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VOLUME II

'THE PRIESTHOOD OF CHRIST IN ANGLICAN DOCTRINE AND DEVOTION: 1827 - 1900'

BY

CHRISTOPHER DAVID HANCOCK

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NOTES

PREFACE

- 1 Cf. The Alternative Service Book 1980 : Services authorized for use in the Church of England... together with The Liturgical Psalter, 1980, Sentences (Heb.iv:14f). 'Holy Communion', Rites - 'A', paras 25, 38, 41, 62, 84 (ad loc.); 'B', 17, 20, 30, 'The Ordination of Priests', 19, 22, 28; 'The Ordination or Consecration of a Bishop', 19.
- 2 Lit. 'the rule of prayer'; pertaining to the character and influence of the Church's worship.
- 3 C. Simeon: Horae Homileticae, 21 Vols., 1832-3. XIX, 181, Disc 2278, on Heb.iii.1.
- 4 J.C. Ryle: 'Have you a Priest? : a question for 1872'. A Tract, 1872², p.5.
- 5 A Knox: Remains, 4 Vols., 1834-7, III.7.
- 6 J. Keble: Considerations respectfully addressed to the Scottish presbyters on the late pastoral letter of six Bishops, 1858.
- 7 R.D. Hampden: Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the Cathedral Church from 1836-1847, 1848, vi.205.
- 8 T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, Third series, 1876 (New ed.), xi.96.
- 9 (J. Keble): The Christian Year, 1827².
- 10 W. Sanday (ed.): Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice, 1900.
- 11 For a conservative, Reformed explication of this neglect, see L. Berkhof: Systematic Theology, 1969 Edn., p.366: see also T.W. Manson: Ministry and Priesthood : Christ's and ours, 1958, pp.30-31.
- 12 S.G. Sowers: The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews, 1965, p.119, calls Christ's priesthood "an odd christological category to choose". See also J.C. McNeill: The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1914, p.30; E.F. Scott: The Epistle to the Hebrews : Its Doctrine and Significance, 1922; F. Büchsel: Die Christologie des Hbfs., Gütersloh, 1922.
- 13 See Berkhof, loc.cit., and p.357.
- 14 Cf. K. Barth: The Epistle to the Romans 1975 edn., pp.159-160; see also id., Credo, 1935, Church Dogmatics, I.1-IV.4, 1936-77(ET); IV.3, for Barth's preference for the language of 'sonship' and 'sacrifice' to Christ's 'three-fold office'.
- 15 Cf. L.S. Bernardin: The Intercession of our Lord, 1933, p.125.
- 16 Cf. denial that Hebrews contains a doctrine of the atonement is even found in conservative Reformed circles. See G. Vos: The Teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, J.G. Vos (ed.), 1956 p.117.
- 17 Useful studies of this material are found in: E. Burggaller: 'Neuere Untersuchungen zum Hebräerbrief', Theol. Rund., 13 (1910), 369-381, 409-417; E. Grässer: 'Der Hebräerbrief: 1938-63', Theol. Rund., 30 (1964), 138-236; F.F. Bruce: 'Recent Contributions to the understanding of Hebrews', Exp. T., 80 (1968-9), 260-264; R. Williamson: 'The Background



to the Epistle to the Hebrews', Exp.T., 87 (1975-6), 232-237; C. Spicq, L'Épître aux Hébreux, 1977 Edn., pp.44-54.

- 18 Cf. C.F.D. Moule: 'Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews', Theol., 61, (1958), 228; R. Williamson: 'Hebrews and Doctrine', Exp. T., 81 (1969-70), 371; G. Caird: 'The exegetical method of the Epistle to the Hebrews', Can. J. Th., (1959), 44. See *contra*, O. Cullmann: The Christology of the New Testament, 1963² (Eng. Tr.), p.102; M. Barth: 'The Old Testament in Hebrews', in W. Klassen and G.F. Snyder (eds.): Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation, 1962, p.78; H.W. Montefiore: The Epistle to the Hebrews, London, 1977, p.vi.
- 19 Cf. eg. L. Berkhof. op.cit. pp.356-412, and his brief bibliography, *ibid.*, pp.411-412. See also H. Heppe: Reformed Dogmatics, 1950.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p.357; See also the important reinterpretation and reappraisal of the doctrine in J.B. Torrance: 'The Priesthood of Jesus' in T.H.L. Parker (ed.): Essays in Christology for Karl Barth, 1956, pp.155-173.
- 21 Cf. W.M. Abbott (ed.): The Documents of Vatican II, 1967. See esp. Lumen Gentium and the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. Immediately before and since Vatican II the priesthood of Christ has been recovered as a major doctrinal and devotional theme in modern Roman Catholicism. A plethora of studies exist. Among the most extensive, important, or interesting are listed in the bibliography of L. Sabourin's: Priesthood, 1973, or in Grässer and Burgaller's reviews, see above n.17.
- 22 Among the better known twentieth century Anglican studies treating of the subject are: J.P. Du Bose: High Priesthood and Sacrifice, 1908; A.J. Tait: The Heavenly Session of our Lord, 1912; S.C. Gayford: Sacrifice and Priesthood : Jewish and Christian, 1924; W.L.P. Cox: The Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord, 1929 and 1938; F.C.N. Hicks: The Fullness of Sacrifice, 1930.
- 23 Lit. 'the rule of belief'; pertaining to character and content of the Church's doctrinal understanding and expression. Cf. A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, 1960, p.164, where this is recognized *viz-à-viz* the B.C.P.: "Among the half-conscious influences there is the influence which a Prayer Book inevitably has in a Liturgical Church. The lex orandi has its quiet and unobtrusive effect upon the lex credendi."
- 24 William Temple's Introduction to the Report on Doctrine in the Church of England, 1938, has become normative for this stance: -"there is not, and the majority of us do not desire that there should be, a system of distinctively Anglican theology." (op.cit., p.35); q. S.W. Sykes The Integrity of Anglicanism, 1978, p.55, where the position is critically examined. See also S.C. Neill: Anglicanism, 1958, p.417, and the discussion in M. Ramsey 'What is Anglican Theology?', Theol., 48 (1945), 2-6.
- 25 For an analysis of seventeenth century Anglican theological method, see H.R. McAdoo: The Spirit of Anglicanism, 1965.
- 26 Cf. eg. W.J. Wolf (ed.): The Spirit of Anglicanism, 1982 and R. Holloway (ed.): The Anglican Tradition, 1984.
- 27 J.J.S. Perowne (ed.): Remains Literary and Theological of Connop Thirlwall, 3 Vols., 1877, II.70.

- 28 E.B. Pusey: An Historical Enquiry into the probable causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany, 2 Parts, 1828-30, II.33.
- 29 S.W. Sykes, op.cit. p.51.
- 30 Eg. J. Kent: 'Historical Theology' in Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, 3 Vols., 1969, III.307-315.
- 31 G. Kitson-Clark: The Making of Victorian England, 1961, p.25. See also id., The English Inheritance, 1950, p.11: "... to understand nineteenth century men and women and their doings, we must consider carefully not only their religious controversies, but also their great preachers and pious literature."
- 32 Cf. M.A. Crowther's justification of her study, Church Embattled: Religious Controversy in mid-Victorian England, 1970, p.9: "... the minds of undistinguished men may reflect more accurately than the greater intellectuals the everyday problems of their time."
- 33 Cf. C. Dawson: The Spirit of the Oxford Movement, 1933, pp.v,3; where the need, for example, to study the Oxford Movement "for its own sake" is clearly stated.
- 34 J.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought 1860-1900: The Theological Aspect, 1956, p.168.
- 35 Ibid., pp.238-9.
- 36 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, 1960, pp.50-51.
- 37 Ibid., p.51.
- 38 F.C. Clark: Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, 1960, p.270.
- 39 Ibid., p.271.
- 40 Ibid: Report on Doctrine in the Church of England, 1938, p.154.
- 41 E.L. Mascall: 'The Eucharistic Theology of Charles Gore' in Corpus Christi: Essays on the Church and the Eucharist, 1953, pp.138-156.
- 42 P.E. Hughes: 'The Blood of Jesus and His Heavenly Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews', Bib. Sacr., 130 (1973), 99-109, 195-212, 305-314.
- 43 G. Aulén: Eucharist and Sacrifice, 1958, p.55.
- 44 E. Scheller: Das Priestherthum Christi im Anschluss an den hl. Thomas von Aquin, Vom Mysterium des Mittlers in seinem Opfer and unserer Anteilnahme, Paderborn, 1934, p.371f.
- 45 A. Ollivant: A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the diocese of Llandaff at his sixth Episcopal Visitation, 1866, p.83.

INTRODUCTION

- 1 R.C.K. Ensor: England 1870-1914, 1936, p.137.
- 2 V.F. Storr: The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1913, p.1.
- 3 R.C.K. Ensor op.cit., pp.137-8; see also W.B. Glover: Evangelical Non-conformists and Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century, 1954, pp.14-16; O. Chadwick: The Victorian Church, 2 Vols., 1971³, 1970, II.73.
- 4 Cf. E. Kraeling: The Old Testament since the Reformation, 1955, p.89: "it seemed unlikely that biblical criticism of the sort being carried on in Germany could find admission there".
- 5 W.B. Glover, op.cit., p.16. See also S.T. Coleridge, who, not sharing 'evangelical' views on biblical inspiration, declared: "the Bible is the book for man. It is his guide in all things in moral, spiritual, prudential, in all that is private, domestic, political, but the astronomer, the chemist, and all such must go elsewhere". (Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit, 1840, p.12; q. J. Hunt: Religious Thought in England in the nineteenth century, 1896, p.93.)
- 6 W. Van Mildert: An Inquiry into the General Principles of Scripture Interpretation, 1814³, p.158.
- 7 F. Schleiermacher: Essays on St. Luke, C. Thirlwall (Transl.), 1825, Introduction p.v.
- 8 On Essays and Reviews, see below pp. 294, 295f, 306f.
- 9 Cf. Dean Burgon's reply in Inspiration and Interpretation, 1861, p.89: "The Bible is none other than the Word of God, not some part of it more, some part of it less, but all alike the utterance of Him who sitteth upon the throne, faultless, unerring, supreme."
- 10 On this expression of the integration of Biblical Criticism in late-Victorian, Anglican Liberal Catholicism, see below p.355.
- 11 See further on Art. VI below p.10.
- 12 The term 'Higher Criticism' was probably coined first by Eichhorn in 1787. It refers to historico-critical study of "the Literary methods and sources used by the authors of (esp.) the Books of the O.T. and N.T., in distinction from Textual ('Lower') Criticism, which is concerned solely with the recovery from extant MSS. and other evidence of the text of the Books as it left their authors' hands." (Art. 'Higher Criticism', in F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds.): The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1974², p.648.)
- 13 Cf. Review of the American scholar Moses Stuart's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews I, 1828, in Chr.Obs., 28 (1828), p.433. See below on Stuart p.47.
- 14 S.T. Coleridge: Aids to Reflection, 1825, p.348-9.
- 15 A. Knox: Remains, III.125.
- 16 Ibid., II.83.
- 17 Cf. eg. G. Townsend: The New Testament II, 1825, pp.535-6, et passim.

- 18 T. Scott and M. Henry: A Commentary upon the Holy Bible, G. Stokes (ed.), 5 Vols., 1833-35, V.413.
- 19 C. Simeon: Horae Homileticae, XIX.328, Disc. 2310, on Heb., x.14-17.
- 20 Cf. Apology of Augsburg Confession, 1530, Art.24.Par.53, q. F. Hildebrandt: I Offered Christ, 1967, p.95.
- 21 On Luther's understanding of Hebrews: cf. K. Hagen: A Theology of Testament in the young Luther : The Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Leiden 1974.
- 22 J. Calvin: Commentary on The Epistle to the Hebrews (1560), D.W. & T.F. Torrance (eds.), 1963, p.ix. On Calvin's Commentary see T.H.L. Parker: Calvin's New Testament Commentaries, 1971.
- 23 W. Tyndale: Prologue to the Epistle to the Hebrews (1526), in Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises, PS.32, 1848, pp.521-524.
- 24 Ibid., p.524.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 W. Gouge: A learned and very useful Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews, 1655, Cf. C. Spicq: 'Le commentaire de l'Épître aux Hébr. par W. Gouge', M. Sci. Rel., 31 (1974). 3-24.
- 28 Ibid., p.241.
- 29 Ibid., p.462.
- 30 D. Whitby: A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament, 2 Vols., 1703. For a particular commendation of Arminian exposition of Hebrews, see E. Ménégos: La Théologie de l'Épître aux Hébreux, Paris, 1893, p.242.
- 31 q. G. D'Oyly and R. Mant (eds.): The Holy Bible, 3 Vols., 1817, III.Introduction to The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews (ad loc.).
- 32 q. ibid., on Heb.vii.28 (ad loc.).
- 33 See on John Owen, below p.34f.
- 34 Cf. E.F. Scott's perceptive observation, in The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1922, p.141: "... in their approach to God, men have been constrained to fall back on its conception of the High Priest who offered up Himself, and makes intercession for them in the heavenly temple ... the spirit of Christian devotion in all ages has found a truth in it to which it has responded."
- 35 See below, Chapter VI, on the interaction between the development of Anglican criticism and the doctrine of Christ's priesthood.
- 36 R.C.D. Jasper: Prayer Book Revision in England: 1800-1900, 1954, pp.128-9.
- 37 Ibid., p.129.
- 38 O. Chadwick: Victorian Church I.442.

