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THE  
Oxford Movement,

BY THE

REV. MORGAN DIX, D. D.,

Rector of Trinity Church, New York.

FOURTH EDITION.

MILWAUKEE:  
THE YOUNG CHURCHMAN CO.  
1886.

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# THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

BY THE REV. MORGAN DIX, D. D.

*Re-printed from the Church Eclectic.*

[NOTE.—At Grace Church, Newark, on the 7th of February last, a service was held in commemoration of the semi-centennial of the great Oxford Movement of 1833, at which Dr. Dix was invited and had consented to preach, but was prevented by a severe domestic affliction in the death of his revered mother, which occurred Feb. 3d. The following article is the sermon prepared for that occasion. Several valuable notes are added by the author to confirm the positions taken.—ED. ECLECTIC.]

I ask your indulgence, brethren, as one who has a hard task set him ; to say anything at all sufficient, within my limits, on one of the most important movements in the history of the Church. What can be said, in thirty minutes, or twice that time ? Why should any one have been asked to do this thing ? Why should any one have consented to try ? The subject expands and grows faster than we can follow. Who is equal to the task of relating, in the little time before me now, a tithe of the whole matter ?

And yet men ought to know more of it than they do. The history of the "Oxford Movement" is part of a much longer history than that of the Kingdom of God in Great Britain. It has powerfully affected us in the United States ; the actual state of our own spiritual Mother, is due, under God, in no small degree, to that Movement of revival and restoration.\* The annals fill many a volume. There is a personal and literary side, already known to most of us. There is a deep philosophy in it, which might be lost sight of in looking solely at the surface, and dwelling on mere reminiscences. My duty and my wish are to go below the surface and show what the Movement really was. I must begin far back.

Our Lord Jesus Christ founded a Kingdom here on earth ; He was not merely a teacher of religion ; He set up a State and a Govern-

\*"After many trials and vicissitudes and most deplorable losses to an alien communion, the revived High Church party of 1833 has lived on to make a mark, great alike by the testimony of friend and of foe, upon the Established Church of England. This mark extends over that Church in every function of its activity; and it is of course as manifest upon its visible worship as upon the character of its doctrinal teaching, or its performance of moral and social obligations." . . . *Worship in the Church of England*, by A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M. P. London, 1875, page 4.

ment among men. It was not a Republic, nor a Democracy, but a Kingdom. It had laws and officers ; it existed for a purpose. It still exists the same. He said, that it should never be destroyed. He said, to its Chief Rulers, His Vicars, "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the World." One of them, speaking for all, said, "Though we, or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we preach, let him be accursed."

Out of this Kingdom there is no salvation. Once in it, man's duty is to renounce his own righteousness and wisdom, keep its traditions, and obey its laws. He did not make the Kingdom ; it takes him into it, and on its own terms and conditions.

Inevitably that Kingdom has a fight for life. The spirit of the age, the wisdom of this world, and the secular Kingdoms founded by men; all these make war on it. The history of the Church includes that of the efforts of her enemies, from age to age, to crush her, to detach men from her, or to subject her to their control, at the expense of her principles, her laws and her faith.

But we must now restrict our view to the branch of the Church from which we sprang. It is a wonder that it exists. Storms have beaten on it incessantly ; they are raging against it still. The history of the Church in Great Britain is that of perpetual strife against degrading and destructive influences ; to read it is like looking at a ship in very heavy seas, now lifted up into full view, now plunged into the trough of the waves ; sometimes lost to sight, so that the heart stands still, thinking that she may have foundered and will never reappear.

Planted in Britain by apostles or apostolic men, the Church flourished, sending representatives to the First General Council. Then heathen invaders overwhelmed her, and drove her to narrow bounds, a remnant of what she had been. In the year 596, helpers came to her from abroad and she revived, yet only to be bound fast by the chain of bondage to the Roman Papacy. Restless, for five centuries under that foreign yoke, she was delivered from it at last by Henry VIII., yet only to be subjected, in the person of that licentious and tyrannical monarch, to another domination, and tied to a secular Power whose aim has been to make her a mere function and department of the State. During the reign of his successor, the vain and self-willed

boy, known in history as Edward VI., she was overrun by crude reformers, disciples of Luther and Zwinglius, and reduced to the verge of dissolution. The timely death of Edward, and the revival of Papal authority in England, proved, under God, her salvation, by stopping the drift, and removing the ringleaders in a demoralizing process in which the last vestiges of the Catholic Faith and Ritual would have disappeared. Under Elizabeth, she fought the Calvinists, hardly delivered out of their hands. In the reign of Charles I., she was overwhelmed by the tide of Puritanism, and for the time, buried out of sight, the law forbidding her members the public use of their religion and persecuting her clergy even to foreign lands. So it goes from strife to strife, till the 18th century, when we see her in the hands of a Latitudinarian party, their hands on her throat, as if to strangle her. It is the more important to study and comprehend her situation at that time, because it explains the condition from which she was rescued, by this latest interposition of her Divine Head, through the instrumentality of the Oxford Movement. The depressed estate of the Catholic Church in England fifty or sixty years ago was the result of evils inflicted, and damage done by the Latitudinarians, Erastians, and Nonconformists of the preceding era; ever working on the old line of attack.

