Church Association. Forty-four charges were brought against Purchas principally to do with the use of vestments, summarized by the judge as follows:

They accuse the defendant of various ritual acts and observances, which are said to contravene the Acts of Uniformity, the Canons, and the general law of the Church. They enter into minute details and specifications, - some of a character extremely trivial, which it is impossible not to regret should ever have occupied the time of this Court; but others are of a graver character...The most serious matter is that which relates to the wearing of certain vestments by Mr. Purchas and by other officiating ministers with his consent during the celebration of Divine service.⁷⁴⁶

Purchas had not answered the charges, giving poverty and ill health as his reasons, but on 3rd February 1870 the Dean of Arches, Sir Robert Phillimore, was to find in his favour over the vestments. Phillimore had also allowed the carrying of a biretta into the service, the use of wafer-bread, the use of wine mixed with water, the eastward position of the celebrant during the prayer of consecration, and vases of flowers upon the holy table. This same judge had found in favour of Alexander Mackonochie the previous year with the exception of elevation of the chalice and paten and the use of incense.⁷⁴⁷

There was an appeal against both of these judgments that was taken to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Col. Elphinstone died during the appeal process and Mr Hebbert was given leave to continue the case against Purchas. This provoked Purchas's only appearance in court to raise objection to this particular latitude. In May 1871 the Privy Council found against Purchas on every point.⁷⁴⁸ He was fined costs

⁷⁴⁴ On Thursday October 15th 1868 *The Daily News* (London) reported, 'St James's Chapel Brighton, - In the earlier notices of the Bishop of Chichester's inhibition of the Rev. John Purchas, it was stated that the reverend gentleman took no part in the services of St James's Chapel on Sunday last. This was an error. Mr. Purchas officiated in the morning and preached in the evening.'

On October 27th 1868 *The Daily News* reported that 'Mr. Purchas treats the inhibition with contempt' and that 'the aged bishop has been ill advised'.

⁷⁴⁵ Edward Martin of Hove was charged with causing the riot but Purchas pleaded in court for leniency towards him provided that he realised such behaviour should not be repeated. This was granted. Admission to services was limited to ticket-holders only in the aftermath of this. *The Daily News*, Saturday October 31, 1868.

⁷⁴⁶ Robert Phillimore, *The Principal Ecclesiastical Judgments delivered in the Court of Arches 1867-1875* (London: Rivington, 1876), p.160.

⁷⁴⁷ See Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain*, p.218f.

⁷⁴⁸ Cuming says, this 'caused widespread dissatisfaction: though vestments were not yet used by many, the eastward position was, and 4700 clergymen signed a protest. The immediate result of the judgement was that the usages condemned were more widely practiced.' G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 2nd edition (London: Macmillan, 1982), p.156.

but had already given everything he owned to his wife and was unable to pay.⁷⁴⁹ The result provoked a protest signed by 4700 clergy. He continued to encourage Ritualistic practices at St James and in May 1872 was suspended for a year. This never stopped him. He died at the end of that year aged 49.⁷⁵⁰ He undoubtedly paid a high cost for the sake of his beliefs about worship.⁷⁵¹ This cost was not lost on those who were excluded by the same establishment that prosecuted John Purchas. He is remembered as the first martyr to this cause. Others were to follow Purchas to early graves and their ‘martyrdoms’ did much to lend significance to the myth of the slum priest Ritualist.⁷⁵²

9.2.1.2 Purchas’s Book

There can be no question that Purchas wrote his book believing that the worship he was recovering was a tool that would help the marginalized and poor understand the church’s faith. On the very first page of its substantial preface he writes,

Love and faith keep a right proportion in things pertaining to Christ on the one hand, and to His poor members on the other. They lavish their best – their ‘alabaster box of ointment very precious’ – on the House and Worship of Almighty God, and yet ever remember that ‘the poor shall never cease out of the land.’ The poor ‘are always with us,’ and we must earnestly call them into His Church to hear the glad tidings which our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ still preaches by His Priests to ‘the common people’.⁷⁵³

Although church leaders recognized their need to adapt, the credo of the Ritualists seemed a step too far. In Victorian Britain it is quite evident that people vested something of their self-identity in the practice of religion. You may as well ask somebody to speak in a different language and adopt a new set of manners as to behave differently in church. Changes to worship were not on the agenda of the powerful. This was only to change the poor that they might adopt the manner of the middle classes.

Purchas has a go at bridging this gap:

Ritualism is a science as well as a theology.... The religious use and the science of Ceremonial and Ritual are fully recognized in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer. In the statement ‘*Of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained,*’ Ritual and Ceremonial are distinctly accepted as ‘pertaining to edification,’ not only as serving ‘to a

⁷⁴⁹ In itself this is fascinating. Purchas and his wife must have been among the very first people to take advantage of the Married Women’s Property Act 1870. See footnote 374.

⁷⁵⁰ Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain*, p.218f.
G. C. Boase, ‘Purchas, John (1823–1872)’, rev. G. Martin, *ODNB*.

⁷⁵¹ Lee, who edited the third edition of *Directorium Anglicanum*, said at his funeral, ‘A most intimate friend informs me that during the whole period of persecution endured by him from the Church Association, he never uttered a harsh word against his persecutors. The same was the case, even when people were sent to ransack his house. And so Persecution triumphed by the death of its victim. For his persecutors it is an ugly picture and dark, though what is called “the Religious world” has apparently looked upon it with bland and pious satisfaction.’ Frederick George Lee D.C.L., ‘A Funeral Sermon on the Decease of The Rev. John Purchas, M.A. of Christ’s College, Cambridge; Minister of St James’ Chapel, Brighton’, preached at *All Saints*, Lambeth, Sunday 27 October 1872 (London: John Hodges, 1872), p.12.

⁷⁵² See paragraph 3.1 on page 60.

⁷⁵³ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.v.

decent order and godly discipline,' but also as 'apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God by some notable and special signification.'⁷⁵⁴

There appears to be a glint of thinking, well ahead of its time here, about human ritual behaviour and the science of anthropology. Purchas certainly has a grasp on the personal and social formational functions of ritual. He claims here that it serves the establishment well to use the power of ritual to stir up Godliness. The argument was very sophisticated for the symbolic literacy of his day.

It would be wrong to argue that the mission to the new urban poor was a primary motivation for John Purchas's undertaking. *Directorium Anglicanum* is chiefly an apology for the emerging cause of the Ritualists. The concerns of the establishment for the religion of the poor was something the Ritualists shared at first and later developed a deeper understanding about through their own marginalisation. Purchas's chief explicit concern in writing was to have the Church of England arrange its worship as he believed both the law and God had ordained. Coincidentally it suited the task of mission as he understood it. Purchas tabulated his views of the 'ends to which Ritual and Ceremonial minister', that is to say, their function. These may be summarized:

1. They safeguard the Sacraments
2. They express the doctrine of the Catholic religion
3. They are habitual and minute acts of love to God
4. They promote God's glory to both priest and people hence the concern for what happens in the sacristy as well as in public⁷⁵⁵

His concern to change things was founded on an understanding of a continuum through history that had been broken, not by the sixteenth century Reformers but by the slovenliness of eighteenth century clerics.⁷⁵⁶ The Ritualists, Purchas amongst them, constantly argued that they remained faithful to the *BCP* and the Reformation. They were reviving practices that were taken for granted in the seventeenth century but forgotten by the nineteenth century. He wanted to promote good and decent order everywhere. This included the church's public worship but also those times and places when a minister was on his own. The church had simply forgotten what it should be doing and it needed to return. The touchstone of their explicit argument was not in Rome⁷⁵⁷ but was at the point in English history on which the *BCP* itself had settled: the second year of the reign of Edward VI. So Purchas added a subtitle to the long title of his book:

⁷⁵⁴ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.xii.

⁷⁵⁵ This summarizes the table in Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.xiv.

⁷⁵⁶ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.vii.

⁷⁵⁷ Doubts amongst adversaries about this were bound to pervade, and significant conversions such as Newman and Manning's to Rome were bound to contribute to this. Reed documents defections to Rome throughout the 1840s by graduates standing at: Oxford – 10%, Cambridge – 4%, Dublin – 0.7%. Oxford educated priests were bound to be under some suspicion, and indeed one might have expected that their formation had led them to lean towards Rome anyway. See Reed, *Glorious Battle*, pp.176f.

With plan of chancel and illustrations of “such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, (as) shall be retained, and be in use as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.”⁷⁵⁸

He seems to have honestly believed that his writing this book, and so setting out the missionary advantages and English historical basis for his form of ritualism, would have convinced the church at large to change. The front material of the book carries three quotes that betray most clearly Purchas’s aspirations. They are drawn from the 1562 *Book of Homilies*, the 1662 *Prayer Book* and the 34th Article:

Let this sacrament be in such wise ministered....as the good Fathers in the Primitive Church frequented it.

Here you have an Order for Prayer and for the Reading of Holy Scripture much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the Old Fathers.

Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly.⁷⁵⁹

These leave no doubt that the fundamental cause for his writing is to promote a practice of worship such as he believed was handed on by the early church and adopted in England at the Reformation. He seems convinced by his own arguments and most likely fully expected that any one who should read his words would be equally convinced.

The book carries a dedication:

To the Archbishops and Bishops in visible communion with the See of Canterbury this Manual is with every feeling of profound respect most humbly dedicated.⁷⁶⁰

The man that wrote those words cannot have anticipated the furore that lay ahead of their publication at the hands of the people he had such tender regard for.

Purchas goes on to add even more front material to his book before the Preface. (Perhaps he thought that the overstretched bishops would get no further than to read these first few pages and he needed to win his case here.) He quotes next from George Augustus, Lord Bishop of New Zealand, without comment:

The care of sacred things is not an idolatry of inanimate matter, but a recognition of the unseen God, to whose service they have been dedicated. It has been deemed worthy of record in the Gospel that Christ, when He had ended his reading, closed the book, and delivered it to the minister, to be, no doubt, deposited in the proper place, to be preserved from injury and desecration....⁷⁶¹

This is a reminder of a ritual model for the Christian Church that might be considered indispensable because of its presence in the Gospel. All this material seems to have been marshalled as convincing argument from authoritative sources. It is offered to

⁷⁵⁸ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, cover page.

⁷⁵⁹ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.iii.

⁷⁶⁰ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.ii.

⁷⁶¹ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.iv.

convince the reader that Purchas is to be taken seriously and that he, himself, is taking the Church's traditions seriously.

The Preface to Purchas's book then proceeds to argue for his brand of ritual. His approach is sometimes described as an 'ultra-rubrican' stance.⁷⁶² The heart of Purchas's stated case revolves around the Ornaments Rubric.⁷⁶³ Purchas deals with this in a pedantic and semantic way from page xiv of his Preface to the end (p.xxiv). On page xv of his Preface Purchas goes into real semantic and legalistic detail, with footnote upon footnote in an attempt to distinguish between James's book, Elizabeth's book and the Roman Missal. It would be instructive to print his argument here only inasmuch as to demonstrate how tortuous this debate became. But the answer to the ornaments rubric conundrum depended on which particular local church was researched. The Ritualists and their apologists put much energy into researching the inventories at Salisbury, York, Hereford and Bangor. Here they found very fruitful pickings. Professor John Harper has pointed out the significance that the liturgical traditions of Salisbury Cathedral in particular had in the nineteenth century. Speaking of Ritualists like Purchas, he says:

These men wanted to get back to the roots of *Ecclesia Anglicana* – the Anglican church established as independent from Rome in 1534 in the time of Henry VIII. These 19th-century scholars not only wished to discover pre-Reformation ritual practice, but to establish that it was English – and above all not Roman Catholic. For one of the great suspicions of their own time was that the high church agenda had as a long-term goal the drawing of the Anglican Church into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. So: Latin it may be, pre-Reformation it may be, but Roman Catholic it must certainly not be. That has led to a search for the British roots of the *Use of Sarum*, and to greater emphasis on what distinguishes Sarum from the Roman Use than what it shares in common.⁷⁶⁴

So he says that we have in *Use of Sarum* something we need to regard 'not as a medieval liturgy, but as a late medieval liturgy drawing together over 1000 years of Christian worship and Christian chant when it was codified for use in the new cathedral in the 13th century'.⁷⁶⁵ John Harper notes that by the Reformation *Sarum* was widespread across the country. He puts this down partly to the evolving nature of the Cathedral building itself during the fixation of the liturgy. This meant the rite evolved to be highly transferable.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶² E.g. In 1851 the bishops signed a joint pastoral letter opposed to ultra-rubricarianism, defending those who followed custom rather than the letter of the rubrics. G.J Cuming, *A history of Anglican Liturgy* (London: Macmillan, 1982), p.150.

Even at the turn of the century the term still had currency, being used in *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IX, [PCant <http://anglicanhistory.org/pwra/>, 16 November 2006].

⁷⁶³ See footnote 696 on page 161 above.

⁷⁶⁴ John Harper, *A jewel in the diadem: the Use of Sarum and its place in the family of Western Latin liturgy*, lecture given to the Friends of Salisbury Cathedral, 22 September 2007, Salisbury: Salisbury Cathedral.

⁷⁶⁵ Harper, *A jewel in the diadem*.

⁷⁶⁶ Harper, *A jewel in the diadem*.

The importance of *Sarum* as an authentically English liturgical usage was clear to Purchas. Its prevalence in 1549 meant to him that many of its directions were permissible within the *Prayer Book 1662* rites.⁷⁶⁷ It may also be observed that where there wasn't convenient English precedent, then the living tradition of the Roman Church was looked upon for reference. Manuals after Purchas's sometimes preferred the model of the prevailing Roman rite over *Sarum* anyhow.⁷⁶⁸

The substance of *Directorium Anglicanum* would appear to be designed for personal study, preparation for and use in worship. The effort that was put into the beautiful production of the first edition seems to suggest a book that was intended to be placed on the altar. It is not a replacement for the *Book of Common Prayer* so much as a companion to it. *Directorium Anglicanum* seems to contain the material that, in Purchas's mind, never got into the *BCP* because these were things that he argued were taken for granted at the time. Subsequent manuals were even better suited to this task.⁷⁶⁹

That the Rubrics of the Prayer Book were not at all designed to be, so to speak, a full 'Ceremonial according to the English rite,' will be apparent ... the present book has additional and fuller rubrical directions, but still not sufficient to meet every case and each requirement, for that was not the intention of the Revisers, but to amplify them for 'the better direction of them that are to officiate.'⁷⁷⁰

We might summarize this to say that Purchas argued he was setting out to put into print the oral, ritual and symbolic traditions now forgotten or gathering dust in volumes on Cathedral library shelves. Although the *BCP* contained some ritual guidance it was incomplete, he argued. He regarded his manual as providing the material and guidance that clergy had previously gleaned from other manuals in an earlier age, things now forgotten in his day but belonging to the reformed English Church.

Such a Manual as the clergy had for the better understanding and interpretation of the Rubrics of the Missal and other Office Books ... is now attempted to be given in this present volume.⁷⁷¹

Purchas argues that he is filling the gap. Sole reliance over two hundred years in the *BCP* had simply led to the obsolescence of these earlier manuals and a loss of memory as to their contents.

⁷⁶⁷ E.g. 'if the comparison of our present Service Book with its predecessors be needful for a perfect understanding of the Rubrics, it follows as a corollary that equally necessary is it to institute a comparison with the rubrical directions in the pre-reformation Service Books (of which our Prayer Book is a revised collection,)', Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.xi.

⁷⁶⁸ Dalby, *Anglican Missals*, p.9.

⁷⁶⁹ Dalby, *Anglican Missals*, p.4. He doesn't consider *Directorium Anglicanum* to be a manual as well suited to the sanctuary as others, although he mainly treats the later editions edited by Lee. Purchas's aspirations do seem to have exceeded Lee's.

⁷⁷⁰ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.vii.

⁷⁷¹ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.vii.

9.2.1.3 Purchas's liturgical issues

There can be no doubt that the key liturgical issue for Purchas was to emphasize the presence of Christ at the Eucharistic altar.⁷⁷² Although this is not taught in his book⁷⁷³ it appears to be the common root for each of the liturgical branches he explores. We need to look at what the symbols in hot debate were evocative of. The symbols will undoubtedly say more than his words. In Purchas's day this would have been an issue it was difficult to 'come out' over. Explicit references to a theology of real presence are not present in *Directorium Anglicanum*. The Twenty-Eighth Article of Religion states:

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of the Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.⁷⁷⁴

We will look at the issue again more closely when we review the later *Parson's Handbook*⁷⁷⁵ written by the Anglo-Catholic priest, Percy Dearmer.⁷⁷⁶ Dearmer was not a Ritualist and formed his liturgical practice after the Ritualist controversies, but he is regarded by many as the bearer of their standard to the next generation. His book is generally considered to be a successor to *Directorium Anglicanum* and indeed it received a far better reception.

JC Ryle, when he was Bishop of Liverpool, attempted to expose Purchas's undergirding theology directly:

I might refer my readers to the other published sermons on the Lord's Supper by men of high position in our Church. I might refer them to several Ritualistic manuals for the use of Communicants. I might refer them to the famous book "*Directorium Anglicanum*." I simply give it as my opinion that no plain man in his senses can read the writings of extreme Ritualists about the Lord's Supper and see any real distinction between the doctrine they hold and downright Popery..... I turn from books and sermons to churches, and I ask any reflecting mind to mark, consider, and digest what may be seen in any thorough-going Ritualistic place of worship. I ask him to mark the superstitious veneration and idolatrous honour with which everything within the chancel, and around and upon the Lord's table, is

⁷⁷² Purchas deals at some length with the nature, purpose and naming of the 'altar' which betrays this interest most clearly. E.g. 'The table on which the Eucharistic Sacrifice is offered has been called an Altar 'from the beginning.' The Prophet Malachi speaking in prophecy of the Eucharistic Sacrifice terms 'the Table of the LORD,' in reference to IT an 'Altar.' S. Paul tells the Hebrews that 'We have an Altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.' It is to be observed that the same Apostle calls the Christian, Jewish, and Gentile Altars, tables ; thus defining an Altar to be a Table whereon a Sacrifice was offered. And so, Bishop Andrewes: 'The holy Eucharist being considered as a sacrifice, it is fitly called an Altar, which again is fitly called a Table, the Eucharist being considered as a Sacrament.', Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.2.

⁷⁷³ Indeed Purchas goes out of his way to distance himself from the Roman Catholic Doctrine of 'Transubstantiation' whilst retaining use of the word 'Mass': 'The word "Missa," or Mass, has no connection what-ever, with the doctrine of transubstantiation. All the world knows it has several meanings. First, the words of dismissal at the end, "Ite Missa est." Secondly, the word was applied to any offering or sacrifice sent up to GOD. Thirdly, it was frequently applied to any festival.', Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.1, footnote 1.

⁷⁷⁴ *Book of Common Prayer 1662*.

⁷⁷⁵ Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*, First Edition (London: Humphrey Milford, 1899).

⁷⁷⁶ See 9.2.2.

regarded. I ask them whether the whole thing does not savour of the Romish doctrine of the Real Presence, and the sacrifice of the Mass?⁷⁷⁷

Ryle writes in terms that would not be considered today. The word ‘Popery’ has a very different currency in the 21st century compared to the 19th century. Then ‘Popery’ represented real political challenges to Great Britain. Now also, a theology of real presence is not seen as quite so exclusively Roman.⁷⁷⁸ Nevertheless, it was Ryle’s perception, as of many others in his day, that ‘real presence’ was the motivation behind ritual renewal. We might here prefer to talk about ‘real local presence’⁷⁷⁹ when considering the essence of what is meant to be more direct than Evans-Pritchard’s equation.⁷⁸⁰ It is not that Ritualism suggested the bread and wine might bear a relation to Christ that worried Ryle, but that he understood Ritualism to teach that the elements were essentially Christ. We will continue to use the term ‘real presence’ where the understanding is open to Evans-Pritchard’s interpretation.

Of the 146 pages of guidance for the leadership of worship in *Directorium Anglicanum*, 76 deal with the Eucharist. In the *BCP*, the *Order for the Ministration of Holy Communion* occupies 29 pages and all the other liturgies (excluding the tables, Collects, Epistles, Gospels and Articles) occupy 434. 52% of Purchas’s book relates to just 6% of the *BCP*. There can be no doubt that Purchas’s chief concern was the Eucharist. Purchas also provides an appendix of some 93 pages dealing with how to look after the church. This includes elaborate directions written in Latin for the burning of old vestments⁷⁸¹ and a recipe for the blending of Communion wine with treacle⁷⁸² amongst much else. The interest is primarily the Eucharist here again. In Ortner’s terms⁷⁸³ this is the *key* to his approach.

Purchas provides many forms of prayer that he clearly believes are missing from the *BCP*. He provides a liturgy for the preparation of the Eucharist and prayers for the celebrant alone, all of which are printed in Latin.⁷⁸⁴ These things cannot have helped

⁷⁷⁷ J.C Ryle, ‘Why were our Reformers burned?’ (1890) in J.C. Ryle, *Five English Reformers* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1996).

⁷⁷⁸ See for instance, Christopher J. Cocksworth, ‘Eucharistic Theology’, in Kenneth Stevenson and Bryan Spinks (eds), *The Identity of Anglican Worship* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Morehouse Publishing, 1991) pp.49-68.

⁷⁷⁹ Following Colin Buchanan in Colin Buchanan, *Eucharistic Consecration* (Cambridge: Grove Books, 1998), p.12.

⁷⁸⁰ Evans-Pritchard’s equation (see page 166) applied here would be to suggest that the Eucharistic elements say something about where the worshippers stand in relation to God rather than the more direct equation of transubstantiation sometimes assumed: ‘bread + wine in Eucharist = God’s presence’.

⁷⁸¹ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.197.

⁷⁸² Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.161. Purchas points to the medieval precedent of ‘Tent Wine’ for this. Part of the purpose was to achieve a red colour better representing blood.

