

# Ecclesiology and Education: the Impact of the Oxford Movement on Educational Building in Oxfordshire

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## SUMMARY

*The Oxford Movement started officially with the preaching of John Keble's sermon on 'National Apostasy' in the University Church at Oxford on 14 July 1833. At the time the Established Church felt severely threatened by State intervention in its affairs. One of these was its monopoly of education, previously seen as a means of instilling religious principles and morality into the lower orders. The leaders of the Movement appreciated the importance of educating the people in its ideals, and consequently many new educational institutions were founded. The article examines some of their buildings in Oxford and Oxfordshire and shows how they reflect the High Church ideals both of the Movement and of its Cambridge counterpart, the Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society).*

The Oxford Movement began (according to approved wisdom) on 14 July 1833 with John Keble's sermon on 'National Apostasy',<sup>1</sup> when Parliament proposed, in the teeth of the Church, to suppress ten Irish bishoprics; and in the same year Parliament made its first grant towards the education of the poor. The two are not, perhaps, wholly unconnected, for both could be seen as an assault by the State on the hitherto undisputed position of the Church. For centuries the education of the poor had been seen by most as a means of instilling church principles into the lower orders and of imposing moral and social control. In 1808 the Dissenters had challenged the monopoly of the Church by founding what became known as the British and Foreign School Society, and in 1811 the Anglicans had responded in alarm by founding the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. So numbers of schools were established, particularly by the richer National Society. With the threat from Dissenters, and in the wake of the tremendous forces of change then at work, the Church feared it was losing its traditional hold on society: Britain was rapidly becoming an industrialized, urban nation, and the rural poor were flocking to the new centres of employment in the cities, where the customary hierarchy, organization, and routine of the parish no longer existed. The men of the movement at Oxford, led by Keble, Edward Pusey, and, above all, John Henry Newman, saw that the answer for the future of the Church lay in the education of the people.

The Oxford Movement emerged in response to what the reformers there saw as the 'abyss' of inertia and indifference to which the Church had sunk in the previous century. It insisted on the Catholic tradition and the necessity for reform in faith and worship, stressing in particular the significance of the sacraments and the consequent necessity for a change in church architecture. The movement has left its mark everywhere, and particularly in the city and county of its birth. Not only churches, but also schools, colleges, and other institutions all over the county and the diocese convey the message of the Tractarians (so called from the tracts which inaugurated the movement) and its co-religionists at Cambridge, the Ecclesiological Society, who saw the decay in the Church as extending to its buildings and architecture. Oxford's own Society for Promoting

<sup>1</sup> Amongst recent literature on the Oxford Movement, see George Herring, *What was the Oxford Movement?* (London and New York, 2002); Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857* (Cambridge, 1994); Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830–1910* (Oxford, 1999). On the Ecclesiologists the standard work is still James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge, 1962). On education, see Peter Davie, *Raising Up a Faithful People* (Leominster, 1997), and Malcolm Seaborne, *The English School, its Architecture and Organization, 1830–1870* (London, 1971) [still the standard work].



Fig. 1. Wolvercote National School. (*Photograph by author.*)

the Study of Gothic Architecture (1839) became the Oxford Architectural Society and was less overtly religious than the society at Cambridge. Nevertheless, as one of the earliest historians of the movement noted, its aims were ‘almost identical in object with the “Cambridge Camden”’;<sup>2</sup> and many were members of both societies: if it was ‘not quite so fervent as the Camden in its zeal for the revival of Gothic’;<sup>3</sup> its values were the same.

The Camden Society had followed hard upon the movement at Oxford. With its journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, it became the most powerful force in contemporary church architecture. It was quickly identified in the public mind with Tractarianism, and its founders and early members, like John Mason Neale, Benjamin Ferrey, and W. J. Butler, were passionate in their support for the movement. At both universities they looked back for their ideals in doctrine, liturgy, and architecture to the pre-Reformation Church. The ideal nineteenth-century church, according to the Ecclesiologists, must look like a church of the thirteenth century.

In its second phase, after Newman’s secession to Rome in 1845, the Oxford Movement fully absorbed the principles of the sister movement at Cambridge. Many of the architects most closely associated with it, such as William Butterfield, George Edmund Street, George Frederick Bodley, and Henry Woodyer, were members of the Cambridge society, and their churches reflect its rules. The Ecclesiologists were as dogmatic about the theories of architecture as the Tractarians about theology: churches must be pre-Reformation Gothic in style, with all attention focused on the altar (for the central service was now the Eucharist), which must be approached by at least three steps. Chancel and nave must be firmly divided, inside by screen, outside by roof levels. Tracery and decoration should be of a style no later than late fourteenth-century, that is, up to 1380, when, they decided, the rot had set in. And such was their influence that for decades this was how churches were built.

But churches were not their only concern. From the beginning education had been a priority, chiefly as the most effective method to propagate the faith: in 1847 W. J. Butler at Wantage ‘foresaw that the battle of the Church would be fought in the Schools’.<sup>4</sup> Parliament’s grant of £20,000 in 1833 was divided between the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, and represented the first challenge of the State to the role of the Church as the natural educator of the people. Until the Forster Education Act of 1870, when the State provided elementary, undenominational education for all, education was almost entirely sectarian, and the principal subject taught was religion. Although a basic education in reading, writing, and arithmetic was part of the curriculum in the national schools, the prime emphasis during the school day was on the catechism. The Oxford Movement, fearing the threatened interference of the State in the Church’s domain, responded swiftly and founded schools, teacher-training colleges, and other institutions to be run on ‘church principles’, to spread the Tractarian message, and to reassert the influence of the Church over the nation. Elementary schools came first, but the need for ‘middle schools’ to educate the newly emerging middle classes soon became evident. Later on in the century, and with the same motive, colleges were built at the universities, and other institutions were established for professional training.

*The Ecclesiologist* kept up a brisk commentary: throughout the 1840s and 1850s it ran a regular column on ‘New Schools’, which it investigated as thoroughly and by the same standards as ‘New Churches’. Even at parochial level schools were built for the first time by recognized architects, and Street, Bodley, Butterfield, and others were reviewed in every issue. Their schools and colleges reflected the social and religious outlook of the time, the ideals and teaching of the movement at Oxford, and how this was expressed by the movement at Cambridge. Elementary schools in, for example, Jericho and Osney – St Barnabas and St Ebbe’s – secondary schools like St Edward’s,

<sup>2</sup> Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (London, 1872), p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. Butler, *Life and Letters of W. J. Butler* (London, 1897), p. 128.

Oxford, or All Saints', Bloxham, colleges like Keble, professional training centres at Cuddesdon, Culham, and Dorchester – all carry the mark of the religious outlook of the time.

#### THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The main function of the National Society was to assist church schools in inculcating the catechism and to encourage church attendance. National schools were built in parishes all over the country: for example, Wolvercote National School, Oxford, was founded in 1831 (see Fig. 1). More were founded after 1833, when the first government grant towards elementary education was made. But education, though it included instruction in the basic skills of reading and writing, remained firmly on the lines of the catechism: 'Worldly knowledge was not ... necessary for the poor', who needed 'only what was essential to bring them to heaven'.<sup>5</sup> By mid-century times were changing, and as *The Ecclesiologist* observed in 1847:

Now the poor man's son must be able to read and write, if he would get on in the world. ... [S]uch knowledge as this cannot be imparted or acquired in a church and we are thrown on our own resources as to the building which is set apart for this species of instruction.<sup>6</sup>

As the writer noted with pleasure, 'In nothing has architectural taste shown a more striking improvement than in the Schools erected during the last four years ... [They] manifest a grasp of true principles hardly so soon to be expected.'<sup>7</sup>

In the years before the Oxford Movement the style most generally adopted for schools was Tudor or Elizabethan, as at Wolvercote, but from the 1840s onwards schools tended to be Gothic, often in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Decorated style favoured by the Ecclesiologists, and the churchmanship of the patron, the incumbent, even the architect, could often be read in the buildings. As one architect observed in 1847, '[T]he styles of the Middle Ages ... are best suited for school houses ... because the buildings themselves (like the pious and charitable institutions of olden times) partake, or ought to partake, of a semi-religious and semi-ecclesiastical character'.<sup>8</sup> So the Tudor style was frequently rejected as too secular, and elementary schools, under the guidance of the High Church party who urged 'the meridian of Gothic art in the fourteenth century',<sup>9</sup> became part of the Gothic Revival.

According to *The Ecclesiologist*, the school should be 'the prettiest building in the village, next to the Church', in which both town and children take pride and recognize that 'the purpose for which it is erected must be a holy and a beautiful purpose'. So a school, with its 'gable crosses, its crested ridge, its Middle-Pointed windows ... would seem to place education on a Christian footing'.<sup>10</sup> Schools which failed to comply with their rules were roundly abused. The one at North Newington, Broughton, for instance, was built in 1853 in the Tudor style, and was dismissed as 'an indifferent specimen of Debased [post-Perp.] which we unhesitatingly condemn'.<sup>11</sup> But the Decorated school at Woodstock by S. S. Teulon (1854) was warmly received as 'a very nice school'.<sup>12</sup> The one at Clifton Hampden, built by the High Church diocesan architect Joseph Clarke in 1847, was recorded in its log as 'more perfect than usual', with its steeply pitched roof and gabled clock-tower. The first national school at Burford was built in 1844 in direct opposition to the British and Foreign School threatened by the Methodists, to the general approval of the Ecclesiologists.

<sup>5</sup> *The Ecclesiologist*, 7 (1847), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Henry Kendall, *Designs for Schools and Schoolhouses* (London, 1847), preface.

<sup>9</sup> E. R. Robson, *School Architecture* (London, 1874), repr. (New York, 1972), p. 322.

<sup>10</sup> *The Ecclesiologist*, 7 (1847), pp. 3, 6.

<sup>11</sup> *The Ecclesiologist*, 15 (1854), p. 69.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*





Fig. 2. St Barnabas School, Jericho, Oxford. (Photograph by Alison Macdonald.)

The diocesan architect who followed Clarke was G. E. Street, a fervent Ecclesiologist who built St Barnabas School Jericho (1855) (see Fig. 2) and St Ebbe's School, both in the approved lancet style, but both now much altered. The school attached to St Paul's, Walton Street, another Tractarian centre, built by H. J. Underwood but designed by an unknown architect, recorded in its logbook some time later that it was 'a small brick building in [the] garden behind [the] house at No. 26, Walton Street, opened April 24th 1854'. And a St Paul's School for girls, planned in 1848, was recorded in *The Builder* simply as Gothic and ambitiously ornamented, in marked contrast with 'the fine Grecian front of the university press'; the extensive use of terra cotta, a material favoured by the Ecclesiologists, in mullions, jambs, chimneys, and copings was warmly commended.<sup>13</sup>

#### *'District' Church Schools*

One result of the rapid increase in population and the drift to the cities was the necessity for new churches and the reorganization of church administration. In 1843 Peel's government introduced a bill which permitted 'districts' to be created out of old parishes, served by 'district churches', and with them attendant 'district schools'. Since any suitable building could now be licensed for divine service, many of these new buildings served as schools during the week and on Sundays as

<sup>13</sup> *The Builder*, 6 May 1848. Signed 'T.C.' – possibly Thomas Chamberlain. St Paul's was a district of his parish of St Thomas, Becket Street.