What was the State of the Church in England about the year 1830? Let us consider it, as presented graphically, by men who lived in those days and knew whereof they affirmed.\*

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\* The Church of England had but lately begun to shake off the lethargy by which she had been oppressed during the eighteenth century. The causes of that depression had been manifold. The unfortunate attachment of a considerable body of the Clergy to the dynasty of the Stuarts, shut out for more than half a century many men of ability, learning, and earnest piety—men devoted to Catholic doctrine and practice of the purest type—from positions of influence in the Established Church. In the reigns of the first two Georges, the energy of the Church, such as it was, had to contend, on behalf of the first principles of faith and morality against a flood tide of Deism, Atheism, and profligacy.

It was the policy of the State to depress the Church, and to convert it as much as possible into a servile implement for political purposes. Worldly minded ministers conferred bishoprics on worldly minded men under whose misrule fearful havoc was made in the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Laxity and listlessness in the discharge of spiritual functions pervaded, but with many noble exceptions, all ranks of the hierarchy. . . . Such scandals were not extinct at the beginning of this century. . . . The Evangelicals were unable to revive the Church, for the simple reason that they did not comprehend or enforce more than a part of her doctrine, while they were comparatively regardless of ecclesiastical discipline and liturgical ordinances. They had a zeal for God but not according to knowledge. Their theology was based rather on the teaching of Wesley and Whitfield, than on a study of the primitive fathers and the history of the Church, or the great divines of the English Reformation; while by their neglect of discipline and ordinances they confused the lines of demarcation between the Church and Dissent, and fed the ranks of Nonconformity instead of recruiting from them. The revival of the Church was to come from men of another stamp; from men who understood and taught, and, as far as possible, practised the principles of the Church in their integrity and fullness.

The occupation of English parishes by men who, outwardly conforming to save their livings, remained sectarians at heart; the pressure of Ministers of State, determined if possible to govern the Church; the suppression of her voice in Convocation; the loss of those learned and godly men who followed the hopeless Jacobite cause; the neglect of theological study; the growth of dissent; the disintegration of the Evangelical School; all these had produced their effect. The Church of England had ceased to be a power; it held the position of a victim, dressed for the slaughter.† Doubtless there were men in it of the grand old stamp; men who knew, men who deplored, men who prayed and hoped; but they were few. It had its High Church and its Low Church party; the latter ignorant and fanatical; the former more or less Erastian; with them it was "Church and State," say rather, "State and Church," State first, whatever might come to the Church. The idea of the Kingdom of Heaven seemed lost in that of the "Establishment;" the State was the Kingdom; the Church an appendage, an "interest" to be protected, like other interests such as the agricultural, or the manufacturing, or the colonial. As a spiritual force it was not felt by that hard, secular age.

The Dogmatic side of Religion was under eclipse; the Evangelicals cared nothing for dogma; with them personal assurance of one's own salvation was the one thing needful.

The Sacramental Doctrine was feebly held; he needs no Sacrament who thinks that justification and salvation are to be secured by an act of faith alone.

The Liturgical glory was lost in the ugliness of the churches and the barrenness of worship.‡

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From the time of the Restoration onwards such men had never been wanting; even in the darkest days of trouble and rebuke, blasphemy and coldness, they were to be found, although like the seven thousand in Israel, who had not bowed the knee to Baal, they were often unnoticed and unknown."—*The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F. R. S.*, by his son-in-law, W. R. W. Stevens, London, Bently & Son, 1880, page 99.

\* "In the year 1831 the whole fabric of English and indeed European society, was trembling on the foundations. Every party, every interest, political or religious, in this country was pushing its claims to universal acceptance, with the single exception of the Church of England, which was folding its robes to die with what dignity it could."—*Reminiscences chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, by T. Mozely, M. A. Vol. I., page 275. Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1883.

‡ See Chap. I., *Worship in the Church of England*, where the writer gives a graphic and striking description of the visible form in which that worship was first made palpable to him as a child in the reign of George IV., in the town of Surrey, not thirty miles from London; the chancel cut off by a solid partition; the aisles blocked up with family pews or private boxes with doors and staircases of their own; the music rendered by an "unruly gang of volunteers" with fiddles and wind instruments; the wizened old clerk, with



On a Church thus demoralized and depressed, burst the storm of 1830.\* The times were intensely exciting. The spirit of Reform was in the air; reform in parliamentary representation, first; reform in many other things. The lower classes were in distress; mobs began to pillage and burn. The structure of society was shaken to its base. Never were political controversies more violent, more embittered. The attack on state institutions by way of reform involved an attack on the Church; the politicians and publicists regarded her as little more than a department of the Government. That assault brought many strange creatures together, attracted by an object in common; "liberals," Non-conformists, Roman Catholics, doctrinaires with schemes for a conglomerate of all Protestant sects, skeptics to whom authority in any shape was an irritation.† Loud was the clamour for Church reform. The programme included the suppression of divers Sees; the expulsion of the Bishops from their place among the peers of the realm; the alienation of Church property; the appropriation of endowments; the secularization of the universities; the revision of the Book of Common Prayer; the aggregation of dissenters and Churchmen into one body; the destruction of the Establishment. The movement was viewed with terror by the High Churchmen and Tories; but they knew that resistance would infuriate their enemies and stimulate to fresh assaults. The end was reached in 1833, when Parliament passed a bill for the suppression of ten bishoprics, and Roman Catholics, Non-conformists, and radical politicians united in one general onslaught with the fair prospect of making an end of the Apostolic Anglican Communion forever.