⁷⁸³ See Section 9.1 on page 164.

⁷⁸⁴ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.26f. Indeed there is a considerable amount of Latin liturgical text in his book. Much of the original source material he was handling, of course, including all the ancient English Usages, were Latin texts.

the case against Popery and Romishness. Latin may have been the language of Sarum, but it also prevailed as the language of the Roman Catholic Church in Purchas's time; since the Reformation, English had been the language of worship in the Church of England and the majority of people Purchas was writing to would have been formed by worship in English. His successor, Percy Dearmer, avoids Latin altogether.

The so-called six points of Ritualism emerged after Purchas's book was published. These were those elements of ritual that the Ritualists were prepared to go to the stake over (or more likely prison in their case) and that they expected to find in any church that claimed to be following Ritualistic principles. It is instructive to look at how Purchas handles these before they had been crystallized as central to the Ritualists' practice. The arguments here remain quite undeveloped and will be developed further when we review Enraght and Dearmer.

Eastward facing celebrants

Purchas writes about the position of the celebrant in his section on the celebration of the Eucharist as well as in the text and footnotes of his appendix.⁷⁸⁵ Where the priest should stand in relation to the altar and the congregation is spelt out in detail.⁷⁸⁶ The main interest here for Purchas was that the celebrant stood between the congregation and the Eucharistic elements. Purchas does not state this with any clarity.⁷⁸⁷ The *BCP* instructs the priest to 'stand at the north side of the Table' in the 'Body of the Church or in the Chancel where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said'. This was assumed to prevent any obscuring of the elements and manual acts.⁷⁸⁸ In his section on *Directions for Celebrant(s)*, Purchas, goes to a great deal more trouble to describe the precise movement of hands throughout the Eucharist than where to stand in relation to the people and the furniture, e.g.

The *Collects* are said with 'extended and elevated hands,' but the hands are 'joined' again at the close, 'through our Lord,' &c.

⁷⁸⁵ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, pp.2, 166-167.

⁷⁸⁶ '...there be but one Priest (acting in that capacity,) whose place is to stand at first at, i.e., in front of, the Altar at the north side, and after the Gospel in medio altaris, facing the east. He is never to leave the foot-pace except when communicating the faithful.' p.2. 'The celebrant should keep his head and body erect, but his eyes bent down-wards even when turned towards the faithful, so as to avoid distraction. When he turns to the people, he turns from left to right, that is, standing in front of the altar facing eastwards, he turns round towards the south or right side (epistle corner), when he turns again to his Normal Position at the altar with his face eastwards, he turns in the same way, i.e., from left to right.' p.166.

⁷⁸⁷ Pages 166-168 deal with the minutiae of choreography around the altar but he only makes a liturgical case on behalf of the 'puritans' with whom he obviously disagrees: 'About this time it became the unseemly practice of the puritan party to set the Altar table-wise, in which case, if the Priest stood as of old, in dextro cornu, his Service Book, &c., would hide the chalice, which the puritans desired should be seen throughout the whole function...' Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.167 footnote.

⁷⁸⁸ This assumption was subsequently settled with the Clifton v. Ridsdale Judgement of 1877 and Read v. Bishop of Lincoln Judgement of 1892.

The complete arrangement of the priest's body movement seems to be a primary concern that he derives from old English Usages as betrayed by many of the directions being left in Latin.

He proceeds to form a two page long argument on the precise meaning of the 'north side' of the altar. Purchas makes a very unconvincing argument from history that the north-side never meant the "short end" but the midst of the altar.⁷⁸⁹ There is a little merit in this. After Cranmer the altar in many churches was replaced with a table whose long length ran north – south.⁷⁹⁰ This is encouraged by the rubric in the *BCP* suggesting a table in the 'body of the church'. A priest standing at the north side of such a table would have been in the midst of the long side. It is also true that a priest facing east at the middle of the altar of a more conventionally ordered church would have been at the long side. It is nevertheless questionable that the *BCP* concern was for the priest simply to stand at the long side of the table.

The whole section that offers *Directions for Celebrant(s)*⁷⁹¹ leaves the reader with the distinct impression that Eastward facing celebrations were only a small part of Purchas's concern however. More space is given to describe which way the priest's fingers should be pointing than which way his face looks.

We might conclude that fidelity to historic practices, including the most fussy, confused and detailed, was Purchas's chief concern here. The underlying theology and priorities that were to emerge are not yet worked out with any clarity yet.

Incense

Purchas's view of incense is very under-developed compared to later writers. There is very little in *Directorium Anglicanum* about this. It is not an issue he faced proceedings over. He defends the use of incense but is very conservative about it:

It seems most primitive, where incense is used, to burn it before the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The Liturgy of St James commences with the burning of incense.⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁹ E.g 'The strange practice of standing at the north end of the altar did not begin to be general till about a hundred years ago. It originated, however, with the Non-Jurors: probably from a misapprehension of the terms north and south sides in the ancient Liturgies. Before the time of the Non-jurors, whenever "end" was used, it was simply as the English translation of *cornu*, and not the end, or short side, of the *mensa*. It is so used in Laud's Book, "the Presbyter standing at the north side or end thereof," viz. *ad latus septentrionale, vel, ad cornu Evangelii*.' Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.166, footnote.

This argument over precise meanings of words and grammar is further taken to extremis in a 30,000 word letter, yet, nowhere is any liturgical theology considered: Morton Shaw, *The Position of the Celebrant at the Holy Communion as ruled by the Purchas Judgement, considered in a letter to the Lord Bishop of Winchester* (London: Rivingtons, 1874).

⁷⁹⁰ This practice disappeared over the course of a century, perhaps because of concern that the altar had become a convenient depository for coats and hats. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House*, p.215.

⁷⁹¹ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, pp.166-169.

⁷⁹² Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.11.

To Purchas the word ‘primitive’ is a very positive word. To do something in a most primitive way is to do it as the earliest church had done. ‘Primitive’ is almost synonymous with ‘authentic’. It should not conjure up notions of stone-age times. The same can be said for the use of the word ‘ancient’.⁷⁹³

Purchas suggests a use of incense that was never challenged in the courts. It was the use of incense during the celebration and in a procession that was later put to trial, but Purchas’s suggestion is for its use before a celebration. Those opposed to Ritualism were always most concerned with what was done publicly during the process of divine worship. Whilst they had some concern with what was done outside of that, before or after worship, this was not something the courts ruled on.

Purchas does not really seem to connect the burning of incense with the idea of sacrifice as has been done subsequently. For him this does not seem to have been another symbol of real presence. In a footnote he says of incense:

Incense is symbolical of the prayers of the faithful, which are so often described in Holy Scripture to be an odour of sweetness before heaven.⁷⁹⁴

Incense to Purchas is perhaps a sign of prayer stimulating sight and smell, but above all, it is drawn from ancient patterns of worship and the practice of the English church.⁷⁹⁵

Candles on the altar

Purchas gives far more attention to the use of altar lights than he does to incense. Altar lights became a point of considerable friction in the time between Purchas and Dearmer. They first surface in the Victorian courts through *Martin v. Mackonochie* (1868). Purchas lays out the ground of this controversy in stating clearly that there was significance in the lights to the Eucharist:

It should be observed that these lights should never be used as mere candles for lighting the Sanctuary. The *Coronae* and standard lights are sufficient for that purpose. The two lights are symbols and *in honorem Sacramenti*, one must *caeca lumina*, save when Celebration is intended.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹³ See ‘A plurality of historical reference points’ on page 136.

⁷⁹⁴ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.11.

⁷⁹⁵ Purchas’s reference to incense is supported in a footnote drawn from *Hierurgia Anglicana* demonstrating its use in the earlier reformation church:

‘Incense in Churches. S. Mary the Virgin, Cambridge:

“1562 For frankincense to perfume the church, 1d. For do. 2d.

1575 Item, for perfumes and frankincense for the church, 8d.”

All Hallows, Steyning, London:

“1563 In the time of sickness, item, for juniper for the church, 2d.

1625 The time of GOD’s visitation, item, paid for 10 lbs. of frankincense, at 3d. per lb. 2s. 6d.”

Jesus Chapel, Cambridge:

“1588 juniper to air the chapel on S. Mark’s Day.”

Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.10 footnote 29.

⁷⁹⁶ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.31.

To Purchas the altar lights were pointers to the sacrament and should be extinguished at other times than during the ‘Mass’. His use of Latin, instead of English (*in honour of the promise/sacrament and obscure the light*) is the language of the old English usages. Protestant churchmen were to become more fearful of candles even where they were needed to read a prayer book and Purchas compounds this.

His treatment of Altar lights betrays Purchas’s naivety and his own symbolic illiteracy. He seems unprepared for the provocation he was causing and seems to miss the point that the altar lights evoke notions of the presence of the ‘light of Christ’ at the altar. Purchas makes the point that, ‘Lights were received in the primitive church to signify to the people that GOD the Father of Lights was otherwise present in that place than in any other’.⁷⁹⁷ Yet he also insists that, ‘When Matins, Litany, and Communion, or Matins and Communion, are celebrated together, the lights should not be lighted till just before the Communion Office begins’.⁷⁹⁸ He does not seem to register, though, that not having lights lit that might speak of the presence of God in Matins, but doing so in the Eucharist, carries a message about when God might visit his church. His concern here is more that the ornaments and practices of the medieval church listed in the inventories and histories be used, rather than in discerning their symbolic significance.

The mixed chalice

This is a key point of overlap between the nineteenth century Ritualists and the Non-Juror ‘Usagers’.⁷⁹⁹ In fact the last Usager Bishop had only died in 1819.⁸⁰⁰ The Ritualists are here seeking to restore a practice still in the living memory of the Church. Purchas encourages the mixing of water with wine at the *Offertory*. He defends it from a rubric in *Edward VI’s First Prayer Book*⁸⁰¹ and in a footnote says:

This practice is symbolical of our Lord’s incarnation; the wine as the more precious Element representing His Divinity, the water as the inferior, His Sacred Humanity... According to another view the water symbolizes the people united to Christ.⁸⁰²

After the Mackonochie case, the mixed chalice was only allowed providing the water was mixed with the wine in the vestry. Writing before this, Purchas’s concern seems simply to be that the mixture happens. Although the arguments that he uses are about

⁷⁹⁷ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.29, footnote.

⁷⁹⁸ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.31.

⁷⁹⁹ See page 161 above. This relates to four ‘usages’ in the Communion Service: the mixed cup, the epiclesis, a prayer of oblation, and prayers for the dead

⁸⁰⁰ James David Smith, *Later Non-Jurors*, p.43.

⁸⁰¹ In the rubric before the *sursum corda* in the *First Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549)* it says of the wine, ‘putting thereto a little pure and cleane water’. There is no rubric at this point in either the 1552 or 1662 Prayer Books.

⁸⁰² Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.44.

its didactic merits he does not seem to mind which lesson is learnt. It is not a matter of major importance to him. In another footnote he observes:

The Armenian Church, however, a very ancient one, has never mixed water with wine.⁸⁰³

As we have already noted in an earlier context, ‘ancient’ is synonymous with ‘authentic’. The reference suggests that in Purchas’s view, a mixed chalice was not essential to an authentic Eucharistic celebration. He is perhaps more concerned with the principle that a mixed chalice is allowed, even though it may not be essential, than in defending a particular symbolic representation. The primary concern is again ancient precedent.

Wafer bread

Purchas is much more flexible about the sort of bread used in the Eucharist than is so for later Ritualists. His concern is more about convenience and avoiding crumbs than it is about the historical use of bread:

The bread may be either leavened, or unleavened. The former is the more primitive custom, and is still that of the Eastern Church; the latter is the more convenient, and is according to the usage of the West. Wafers are best as they prevent crumbling. If common bread is used, it should be cut up into squares in the sacristy, and the crumbs cleared away before being placed on the credence... Should ordinary bread be used, it ought to be new, as in that case it is not likely to crumble.⁸⁰⁴

Here we find Purchas equivocal over what sort of bread should be used. Within twenty years the use of wafer bread had become one of the essential six points of Ritualism. He seems to acknowledge that the use of every day leavened bread has an authentic antecedence and simply argues for the use of wafer bread as an option that may be chosen for the sake of less crumbs. One can only conclude that the issue of crumbs became far more important as Ritualistic thought developed. It is easier to understand this of those who taught real (local) presence in the Eucharistic elements; the thought of crumbs would present a real theological and practical problem.

The English Prayer Books are as equivocal as Purchas. The *BCP* rubric says,

it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten; but the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently might be gotten.

The *First Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549)* on the other hand said,

it is mete that the breade prepared for the Communion, bee made, through all thys realme, after one sort and fashion: that is to say, unleavened, and rounde, as it was afore, but without all manner of printe, and somethyng more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may aptly be divided in divers pieces.

Purchas seems to be convinced that wafer bread is the Church of England’s norm and this has only been lost through slovenly forgetfulness:

⁸⁰³ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.44.

⁸⁰⁴ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum* (Appendix 1) p.161.

Wafer bread is the order of the Church of England, with permission to use 'the best and purest wheat bread;' which permission has led to the ordinary use of the latter.⁸⁰⁵

This does not seem to be a matter of supreme importance to Purchas and one is left with the impression that his chief concern is to tidy up and dignify the Eucharist eliminating post-consecration crumbs. He considers that both types of bread had ancient antecedents. On the evidence of his writing in *Directorium Anglicanum* it would only be conjecture to conclude otherwise. If there are motives behind his desire to tidy up the Eucharist, it would be consistent to see these concerns compounded by a theology of real presence. It is similarly possible to argue that real presence was simply the teaching of the churches whose practice Purchas was seeking to restore and whose underlying theology he hadn't thought through. What connection there might be with the Roman Catholic Church is only to be found in the arguments of opponents.

Vestments

It is in this area that Purchas's writing becomes voluminous and his illustrations extravagant. It was also fundamentally for his use of vestments that Purchas was held up before the Court of Arches and the Privy Council. It was perhaps in the form of dress that the ministers wore that some members of the Brighton community saw their concerns about a foreign cultural invasion most tangibly focused. His elaborate procession of ministers in vestments caused a riot.

In the pages of small type that Purchas expends on the vestments worn by the celebrant and other ministers in the Eucharist and at all other times he is at pains to demonstrate a religious significance that is not confined to the church of Rome.

I will remark that the sacred vestures of the Christian Church are the same, with very insignificant modifications among every denomination of Christians in the world, that they have always been the same, and never otherwise in any country, from the remotest times where we have any written accounts of them, or any mosaics, sculptures or pictures to explain their forms. They are no more a Popish invention or have anything more to do with the Roman Church than any other usage which is common to all denominations of Christians.⁸⁰⁶

His concerns in the long and detailed sections of his book that deal with vestments are to describe them, to inform the reader as to how to wear them and to describe good taste, the best materials and elements of fashion. Most of this, it would seem, is drawn from Renaissance art. Purchas gives very little room for manoeuvre over vestments. He uses strong terms such as his commentary on albs, regarding them as 'ordered' by 'our present rubric'.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰⁵ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.41.

⁸⁰⁶ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.15.

⁸⁰⁷ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.13.

Summary

It is apparent that Purchas's concerns were not identical to the most important 'six points' that emerged as the Ritualists' thinking matured. Although his principal theological underpinning would seem to be 'real presence' he also has a belief that many Church of England clergy had become disrespectful and slovenly.⁸⁰⁸ It is his understanding of ancient church practice that is the main guiding principle. His solutions in *Directorium Anglicanum* are at an early stage of gestation and relate both to Eucharistic symbol and tidiness. His arguments are often pushed too far for his day and it is perhaps this that led many people to distance themselves from his book even when they had sympathy with his principles. For instance, in his treatment of vestments he simply allows no latitude for those whose practice was to wear less elaborate forms of dress.

This book was evidently formative amongst Ritualists but their thinking matured further. Although Purchas's book was left beached in terms of ritual practice as time moved on, it perhaps had an unintended impact: this book was written to help the church understand the historical, ontological and missionary importance of the emerging forms of ritualized worship in the Victorian Church of England. It appears to have been written with the intention of winning over the establishment. Its result was to enrage. Purchas's book undoubtedly helped place a number of priests, who had grown up within that establishment, to find themselves at odds with it. Many of them were coincidentally working in poor parts of Britain. The responses to Purchas's liturgical practice and the public attention his book brought may well have changed the approach of Ritualists in this period of controversy from naivety to reaction.⁸⁰⁹

9.2.2 Richard W. Enraght⁸¹⁰

If John Purchas's conflict with the establishment can be thought of as having been born out of some naivety, the same cannot be said of Richard Enraght. His practice and teaching belong firmly to the confidence of the middle phase of Ritualism as outlined on page 15. This confidence is demonstrated in his publication of sermons, tracts and letters that carried his frustration with the religious establishment into the public domain. Enraght's writings also betray a much more clearly developed liturgical

⁸⁰⁸ 'The recently-ordained Deacon and Priest have had generally no official training or example. The college chapel, and only too often the cathedral of the diocese, have with some favoured exceptions, worthy of all honour, been rather beacons to warn them off the rocks of irreverent slovenliness and ritual irregularity, than stars to guide them...' Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.vii.

⁸⁰⁹ See Definition of terms section 1.2 on page 13.

⁸¹⁰ See page 21.

theology than Purchas's, expressed without the caution and careful balance that later Anglo-Catholic apologists such as Percy Dearmer introduce.⁸¹¹

The work available to us from the hand of Richard Enraght only deals directly with four of the ECU's six points: eastward facing celebration, incense, altar lights and vestments. He never turned up at his court hearings so it is not possible to glean more from the court's records. He was firm in his anti-Erastian principles. Nevertheless, his Eucharistic theology is very well expressed in *The Real Presence and Holy Scripture*,⁸¹² from which we can deduce his underlying concerns. The four points he deals with more explicitly are treated both in his sermon to St Luke, Sheffield, *Bible-Ritualism Indispensably Necessary for Purposes of Instruction and of Worship*,⁸¹³ and in the later, more confrontational paper, *Who are the True Churchmen and who are the conspirators?*⁸¹⁴

The sermon also betrays something of Enraght's approach to the introduction of Ritualist practices in St Luke's, Sheffield. The last two paragraphs berate the congregation on Ritualism:

Now once get the other notion out of your heads; namely--that you go to Church for little else than preaching--that little else is of much use; and get a true view of the primary and principal object for which we "assemble ourselves together" into your head; and ...

Get this true idea into your heads ...⁸¹⁵

This matter about which Enraght was preaching (the indispensability of ritual) was clearly not something there could be any negotiating over. Despite his apparent propensity to talk down to members of the congregation, even from this period when he was still a relatively junior curate, he became a much loved figure.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹¹ See Section 9.2.3 on page 191ff.

⁸¹² R.W. Enraght, *Real Presence* (London: J.T. Hayes, 1872).

⁸¹³ Richard W. Enraght, *Bible-Ritualism Indispensably Necessary for Purposes of Instruction and of Worship*, A Sermon (with notes and appendices) 1866 (London: Masters, 1866).

⁸¹⁴ Richard W. Enraght, *Who are the True Churchmen and who are the conspirators? An Appeal to the Last Settlement of the English Reformation in 1662* (London: J.T. Hayes, 1870).

⁸¹⁵ Enraght, *Bible-Ritualism Indispensably Necessary*: Sermon.

⁸¹⁶ On his departure from Bordesley, the Churchwardens wrote him a letter saying, '...We believe that we shall show our gratitude best by bearing your many lessons in our hearts and proving them in our lives, when you are no longer here to help us.' From, Enraght, *My Prosecution*.

On 29 March 1883, the *Midland Echo*, reported of the Enraghts' farewell in Bordesley, 'The CHAIRMAN, who was loudly cheered on rising, said that for a congregation and parish to part with a clergyman who had the esteem and love of his people was always painful, but in their case the parting was made more painful and distressing because they all felt how cruelly and shame fully Mr. Enraght had been treated. If their enemies knew Mr. Enraght's goodness and worth as much as he (the speaker) did, they would have been equally sorry with them to lose him. (Hear, hear.)' From, Enraght, *My Prosecution*.

Eastward Facing Celebrant

In *Who are the Conspirators*, Enraght invokes the teaching of scripture and the Bishops of the Savoy Conference 1661,⁸¹⁷ particularly Bishop Sparrow, seeking to demonstrate that facing east was intended by the *BCP*.

The Puritans asked the Bishops to permit that the minister should face the people during prayer—that is, face west. The Bishops answered, "The minister's turning to the people is not most convenient throughout the whole ministration. When he speaks to them, as in Lessons, Absolution, and Benedictions, it is convenient that he turn to them, When he speaks for them to God it is fit that they should all turn another way, as the ancient Church ever did; the reasons of which you may see Aug., lib. 2, de Ser. Dom. in Monte."⁸¹⁸

In short, his argument is that when you talk to the people you face the people and when you are talking to God you face the east, the light, the place of sunrise and the most exalted aspect of the church building too.⁸¹⁹

Incense

Enraght turns solely to the Bible to support the use of incense:

Again, we know that solemn truths are symbolized in the Heavenly Church. We read in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah and in the Revelation of: "Lamps," "Candlesticks," "Incense," "Vestments," "White Robes," "Prostrations," "Seven Seals," "Open Doors," "A live coal laid upon the mouth," and so forth; all of which have deep Symbolical meanings.⁸²⁰

Whilst most of the symbols listed here relate directly to the symbolic useage of the Ritualists, Enraght leaves us completely in the dark over the reference to a 'live coal in the mouth'. It is most likely be considered to have alluded to confession in his mind,⁸²¹ though why the majority of these symbols should be used materially in the Christian Church but the 'live coal' only metaphorically or allegorically is not something he discusses.