- 39 q. A.W. Brown: Recollections of the conversation parties of the Revd. C. Simeon, M.A., 1863, p.62.
- 40 To J.B. Sumner the Anglican liturgy "supposes and requires an experimental acquaintance with the leading doctrines of scripture" (Apostolical Preaching Considered, 1815, p.4); but, to William Wilberforce, writing on 'Scripture Doctrines', - "Few of those who have been used to join in the established form of worship can have been, it is hoped, so inattentive, as to be ignorant of these grand truths which are to be found everywhere dispersed throughout our excellent Liturgy." He includes among leading scriptural doctrines Christ's Intercession as did his contemporaries. A Practical view of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, 1797², pp.62-3.
- 41 B. Woodd: 'The Excellence of Liturgy', A Visitation Sermon, 1810.
- 42 Cf. J. Keble: Sermons for the Christian Year, 11 Vols, 1875-79, III.xli.411: "I say, the Church our mother thus helps us to pray: for this is the way in which I should like that all use ourselves to look at the Prayer Book, viz: as though we were little children kneeling at our mother's knees to learn how to pray, and she was teaching us...". But on his private reservations, cf. below p.53, n.26.
- 43 Christian Year : Preface. See also A. Knox: Remains IV.333f, 592.
- 44 Keble College, MS 61, Letter J. Keble to Rev. J. Penrose, 29.x.1828.
- 45 A. Knox: Remains, III.63.
- 46 Ibid., p.69.
- 47 R.C.D. Jasper: op.cit., p.129.
- 48 On Simeon's sense of the power of prayer to unite, see below p.156.
- 49 Cf. A. Knox: Remains, IV. 457: "In prayer, then, true religion begins; and in prayer, more than anything else it is exercised until immortality is 'swallowed up of Life'."
- 50 Cf. J.A. Jungmann, S.J., Die Stellung Christi im Liturgischen Gebiet, Munster 1925, pp.89-91 211-233; also on the early liturgical use of the language of the High priesthood of Christ see, F.X. Funk: Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, 2 Vols., Paderborn, 1905.
- 51 W. Beveridge: Sermons, 6 Vols., 1817, III.50-1.
- 52 C. Wheatly: A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England (1710), 1802 Edn; R. Mant: The Book of Common Prayer ... with Notes Explanatory, Practical, and Historical from approved writers of the Church of England, 1819.
- 53 C. Wheatly, op.cit., p.6.
- 54 On the history of this phrase, see F.E. Brightman: The English Rite, 2 Vols., 1915, II.692-3.
- 55 Cf. eg. below p. 161: on the use of the words of the Anaphora cf. pp. 141 n. 325, 184, n.179, 404. n.346, et passim.

- 56 On the background to the activities of the Ritual Commission, see J. Bentley: Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain: the attempt to legislate for belief, 1978.
- 57 On the 'half-conscious' influence of liturgy on belief, see supra, Preface n.23.
- 58 The distinctive role of the Anglican Prayer Book and lex orandi has been widely recognised, most recently in the Report of the Doctrinal commission of the Church of England, Believing in the Church : The Corporate Nature of Faith, 1981, p.81: "... if the lex orandi is important in other parts of the Christian Church, it is crucial in Anglicanism, which ... accords a rather lower place than many other communions to explicit definitions of doctrine ... the best way to discover what Anglicans believe is not to read the works of their theologians, but to attend their services." See also S.W. Sykes: The Integrity of Anglicanism, pp.87-100, et passim.
- 59 The evangelical scholar, and Dean of Carlisle, Isaac Milner (1750-1820), in controversy with Dr. Kepling of Peterborough, argued that, "when we want to ascertain the doctrine of the Church, we should follow the Articles rather than the general and less definite words of the Liturgy. The Articles were written expressly to define the dogmatic position of the Church". q. J. Hunt: Religious Thought, p.26. On evangelical enthusiasm in general, cf. G.R. Balleine: A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, 1933 edn., p.135.
- 60 O. Chadwick: Victorian Church I, 181-2, aptly describes the Articles as "a discomfort to Puseyites", because "they were the offspring of the Reformation and the Reformation was suspect."
- 61 Tract XC was published on 27 February 1841, the last of the Oxford 'Tracts'. In it Newman did not argue that the Articles taught Roman Catholic doctrine, at this point he still believed Rome to be in error, but he did argue that fourteen Articles generally regarded as thoroughly 'Protestant' could be interpreted in a 'Catholic' direction. Opposition was directed more particularly, however, at his vitriole, describing the Church as teaching "with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies", with its Articles "a body of death and a penalty of sin". q. ibid., p.184. See further below p.103f.
- 62 In 1840 Archbishop Whately reviewed debate over the Articles by presenting a petition to the House of Lords (ibid., p.181), but Latitudinarian defensiveness towards a broad interpretation of the Articles had already emerged in controversy over Renn Dickson Hampden's appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford in 1836. See further below pp.211-5 (on Whately), 215-20 (on Hampden).
- 63 G. Burnet: An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, 1831; E.H. Browne: An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, 1874.
- 64 R.C.K. Ensor, op.cit., pp.167,9.
- 65 Article VI states: "... In the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church". q. E.J. Bicknell: A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, 1948 Edn., p.162.

- 66 Cf. eg. E. Browne, op.cit., p.179. Browne relies heavily on C. Forster's: The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1838, see further below p.298.
- 67 Cf. eg. G. Burnet, op.cit., pp.102-3.
- 68 Article XV states: "Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things (sin only except), from which He was clearly void, both in His flesh and in His spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who, by the sacrifice of Himself once made should take away the sins of the world, and sin (as St. John saith), was not in Him..." q. E.J. Bicknell, op.cit., p.220. Cf. G. Burnet, op.cit., p.184.
- 69 Cf. E. Brown, op.cit., p.72ff; Burnet, op.cit., p.65f; see also J. Pearson: An Exposition of the Creed, 1864⁵, pp.325ff.
- 70 E. Browne, op.cit., p.103.
- 71 Cf. J. Pearson, op.cit., p.506.
- 72 Article XXIII states: "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same..." On stress upon the parallel divine call of Christ as priest and human 'priests', see below eg. pp. 23, n.200, 201, 45. n.362, 162.
- 73 E. Browne, op.cit., p.560f.
- 74 On Newman's interpretation of Article XXXI, see below p.107f.
- 75 G. Burnet, op.cit., pp.461-1.
- 76 Article XXII states: "The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of images as of reliques, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God." q: E.J. Bicknell, op.cit., p.347. See further on 'Invocation' esp. pp.103f, 121f, 189f, 206, 214, 404f..
- 77 G. Burnet, op.cit., p.323.
- 78 E. Browne, op.cit., pp.512-3. See further on Origen below p.12f.
- 79 See The Declaration of 1571, (according to J. Hunt: Religious Thought, p.139: "the chief Anglican authoritative document for the principle of tradition"), states that nothing is to be taught "except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and collected out of that very doctrine by the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops." Hooker, too, enunciated this principle warning against excessive and exclusive veneration of scripture (cf. Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, in The Works of Richard Hooker, 2 Vols., J. Keble ed.), 1845, Vol.I, Bk. II.8.7.
- 80 The revival of interest in Greek theology was particularly marked. Cf. L.E. Elliott-Binns: The Development of English Theology in the later-Nineteenth Century, 1952, p.95: "a feature in the general theological development... - a fresh turning to Greek theology."
- 81 See ibid., p.96: "The revival of interest in Greek theology was due in part to the influence of F.D. Maurice." On Maurice see below 229ff.

- 82 See O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I.179: "The Puseyites appealed from the Reformation to the early and undivided Church, and Newman had done more than any other author to recover the study of ancient fathers into English divinity and history."
- 83 On Newman's patristic study in general see J.H. Walgrave: Newman the Theologian: the nature of belief and doctrine as exemplified in his life and works, 1960.
- 84 Editorial work on The 'Library of the Fathers', English translations of main patristic texts, was begun in 1836 under the editorship of Pusey, Newman, and Charles Marriott Cf. also H. Wace (ed.): Library of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers, 1890-1900.
- 85 Cf. Theodoret: Opera Omnia, 5 Vols., Migue P.G. LXXX-LXXXIV, Paris, 1864, LXXXII. 674-786.
- 86 J. Chrysostom: The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews, L.F., 1877. This was the last of the Oxford 'Library of the Fathers' and edited by Pusey in the last years of his life.
- 87 For a useful summary of the Epistle's early history, see B.F. Westcott: The Epistle to the Hebrews : The Greek Text with Notes and Essays, 1906³, pp.lxii-lxxix. On early Eastern interpretation see F. Young: The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Writers from the New Testament, to John Chrysostom, (Patristic Monograph Series 5), Philadelphia 1979, p.285f.
- 88 See eg. C. Bigg: The Christian Platonists of Alexandria, 1886, p.75: "Clement speaks of Jesus as our High Priest, but only in the philonic sense, as our Representative and Intercessor (Protrepit, xii: 120; Strom, vii: 2,9). The idea of the 'Recapitulation of all men in Christ as the second Adam, so fruitful in the brooding soul of Irenaeus is strange to him."
- 89 Apollinaris denied that Christ had a human mind, and thus in attempting to protect Christ from sin he made Him less than fully human. On Apollinarianism see C.E. Raven: Apollinarianism: an Essay on the Christology of the Early Church, 1923.
- 90 Origen: Contra Celsum, H. Chadwick (ed. & transl.), 1980 Edn. VIII, 13.461; cf. also VIII.14.461f; 26.470f. Despite his apparent advocacy, as the Arians claimed, of a subordinationist christology grounded in the inferiority of Christ's High Priestly prayer, the discussion in De Oraciones (x:12; viii:1; xv:1-4) warns against devoting prayer to the Father and to the Son. For discussion of this see T.F. Torrance: 'The Mind of Christ in Worship : The Problem of Apollinarianism in the Liturgy', in Theology in Reconciliation, 1975, p.156. Cf. W. Beveridge's citation of Origen in defence of the uniqueness of Christ's mediation of prayer in his Works, 9 Vols., T.H. Horne (ed.), 1824, IX.446.
- 91 Athanasius: Orations against the Arians, W. Bright (ed.), Oxford, 1873, 2:69ff. 139f. Cf. T.F. Torrance, op.cit., pp.151-2.
- 92 E. Scheller: Das Priesterthum Christi, p.150.
- 93 For extended study of Cyril's De Adoratione, and the role Christ's High Priesthood played in his liturgical and doctrinal thinking, see ibid., pp.156-185. That T.F. Torrance connects his discussion with the nineteenth century Scottish Presbyterian scholar, J. McLeod Campbell (1800-1872), is significant for us not so much for the connection it suggests between Cyril's thought and McLeod Campbell's Christ the Bread of Life (1869²) - his emphasis on worshipping "within the circle of the life of Christ" having

early liturgical legitimation, - but for the existence it indicates of a parallel emphasis upon participation in the worship of Christ as High Priest in heaven, which became an important feature of 'High' Anglican eucharistic theology in the later-nineteenth century.

- 94 For its impact on R.I. Wilberforce and F.D. Maurice, in particular, below pp.128f, 232f.
- 95 Theodoret: Migne, P.G., LXXX, 1774, cited in F. Hildebrandt: I Offered Christ, p.31.
- 96 Clement of Alexandria: De recta Fide, 46; Opera, Tom.v. Pt.ii. 167, (Ed.) Aubert. Lut., 1638. q. A.J. Tait: The Heavenly Session of our Lord, p.153.
- 97 On this influential aspect of Westcott's exegesis see below p.343
- 98 J. Chrysostom. op.cit., Hom.V, p.63ff. on Heb. ii:16,17; XIV, p.174ff., on Heb. viii:1,2. See also A.J. Tait, op.cit., p.152. F. Young, op.cit., p.285f.
- 99 Cf. J. Chrysostom: Six Books on the Priesthood De Sacerdotii., G. Neville (Transl.), 1967, II.1-6, 52ff.
- 100 E. Scheller, op.cit., pp.126-128.
- 101 On the origins of the triplex munus - Christi, see J.F. Jansen: Calvin's Doctrine of the Work of Christ, 1956, Chapter I.
- 102 In addition to Jungmann, see F.E. Brightman: Liturgies Eastern and Western; E. Scheller, op.cit., pp.120-133; D. Waterland: A review of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 1880 Edn., p.325 (see further below pp. 41f.).
- 103 For discussion of Anglican attitudes towards the Epistle's canonicity, see below pp.299f, 323f.
- 104 Cf. Westcott's essay: 'The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of Barnabas', in Hebrews, pp.lxxx-lxxxiv., an introductory comparison.
- 105 Cf. I. Clement 36:1: "the High Priest of our Offerings, the Guardian and Helper of our weakness". I. Clem. 61:3: "through the High Priest and Guardian of our souls." I. Clem. 64: "through our High Priest and Guardian."
- 106 E. Scheller, op.cit., pp.133-4.
- 107 See Irenaeus: Adversus Haereses. III.xvi.6; III.xviii.1; in H. Bettenson (ed.) The Early Christian Fathers, 1956, pp.111, 113, where the theme of recapitulation or consummation (ἀνωκεφαλαιώω) of humanity in Christ suggests strongly the roots of the christology of Maurice, Westcott, and others who espoused the theme of Christus Consummator. See further below pp.232f, 337f, 356ff, 368ff.
- 108 Ibid., IV. xviii.4-6, in H. Bettenson, op.cit., p.132. For a modern treatment of the patristic theme of a 'heavenly altar' see R. Williams: 'Eucharistic Sacrifice - The Roots of a Metaphor', Grove Liturgical Study 31, 1983. In Irenaeus, too, is found the identification of the eucharistic sacrifice with the 'pure offering' of Malachi i.II, from which Victorian Anglo-Catholic writers continued to justify a sacrificial 'offering' in the eucharist. (cf. eg. Adv. Haer IV. xvii. 4, Bettenson, op.cit., p.130).