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his "two hopeful cubs sprawling behind him in the desk," keeping them in order by back-handers which resounded against the boards, and, during the sermon taking up his broom and sweeping out the middle alley, in order to save himself the fatigue of a weekly visit to the place. The whole chapter should be carefully read, to appreciate the difference between Now and Then.

\*"All who have written on the events of that time, such as Mozley, Newman, Percival, Churton and others, have noticed the extreme and dangerous unsettlement of opinion about the year 1830, the era when the Reform mania was at its height, and when Reform was decided to be the panacea for every human ill, and was made to supply the defects of Divine Providence. . . . This revolutionary turmoil, when the Church and Christianity were in danger of being swept from their old foundations, and replaced upon the philosophic basis of the nineteenth century."—*A Narrative of Events connected with the publication of the Tracts for the Times*. By William Palmer. Rivingtons, London, 1883.

†"Forty years ago all the party of progress, all the leaders of thought, all the philosophical institutions, and most of the Liberal statesmen, believed the Bible to be a fabric of lies. The sacred history, the sacred canon, and the sacred text were now in the same category with the most astounding Roman legends, and the most flagrant forgeries. The uncompromising enemies of Rome were on peaceable and friendly terms with those who believed the Bible a string of fables, and the Church of England a usurpation."—*Mozley*, Vol. II., page 265.

It is a ghastly picture, that of those days, to one who believes in God and loves the Catholic Church; when skepticism was rampant, and an insufferably insolent individualism paraded itself on the platform; when the men most alive were the Evangelicals, amongst whom there was hardly one who combined scholarship, intellect, and address in a considerable degree, nor one who represented the principles and system in the Book of Common Prayer;\* when Macaulay boasted that there were not two hundred men in London who believed in the Bible; when the great Mysteries of Religion were explained away by a rationalizing school; when the impression widely prevailed that the Church of England was incurably wrong and finally doomed.† One must study that picture long and attentively, and take in what it means, before he can appreciate a Movement which stopped the enemy at the gate of the citadel, drove him back in confusion, and ended in lifting the despised and doomed Kingdom of God to a state of power, glory, and efficiency, which make the last half century one of the grandest, if not the very grandest, in her annals.

Now mark this well. The Oxford Movement was a spiritual revival. It was such a one as no politician or worldly wise man dreams of. It was a movement to save the Church; and, strangely enough, the idea was to save her, not by compromise, nor by giving in, nor by pleading for pity; not by alliances with dissent, dalliance with skepticism, or truckling to the World Power and the Time Spirit; no, God forbid! but by asserting the spiritual character of the Church, announcing her Catholic claims, exalting her apostolic hierarchy, and rallying men to her defence as God's own creation. Men saw, with admirable prescience, that it was impossible to stem the political tide, and preserve the institutions of the State. They saw, that to save the Church

\* On the weakness and demoralization of the Evangelical party, see *Mozley's Reminiscences*, Vol. I., chap. xv. and xxxviii.

† "England was fast settling upon its lees. The world was forgetting God. Men began to imagine that human power had created all things; that there was no Creator, no Controller of events. Allusion to God's Being and Providence became distasteful to the English Parliament. They were voted ill-bred and superstitious; they were the subjects of ridicule, as overmuch righteousness. Men were ashamed any longer to say family prayers, or to invoke the blessing of God upon their partaking of His gifts; the food which He alone had provided. The mention of His Name was tabooed in polite circles. In proportion as religion openly declined in society, a humanizing element progressed in religion under the name of philosophy and science, which knew of nothing except what is of human origin, and caused the Supernatural to disappear. The consequence of course was, that society began to demand the exclusion of the Supernatural from the Christian system, on the pretence of wishing to make it more widely acceptable. They did not consider that to exclude the Supernatural is at one blow to destroy Christianity, to convict it of being an imposture and a lie,—a system which assumes the appearance of that which is utterly denied."—*Palmer*, page 21.

they must clear her from the wreck of political institutions, set her on her own base, and fight for her under the banner of the Cross, as a Divine institution, independent of the State, and independent of the will and caprice of man. And that, substantially, was the Oxford Movement; to save the Faith of God, as taught to men and realized to them in the Church, by the simple process of declaring the Church's true lineage and nature, asserting her spiritual claims and powers, and bringing men back to loyal and devout communion with her, as the Body of Christ.\* † ‡

How wondrously it reads! How touching is the history! The little group at Oriel; Keble, Newman, the Froudes, Pusey; and before them Alexander Knox, link between the Evangelicalism of the former and the Catholicism of the latter day; and Hugh James Rose, learned, large-minded, warm hearted, bidding them go forward in God's name. We hear the music of the Christian Year; we read the modest Tracts, so simple and clear, beginning with the lost idea of the Apostolic Succession, and going on, evolving from it, the whole Church system. How earnest, how godly, how brave were the men! how strong in faith! how practical! And how little they knew of the trials in front and the glory that should follow! It is a picture of intense interest, but one on which I have no time to dwell. I have tried to sketch the rise of the movement; let me speak of the opposition it encountered, and of what came later as the fruit of victory.§

\*"Our effort was wholly conservative. It was, to maintain things that we believed and had been taught, not to introduce innovations in doctrine and discipline. Our principle was traditional, the maintenance of that which had always been delivered. It was not philosophical or rationalistic; it was simply a *bona-fide* adhesion to the faith we had been taught. I am speaking now of the original foundation on which the movement commenced. Our appeal was to antiquity—to the doctrine which the Fathers and Councils and Church Universal had taught from the Creeds."—*Palmer*, page 44.