He also uses scripture to help interpret the point of incense as well as to claim sanction for its use:

The Church has ordered Incense to be burnt as Symbolic and reminding us of the sweetness and acceptableness of our Prayers when presented to the Father by her Great High Priest, the

⁸¹⁷ Footnote 589 on page 138.

⁸¹⁸ Enraght, *Who are true churchmen and who are conspirators? Ch.1*, quoting Cardwell (see footnote 589 on page 138).

Colin Buchanan suggests that the rubric assumed the normal position is 'North Side' and that the minister would consequently turn from the people to face south. Buchanan, *The Savoy Conference*, p.49.

⁸¹⁹ Enraght, *Who are true churchmen and who are conspirators? Ch.1*.

⁸²⁰ Enraght, *Bible Ritualism Indispensably Necessary*, Sermon.

⁸²¹ Following Isaiah 6: 6-7.

In the Orthodox Liturgy of St John Chrysostom this Isaiah reference is considered to be allegorical of 'the priest at the Holy Table holding in his hands the spiritual coal, the Eucharistic Christ, sanctifying and purifying those who partake.' Michael Najim and T.L. Frazier, *Understanding the Orthodox Liturgy; A Guide for Participating in the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* [<http://www.frnichel.najim.net/liturgyvid.pdf>; 26 March 2008] p.89.

Angel of the Covenant, sprinkled with and sanctified by His most precious and all-sufficient merits. (Mal. i: 11; Rev. viii: 3,4).⁸²²

He regards the 'dis-use of incense' as a 'plain breach of Communion' citing Revelation 8: 3-4 again, along with Hebrews 7: 25. These are further references to prayer.

So, for Enraght there are two cases for the use of incense. The first is that it has been used in worship from ancient times, and the second that it is symbolical of prayer. On the other hand, the Royal Commission's view was that there was no evidence of the use of incense in the last three hundred years in England.⁸²³ The Royal Commission, in its second report, recommended in respect of incense that it was, 'expedient to restrain in the public services of the Church all variations from established usage'.⁸²⁴

Candles

In his published sermon on Bible Ritualism, Enraght makes the rhetorical point that if it is thought right to honour great people by lighting thousands of candles, surely it is right to light two on the altar 'in honour of our most blessed Saviour'.⁸²⁵ This cannot be unconnected with Enraght's theology of 'real presence'. In an argument based on 1 Corinthians 11 he says,

In this chapter we shall find overwhelming evidence for what is termed the objective Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist : that is, His Real Presence upon the Altar "under the form of bread and wine".⁸²⁶

It is clear that in Enraght's thought the lighting of candles on the altar is symbolical of the real local presence of Christ. In a footnote he deals with the problem of theologizing such locality:

It is the union of our Lord's sacred Humanity with His Divinity, its being the Humanity of the Divine "Word," that makes it possible for it to be both in Heaven and pluri-present on ten thousand altars at the same moment. Our Lord's sacred, supernatural Humanity is not restricted by the laws of nature.⁸²⁷

The Report of the Royal Commission (1867) was not so interested in theology.⁸²⁸ Its main interest is in recent precedence. So the Commission reports:

The use of Lighted Candles at the celebration of the Holy Communion has been introduced into certain Churches within a period of about the last twenty-five years. It is true that there have been Candlesticks with Candles on the Lord's Table during a long period in many Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, and also in the Chapels of some Colleges, and of some Royal and Episcopal Residences, but the instances that have been adduced to

⁸²² Enraght, *Bible Ritualism Indispensably Necessary*, Sermon.

⁸²³ *Second Report of the Commissioners (1867)*, 6.

⁸²⁴ *Second Report of the Commissioners (1867)*, 7.

⁸²⁵ Enraght, *Bible Ritualism Indispensably Necessary*, Sermon.

⁸²⁶ Enraght, *Real Presence*.

⁸²⁷ Enraght, *Real Presence*, footnote 11.

⁸²⁸ Ronald Jasper says of the Commission, 'Undoubtedly the varying shades of opinion were fairly represented, but it contained no recognized theologian of any standing. As a body it was poorly equipped to face its task.' Jasper, *Prayer Book Revision*, p.93.

prove that Candles have been lighted, as accessories to the Holy Communion, are few and much contested.⁸²⁹

So Enraght presents us with a worked through Ritualist theology of real presence, that his thoughts on altar lights seem to serve, set against theologically empty opposition and a knowledge of historical precedence on both sides that was inconclusive.

Vestments

Enraght appeals to the Savoy Conference again in reference to vestments:

Puritans asked, in reference to the Ornaments Rubric :—"Forasmuch as this Rubrick seemeth to bring back the cope, albe, &c., and other vestments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book, 5 and 6 Edw. VI..... we desire it may be wholly left out." The Bishops answered, "We think it fit that the Rubric continue as it is."⁸³⁰

The reference is to the Presbyterians' 'Particular Exception 2',⁸³¹ and also relates to the much more complex 'General Exception 18'.⁸³² The actual text of the 'Exceptions' and 'Answers' is not quite so straightforward as Enraght said.⁸³³ He has taken an interest in and quotes only the second half of the answer to 'Particular Exception 2'. The first part of the answer reads, 'For reasons given in our answer to the 18th General...'⁸³⁴ This answer to 'General Exception 18' did not deal with Mass vestment but only the surplice.⁸³⁵ The inevitable truth was that neither the 1662 *Ornaments Rubric*, nor the view of the Savoy Bishops were clear.

The Royal Commission (1867) decided that their course of action should be one of restraint. They set about framing a recommendation that would give 'aggrieved parishioners' a means of asserting themselves:

We are of the opinion that it is expedient to restrain in public services ... all variations in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established use of the (said) United Church, and we think that this may best be secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effective process for complaint and redress.⁸³⁶

Here we appear to have an acknowledgement that the practice of vesture across the country was diverse. Their recommendation would have the effect of putting the brakes on local innovation without determining a uniform national practice. Whatever

⁸²⁹ *Second Report of the Commissioners (1867)*, 4.

⁸³⁰ Enraght, *Who are true churchmen and who are conspirators?* Ch.2.

⁸³¹ Reprinted in Buchanan, *Savoy Revisited*, p.36.

⁸³² Reprinted in Buchanan, *Savoy Revisited*, pp.28-34.

⁸³³ Colin Buchanan has argued that the Presbyterians' exception to the 1604 Prayer Book was about the permission to use copes, albes and other 'forbidden' vestments whereas the Bishops answered against the imposition of surplices. Buchanan, *Savoy Revisited*, p.79.

The Presbyterians' 'General Exception 18.1' stated, 'That publick Worship may not be celebrated by any Minister that dare not wear a Surpluss'. Buchanan, *Savoy Revisited*, p.28.

⁸³⁴ Buchanan, *Savoy Revisited*, p.36.

⁸³⁵ Buchanan, *Savoy Revisited*, p.37.

⁸³⁶ Gray, *Prayer Book Crisis*, p.9.

theological undergirding can be discerned here is institutional in nature. There is no hint of liturgical theology in the Royal Commission's solution. It may well have been the seed that grew into Tait's *Public Worship Regulation Act 1874*. The principle of this was that parishioners initiated proceedings.

In his *True Churchmen* paper, Enraght also does not outline a liturgical theology. His chief arguments here are about historic precedence. But in his Sheffield sermon on *Bible-Ritualism*, he provides us with a theological appendix (from a pastoral letter recently written). He states:

The Church has ordered certain Vestments, other than the Surplice and Stole, to be worn for the purpose of teaching us, *not only* that the Clergy have passed from ordinary out-door work to the immediate Service of God, (for this the Surplice and Stole put over the ordinary out-door garments represent,) *but also* that they have passed on from celebrating Services, which have their authority from the Church, (which is only at best a *secondary* authority) to celebrate *that One Service* which our Lord Himself, in His own Person, and by His own Mouth, ordained just before His Crucifixion, to be celebrated by His Church in all ages.⁸³⁷

Enraght teaches a hierarchy of vestments, those with which the priest represents the church and then those with which he represents Christ. There is a strong sense of *alter Christus* about this.

He Himself pleads this very same Sacrifice *on earth* only *through* the instrumentality and ministry of His appointed Ministers, who are called "Priests," as thus ministering "in His Person," and "by His commission and authority." (Matt. xxviii.: 18-20; Mark xvi: 17; Luke x: 16; 1 Cor. v: 3-5; Cor. ii: 10.).⁸³⁸

This was a theology that the later Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline was to say it had never heard.⁸³⁹

Mixed Chalice and Wafer Bread

These are not matters that Enraght's available writings deal with specifically but they are points that he took a stand over. His court hearing became known as the 'Bordesely Wafer Case' and resulted in a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Worcester about the said wafer:

ADDINGTON PARK, CROYDEN, Dec.12, 1879 MY DEAR LORD, An application was, I understood, this day made in the Arches Court by the counsel for the promoters in the case of 'Perkins v Enraght' for the delivery to them of all the documents and other exhibits which had been used as evidence in the case, on the ground that the time for appeal had passed, and the case might be now discharged. The Dean of the Arches having acceded to this application, a certain wafer, alleged to have been consecrated by Mr. Enraght, in the service of Holy Communion, instead of the bread directed by our Church to be employed for this purpose, was placed in my hands by request of the Proctors for the prosecution. I have taken care that the wafer should be reverently consumed, since however irregular may have been the mode of administering the Holy Communion, the fact seems now clear to me, though in no way brought before the Court, that this wafer was used in that administration. I have

⁸³⁷ Enraght, *Bible Ritualism Indispensably Necessary*, Sermon, Appendix III.

⁸³⁸ Enraght, *Bible Ritualism Indispensably Necessary*, Sermon, Appendix III.

⁸³⁹ See footnote 880 on page 201.

therefore thought that it ought to be disposed of as rubric directs, Believe me, my dear Lord,
yours very truly, A. C. CANTUAR.⁸⁴⁰

The wafer had been secreted away from one of Enraght's Communion services by the Churchwarden and legal adversary, Mr. Perkins. It was presented in court as evidence of Enraght's use. The incident serves to demonstrate the difference in liturgical theology between the Ritualists and their opponents. The 'secular' treatment of the 'consecrated' wafer bread was acceptable to the Evangelical and anathema to the Ritualist.⁸⁴¹ The Archbishop of Canterbury was in a quandary when presented with this and decided to consume it 'as the rubric directs'.

9.2.3 The Six Points – Percy Dearmer

Now to move a further twenty-five years ahead. Purchas wrote before the Ritual trials, Enraght during, and Dearmer after. The issues had sharpened; the six points had become clearer than they were to Purchas and compromises had been negotiated, particularly after the Bishop of Lincoln's case. It is probably also fair to say that leaders in the newly emerging Anglo-Catholic tradition had learnt better what to say and what not to say. So in Percy Dearmer's book we find both a manual of good practice for Anglo-Catholic priests and an apologia seeking to explain practices in moderate language.

This is produced as a handbook much more suited to the study than the sanctuary. It underwent several significant revisions in its long publication history. In Dearmer's attempts to rub balm over sore wounds it does not always deal with controversies exhaustively and you are left with the impression that Dearmer papers over some well understood and carefully avoided cracks. It also betrays his predilections for good taste and fashion, things perhaps the author was himself blind to.

⁸⁴⁰ R.T. Davidson & W. Benham, *The life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, Volume 2, p.264.

⁸⁴¹ Catholic horror at this incident is obvious in the way the story is told in the ECU's history: 'On August 31, 1879, Mr. Enraght denounced from the altar the conduct of a person who, on Feb. 9, had carried off from the altar a Consecrated Wafer, obtained under the pretence of communicating, in order to file IT as an exhibit in the law courts as evidence of the use of wafer-bread. A feeling of intense horror and indignation was excited when the fact of this fearful sacrilege became known. It was difficult to credit the fact that a Consecrated Wafer, after having been sacrilegiously secreted by a pretended communicant, had actually been delivered to Mr. Churchwarden Perkins, the prosecutor, produced in Court as evidence, marked with pen and ink, and filed as an exhibit! Thanks to the efforts of some members of the Council of E. C. U., the Consecrated Wafer was obtained from the Court, and given over to the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who reverently consumed IT in his private chapel at Addington on Friday, Dec. 12, 1879. In the Annual Report the President and Council expressed "their thankfulness that some reparation, however tardy and inadequate, was made for the act of sacrilege." It may be added that the indignant parishioners at the next ensuing vestry rejected Mr. Perkins when nominated as, churchwarden.' G. Bayfield Roberts, *The History of the English Church Union, 1859-1894* (London: Church Printing, 1895), Chapter 1879-1880.

Eastward Facing Celebrant

The Oxford Movement had led its followers towards the doctrines of the real presence and the Eucharistic sacrifice.⁸⁴² Whilst fathers of the movement such as Pusey had encouraged an internal and spiritual response to these,⁸⁴³ the Ritualists began to effect changes on the externals of worship. The doctrines of the Oxford Movement led to a very high theology of priesthood in which the priest, as an intermediary, sometimes adopting a position facing away from the people and towards the altar made great sense. Percy Dearmer teaches that when a priest is addressing the people he should face the people and when he is addressing God on behalf of the people he should face the altar.⁸⁴⁴ He is at pains to point out that his high theology of priesthood is not about self-exaltation. He is uncomfortable with the great Evangelical pulpits of his day that he feared did place the preacher in a position of power and exalt over the congregation:

[The church] is essentially not clericalist, and therefore she does not unduly exalt the minister by putting the people at the mercy of his own ideas of prayer, or by enthroning him [in a pulpit] at the east end of the church to overshadow the congregation. The {set forms of prayer, the} eastward position, the sacred vestments, the chanted service, the appointed gestures, are all to hide the man and to exalt the common priesthood of the Christian congregation.⁸⁴⁵

To those who were beginning to adopt ritual movement at the end of the nineteenth century, with its clear theological underpinning in its own terms, other practices seemed confused and 'slovenly'.⁸⁴⁶ But the Evangelicals' thought patterns were just as precise, informed by a reading of the *Prayer Book* through the spectacles of the traditions they inherited and which they regarded as under fire.

For this point of view, two *BCP* Holy Communion rubrics are important:

⁸⁴² E.g. 'So then, none of the Protestant Churches doubt of the real (that is, true and not imaginary,) presence of CHRIST'S Body and Blood in the Sacrament; and there appears no reason why any man should suspect their common confession, of either fraud or error, as though in this particular they had in the least departed from the Catholic faith.' *Tracts for the Times No.27*, or,

'it is obvious . . . that the second at least of those two doctrines is not so expressly set forth in our Formularies as the Trinity (for example) & Incarnation are. It is rather contained in them, & deducible from them than directly & in so many words laid down . . . as essential. . . . No one can say that this Church excludes the Real Presence from the 'credenda', as long as the Catechism remains what it is; & also the Communion Office?', John Keble (January 1860), quoted in Munson, 'The Oxford Movement by the end of the nineteenth century: The Anglo-Catholic Clergy', in *ChHist*, vol. 44, No. 3. Sep. (1975), p.383.

⁸⁴³ Whilst Pusey saw shortcomings in the *Prayer Book* liturgy, he believed the best response was to amend how one approached the Eucharist spiritually: 'What St. Augustine saith of GOD, is true also of all His mysteries:- "The soul may more readily attain to speak of Him than to see Him, and she will so much the less speak of Him, the more purely she is enabled to see Him." [Serm. 117, sect. 7.] "What do we?" says he again; "shall we be silent?" Would we might! For it might be that through silence something might be conceived worthy of that which is unutterable.' E.B. Pusey, *Tracts for the Times No.81*.

⁸⁴⁴ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.150.

⁸⁴⁵ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.144. Words in {} were inserted in Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 10th edn., p.246.

⁸⁴⁶ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 10th edn., p.225. This value judgement of former practices, and defence of turning to and from the people, is not present in the 1st edition. It is a sign of growing confidence amongst Anglo-Catholics that it could be said in later editions.

at the start of the liturgy,

The Table at the Communion time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said. And the Priest standing at the north side of the Table shall say the Lord's Prayer with the Collect following, the people kneeling.

and before the Prayer of Consecration,

When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration...

The Reformation priority that the celebration was open and not hidden from the people, so that the congregation could see the breaking and blessing of the elements, both drew them into it and helped demystify it.⁸⁴⁷ It was important for the people to experience the Communion with their eyes as well as their ears. Seeing the bread and wine before the celebrant was recognized as one of the ways that the focus of Communion was retained, and it prevented the notion that God was doing something with the elements that was only for a priest's eyes. Evangelicals regarded the Ritualists as obscuring what they were doing and so possibly by this means promoting their doctrine of real presence through obfuscation.⁸⁴⁸

Dearmer, now, argues for eastward facing celebrations on the grounds that it 'hides the man'.⁸⁴⁹ That is to say, that it diminishes the importance of the person in favour of the office. Given the shape of church architecture favoured by Anglo-Catholics, and the preference for Altars on the east wall of a church, eastward facing celebrations also served to obscure the manual acts and elements of bread and wine.⁸⁵⁰ Dearmer does

⁸⁴⁷ E.g. See the following response to Evangelical witnesses at the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906): '...the witness was unable to see the manual acts directed by the Prayer Book to be performed by the celebrant in the Consecration Prayer ... the invisibility of the manual acts appeared to be due to the fact that the celebrant, adopting the eastward position, stood with his back to the people, rather than to any deliberate intention to hide what he was doing. But in certain cases the witnesses stated that in their opinion the concealment of the manual acts was intentional, and was due, not merely to the fact that the celebrant adopted the eastward position, but to his posture, described as leaning on the table and stooping over it ... The law is thus stated by Archbishop Benson in the Lincoln case: 'The court decides that in the mind of a minister there ought to be a wish and intention to do what has to be done [that is, make the manual acts visible], not merely no wish or intention not to do it; that in this case he must not hide the acts by doing what must hide them; that he must not be so indifferent as to what the result of what he does may be as to do that which is certain to make them invisible and that the manual acts must be performed in such wise as to be visible to the communicants properly placed ... The significance of these acts being open lies in what was the principles from the beginning, however overlaid at times. The consecration consists in the rehearsal and repetition of what the Lord did and said.' *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 6.

⁸⁴⁸ In the Royal Commission, the issue for evangelicals was a belief that priests were deliberately obfuscating: 'the witnesses stated that in their opinion the concealment of the manual acts was intentional, and was due, not merely to the fact that the celebrant adopted the eastward position, but to his posture, described as leaning on the table and stooping over it.' *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 6.

⁸⁴⁹ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.145, 10th edn., p.246.

⁸⁵⁰ See also page 137 above.

not deal openly with this separation from the intent of the Reformers or offer a theology of priesthood.

Incense

The Ritualists saw much evidence for the use of incense in both the Bible and the traditions of the Church. The Evangelicals of the late Victorian period saw incense as an innovation bringing back into the Christian Church old Jewish sacrificial rituals and Roman Catholic practices that were associated with the notion of Eucharistic sacrifice.

Both were right.

Percy Dearmer notes that the Bible goes into such detail over the use of incense that it even lists its precise ingredients.⁸⁵¹ Dearmer returns to the example of incense later as an integral part of the Christian tradition in England:

The returns of the Commissioners in 1552 show that there were then censers in 27 per cent. of the 1,042 churches investigated. *Case for Incense*, p.153. (Since this was published, the investigation of twelve more counties has raised the number to 35 per cent.) There were censers also at St Paul's and other cathedrals, and in 1563 there were still two pairs of censers and ships at Canterbury Cathedral, *ibid.* pp. 154-5. Instances of payments for frankincense down to 1752 are given, *ibid.* pp. 159-162; these instances show that censers were *in use*.⁸⁵²

Evangelical fears about incense were compounded both by the silence of the *BCP* on the subject and the fact that it had fallen into disuse. They had no reference to it either in their worship texts or their practice, but the fundamental problem was its association in the Bible with Temple sacrifice.⁸⁵³ Again here was a ritual device that they regarded as being used to associate Eucharistic celebration with Eucharistic sacrifice. The hearing before Archbishop Benson of Edward King led to the conclusion that where the use of incense could be confused with the 'modern Roman Catholic Church's' liturgical usage it should be refrained from, but that where it was simply being used to sweeten the atmosphere there was nothing to prevent its use⁸⁵⁴.

⁸⁵¹ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.8, 10th edn., p.9.

⁸⁵² Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 10th edn., p.32. Although Dearmer also makes a case for incense in his first edition it is very much weaker without this footnote, probably because Dearmer had not yet seen *The Case for Incense* (London: Longmans, 1899). This book is not in his First Edition 'List of Books' whereas it does appear in the Tenth Edition.

His case for incense in the First Edition reads: 'It may be a surprise to some to hear that incense was recommended by Herbert, used by Cosin and Andrewes, and many other seventeenth century divines, and also in the royal chapel at least in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles I.; that a form for the consecration of censers was used by Andrewes, Laud, and Sancroft, which brings the use down to 1685; and that when our modern ritualists revived it there were men living who might have seen it burnt in Ely Cathedral', Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.26.

⁸⁵³ H.D. Macnamara, 'Incense' in George Harford and Morley Stevenson (eds.), *The Prayer Book Dictionary*, London: Sir Isaac Pitamnn and Sons, 1912). Sacrificial references is the first of 6 uses listed.

⁸⁵⁴ *The Archbishops on the Lawfulness of the Liturgical use of Incense, etc.* (London, Macmillan: 1899), pp.9-10.

See too: *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 9.

Even as early as 1873 there is evidence that the Ritualists had made concessions in view of the wider church's sensitivities and Evangelical discomfort. C.M. Davies was a seasoned observer of religious London. In an interview with Arthur Stanton, the Ritualistic Curate of St Alban's, Holborn, he notes the '*cultus*' of St Alban's to be, 'bright with colours, odours, flowers and music' and records Stanton's comment on the degree to which they were free to do as they wanted:

The only two points in which we have made concessions are, that we do not light the candles or burn incense during celebration.⁸⁵⁵

Davies had earlier noted 'just a soupçon of the smell of incense about the church'⁸⁵⁶ before the service had begun. He goes on to comment that censers remained in a side chapel, 'so as to keep up the fragrance, for I could see clouds rising a quarter of an hour after... but the result was eminently satisfactory.'