- 109 Ambrose: De Officiis Ministrorum, i.48, Migne P.L., 16.94; q. A.J.Tait, op.cit., p.157. Patristic scholarship was not an Anglo-Catholic preserve in nineteenth century Anglicanism. In the evangelical leader Edward Bickersteth's popular Treatise on Prayer, 1819, p.48, we find Ambrose quoted: "He is our mouth with which we address the Father; our eye, by which we behold him; our hand by which we present ourselves to Him; without whose mediation, neither we, nor any of the saints have the least access with God."
- 110 Augustine: The City of God, 1972 Edn., IX.xv. 359f; xvii. 364f; X.vi.379f. xx.400f. On the relation between the theme of Mediator and High priest, see E. Scheller, op.cit., pp.137-146.
- 111 *Ibid.*, p.380.
- 112 Augustine: Sermo CCCXV.7; Opera, Tom.v. 1384, (ed.), Bened., Paris, 1836; q. A.J. Tait, op.cit., p.141.
- 113 Augustine: The City of God, X.vi. 380.
- 114 For Charles Gore's recovery of the Augustinian theme of Corpus Christi, see below p.402.
- 115 Augustine: The City of God, X.vi.379.
- 116 *Ibid.*, pp.379-80.
- 117 The City of God, x:6, p.380; cf. *ibid.*, the characteristic dictum re. the Church's eucharistic offering: "... she herself is offered in the offering which she presents to God." See further on its usage below pp.109, 359f, 372f, 399f..
- 118 Cyprian: The Epistles, L.F., 1844, Ep.LXIII.191f.
- 119 Cf. Jerome: Letter to Evagrius, "What the high-priest, priest, and Levites were in the temple, that the Bishops, presbyters, and deacons are in the church, according to the apostolical constitution from the Old Testament." q. C. Daubeny: Guide to the Church, 2 Vols., 1804², I.33; II.58.
- 120 A.J. Tait, op.cit., p.109, argues that the Vulgate was "in no small measure responsible for the development of the mediaeval conception of a continual propitiatory offering whether by Christ Himself in the heavenly sanctuary, or by Christ through His priests at the altars on earth." On Heb.viii:3 as a continuing crux interpretum in the nineteenth century, see below esp.pp.333, 344, 381, 454ff.
- 121 For extensive treatment of Christ's priesthood in pre-Scholastic and mediaeval Scholasticism, see E. Scheller, op.cit., pp.151-342, which includes a lengthy study of Thomist and Scotist thought. Cf. also F.C. Clark: Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, pp.323-341, for a critical reappraisal of Scotist interpretation of the offerer of the Mass. Both studies confirm the importance of Christ's priesthood for Roman Catholic theology. From Aquinas's (1225-1274) stress upon Christ's priesthood as "the fount of all grace", "the source of all priesthood", derived that Catholic tradition found earlier in Ambrose and Augustine that Christ as priest is the proximate offerer of the eucharist, and liturgical agent in the Church's worship. This was reaffirmed at Trent where it was stated that; "He who now offers through the ministry of priests, is the same as he who once offered himself on the cross, the manner of offering alone being different." As Clark argues, however, "This concentration, in the post-Reformation age, on the truth that Christ offers

the Mass and that the priest is an alter Christus offering in the person of Christ, led in some quarters to a neglect of the complementary truth that had been emphasized, sometimes to excess, by the Scotist and Nominalist schoolmen - that the whole Church truly offers the Mass through and with the Priest." (ibid. p.331) If Thomist thought tended to neglect its Ambrosian and Augustinian roots in that tradition which saw Christ as Head of His Mystical Body offering the Mass, then Scotist thought, for all its stress, in reality, on Christ as summus sacerdos offering in the Mass, tended to adopt the more juridical language of deputed priestly authority. Both neo-Thomist and neo-Scotist traditions are found in nineteenth century Anglo-Catholicism. The language of alter Christus and vicarial priesthood only recurs in the most extreme position adopted by some Ritualists (see below p.253ff), whilst in R.C. Moberly, and scholars who directly preceded or succeeded him, a clearer neo-Scotist stress upon Christ's and the Church's priestly offering and agency in the eucharist is found.

- 122 (R.H. Froude): The Remains of the Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude. M.A., 1838, 1839. Even W.E. Gladstone, a trusty political ally of the Oxford Movement, decried his "rash intemperate censures pronounced upon the Reformers". (J. Morley: Life of William Ewart Gladstone, 3 Vols., 1908, I.61.)
- 123 The Parker Society was established in 1840 under the Earl of Shaftesbury. It began publishing its volumes of Reformation sources in 1841.
- 124 See F. C. Clark, op.cit., p.3: "The difference about sacrifice and priesthood was a primary issue in the religious conflict of the sixteenth century, and for four centuries, it has remained one of the main roots of controversy between Protestant and Catholic."
- 125 Ibid., p.103.
- 126 See G. Aulén: Eucharistic Faith and Practice, 1939 (Repr.), p.137: "At no point was Luther so violently opposed to the mediaeval system as in his repudiation of the Romish doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass." And see N.M. Halmer: 'Der Literarische Kampf Luthers und Melancthous gegen das Opfer der heiligen Messe' in Divus Thomas (Fribourg) XXI, 1943, cited in F.C. Clark, op.cit., p.106.
- 127 T.W. Manson: Ministry and Priesthood : Christ's and Ours, 1958, p.63.
- 128 See below pp. 61f, 127ff, 135ff.
- 129 M. Luther: W.A. 40¹, 300: in A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (1575), 1978 Edn., p.180.
- 130 K. Hagen sees as a distinguishing feature of Luther's Lectures on Hebrews (contra mediaeval exegesis) the stress on Christ as "excellencia" and "eminentia Christi", - as not merely relatively superior to the Priesthood and Sacrifice of the Old and New Testament, but incomparably more so. (A Theology of Testament, pp.105f)
- 131 M. Luther: W.A., 12.178.
- 132 K. Hagen, op.cit., p.11. On the importance of these lectures see also: E. Vogelsang: Die Bedeutung der Keuerveröffentlichten Hebräerbrief-vorlesung Luthers von 1517-1518: Ein Beitrag zur Frage : Humanismus und Reformation, Tübingen, 1930; A. Gyllenkrok: Rechtfertigung und

Heiligung in der frühen evangelischen Theologie Luthers, Uppsala, 1952; E. Bizer: Fides ex auditu : Eine Untersuchung über die Entdeckung der Gerechtigkeit Gottes durch Martin Luther, Darmstadt, 1966³.

- 133 M. Luther: W.A. 41, 203, 23.
- 134 Ibid., W.A. 40¹, 297, 298.
- 135 Ibid., W.A. 57. III. 215. 16-20, where Luther's understanding of faith as "possessio" of God's word of promise is harnessed to pastoral application of Hebrews 9:24: "It has been said that some know Christ speculatively, some practically. The former believe that Christ appeared in the presence of God for some, whereas the latter believe that appeared in the presence of God for us. Therefore, it is necessary, that a Christian be certain, in fact absolutely certain, that Christ appeared for him, and is His High Priest before God. As one believes so it happens to him."
- 136 Ibid., W.A. 57 III.222.12-14, 223.24 - 224.10.
- 137 See K. Hagen, op.cit., p.104: "Luther's idea of present conformity with the auctor salutis runs counter to Chrysostom, Alcuin, and the Glossa Ordinaria. Luther's idea that such conformity is available to any and all believers runs counter to Aquinas, Lyra, Dionysius the Carthusian". See also V. Vatja: Luther on Worship, (ET), Philadelphia. 1958, p.129: "For Christ is the true priest of God, and man grows into His likeness as he shares in the priestly work of Christ."
- 138 M. Luther: The Pagan Servitude of the Church, in Martin Luther : Selections from His Writings, J. Dillenberger (ed.), New York, 1961, p.345, et passim. On Luther's doctrine of the 'priesthood of all believers', cf. see also J. Atkinson: Martin Luther and the Birth of Protestantism, 1968, pp.86-7, 188, 193, 297, 298; J.L. Ainslie: The Doctrines of Ministerial Order in the Reformed Churches of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1940.
- 139 Ibid., pp.345-6.
- 140 The fact that Luther's Lectures on Hebrews were lost for over 300 years, being discovered in the Vatican Library only in 1899, inevitably affected the significance of his contribution to Victorian interpretation of Christ's priesthood, though the revival of English Lutheranism, in men like Henry Wace antedated their rediscovery. Cf. below p. 448-9.
- 141 H. Nichols: The Meaning of Protestantism, 1959 Edn., p.13.
- 142 Cf. Calvin's Commentary²¹ Hebrews appeared in the nineteenth century in the Calvin Translation Society volume, J. Calvin: Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews, J. Owen (transl. & ed.), 1853.
- 143 Id., Institutes of the Christian Religion (1559 Edn.), 2 Vols., Grand Rapids, 1963, I. Bk.II.xii.400ff; xiv.415f; xv.425f.
- 144 In contrast to the 1536, 1539, and 1545 editions, an entire chapter was devoted to the triplex munus Christi in the 1559 Edition (viz. II.xv), although the doctrine had assumed its characteristic form already by 1545, and appeared in the Catechism of the Church of Geneva. See J.F. Jansen: Calvin's Doctrine of the Work of Christ, 1956; J. Ganoczy: Calvin : Théologien de l'Eglise et du ministère, (Unam Sanctam 48), Paris, 1964.
- 145 J. Calvin: Institutes, I, II.xv. 431-2.

- 146 Id., 'Responsum ad Fratres Polonos Quomodo mediator sit Christus, ad refutandum Stancarí errorem (1560), in Calvin's Theological Treatises, L.C.C. 22, 1954, p.331.
- 147 Id., Commentary on Hebrews, p.32f. on ii:17.
- 148 Id., Catechism of the Church of Geneva (1545), in Calvin's Theological Treatises, p.96.
- 149 Id., Institutes I, II.xv. 431.
- 150 Id., Commentary on Hebrews, p100, on vii:20, et passim; Institutes, II, IV.xviii. 613-616.
- 151 Id., Institutes, II, IV. xviii. 618-9.
- 152 J.F. Jansen, op.cit., p.96.
- 153 J. Calvin: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, D.W. and T.F. Torrance (eds.), 1972 (Repr.), p.185f, on viii:34.
- 154 T.W. Manson, op.cit., p.38.
- 155 J.F. Jansen, op.cit., pp.93-5.
- 156 T. Manson, loc.cit.
- 157 J. Calvin: Commentary on Hebrews, p.132f., on x:1.
- 158 Id., Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke, D.W. & T.F. Torrance (eds.), 1972, p.73 on ii:9-14.
- 159 See id., Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, 2 Vols., D.W. and T.F. Torrance (eds.), 1961, II.127f., on xvi:24: "We are, therefore, worse than ungrateful, if we do not keep our senses fixed on the true High Priest, who is exhibited to us as our Propitiator, that by Him we may have free and ready access to the throne of the glory of God". q. J.F. Jansen, op.cit., p.93.
- 160 H. Bullinger: Theological Decades I - V, 4 Vols., P.S.35,39,42, 47, 1849-52.
- 161 Ibid., III.154.
- 162 Ibid., II.282.
- 163 Ibid., III.195.
- 164 Ibid., p.289.
- 165 Ibid., IV, pp.282-5.
- 166 Ibid., p.284; IV.213.
- 167 Ibid., IV.213.
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 Ibid., IV.284.
- 170 Ibid., IV.283.

- 171 Theodore Beza: Novum Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi, Edinburgh, 1841 (new edn.). See eg. its extensive use by Thomas Scott, the evangelical commentator in The Holy Bible (cf. below p.35f, 38).
- 172 A.J. Tait: Heavenly Session, p.131.
- 173 Ibid., p.108.
- 174 Ibid., p.165.
- 175 On Melancthon see A.J. Tait, op.cit., p.163. Tait also draws an interesting distinction between Lutheran emphasis on the oralis et vocalis character of Christ's heavenly intercession, and a pleading through His presence more characteristic of Reformed theology. There is clearly progression from Luther's radical disjunction between the earthly sacrifice as completed and the heavenly intercession grounded on it, to Calvin's identification of Christ's sacrifice and intercession as two parts of one whole work, to finally Bullinger's virtual subsumation of the sacrifice in a preoccupation with an 'offering' of intercession which in Tigurine and Reformed thought is at times presented as a 'heavenly sacrifice' or a 'continual (perennis) sacrifice', (See A.J. Tait, op.cit., p.129 on Calvin, and p.165 on Beza) though the eternal efficacy of Christ's sacrifice is consistently in view.
- 176 T. Cranmer: Works, P.S.12, 1844, p.346.
- 177 Gardiner declared: "Christ ever liveth, and therefore, is a perpetual everlasting priest by whose authority priesthood is now in this visible Church...; which priests, visible ministers to our invisible priest, offer the daily sacrifice in Christ's Church". q. ibid., p.363.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Homilies, 1859 Edn., p.31.
- 180 Ibid. See also G.B. Timms: 'Dixit Cranmer' C.Q.R., 286, (1947), 40ff, who argues tellingly that Cranmer objected to the idea of Christ 'pleading His sacrifice' in heaven, thus indicating a more Lutheran approach to His heavenly intercession as Tait, op.cit., (p.165), holds was true generally. The prevalence of a Tigurine understanding, however, largely through Bullinger suggests that from the outset the theology of the Church of England had a strong 'heavenly' perspective on Christ's priestly ministry.
- 181 q. F. Hildebrandt: I Offered Christ, p.48. See Latimer, too, Sermons and Remains, II, P.S.20, 1845, p.259: "Stand from the altar you sacrileging (I should have said sacrificing) priests; for you have no authority in God's book to offer up our Redeemer."
- 182 See W. Hahn on Ridley, in Gottesdienst und Opfer Christi, Göttingen, 1951.
- 183 T. Cranmer: 'On the Lord's Supper', in Works, p.348.
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Ibid., p.346.
- 186 T. Becon: 'The Catechism', in Works 3 Vols., P.S.9,13,17, 1843-4, II.247; cf. also ibid., p.448.
- 187 Ibid.

- 188 On Reformed use of the terminology of 'heavenly sacrifice', see below p.192 n.223.
- 189 Id., 'The Sick Man's Salve', in Prayers and other pieces, P.S. 17, III.140.
- 190 Ibid.
- 191 Id., 'The Solace of the Soul', in Works, P.S.13, II.576. This concurs with Becon's explicit knowledge and dependence on Chrysostom's interpretation of Christ's heavenly priesthood elsewhere cf. Prayers and other pieces, p.422.
- 192 M. Coverdale: 'Fruitful lessons upon the Passion, Burial, Resurrection, and Ascension, and of the Sending of the Holy Spirit', in Writings and Translations, P.S.15, 1844, p.247.
- 193 J. Jewel: 'The Reply to Harding's Answer', in Works 4 Vols., , P.S. 19,26, 30, 40, 1845-50, II.738. Christ's priesthood was a leading topic in Jewel's controversy with the Roman Catholic Harding. For their debate see, P.E. Hughes: 'The Blood of Jesus and His Heavenly Sacrifice', 200.
- 194 A. Nowell: Catechism (1570), P.S. 53. 1853, p.153.
- 195 Ibid., p.163.
- 196 J. Bradford: 'The Hurt of Hearing the Mass', in His Writings, 2 Vols.,P.S. 31,51, 1848-53, II.313.
- 197 R. Hutchinson: 'The Image of God', in Works, P.S. 4, 1844², pp.46, 50.
- 198 J. Jewel: op.cit., p.733.
- 199 Ibid., p.1131.
- 200 Recorded in the Bishops question to candidates for the Priesthood: "Do you think in your heart, that you be truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the order of this Church ... to the Order and Ministry of Priesthood?" See below pp. 162, on the connection recognized at times between this 'call' and Christ's.
- 201 Cf. J. Whitgift: 'The Defence of the Answer to the Admonition', in Works, 3 Vols., P.S.44,50, 1851-3, I.485f.
- 202 J.Whitgift: 'Admonition', in Works, P.S.50, III.350-2.
- 203 Cf. in this light that Mascall's observation: "Many of the Reformers were prepared to admit sacrificial priesthood, if only it was clearly defined; and the need for such definition is clear when one considers some of the views about priesthood and sacrifice which were current at the time of the Middle Ages." ('The Hunting of the Hobbit', in A.A. Stephenson (ed.) : Anglican Orders, 1956, p.52). There can be little doubt that one crucial tool of English redefinition was reaffirmation of the uniqueness and primacy of Christ's priesthood.
- 204 J. Bradford: 'The Hurt of Hearing Mass', p.312.
- 205 Cf. D. Stone: A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 2 Vols., 1909, II.218.
- 206 Ibid.