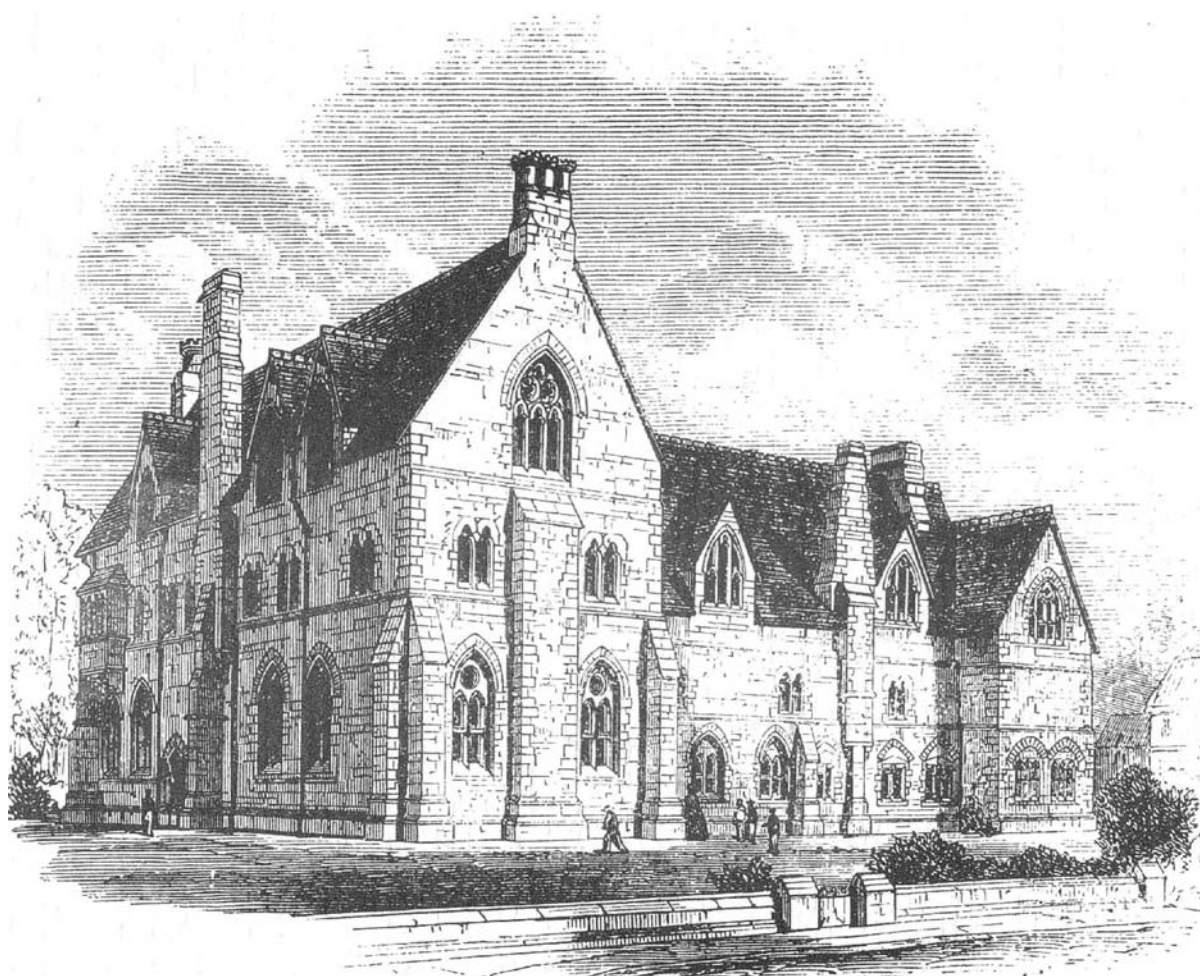


Fig. 3. All Saints' School, Bloxham, Banbury, 1865. (*By courtesy of All Saints' School, Bloxham.*)

chapels and were appropriately constructed. Oxford shows a variety of examples. In 1839 Thomas Chamberlain, of St Thomas the Martyr, Becket Street, had accommodated the growing numbers of his poor parish by opening a boatmen's floating chapel, designed by J. M. Derick, who built St Saviour's, Leeds, for Pusey. It was used as a church on Sundays and a school during the week. To replace it Chamberlain later built St Nicholas Chapel (still extant in altered form) in Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford, for use as a church on Sundays and as a weekday schoolroom. A similar chapel-cum-school, by George Gilbert Scott, was established at Burcot, near Dorchester, in 1869, with trefoil-headed lancets in a polygonal east end. The school managers, we are told, ordered the removal of the Stations of the Cross, but the vicar replaced them every Sunday.

### *Siting*

It had always been the convention, when education was largely in the hands of the church, to place the school near the church, and the National Society had continued this. Now the renewed emphasis of the Tractarians on the religious and moral role of education reinforced the convention. When, as often happened, the teacher's house and/or the parsonage were built at the same time they were frequently grouped together, with the church at the centre. There is an important example at Street's All Saints', Boyne Hill (1854–7), near Maidenhead, but in the diocese of Oxford. The buildings form an integrated and comprehensive quadrangle of parochial architecture, the church dominating the whole; the school buildings complete the south side. The rest of the group is made up of parsonage, schoolmaster's house, and clergy house, all in striped brick and in the style of about 1300. At Freeland, near Oxford, J. L. Pearson built a similar group of church, parsonage, and school in the thirteenth-century style for the Tractarian Tauntons. The pattern was repeated at Wantage (1850), where Street, Woodyer, and William White built school, convent, retreat house, and vicarage near the church. The schoolroom still retains the murals of Bible scenes from the original decoration.

### MIDDLE SCHOOLS

E. R. Robson wrote in 1874 that 'The object of Middle or Secondary Schools is to impart a higher education than comes within the scope of Elementary Schools, and to lay a foundation for still higher studies at ... universities'.<sup>14</sup> In the earlier part of the century the Church's educational ideals were centred on elementary schooling for children, which was then provided in Sunday schools or the schools of the National Society. By the 1840s, however, with the growth in population, the prevalence of Dissent, and the general atmosphere of reform in the air, not a few churchmen came to recognize the importance of 'secondary schools', a term which came into popular use at this time. Only the endowed grammar schools and the expensive public schools offered Robson's 'higher education', and the middle classes, who more and more were providing the leaders of society and the teachers in schools, needed somehow to be educated. The Church, moreover, had to retain its hold on them. And the High Church party was also anxious to emphasize the intentions of the first founders of the ancient schools to provide education for poor boys who would provide a pool of potential ordinands. Hence they were determined to provide schools in which the sons of impoverished clergy and 'those of narrower means'<sup>15</sup> might receive a cheap but gentlemanly education on church principles.

*The Woodard Schools and All Saints' Bloxham* (see Fig. 3)

Undoubtedly the most significant result of the Oxford Movement in this context was the foundation of the schools in Sussex by Nathaniel Woodard. Woodard came under the influence

<sup>14</sup> Robson, *School Architecture*, pp. 232–3.

<sup>15</sup> S. L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford, 1914), repr. (Oxford, 1983), p. 168.



of the Tractarians at Oxford in the 1830s. As a curate in Shoreham in 1848 he published *A Plea for the Middle Classes*, in which he outlined his plans to provide 'a good and complete education for the middle classes at such a charge as will make it available for most of them ... Till the Church educates and trains up the middle classes ... she can never effectually educate the poor'.<sup>16</sup> His first object had been the education of the lower middle-class seafaring community in Shoreham – the shipmasters and mates – but he quickly extended this to the smaller shopkeepers and tradesmen, who had no access to either the national schools at one end of the social scale or the public schools at the other. His aim was to offer an accessible boarding-school education at a lower charge than other schools more concerned with worldly success than religious education.

Robson declares that 'no theory of building [of the Middle School]' had yet 'developed from stated educational conditions';<sup>17</sup> but for Woodard the all-important educational condition was to reflect the teaching of the Prayer Book, and all the schools he built illustrate this aim, particularly through the siting of the chapel in a central position – for example, at Lancing, Hurstpierpoint, and Ardingly, in Sussex. Through their chapels these schools were channels for Tractarian teaching, in that the rubrics of the Prayer Book were observed – the Daily Service, regular and frequent communion services, fast days and feast days were all routine.

Warmly endorsed by the leaders of the movement in Oxford, such as Pusey and Keble, and funded generously by philanthropists like the Tractarian Gibbs family, the success of the Woodard schools was immediate, and similar schools were later founded in different parts of the country. All Saints' School, Bloxham, near Banbury, founded independently, but on the same principles, quickly sought admission to the body, though it was not until later in the century that it finally became part of the Woodard Foundation.