As the dust created by the argument over the use of incense began to settle, the boundaries became clearer. Evangelicals did not want to confuse their straightforward understanding of the Communion with the mystical notions that symbols of Eucharistic sacrifice could introduce; the Ritualists were content to enjoy the sweet smell and the way the smoke played with the light at all times, within and without the Eucharist. So Dearmer makes the case for such a 'non-liturgical' use with which the Archbishops could live:

Now this 'non-liturgical' use which the Archbishops allowed was so far from being uncatholic, as some have hastily imagined, that it was actually the original liturgical use of the Church of Rome itself down to the ninth century; indeed in the tenth century, or later, incense was still only used to accompany the entry of the ministers and the carrying of the Gospel-book to the place where the Gospel was read.⁸⁵⁷

Dearmer goes on to offer guidance in his book for the use of incense at Burials,⁸⁵⁸ Mattins⁸⁵⁹ and Evensong,⁸⁶⁰ although the use of incense in Matins only creeps into later editions.⁸⁶¹ So we see in Anglo-Catholicism as it emerges 'post-Ritualism',⁸⁶² a synthesis between the liturgy and incense being borne as much in its aesthetic

⁸⁵⁵ Davies, 'Father Stanton at St Albans', 1873, in *RiVB* (III), p.273.

⁸⁵⁶ Davies, 'Father Stanton at St Albans', 1873, in *RiVB* (III), p.270.

⁸⁵⁷ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 10th edn., p.254. This is a reference to: *The Archbishops on the Lawfulness of the Liturgical Use of Incense and the Carrying of Lights in Procession, Lambeth Palace, July 31, 1899* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1899), pp.9-10. The paper is contemporary with but not known in his first edition.

⁸⁵⁸ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.188, 10th edn., p.488.

McLeod notes that incense was considered hygienic at funerals for covering up the smell. This point is not made in the Ritualists' literature or the Royal Commission reports. McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.10.

⁸⁵⁹ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., no reference, 10th edn., p.268.

⁸⁶⁰ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.124, 10th edn., p.277.

⁸⁶¹ Undoubtedly the blossoming of additional advice in later editions is indicative of a more receptive church.

⁸⁶² See page 15.

contribution to worship as in the associations with sacrifice that it could help create within the Eucharist. The former would have almost certainly been more widely appreciated amongst their congregational members. The cerebral arguments about historical precedent had grown even beyond the ability of the highest religious courts in the land to resolve. But those things that carried an appeal to the senses also moved the spirit. Dearmer's advice on good practice, taste and decency enabled the later Ritualists to tap into this more heart-felt and less mind-oriented aspect of worship.

Candles on the altar

The issues behind the use of candles are not altogether dissimilar to those of incense. This is further complicated by Victorian and religious concepts of lamps. In the King James Version of the Bible, which prevailed throughout the period, the word *λυχνος* (lamp) is translated *candle*. The Ritualists talked about altar *lights*. Within this linguistic framework candles on the altar presented tangible references to Christ's presence. So popular biblical lines such as *the light of the world*⁸⁶³, or *a candle set on a candlestick*⁸⁶⁴ would be more directly invoked by talk of altar candles than would be the case today.

The nervousness from the wider church which greeted the practice of using *altar-lights* is thus clear. There was obviously no argument against having candles in churches; they were often necessary to see by although gas and electric lamps were becoming available especially in urban contexts. The problem amongst the opponents of Ritualism was the unnecessary use of candles on an altar during the prayer of consecration when they were not needed to see by. They saw a misleading symbol drawn from the Roman tradition that the Ritualists were suspected of employing to reinforce the idea of a real (local) presence to the hitherto theologically unformed urban masses.

This was a peculiarly Victorian problem that could only have been raised in the gloomy churches of a gloomy climate in an age of urban migration and technological transition as candles were becoming redundant but still had a hold on religious language. This debate about altar lights could not have proceeded had the 'altar lights' been needed to read by everywhere. Technology now allowed gas lamps so bright that lights close-by were unnecessary in some places. Altar lights were increasingly not always necessary. Those who chose to use them in urban contexts where bright lights could normally illuminate the whole church must have had an ulterior motive, it seemed.

⁸⁶³ John 8:12 (KJV).

⁸⁶⁴ Luke 8:16 (KJV).

The legal position after two lawsuits had been brought against Alexander Mackonochie was that candles could be used in church at any and every time to help people to see, except on the altar during the prayer of consecration. This was a little perverse and easily ridiculed. To highlight the foolishness of such a practice it became the norm at St Alban's to have lighted candles on the altar throughout the Eucharist except for the consecratory prayer at which point they were extinguished and only re-lit once the prayer concluded.⁸⁶⁵

By the time of Percy Dearmer's book, some thirty years after the Mackonochie cases, the sensitivity to incense use had remained but that towards candles had subsided. Perhaps this was because they were still very much more an every day item than incense, and there was mockery in their being blown out for the prayer of consecration. This silenced their opposers. Candles lit on the altar were not something Dearmer needed to defend at the end of the century. Burning of incense during celebration of the Eucharist was a different matter. Dearmer's main concern is not with the theology or ancient use of candles but that they be used with aesthetic taste and decency. Once again, as with incense, a further attraction to the use of candles was the way they pleased the aesthete. This can be seen even among the early Ritualistic churches:

At eight o'clock St Alban's Church was crowded, the whole of the centre part of the church being railed off for penitents, one side for men and one side for women.... The scene was very striking; the body of the building was a blaze of light, while the chancel was very nearly dark.⁸⁶⁶

It is quite evident that candles were used as much for effect as for symbolic representation. By Dearmer's time the subtleties of candle usage had reached a very fine level. He offers 15 pages of advice, including:

Tall candles are a modern fashion, and often spoil the look of a church. The height both of candles and candlesticks is a matter of proportion for the architect to decide... If stocks have to be used they look all the better for being plain and short. If covered with wax their surface soon assumes a disagreeable appearance: it is better in my opinion to enamel them, socket and all, with wax-colour paint. Metal sockets break the line of the candle; and trumpery shields are really detestable. Coloured stocks are generally as bad. Indeed nothing can be more beautiful than the white line of a moderately thick candle. To use no stock but to burn the candle to within a few inches of the end is the more excellent way, and is possible with all well-proportioned candlesticks, more especially on minor altars. Much of the beauty of a lighted candle is due to the glow which the flame throws into the few inches of candle nearest the wick; therefore, for this, if for no other reason, sham tin candles with springs inside should be consigned to the dust-heap. The Church has never sanctioned the use of anything but real wax for candles; semi-transparent composition candles are therefore irregular as well as ugly. Furthermore, the ends and scrapings of real wax candles can always be sold back to the chandler. If all the altar candles are made of the same diameter, they can be used up, when burnt short, at the minor altars.⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁶⁵ See footnote 507 on page 117.

⁸⁶⁶ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p.89.

⁸⁶⁷ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., pp.63-64. This is included in the even more copious advice about candles that Dearmer gives in his tenth edition also: Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 10th edn., pp 94-102 & 246-252.

Dearmer's concerns make it quite clear that by 1899 opposition to candles had diminished. Whilst there were undoubtedly churches that would not entertain altar lights, the opposition to others using them had gone. Use of candles may have become an indication of church party but it was no longer a scandal in the church. Perhaps also their importance as symbols of Christ's presence in the Eucharist had diminished in the rhetoric compared to the adornment that they could bring to a well set out sanctuary.

The Mixed Chalice

Once again the issue is about an explicit symbolization of Christ's sacrifice on the cross being repeated on the altar. Water being mixed with the wine carries reference to the Johannine account of Jesus' side being pierced after his death giving an issue of blood and water.⁸⁶⁸ John Purchas had also argued that the water and wine symbolized the mixing of Christ's humanity and divinity- possibly another 'real presence' allusion. He also suggested it might represent the combination of Christ and his church.⁸⁶⁹ Evangelicals were nervous about the opportunity lent to the Ritualists in putting forward ideas of real presence and Eucharistic sacrifice, were they to mix water and wine on the altar.

For their part, the Ritualists were happy simply that they be allowed to celebrate the Eucharist with a mixed chalice, and so were prepared to have the wine and water mixed in the privacy of the sacristy before it was brought into the church. This was the compromise carefully worked out and delivered in the Lincoln Judgement.

The Ritualists were sometimes termed ultra-rubricans. Though the term was derogatory it is connected with their regular appeal to the historic traditions of the English church often determined through their painstaking trawl of ancient liturgical rubrics. Over the use of the mixed chalice there was a plurality of practices they regarded as authoritative. Dearmer appears a little ultra-rubrican when he cites a number of traditions he had high regard for in his search for a solution that he and others like him could live with:

The Lincoln Judgement ... decided that the chalice should be mixed before the service, and not at the offertory. Its reasons are, That the direction of the Prayer Book of 1549, 'putting the wine into the chalice...putting thereto a little pure and clean water,' was omitted in subsequent revisions; and that this was done 'in accordance with the highest and widest liturgical precedents.' At Sarum, at high Mass, the later custom obtained, and the sub-deacon mixed the chalice after the Epistle; but at Westminster the priest mixed the chalice before the service, between the taking of the stole and chasuble; and this preparation before the service was also the custom all over England at low Mass, and is still practised by the conservative Dominicans.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁸ John 19:34.

⁸⁶⁹ See page 182 above.

⁸⁷⁰ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., pp.138-9. Here Dearmer is a little equivocal about the Lincoln Judgement. He gives further advice on what clergy should do who choose to mix the chalice

The Lincoln Judgement's pastoral compromise over the use of a mixed chalice at the Eucharist appears to allow the Ritualists just an ornament that must remain hidden away; wine may be mixed but without ceremony. For Evangelicals there was a persistent theological concern not to allow the Lord's Supper to be thought of as a Eucharistic sacrifice along with their long running concern that the Church of England should not look Roman. The Ritualists had concerns about ecclesiology (as betrayed in their appeal to ancient rubrics) and the presence of a symbolic practice that spoke of Christ's presence in the Eucharist (even when it was completed in the sacristy and not seen to be present by the congregation).

Wafer Bread

The Purchas case of 1871 led to the Dean of Arches declaring in more unequivocal terms than for any of the above issues the illegality of wafer bread and of vestments. But the concerns about these are far more subtle than the clear-cut symbols previously discussed. There appeared to be nothing intrinsically wrong with wafer-bread per se, but its use opened up the possibility of its more easily being an object of veneration both because of its distinctly religious appearance and its durability. This was a major Reformation issue.⁸⁷¹ Since the 1552 Prayer Book the Communion Service rubric has included an instruction to use only common bread specifically to avoid 'superstition'. The 1662 rubric stated:

And to take away all occasion of dissension, and superstition, which any person hath or might have concerning the Bread and Wine, it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten; but the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten.⁸⁷²

Among the Ritualists' societies the CBS was most concerned with the reservation of the sacrament.⁸⁷³ They were interested that this should be 'developed by devotion'. This was defended by appeal to the early church fathers. Arthur Tooth (1839-1931) was founder of the CBS in 1862. In his 1916 lecture to the Confraternity he argued:

Justin Martyr, who lived, perhaps, between the years 114 and 165, does say that the Holy Eucharist was reserved: he says so in his Apologia. From that time the evidence is constant and increases in volume: it would be laborious but interesting to follow this body of evidence--it would, however, repeat itself and very little would be gained. There is the further evidence of all those beautiful vessels of gold and silver, in which the Holy Sacrament reposed; to be found, unhappily, not in our churches but in the museums of our chief towns: the jewels they contain, the beautiful forms and fine engraving of artist and craftsman, are a record of skill and piety.⁸⁷⁴

during the service (p.139). In the tenth edition he has a much strengthened passage entirely supportive of the Lincoln Judgement suggesting an approach that is more sympathetic to the establishment: Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, p.316-8.

⁸⁷¹ Article 25 of the *39 Articles* says, 'The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them.' (*Book of Common Prayer 1662*).

⁸⁷² *Book of Common Prayer 1662*, rubrics following the Communion Service.

⁸⁷³ See page 162.

⁸⁷⁴ Arthur Tooth, *Reservation: A paper read before the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament* (London: The Society of Sts Peter & Paul Publishers to the Church of England, 1916).

For Tooth, the writings of Justin Martyr and the craftsmanship of early generations given to the construction of such things as monstrances was firm evidence that veneration of the sacraments belonged to the ancient church and should not be lost to the contemporary church.

These were not the concerns of Dearmer. It was perhaps far too contentious for a careful apologist of ritual. He simply wanted to do things properly and decently. So Dearmer interprets the BCP rubric:

Wafer-bread is lawful under the present rubric, which declares only that common bread (if it be the best and purest) 'shall suffice.' It was substituted for the rubric of 1549 which enforced wafer-bread, 'unleavened, and round,' 'through all this realm, after one sort and fashion'; so that it removes the former restriction to wafer-bread, and makes both kinds lawful.⁸⁷⁵

His argument parallels Purchas's and is undoubtedly a little tortuous but made sense in an *ultra-rubrican* mindset. His other concern, for decency, is seen in a later passage:

There is a great amount of authority in antiquity for leavened bread, and the Easterns still use it. Wafer-bread, is, however, far more convenient, and involves less risks of irreverence.⁸⁷⁶

Here may also be betrayed a desire for the fraction of the bread representing Christ's action both at the last supper and in his broken body on the cross being made plain at the altar.⁸⁷⁷ The common practice of pre-cut bread as suggested by Purchas had to some extent minimized this action. Avoiding pre-cut bread would be consistent with the concerns for symbolization of Eucharistic sacrifice in previously discussed issues, but large wafers would make for more crumbs. It may be that the Dean of Arches' decision against wafer bread was so clear not because the Evangelicals' concerns were particularly sharp, but because the weakness of the Ritualists' argument here makes the accusation of a desire to venerate the sacrament all the more plausible - why else might this have been so important to them? Most likely for Dearmer the reason was his prissy tidiness and *ultra-rubrican* mindset.

Vestments

Victorian concerns about Eucharistic vestments appeared not to revolve around the use of any single particular item but that the clergy wore them at all. The stole had been in fairly continuous parochial use in the Church of England⁸⁷⁸, and the cope⁸⁷⁹ throughout

⁸⁷⁵ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.137. The 10th edn., p.312-315, carries a much stronger argument for the use of wafer bread against leavened bread betraying growing Anglo-Catholic confidence.

⁸⁷⁶ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.137.

⁸⁷⁷ This is made much more plain in Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 10th edn., p.314.

⁸⁷⁸ Purchas states that the stole had remained in continuous use for Matins and Evensong though not for the Eucharist – a matter he complains about, 'May we not then go back to the probably primitive conception of the stole, as the priestly officiating vestment, bearing in mind the fact of its having been

cathedrals continually, but the Ritualists re-introduced chasuble, alb maniple and amice along with five canonical colours to parish church worship. Evangelicals regarded these garments as Roman and as having sacrificial overtones.⁸⁸⁰ As was so with wafer-bread, so it would seem with vestments, it was difficult to be precise about their symbolic nature and suspicion of them was deepened. The accusation of their being ‘Romish’ was all the more credible for there not being an obviously expressed purpose.

The *First Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549)* in its introductory rubrics to *Holy Communion* clearly allows vestments:

...the priest that shall execute the holy mystery, shall put upon hym the vesture appointed for that ministracion, that is to saye: a white Albe plain, with a vestment or cope.

There are no rules about vesture in the 1552 service nor 1662. A plain argument on ultra-rubrican lines could probably make a good case for Eucharistic vestments. They were explicitly cited in 1549 and could perhaps be assumed in subsequent prayer books as they are not either forbidden nor promoted. But in the Victorian context the meaning of the vestments was an obvious concern.

There was some attempt at clarity during the early days of heated debate. Rev. W.J.E. Bennett at his appearance before the Royal Commission on Ritual in 1870 is recorded as attempting to make the case:

2606. “Is any doctrine involved in your using the chasuble?” “I think there is.”

2607. “What is the doctrine?” “The doctrine of the sacrifice.”

2608. “Do you consider yourself a sacrificing priest?” “Distinctly so.”⁸⁸¹

traditionally retained in the English Church at matins and evensong?’ Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.15.

The Royal Commission that reported in 1906 treated vestments as a group, only singling out the cope for special treatment. Here it is stated, ‘their introduction into the Church of England, where, in fact, they were entirely discarded for 300 years, cannot fail to convey generally the impression that the Roman doctrine and practice are being brought back.’ *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 1.

⁸⁷⁹ ‘Cope’ is referred to 76 times in the inventories and letters of *Hierurgia Anglicana*. The Royal Commission criticized the lack of use of the cope in Cathedrals, ‘...the requirement of the Advertisements and the 24th Canon, that in cathedrals and collegiate churches at Holy Communion a cope should be worn by the principal minister, is very imperfectly obeyed.’ *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 1.

⁸⁸⁰ ‘On the other hand, many of those who object to the use of Eucharistic vestments hold that they are symbolic of the offering of a sacrifice in the sense in which the Eucharist was held in the Pre-reformation Church, and is now held in the Church of Rome’, *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 1.

⁸⁸¹ According to J.C. Ryle, in a footnote to ‘No Uncertain Sound; the first charge to the new diocese, October 19, 1881’, *NUS*, p.369f.

The Royal Commission Report (1906) suggests that Evangelicals tended to overplay these remarks: ‘The evidence given before the Ritual Commission in 1867 by the Rev. W.J. Bennett is frequently quoted to show that this view is held by some of those who favour the use of the vestments. Mr. Bennett’s explicit statement, however, stands, so far as we are aware, alone...’, *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 1.

Those who opposed Bennett were clearly sensitive to powerful notions that symbols could be used to evoke.⁸⁸² J.C. Ryle, the great Evangelical Bishop of Liverpool through the last two decades of the nineteenth century, reports this exchange, though his sharpest criticism of the Ritualists is reserved for his suspicion of them leading the Church of England back to Rome:

The laity throughout the land complain justly about the ceremonial novelties which extreme Ritualists have thrust into our Church worship during the last forty years. They have all been in one direction, whether of dress or gesture or posture or action or anything else. They have been as un-Protestant as possible. They have been borrowed or imitated from Popery. They have exhibited one common bias and animus, an anxious desire to get as far as possible from the ways of the Reformers, and to get as near as possible, whether legally or illegally, to the ways of Rome.⁸⁸³

While J.C. Ryle was addressing his diocesan clergy, Percy Dearmer was working on his book. To this Anglo-Catholic mind later than that of Bennett, the debate about vestments was both aesthetic and historical. He offers forty pages of advice on precisely what should be considered as good taste for the well dressed Anglo-Catholic priest at the turn of the twentieth century. It would seem that on the whole good taste was not to be left to the clergy themselves:

Vestments - With regard to all ornaments and vestments one precautionary note is most necessary. The parson must make it clearly understood that he will not accept a single thing for the church unless the advice has first been sought of that person who overlooks the decoration of the church. Who that person is will depend on circumstances, but he must be a competent judge; and committees are useless unless their members are modest. If this precaution be not taken, the services of the church are certain in time to be vulgarized. Some kind of friend will work an impossible stole; another will compose a ruinous frontal.⁸⁸⁴

Part of the criticism that Dearmer was mindful of was a sneering at men who many considered were dressing as women. The following from *Victorian Churchman* is an example:

decorations of sashes and emblems, which make the minister look like a show, or a toy man, which, to me, take all the manly look away from him.⁸⁸⁵

The same journal recorded a medical student's disgust when, at a high church communion, several men appeared before the altar dressed in a red costume 'with a white vest over the shoulders, which looked like an unbuttoned lady's robe'.⁸⁸⁶ Dearmer offers much advice about the cut, shape, fabric, colour, construction and

⁸⁸² The Catholic proponents and the Royal Commission present their arguments much more along the lines of historic precedent, politics and practicalities, e.g. 'It is urged that, unless the teaching of the clergy who wear these vestments be Roman, such persons may not see any necessary approximation to Rome in the use of vestments which even in Western Europe are not exclusively Roman.' *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 1.

⁸⁸³ From an address given to the seventeenth Liverpool Diocesan Conference 1898 in J.C. Ryle, *NUS*, p.359.

⁸⁸⁴ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.79, 10th edn., p.130.

⁸⁸⁵ *Victorian Churchman*, 27 September 1907, p. 399.

⁸⁸⁶ *Victorian Churchman*, 11 June 1909, p. 253.

practicability of virtually every item of clerical dress imaginable. Amongst his advice is the avoidance of lace:

The parson will therefore use a gentle authority against the good ladies who unconsciously try to approximate church vestments to those articles of feminine attire with which they are familiar. Ecclesiastical vestments are for men, and it will be a bad day for us if we forget that fact.⁸⁸⁷

9.2.4 Common elements

There is a clear pattern that emerges as these so called ‘Six Points’ are surveyed. There were of course other elements of innovation among the Ritualists including elevation, genuflexion, flowers, vespers for the dead and much more. But here the six ‘flags’ which were held by the ECU at the time to have been keys to Ritualism have told a consistent story.

The common element in the Ritualist / Anglo-Catholic apology for these symbolic elements of worship is their ‘ancient’ use. The symbolic importance of notions they have the power to evoke is little discussed by them. The proponents for their use are much more likely to argue for what the symbols should not be understood to suggest. The one thing above all others that they seek to avoid being associated with the symbols is a closer association with the Roman Catholic Church.⁸⁸⁸ This, even though some would look to the Roman Church as a reference point for authentic symbolism and Roman Catholic influence is discernable.