†"They were rallying round the Church of England, its Prayer Book, its Faith, its ordinances, its constitution, its Catholic and Apostolic character, all more or less assailed by foes, and in abeyance even with friends."—*Mozley*, Vol. I., page 309.

‡"I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well nigh faded away out of the land, through the political changes of the last 150 years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation:—a better reformation, for it would be a return, not to the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth. No time was to be lost, for the Whigs had come to do their worst, and the rescue might come too late. Bishops were already in course of suppression; Church property was in course of confiscation: Sees would soon be receiving unsuitable occupants."—*Apologia pro vita sua*. By John Henry Newman, D. D. London, 1864, page 113.

§"The Tracts for the Times went straight against the whole course of the Church of England for the last three centuries. That Church had generally given up fasting, daily Common Prayer, Saints' Days and Holy Days, the observance of Ember Days, the study of the Primitive Fathers even so far as they are quoted in the Homilies, the necessity of the Sacraments and of a right faith, the idea of any actual loss by want of unity, volun-

Against it straightway rose whatever had the power to rise, against it raged whatever was then standing on its feet. The enemies were the same as of old : The State, Dissent in its Protean shapes, the Church of Rome. The battle of the last half century has been fought, partly within, and partly without ; I mean within and without the devoted circle who made the Movement what it became.

From within it suffered from defections ; the falling away of some who lost heart and courage, not unnaturally, however lamentably.\*

On the whole, and in the aggregate these seceders have been comparatively few and unimportant ; three or four names only, are those of men deeply regretted ; chief of all that of Newman, whom, in spite of his desertion, we admire, honour, and love, whom the Anglican Branch of Christ's Catholic Church will never cease to claim as her own child, as one whose best work was done while in his true Mother's House, who since he left her has been like one walking in a dream and under the shadow of exile.

From without the Movement has suffered,—nay, I withdraw the word,—it has not suffered ; it has sustained assaults, most precious and most fruitful in results. To these we point with gratitude to God ; each battlefield has been a landmark for all time ; in each a truth has been asserted and successfully maintained. The Movement drew strength from each of three great onsets of the enemy, in what are known as the Gorham controversy, the Eucharistic controversy, and the Ritualistic controversy. Victory was won long since, in each case, as on three well fought and stubbornly contested fields.

The Oxford Tracts began by teaching the Apostolic Succession. †

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tary confession to the clergy, and the desirableness of discipline, all held and transmitted by the Reformers, but since their day, gone out of fashion and out of thought. Nor had the desire been simply that of forgetfulness, for all England had been more than once agitated on these very questions.

The *Tracts* preached what a King and Primate had lost their heads for ; what the monarchy, the Church, the whole constitution, and the greater part of the gentry had been overthrown for ; what, afterwards, Bishops and clergy had been cast out for, and the Convocation suspended a century for. These doctrines had been all but prohibited in the Church of England, as they probably would have remained until this day, had not the revolutionary aspect of the Reformed Parliament seemed to place the Church of England in the old dilemma between the bear closing up behind and the precipice yawning in front."—*Mozley*, Vol. I., pp. 409-10.

\* "As time passed on, it was seen that the number of new followers of Newman in his secession, gradually diminished. It was soon exhausted. When the number came to be reckoned up and compared with the multitudes who showed no sign of wavering in their Christian course, it shrank into small dimensions. Perhaps 50 clergy out of 20,000 fell."—*Palmer*, pages 239-40.

† "The Low Church, particularly as represented by the Church Missionary Society, and by its complications with Presbyterians and Dissenters, had utterly discarded the idea of Bishops being in any sense the special successors of the Apostles, and necessary to a



That is the germ of the whole system : no wonder that it is so offensive to the liberalism and sectarianism of the day, that men rage as they do about the figment of a "tactical succession" and deny that the descent can be proved. All follows on that fact that the Episcopal Order succeeds to the office and work of the first Apostles, propagating and governing the Catholic Church under her Supreme Head, Jesus Christ. On that hang, logically, "the doctrine, the Fellowship, the Breaking of the Bread, and the Prayers," in other words, the Theological, Sacerdotal, Sacramental and Liturgical departments in our Holy Religion. The Creed, the Ministry, the Sacraments, the Worship, these rest finally, on the sure word of Christ spoken to His Apostles and their successors, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

Now this is no mere speculative system, no theory for the closet of the recluse ; it comes right into human life ; it is intensely practical. It reaches us men, this "Catholic system" as we rightly term it, where we feel most deeply, need most urgently, and see most distinctly ; again is it true of us that our faith is in that which we have seen, which we have heard, which our very hands handle, of the Word of Life. Three things stand in a logical order, one right after the other, each in its place, the Birth into Christ, the Life in Christ, the Beauty of Holiness, the three controversies I have mentioned were about these things. The Gorham Controversy was, substantially, a battle on the question of Man's birth into Christ ; the Eucharistic Controversy involved the question of Man's Life in Christ ; the Ritualistic Controversy touched the subject of the external order and beauty of the worship of Almighty God. The three go together. You are born into Christ ; you must live in Christ ; you must see, for your joy and refreshment, somewhat of the King in His beauty. The Church and the world have different utterances on each of these heads. The Church places God first, the world places Man first. The victory won in each of those great battles was plainly a victory of the supernatural over the natural, of faith over doubt.