It had made a faltering start in 1853. J. W. Hewitt was a member of Woodard's Society at Shoreham, but had left it in 1852 on his appointment as curate to the Anglo-Catholic vicar of Bloxham, the Revd J. Hodgson. He took with him ambitious plans for the foundation of a middle-class school there, and to this end he bought a farmhouse and outbuildings to establish 'a Grammar School for the liberal education, in the principles of the Catholic and Apostolic Church ... of the Sons of the Poorer Clergy and Gentry, Naval, Military and professional Men and others'.<sup>18</sup> With the enthusiastic support of the bishop, Samuel Wilberforce, the diocesan architect, G. E. Street, was engaged to draw up plans for the school. Street, following the schemes of R. C. Carpenter for the Woodard Schools at Lancing and Hurstpierpoint, designed two cloistered quadrangles, with schoolroom, library, dormitories, and an imposing chapel: on the strength of the plans alone the *Banbury Guardian* called it 'one of the most beautiful modern Gothic buildings ever devoted in England to a scholastic purpose'.<sup>19</sup> Wilberforce laid the foundation stone of All Saints' Grammar School in 1855. But Hewitt was no business man: the school failed, and lay abandoned and empty until the decision of the Revd P. R. Egerton, newly appointed curate at nearby Deddington, to purchase the building by auction in 1859 and to embark on the career of schoolmaster.

The formative influences on Egerton, who was at Oxford in the early 1850s, had been his headmaster at Winchester, George Moberly, Keble's friend and neighbour, and H. P. Liddon, disciple and biographer of Pusey and Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon. This was the training ground for Anglo-Catholic clergy and Egerton's theological college. Egerton came to Bloxham with one motive only, to establish, as he explained in a letter to Woodard, 'the importance of Education in Catholic Principles'.<sup>20</sup> 'I desire *primarily*,' he insisted in another, 'to benefit the *Church*'; and the school was intended for 'boys of our Middle Classes – Tradesmen – Farmers – Clerks, etc. – a class most important in the present day and too little cared for generally by our Church'. It was not part

<sup>16</sup> Nathaniel Woodard, *A Plea for the Middle Classes* [in a letter by N. Woodard] (London, 1848), pp. 2, 7.

<sup>17</sup> Robson, *School Architecture*, p. 236.

<sup>18</sup> Brian S. Smith, *A History of Bloxham School* (Banbury, 1978), p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Bloxham School Archive, Letters of the Revd P. R. Egerton.



of his plan to prepare boys for the universities, but to give 'a religious and Catholic education [to] a particular stratum of society very much neglected generally in this matter – viz. those who as a rule do not go to the universities, but to business and to other occupations directly on leaving school'.<sup>21</sup>

So Bloxham's timetable was centred less exclusively on the classics of the traditional public school, and more on arithmetic, French – and religious education. All boys had four hours of divinity a week, and chapel was a very significant part of school life: there was a daily service, with a choral Eucharist on Sunday, and a full range of other services during the week. Anglo-Catholic practices like fasting and confession were observed, although in a very modified form, to the horror of the Puritan village.

Street's chapel was opened in 1871. It dominates the quadrangle, like the chapels at Lancing and Hurstpierpoint, and was intended, in Egerton's words, to be 'the crowning glory of all'.<sup>22</sup> It was built of local Hornton stone at first-floor level, to give it height, with classrooms beneath, and was in bands of two colours, with facings of Bath stone. The roof was steep-pitched, as *The Ecclesiologist* required, with crest tiles, and the style was Decorated.

Inside, the chapel was plain and the furnishings simple – Egerton was never interested in ceremonial – but the altar was raised, with a cross and candles, and there was soon stained glass by the Ecclesiologists' favoured Clayton and Bell: the large east window commemorated Bishop Wilberforce, the early champion of the school. The seating faced the altar, where, the Oxford Movement insisted, all attention should be focused, rather than in collegiate style.

The siting of the school in a cramped space at the north end of the village accounts, to a degree, for Woodard's early reluctance to include Bloxham in his Corporation. The site of a school was important to Woodard. His schools were built in areas of natural beauty, where the buildings would show to best advantage, and where both masters and boys would feel the influence of their environment. Since the chapel was now the focal point of a school's architecture, certainly in Woodard's schools, proximity to the church was no longer so significant, and schools could be built in open country. His, and others', preferred siting reflects not so much the religious principles of the founders as the 'muscular' Christianity which, under the influence of Arnold and others, was becoming the prevailing ethos of the public schools, and which founders of church schools did not question. Woodard usually built his schools with space around for playing-fields, emphasizing the cult of games and 'manliness' which were part of this Christian thinking. Bloxham acquired a field north of the school early on, much against the wishes of local farmers, who deplored this waste of good land for a 'pack of boys to play on'.<sup>23</sup>

#### *St Edward's School, Oxford*

Woodard was not the only clergyman to found middle schools as part of the Church's mission to educate. At Oxford Thomas Chamberlain, vicar of the poor parish of St Thomas the Martyr, who had fallen under Keble's spell in 1833, founded a variety of schools there – including a boys' school, girls' schools, an industrial school, a middle-class boarding school for the training of national schoolmasters, and others. One survives today, St Edward's, and in its (almost) original buildings (see Plate 12).

The school was founded in 1863 with the intention, in Chamberlain's words, 'to place within the range of parents of moderate means a school where their children could be brought up in the true principles of the Church, and to have at the same time all the advantages of a Public School'.<sup>24</sup> The first few years were in New Inn Hall Street, in 'Mackworth House', in which Chamberlain contrived an oratory, where Prime, Terce, and Compline were celebrated daily – Evensong was

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted by Smith, *Bloxham School*, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>24</sup> R. D. Hill, *A History of St Edward's School, 1863–1963* (Altrincham, 1962), p. 14.

at St Thomas's. The school moved to new premises in 1873, when the original buildings proved inadequate, and are still in Summertown.

The new buildings were designed by William Wilkinson, architect of much of North Oxford. The buildings of the great formal quadrangle – the gatehouse, Big School (the original schoolroom, for separate classrooms were still quite novel), and library – are in red brick and built in the style of the thirteenth century, and the ivy which covered them came from Keble's vicarage at Hursley. They are dominated by the chapel built impressively, to contrast with the secular school buildings, in Gibraltar stone, dressed with Bath stone. The roof is steep, and the south-west tower is high. 'The architectural style adopted', observed the *Oxford Guardian*, 'is Early English, in character with the school building, the windows of the chancel and apse being enriched with tracery.... The building, which is of light-coloured stone, with its handsome tower, contrasts agreeably with the already imposing edifice of red brick.'<sup>25</sup> The details are appropriate for a school founded on 'true principles' – the steep tiled roof has crestings, and the chancel is differentiated from the nave by 'the adoption of lighter terracotta cresting and finials'.<sup>26</sup> The *School Chronicle* of December 1873 recorded the laying of the foundation stone by the bishop and architect in the presence of notable High Church names – Talbot (the first Warden of Keble), Sir William Heathcote, Liddon, and Edward King, all patrons of the school – and the same periodical exulted at the dedication just over three years later: 'The Altar is most strikingly effective, and elevated as much as anyone could desire ... [in] the tiling of the floor the patterns are good ... the Spire [*sic*] approved by the Ecclesiological Society' and the arrangements 'are specifically developed for a High Church rendering of the Liturgy' – there are no fewer than nine steps leading up to the chancel and altar, the chancel is lengthy, there is an apse, and all arrangements for processions are in place (see Fig. 4). The seating for the congregation is eastward facing. The dedication ceremony 'opened with the office for the Benediction of the School', and the choir processed with crucifix and banner.<sup>27</sup>