On the other hand we must observe that the Ritualists had been formed by the Oxford Movement, encouraging a new spirituality especially amongst priests who saw their action at the altar as making Christ’s sacrifice on the cross a reality in the here and now.⁸⁸⁹ Symbols which captured this thinking would resonate with them and indeed they appeared to believe that their celebration would be more complete with these. The eastward position; the use of incense; the use of altar lights; the mixed chalice; the use of vestments; the use of wafer bread all spoke of Christ’s presence and immanence in the Eucharistic sacrifice. Both John Purchas and the Ritualists’ later apologists such as Percy Dearmer could find precedence for them in the church of Edward VIth which lent belief that they were legitimate in employing them. We must conclude that they realized the inconvenience in their generation of conducting a debate on this territory of real presence. In the more strident theology of Enraght this theology is clearly centre

⁸⁸⁷ Percy Dearmer, *Parson’s Handbook*, 1st edn. pp.83-84, 10th edn., p.144. See too footnote 610 on page 141.

⁸⁸⁸ Association with ‘Rome’ or ‘the Roman Church’ is made forty-six times in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906.

⁸⁸⁹ The notion of Christ’s sacrifice at the Eucharist is something that Pusey studiously avoided in *Tract for the Times No.81* but Enraght is less cautious in his paper: Enraght, *The Real Presence and Holy Scripture*.

stage. We have also noted that changes in Church architecture also supported this theological re-alignment.⁸⁹⁰

9.2.4.1 Evangelical and Ritualist perspectives

The symbols we have surveyed belong in ritual acts. It is in this context that the reasons for dispute become clearer. We have noted already that symbols may transcend spoken language. Francis Jacques suggests that ritual acts and speech acts cannot be separated.⁸⁹¹ Together they form rites which may be understood in terms of Jacques' six elements, which I summarize below:

- i. Rites must take place in a dynamic social space. Ritual is not the prerogative of an individual nor is it simply performative but involves interaction. This Jacques calls *a dynamic synthesis*.
- ii. A rite signifies something other than itself, *a mediating synthesis*.
- iii. Without the ritual there would be neither space nor direction for participants to engage with that which is beyond them, *a necessary synthesis*.
- iv. The speech act and the ritual act each serve to interpret each other, *an internal relationship*.
- v. Rites are not universal. Whilst there may be an explicit institutional element, participants say 'we', and so take upon themselves acts done by the others. Rites must apply to personal and local contexts.
- vi. The gestures and words are regulated by liturgical texts that anchor the rite in the tradition it gives expression to.

It would be a misunderstanding of Evangelicalism in any age to state that it embraced neither rite nor ritual, but only proclamation by word. Even at the most sharply divided of times when Evangelicals were persecuting those they called Ritualists this was not true. The very fact that Evangelicals were engaged in this debate itself is suggestive of a high degree of symbolic awareness. Indeed, Evangelicals seemed to find discussion of symbolic meaning easier than the Ritualists whose preferred territory of discussion was historical antecedence. To use Francis Jacques' six elements summarized above, the mid Victorian debate between Ritualist and Evangelical could be stated thus:

⁸⁹⁰ See page 132 above.

⁸⁹¹ Jacques, Francis, 'The Body and Rituality in the Liturgy', from *Concilium*, 1995/3 (London: SCM Press, 1995) pp. 10-16.

- i. *Dynamic Synthesis*: To the Evangelical, worship rites invite us into an interaction that involves our hearts, heads and spirits. The demonstrable and physical actions of the Ritualists look from this perspective like salvation by works (by what is done in the physical world), not by faith alone.⁸⁹² They appear to go beyond what is required. At best, the *Prayer Book* is silent on their rich ritual, and at worst it forbids it. For the Ritualist, their rites mediate beyond the limitations of words and fill the words with meaning. The silence of the *Prayer Book* is simply evidence of the predominance of the ritual in the seventeenth century.
- ii. *Mediating Synthesis*: The Evangelicals clearly saw that the ritual acts and symbols that were being brought into the church signified much beyond what was outward. J.C. Ryle was a deeply protestant evangelical and sceptical of all things faintly Roman. He took a hard line against the Ritualists towards the end of the nineteenth century allowing the prosecution through the courts of a priest in his own diocese⁸⁹³ and putting three churches under an Episcopal ban.⁸⁹⁴ Although Ryle challenged Ritualism, David Bebbington reckons him to have lost out with the Evangelicals over J.B. Cox's trial because he did not actively support it, but also to have lost out with the general public because he did not veto it.⁸⁹⁵ Ryle was a reconciler across church traditions, but according to Bebbington, he still regarded Ritualists as 'beyond the pale' and thought they were 'unprotestantizing the church'.⁸⁹⁶ As a new Bishop of Liverpool in 1881, J.C. Ryle said of the Ritualists in his first Charge to the diocese:

With the party of whom I am now speaking, the whole value of ceremonial consists in its significance as a visible symbol of doctrine.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹² The 11th Article of Religion states: 'We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.' *Book of Common Prayer 1662*.

⁸⁹³ Rev. James Bell Cox, Vicar of St Margaret's, Toxteth was prosecuted through the civil courts with the Bishop's approval in 1885.

⁸⁹⁴ J.B. Cox's St Margaret, Toxteth; St Agnes, Toxteth Park; and, St John Tuebrook. Toxteth was the home of many relatively wealthy merchants, Toxteth Park was a desirable middle class area surrounded by parkland and Tuebrook was an area of good quality working class houses.

In London the tone of 'Episcopal Ban' is conveyed in this extract from a letter from the Bishop of London to forty three churches: 'As Bishop of the diocese I cannot be present at any service where incense is ceremonially used, or visit any church in which the limits already referred to with regard to the reservation of the Holy Sacrament are transgressed. I do earnestly add my prayers and ask for yours that in these matter we may all learn to be at peace with one another, so that we may be set free to devote ourselves without distraction to our real work of bringing all men into the true belief and active service of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, 1906, Ch.IV (c) 9.

⁸⁹⁵ David Bebbington, *Ryle Lecture*. This is also further discussed in Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain (1830-1910)* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.269-273.

⁸⁹⁶ David Bebbington, *Ryle Lecture*.

⁸⁹⁷ J.C. Ryle, 'No Uncertain Sound; The first charge to the New Diocese, October 19, 1881', *NUS*, p.24.

For their part, amongst Evangelicals it was the very plainness and simplicity of worship itself that ritualised their theology bound up in a religion of the word. Their ritual embraced all that made for clear and rational exploration of biblical truth and *Prayer Book* practice. Although doctrine in the Church of England is officially defined only in the *Prayer Book*, and therefore in the prayer and worship of the church (*lex orandi, lex credendi*), to Evangelicals this suggests it is constructed in words, not symbols.⁸⁹⁸

Ritualism, on the other hand, encouraged more of a poetic understanding of truth that found resonance in symbols that went beyond words. It was an attempt to extend the church's proclamation of faith beyond a limited printed/written/spoken vocabulary, especially powerful in communities where the speech code was not in the same register as that which dominated the Church of England. Mary Douglas helps the reader today to see ritual and symbol in this manner as akin to speech.⁸⁹⁹ She suggests, following Basil Bernstein, that ritual itself is a 'restricted code'. If this is so, it may not be surprising to find the register of symbols an easier one to understand in communities that use restricted speech codes than those that use the register of the elaborate speech codes of the mobile elite. Symbols are not verbose. This pattern could only strengthen the Ritualists' mission.

- iii. *Necessary Synthesis*: The Ritualists believed that there were liturgical ritual acts that were eternal and right. These they believed were the inheritance of the universal church from its founding fathers.⁹⁰⁰ Their concern was not simply to engage in ritual acts that were culturally relevant and in synthesis with the words but to use ritual acts that were correct. If the symbol said more than the words then the inadequacy of the words was made good. The Ritualists did not understand themselves as inventing symbols that helped give additional resonance to the Gospel. They were employing those symbols they believed God had blessed the church with throughout history. Only such symbols could carry resonances that were truly heavenly. Research of the historicity of their practices was evidently important in the apologia of Dearmer and others.⁹⁰¹ The pre-reformation evidence for various ritual practices in the church gave them their authenticity.⁹⁰²

⁸⁹⁸ J.C. Ryle, 'For Doctrinal Christianity; A charge at the Primary Visitation in Wigan, October 20, 1881', *NUS*, p.55.

⁸⁹⁹ Mary Douglas, 'Natural Symbols', in *Exploration in Cosmology* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.23. Basil Bernstein, *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: 1990, Routledge).

⁹⁰⁰ See page 50.

⁹⁰¹ See below 9.2.2 on page 185.

⁹⁰² 'A plurality of historical reference points' on page 136.

An Evangelical concern was that people should not be misled by distracting innovation.⁹⁰³ Truth was rooted in the Bible⁹⁰⁴ and practice determined in the *Prayer Book*⁹⁰⁵ (and to some extent the law of the land).⁹⁰⁶ These words defined the boundaries of reliable truth.

- iv. *Internal Relationship*: The ritual space of the Evangelicals was dominated by observance of Sunday,⁹⁰⁷ good order (more so in the lives of the worshippers than the form of the worship),⁹⁰⁸ a building that did not distract people from their devotions;⁹⁰⁹ and by the *Prayer Book*.⁹¹⁰ The Ritualists sought to move the heart by catching the eyes and ears of participants and engaging them in a movement which interrupted the private and internal. The ritual space was intended to assault and stimulate all the senses with truth, and not just the ear.⁹¹¹
- v. *Universality*: The kind of church with which people were being invited to identify through what they said and did became a major bone of contention. Whilst the Ritualists declared with their words that they were not identifying themselves with the Roman Catholic Church, the Evangelicals saw in their actions much borrowed from that tradition. This confused the message. J.C. Ryle again:

One of the two parties [*the Ritualists*] persisted in administering the Lord's Supper with ceremonies borrowed from the Church of Rome, ceremonies not once mentioned in Scripture or the communion office of the Prayer-book, ceremonies decidedly not

⁹⁰³ e.g. J.C. Ryle said at the opening of the eight Liverpool Diocesan Conference 1889, 'The popular sermon in this day is far too often a mere exhibition of fireworks, very pleasant to the many hearers who only like temporary excitement...', *NUS*, p.199.

⁹⁰⁴ e.g. J.C. Ryle 1889, 'Stand fast in the old belief that the whole Bible from Genesis to Revelation was given by inspiration of God, that the historical facts recorded in the Old Testament are all credible and true.', *NUS*, p.199.

⁹⁰⁵ For instance, J.C. Ryle's Charge at the Primary Visitation in Wigan, October 20 1881, which contains substantial defence of the *Prayer Book* with 'it's unquestionable imperfections' but which was nevertheless 'unequaled'. He concludes, 'I assert, confidently, that the Prayer-book is full of dogmatic theology.' *NUS*, p.55.

⁹⁰⁶ In relation to the Ritualistic controversies J.C. Ryle wrote: 'As to myself my mind is made up. I mean to abide by the decisions of the Courts of Law, so long as those decisions are not superceded and nullified by Parliament, or reversed.' *NUS*, p.27.

⁹⁰⁷ Following David Bebbington, e.g. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.105.

Also, J.C. Ryle, 'Our Diocese, our Church, our Times; An address given at the opening of the eighth Liverpool Diocesan Conference, 1889', *NUS*, p.201.

⁹⁰⁸ E.g. 'I suspect that the Temple worship in the days when our Lord Jesus Christ was upon the earth was as perfectly beautifully performed as possible ... the ceremonial observances ... but was there true saving religion in those days?' J.C. Ryle, 'Liverpool and England; The second triennial charge to the Diocese of Liverpool, October 21, 1884', *NUS*, p.92.

⁹⁰⁹ Ryle called this, 'the scaffolding of religion' and was anxious that it should not obstruct 'the growth of vital godliness'. J.C. Ryle, 'Liverpool and England; The second triennial charge to the Diocese of Liverpool, October 21, 1884', *NUS*, p.91.

⁹¹⁰ 'What I strongly object to is the slightest attempt to pull about anything in the Prayer-book', J.C. Ryle, 'Our State and Prospects; The third triennial charge to the Diocese of Liverpool, October 27, 1887', *NUS*, p.159.

⁹¹¹ E.g. 'Heaven's Riches' in 2.3.1 on page 50.

of the essence of the sacrament, ceremonies condemned by the Courts of law, ceremonies which had not been used for 300 years.⁹¹²

To the Ritualists it was irrelevant that their ‘ceremonies’ were borrowed from the Church of Rome, indeed they sought to avoid this imputation. They believed that they were simply trying to recover English ritual practice that they believed still prevailed in 1549. The resemblance of their recovered practice to some prevailing practices in the Roman Catholic Church was for them of no significant consequence.⁹¹³

- vi. *Regulation*: Both Evangelicals and Ritualists believed their practice to fall within the permission of the *Ornaments Rubric*. But this was vague. It referred simply to practice in the reign of Edward VI about which there was very little agreement by the 19th Century. Evangelicals sought to interpret the rubric through the prevailing traditions or ‘living authority’.⁹¹⁴ The Ritualists, for their part, pointed out Evangelical inconsistencies:

It [the Ornaments Rubric] is our sole authority for the use of organs and lecterns just as much as for censers and roods.⁹¹⁵

Dearmer’s rhetoric here uses the examples of organs and lecterns, liked by evangelicals, in parallel with the examples of more Anglo-Catholic censers (for incense) and roods (crucifixes bearing a effigy of the body of Christ) to point out the foolishness of the Ornaments argument. He demanded better clarity:

The only point of difficulty about the Rubric is that it refers back to a certain period, instead of giving a detailed list of the ornaments and vestments to be used.⁹¹⁶

The symbols and actions for which they were pursued through the courts were not simply a challenge to the state but were also an attempt to clarify the mind of the Church.

9.2.4.2 Unsatisfactory Settlement

The Evangelicals, in whom the Ritualists found adversaries, were not prepared to revive ancient rubrics and inventories of Elizabethan churches. To them these things were innovations which appeared to have disappeared with the introduction of the

⁹¹² J.C. Ryle, *NUS*, p.27.

⁹¹³ E.g. ‘I will remark that the sacred vestures of the Christian Church are the same, with very insignificant modifications among every denomination of Christians in the world, that they have always been the same, and never were otherwise in any country, from the remotest times where we have any written accounts of them, or any mosaics, sculptures, or pictures to explain their forms. They are no more a Popish invention or have anything more to do with the Roman Church than any other usage which is common to all denominations of Christians. They are and always have been of general and universal—that is of catholic use’, Puchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.15, footnote 13.

⁹¹⁴ See footnote 584.

⁹¹⁵ Dearmer, *Parson’s Handbook*, 1st edn., p.16, 10th edn., p19.

⁹¹⁶ Dearmer, *Parson’s Handbook*, 1st edn., p.17, 10th edn., p.20.

BCP. They were part of the mediaeval church. Their use had lapsed in the modern Church of England although they had remained part of Roman Catholic worship. Evangelicals were suspicious of the motives of those who sought to reintroduce them. The underpinning theology of real presence was also transparent to Evangelicals⁹¹⁷ and an anathema to those who believed Christ's action on the cross to be an event which could only be remembered and truly brought into the present time through the faith of the believer.⁹¹⁸ It could not be brought into the present locality by the action of a priest.⁹¹⁹

In the field of modern Ritual Studies Louis-Marie Chauvet has more recently written:

Evidently what thus makes up the riches of liturgical space also results in its fragility. The aesthetic pleasure that it allows and the ritual routine that it maintains are constantly in danger of blunting the edge of the gospel, stifling its novelty and masking its ethical issues.⁹²⁰

Whilst the mid Victorian Evangelicals may not have been able to express this idea explicitly, it undoubtedly lay behind their concerns. They were also never able to apply the same criticism to themselves. As has been earlier stated, they employed a *ritual space* that was dominated by Sunday observance, good order (internal and external), a building that did not distract people from their devotions, and by the *Prayer Book*. They were unable to see that this might have missed the more poetic resonances of signs and symbols.

The Ritualists' symbols were all the more potent in those communities which had hitherto lost contact with the church. In areas of urban mission the Ritualists valued the power of these symbols to evoke a sense of the immanence of God more than words and through all the senses including that distinctly human sensitivity to ritual action and symbolic meaning. These were Victorian 'fresh expressions' of church. Here were priests who could argue they were seeking to bring faith to the urban masses and an established church which partly struggled with and partly objected to the means they wanted to use.

⁹¹⁷ The arguments made by Evangelicals throughout the controversies detailed above are consistently understanding of symbolic meaning and power. Ronald Grimes observes that 'ritual does not have to be exciting to exercise power'. Grimes, 'Modes of Ritual Sensibility', in Bradshaw and Melloh (eds.), *Foundations in Ritual Studies*, p.141. Evangelicals appear to have been aware of this both in relation to the power of Anglo-Catholic worship and the unexcitingness of their own.

⁹¹⁸ Ryle's appeal to Articles 25, 28 and 29 is a typical example. J.C. Ryle, 'Hold Fast; The fourth triennial charge to the Diocese of Liverpool, November 4, 1890', *NUS*, p.222.

⁹¹⁹ 'I do hope my clergy will stand firm on this subject ... there is a strong tendency to exalt Baptism and the Lord's Supper to a place never given them in scripture, and especially not in the Pastoral Epistles', Ryle, 'Hold Fast', *NUS*, p.223.

On the other hand, Enraght appeals to John 6, 1 Corinthians and Hebrews in his argument for a theology of real presence. Enraght, *Real Presence and Holy Scripture*.

⁹²⁰ Chauvet, 'The Liturgy in its symbolic space', in *Concilium* 1995/3, p.34.

The Evangelicals clung to the words of the *Book of Common Prayer 1662* and The Bible as sufficient for the church. They could read the symbols and could see their own theological boundaries being transgressed. The Ritualists preferred the language of the symbols but were happy to limit their speech to the words prescribed in the *Prayer Book*. The difficulty was that the words said so much and the symbols said more.

In its report on the Lincoln Judgment 1887 (about an eastward facing celebrant, altar lights, the mixed chalice and singing the *Agnus Dei*), *The Times* included the comment:

The Ritualists are to have their way in the chief practices impugned--the other party are diligently assured that there is no such significance as has hitherto been supposed in such practices. The Ritualists...are given the shells they have been fighting for, and the Evangelicals are consoled with the gravest assurances that there were no kernels inside them.⁹²¹

Of course, this led to the symbols being highly evocative of the presence of God in one church tradition and being gagged in others. Even if their 'official' definition was limited, their other meanings and ritual employment still carried. Victor Turner notes the multiplicity of meanings a symbol can have when he writes:

When we talk about the 'meaning' of a symbol, we must be careful to distinguish between at least three levels or fields of meaning. These I propose to call: 1) the level of indigenous interpretation (or briefly, the exegetical meaning); 2) the operational meaning; and 3) the positional meaning.⁹²²

Whilst the formal settlement about the interpretation of symbols that persists in the Church of England even in the twenty-first century can play with what Turner calls the 'exegetical meaning', there can be no doubt that the 'positional meaning' cannot be changed. The symbols we have been discussing in their ritual setting communicate their truths no matter what the exegesis. Their 'operational meaning' may well have come to be one of conflict.

To Dearmer there was something else and it may be that in the end it was the aesthetic contribution that these symbols made which triumphed over the theological arguments that surrounded them. Percy Dearmer's priorities for taste and decency seem to bear testament to this.

For those priests whose ministry was given to poor urban communities it is sustainable to argue that in introducing their ritual practices they were also introducing beauty into a drab environment.⁹²³ A public and legal pursuit of the slum priests by the establishment conducted in theological terms was bound to be read in urban culture as

⁹²¹ *The Times* (London, England), 21 November 1890.

⁹²² Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, p. 36.

⁹²³ The greyness of the environment that many poor urban Victorian people lived in has been described above in Part 3. The colour, symbolism and multi-sensory appeal of their liturgical innovation is described in this Part 4.

keeping heaven's riches away from the poor. Their persecution, imprisonments and early retirements or deaths made them also tangible symbols of the sacramental and sacrificial action of Christ in a way that was beyond candles or vestments. Their ritual celebrated Christ's incarnation and their lives were marked by his incarnational character too.

Victor Turner says:

He (the anthropologist) cannot, however, with his present skills, discriminate between the precise sources of unconscious feeling and wishing, which shape much of the outward form of the symbol; select some natural objects rather than others to serve as symbols, and account for certain aspects of the behaviour associated with symbols. For him it is enough that the symbol should evoke emotion.⁹²⁴

We have tried here to describe a small number of symbols that became contentious. We have perhaps also attempted to do the impossible in Turner's view. But the handful of symbols we have discussed turned their proponents into symbols themselves. They were pushed into a new relation to power different from that which they had previously known. These figures for whom life could have been so different found themselves in the same relation to power and authority as was shared by the urban poor amongst whom they lived and worked. The symbols we have discussed were signs of Christ's presence as the Church gathered for Eucharist. We might contend that their proponents found themselves in the same relation to power and authority as the Christ whose death they remembered in that Eucharist.⁹²⁵ The ritual they conducted gave meaning to their lives too.

Persecution growing the reputation of religious communities is not new. Maurice Bloch observed this in Madagascar.⁹²⁶ Among the Victorian Ritualists we find too that this persecution mirrored the Eucharistic sacrifice at the centre of their ritual.

Richard Schechner observes:

At the place where the actor meets the audience—that is, in the theatre—society faces the sacrificial victim thrice-removed. The audience itself is once- removed from the society which it is part of and represents. Individuals 'leave' society and 'go to' the theatre where they respond to the performance more as a group than as discrete individuals. The social role that spectators play is analogous to the character roles that actors play. At least one of the characters stands in for the sacrificial victim. Thus an actor playing such a character is performing a representation of a representation. In ritual performances two representations are stripped away: there is neither character nor audience. In ritual the encounter is:

⁹²⁴ Turner, *The Forest of symbols*, p. 30.