Church. The First *Tract for the Times* rallied the threatened, scattered, and discomfited Church of England round the Episcopate as far above the other orders, and necessary to the full enjoyment of spiritual gifts and privileges. It claimed for the Bishops distinctively the rank of Apostles. The clergy everywhere took the cue, and the party ran the narrowest chance of being called, indeed of calling itself that of the Apostolicals."—*Mozley*, Vol. II., p. 146.

The Oxford Movement based on faith in the Apostolic Succession, declared the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration : that regeneration is the specific gift of that Sacrament. The adversary denied, declaring that man may be regenerated before or after Baptism, but never in and by that Sacrament. The battle was fought and won ; the doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer is as clear as the sun in the heavens, and they who dispute it must fain rank among the dissenters from the standards of the Church.

The Oxford Movement brought to light the truth of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. The adversary denied, advancing either the Zuinglian notion of a memorial feast or the Calvinistic notion of a virtual presence, with symbols to help the faith ; anything indeed might be held, except that our Lord spake literal truth when He said, "This is My Body, this is My Blood." That battle also was fought and won. It has been ruled that our Office cannot by any art be made to accord with the Zuinglian theory ; that the highest sacramental doctrine may be taught without straining one word or changing one letter.

Finally, the Oxford Movement revived the lost idea of worship. The adversary resisted, and now with fury ; he laid hold on carnal weapons, stirred up rioters, gathered mobs about church-doors ; stopped not short of sacrilege, desecrating and defiling holy places, profaning the very Sacrament ; he called in Parliament to help ; he got his Act to regulate Public Worship ; effected the deprivation of priests ; threw them into prisons ; would have hanged, drawn and quartered them gladly as of old, to stop the advance. What boots it ? To the enemy has been left the burning shame of having organized, in this nineteenth century, the " Church Persecution Company, Limited."\* With

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\*" Mr. Mackonochie has asked the Bishop of London to allow him to withdraw from the benefice of St. Peter's, London Docks, and there can be no question as to the Bishop's answer. The motive mentioned by Mr. Mackonochie may be the only one that has decided him to take this step, or it may have been reinforced by larger considerations affecting the peace of the Church. Either way, Mr. Mackonochie will carry into a retirement so cruelly, and after the action of Archbishop Tait, so unexpectedly forced upon him, the respect that is due to a man who makes a very great sacrifice. Although in the long strife which this act of his closes he has been substantially the victor, he alone is to reap no fruit from his success. The courts which condemned him find their occupation gone ; the liberty denied to him is enjoyed by the congregations he has served. The triumph of the Church Association is strictly personal. They have silenced one self-denying and hard-working clergyman. But as regards the wider ends for which the suit was instituted, they have gained nothing. Mr. Mackonochie has been declared incapable of holding a benefice within the Province of Canterbury ; but the ritual of St. Alban's Holborn, and of St. Peter's, London Docks, remains, and is likely to remain, precisely what it was."  
—London *Guardian*, Jan. 2d. 1884.

us remain the substantial fruits of victory. I speak not of extremes, of useless adjuncts, of matters indifferent; of the "fads" of queer people and the eccentricities of some foolish persons; but of what is grave, decorous, beautiful, essential. The vested choir and the choral service; the altar in its own place with its "ornaments;" the distinctive garb of the priest, simple though it be; the position of the celebrant as one who ministers before God and not unto man: the ritual appropriate to that "Memorial" before the Father Almighty; these now are ours and undisputed; and these are fruits of the battle for order, right and truth.\* †

I have spoken of three great Controversies; besides these, of course, there have been innumerable actions of minor importance, yet each has helped to confirm some truth, to bring out some point of the faith, to maintain and secure some right of priest or people. Next in order is it to enumerate some of the results of the work begun fifty years ago. It seems like a dream; it is the realization of visions which once appeared fantastic; nay, we may exclaim to one another, "Many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things which we see and did not see them, and to hear the things which we hear and did not hear them,"

First of all: we have seen the rebuilding of the altar. When Elijah faced the priests of Baal, intent on his death, he began by repairing the altar of the Lord which was broken down. We have seen its rebuilding in the literal and the spiritual sense; its restoration to its ancient glory and honour, and the recovery of the truth and the faith in its Gift; it is the centre of the Church's worship, it is the Holy Table at which her children are fed with Angels' food. We have seen as a result the revival of ecclesiastical architecture: noble churches, with

\* "During the forty-two years which have elapsed since the first *Tract* appeared at Oxford, European society has, in almost every conceivable respect, changed its aspect, but it is, happily, no part of my task to write the history of nineteenth century civilization. Of those changes the only two which are valuable to the present argument are, that educated England, like other countries, has become archæological as it had not formerly the knowledge, and artistic as it had not formerly the taste to be; while alike in its archæology and in its art, it has studied those Christian ages of its own and of neighboring nationalities, which older critics, in their narrow admiration of Greek and Roman culture, were wont to despise."—*Worship in the Church of England*, by A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M. P. London, 1875, page 6.