The connection of St Edward's with Keble, founded almost simultaneously, was made immediately. Speakers on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone voiced their hope that 'St Edward's would prove to be working really in the same spirit as that in which Keble College had been founded'.<sup>28</sup> On the same occasion the *Oxford Guardian*, in a rather hostile article on 'St Edward's School and the Ritualists' called it 'this Nursery for Keble College', and talked with dismay of the 'ceremonial appointments [that] simply plagiarised Rome' at the dedication, where the proceedings 'seemed to the outsider nothing if not Roman'. But architecturally the *Oxford Guardian* had no problem – it conceded controversially that 'the architecture is aesthetically correct', and recognized 'the liberality and taste displayed in the design'.<sup>29</sup> An important spectator at the dedication, H. P. Liddon, had raised a laugh with a reference to the new Keble buildings ('He was going to make some comparison of these buildings with the outside of Keble College, but the Warden of that College, who was close at hand, did not wish him to do that ...').<sup>30</sup> But Keble and St Edward's are – in ways the *Oxford Guardian* would not have recognized – representative in architecture of the teachings of the Oxford Movement.

#### *St Peter's College, Radley*

Another school of even more impeccably High Church foundation was established at Radley in 1847 by William Sewell, the sub-rector of Exeter, and another who believed that the destiny of the Church lay in education. A fervent Tractarian in the early days of the movement, he had parted from them after the publication of the notorious *Tract 90* in 1841, though his commitment to the

<sup>25</sup> *Oxford Guardian*, 13 June 1877.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> St Edward's Archive, *School Chronicle*, Feb. 1877.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 1873.

<sup>29</sup> *Oxford Guardian*, quoted in Hill, *History*, p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> St Edward's Archive, *School Chronicle*, Dec. 1873.



Fig. 4. The chapel of St Edward's School, c.1895. Etching by Gertrude Hayes, published by W. H. Beynon & Co., Cheltenham. (By courtesy of St Edward's School.)

revival of Catholic principles was unchecked – principles which could be confirmed, he urged, only by a school run in the interests of the Church. Radley was established and run in full and strict accordance with the rules of the Prayer Book, with feasts and fasts and full daily choral services. Wilberforce agreed to become its Visitor, and sent two of his sons there; and Thomas Mozley, an early observer of the Oxford Movement, recognized Radley as one of its outcomes.<sup>31</sup> As it now stands it conveys little of the spirit of the movement. Sewell took over existing buildings, of which the eighteenth-century Radley Hall is the nucleus, but the original chapel, begun before the school opened, was designed by H. J. Underwood, Newman's architect at Littlemore. Like Newman's church, it was built in the plainest lancet style, endorsed by the Ecclesiologists, and was furnished as appropriately and lavishly as Sewell could contrive. Mozley calls Sewell's system 'medieval, as far as names could go [he] ... delighted in the exercise of monastic discipline and the use of monastic phraseology';<sup>32</sup> the long dormitory of 1848 was lit by Gothic windows and was divided into seventy small 'cubicles' in the style of pre-Reformation houses.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Mozley, *Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel and the Oxford Movement*, 2 (London, 1882), p. 28.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

*The Revival of Sisterhoods: Girls' Education*

The education of girls of all classes and ages was another commitment of the Tractarian party. One of the results of the movement had been the revival of the religious life, particularly in the sisterhoods which were founded in growing numbers from 1845 onwards, and for many of which the education of girls was a prime concern. The first (1845) was at Park Village, Regent's Park; but, with the known sympathy of Bishop Wilberforce, a concentration of communities quickly grew up in the city of Oxford and the diocese. The Community of St Thomas the Martyr was the first, established in Becket Street by Thomas Chamberlain in 1847, and his cousin, Marian Hughes, founded the convent of the Holy and Undivided Trinity nearby in 1849. W. J. Butler founded the Sisterhood of St Mary the Virgin at Wantage in 1848. All of these were orders with a particular interest in education, and many of their schools survived until recent years, or are with us yet in some form.

Chamberlain's interest in education was unwavering. In his poor parish in West Oxford he saw his sisterhood as a means to further his Tractarian ideals, so education was their central commitment. The community ran a kindergarten, parochial schools, a training school for national schoolteachers (St Scholastica's), a training school for poor girls, an industrial school, and others. There is little trace of Chamberlain's original buildings, although St Anne's, Rewley, for better-class girls, survived in Wellington Square until well into the twentieth century.

Marian Hughes, the first woman to take religious vows since the Reformation, left the St Thomas's community to found her own, and her convent was finally built in Woodstock Road in 1866. The architect was the Tractarian sympathizer Charles Buckeridge. Marian Hughes was godmother to his daughter, who later joined the community. His original design for the convent was a triumph of Tractarian symbolism, a plan expressing the Trinity, with a central chapel. The cheaper plan finally accepted was in the Early English lancet mode. *The Ecclesiologist* commended it warmly.<sup>33</sup>

One of the schools of this largely educational order was St Michael's, the upper school for the daughters of clergy and professional men, which had premises inside the convent; but the middle school, founded in 1857 for the daughters of college servants and small tradesmen, was housed from 1876 at a school in the convent garden, and then became known as St Denys's. It was designed by John Loughborough Pearson, a well-known ecclesiastical architect about to build Truro Cathedral, who took over Buckeridge's work after his friend's untimely death. Pusey was a regular visitor at both schools. Street, Butterfield, and Pearson all contributed to the convent buildings at St Mary's, Wantage, but St Mary's School (1850), now elsewhere, was built by Butterfield, the Ecclesiologists' favourite.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

Tractarian concern for the education of society at all levels extended as far as the universities. Notable figures in the High Church party, like Pusey and Charles Marriott, Newman's successor as vicar of the University Church of St Mary the Virgin, felt keenly that although the colleges at Oxford had been founded originally for poor students, their members were now drawn almost exclusively from the wealthy classes. Ideas for a new college 'accessible to the sons of parents whose incomes were too narrow for the scale of expenditure at present prevailing among junior members of the University at Oxford',<sup>34</sup> had been in the air since the early days of the movement. Marriott and Pusey and like-minded friends had formed a committee, and the plan had assumed a positive

<sup>33</sup> *The Ecclesiologist*, 27 (1866), pp. 106–7.