- 207 J. Jewel: 'Controversy with Harding 'Of Real Presence'', in Works, P.S.19, I.491.
- 208 R. Hooker: Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, in J. Keble (arr.): The Works of Richard Hooker, 3 Vols., (R.W. Church & F. Paget rev.), 1888⁷, III, Bk. VIII, iv.6.379; and cf. II, Bk. V. lxxvii.12 (ad.loc.).
- 209 Ibid., II, Bk.V. lli.1.222.
- 210 See Art. 'Caroline Divines', O.D.C.C., p.241.
- 211 On Andrewes see the sympathetic study by R.L. Ottley: Lancelot Andrewes, 1894.
- 212 L. Andrewes: Preces Privatae (1648), F.E. Brightman (Transl. & ed.), 1903.
- 213 Id., 'Tortura Torti: sive Ad Matthaei Tort: Responsio', in Works, II Vols., L.A.C.T., 1841-54, p.490.
- 214 Ibid., p.45.
- 215 Id., 'A Pattern of Catechetical Doctrine and other minor works', in Works, p.351.
- 216 Ibid., p.349.
- 217 Ibid.
- 218 Cf. 'Funeral Oration', in NinetySix Sermons by the Rt. Revd. Father in God Lancelot Andrewes, 5 Vols., 1841-43, L.A.C.T., pp.259-298.
- 219 q. R.L. Ottley, op.cit., p.184.
- 220 D. Stone: History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, II.255.
- 221 R.L. Ottley, loc.cit.
- 222 Art. 'Thomas Jackson', O.D.C.C., p.720.
- 223 T. Jackson: A Treatise on the Consecration of the Son of God to His Everlasting Priesthood and to the accomplishment of it by His glorious Resurrection and Ascension (1613-1638), in Works, 12 Vols., 1844, VIII, IX.
- 224 Ibid., VIII. ix.604.
- 225 Ibid., p.383.
- 226 Ibid., p.605.
- 227 Ibid., p.607.
- 228 Ibid., IX. 597, 604, et passim.
- 229 Ibid., p.494f.
- 230 Ibid., p.549.
- 231 R. Field: Of the Church, Five Books, 1853 Edn., V.34ff.

- 232 W. Forbes: Considerationes modestae et pacificae controversarum de purgatore, invocatione sanctorum et Christo Mediatore, et eucharistia, 1658.
- 233 I. Barrow: Two Sermons on the Incarnation in Works, 3 Vols., 1863, II.325. Cf. Review J.K. (John Keble?) in C.R., 6, (1824), 336-7.
- 234 See below pp.105f, 122f.
- 235 G. Bull: Defensio Fidei Nicaenae, in Works, 6 Vols., E. Burton (ed.), 1827.
- 236 Y. Brilioth: The Anglican Revival : Studies in the Oxford Movement, 1925, pp.4-5. The Nonjurors were those divines who in the C. of E. after 1688 declined to take the Oath of Allegiance and supremacy to William and Mary, having formerly done so to James II. On them see Art. 'Nonjurors', O.D.C.C., pp.979-80.
- 237 Ibid., p.17.
- 238 Named after the Italian theologians Lelius Socinus (1525-1562), and especially his nephew Faustus Socinus (1539-1604), this widely condemned seventeenth century 'heresy', to which Unitarianism was ultimately heir, denied plurality in the Godhead, and acclaimed Christ as merely a specially endowed human. From this their perception of Christ's heavenly ministry as priest and relegation of His sacrifice on the cross to a heavenly offering derived. See esp. 'De Christi Sacerdote' in Socini Opera Omnia, 2 Vols., Irenopolis, 1656, and on Anglican reactions below eg. pp.46f, 159.
- 239 W. Beveridge: Sermons, 6 Vols., 1817, V.391: See also ibid., I.384-388; II.125-137; III.382-402, for Beveridge's enthusiastic exposition of Christ's priesthood in his Sermons. See also his Works, 9 Vols., T.H. Horne (ed.) 1824, I.23ff; Discourse upon the Thirty-Nine Articles, 2 Vols., 1840 Edn., I.221-223.
- 240 W. Outram: Two Dissertations on Sacrifices (De Sacrificiis), J. Allen (Transl.) 1828².
- 241 Ibid., pp.293-312.
- 242 Ibid., pp.301, 361. See also H. Thorndike (1598-1672) His Theological Works, 6 Vols., L.A.C.T., 1844-56, III. 2. 541.
- 243 W. Outram. op.cit., pp.305ff.
- 244 Cf. Review of Allen's Translation C.R., 12, (1830), 159-160: "The Partisans of Socinians being so mischievously industrious in the propagation of their pestilent heresy, it is more than time to loose the giants of orthodoxy from the fetters with which a dead language had so long and so injuriously bound them: and therefore we cordially thank the learned translator of Dr. Outram's unanswerable Treatise."
- 245 H. Beveridge: Sermons, II. 137, 400; II. 384, 387, et passim. Cf. also J. Hall: Works, 10 Vols., 1808 Edn., IX.67.
- 246 G. Herbert: A Priest to the Temple, or The Country Parson : His Character and Rule of Holy Life, 1908 Edn.
- 247 Ibid., p.217.
- 248 Ibid.

- 249 Id., A Priest to the Temple: 'Priesthood', p.168.
- 250 See below p.53f.
- 251 For all their denunciation of Socinianism, many of the Caroline divines placed such emphasis upon the heavenly location of Christ's priestly ministry, at the same time as expounding the O.T. typical pattern of slaughter outside the veil as prefigurative of Christ's High priestly sacrifice on the cross, that they had at least some verbal similarity to their opponents. See eg., H. Thorndike op.cit., IV:1.99 expounding Melchizedek in Hebrews vii: "... nowhere, in all that chapter, which is spent all about exposition of it (Melchizedek's superior priesthood), so much as intimateth the priesthood of Christ to consist in anything but in offering up to God in heaven His own Body and Blood sacrificed upon the cross, to make expiation for the sins of His people...". Cf. ibid., III. II. 541-2.
- 252 Eg. J. Taylor: Life and Death of Holy Christ, in Works, 15 Vols., Heber (ed.), 1828, III.296, but passim, though nb. there is a fluidity about Taylor's eucharistic thought which belies hard and fast categorisation and definition.
- 253 Id., Holy Living and Holy Dying, in Works, III.214.
- 254 Id., The Worthy Communicant, in Works, XV.437.
- 255 Cf. De Condren (1588-1614): The Idea of the Priesthood and Sacrifice of Jesus Christ (1677); J.J. Olier (1608-1657): Explanation of the Ceremonies of the Parochial High Mass; L. Thomassin (1619-1696): Theological Dogmas. On their eucharistic thought see D. Stone: History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, II.377-387.
- 256 J. Bramhall: 'Protestant Ordination Defended', in Works, 5 Vols., L.A.C.T., 1842, V.220. See further on his defence of Christ's priesthood, ibid., V.257 (contra the Papacy); IV.528 (contra Hobbes).
- 257 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, pp.50-51.
- 258 D. Brevint: The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice : by way of Discourse, Meditation and Prayer, upon the nature, parts, and blessings of the Holy Communion (1673 and 1679), 1847 Edn.
- 259 Ibid., p.14.
- 260 Ibid., pp.54-60.
- 261 Ibid., pp.61-78.
- 262 Ibid., p.73.
- 263 W. Goode: Essays on the Scriptural Names and Titles of Christ, 6 Vols., 1822, VI. 259.
- 264 A. Knox: Remains, III.7.
- 265 C. Simeon: Horae Homileticae, I.473, Disc 99, on Ex.xxv. 29, 30.
- 266 C.R. Sumner: The Ministerial Character of Christ practically considered, 1824, Preface.

- 267 T. Belsham: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle, Translated with an Exposition and Notes, 2 Vols., 1822, II.585, on Heb. iv.14. See further on Thomas Belsham, the Unitarian, below p.46f.
- 268 G.R. Balleine: History of the Evangelical Party, p.1.
- 269 On Early -Evangelical religion, see L.E. Elliott-Binns: The Early Evangelicals, 1953; J.S. Reynolds: The Evangelicals at Oxford : 1735 - 1871, 1953; G.F.A. Best: 'Evangelicals and the Established Church in the early nineteenth century', J.T.S., NS 10, (1959), 63-78; A. Pollard: 'Evangelical Parish Clergy: 1820-40', C.Q.R., 159, (1958), 387-95; R. Reeve: 'John Wesley, Charles Simeon and the evangelical revival', Can.J.Th. 2 (1956) 203-214; G.C.B. Davies: Early Cornish Evangelicals : 1735-1760, 1951; and id., 'Early Evangelicals', C.Q.R., 155 (1954), 121-30.
- 270 R. Baxter: The Reformed Pastor, W. Brown (ed.), 1863⁵.
- 271 F. Mason: Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae; sive de legitimo eiusdem ministerio, 1625².
- 272 W. Gouge: Commentary on the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, pp.244-5.
- 273 Ibid., p.225.
- 274 Ibid., p.246.
- 275 R. Leighton: A Practical Commentary upon the First Epistle of St. Peter, 2 Vols., 1849. I.245-6.
- 276 Cf. J. Owen: Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews, 7 Vols., 1814².
- 277 On Owen's critique of Socinianism cf. esp. ibid., II. Exerc.xxx-xxxiii, VI.38ff, on Heb. viii. 3f. Owen claimed: "it is principally with respect to them that I have here proposed the nature of that office (viz. Christ's priesthood) unto consideration".
- 278 Ibid., II.159.
- 279 Ibid., II.149, 209, 211f; V.1ff, on Heb. V.
- 280 Ibid., II.152-3.
- 281 Ibid., VI. 41f.
- 282 Ibid., II.209.
- 283 On the two "acts" of Christ as priest, cf. ibid., II. 204f. 224f.
- 284 On Christ's mediation of prayer and worship through His intercession, cf. ibid., IV. 430f, on Heb. iv.14f.
- 285 J. Owen, Works, 24 Vols., W.H. Goold (ed.), 1850-5, XIX.5, 6; q. N. Dimock: The Sacerdotium of Christ, 1910 Edn., p.17. On Dimock defence of Christ's priesthood cf. below p. 450ff.
- 286 T. Scott: The Holy Bible and Notes, 6 Vols., 1830 (New Edn.). Scott's Commentary appeared originally as magazine articles, for which he was paid a pittance, physically crippled by the labour and widely acclaimed as a leading Calvinist evangelical expositor. See Art 'Thomas Scott', D.N.B. XVII. 1011-1013 and further below p.38.

- 287 Cf. J.P. Smith: Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ, 1842² (enl.).
- 288 J. Newton: Works, 6 Vols., 1808, II.347.
- 289 Ibid., IV. 528.
- 290 Ibid., p.532.
- 291 Ibid., p.530.
- 292 From Newton's Hymn 'How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds' (1779).
- 293 The prominence of Christ's priesthood in the Hymns of Isaac Watts, in the forefront of evangelical revival of hymnody, contributed directly to its persistent centrality to Victorian evangelicalism. Watts was crucial for the development of the evangelical 'cult of the sympathising heavenly priest' (see below pp.175ff). Cf. eg. in J. Rippon (ed.): An Arrangement of the Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of Isaac Watts, 1802³.
- No. 259 "Lift up your eyes to th'heavenly seats
Where your Redeemer stays;
Kind Intercessor, there He sits,
And loves, and pleads, and prays.
- Petitions now and praise may raise,
And saints their offerings bring,
The priest with His own sacrifice,
Presents them to the king" etc.
- Cf. also nos. 258, 260, 261, 262, 142, 146, 518, 519.
- 294 See C. Rattenbury: The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley, 1948.
- 295 D. Stone: History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, II.510.
- 296 F. Hildebrandt: I Offered Christ, p.31.
- 297 Ibid. Hildebrandt sees the language of "one with our Head for ever one", and "ourselves presenting with our Head" as ultimately echoing Theodoret.
- 298 See below pp.97f, 124f, 133f, 139f, 150f, 399ff.
- 299 The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley: No.5.
- 300 Cf. J. Julian (ed.): A Dictionary of Hymnody, 1907² (rev.), p.333f.
- 301 J.H. Newman: Apologia Pro Vita Sua, M. Ward (ed.), 1982 (Repr.), p.3. On Scott, see A.C. Downer: Thomas Scott : The Commentator, 1909. According to Sir James Stephen, Scott's Commentary was "the greatest theological performance of our age and country" (q. D.N.B., XVII.101).
- 302 T. Scott and M. Henry: Commentary, V.447, on Heb. ix. 11-14.
- 303 Ibid., p.413, Introduction.
- 304 Ibid., p.439, on Heb. vii.1-3.
- 305 Ibid., p.416, on Heb. i.4-9; p.422, on Heb. ii.14-18.
- 306 Ibid., pp.439-440, on Heb. vii. 1-10.