⁹²⁵ At the time it was plain to people that the prosecutions were not quelling the popularity of the Ritualists and that they were perhaps injuring the cause of Evangelicals (for example, see Samuel Garratt's letter at footnote 436 on page 97 or the *Punch* cartoon at Figure 5 on page 120). Here we make a theological rather than a political point, that their gospel was made more authentic.

⁹²⁶ Bloch writes of the Merina during the reign of Ranabalona in Madagascar, 'As a result of the threat they were seen to pose, the Christians under Ranabalona became a persecuted but growing minority, cut off from the foreign influences that had introduced the religion to the island in the first place. In such circumstances Merina Christianity developed an independent character both in its theology and its social implications and struck deep, if somewhat unexpected roots, made sacred by the persecution and martyrs.' Bloch, *From Blessing to Violence*, p.20.

[victim]—actor :: society

Or, if a real sacrifice is performed:

victim :: society

A priest performing the Eucharist 'stands for' or 'elevates' Christ while the congregants are Christendom itself. The 'actor :: audience' interface is looser, more given to playfulness, change, and individual creativity than the 'actor :: society' interface.⁹²⁷

Using this analysis, we might conclude that in the case of the Slum Priest Ritualists the victim-actor was made very real and gave living evidence to the Gospel they proclaimed. Their evangelism was not one of just words or of symbol but was announced in the pattern of their lives too.

⁹²⁷ Richard Schechner, 'Ritual and Performance', in Tim Ingold (ed), *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.634-635.

Part 5

Theological Reflection and Conclusions

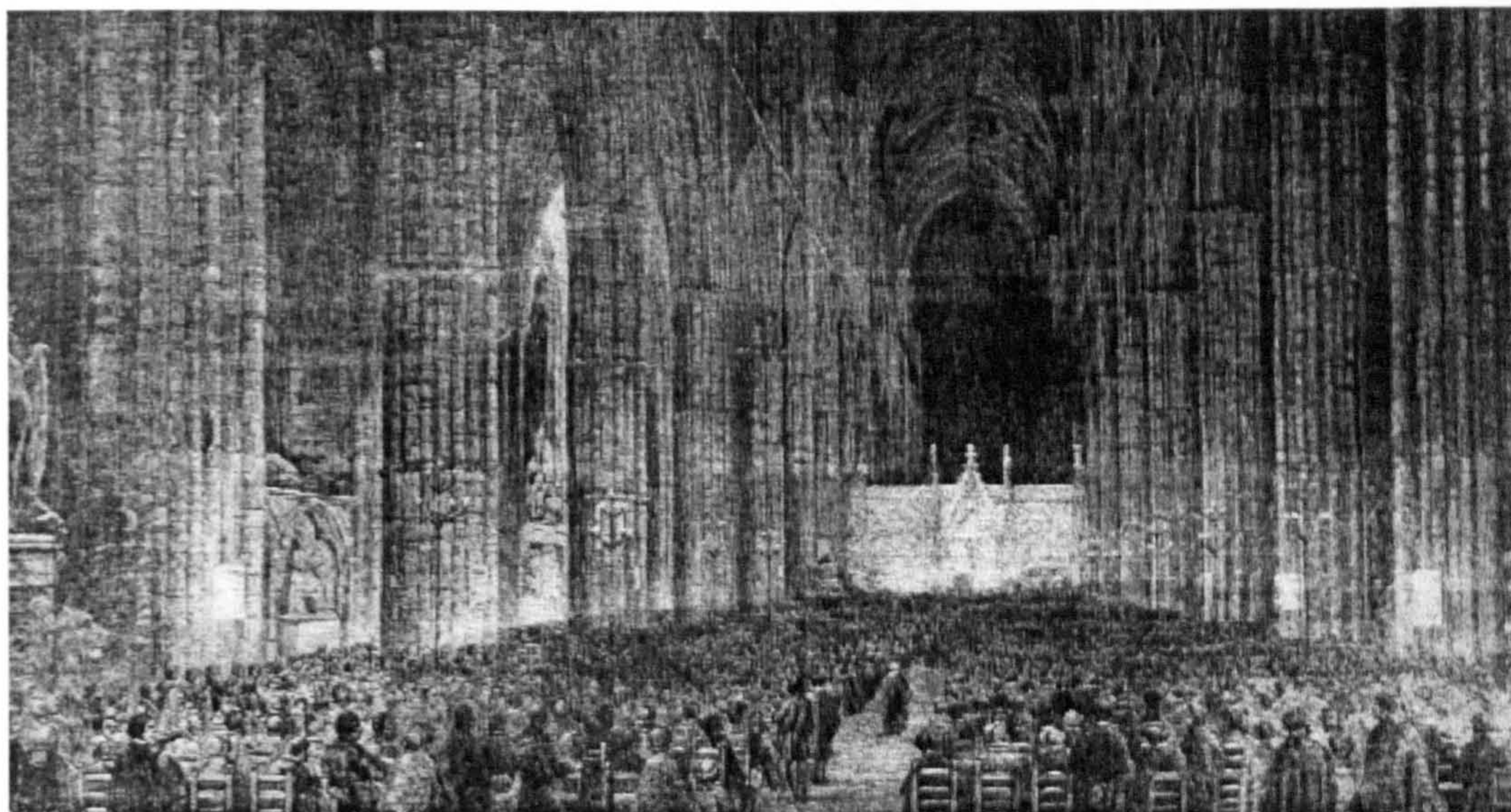


Figure 8:
Masses thronging to Westminster Abbey
of an evening in March 1861.

Chapter 10 Principle

Here we will attempt to draw together some of the underlying thinking that is critical to a good understanding of nineteenth century Ritualism and the capacity it had to capture the imagination of people. We will attempt to trace the development of that thinking. Munson describes a pattern of Ritualism that was still very patchy in the latter part of the nineteenth century,⁹²⁸ although there were signs of an underlying strength.⁹²⁹ In the beginning of the twentieth century Anglo-Catholicism became the dominant theological tradition in the church evidenced by the liturgical practice that accompanied it.⁹³⁰ The steady growth of the ECU laity and clerical membership, Districts and Branches demonstrated in Figure 9 and Figure 10 (steepening at moments of controversy) is further evidence Anglo-Catholic ascendancy.⁹³¹

10.1 Incarnational Theology

The analysis of ritual and symbol that we have conducted reveals an underlying theology of real presence.⁹³² This may partly be accounted for in the symbols' ancient history. Pusey's Tract No. 81⁹³³ is the last in a series of 'collected ideas':⁹³⁴ i) Apostolic Succession, ii) Baptismal Regeneration, iii) Purgatory, and iv) Eucharistic Sacrifice. The common element between these four is that they are retorts to Roman Catholic doctrines. *Tract 81* is a substantial paper in which Pusey teaches that the Eucharist is not a re-making of the sacrifice of Christ but that he is present in Eucharist.

⁹²⁸ Munson, *Anglo-Catholic Clergy*, p.390 describes Munson's 'incense index'. Clergy numbers don't tell the full story though.

⁹²⁹ In the wake of the Ritual Trials clerical membership of the SSC diminished: 'While the attack on S.S.C. was in progress, a great many of the members withdrew from the Society, so that within these two years the 397 names on the pre-revised Roll of 1877 were reduced by 1879 to 227, or a net loss of 170, taking into account a few removals by death and a small number of fresh admissions', J. Embry, *The Catholic Movement and the Society of the Holy Cross*, (London: The Faith Press, 1931), Ch.VI.

At the same time the English Church union membership which included lay members was swollen, 'During the year [1877] 2,150 persons joined the Union, bringing up the total to 17,423. Two new District Unions, 11 Branches, and 17 Parochial Associations were formed. Total--District Unions, 34; Branches, 232; Parochial Associations, 93.' Rev. G. Bayfield Roberts, *The History of the English Church Union 1859-1894*, (London: Church Printing, 1895), 1877-1878.

⁹³⁰ Munson says that their highest point was to come in the 1920s and 30s, Munson, *Anglo-Catholic Clergy*, p.395.

⁹³¹ By 1893 the English Church Union was world-wide and was boasting a membership of '35,034 [in England], of whom 4,266 are clergymen, including 27 Bishops. Seven new District Unions, and eleven Local Branches were formed, and four Guilds affiliated. Total--District Unions, 68 (in addition to the Scottish Church Union and the New South Wales Church Union); Branches, 387; Affiliated Guilds, 74', Bayfield Roberts, *History of the ECU*, 1893-1894.

⁹³² Chapter 9.

⁹³³ *Tracts for the Times No.81*.

⁹³⁴ Or 'Catena Patrum'. Only Tract No. 81 declares its authorship to be Pusey.

The sacrifice is of the church in Christ's memory⁹³⁵ and the gift received by the church is of Christ.⁹³⁶ Christ is not the sacrifice. Pusey is careful to dissociate this theology from that of 'transubstantiation'.⁹³⁷

But Pusey applies his theology to practice also. The Oxford Movement leaders consistently defended the *Prayer Book* from change⁹³⁸ but in *Tract 81* Pusey suggests that priests might pray quietly, 'for the church places no restraint upon silent prayer':

Most merciful GOD, the Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, look graciously upon the gifts now lying before Thee, and send down Thy Holy Spirit on this sacrifice, that He may make this bread and this wine the Body and Blood of Thy CHRIST, that all they who partake of them may be confirmed in godliness,--may receive remission of their sins,--may be delivered from the devil and his wiles,--may be filled with the Holy Ghost,--may be worthy of Thy CHRIST, and obtain everlasting life;--Thou, O LORD ALMIGHTY, being reconciled unto them, through the same JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.⁹³⁹

This was published in 1840. By the time of the Ritual Trials it is quite conceivable that there would have been priests formed by Pusey's teaching who had been using that prayer for thirty years or more. When the reams of Pusey's careful theology and detail had seeped out of the mind, such a prayer may have still been in mind and have had far greater influence in the formation of a theological outlook – and that prayer is not as careful about Eucharistic sacrifice as Pusey's teaching. The strident Ritualist Enraght's work on real presence betrays Pusey's careful teaching but here Christ's presence pervades the whole Eucharist and Christ himself becomes the object of sacrifice.⁹⁴⁰ It is likely that liturgical practice has shifted theology beyond Pusey for Enraght and other Ritualists. This subtle movement in Eucharistic theology from Tractarian to Ritualist merits further study with particular attention to each of the phases of Ritualism discerned in Chapter 1 with its influence on later Anglo-Catholicism.

Of course, at work on Enraght's mind was not just Pusey's prayer (if indeed that was there at all) but his years of worship with symbols evoking notions of real presence that we have discussed above. Alongside the *BCP* words, the rituals and the symbols also

⁹³⁵ E.g. 'The doctrine then of the early Church was this; that "in the Eucharist, an oblation or sacrifice was made by the Church to GOD, under the form of His creatures of bread and wine, according to our Blessed LORD'S holy institution, in memory of His Cross and Passion;" E.B. Pusey, *Tracts for the Times No.81*, para 3.

⁹³⁶ Describing the practice that he understood to be of the early church, 'They first offered to GOD His gifts, in commemoration of that His inestimable gift, and placed them upon His altar here, to be received and presented on the Heavenly Altar by Him, our High-Priest; and then, trusted to receive them back, conveying to them the life-giving Body and Blood', E.B. Pusey, *Tracts for the Times No.81*, para 3.

⁹³⁷ E.B. Pusey, *Tracts for the Times No.81*, para 65.

⁹³⁸ E.g. 'On Alterations in the Liturgy', *Tracts for the Times No.3*.

⁹³⁹ E.B. Pusey, *Tracts for the Times No.81*, para 65, after St. Irenaeus. Dalby writes further on the development of silent prayer for the priest during celebration of the Eucharist in the Anglo-Catholic tradition: Dalby, *Anglican Missals*, pp.5ff.

⁹⁴⁰ 'It is of course Christ himself who works this miracle, even as it is He who works in and by His ministers on earth in all their ministrations. They personate Him. In the Holy Eucharist, Christ our Lord is High Priest, Consecrator, Sacrifice, and Living Bread.' R.W. Enraght, *Real Presence*, footnote 3.

spoke, albeit silently. The presence of Christ in the world that these symbols spoke of was focused above all on the Eucharist and his presence at the altar.

We must also note that following in the wake of this ritualizing and symbolizing of Christ's presence was another intellectual movement developing a cogent incarnational theology. The *Lux Mundi*⁹⁴¹ essayists represent a further development from the foundation of Tractarian teaching. This pattern of Tractarian thought being first ritualized and then intellectualized is important in our understanding of the way that ritual and symbol can speak. Paget in particular, in his contribution to *Lux Mundi* ('Sacraments'), makes the connection between ritual and Christ's presence in the world.⁹⁴² The later inheritors of both these ritual and intellectual traditions were to be inspired to social action in response. Their knowledge of a Christ whose earthly life was an image of love, who was ever present in their world and whose presence was focused in the sacraments, bade them do just that. This provides a valuable illustration of the interconnectedness of theology, the ritual of worship and the practice of ministry in the Church of England.⁹⁴³

10.2 Ritual Debate

The quest for a fuller ritual in the worship of the Church of England was not new to the nineteenth century. We have traced sketchily the debates of the Savoy conference and the protests of the Nonjurors through to the nineteenth century controversies.⁹⁴⁴ Whilst it was never the intention of Oxford Movement leaders to inspire overt changes to the Church of England's forms of worship they undoubtedly helped. They promulgated the anti-Erastian idea of a church apart from state interference.⁹⁴⁵ They inculcated a confidence in religion, and in the Church of England in particular, that encouraged its priests to selfless service,⁹⁴⁶ and they began to question the Reformers who had shaped the *Prayer Book*.⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴¹ Charles Gore (ed.), *Lux Mundi: a series of studies in the religion of the Incarnation* (London: J. Murray, 1890).

⁹⁴² He says, 'By the Sacramental system, then, is meant the regular use of sensible objects, agents, and acts as being the means or instruments of Divine energies, 'the vehicles of saving and sanctifying power'', Francis Paget, 'Sacraments', in Charles Gore (ed.), *Lux Mundi: a series of studies in the religion of the Incarnation* (London: J. Murray, 1890), p.403.

⁹⁴³ We have noted earlier too the coincidence of a new trajectory in Church Architecture towards *Domus Dei* contributing to a theology of the immanence of Christ. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House*, p.241.

⁹⁴⁴ See footnotes 589 on page 138 and 697 on page 161.

⁹⁴⁵ E.g. *Tracts for the Times No.2*, makes the case for the church's involvement in politics but not for politicians' involvement in the church.

⁹⁴⁶ E.g. *Tracts for the Times No.8*, 'The Gospel a Law of Liberty'.

⁹⁴⁷ E.g. Pusey, *Tract No.81*.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of strong religious revival in Britain.⁹⁴⁸ Early Ritualists were among those who rode the crest of this wave. Things that had fallen into disrepair during the preceding century were rebuilt, the 'slovenly' put in good order.⁹⁴⁹ The rules for ordering the worship of the church were researched afresh along with earlier English usages and the paraphernalia of worship that had been forgotten.⁹⁵⁰

The heightened sense of the importance of religion along with the challenges posed by the 1851 Population Census and Religious Census led many new priests, Ritualists significant in number amongst them, to serve in new churches among the poor where a pattern of ministry had not yet been established.⁹⁵¹ Such churches had no tradition of worship either. It seems as if the pioneers of Anglican ritual worship in the nineteenth century were given a blank canvas and were unexpectant of the storm they encountered. The riots were only short lived⁹⁵² but further announcement of their practices in books like *Directorium Anglicanum* were naïve and set to cause a furore.

The most voiced responses to Ritualism were also naïve. At first discussion revolved around the *BCP* 'Ornaments Rubric' but appealing to this was inconclusive.⁹⁵³ Although there was common ground among Evangelicals and Ritualists in the pious Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, whose use of incense, for instance, the Ritualists believed to have been proven,⁹⁵⁴ this was not enough. Later debate was to heighten the irreconcilably different ecclesiologies of those in favour and those against Ritualism. In the 1867 Royal Commission on Worship it was clear that Ritualism set those who looked to the 'living authority' of the prevailing church's practice against those who looked to the authority of the ancient English church.⁹⁵⁵ This is a question of revelation. Is the church more Christ-like the nearer to the first century you look, or does its subsequent revelations into divine nature lead it to a more Christ-like state in the present? In the nineteenth century the Ritualists and Catholics were inclined to the former, the Evangelicals and Broad Church to the latter. Interestingly, in the

⁹⁴⁸ McLeod, *Religion and Society*, p.5. He suggests that this boom was not to break down until near the end of the century.

⁹⁴⁹ E.g. Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.41; Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 10th edn., p.225; and see 3.1.2 on page 63.

⁹⁵⁰ One example being: John Fuller Russell (ed.), *Hierurgia Anglicana; Documents and extracts illustrative of the ceremonial of the Anglican Church after the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society, 1848).

⁹⁵¹ See 2.2 above on page 29.

⁹⁵² John Kensit was still leading raids to disrupt Ritualist and Anglo-Catholic worship into the twentieth century, but by then his support was diminishing. See Martin Wellings, 'Kensit, John (1853–1902)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁵³ See page 175. The problem was that the ornaments and symbols used in worship varied with parish and locality.

⁹⁵⁴ See page 138.

⁹⁵⁵ See page 137.

subsequent decades of the twentieth century 'when Anglo-Catholic styles of worship were dominant in the Church of England, Evangelicals began to look back behind the fathers to a more primitive New Testament church.

Of course this debate was clouded with opinion about Roman Catholicism too. There was suspicion inside and outside of the Church of England that the Ritualists were Romanizing it. The Ritualists' protestations fell on increasingly deaf ears as leading Tractarians and their followers became Roman Catholics.⁹⁵⁶ Today this is not as hot an issue in an Anglican church that formally shares debate with leading liturgical scholars from a wide variety of traditions including Roman Catholics. But the two priorities of those who appeal to the living tradition and those who appeal to ancient traditions still prevail. In contemporary terminology the former are likely to be referred to as 'pastoral liturgists' and the latter 'historical liturgists'. One is concerned with the action of symbol and ritual on individuals and communities in contemporary cultures and the other with the antecedents of those rituals and symbols. In current liturgical debate the same potential for irreconcilable controversy exists.

10.3 Ritual Proliferation

The way that Ritualists presented their ideas outside of the limitations of ecclesiastical courts and debates demonstrates a desire to win minds round. In the naïve days of Purchas this was simply about proving that there was English precedent for his practices.

The later Richard Enraght displays a much more strident approach. The anti-Erastian mindset he possessed had led to his charges of contempt of court in 1881. Most of his writing is in the period around the promulgation of the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874. His way was not to win around those who opposed him but to stand up to them.⁹⁵⁷ This is characteristic of Ritualistic thinking of the time.⁹⁵⁸

Percy Dearmer provides us with an example of a much more statesmanlike approach to Ritualist apologetics in the aftermath of the Bishop of Lincoln's hearing. *The Parson's Handbook* is all about good order and decency. He is concerned that candles are used beautifully,⁹⁵⁹ that vestments please the eye,⁹⁶⁰ and that people are not tripping over

⁹⁵⁶ See 2.2.1 on page 29.

⁹⁵⁷ See for instance page 186.

Enraght, *Real Presence*, is equally strident and forthright. On its front cover Enraght says that the doctrine of real presence is essential to Eucharistic Adoration. This was not measured to win around those who held fast to *Article 25*.

⁹⁵⁸ It was in 1874, the same year that the PWR was promulgated, that the ECU debated and agreed the six points. Bayfield Roberts, *History of the ECU, 1874-1875*.

⁹⁵⁹ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., pp.63-64.

one another.⁹⁶¹ The significance of the symbols is undoubtedly a matter of concern for Dearmer but it is not an issue he discusses here. The Lincoln Judgement settlement was that the Ritualists could have their symbolic shells providing the Evangelicals thought they were empty.⁹⁶²

Up to this point the Evangelical party had proven themselves highly literate in their ability to read what symbol and ritual evoked. They were alert to their formational power and nervous particularly of those symbols and actions that could speak of Christ's presence at the altar for their potential to distract from the need to let Christ into the heart.⁹⁶³ The Lincoln Case was not settled in a secular court but before the Archbishop of Canterbury and his assessors. They were under great pressure to offer a judgement that would heal the church's inflammations. The judgement also had the effect of closing down discussion about ritual and symbol for decades to come. Evangelicals bought the notion that doctrine was transmitted in the words of worship alone and may have lost their symbolic and ritual literacy as they withdrew from the liturgical enterprise satisfied with the formula they had secured; the Anglo-Catholics colluded, they gained the diplomatic high ground (exemplified by Percy Dearmer) as a dominant force in Anglicanism throughout the beginning of the twentieth century, and their symbols continued as a formational force.

Today much liturgical discourse takes place on the territory well explored by Catholic scholars over the intervening century. A handful of Evangelicals took a leading interest in the Liturgical Commission (established in 1955) particularly after the Prayer Book (Alternative and Other Services) Measure 1965.⁹⁶⁴ They worked towards what was to become the *Alternative Service Book 1980*.⁹⁶⁵ Colin Buchanan observes that Evangelicals needed to be taken seriously in Liturgical discourse again only after 'an undetected phalanx'⁹⁶⁶ in the House of Laity unexpectedly defeated the late authorization of the 1928 Confirmation Service in 1966. But there still remains only a handful who take a whole-hearted interest in this work. The general pattern of liturgical use in the Church of England today is that the more Catholically minded are

⁹⁶⁰ 'Simplicity, unity, proportion, restraint, richness of colour, ecclesiastical propriety, these things are simply not understood by a vast number. It is not their fault; they have had no opportunity of learning: they want to help the church, and they will do so well if they are only taught; but, if not, it will not cross their minds that decoration without harmony is just as excruciating as music without harmony', Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., p.80.