<sup>34</sup> Report on University Extension, Mar. 1846: quoted by Geoffrey Rowell, "Training in simple and religious habits": Keble and its first warden, in M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, eds, *The History of the University of Oxford*, 7, pt 2 (Oxford, 2000), p. 171.



shape after the death of Keble in 1866. Keble himself had been much interested in the idea, and such a foundation seemed in all ways an appropriate memorial to the leader of the movement.

### *Keble College*

The obvious architect was William Butterfield, a devout Anglo-Catholic, who had worked on Keble's own church at Hursley. And Keble College is, as Pevsner puts it, 'the final triumph of the Oxford Movement, a solid symbol of what it had achieved and how it wished to appear'.<sup>35</sup> It was to be a college where 'The aim ... should be to impart a Christian training, encourage industry, and discourage habits of expense'<sup>36</sup> – that is, 'one which is adapted to the natural habits and tastes of gentlemen who wish to live economically',<sup>37</sup> whose members would be made up largely, but not exclusively, of those seeking ordination. Funding for the enterprise came, to a large extent, from philanthropists in sympathy with the movement, notably Pusey, Earl Beauchamp, and above all William Gibbs and his sons, all of them benefactors of St Edward's and the Woodard Schools.

One feature which distinguishes Keble from all the traditional colleges, and is very much part of the principle of poverty on which it was founded, is the layout of undergraduate rooms, which open not off staircases but off corridors. This was economical in both building and subsequent servicing.<sup>38</sup> Sitting room and bedroom were set side by side along the corridor, and were furnished – uniformly and sparsely – by the college (table, three chairs, bookcase, washstand, iron bedstead, chest of drawers.) And whereas at other colleges meals were regularly served individually in undergraduate rooms, at Keble the hall is the biggest in Oxford (see Plate 13), not for ostentation, but for the communal dining which was to be another unusual feature of the college, again where men would live 'economically'.

In a university traditionally built in stone, the college was built in brick, which was cheaper. It was Butterfield's chosen medium, having, he argued, many precedents in northern Italy, being practical and fire-resistant, and open to the kind of decoration which had become his hall-mark. So at Keble the red brick is decorated with polychrome patterns in buff stone, yellow brick, and blackish-blue brick; skylines are broken by different heights, with three storeys or occasionally two or even four; windows are at different heights and in different arrangements. Variety is asserted and monotony avoided everywhere. The gatehouse, deliberately low for contrast, leads into the impressive Liddon Quad, which looks into the smaller Pusey Quad. The lawn, once a gravel pit, is sunken, and the clever result is to emphasize the height of the buildings around it – primarily the lofty chapel, which dominates everything.

The chapel has always been at the centre of controversy about Keble. It is brick, with decoration of coloured brick and stone, with windows high up in the walls (see Plate 14). Inside, the decoration is in horizontal tiers, arcing below, mosaics above, stained-glass windows on top, and the east end is 'adorned with a great constructional reredos in marble, alabaster, and mosaic'.<sup>39</sup> It was the gift of William Gibbs, and is one area of the college where, appropriately, no expense was spared. But not everybody liked it. Liddon, for example, would have liked to see stone used instead of brick, as at St Edward's:

Would it not be prudent to use sandstone instead of throwing down the gauntlet to Oxford opinion by having variegated bricks on the Chapel walls as well as elsewhere? ... Indeed ... the Chapel might have been built of stone without destroying the harmony of the whole.

<sup>35</sup> Jennifer Sherwood and Nicholas Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 225.

<sup>36</sup> Minute Book, Building Committee 20 Apr. 1868: quoted by Rowell, 'Keble and its first warden', p. 177.

<sup>37</sup> Report on University Extension (1866): quoted by Rowell, 'Keble and its first warden', p. 174.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Howell, 'Oxford Architecture, 1800–1914', in Brock and Curthoys, eds, *History of the University*, p. 745.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 746.

Echoing the Ecclesiologists, he deplored the 'low flat roof', feeling that 'Everything would be gained in the way of religious effect without'<sup>40</sup> by the substitution of a much steeper roofline. John Mason Neale had advised that 'a high-pitched roof is far more essential to the Christian effect of a church than is a tower or spire'.<sup>41</sup> There were altercations between college, the architect, and onlookers about the reredos, the heating, the mosaics, the seating arrangements, the spirituality ('Butterfield is after all an estimable recluse, with imperfect sympathies for the spiritual circumstances of those to whom his Art ought to minister'<sup>42</sup>), and outside the college one journal commented that the chapel was 'externally a hideous building, vividly suggestive of a workhouse or a county lunatic asylum'.<sup>43</sup> Butterfield stood firm: he had determined to build the chapel 'in such a way and in such a character that it shall yield to no other in Oxford in point of splendour', and he was as confident of his theological position as his architecture. Although he had no precedent in an Oxford college (but the chapels at St Edward's and Bloxham were built in a similar style), he had designed the chapel on parochial rather than on collegiate lines, 'so that all the men except the few in the Choir would look eastwards',<sup>44</sup> and the stalls faced east instead of towards each other. 'I wished the Chapel', he wrote in another letter, 'to speak chiefly of *public* worship',<sup>45</sup> reflecting the Tractarian stress on the corporate dimension of Christian faith. And when Talbot questioned his decision on visible chimneys on the side facing what is now Keble Road he fell back on the Ecclesiological principle of 'honesty' and responded briskly, 'There are bodies as well as souls in Chapel.... If it is not wrong to warm the Chapel, this flue ought to be honestly avowed, not masked. It would not draw well if there is any attempt to hide it.'<sup>46</sup>

Eastlake, cautiously but sympathetically as it was still being built, wrote of Butterfield as having

ventured on a more emphatic departure from local traditions of style than Oxford has yet seen. ... He has his own (somewhat stern) notions of architectural beauty, and he holds to them. ... In estimating the value of his skill posterity may find something to smile at as eccentric, something to deplore as ill-judged, and much that will astonish as daring, but they will find nothing to despise as commonplace or mean.<sup>47</sup>

The college as a whole, and the chapel in particular, can be seen as 'a statement of faith; as a *Te Deum*, strictly ordered but manifestly triumphant. [It is] ... an assertion of Catholicism in Protestant England, of luxury in the Age of Gradgrind, of sensuous pleasure at a time of rigorous suppression.'<sup>48</sup> Certainly it could hardly be more different from the building of the other parties in the Church.

### *Women's Colleges*

As significant in the history of the Oxford Movement's links with education as Keble is the foundation of the women's colleges at Oxford, starting in 1879. Architecturally they have little to offer as evidence of the movement, established as they were in existing property: when purpose-built buildings became possible years later, Gothic and all it stood for had run its course, and the colleges are all built in later styles. Interestingly they all follow the Keble lead, and are built with long internal corridors. Yet the two earliest colleges are in themselves witness to the principles of the Oxford Movement.

<sup>40</sup> Keble Archive, Letter from Liddon to the Warden [Talbot], 31 Dec. 1872.