- 307 Ibid., pp.429-430, on Heb. iv.11-16. See also p.424, on Heb. iii.5, 6: "We all need to be excited to consider more often the condescending Apostle and compassionate High Priest of our profession, Jesus Christ, and every meditation of His person and His salvation will suggest new instructions, new motives to love, confidence, and obedience."
- 308 On W. Wilberforce see below p.172.
- 309 W. Goode: Essays on the Scriptural Names and Titles of Christ, VI.259.
- 310 Cf. Review of C.R. Sumner: The Ministerial Character of Christ (1824), C.R. 6, (1824), 588. On Sumner see below p.155.
- 311 H. Ryder: Three Charges delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester in 1816, 1819, 1822, 1824, p.25. Henry Ryder was the first Evangelical Bishop, appointed in 1814, and thereby beginning the accommodation of Evangelicalism in the hierarchy of the Established Church.
- 312 I. Milner, Sermons, 2 Vols., 1820, II.13, 14. See also, on the triplex munus Christi, *ibid.*, I.100, 115.
- 313 Cf. eg. W. Goode, *op.cit.*, VI. 260, 272; II. 54; and esp. F. Close: A Course of Nine Sermons, intended to illustrate some of the leading truths contained in the liturgy of the Church of England, 1825 pp.52-3.
- 314 T. Scott: The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments... with Explanatory Notes..., 6 Vols., 1830, VI on Heb. vii (ad loc.).
- 315 *Ibid.* on Heb. vii. 11-18, 'Practical Observations' (ad loc.).
- 316 F.W. Cornish: A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century, 2 Pts., 1910, I. 7,8.
- 317 S.C. Carpenter: Church and People, 1789-1889. A History of the Church of England from William Wilberforce to 'Lux Mundi', 1933, p.18.
- 318 F.W. Cornish, *loc.cit.*
- 319 P. Tulloch; Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1971 (Repr.) pp.9-10.
- 320 Of the theology of the 'High Church' party, Cornish writes: "...that of the rank and file, the country parsons who preached Sunday by Sunday was taken from accredited divines of the Church of England; all were content with a moderate interpretation of the Bible in the sense of the Prayer Book and Catechism." (*op.cit.*, p.64). The very orthodoxy of the party spawned awareness of, and devotion to, an historic Anglican adherence to the image of Christ as priest.
- 321 J. Hunt: Religious Thought, p.272.
- 322 C. Daubeny: Guide to the Church, I.413.
- 323 G. D'Oyly and R. Mant (eds.): The Holy Bible...with Notes, Explanatory and Practical : taken principally from the most eminent writers of the United Church of England and Ireland, 3 Vols., 1817. The Commentary was designed to counter the advance of Dissenting thought. For a cryptic comment on its worth see below p.293, n.2.
- 324 *Ibid.*, III, Introduction to Hebrews (ad loc).

- 325 Ibid., on Heb. ii.16. (ad loc).
- 326 Ibid., on Heb. x.14. (ad loc).
- 327 On the popularity of D'Oyly and Mant's Commentary, see Art. 'Richard Mant'. D.N.B. XII, 982.
- 328 Cf. eg. ibid., on v.5. (ad loc).
- 329 Cf. eg. ibid., on x.1. (ad loc).
- 330 D. Waterland: Works, 6 Vols., W. Van Mildert (ed.), 1843².
- 331 Id., A review of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, as laid down in Scripture and Antiquity, with Four Charges to the clergy of Middlesex..., 1880. In the commendatory Preface, Bishop Jackson of London described the Review as "a treatise which was once considered almost as the text-book of the Church of England on the subject of the Eucharist" (p.v.).
- 332 On Brett, see below p.44.
- 333 D. Waterland: The Christian Sacrifice Explained, A Charge delivered in part to Middlesex Clergy, April 1738, appended to Review of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, p.463.
- 334 Ibid. Cf. also: id., Review of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, pp.63-4, 66, 67.
- 335 Ibid., p.419.
- 336 Ibid., p.461.
- 337 Id., Distinctions of Sacrifice, a Charge delivered in part to Middlesex Clergy, Easter 1740, appended to Review of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, pp.547-8.
- 338 Id., Review of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, pp.338-9.
- 339 Ibid., pp.87-88.
- 340 Ibid., p.313; and id., Distinctions of Sacrifice, p.596f.
- 341 Ibid., pp.604-5.
- 342 J. Butler: The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature, 1886 (new ed.).
- 343 See A. Härdelin: The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist, Uppsala, 1965, pp.65-69.
- 344 See Art. 'Deism', O.D.C.C., p.388-9.
- 345 J. Butler, op.cit., p.239.
- 346 Ibid., p.249.
- 347 Ibid., p.251.
- 348 Ibid., p.252.
- 349 Ibid., p.253.

- 350 The 'Hackney Phalanx' was the title given to the group of High Churchmen who, by ties of friendship or family, gathered around figures such as Joshua Watson (1771-1855), H.H. Norris (1771-1850), Jones of Nayland (1726-1800), and William Stevens (1732-1807). The name parodied that of the evangelical 'Clapham Sect', and both groups were renowned for their philanthropy.
- 351 A. Knox: Remains, III.69.
- 352 C. Daubeny: Guide to the Church, p.37.
- 353 T. Sikes: A Discourse on Parochial Communion, in which the respective duties of Minister and People are deduced from Scripture, 1872, p.1.
- 354 In Thomas Brett's, The Honour of the Christian Priesthood and the necessity of a Divine call to that office (1711), 1838, we see a fierce attack on a non-episcopal Dissenting ministry and a clear stress upon a 'call' to the office of 'priest': "All Christian priests must derive their call to the priesthood by a spiritual generation or succession from Christ and His Apostles, as the Jewish priests derived theirs by a natural generation from Aaron and His Sons." (ibid., p.5f.).
- 355 G. Hicke's, Two Treatises on the Christian Priesthood (1707) were edited by Isaac Barrow and incorporated in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, 1847, as a treasured testimony to Nonjuring veneration of the priestly office.
- 356 T. Sikes, op.cit., p.21.
- 357 Ibid., pp.263-4.
- 358 On the history of John Wade's Utilitarian attacks upon Church corruption, see O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I. 33-4.
- 359 W. Wilberforce: A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this country contrasted with Real Christianity, 1797². Wilberforce further defined his purpose as being - "to point out the scanty and erroneous system of the bulk of those who belong to the class of orthodox Christians, and to contrast their defective scheme with a representation of what the author apprehends to be real Christianity." (ibid., p.4.).
- 360 On H.J. Rose, see Art., O.D.C.C., 1202. Rose's pre-Tractarian theological reflections on a visit to Germany in 1824 bore fruit in The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany, 1825, which Pusey, in his more liberal youth, attacked. Though later sympathetic towards Oxford Tractarianism Rose was never fully integrated into the movement.
- 361 H.J. Rose: The Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy : in a series of Discourses preached before the University of Cambridge, April 1826, 1828, p.8.
- 362 Ibid., pp.26-7.
- 363 Ibid., pp.46-7.
- 364 Ibid., p.76.
- 365 See Art, 'Cambridge Platonists', O.D.C.C., and below p.204 n.1.
- 366 See supra p.9.

- 367 A.A. Sykes: An Essay on the Nature, Design, and Origin of Sacrifice, 1748, defines sacrifice not from Christ's sacrifice (pace Butler), but as - "Whatever is given or offered in a solemn manner immediately to God, so as that part of it, or the whole is consumed, is what is meant by the word sacrifice." (ibid., p.4.).
- 368 Id., A Paraphrase and Notes upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1755, pp.xliii-xliv, xlv.
- 369 Ibid., p.xlvii.
- 370 Ibid., p.xlix, on Heb.viii.3,4; and cf. id., The Scripture Doctrine of Redemption of man by Jesus Christ, 1756, p.284.
- 371 Id., Scripture Doctrine of Redemption, p.283.
- 372 Ibid., p.284.
- 373 J. Taylor: Scripture Doctrine of Atonement, 1751. John Taylor (1694-1761) was a dissenting divine and noted hebraist.
- 374 J. Richie: A Criticism upon Modern Notions of Sacrifices: An Examination of Dr. Taylor's Scripture - Doctrine of Atonement, 1761, p.161, where we read: "This notion of the sacrifice of Christ cannot, I think, be brought to accord with the scripture phraseology. The scripture always speak of this sacrifice as being the death of Christ; as being His blood, the shedding of His blood, His cross, His being made a curse by hanging on a tree, His giving, or laying down His Life, His offering Himself (not His actions) an offering and a sacrifice, etc. But they never once mention His perfect obedience and goodness, as being the sacrifice which He offered to God."
- 375 J. Priestley: Notes on all the Books of Scripture for the use of the Pulpit and Private Families, 4 Vols., 1803-4, IV.464.
- 376 Ibid., p.470.
- 377 Ibid.
- 378 W. Newcome: The New Testament in an Improved version with Critical Notes, 1817⁴, p.vi.
- 379 T. Belsham: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle Translated with an Exposition and Notes, 2 Vols., 1822. II. 543.
- 380 Ibid.
- 381 On Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791) see further below p.296 n.17.
- 382 See below pp.297-302, and Chapter VI passim.
- 383 M. Stuart: Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Vol.I., 1828, Preface. Cf. E. Henderson, the publisher of the 1838 English edition, similarly spoke of the "turbid streams of neologism and Socinianism, and ... the strong bias of the master spirits of German sacred literature." q. B. Demarest: A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7:1-10 from the Reformation to the Present, Tübingen, 1976 p.72.
- 384 On the 'Broad Church' Movement see below pp.224f.294.
- 385 Cf. O. Pfeleiderer: Development of Theology in Germany since leant and its progress in Great Britain since 1825, 1890, p.308.

- 386 On Coleridge's approach to Scripture see id., Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, H.N. Coleridge (ed.), 1840. 82ff; on his approach to dogma and influence, cf. P. Tullock: Movements of Religious Thought, pp.7-10, 49f; D.C. Somervell: English Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1929, 64ff.
- 387 See on J.C. Hare, F.D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, below pp.229ff.
- 388 S.T. Coleridge: Aids to Reflection, in the formation of a manly character on the several grounds of prudence, morality, and religion..., 1825, p.348f.
- 389 Ibid.
- 390 Ibid., pp.317-8. On Coleridge see further below pp.225-6.
- 391 On Blanco White see further below p.206f.
- 392 J. Blanco White: Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism... in six letters addressed to the impartial among the Roman Catholics of Gt. Britain and Ireland, 1825, p.84ff.

CHAPTER I

The Priesthood of Christ in the Doctrine and Devotion of the Oxford Movement

- 1 W.R. Inge: Outspoken Essays, 1919, p.31; q. Y.Brillioth: The Anglican Revival, p.56.
- 2 q. L.E. Elliott-Binns: Religion in the Victorian Era, 1964, p.226.
- 3 O. Chadwick: The Mind of the Oxford Movement, 1960, p.11.
- 4 C. Dawson: The Spirit of the Oxford Movement, 1933, p.3.
- 5 Y. Brillioth, op.cit., Preface.
- 6 H. Davies: Worship and Theology in England, III: 'From Watts and Wesley to Maurice', 1961, p.243.
- 7 J.H. Newman: Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p.23. Cf. contra, F.L. Cross: Newman, 1933, p.75, for stress on the Movement for change antedating and paralleling Keble's sermon.
- 8 q. Y. Brillioth, op.cit., p.71.
- 9 See C.C.J. Webb: Religious Thought in the Oxford Movement, 1928, p.29.
- 10 W. Palmer: A Narrative of Events connected with the publication of the Tracts for the Times...and on the present duties and prospects of members of the Church of England, 1843, p.3.
- 11 Y. Brillioth, op.cit., pp.14-15, rightly counterbalances this negativity by pointing to the work of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (from 1835) and Church Pluralities Act (1838), as evidence of the constructive work of Parliament, from which the Church positively benefitted.
- 12 As J. Keble in 'National Apostasy' declared: "There was once here a glorious Church: but it was betrayed into the hands of libertines, for the real or affected love of a little temporary peace and good order." (Sermons Academic and Occasional, 1847, p.128.)

- 13 q. B.W. Martin: John Keble, Priest, Professor and Poet, 1976, p.37.
- 14 R.W. Church: Oxford Movement 1833-45, 1892³, p.241.
- 15 G.L. Prestige. Pusey, 1933, p.32.
- 16 R.W. Church, op.cit., p.127.
- 17 On Newman's view of the Church circa 1833, see ibid., p.24ff.
- 18 See Y. Brilioth, op.cit., pp.9-10, for the need to see continuity in the background to the Oxford Movement.
- 19 E.B. Pusey: Spiritual Letters, J.O. Johnston and W.C.E. Newbolt (eds.), 1898, p.239.
- 20 O. Chadwick: The Mind, p.11.
- 21 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.vi.
- 22 R.W. Church, op.cit., p.302.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 The substance of Lloyd's lectures was disseminated through William Palmer, of Worcester's Origines Liturgicae or Antiquities of the English Ritual, 2 Vols., 1832. Lloyd was Bishop of Oxford (1827-9). The majority of the early leaders of the Oxford Movement attended his lectures and in Tract XC, 1842, Newman maintained his "distinction between the Roman Council of Trent and the practical Roman system" was based on the Bishop's views. On Charles Lloyd, cf. W.J. Baker: Beyond Port and Prejudice, Charles Lloyd of Oxford, 1784-1829, Univ. of Maine, Orono, 1981.
- 25 A Knox: Remains, IV.63.
- 26 Horton Davies: even claims, from the evidence of Isaac Williams' Tract LXXXVI, that Tractarians had a higher view of the Book of Common Prayer than Evangelicals. (Worship and Theology, III, 266-7) But John Keble did at times doubt its usefulness, and spoke of its "adequacy as far as it goes", (see Keble College, MSS 105. Letters J. Keble to J.H. Newman, 1829-1833, Letter 2x.1839). On the primacy generally ascribed by Tractarians to the 1662 Prayer Book, though more so to the 1st Prayer Book of Edward VI, over the Thirty-Nine Articles particularly, see A. Härdelin: Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist, pp.50-1.
- 27 On Hurrell Froude's interest in ancient liturgy, see his Remains, I.I.366, and I.II.383ff (Tract LXIII, 1835).
- 28 Holiness was the subject of E.B. Pusey's first sermon, in 1828 Cf. H.P. Liddon: Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, 4 Vols., J.O. Johnston and R.J. Wilson (eds.), 1893-8, I.144. It is also a recurrent theme in Newman's Parochial and Plain Sermons, 8 Vols., 1868 (New ed.).
- 29 O. Chadwick: The Mind, p.27. For doubts respecting the persuasiveness of arguments establishing the Evangelical roots of the Oxford Movement, see J. Honoré: Itinéraire Spirituel de Newman, Paris, 1963, p.27.
- 30 Ibid., p.11.
- 31 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., pp.4-5.