† "Upon the whole, the movement must be credited with the increased interest in Divine things, the more reverential regard for sacred persons and places, and the freedom from mere traditional interpretation, which mark the present century in comparison with the last. The Oxford Movement, unforeseen by the chief movers, and to some extent in spite of them, has produced a generation of Ecclesiologists, ritualists, and religious poets. Whatever may be said of its priestcraft, it has filled the land with churchcrafts of all kinds."—*Mozley*, Vol. II., page 42.

frescoes, mosaic, pictures, carved work ; stately services, with bannered processions, and choral song. The Creed is held by faithful men, without mental reservation, in the Catholic sense ; they revere the ministry as a priesthood, they see in the bishop the successor of the apostles. To the penitent is freely opened the way to confession with the comfort of absolution ; none need to be tormented with the secret burden of sin, nor thirst in vain to hear that the Lord hath put it away. Communions are multiplied beyond number. Congregations are organized for works of charity and mercy. Sisterhoods show us the life of the Religious, and its results in the care of the sick, the poor, the fallen, the ignorant ; they have their large and stately houses, their broad acres ; their endowments, by gift of the faithful. Church Missions have extended immensely, they grow ever more and more. We have our roll of martyrs and confessors, of scholars and saintly men, our Keble, Pusey, Neale, Selwyn, Patterson, and here in America our Schuyler, DeKoven, Mahan and Ewer, born of this movement and illustrating what it was. The Oxford Movement has given the world a Literature, a school of Art, a school of Music, a school of Architecture. We owe to it the Libraries of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, of the Anglican Divines ; the paintings of a Holman Hunt and a Millais, the poetry of the Christian Year, the Lyras and the flower of the Hymnals, the immense liturgical treasures now ready to every student's hand, the music of Barnby, Helmore, Cobb, Martin ; the oratory of a Liddon, the enthusiasm of a Lowder, the inexhaustible learning of a Littledale, the deep foundations of Clewer and East Grinstead ; the utilizing of the English Cathedrals, the extension of the Home and Colonial Episcopate. It may be said of the Movement that it has stirred English Society and English-speaking people all the earth round, as none ever stirred them before ; that it has made itself felt through the largest part of the circle of man's life ; that it has aroused, awakened, illuminated, blessed, vast numbers of souls ; that it has made an impression on the Church which cannot be effaced.

Dear brethren and friends : I might stop here, and close this hurried and imperfect sketch. I cannot do so ; more remains to be said. I have spoken of God's gifts in the past ; let me speak of our duty in a near future, in which, unless signs deceive, we may expect trials of



faith, searchings of heart, and plenty of hard work.

God speaks to man, and man listens, and for the time is moved ; yet when the sound becomes familiar, the attention is apt to flag. It is so with us, in the mass, and one by one. The history of religious movements is a record of recovery and relapse, of awakening and sinking again into sleep. That the great movement of the past half century should be succeeded by an era of reaction was to be expected. There are signs that such a reaction is coming ; these call us to self examination and earnest thought on our duty as priests, as men.

Reflect. The Movement began in a day of spiritual and moral weakness ; when doubt and skepticism were rife ; when Evangelicalism had degenerated into leanness, when Churchmen were trembling for their lives, and ready to compromise for the sake of an exterior honour and an empty name.\* I see no sign of a revival of the Evangelicalism of fifty years ago ; but the spirit of liberalism, of skepticism, of self-conceit, which choked it, exhibits new if not surprising vitality. That way the reaction comes. It behooves us to watch it, to labour, to pray, to work while we have the light.

We need no more than a suggestion ; the portents are clear. A spurious Liberalism is in full blow ; it reproduces the day when the skeptics were wagging their tongues at Oriel † and questioning everything in heaven and earth, when Newman, Keble, Froude, Pusey and the rest, alarmed and anxious, were crying one to another, " Watchman, what of the night ? " Shall we say of the evil spirit at work among us,

" Terruit urbem.  
Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret  
Seculum. nova monstra ? "

\* " What had we at this time to oppose to the triumph of the Papacy, and to the fury of political dissent, which in every street issued its proclamations calling on the people to rise and destroy that " black and infernal hag " the Church of England ? We had a weak and divided Church. Vain and foolish men had been so carried away by a sense of their own wisdom and ability to cure all defects and errors, that like masons picking all round the foundations of the Church, they had apparently so shaken the edifice, that there seemed imminent danger to human eyes that the whole fabric would topple over into the dust. . . . They were eager to eliminate from the Prayer Book the belief in the Scriptures, the Creeds, the Atonement, the Worship of Christ. They called for the admission of Unitarian infidels as fellow believers. They would eviscerate the Prayer Book, reduce the Articles to a deistic formulary, abolish all subscriptions or adhesions to formularies, and reduce religion to a state of anarchy and dissolution.—Palmer, page 29.