<sup>41</sup> John Mason Neale, *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Cambridge, 1841), p. 21.

<sup>42</sup> Keble Archive, Letter from Liddon to William Bright, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Jan. 1873.

<sup>43</sup> *The Hour*, 26 Apr. 1876: quoted by Rowell, 'Keble and its first warden', p. 187.

<sup>44</sup> Keble Archive, Letter to Talbot, 9 Aug. 1872.

<sup>45</sup> Keble Archive, Letter to Liddon, 14 Jan. 1873.

<sup>46</sup> Keble Archive, Letter to Talbot, 12 Dec. 1872.

<sup>47</sup> Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (Leicester and New York, 1970), pp. 262–3.

<sup>48</sup> Paul Thompson, *William Butterfield* (London, 1971), p. 33.

The first, Lady Margaret Hall, was founded as Keble was being built and on the same principles – it would hardly have come into existence without the presence of Keble. It was the brain-child of Keble's first warden, Edward Talbot, a tutor from Christ Church, who called himself a post-Tractarian. On returning from a visit to Girton, the new foundation at Cambridge, he suggested a parallel foundation at Oxford, but run on church lines. He proposed 'a small hall in connexion with the Church of England, for the reception of women desirous of availing themselves of the special privileges Oxford offers of a higher education' – 'a Keble in this sort of Education'<sup>49</sup> was how he put it later; and the first nine students at what was to be LMH assembled at the 'Church-hall' in a house in Norham Gardens in 1879. Somerville was founded almost simultaneously in Walton House as a non-denominational hall.

The principal of LMH was Elizabeth Wordsworth, daughter of the bishop of Lincoln, an early friend of the movement; she ensured that prime among the fittings of the house in Oxford was 'a tiny chapel, afterwards the pantry, in the ground floor',<sup>50</sup> which was dedicated by the bishop of Oxford. Enemies of the new venture used the High Church associations of the new hall as a weapon, calling it, as Elizabeth Wordsworth recalled with rueful amusement, 'a hotbed of Ritualism'.<sup>51</sup> LMH was for the daughters of the affluent: in 1886 Elizabeth Wordsworth used her own money to found a second hall, independent of LMH, but run on the same lines, more austere and for the less well-to-do. She named it St Hugh's, and offered the post of principal to Annie Moberly, daughter of the bishop of Salisbury, George Moberly, the friend and neighbour of Keble. St Hilda's, which followed a few years later, was another Anglican foundation. The three church halls, and Somerville, formed no part of the university. Initially they were halls of residence, where young women might spend two or three years of study, attending the lectures of the Association for the Education of Women, under the supervision of an appropriate principal. LMH was run, as its first prospectus described it, as 'a Christian family', and the education received there was an end in itself rather than a route to a profession. The higher education of women in Oxford, though not in Cambridge, was less part of the 'Women's Movement' than a part of the Tractarian programme for the regeneration of society through the education of wives and mothers-to-be.

#### PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

The universities were not the only institutions of higher education founded or influenced by the High Church party. In their quest to educate society in their principles they required teachers and other trained professionals to operate in the different areas of their programme, and the necessary buildings provide other examples of architecture as a vehicle for the propagation of social and religious opinion. Training colleges for the education of the staff at the national schools were a prime requirement, and Culham College, near Abingdon, is an early example. The first government grant for education in 1833 had represented, it seemed to the Tractarians and others, the interference of the State in what had always been the prerogative of the Church – to control the education of the poor. Parliamentary discussion was now centring on the inadequacy of schools and the deplorable quality of teaching in them, and the proposal of Parliament to establish a (non-sectarian) normal training college for teachers seemed to confirm the worst fears of the Church. But Parliament had a case: in these early days almost the only training institutions in England were the model schools of the National Society, where the popular pupil-teacher system prevailed, and children were taught *en masse* by older children. And the catechism provided the major part of the curriculum.

<sup>49</sup> Janet Howarth, 'In Oxford but ... not of Oxford', in Brock and Curthoys, eds, *History of the University*, pp. 245–6.

<sup>50</sup> Elizabeth Wordsworth, *Glimpses of the Past* (London, 1912), p. 149.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

*Culham Training College*

From the moment of his consecration in 1845 Wilberforce had radical plans for the education of both the clergy and the poor of his diocese. The next year he proposed 'A Diocesan Training College to be established at Cuddesdon' for ordinands and 'A Diocesan College for Schoolmasters' at Culham. Wilberforce was no Tractarian, but he was sympathetic and often identified with their views, particularly in education. Culham, established in 1852 and built for a hundred students, was to be a 'church' college, intended to provide professional training with church principles. He employed Joseph Clarke, architect to several dioceses. Clarke, warmly regarded by the Ecclesiologists, was a prolific designer of both churches and schools and came with the appropriate *curriculum vitae*: in Wilberforce's diocese he had built the church school at Clifton Hampden in 1844 and had recently, in 1848, added what the Society thought of as the all-important chancel to Newman's church at Littlemore. He had added the new nave to Culham church in 1852.

Culham College was built in collegiate style round a courtyard, with a cloister (see Plate 15). The students slept in 'long ranges of dormitories', with cubicles lit by narrow lancet windows:<sup>52</sup> the ecclesiastical and domestic buildings were kept, as *The Ecclesiologist* noted, pleasingly distinct in style. But the detached chapel, which ought to have been 'the chief and central feature of the whole pile',<sup>53</sup> seemed 'painfully suggestive of being an afterthought', although Clarke protested that the siting was no part of his plan. It was correctly designed in the Decorated style, the windows at the east end with reticulated tracery, and *The Ecclesiologist* noted a sanctuary, the Minton tiles, and the gift of stained glass from the architect.

They were the buildings of a community living in holy poverty, and underlined the social assumptions of the Victorians, including the Tractarians. Although one aim of Keble College had been 'to discourage habits of expense',<sup>54</sup> its members were still gentlemen, and their accommodation included service areas. The national schoolmasters were not gentlemen, their accommodation was austere, and there was no room for 'service'.

*Cuddesdon Theological College*

The professionalization of the ministry through the establishment of theological colleges was also necessary. Wilberforce proposed the foundation of a college near his own palace at Cuddesdon, thus maintaining the medieval tradition of the bishop surrounded by his ordinands. It was the first custom-built theological college: those founded a little earlier at, for example, Wells, Chichester, and Lampeter, did not serve the purpose he had in mind: they were not postgraduate colleges, and they offered no threat to the position of the old universities. Cuddesdon would give a young ordinand a period of training after he had taken his degree in the increasingly secular university.