- 32 O. Chadwick: The Mind, pp.44-5.
- 33 J.H. Newman: Apologia, p.12.
- 34 On the Butlerian basis of Tractarianism, see W.J.A.M. Beek: John Keble's Literary and Religious Contribution to the Oxford Movement, Nijmegen, 1959, p.47ff.
- 35 On the relation between the Oxford Movement and William Wordsworth and others of the English, romantic 'Lake Poets', see A. Härdelin, op.cit., pp.60-64.
- 36 Christian Year: 'Evening'.
- 37 On Tractarian ecclesiology and Christ's priesthood see below pp.56-72.
- 38 On Tractarian avowal of 'the dogmatic Principle', see A. Härdelin, op.cit. p.27ff.
- 39 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.ix.
- 40 J.H. Newman: P.P.S., II.xxii.256.
- 41 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.viii.
- 42 See esp. Keble's sermon on 'Primitive Tradition recognised in Holy Scripture' (in Sermons Academic and Occasional, viii. 173-231), according to G. Battiscombe "regarded by many as the most important of all his works". (John Keble: A Study in Limitations, 1963, p.193).
- 43 Eg. Keble's Tract LXXXIX: 'On The Mysticism Attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church in the Use and Interpretation of Scripture', 1841. Cf. though H.G. Wood's comment: "The Oxford Movement up to 1850 revived interest in Patristics: it did little or nothing for Biblical scholarship. The movement also revived interest in the Anglo-Catholic divines of the eighteenth century. Newman and his associates thus recovered for the Church of England a wealth of devotional and theological literature which the Evangelicals neglected." Belief and Unbelief since 1850, 1955, p.15.
- 44 Eg. O. Chadwick: The Mind, pp.52, 11, 31, 58.
- 45 On the impact of the lex orandi upon the Tractarian lex credendi, see O. Chadwick, The Mind, p.11.
- 46 I. Ker and T. Gornall (eds.): The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, 31 Vols., 1978, v.27. Letter of 9.ii.1835.
- 47 See Keble's attitude towards Knox, in J.T. Coleridge: Memoir of the Rev. John Keble, 1869², pp.250-1.
- 48 H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, I. 261-2.
- 49 See Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.45ff; A. Härdelin, op.cit., pp.49-50.
- 50 A. Knox: Remains, III.125.
- 51 Ibid., II.88.
- 52 Ibid., p.83

- 53 Ibid., III.100
- 54 Ibid., p.7.
- 55 Ibid., II.86
- 56 Ibid., p.93
- 57 Ibid., pp.83-4, where Knox speaks of "the attention of modern theologians" as being "much directed to this epistle", and principally dwelling upon "the expiatory virtue of Christ's sacrifice". This Knox rejects.
- 58 Ibid., p.92.
- 59 Ibid., pp.92, 109, 120.
- 60 Ibid., p.95
- 61 Ibid., p.120
- 62 Ibid., III.249-50.
- 63 Ibid., p.250.
- 64 Ibid., p.251
- 65 Ibid., p.255
- 66 q. W. Lock: John Keble : A Biography, 1893², p.50.
- 67 C. Dawson: The Spirit of the Oxford Movement, p.26.
- 68 Christian Year: 'Gunpowder Treason'.
- 69 Ibid., 'The Purification'
- 70 Ibid., 'The Priest's Intercessor'.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Keble College, MSS 105, Letters to J.H. Newman from J. Keble, 1829-63, Letter of the Autumn 1833.
- 73 Keble College, M S Tract on the Eucharist, 1834, pp.30-31.
- 74 E.F.L. Wood: 'John Keble' : Leaders of the Church 1800-1900, 1909, p.53: and see W.J.A.M. Beek, op.cit., p.xii.
- 75 On Keble's view of Episcopal authority in the Church of England see W. Beek, op.cit., p.39f.
- 76 Cf. ibid., p.128f., and Tract IV, 1833.
- 77 J. Keble: Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance, R.F. Wilson (ed.), 1870, pp.160-1.
- 78 Christian Year: 'St. Matthias' Day'.
- 79 Ibid., 'Evening'.

- 80 Cf. J. Keble: Sermons for the Christian Year, 11 Vols., 1875-79, VII. xxxiv.326: X.ii.19.
- 81 q. J.T. Coleridge: Memoir, p.301.
- 82 There are an almost infinite number of studies of Newman testifying to his influence. On his Anglican career see R.D. Middleton: Newman at Oxford, 1950; and the more critical study by E.A. Abbott: The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman, 2 Vols., 1892.
- 83 O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.171.
- 84 Cf. id., The Mind, p.42, rejects C.C.J. Webb's suggestion that Newman was not 'typical' of the movement, especially c.1839-40.
- 85 On Newman's mind see O. Chadwick: Newman, 1983, pp.1-16.
- 86 P. Murray: Newman the Oratorian, his unpublished Oratory papers..., 1969; J. Coulson: Newman and the Common Tradition: A Study in the language of Church and society, 1970.
- 87 P. Murray, op.cit., p.34f.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ibid. On Newman's sermon 'Waiting for Christ' and Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification, see below pp.66, 88f.
- 90 J.H. Newman: Apologia, pp. 7, 8, 12.
- 91 A.P. Perceval : A Collection of Papers Connected with the Theological Movement of 1833, 1843², p.13 : q. A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.14.
- 92 On Newman's evangelicalism, see D. Newsome: 'The Evangelical sources of Newman's power', in J. Coulson and A.M. Allchin (eds.), The Rediscovery of Newman: an Oxford Symposium, 1967, pp.11-30.
- 93 Newman himself tells us that part of his inherited evangelical devotion to Christ involved His "Offices" (cf. J.H. Newman: Autobiographical Writings, H. Tristram (ed.), 1956. p.79).
- 94 A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.112. Cf. Birmingham Oratory, Newman MSS. Sermons 224,225.
- 95 J.H. Newman, MS Sermon 224, pp.6, 14; q. A. Hardelin, op.cit., p.113.
- 96 Ibid., pp.14, 16.
- 97 Ibid., p.14.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 A. Hardelin, op.cit., p.112.
- 100 J.H. Newman, MS Sermon 225, 7f ; q. A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.112 n.11
- 101 Tract II, 1833, p.3.
- 102 Tract X, 1833, p.4.
- 103 J.H. Newman: 'The Christian Ministry', in P.P.S. II.xxv.300ff.

- 104 A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.113.
- 105 P.P.S. II.xxv.305.
- 106 Ibid., pp.300-1.
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 Ibid., p.303.
- 109 Ibid., p.304.
- 110 Ibid., pp.303-4.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 P.P.S. II.xxxi. 381-2.
- 113 Ibid., IV. xviii.268.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid., III.xiv.277.
- 116 J. Coulson: Newman and the Common Tradition, p.58, where the notion of the Church as symbolically representing Christ's living presence to the world is traced to S.T. Coleridge.
- 117 P.P.S. VI.x.125.
- 118 J.H. Walgrave. O.P: Newman the Theologian: the nature of Belief and Doctrine as exemplified in his life and works, 1960, p.45.
- 119 G. Rowell : The Vision Glorious : Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism, 1983, p.60.
- 120 J.H. Newman: The Via Media of the Anglican Church, illustrated in Lectures, Letters, and Tracts written between 1830 and 1841, 2 Vols., 1888 Edn., I.304.
- 121 Ibid., p.292
- 122 Tract XLII: 'Bp. Wilson's Meditations on his Sacred Office', 1834, I.5. On Bishop Wilson's Meditations, cf. also Tracts XLIV, XLVI.
- 123 Ibid., p.12.
- 124 Tract LXXIV: 'Testimony of writers in the later English Church to the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession', 1836, p.38.
- 125 P.P.S. VI.xvii.240.
- 126 Ibid., p.242.
- 127 Ibid., xx, 280.
- 128 Ibid., xxi, 309.
- 129 Id., Lectures on Justification, 1874', 197f.
- 130 Ibid., p.196.

- 131 Ibid., p.197.
- 132 Id., 'The Three Offices of Christ' (1840), in Sermons bearing on Subjects of the Day, 1843, pp.59ff.
- 133 J. Coulson: Newman and the Common Tradition p.170.
- 134 See Newman's Apologia, pp.62-99, for his wrestling over the truth and error of the Anglican Via Media position, from the "height" of his position in the Anglican Church, to his "death-bed, as regards... membership with the Anglican Church."
- 135 Id., S.S.D. v.59
- 136 Ibid., pp.60-1
- 137 Ibid., p.62.
- 138 Ibid., pp.62-3.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Ibid. p.63
- 142 Lumen Gentium II.10: q. J. Coulson, op.cit., p.232.
- 143 J. Coulson, op.cit., p.240. For Newman influence on modern Roman Catholicism, see also S. Prickett: Romanticism and Religion : The Tradition of Coleridge and Wordsworth in the Victorian Church, 1976, p.267. It is beyond the bounds of this present study to examine in detail the impact of Newman's interpretation of Christ's priesthood upon modern Roman Catholicism. If, as we have argued, that interpretation arose from a rich Anglican heritage, then detailed analysis might prove a useful ecumenical exercise.
- 144 Cf. Newman's Apologia, p.41, where Newman identifies the first association of Pusey with the movement: "He (Pusey) was not, however, I think, fully associated with the Movement till 1835 and 1836, when he published his Tract On Baptism, and started The Library of the Fathers".
- 145 Pusey House, E.B. Pusey: MS Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament, 1836. For analyses of the lectures, whose publication is long overdue, see A.M. Allchin: 'The Theological Vision of the Oxford Movement', in J. Coulson and A.M. Allchin (eds.): The Rediscovery of Newman, pp.50-75; D. Jasper : 'Pusey's 'Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament', in P. Butler (ed.), Pusey Rediscovered, 1983, pp.51-70.
- 146 In addition to Pusey's An Historical Enquiry into the probable causes of the Rationalist Character latterly predominant in the Theology of Germany, 2 Pts., 1828, 1830, Cf. H.C.G. Matthew: 'Pusey : From Scholar to Tractarian', J.T.S., NS 32 (1981), 100-124; and, on comparable awareness to German scholarship, J.L. Speller: 'Alexander Nicoll and the Study of German Biblical Criticism in early nineteenth century Oxford', J.Eccl.H., 30 (1979), 451-459. His Lectures on Types and Prophecies were almost certainly influenced by the German evangelical leader Tholuck, and the critics Herder and Eicchorn, see D. Jasper, op.cit., p.60.
- 147 q. G.L. Prestige: Pusey, p.27

- 148 J.H. Newman: Apologia, p.41: Cf J.R. Griffin: 'Dr. Pusey and the Oxford Movement', Hist. Mag., 42 (1973), 215-30.
- 149 That he shared this conviction with Newman, cf. Wilfrid Ward: Last Lectures, 1918, p.36; q. A.M. Allchin: 'The Theological Vision of the Oxford Movement', p.59.
- 150 O. Chadwick: The Mind, p.46.
- 151 H.C.G. Matthew: 'Pusey: From Scholar to Tractarian', p.101.
- 152 A.M. Allchin, 'The Theological Vision of the Oxford Movement', p.51.
- 153 *Ibid.*, p.57
- 154 *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
- 155 E.B. Pusey: MS Types and Prophecies, p.3; and cf. D.Jasper, 'Pusey's 'Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament'', p. 6ff.
- 156 *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8; and cf. p.24: "So should we survey the Old Testament, not as the dead body of the Lord, to be embalmed with honour, and laid with the dead, but as a living and true Body, which it hath pleased God to take, in order to be accessible to us, and wherein alone we can see Him "full of grace and truth"... "What then I should wish to see principally impressed on the mind of the students of prophecy, is the thorough conviction of the prophetic character of the O.T. such as he would from the N.T. infer, and that, laying aside all a priori notions of the fitness or eligibility of the one or other form of it."
- 157 *Ibid.*, pp.92-3; and cf. pp. 73, 99f, 104, 106, 108, 119, 120.
- 158 *Ibid.*, p.125.
- 159 *Ibid.*, pp.92-93.
- 160 *Ibid.*, p.99.
- 161 *Ibid.* p.92.
- 162 *Ibid.*, p.99
- 163 *Ibid.*, p.73; and cf. p.119, of Melchizedek, "...he who was eminently the type of our Lord's priesthood, and whose history, so mysteriously concise is typical in every detail."
- 164 *Ibid.*
- 165 On the Augustinian theme of the Church as Christ's priestly 'Mystical Body', see further below esp. pp. 130f, 138f, 389f.
- 166 *Ibid.*, p.108.
- 167 For its place in his eucharistic thought, see below p.109.
- 168 *Ibid.*, p.120.
- 169 *Ibid.*, p.125.
- 170 I. Williams: The Cathedral, or the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England, 1838, pp.44-5.

- 171 On Newman and Keble's awareness of the furore to be caused by the deliberate publication of Froude's Remains, which alienated residual evangelical support for Tractarianism's anti-rationalism, see P. Brandon: 'Newman, Keble and Froude's 'Remains'', E.H.R., 87 (1972), 697-716.
- 172 On the beginnings and depth of Newman's regard for Froude, see Apologia, p.16f.
- 173 See A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.114, on Froude's view of priestly power, in the Remains.
- 174 H. Froude: Remains, II.I. ('Essay on Rationalism, as shown in the interpretation of Scripture') p.68.
- 175 Ibid., pp.71, 76.
- 176 Ibid., pp.41-2; and cf. 'Remarks on State Interference in Matters Spiritual' (ibid., p.214).
- 177 Ibid., I.I.365.
- 178 Ibid., II.I.58.
- 179 Ibid., p.154.
- 180 Cf. W.G. Ward: The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice, 1844; and, O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I.207.
- 181 F. Oakeley: The Subject of Tract XC examined, in connection with the history of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the statements of certain English Divines, 1841, p.12.
- 182 Id., Ordination Sermon preached at the General Ordination by... Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford... May 29, 1836, 1836, p.15.
- 183 Id., 'Christ manifested to His faithful through His Church' A Sermon... 25th Sunday after Advent, 1839, 1839, p.7f; and cf. F.W. Faber: The Ancient Things of the Catholic Church in England, 1838², p.4.
- 184 F.W. Faber: 'The Church a Safeguard against Modern Selfishness', in Tracts on the Church and the Prayer-Book, Second Series, 1840, p.17.
- 185 H. Davies: Worship and Theology, III.263-4.
- 186 Cf. O. Chadwick: The Mind, p.48, on the general impact of the Movement: "If it altered lex credendi, it altered it first by transforming lex orandi".
- 187 H. Weinel and A.G. Widgery: Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After, 1914, pp.186-7, 222.
- 188 R.W. Church: Oxford Movement, p.191.
- 189 Cited in O.Chadwick: Oxford Movement, I.67, with the observation: "Keble intended his verses not for the congregation but for the soul at his bedside; and therefore permitted himself phrases which, for all his professed aim of sobriety, an older generation would have feared as enthusiastic".
- 190 Cited in W. Lock: John Keble, p.70, as evidence of Keble's intimate affection for the person of Christ.