⁹⁶¹ Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, 1st edn., pp.194ff.

⁹⁶² See page 210.

⁹⁶³ E.g. Ryle's appeal to the *twenty eighth Article* in his argument for a receptionist theology. Ryle, 'Hold Fast', in *NUS*, p.222.

⁹⁶⁴ See Colin Buchanan, *Taking the Long View: Three and a Half Decades of General Synod* (London: Church House Publishing, 2006), pp.31-39.

⁹⁶⁵ *The Alternative Service Book 1980*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁹⁶⁶ Buchanan, *Taking the Long View*, p.32.

concerned to shape and follow ritual regulations whilst the more Evangelical regard them as empty.⁹⁶⁷ This is a complete reversal to the Ritualists' time and carries just as much potential for conflict. The emergence of new churches without an established tradition in an Evangelically dominated 'Fresh Expressions' movement⁹⁶⁸ bears some parallel to the new church building after the 1851 census in which Ritualism found fertile ground. The debate about worship regulations remains just as contentious, if reversed in direction.⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶⁷ Two booklets pitched at an Evangelical constituency help to expose this:

Trevor Lloyd, Jane Sinclair and Michael Vasey, *Introducing Patterns for Worship* (Grove Worship Series No.111; Nottingham: Grove Books, 1990), and

Michael Vasey, Jane Sinclair, Trevor Lloyd and Peter Moger, *Introducing the New Lectionary; Getting the Bible into Worship*, (Grove Worship Series No.141; Cambridge, Grove Books, 1970).

⁹⁶⁸ See the report of The Mission-Shaped Church Working Group, *Mission-Shaped Church: Church Planting and Fresh Expressions of Church in a Changing Context* (London: Church House Publishing, 2004), also,

The Fresh Expressions Web Site [<http://www.freshexpressions.org.uk>; 1 December 2007].

⁹⁶⁹ E.g. The Liturgical Commission, *Transforming Worship* (GS1651; London: Church House Publishing, 2007), section 6.5, 'Fresh Expressions', p.45f.

Chapter 11 Praxis

We set out in the Introduction our understanding that this work was one both of narrative theology and ritual studies relating to the practice of today.⁹⁷⁰ Having considered some fundamental principles emerging out of the history, both in the continuity of that history through to today and in the way in which history can repeat itself, we must also turn to the use of these symbols, rituals and the narrative.

11.1 *The Action of the church*

11.1.1 Transformation and Communication

The primary problem that the Ritualists presented their church with was that they looked Roman.⁹⁷¹ Their ritual, symbol, vestments and lifestyle all bore similarity to those of the Roman Catholic Church. They evoked the cry, 'No Popery'. Whilst the institutional allegiance they proclaimed was Anglican, the lifestyle and worship patterns they brought seemed Ultramontane. Their coincidence with the resurgence of the Roman Catholic Church in Britain termed 'Papal aggression' by *The Times*⁹⁷² is an important factor in the hostility they were met with. We must also notice that the Roman Catholic mission appeared at the time to be very successful among the urban poor in Victorian Britain.⁹⁷³ The numbers verify this today.⁹⁷⁴ And the Ritualists also clearly determined that their own 'system' worked in this context.⁹⁷⁵ We must ask why this particular approach to urban mission seemed to be effective and whether it was a pattern belonging only to the Victorian urban context.

We must take into account that part of the reason for swollen numbers of Roman Catholic worshippers in poor communities was that of the Irish immigration. Put quite simply, Irish immigrants were more likely to make poor communities their home than wealthy ones and they were more likely to be Roman Catholic.⁹⁷⁶ We must also give some acknowledgement to the important part that establishment oppression of the Slum Priest Ritualists played putting them in a good relation to others who were

⁹⁷⁰ Page 11.

⁹⁷¹ E.g. to Lord John Russell, page 31.

⁹⁷² Footnote 465.

⁹⁷³ E.g. Mayhew's witness on page 106.

⁹⁷⁴ See McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p.323.

⁹⁷⁵ See for instance Orbey Shipley's words on page 49.

⁹⁷⁶ See page 32.

oppressed.⁹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it is also apparent that the symbols and rituals themselves carried a cognitive and transformative power.⁹⁷⁸

Two aspects of this power appear to be particularly important in the case of Victorian Ritualism, one - the ritualization of transformation,⁹⁷⁹ and the other - the symbolism of divine presence⁹⁸⁰ even in the grizzliest of places. Victor Turner's and Dan Sperber's work on *liminality*⁹⁸¹ helps us see the manner of transformation that Ritualism could help to be expressed in penitents' lives alongside the same pattern in other cultures. We might observe that such ritualization was minimal among the Revivalists, present in the developing mainstream Anglican practice of Confirmation and elaborate in Ritualism. Transformation of life was not unique to Ritualism but the degree to which the slum priests could enable this in the poorest communities received remarkable comment.⁹⁸² Basil Bernstein gives us a key to understanding the importance of symbols that address senses beyond the cerebral limits of speech.⁹⁸³ This is particularly important alongside his observation that non-mobile working-class communities tend to use restricted speech codes.⁹⁸⁴ Mary Douglas also argues that religious symbols are, in Bernstein's terms, a form of 'restricted code'.⁹⁸⁵ It is apparent that subtleties of communication in cultures that use the vocabulary of restricted speech codes are often achieved through non-verbal means.⁹⁸⁶ The ability of working class communities to handle non-verbal signs and their reduced reliance on an extended vocabulary gives some partial explanation to the power of religious symbol in such contexts. The truths that religious symbols point to are not uniquely read by the poor. The Church of England's Victorian dilemma was that the words and the symbols said different

⁹⁷⁷ See Chapter 4 on pages 69ff.

⁹⁷⁸ Chapter 8 and Chapter 9.

⁹⁷⁹ See pp.155ff.

⁹⁸⁰ See pp. 203f.

⁹⁸¹ Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967).
Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969).
Dan Sperber, *Rethinking Symbols*.

⁹⁸² See the accounts of the Cowley Fathers' Mission to London on page 125 and page 154. The transformation of life enabled by Ritualist clergy was also undoubtedly behind the growth of their congregations and parish structures as well as being one of the issues that gave them some esteem among even the Bishops uneasy with Ritualism.

⁹⁸³ See point ii on page 205.

Basil Bernstein, *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: 1990, Routledge).

⁹⁸⁴ It is important to state that here we make no value judgement. It is simply his observation that 'restricted speech codes' are more likely to develop in non-mobile cultures and 'elaborate speech codes' in more mobile culture. For a positive critique of this see Tony Edwards, 'A Remarkable Sociological Imagination', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Basil Bernstein's Theory of Social Class, Educational Codes and Social Control. (Dec., 2002), pp. 527-535.

⁹⁸⁵ Mary Douglas, 'Natural Symbols', in *Exploration in Cosmology* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.23.

⁹⁸⁶ In working-class Liverpool the word 'no' can mean 101 different things, including 'yes', depending on the way it is said and the context. The non-verbals also communicate a range of other nuances including pathos, irony, humour, delight, anger, etc. Things that those who use elaborate speech codes would tend to communicate with more words. This is often extremely confusing to middle-class visitors.

things.⁹⁸⁷ The religion of symbol in poor communities taught something different to the religion of words. In a nation construed on a religious basis this was a matter of national importance.⁹⁸⁸

We have observed that the Ritualists described their worship as bringing heaven's riches in to a drab world.⁹⁸⁹ The analysis presented here nuances this. We can see that heaven's riches dawn not just in colour and light amid grey and drab but also in the truths evoked by the language of colour and light and the ritual that accompanies them. We must recognize that neither the ritualizing of transformation nor a symbolism of divine presence are sufficient on their own to explain the missionary success that the Slum Priest Ritualists discovered. Both are available to the Church today and must surely still operate, but even where they are effectively employed they do not fill churches on their own. We need to consider also the particular context that our subjects operated in and their own incarnational character born out of oppression.

11.1.2 Regard for the person

Three elements of the Slum Priest Ritualists' praxis that we have surveyed are striking in the perspective they gave to the personal interface, over and above the individual transformations that are observable in the 1869 London Mission. The nearest in character to this is the practice of personal confession. Stanton made it clear in an interview that confession provided a means of working with people on the individual level rather than just, as it were, 'like talking to a flock of sheep'.⁹⁹⁰ Stanton's commentary makes it clear that this was both a means of his offering guidance and of the penitent discovering the love of God. In a brief analysis of an 1869 mission liturgical order alongside the structure of one of Moody and Sankey's meetings we note that the Ritualists' approach focused on judgement. Individual sacramental confession offers the flip side to the public preaching in its guidance and absolution.

Secondly we must notice the priority given to visiting the sick. Mayhew observed the value that the Costermonger class put on the visiting ministry of Roman Catholic priests and sisters.⁹⁹¹ Richard Rowe provided a vivid journalistic account of visiting with Stanton.⁹⁹² Alongside this are the accounts of Charles Lowder's ministry during the cholera epidemic being a turning point in his Wapping ministry and trustedness by

⁹⁸⁷ See Section 9.2.4.2 on page 208.

⁹⁸⁸ See **Error! Reference source not found.** for a discussion about the relation between religious myth and the state.

⁹⁸⁹ See Section 2.3.1 on page 50.

⁹⁹⁰ See Stanton's comment on page 53.

⁹⁹¹ See page 107.

⁹⁹² on page 56.

the poor.⁹⁹³ All of this is risky and time consuming personal ministry. The pastoral practice cannot be separated from the liturgical practice. They could not bring the whole of humanity into their prayer and worship without such a pastoral foundation.⁹⁹⁴

And thirdly we must consider the slum priests' approach to death and funerals. Thomas Laqueur has described the funeral rite in Victorian England as a time to exult in human glory,⁹⁹⁵ but in a pauper funeral where there was no glory to exult in all was empty. Laqueur tells us:

"Nothing," said the essayist Charles Lamb in 1811 tended "to keep up in the imaginations of the poorer sort of people, a generous horror of the workhouse more than the manner in which pauper funerals are conducted."

As the century unfolded he describes the funeral as becoming 'the final judgement on a dead man's standing'.⁹⁹⁶ Funerals ranged in cost from £3 to £53, but the slum priests were working among those for who even the lowest budget was out of reach. The willingness of Ritualists to pray for the dead and the innovation of Dolling's to inscribe their names on tablets of stone in church alongside his requiem altar are a powerful counterbalance to the culture that otherwise could teach the poor that their lives were worth nothing.⁹⁹⁷

All of these examples serve to demonstrate that these Slum Priests adopted a distinctive relatedness to the poor. Sometimes they may have appeared as an officer class but even when they did it was as a more caring and personally pastoral sort.⁹⁹⁸ Generosity to the poor is part of the pattern.⁹⁹⁹ This pattern too is repeated among the Ritualistic sisterhoods and the women who supported the priests in the clergy houses.¹⁰⁰⁰ We must expect to find that such a relatedness to the poor would offer reciprocation in the way the poor regarded them. Richard Wilkinson has described the effect of inequality in divided societies in terms of mistrust.¹⁰⁰¹ The heightened definition of a division leads to people's consciousness of being on one side or the other of a divide. The Slum Priest Ritualists' praxis placed them on the same side as the poorest in society and the notoriety of their persecution by the establishment publicly exemplified this.

⁹⁹³ Lowder during the cholera epidemic on page 128 and page 57.

⁹⁹⁴ Davies, *Worship and Theology in England IV*, p.124.

⁹⁹⁵ Thomas Laqueur, 'Bodies, Death, and Pauper Funerals', *Representations*, No. 1. (Feb., 1983), p.126.

⁹⁹⁶ Laqueur, 'Pauper Funerals', *Representations*, No. 1. (Feb., 1983), p.115.

⁹⁹⁷ See page 128.

⁹⁹⁸ E.g. accounts of Fr. Burn at footnotes 223 on page 53 and 546 on page 127.

⁹⁹⁹ See p. 93f.

¹⁰⁰⁰ See pages 93 and 122.

¹⁰⁰¹ Page 97 above. Richard G. Wilkinson, *The Impact of Inequality* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.288-289. Also, on page 240 Wilkinson describes counter-dominance: a means by which the dominated can react to the powerful in unequal societies. This works through their amassing numbers to take a stand. Counter-dominance to the Ritualist's persecution would be expressed in people showing solidarity with them.

11.1.3 Model of the Church

It had originally been a hope that this thesis would offer some illumination on the problem of liturgical reform appropriate to poor urban communities of the early twenty first century. Some illumination on this has emerged but more intense is a theology recognizing that liturgy appropriate to the most marginalized must connect with the incarnation of Jesus Christ, itself a story of marginalization. Gutiérrez gives us a theological under-girding that leads us to expect to find God's work explicit in such a story as that of the Ritualists. Stanton himself used a similar hermeneutic to Gutiérrez's¹⁰⁰² in interpreting to the Holborn congregation the persecution of Mackonochie:

It is the crowning honour of a Priest of Jesus Christ to suffer for his master's sake. You will not hear the voice of your beloved priest for three months, but, as he sits in his stall, his silence will speak more powerfully than the rarest eloquence.¹⁰⁰³

This re-alignment of relatedness to powerful and powerless, mirroring Gospel narratives, is not something that church institutions which are vehicles of political and economic power can authentically do. Part of Gutiérrez's concern, as a priest and teacher within a powerful church institution, reflects this.

The question is: Should the change consist in the church's putting its current social influence on the side of necessary transformations? Some fear a kind of "Constantinianism of the Left," and believe that the church should divest itself of every vestige of political power. This fear is opportune because it points out a genuine risk which we must keep in mind. But we believe that the best way to achieve this divestment of power is precisely through resolute solidarity with the oppressed and the exploited in the struggle for a more just society.¹⁰⁰⁴

Gutiérrez sees that even were the church to use its power on behalf of the poor this would represent a new kind of imperialism (Constantinianism of the left¹⁰⁰⁵). The crucial issue is whether the church can divest itself of power. The consequences of this in a world where power will always be exercised might be to put the whole church into the position of our Ritualists. Or in other words, they model for us such a church. This is not to be found in our mimicking their ritual practice but their solidarity with the oppressed and exploited. This we term their 'Incarnational Character': a stronger and more theologically precise term than Reed's 'saintliness'.¹⁰⁰⁶ They found this because of their rituals, but today there are different concerns. Gutiérrez says:

¹⁰⁰² Reference at footnote 348 on page 83 above.

¹⁰⁰³ Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism*, p. 171.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Gutiérrez, 'Theology of Liberation', in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.250.

¹⁰⁰⁵ This reference to the marriage of church and empire is used to suggest congruency with a marriage of church and the people-power of socialism.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Reed, *Glorious Battle*, p.168.

Only in concrete effective solidarity with exploited persons and social classes, only by participating in their struggles can we understand the implications of the gospel message and make it have an impact on history.¹⁰⁰⁷

Leonardo Boff looks for a Church to emerge from the poor.¹⁰⁰⁸ This has not emerged out of Ritualism. The conservative institutions of the Church of England actually changed quite rapidly to accept the presenting liturgical and ceremonial agenda, partly as a result of the missionary success which was perceived, perhaps erroneously, to stem from it. The real lessons about the relationship of the people of God toward temporal power were not learnt. Those who had stood against the church were as-good-as beatified by it and so made 'safe'. It would be much more difficult to see a repeating opportunity to create a church from the poor in the liturgical endeavours of today. Adoption of the Victorian Ritualists' liturgical practice (or anybody else's liturgical practice) does not necessarily confer the same inverted relation to power as theirs.

There are two liturgical lessons that emerge from this reading of Ritualism:

- i. The power of symbol,
- ii. An occurrence of marginality and oppression (Incarnational Character) spilling from worship into the community and representing the Gospel.

11.2 Influence of the Poor

We have demonstrated that the hierarchy of the Church of England followed public opinion in their tolerance and eventual reception of Ritualism.¹⁰⁰⁹ This public opinion was satirized for instance in *Punch* cartoons¹⁰¹⁰ and expressed powerfully to the Archbishop of Canterbury by members of St. Alban's after all of the clergy were suspended by the Bishop of London.¹⁰¹¹ The Slum Priests' ministries never reached the numbers of people that the likes of Moody and Sankey did nor was there ever a sense of triumphant success about them. The Ritualist urban missionaries clearly brought the gospel of an alien culture with them, but there is also something of the ring of an authentic encounter between this gospel and the communities it was brought to in their own self-sacrificing pastoral practice.

Alongside this, it was an encounter made alive in the liturgy. Whilst many in the church welcomed the willingness of those inspired to work amongst the poor, their

¹⁰⁰⁷ Gutiérrez, 'Theology of Liberation', in Nickloff (ed.), *Essential Writings*, p.252.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Section 4.2.4 on page 78 above.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Page 122 above.

¹⁰¹⁰ E.g. 'The Chichester Extinguisher: Figure 5 on page 120.

¹⁰¹¹ 'The working men of themselves could cause the whole fabric to fall about your ears.' See footnote 514 on page 118.

theology and ritual was condemned by the powerful of the Church. Even the leaders of the Oxford Movement could not find it in themselves to support their liturgical extravagance. This, itself, became the very cause of oppression for ritualistic priests. It made them outcasts in their own church. It put them alongside those oppressed by other causes in a way that could not be designed. The Gospel and incarnation that their liturgy symbolised were also brought to life in their personal stories. Worship united these priests with the poor in a significant way and made them a Christ-like presence.

This story has itself now become a different sort of myth that propagates the importance of an Anglo-Catholic form of liturgical precision to urban mission. It is a myth that suggests there are features of worship that have their origins in heaven: when the church worships by heaven's design then its participants realize God's truths. We have argued that the most powerful way that the Christian metanarrative was represented by the Ritualists was not in this action of their liturgy but in its results: that they were set upon by the religious establishment of their day, imprisoned and in some cases even led to early deaths.

None of this diminishes the importance of the Ritualists' pastoral theories to the context they worked in, but it does suggest that merely to mimic them today is not possible. Their ability to present the Gospel in the way they did to the context they worked in belonged to that place and time. Today those whose liturgy is ritualistic do not face the oppression that was theirs. It was this oppression that represented the gospel most authentically. Although Christian leaders might not go in search of personal oppression, it may be that where it is encountered the Gospel comes alive. A legitimate question to liturgists and worship leaders in the Christian church today is to ask what relationship to temporal power does their worship inspire. Truly 'Transforming Worship' is not just about congregations learning words (developing a liturgical memory) or getting to know ecclesial habits better, but changing the relation of the worshipping community to society if it is to represent the Christian Gospel. In this understanding, Eucharist is not an opportunity to massage the psycho-spiritual wellbeing but a constant reminder to the church of Christ's identification with the marginalized. The search for further examples of such Eucharistic and liturgical practice impacting on the non-church community in evangelistic ways across other cultures merits further study and recognition as today's church reforms its worship praxis.¹⁰¹²

¹⁰¹² We have already referred to Maurice Bloch, *From Blessing to Violence*, as one example.

11.3 In Conclusion

We have sought to demonstrate a structural similarity between the Gospel and the received narrative telling of the mid-Victorian Slum Priest Ritualists. The former was explicitly an influence for the latter both in terms of what the Ritualists thought they were doing and in the way that the contemporary establishment interpreted them. Today they impact on the church alongside each other begging the question as to where the church stands in relation to power and the marginalized. To those who read these stories with the eyes of faith, they may give an indication of a Godly stance and the sort of church that God's Spirit can be seen to live in.

To those who use these stories in the quest for a Godly and missionary liturgical practice the answer is most clearly to be found in the interconnection between the Ritualists' story and the Gospels'. What is significant is the way that worship changed their relation to establishment, authority, power and wealth. This was a significant personal transformation for those involved; a transformation in a Christ-like direction. In turn it demonstrated an authenticity to their worship that found deep resonances with the Gospel running beyond liturgical action. The words, 'Do this in remembrance of me'¹⁰¹³ were spoken with real meaning.

¹⁰¹³ Luke 22:19.

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Appendix 1

The Church Census

Properly called, the census of *Accommodation and Attendance at Worship* was completed on Sunday 30th March 1851, which was cold and wet as well as being Mothering Sunday. There remains some uncertainty as to how significant these two facts are but they certainly led to an atypical day. Enumerators delivered one of three different forms to each place of worship they were aware of in the week before:

1. Black print on blue paper for Anglican Churches
1. Red print on blue paper for Non-Anglican places of worship
2. Black and white for The Religious Society of Friends

The questions asked were slightly different for each category: the Anglicans did not need to be asked about their denomination for instance, nor the others about their diocese (there were no Roman Catholic dioceses nor bishops in England in 1851). Form A asked the following:

1. Name and description of Church or Chapel
2. Where situated (Parish / Ecclesiastical Division / Superintendent Registrar's District / County / Diocese)
3. When consecrated or licensed
4. For Churches and Chapels consecrated or licensed since 1st January 1800; by whom was it erected and paid for
5. How is it endowed
6. Space available for public worship (No. of free sittings / total sittings)
7. Estimated number of persons attending Divine Service on Sunday March 30, 1851 including separate figures for morning, afternoon and evening services. Also a figure for average services throughout the year.
8. Remarks
9. Signature

There had been an attempt to include a question on the *Population Census* about religious association with any particular church but the Bishops of Oxford and Salisbury spoke powerfully against this and blocked it. Perhaps they were among the threatened. It is likely that had this gone ahead the Church of England would have come out looking much better because of its large nominal membership so perhaps here

they scored an own goal. They also attempted to block the *Religious Census* but failed; however the Bishop of Oxford did succeed in making it voluntary.¹⁰¹⁴

The attendance of each church was calculated by adding together the morning attendance, half the afternoon attendance and a third of the evening attendance. It is believed that this will have contributed towards making the attendance appear too small in traditions where the greatest attendance was of an afternoon or evening yet it favoured the Anglicans whose morning attendance was their largest.¹⁰¹⁵

The report was published in 1854¹⁰¹⁶ and was an immediate best seller. Its key result for many was summed up in Horace Mann's editorial comment,

... it must be apparent that a sadly formidable portion of the English people are habitual neglecters of the public ordinances of religion... The masses of our working population ... are never or but seldom seen in our religious congregations.¹⁰¹⁷

Recent scholars have put their finger on a number of shortcomings in the census and Mann's statistical work.¹⁰¹⁸ Most seriously these include the likelihood of small nonconformist meeting places being missed out¹⁰¹⁹ and the difficulty in estimating the number of individuals who attended worship on that Mothering Sunday from the morning, afternoon and evening figures, given that some would have been counted two or three times in the day.¹⁰²⁰ Because of its voluntary status, a number of clergy, mainly Anglicans, never filled the forms in.¹⁰²¹ The blanks were completed by the Registrars based on their own local research at a later date.