† " A school arose whose conceit led them to imagine that their wisdom was sufficient to correct and amend the whole world. The Church itself produced some such vain reasoners, who with boundless freedom, began to investigate all institutions, to search into the basis of religious doctrines, and to put forth each his wild theory or irreverential remark. All was pretended to be for the benefit of free discussion, which was substituted for the claims of truth. This school came from Oriel College."—Palmer, page 20.

The *nova monstra* are but the *monstra vetusta*, one discerns them instantly, as the same, the old in new dress. There is the same mistrust of the Church; the same refusal to submit to an authority outside a man's own spirit; the same mania for speculating, the same passion for criticizing, interrogating, reconstructing. Here is the same grotesque kind of churchmanship which dares not press the claim of the Church, regarding her as an outgrowth of human effort and not a supernatural institution; the same crazy conceit of readjusting Christianity to suit the taste and temper of these times. They are times of ever growing luxury; the idea of Duty is lost in that of Enjoyment; "the whole duty of man" is to enjoy a comfortable life. In the religious sphere, that modern creed finds expression in entire freedom of thought,—which freedom is the intellectual luxury,—with æsthetic gratification which is the sensuous luxury. If men retain the ancient creed, they treat it as their thin and delicate bric-a-brac, not to be used, but locked up behind glass;\* of dogma and theology will they none; their churches shall be grand and splendid, and yet so constructed and adorned as to symbolize, not an Unseen World with "holy mysteries" into which the angels desire to look, but a massive, cultured, and domineering Humanity; the Bible shall be kept, with much effusive, complimentary talk about its merits, while the historic parts are resolved into myth and saga, the prophecies into enthusiasms, the psalms into canticles of a soul beating out its own music as it will, the miracles into superstitions, the apostolic epistles into school boy essays which we moderns shall criticize and mark as "good," "worthy of honorable mention," "showing progress," etc., etc. The Lord is not He Whom, "in the year that King Uzziah died," the prophet saw upon a throne high and lifted up, His train filling the temple, "and to Whom the Evangelists bare witness, telling us how 'Esaias saw His glory and spake of Him,' " † but a pervasive principle, an inexplicable spiritual force, an influence disengaged from personal modes and limitations; while the Church is no Kingdom, but a Republic, a Democracy, wherein all power, including that of amending the constitution and altering the laws, resides in the people. Mean-

\*"The heretical Hampden took the ground, which is that of his imitators and followers in our own day, that the Creeds are but opinions for which a man cannot be answerable, and that they are expressed in obsolete phraseology."—*Mozley*, I., 344.

† Compare Isaiah vi., 1-5, and St. John xii., 30-41.

while on those "unstable souls" whom such teaching has demoralized, there press three shapes, the Nemesis of free thought, the Parcae of liberal religion; their names are Higher Criticism, Evolution, and Agnosticism; and before them many lose what heart was left, and hasten to compromise, and cry, "we surrender," and make what terms they can with what they believe to be invincible foes.\*

Now I say, that in all this there is nothing new, nothing to frighten us. Reaction after a reforming movement is to be expected. Drag men out of their errors to-day, and some of the saved will backslide; in the monotonous action of our sin, we observe no more than the swing of the pendulum through its old arc. What happy optimist is he who looks for conversion of the human race, in its present conditions, to the Catholic Faith? Catholicism means something; it means a submission to a power not one's self which demands faith and obedience; mortification of the flesh with the affections and lusts; a life ordered by the precepts of the Church; purification of the soul by grace sacramentally conveyed. In what age, in what place, has human nature showed readiness to submit to these things? Nay, it flees them as enemies to its pleasure and its ease. The dogmatic, sacramental, and penitential principles imply death to self-will, self-praise, self-trust; therefore the spirit which trusteth in man is, of course, against them. If for awhile, men under some strong influence, turn toward the light, and grow better, purer, holier, expect a change ere long, while the nature remains what it is, expect a recovery of power on the part of the infidel who boldly rejects and denies the Catholic system, and the liberal who less boldly tries to compromise, retaining only certain names, forms and insignia of religion, in which the spirit dwells no more.

If this be so, our course is plain; to gather up our forces and fortifying ourselves with the sign of the cross, like the Knights when they

\*The Rev. F. Meyrick in a speech at the Lincoln Diocesan Conference, October 16, 1883, referring to Agnosticism, Evolution and the Higher Criticism and the fears inspired by them in the minds of the unlearned believer, sums up as follows:

"If, then, we drag our three skeletons out of their closets into the light of day, we do not find them so formidable as they appeared in the gloom, being like in this respect to the Fakenham Ghost, which turned out to be only a harmless donkey instead of a diabolical manifestation. For we find that Agnosticism, so far as it is true, does no more than accentuate the statement of Job, that men by searching cannot find out God unto perfection; and that Evolution is an hypothesis as yet unproved, which if ever proved, might perhaps be not incompatible with Christianity, supposing that the Divine guidance was substituted for natural selection; and that the Higher Criticism is a play of the human imagination, which cannot evacuate the conclusions of criticism which rests on a surer foundation than imagination."