- 191 J. Keble: Lectures on Poetry 1832-1841, 2 Vols., E.K. Francis (Transl.), 1912, pp.482-3.
- 192 Cf. id., Sermons Academic and Occasional, Preface, p.iif, and W.J.A.M. Beek, op.cit., p.161.
- 193 W. Lock: John Keble, p.69; and eg J. Keble: Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance, p.10.
- 194 W. Beek, op.cit., p.118.
- 195 q. G. Battiscombe, op.cit., p.xviii.
- 196 Christian Year: 'The Holy Communion'.
- 197 See further below pp. 175.ff.
- 198 Christian Year: '24th Sunday after Trinity'.
- 199 Cf. Williams: The Autobiography of Isaac Williams, G. Prevost (ed.), 1892, p.30: "The fact is that Keble made humility the one great study of his life - there was such a reality and truth about him that...One felt one's self hollow from the contrast."
- 200 Cf. J. Keble: Sermons Academic and Occasional, p.12, on Christ's exemplary sympathy and Pusey's comment on Keble's "power of ...deep sympathy" in his Sermon at Keble College, St. Mark's Day, 1876, p.127.
- 201 C.M. Yonge: Musings on the Christian Year and Lyra Innocentium, together with a few gleanings... by several friends, 1871, p.175f.
- 202 Ibid., p. 105ff.
- 203 Christian Year: '24th Sunday after Trinity'.
- 204 Ibid., 'Sunday after Ascension'.
- 205 Ibid., 'The Purification'.
- 206 O. Chadwick: Newman, p.19.
- 207 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., pp.211-2.
- 208 On the religion of Newman's early Parochial Sermons see C.S. Dessain: John Henry Newman, 1980³, pp.15-30.
- 209 R. Strange: Newman and the Gospel of Christ, p.1.
- 210 See J. Seynaeve: Cardinal Newman's Doctrine on Holy Scripture, 1953, p.305.
- 211 Ibid., pp.4-5.
- 212 J.H. Newman, P.P.S. XII.ix.130.
- 213 Ibid. V.vii.91.
- 214 J.H. Newman: The Arians of the Fourth Century, 1890⁶, ii.245-6.
- 215 Cf. R. Strange, op.cit., p.125.

- 216 q. *ibid.*, p.125.
- 217 On the 'Organon' concept in Newman's christology, see *ibid.*, p.64f.
- 218 P.P.S., VI.v.61.
- 219 *Ibid.*, p.64.
- 220 Davies: Worship and Theology in England, IV: 'From Newman to Martineau', 1961, p.295.
- 221 On the general impact of his patristic studies of his evangelicalism as here, see D. Newsome, 'The evangelical sources of Newman's power', p.30.
- 222 P.P.S., V.ix.118.
- 223 *Ibid.*, II.iii.30.
- 224 *Ibid.*, p.39.
- 225 *Ibid.*, V.ix. 118f; and see R. Strange, Newman and the Gospel of Christ, p.69f.
- 226 *Ibid.*, II.iii.30; and see R. Strange, op.cit., p.78ff.
- 227 *Ibid.*, V.xiv. 200f.
- 228 For Newman's commendation of evangelical affirmation of the unity between the Incarnation, Atonement, and Divinity of Christ, see R. Strange, op.cit., p.102.
229. H. Graef: God and Myself: The Spirituality of John Henry Newman, 1967, p.52.
- 230 R.H. Froude: Remains, II.I.70.
- 231 *Ibid.*, I.II.19.
- 232 *Ibid.*, pp.287-8.
- 233 *Ibid.*, pp.53-54.
- 234 *Ibid.*, p.66.
- 235 G. Battiscombe, op.cit. p.157.
- 236 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.250.
- 237 *Ibid.*
- 238 *Ibid.*, p.125.
- 239 From 1841-2 Pusey began translating, editing, and republishing in England classics of Roman Catholic spirituality. Among those he edited were Avrillons: The Year of Affections; Augustine's: Confessions; The Letters of John d'Avila; Louis de Grenade: Spiritual Exercises; Scupolis: The Spiritual Warfare. Cautious excision and adaptation of these works to an Anglican readership involved, where necessary, among other things, retention of a clear and decisive declaration of the primacy of devotion due to Christ as the priestly mediator of salvation and intercession. See below p.122.

- 240 D. Strauss' Das Leben Jesu was first published in 1835. According to A.G. Lough, Pusey's awareness of the work is to be linked to Tholuck's visit to Pusey in Oxford in 1835. (See A.G. Lough: Dr Pusey - Restorer of the Church, 1982, p.24).
- 241 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.125.
- 242 E.B. Pusey: MS Lectures on Types and Prophecies, p.11.
- 243 Ibid., p.96.
- 244 Ibid., p.99.
- 245 Ibid.
- 246 Ibid., p.93.
- 247 The fact that Pusey interprets the 'veil' in different ways reflects his belief in the "manifoldness" of scriptural typology. See Ibid., p.93.
- 248 Ibid., p.93.
- 249 Ibid., p. 72f, 119f.
- 250 Ibid., p.72.
- 251 Cf. p.72: "Melchizedek is distinguished by no individual character, and (in the) absence of our knowledge of what was human in him makes him the fitter emblem of what is divine."
- 252 I. Williams (ed.): Plain Sermons by contributors to the 'Tracts for the Times', 10 Vols., 1839-1847.
- 253 Ibid., III. lxxxvii. 226.
- 254 Ibid., pp.226-7.
- 255 Ibid., III.lxxxv.193.
- 256 See further below pp.103-106.
- 257 O. Chadwick: The Mind, p.35.
- 258 I. Williams: Hymns on the Catechism, 1843, xiv.18.
- 259 Id., The Cathedral, p.235.
- 260 F.W. Faber: 'The Church A Safeguard against Modern Selfishness' in Tracts on the Church and the Prayer-Book, p.14. Cf on his later Mariolatry and ascription of, for example, Christ's Blood's sinlessness in the Chalice to the Immaculate Conception, see J.Fitzpatrick: Characteristics from the writings of Father Faber, 1903, p.175.
- 261 Id., Hymns, 1862.^{No.9} See also J. Appleyard (ed.): The Poetical Works of H.F. Lyte, M.A., 1907, pp.302-3, on Ps.cx. In Faber's later devotional writing devotion to the sympathising heavenly priest gives place to devotion to the sympathising heavenly figure of Mary, see further below pp.175f, 190f.
- 262 B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.353.
- 263 A. Knox: Remains, II.83.

- 264 Ibid., p.85.
- 265 Ibid., p.88.
- 266 Ibid., III.9.
- 267 Ibid., II.92, 93ff, 97.
- 268 Ibid., p.55
- 269 Ibid., p.92.
- 270 Ibid., pp.88, 124.
- 271 On Keble's love of the Old Testament, see W. Beek, op.cit., pp.36-7.
- 272 J. Keble: Sermons Academic and Occasional, p.359f.
- 273 Ibid., p.52; and on the pragmatism of the movement and influence of Butler's moralism, see W. Beek, op.cit., p.55ff.
- 274 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, IV.vii.64.
- 275 On Keble's understanding of 'Grace', see W. Beek, op.cit., p.65ff.
- 276 Ibid., p.13.
- 277 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, II.xxxiii. 333, 334.
- 278 Id., Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance, p.21.
- 279 Ibid., p.124.
- 280 Cf. W. Beek, op.cit., pp.101-2.
- 281 J. Keble: Studia Sacra: Commentaries on the Introductory verses of St. John's Gospel...with other theological papers, 1877, pp.61-2.
- 282 Id., Sermons Academic and Occasional, iii.52.
- 283 Ibid., p.lxvii; and cf. W. Beek, op.cit., pp.14-15.
- 284 W. Beek, op.cit., pp.77-8.
- 285 Christian Year: 'The Priest's Intercessor'.
- 286 See further on the heavenly priesthood of Christ in Keble's religion, below pp.143ff.
- 287 Christian Year: 'Tuesday before Easter'.
- 288 Ibid., 'Ascension Day'.
- 289 Ibid., 'Good Friday'.
- 290 Ibid., 'St. Stephen's Day'.
- 291 Ibid., 'Tuesday in Whitsun-Week'.
- 292 Ibid., 'Sunday next before Advent'.

- 293 Ibid., 'Holy Communion'.
- 294 Id., 'Sermons for the Holy Week', in Sermons for the Christian Year, V.xiv.157.
- 295 Ibid., V.xi.121.
- 296 Ibid., xiv. 158,9.
- 297 Ibid., xxiv.249; xxvii.282.
- 298 Eg. Ibid., xiii.146.
- 299 Ibid.
- 300 Ibid., p.147.
- 301 Ibid., xiv.159.
- 302 Ibid., p.160.
- 303 Ibid.
- 304 Ibid.
- 305 Ibid., xv.172.
- 306 Cf. Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.282, on Newman's Lectures on Justification, which, he states: "...form perhaps the chief theological document of the Oxford Movement. The most important attempt to find the theological expression of its piety."
- 307 See above p.68 n. 149: and cf. J.H. Newman: P.P.S. II.xii.263, 4.
- 308 See R. Strange: Newman and the Gospel of Christ, p.116ff.
- 309 Cf. ibid., p.105f, 108.
- 310 P.P.S., VI.vii.89.
- 311 q. R. Strange, op.cit., p.102.
- 312 P.P.S., VI.vii.90.
- 313 R. Strange, op.cit., p.110.
- 314 P.P.S., VI.vi.70.
- 315 Ibid., V.iii.38.
- 316 On Newman's response to Evangelical soteriology and to Erskine of Linlathen (1788-1870), whose Brazen Serpent (1831) influenced F.D. Maurice, cf. R. Strange, op.cit., p. 96ff.
- 317 P.P.S., VII.xii.165.
- 318 Ibid., VIII.ix.126.
- 319 Ibid., VII.ix.128.
- 320 Ibid., VI.v.64

- 321 Ibid., p.63.
- 322 Ibid., p.64
- 323 Ibid., VI.vi.79.
- 324 J.H. Newman: Justification, p.175.
- 325 Ibid., p.169.
- 326 Ibid., and cf. R. Strange, op.cit., p.139ff.
- 327 See R. Strange, op.cit., p.141.
- 328 Id., Justification, p.197.
- 329 Ibid.
- 330 Ibid., p.169.
- 331 P.P.S., VI. vi. 70.
- 332 Id., Justification, pp.177-8.
- 333 Ibid., p.205.
- 334 Ibid., and p.219.
- 335 Ibid., p.219.
- 336 R.H. Froude: Remains, I. II. 283, 280.
- 337 Ibid., II.I. 70.
- 338 Ibid., pp.151-2.
- 339 Ibid., p.152.
- 340 Ibid.
- 341 Birmingham Oratory, Newman MSS. Box 65 Newman to Keble, 27. viii. 1837; q. P. Brendon: 'Newman, Keble, and Froude's Remains', p.702.
- 342 Pusey House, MS, Letter Keble to Newman, 31.viii. 1837; q. P. Brendon, loc.cit.
- 343 See P. Brendon, op.cit., p.697.
- 344 H. Davies: Worship and Theology, III.249.
- 345 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.242f.
- 346 Ibid., p.248.
- 347 Ibid., pp.252-3; and see D. Voll: Catholic Evangelicalism : The acceptance of Evangelical Traditions by the Oxford Movement during the second half of the nineteenth century, 1963.

- 348 Tract LXVII 'Scriptural views of Holy Baptism, as established by the consent of the Ancient Church and contrasted with the system of modern schools', 1835, p.6.
- 349 (E.B. Pusey): Dr. Hampden's Past and Present Statements Compared, 1836, pp.8, 9.
- 350 Id., A Letter to... Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford : On the Tendency to Romanism imputed to doctrines held of old, as now, in the English Church, 1839, p.69.
- 351 Ibid., p.68.
- 352 Id., MS Lectures on Types and Prophecies, pp.91-101.
- 353 Ibid., pp.24, 92, 94.
- 354 Ibid., p.92.
- 355 Cf. loc.cit., "The Sacrifices were purposely incomplete, lest they should be mistaken for the substance."
- 356 Ibid., p.24.
- 357 Ibid.
- 358 Ibid., p.94.
- 359 Ibid., pp.8, 9, 93.
- 360 Pusey adopts a very positive attitude towards Hebrews in these Lectures, recognising that scriptural texts embracing "typical prophecies" have "most suffered by modern treatment" (ibid., p.7), but claiming that if S. Matthew's Gospel and "St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and the Hebrews" have "lost their force of proof to us, this is precisely a sign that we have lost the key, whereby to unlock their meaning, and the faculty to understand them." (ibid). Hence Pusey's Lectures set out to reinterpret and justify "typical prophecies".
- 361 Ibid., p.99.
- 362 Ibid.
- 363 Ibid.
- 364 Ibid.
- 365 Ibid., pp.98-99.
- 366 Ibid., p.97.
- 367 Ibid., p.96
- 368 Ibid., p.97.
- 369 Ibid., p.101.
- 370 Ibid., p.99.
- 371 H. Davies: Worship and Theology, III.280.

- 372 A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.32.
- 373 Ibid., p.12: cf. contra Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.164.
- 374 J. Keble: 'Review of the Life of Sir Walter Scott' in Occasional Papers and Reviews, 1877,p.16.
- 375 Ibid., p.17f: and cf. W. Beek, op.cit., pp.77-8.
- 376 Cf. W. Beek, op.cit., p.11.
- 377 Tract LXXXIX, p.136.
- 378 q. W. Beek, op.cit., p.9.
- 379 See G. Battiscombe: John Keble, p.50.
- 380 q. W. Beek, op.cit., p.124.
- 381 On Keble's rejection of 'Justification by faith only', see ibid., p.65: and cf. on Baptism, J. Keble: Sermons for the Christian Year, IV.vii.64.
- 382 See W. Beek, op.cit., p.137f on Keble's developing Eucharistic Thought, and A. Härdelin, passim.
- 383 W. Beek, op.cit., p.115, and see J. Keble: Studia Sacra, p.20.
- 384 J. Keble: Sermons for the Christian Year, IX. liv. 530; and cf. W. Beek, op.cit., p.118: "The symbolic view of nature, centring round the constant recollection of Christ's presence in the world, may justly be called Keble's seminal principle and the source of all his contributions to the Oxford Movement."
- 385 W. Beek, op.cit., p.114: and see further below pp.147-9.
- 386 Christian Year: 'The Priest's Intercessor'.
- 387 Ibid., 'Sunday after Ascension'.
- 388 Ibid., 'Tuesday in Whitsun-Week'.
- 389 Ibid., 'Third Sunday after Epiphany'.
- 390 Id., Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance, p.115.
- 391 C. Yonge: Musings on the Christian Year and Lyra Innocentium, p.105f.
- 392 J. Keble: Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance, p.163.
- 393 Id., : Lyra Innocentium : Thoughts in Verse on Christian Children, their ways and their privileges, 1846. On Keble's Anglican Mariology, cf. in A.M. Allchin: The Joy of all Creation. An Anglican Meditation on the place of Mary, 1984.
- 394 In addition to Allchin see: J.A. Shuel: 'The Blessed Virgin in Classical Anglicanism', Can. J. Th., 4 (1958), 187-194; R.H. Fuller: 'The Role of Mary in Anglicanism', Worship, 51 (1977), 214-224.
- 395 Christian Year: 'Holy Communion'.
- 396 Ibid., 'Sunday next before Advent'.