¹⁰¹⁴ W.S.F. Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census--A Useless Experiment?', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 18. (1967), p.386.

¹⁰¹⁵ Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census', *The British Journal of Sociology*, p.391.

¹⁰¹⁶ Horace Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship, England and Wales. Report and Tables. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty* (HMSO / Eyre & Spottiswoode: London, 1853).

¹⁰¹⁷ Mann, *Census 1851*, p.93.

¹⁰¹⁸ e.g. Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census', *The British Journal of Sociology*.

¹⁰¹⁹ Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census', *The British Journal of Sociology*, p.388.

¹⁰²⁰ Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census', *The British Journal of Sociology*, p.390.

¹⁰²¹ Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census', *The British Journal of Sociology*, p.385.

Appendix 2

William Booth's prescription

To throw into relief the life of the Slum Priest Ritualists we will give an example here of another almost contemporary movement that today has established a good track record of working with marginalized people who live in cities. William Booth (1829-1912) was founder of the Salvation Army. His prescription for the ills of Victorian Society was one of self-improvement rather than political power for the poor. The Salvation Army became an agency providing aid and relief but its founder's vision also betrays much establishment prejudice about the plight of the poor. This was something that was only to change through the impact of the poor on people such as his 'Sisters of Mercy' as they gave themselves to live amongst them too. Whilst the end result of his foundation may bear some similarity to the slum priest approach, its inception certainly did not. The prescription was an aggressive one.

William Booth overtly parallels the English urban poor with Stanley's reports of African savagery:

This summer the attention of the civilised world has been arrested by the story which Mr. Stanley has told of Darkest Africa and his journeyings across the heart of the Lost Continent.¹⁰²²

Booth's title, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, is meant to make an obvious connection for his readers and make allusion to notions of savagery among the oft termed 'home heathens'.¹⁰²³

Many today would want to question Stanley's perceptions of Africa. Numerous questions about the assumptions that the Victorian ruling classes made about the spiritual state of their own underworld are further highlighted in Booth's work. His allusion to the early ethnographer, Stanley, invites analysis informed by modern anthropology, tools his society had no access to.

General Booth was founder of the Salvation Army and wrote in 1890:

What a satire it is upon our Christianity and our civilisation that the existence of these colonies of heathens and savages in the heart of our capital should attract so little attention!¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰²² William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (The Salvation Army: London, 1890) Part 1 Chapter 1 'Why Darkest England'.

¹⁰²³ See Herman Ausubel, General Booth's Scheme of Social Salvation, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 56, No. 3. (Apr., 1951), pp. 519-525 for an analysis of *Darkest England* and how it was received.

¹⁰²⁴ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.1 Ch.1, 'Why Darkest England'.

Here he has turned from Stanley's reports of Darkest Africa to the account and remedy he is about to make for what he correspondingly calls 'darkest England'. Almost forty years after the census of 1851 had opened the eyes of England's comfortable elite to

the plight of the poor masses, Booth was still able to evidence and assert that little had changed. We have shown in earlier work that direct links were made by social thinkers of the time between the plight of the poor and their lack of participation in religious institutions. This led to the term 'home heathen'.¹⁰²⁵ This link between deprivation and religion was given statistical credence in the 1851 census that extended beyond the regular population count to include surveys of religious and educational institutions. Much work ensued to evangelize the masses that did not go to church but Booth was still able write after forty years of this:

It is no better than a ghastly mockery--theologians might use a stronger word--to call by the name of One who came to seek and to save that which was lost those Churches which in the midst of lost multitudes either sleep in apathy or display a fitful interest in a chasuble. Why all this apparatus of temples and meeting-houses to save men from perdition in a world which is to come, while never a helping hand is stretched out to save them from the inferno of their present life?¹⁰²⁶

Here he explicitly criticizes church building programmes and the ritualistic brand of church that had emerged so prolifically in poor urban communities first of all. Indeed, his own Christian community, the Salvation Army, appears as a reaction against this to be explicitly non sacramental or ritualistic worshipping in the open air. His criticism of the interest in chasubles is a jibe at the Anglican Ritualists who had reintroduced this form of dress to their church and, here, it is intended to cover the whole gamut of their paraphernalia. But it is not just the Ritualists he has no time for. His 126,000 word manifesto is far more radical than anything likely to have emerged from churches that are more accepting of the prevailing social order: churches built alongside people wherever they may be rather than an army sent out to change the world. Booth was not interested in growing the ecclesial community – his was an interventionist approach, an attempt to eradicate poverty from Britain. So, Booth's proposals are perhaps the polar opposite of the Ritualists' mission. He is for a start ardently anti-clerical:

We stand in need of a public creed--of a social, and if you will understand the word, of a lay Christianity. This work cannot be done by the clergy, nor within the four walls of a church.¹⁰²⁷

But the practical outworking of his philosophy was authoritarian in the extreme and it is easy to see why his manifesto was so unpalatable to the majority politicians of his

¹⁰²⁵ Norman Murdoch argues that Booth understood this primarily to be 'Irish Catholics'. See Norman H. Murdoch, *Salvation Army Disturbances in Liverpool, England, 1879-1887*, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 3. (Spring, 1992), p.577. This fits well with the Liverpool context he describes but doesn't seem to pay full account to the 'submerged tenth' of Booth. In Booth's terms this means those who have no capital to feed themselves and those in gaol. Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.1 Ch.2, 'The Submerged Tenth'.

¹⁰²⁶ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.1 Ch.1, 'Why Darkest England'.

¹⁰²⁷ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.2 Ch.8, 'A practical conclusion'.

day.¹⁰²⁸ His proposals mainly involved the unemployed and their families. He is quite clear about this in his introduction to the section of this work entitled 'My Scheme':

The indoor paupers, the convicts, the inmates of the lunatic asylums are cared for, in a fashion; already. But, over and above all these, there exists some hundreds of thousands who are not quartered on the State, but who are living on the verge of despair, and who at any moment, under circumstances of misfortune, might be compelled to demand relief or support in one shape or another. I will confine myself, therefore, for the present to those who have no helper.¹⁰²⁹

Booth had a prescription for the ills of his day.¹⁰³⁰ The index of this work gives an indication of its scope:

CHAPTER 2. To the Rescue!--The City Colony
 Section 1. Food and Shelter for Every Man
 Section 2. Work for the Out-of-Works--The Factory
 Section 3. The Regimentation of the Unemployed
 Section 4. The Household Salvage Brigade
CHAPTER 3. To the Country!--The Farm Colony
 Section 1. The Farm Proper
 Section 2. The Industrial Village
 Section 3. Agricultural Villages
 Section 4. Co-operative Farm
CHAPTER 4. New Britain--The Colony Over Sea
 Section 1. The Colony and the Colonists
 Section 2. Universal Emigration
 Section 3. The Salvation Ship¹⁰³¹

It is possible to discern from these headings what he makes plain in his text. Booth's terrifying proposal is that the salvation of the urban poor begins by their being gathered into colonies near their homes. Here they would be provided with temporary paid work. They were to be moved subsequently to the rural countryside from which Booth believed they had come. Here they would be given some temporary work on large country estates and re-skilled for a new life on the land overseas. Religious instruction was an important part of the prescription too. Ultimately they were to be exported to the 'virgin soils of the new world' [Booth] and into 'colonies overseas'.¹⁰³²

Drawing up these poor outcasts, reforming them, and creating in them habits of industry, honesty, and truth; teaching them methods by which alike the bread that perishes and that which endures to Everlasting Life can be won. Forwarding them from the City to the Country, and there continuing the process of regeneration, and then pouring them forth on to the virgin soils that await their coming in other lands...¹⁰³³

¹⁰²⁸ Booth was not unpopular with all. Ausubel has pointed out that Britain was split into 'Boothites' and 'Anti-Boothites' within months of the publication of *Darkest England*. See Ausubel, General Booth's Scheme, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 56, No. 3. (Apr., 1951), pp. 521

¹⁰²⁹ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.2 Ch.1, Section 2, 'My Scheme'.

¹⁰³⁰ Writing within months of the publication of *Darkest England*, W.J. Ashley described it as a 'Morrison Pill, a cure-all', medicines he regarded as limited to the 'lower-classes' and ineffective: W. J. Ashley, General Booth's Panacea, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3. (Sep., 1891), pp. 537-550.

¹⁰³¹ Booth, *Darkest England*, Contents Page.

¹⁰³² See Clark C. Spence, The Landless Man and the Manless Land, *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 4. (Oct., 1985), pp. 397-412, for an analysis of two small scale unsuccessful attempts to realize Booth's dream by his daughter in the USA.

Booth was not the first to suggest this. Wilmot Horton had put forward a scheme to 'shovel out the paupers to the colonies' in 1815. See H.J.M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830, Shoveling out Paupers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

¹⁰³³ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.2 Ch.1 Sect.2, 'My Scheme'.

It is apparent from this that Booth's title, *Darkest England*, deliberately references notions of 'darkest Africa'. He makes this explicit from the start:

As there is a darkest Africa is there not also a darkest England? Civilisation, which can breed its own barbarians, does it not also breed its own pygmies? May we not find a parallel at our own doors, and discover within a stone's throw of our cathedrals and palaces similar horrors to those which Stanley has found existing in the great Equatorial forest?¹⁰³⁴

This parallel with Africa leads to his conclusion that the English poor should be treated as the African poor were and repatriated to labour across the oceans. Booth seems to regard his treatment as civilizing and improving their lot.¹⁰³⁵ The urban poor might themselves perhaps have disagreed.

Now it may be said in both Stanley and Booth's defence that, unlike many of their class, they were prepared to stray away from their own native environment and explore what lay outside of their natural experience. Stanley ventured to Africa. Booth and his army rediscovered deprived communities that others in his day would have preferred not to hear from and was indignant of their oppression. He pulled no punches in his criticism of the establishment including comfortable sectors of the church. He terms those who personalize the devil as a mythical character and are incapable of discerning the reality of evil in their midst as, 'the dwellers in decent homes who occupy cushioned pews in fashionable churches'.¹⁰³⁶ And it may also be said of Booth that he inspired many people in a crusade to change poor people's conditions.¹⁰³⁷ Officers of the Salvation Army began to live alongside their society's poorest members and formed an authentic understanding of their perceptions. Julia Hayes Percy was a journalist for the *New York World* who lived with two of Booth's Salvation Army sisters for forty eight hours. Booth quotes extensively from her description of the brief experience. The short passage quoted here gives a flavour of the conditions his followers were prepared to endure and of the insights they formed. (The person referred to as Em is one of Booth's 'sisters' who offered hospitality to the journalist.)

In the area below our window there are several inches of stagnant water, in which is heaped a mass of old shoes, cabbage heads, garbage, rotten wood, bones, rags and refuse, and a few dead rats. We understand now why Em keeps her room full of disinfectants. She tells us that she dare not make any appeal to the sanitary authorities, either on behalf of their own or any other dwelling, for fear of antagonizing the people, who consider such officials as their natural enemies.¹⁰³⁸

This is important as it demonstrates the awareness Em had formed of her neighbours' distrust of authority. This awareness is repeated several times in Julia Hayes Percy's

¹⁰³⁴ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.1 Ch.1, 'Why Darkest England'.

¹⁰³⁵ His primary goal is 'Food and Shelter for Every Man' (See Chapter 2, Section 1 heading). In the main text of the article he connects this to the obligations of the Poor Law. He is perhaps attempting to provide and improvement on the workhouses.

¹⁰³⁶ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.2 Ch.5, 'My Crusade', Sect.1, 'Our Slum Sisters'.

¹⁰³⁷ Ausubel concludes that this was a great achievement of William Booth's. See Ausubel, 'General Booth's Scheme', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 56, No. 3. (Apr., 1951), p. 525.

¹⁰³⁸ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.2 Ch.5, 'More Crusades', Sect.1, 'A Slum Crusade - Our Slum Sisters'.

piece but is something that it is difficult to detect among those of the day who had not lived among the poor. Generally speaking, those whose lives were comfortable were not of a mind to challenge the social order that prevailed. Those who were socially and economically excluded by the structures of the day were also inclined to express their misgivings through mistrust, satire and subversion. This is clear in Mayhew's work, see section 6.2. His interviews demonstrate an outward deference among the poor towards the better heeled that was only a veneer over a general disrespect.

Booth himself does not seem to have achieved quite the same instinctive awareness of poor people's perceptions as his 'sisters'. Whilst they are on the inside of poverty, he remained on the outside. In his *Crusade* chapter he goes on to describe some of the salvations his prescription had wrought. The salvations are individual and related to income in every case. One example of many is offered below:

Sergeant R.--Of Marylebone Slum. Used to drink, lived in a wretched place in the famous Charles Street, had work at two places, at one of which he got 5s. a week and the other 10s., when he got saved; this was starvation wages, on which to keep himself, his wife, and four children. At the 10s. a week work he had to deliver drink for a spirit merchant; feeling condemned over it, he gave it up, and was out of work for weeks. The brokers were put in, but the Lord rescued him just in time. The 5s. a week employer took him afterwards at 18s., and he is now earning 22s., and has left the ground-floor slum tenement for a better house.¹⁰³⁹

The story of Em and of Sergeant R that Booth tells are of the way his officers had touched the lives of individuals. These stories are born out of those who lived in poverty. At this level the mission that he inspired has a strong relation to the slum priests even if their approaches to worship might differ. Although Booth clearly values this work he has not learnt the lessons given to those who live amongst the poor for himself. He may have been there but he hadn't lived there. He continues to offer a top-down and prejudiced prescription¹⁰⁴⁰ to communities he sees as savage.¹⁰⁴¹

¹⁰³⁹ Booth, *Darkest England*, Pt.2 Ch.5, 'More Crusades', Sect.1, 'A Slum Crusade - Our Slum Sisters'.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See too Harold Perkin, "'The Condescension of Posterity: The Recent Historiography of the English Working Class', *Social Science History*, Vol. 3, No. 1. (Autumn, 1978), pp. 87-101. Perkins here offers strong comment on well meaning social prescriptions born from 'above': 'they prescribed not merely a return to the 1834 Poor Law with its workhouse test and less eligibility but the setting up of "labour colonies" and "schools of restraint" designed to separate the incorrigibly idle, "the unemployables" and "loafers" from their families, presumably to discourage them from breeding. This was the remedy proposed not by self-conscious precursors of Hitler and Stalin but, amongst other liberal thinkers, by Canon Barnett of Toynbee Hall, William Booth of the Salvation Army, and Charles Booth the pioneer social surveyor.' p.91.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ausubel records that Anti-Boothites regarded his plan as, 'commonplace, childish, sensational, impractical, utopian, overambitious, shapeless, loose, pernicious, preposterous, and as "hollow and unreal" as the religious system of the Army.'

He says the Boothites championed the scheme because it was, 'simple, practical, wholesome, comprehensive, logical, good, big, honest, patriotic, and in harmony with the laws of political economy.'

Ausubel, 'General Booth's Scheme', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 56, No. 3. (Apr., 1951), p.522-3.

Appendix 3

English Church Union Membership and Growth

Table 5: ECU Figures 1859 - 1893¹⁰⁴²

Year	Members ¹⁰⁴³	Districts ¹⁰⁴⁴	Branches
1859	60		
1860	205		
1861	436		
1862	842		15
1863	1431		29
1864	1674		35
1865	1675		63
1866	3145	2	87
1867	5244	3	112
1868	6757	5	122
1869	7969		139
1870	9101	9	150
1871	10102	18	154
1872	9806	20	167
1873	10517	21	173
1874	12602	23	186
1875	13877	28	205
1876	16498	32	221
1877	17423	34	232
1878	17656	39	245
1879	17736	41	247
1880	19420	45	264
1881	20530	46	274
1882	21164	48	283
1883	21164	48	292
1884	20870	51	300
1885	21470	52	314
1886	22017	53	318
1887	23289	53	326
1888	27164	55	344
1889	30861	57	356
1890	32975	63	368
1891	33760	62	368
1892	34761	64	377
1893	35034	68	387

¹⁰⁴² Source:

Rev. G. Bayfield Roberts, *The History of the English Church Union 1859-1894*, (London: Church Printing, 1895). This is not a narrative history but a collection of the most important minutes from ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the English Church Union membership.

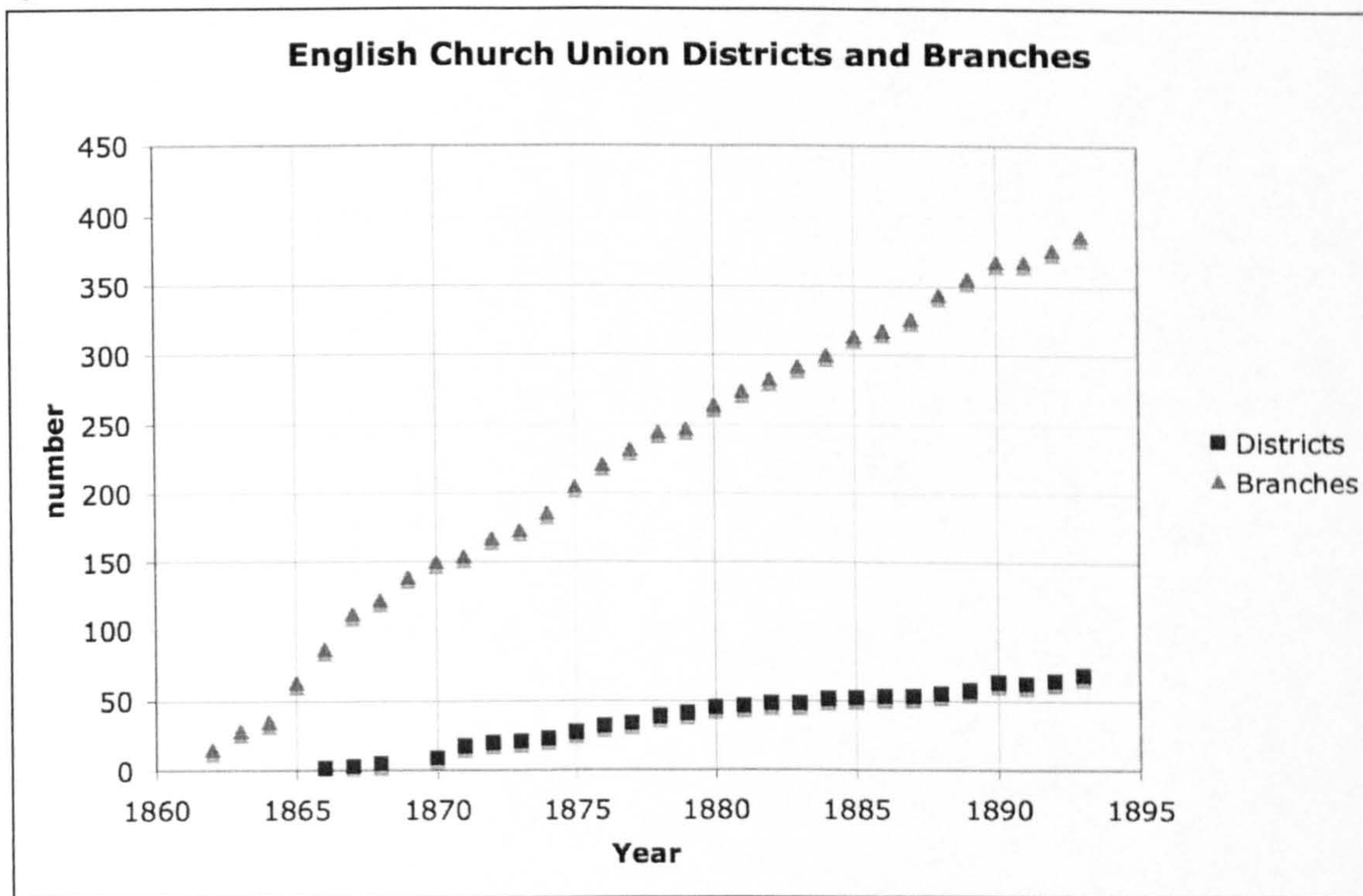
¹⁰⁴³ See footnote 1045 on page 248.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See footnote 1046 on page 248.

Figure 9:¹⁰⁴⁵ ECU membership 1859-1893



Figure 10:¹⁰⁴⁶ ECU district & branch numbers 1862-1893



¹⁰⁴⁵ The ECU secretary only started to report on the number of members leaving and dying in 1872. Reports also began then on the absolute membership number. Up to that point only the number joining is recorded. This leads to an artificial dip in that year's figure.

The increase in 1876 is put down to members of the Freemason's Tavern joining on account of Arthur Tooth's imprisonment.

The increases in 1888 and 1889 are put down by the Secretary to the Bishop of Lincoln's trial.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The figures before 1870 are a little unreliable as the Secretary only reported the number of Districts and Branches formed but didn't record those dissolved. All the Branches formed up to 1868 amount to 134 but the Secretary reports only 122 in existence. The table and graphs include the most accurate information available for each year.