beheld the battle imminent, to go straight forward, having the shield of faith and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. Meet the movement of reaction as soldiers of the Church ; oppose each manœuvre with resources drawn from the arsenals and fortresses of the Catholic Theology and Practice. Teach more positively, as the Church requires ; strip the cloak from Naturalism and Materialism, that men may see the nakedness and nastiness, since nothing less will do where the vile is so be-painted and metamorphosed ; insist on Catholic dogma as the antidote to doubt ; † maintain the truth and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and the claim of the Church as their witness, keeper, and authoritative interpreter ; declare the grace of the sacraments of salvation ; lift up the idea of the worship and adoration of the Incarnate God whose tabernacle is now with men ; get hold of sinners, one by one ; lead such as need it to private confession ; shrink not from the task of directing the doubtful in the way ; be in sympathy with every effort of the age to help the poor, the needy, the ignorant, the unfortunate ; “ Freely ye have received, freely give.” But remember, you must give only that which was first given to you, naught of your own ; the old treasure, pure, clean and undefiled. God’s witnesses have this as their highest honour, and He asks them only to repeat, *verbatim*, His word, and then to make men love it for the fruit which it yields. Heresy always starts with the blind notion of inventing or discovering something. It must start something new ; it must evolve something as yet hidden ; man must rub up his phosphorus and make of himself a fire-bug to flit about in the twilight, shining by jerks for the edification of others. Heresies begin within us ; they are the fetus in the heresiarch first, coming out later misbegotten, spurious, not of the pure ancestral stock ; they are the evolution of the first thought, hope, scheme of some man like ourselves. The Catholic Christian stands in contrast to such ; he is no inventor, but a witness ; he has naught to evolve, but must deliver that which he also received, neither more nor less ; the truth, the faith, the Church are God’s, not his ; the Gospel is everlasting ; it has ambassadors, custodians, interpreters ; it abhors speculators, rationalizers, critics, having no work for that ilk. And the priest in whose

†See “ *Catholic Dogma the Antidote of Doubt*, by the Rt. Rev. W. E. McLaren, D.D., Bishop of Illinois.” a work which should be in every student’s hand, thoughtful, earnest, learned and necessary for these times.



heart burns this wish to serve his age well and bless his brother man, should remember that he will do neither unless he stand on the ground of his divine commission, and speak the truth, simply, as the Lord hath commanded and as the Church hath received the same.

Trust me, brethren, when I say, that the liberal school, or whatever it may be styled, can never become the Church of the people of the future. 1st. Because it is based on private judgment and human opinion, which are constantly changing, so that it lacks the element of stability and permanence; none can tell from day to day what such a school will bring forth. 2dly. Because its address is mainly to a special class, a circle of intellectual and cultured people, whom it flatters by praise of their superiority. 3dly. Because the common-people, the poor, and the human race in the mass cannot be reached except by a direct and dogmatic teaching and external and visible appliances, and must remain insensible to subtle philosophies and curious speculation of the critical cast. The religion of the cultured and philosophic liberal cannot take the place of the Religion of Jesus Christ. That system which He established in the world, to convince men of sin, righteousness, and judgment to come, was hidden from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes; it was that which they preached to the poor as the Gospel; that, with its sharp distinction, clear statements, rite of obligation, and rules of stringent discipline. Nothing can take its place to the poor, the meek, the humble, the pure in thought and heart. Liberalism can rob the poor of that religion; it has been at that cruel work for centuries; it is intent upon it now, with the subtlety of the adulterer and the cold blooded cruelty of the assassin; it has actually turned back multitudes of souls into the darkness of the old world, and robbed the once humble and content, of the little of joy and brightness that was in their life, of the hope of heaven which reconciled them to the sorrows of this earth. This it hath done cruelly, coldly, selfishly, that it might snuff up and enjoy the praise and fame of being regarded, inwardly and outwardly, as high above that common level, learned, free from superstition, emancipated, original. Yet, thus robbing them, it has given them nothing back, and never can. It may do for the clique who wish the advantages and luxuries of a Mutual Admiration society; it will not do for those of us who desire the Creed the Worship, the Sacramental

Life, the edifying ministries of the Catholic Church.

These last are ours, forever, unless we forfeit them by our own faithlessness and folly. The Oxford Movement was on lines drawn, as on a map or chart, in the Book of Common Prayer. It began when men had either thrust that book away in contempt, or were trying to revise it in the interest of dissent, or were making it a dead letter by keeping the words but denying the meaning. The Movement was, actually, a rehabilitation of that Book in its Catholic sense, a defense of it against aggressors, a development, practically and in ritual, of the truth which it enshrines. Our work now is to hold men up squarely to the principles and doctrines of that Book. Rubbish has been cleared away, light has poured into every dark corner. It is our business to see that the dust does not gather again; that the cobwebs are brushed off as fast as our rationalists and philosophic speculators spin them from their own prolific interior; that the Book remains, henceforth, a living book, which a man shall be ashamed to use unless he believes in his soul what it contains. While our doctrinal standards remain unchanged, the Creeds, the Sacramental offices, the dogmatic articles of religion, and while the sense of honor resides in the human spirit, we have nothing to fear. The truth is ours, barricaded, defended, proof against assault. Stand we firm, and the work of the past half century cannot be undone. It shall proceed, in larger outcome, and a wider reach; it shall appear to be the preamble of a vaster movement preparing the nation for the Second Coming of the Lord; that is the *terminus ad quem*; our eyes may yet behold it, as we stand, unshaken, in our lot at the end of the days. Even so come, Lord Jesus!

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