Oxford greeted the scheme with some hostility, suggesting, as it seemed to them, the inadequacy of the university in preparing men for ordination; and the High Church party feared further weakening of the link between Oxford and the Church. But there was no Honour School of Theology there: in a university becoming secularized by royal commissions which steadily abolished religious tests, the young priest-to-be followed the same course of study as any other undergraduate. This gave him neither training for the ministerial life, nor answers to the biblical criticism now stirring in Germany, nor to the Dissenters now admitted to Oxford. 'The Universities', as Wilberforce urged, 'are by their nature places of general training; special professional education naturally follows upon the foundation there laid ... we want something which shall more directly prepare men, who have gone through a general education, for the more practical duties of a

<sup>52</sup> *The Ecclesiologist*, 14 (1853), pp. 134–5.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Rowell, 'Keble and its first warden', p. 177.



clergyman'.<sup>55</sup> Keble himself told a correspondent that he saw Cuddesdon as the answer to 'the Germanization and secularization of Oxford'.<sup>56</sup>

G. E. Street was invited to design the college. He was then working for W. J. Butler in Wantage on similar projects, but moved to Oxford in 1852 to build a college for twenty-one students on three floors. The chapel was on the top floor, reached by a turret staircase. *The Ecclesiologist* called it 'one of the most picturesque piles of ecclesiastical architecture which our age has produced', and the chapel 'a gem'. Behind the altar there was 'an illuminated quasi-tryptych, with a gilt cross in the centre', which they particularly admired.<sup>57</sup> The current chapel, also by Street, which replaced it twenty years later, is also in the idiom of the Ecclesiologists, in native Wheatley stone, and in their favourite late thirteenth-century style. The sanctuary is approached by marble steps, and the floor is laid with marble and encaustic tiles, another feature endorsed by the Ecclesiologists. Eastlake, assessing the position of Culham in the Gothic revival, speaks warmly of 'the dining-hall, common room, oratory, and rooms for a vice-principal', and with unqualified admiration of the 'artistic proportion' of the whole: 'Nothing can possibly be simpler than [Street's] work at Cuddesdon. ... [T]here is a genuine cachet in [the] design which it is impossible to mistake. It is the production of an artist hand'.<sup>58</sup>

Cuddesdon opened in 1854. From the beginning the college was associated in the public mind with the Tractarian party: Wilberforce was quite soon forced to sacrifice Liddon, the first vice-principal, over controversial issues like confession, and certain features of the chapel, such as Street's reredos and the painted murals of saints, were removed in an attempt to achieve 'studied inoffensiveness. What is tolerable elsewhere is intolerable there'.<sup>59</sup>

#### *Dorchester Missionary College*

From the early days of the movement foreign missions were the focus of Tractarian activity. Religious communities of both men and women, established in this country from mid-century as part of the movement, opened daughter-houses overseas and took Tractarian teaching all over the world. They figured most prominently in South Africa, in India, and in the South Pacific, and were established firmly there by the 1850s.

A great revival in missionary work began after the murder in 1871 of Coleridge Patteson, Bishop of Melanesia, and gathered force with the foundation of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta in 1880; and the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), founded in 1857 and largely Oxford-based, gained impetus after the death of David Livingstone in 1874. Cuddesdon had strong links with both missions – there was even a plan to found a 'Cuddesdon Mission to India' – and sent many men. Culham sent schoolmasters to Central Africa. Egerton at Bloxham and Chamberlain at St Thomas's both funded missionary endeavours.

Enthusiasm for the missions prompted the need for colleges in which men could be trained to work for the Church in this latest stage in the movement. Canterbury had led the way in 1848 with St Augustine's College (built appropriately by Butterfield), and others followed at Warminster and Burgh. In the wake of the missionary revival the College of St Peter and St Paul was established in Dorchester in 1877 to prepare 'the sons of clergymen and professional men for work in the Colonies and Mission Field'.<sup>60</sup> Wilberforce had been as committed to this form of education as to the others, but the college at Dorchester was entirely the gift of the wealthy young Tractarian

<sup>55</sup> *Cuddesdon College, 1854–1929: a Record and a Memorial* (Oxford, 1930), p. 6. Men were going out 'quite ignorant of what constitutes a theological scholar, and totally uninstructed in parish duties and pastoral duties': G. V. Cox, *Recollections of Oxford* (London, 1868), p. 293.

<sup>56</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Founding of Cuddesdon* (Oxford, 1954), p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> *The Ecclesiologist*, 15 (1854), p. 240.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>59</sup> Letter to Wilberforce, 1858: quoted by Chadwick, *Cuddesdon*, p. 77.

<sup>60</sup> College prospectus (n.d.).

curate of the parish, W. C. Macfarlane. He felt, with the bishop, that the salvation of the Church must lie in education – at all levels. He had already paid for a school and a school-cum-chapel in Burcot, a hamlet near Dorchester: the architect for them all was George Gilbert Scott. Scott had an uneasy relationship with the Ecclesiologists, though he conceded that he had been ‘morally awakened’ to the principles of Gothic by the Ecclesiologists and Pugin, and Burcot was built correctly with trefoil-headed lancets. The missionary college was adapted from existing buildings, with a central chapel.

Dorchester’s links with both Keble College and Cuddesdon were strong: Keble provided funding and the first principal and tutor; Cuddesdon organized an annual retreat, sent regular preachers to the chapel, and offered to finance ‘missionary studentships’. Every college report records sermons from missionary bishops in Zululand and Cape Town, and visits from missionaries in Bangladore, Bloemfontein, and Ceylon, often old students. Among early graduates of the college more than half served with the UMCA in Tractarian strongholds like Zanzibar, or in India with the mission to Calcutta.<sup>61</sup> Their work in the field continued until the college closed in the 1940s.

## CONCLUSION

The impact of the Oxford Movement on educational building cannot be measured exclusively by the design of the buildings: sometimes the fact that a college or school or institution was established, in whatever style, is evidence today of the way the movement was bent on educating society and re-establishing the influence of the Church. Radley, the women’s colleges at Oxford, and Dorchester Missionary College are all examples. Nevertheless, educational buildings of all kinds were erected, approved by the Ecclesiologists and the Oxford Architectural Society, and endorsed by the party at Oxford, which demonstrate explicitly the principles of the movement. Schools and colleges, no less than churches, were vehicles for their message. The movement’s concern with education was expressed at every level, from the most elementary to the highest. Its leaders appreciated the need for the education of those who would direct the future and might reassert the authority of the Church. The buildings they erected, in every context, especially in the city of Oxford, the county, and the diocese, remain as the embodiment of their ideals.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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<sup>61</sup> Dorchester Missionary College Archive.



Plate 12. Quadrangle of St Edward's School, Oxford. (*Photograph by author.*) [Dennis, p. 61.]



Plate 13. The hall of Keble College, Oxford. (*By courtesy of the Warden and Fellows of Keble College.*) [Dennis, p. 65.]



Plate 14. The chapel of Keble College, Oxford. (*Photograph by Diana Wood.*) [Dennis, p. 65.]





Plate 15. Culham College. (*Photograph by author.*) [Dennis, p. 68.]