- 397 Ibid², 'Gunpowder Treason'.
- 398 On the history of these lines, see W. Beek, op.cit., p.145f; A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.129f.
- 399 For a Tractarian view of the phrase 'Not in the hands', see E.B. Pusey and H.P. Liddon: Correspondence concerning Keble's 'Christian Year' and the line 'not in the hands', 1878.
- 400 J. Keble: 'Eucharistical Offices', in Sermons Academic and Occasional, x.251-272. Cf. A. Härdelin, op.cit., 209 n.53., dates this from the period 1838-1841.
- 401 Ibid., p.251.
- 402 Ibid., pp.257-9, 260, 266f. The substance of Christ's High Priestly prayer is observed to be: i) for the disciples not to be taken from the world; ii) for all who would come to believe; iii) for all believers to be one. (p.267).
- 403 R.H. Froude: Remains, I.I.404.
- 404 Ibid., I.II. 383f., II.I.61.
- 405 Ibid., I.II.54.
- 406 Ibid., p.55.
- 407 Ibid., p.54.
- 408 Ibid., pp.287-8.
- 409 Ibid., I.I.394-5, et passim.
- 410 See above p.71.
- 411 Nb. I.I. 254, letter from Naples 17.ii.1833: "I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping saints and honouring the Virgin and images etc., these things may perhaps be idolatrous, - I cannot make up my mind about it, - but to my mind it is the carnival which is real and practical idolatry."
- 412 Cf. ibid., II.I.395f, 407f.
- 413 I. Williams (ed.): Plain Sermons, I.xxviii.253.
- 414 Ibid., II.lxi.204.
- 415 R.H. Froude: Remains, II.I.152.
- 416 Ibid., I.I.366; I.II.409.
- 417 Ibid., I.I.372.
- 418 Ibid., II.I.62.
- 419 Ibid.
- 420 Ibid., pp.10-11.
- 421 I. Williams: Hymns on the Catechism, xxiv, 27.

- 422 Id., The Altar: or, Meditations in Verse on the Great Christian Sacrifice, 1847, ('The Garden'), p.7.
- 423 Id., The Baptistery, 1848 (New Edn.), p.33.
- 424 Id., A Series of Sermons on the Epistle and Gospel for each Sunday in the Year: and on some of the Chief Festivals, 2 Vols., 1853, II.xxx.8.
- 425 Id., The Psalms Interpreted of Christ, 2 Vols., 1864, I.40.
- 426 Id., Hymns on the Catechism, xxiii. 117.
- 427 J.H. Newman: P.P.S., VI. xvii. 234ff: and see above p.66f.
- 428 Ibid., v.63.
- 429 Ibid., pp.63-4.
- 430 Ibid., pp.62-3.
- 431 Ibid., II.iii.39; and cf. *ibid.*, xviii. 210ff.
- 432 Ibid., xviii.207.
- 433 Ibid., VI. xvi. 273.
- 434 Ibid., VII. ix. 128.
- 435 Ibid., III. xxiv. 363.
- 436 Ibid., II. xviii. 211, 212: and on a wrong prying into sacred things, see P.P.S. VI. xi. 150 and A. Härdelin, *op.cit.*, p.155f.
- 437 P.P.S., II. xviii.211-2.
- 438 Tract XC, p.50. On the history of and response to Tract XC, see O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I.183ff.
- 439 Ibid., pp.50-51.
- 440 See Y. Brilioth, *op.cit.*, p.154.
- 441 O. Chadwick: The Mind, pp.57-8.
- 442 The Letter of the Four Tutors (T.T. Churton, H.B. Wilson, J. Griffiths, and A.C. Tait) in response to Tract XC described "a highly dangerous tendency from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Church of England", and particularly cited "Purgatory, Pardons, worshipping and Adoration of Images and relics, Invocation of Saints and Masses."
- 443 G.Fausset: The Thirty-Nine Articles considered as the standard and text of the Church of England, chiefly with reference to the views of No. XC of the Tracts for the Times, a Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford, June 3, 1841, 1841.
- 444 Tract XXXVIII, 'Via Media I', 1834, p.11.
- 445 Tract LXVII, p.6.
- 446 Cf. A.G. Lough: Pusey, Restorer of the Church, p.49.

- 447 E.B. Pusey: Letter to...Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford, pp.198-9.
- 448 Id., The Articles Treated on in Tract XC reconsidered and their interpretation vindicated in a letter to Dr. R.W. Jelf, D.D., 1841, p.118.
- 449 Ibid., p.122. On Pusey's devotion to Christ as the 'One intercessor' (ibid., p.120) see further below p.116ff.
- 450 J.H. Newman: A Letter to...Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford. On occasion of No.90, in the series called 'The Tracts for the Times', 1841, pp.32-3.
- 451 Ibid., p.33.
- 452 Id., Apologia, p.99.
- 453 Cf. id., A Letter to...Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford, p.33; and, cf. W.G. Ward: The Ideal of a Christian Church, p.81.
- 454 On the development of Newman's Marian devotion to 1845, see his Apologia, pp.17, 35, 82, 99, 111, 112, 129, 130ff. Cf. also R. Strange: 'The Development of Newman's Marian Thought and Devotion', One in Christ, (1980), 114-126; J. Regina (ed.): The Mystical Rose: Thoughts on the Blessed Virgin from the writings of Cardinal J.H. Newman, 1960.
- 455 Ibid., p.130.
- 456 q. J. Regina: The Mystical Rose, p.67.
- 457 P.P.S., VI. xvii. 241.
- 458 Ibid., III. xxx 291.
- 459 Ibid., xix. 277.
- 460 A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.137f.
- 461 Ibid., p.159.
- 462 Ibid.
- 463 J.H. Newman: Letter to Faussett, p.58; q. A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.159.
- 464 Id., Apologia, p.49.
- 465 See above p.62f, on Newman's MSS Sermons 224, 225.
- 466 MS Sermon 224. 5, 22, 24; q. A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.200.
- 467 A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.201.
- 468 J.H. Newman: Justification, p.197.
- 469 Ibid., p.199.
- 470 Ibid., p.205.
- 471 Ibid., p.197; and cf. Härdelin, p.210, on Article XXXI in Tract XC.
- 472 In I. Williams (ed.): Plain Sermons, V cxl. 110.
- 473 E.B. Pusey: MS Lectures on Types and Prophecies, pp.102-125.

- 474 Ibid., pp.102-3.
- 475 Ibid., p.103.
- 476 Ibid.
- 477 Ibid., p.104.
- 478 Ibid., p.105.
- 479 Ibid., p.106.
- 480 Ibid., p.108.
- 481 Ibid.
- 482 Ibid., p.119.
- 483 Ibid.
- 484 Ibid., p.120.
- 485 Tract LXXXI Catena Patrum IV: 'Testimony of writers in the later English Church to the Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice...', 1837, pp. 1, 2. Cf. A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.206.
- 486 Ibid., p.5.
- 487 Ibid., p.53. But cf. A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.205 for Pusey's hesitation regarding talk of the eucharist as "a feast upon a sacrifice".
- 488 Ibid., p.6.
- 489 Id., 'The Holy Eucharist, a Comfort to the Penitent', in Nine University Sermons: 1843-1855, 1879 (New ed.), p.14ff. On Pusey's Caroline eucharistic roots, see R.W. Church: Oxford Movement, p.328.
- 490 H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, II.308.
- 491 E.B. Pusey, 'The Holy Eucharist, a Comfort to the Penitent', p.27f.
- 492 Ibid., p.14.
- 493 Ibid., p.21.
- 494 Pusey House, MS Copy of Letter to Manning (undated, autumn of 1843?); cited in A. Härdelin, op.cit., pp.213-4, n.76.

CHAPTER II

R.I. Wilberforce and 'The High Priestly Mediator' in later Tractarianism

- 1 Cf. W.J. Sparrow-Simpson: 'The Revival from 1845 to 1933' in N.P. Williams and C. Harris (eds.), Northern Catholicism : Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements, 1933, p.36.
- 2 q. ibid.
- 3 A. Mozley (ed.): The Letters of the Rev. J.B. Mozley, 1885, p.147.

- 4 q. G. Battiscombe: John Keble : A Study in Limitations, p.275.
- 5 q. *ibid.*, p.303.
- 6 E.B. Pusey: 'Open letter to a friend', in English Churchman, 16.x.1845; q. A.G. Lough: Pusey - Restorer of the Church, p.75.
- 7 A.G. Lough: Pusey - Restorer of the Church, p.74.
- 8 R.W. Church: Oxford Movement, p.351.
- 9 E.B. Pusey (ed.): A Course of Sermons on solemn subjects...preached at St. Saviour's Church, Leeds, during the week after its Consecration..., 1845, Preface, p.ii.
- 10 H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, II.498.
- 11 q. J.H. Overton: Art. 'Charles Marriott', D.N.B. XII, 1081f. One of those "younger men" who acknowledged his gratitude to Marriott's spiritual influence was Edward King the saintly but persecuted Bishop of Lincoln, see below Chapter V, passim.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p.1082.
- 13 q. *ibid.*, p.1083.
- 14 C. Marriott: Sermons preached before the University and in other places, 1843, xxvi. 446.
- 15 *Ibid.*, xxvii. 455.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p.454.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp.452-3.
- 19 *Ibid.*, xxvi. 430.
- 20 *Ibid.*, xx. 308.
- 21 *Ibid.*, xviii. 271.
- 22 *Ibid.*, iii. 40.
- 23 *Ibid.*, xxvi. 232.
- 24 *Id.*, 'On the Principles of Faith and Church Authority'. Five Sermons, 1850, iii.33.
- 25 *Ibid.*, i.6.
- 26 *Ibid.*, iv. 49-50.
- 27 *Ibid.*, iii.40.
- 28 *Ibid.*, i.4.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p.6.
- 30 *Ibid.*, iv.59.

- 31 Ibid., p.52.
- 32 Id., The True Cause of Insult and Dishonour to the Church of Christ'. A Sermon... at St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, Jan. 5. 1851, 1851, p.8.
- 33 Id., Lectures on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, J. Marriott (ed.), 1859, p.327, on Rom.xii:1,2.
- 34 D. Bowen: The Idea of the Victorian Church : A Study of the Church of England 1833-1889, Montreal, 1968, p.110.
- 35 E.B. Pusey: Eleven Addresses during a Retreat of the Companions of the Love of Jesus, 1868, vi, 57-72.
- 36 Ibid., pp.60-61, n.24; and see *ibid.*, pp.58, 60ff; ix.98.
- 37 Ibid., p.58.
- 38 See Id., A Course of Sermons...at St. Saviour's Leeds, xv.276f; xvi, 280, xvii.289.
- 39 Id., Parochial Sermons, 3 Vols. 1883-4, II.ii.24.
- 40 Id., Eleven Addresses during a Retreat, vi.57; and *ibid.*, p.64.
- 41 Id., Parochial Sermons, II.i.3.
- 42 Ibid., xxi.374-5.
- 43 Ibid., v.93. et passim.
- 44 Ibid., xiii. 235.
- 45 See eg. *ibid.*, xiv.245; viii.130.
- 46 See Id., (ed.): Abbé Gaume's 'Manual for Confessors', Abridged, Condensed, and Adapted to the use of the English Church, 1878, pp.clxviii-ix.
- 47 Id., Parochial Sermons, 1884, ii,29.
- 48 Id., Sermons for the Church's seasons: Advent to Trinity, 1883, p.59; and, see also eg. *id.*, Ten Sermons preached before the University of Oxford: 1864-1879, 1880, i.9.
- 49 Ibid., pp. 60-1.
- 50 Id., Parochial Sermons, ii.33.
- 51 See further below p.124f.
- 52 Id., Nine University Sermons: 1843-55, 1879 (new ed.), ('The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent'), i.21. Though, see his Sermons preached before the University of Oxford: 1859-1872, 1872, iv. 94f, where Christ's High Priest's office is initially identified with his present ministry of intercession.
- 53 Eg. *id.*, Sermons for the Church's Seasons : Advent to Trinity, xviii. 242; Eleven Addresses during a Retreat, vi.60.
- 54 Id., Parochial and Cathedral Sermons, 1883, I.xix. 283; Parochial Sermons, II.x.179f; xiii.231.

- 55 Id., Parochial Sermons, II.xiii.231,2.
- 56 Id., 'The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist', A Sermon preached before the University...Second Sunday after Epiphany, 1853, 1853, p.29.
- 57 Ibid., p.30.
- 58 Ibid., pp.30-31.
- 59 See above pp. 41, 46f.
- 60 Id., University Sermons: 1859-1872, iv.79.
- 61 Cf. id., 'Real Faith and Entire', A Sermon...24th Sunday after Trinity, 1855, Note 'A', in University Sermons : 1843-1855, pp.89-93.
- 62 Id., University Sermons : 1859-1872, iv.93.
- 63 Ibid., p.96.
- 64 Ibid., pp.96, 98.
- 65 Id., A Course of Sermons...at St. Saviour's, Leeds, xi.189,190.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Cf. eg. id., Parochial Sermons, II.v.86, 87.
- 68 Id., Eleven Addresses during a Retreat, vi. 57.
- 69 George Anthony Denison (1805-1896) was Archdeacon of Taunton (1851-1896) and a rugged upholder of the Catholic traditions of the Church of England articulated by the Tractarians, so that in examining the candidates for ordination at Christmas 1852 he required them to confess that the inward reality of the sacrament was received both by the faithful and the wicked. The issue, through Denison's subsequently inflammatory sermons and the offended sensibilities of the evangelical hierarchy, turned into a major eucharistic battle, which petered out finally in 1858 before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the initial offences being by then no longer liable to prosecution through the protracted time-span of the case. On the details of the case see O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.491-495.
- 70 Id., The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, the doctrine of the English Church, with a vindication of the reception by the wicked and of the adoration of our Lord Jesus Christ truly present, 1857, p.172.
- 71 Id., Eleven Addresses during a Retreat, vi.60-61. n.24.
- 72 Id., University Sermons : 1859-1872, p.98.
- 73 q. H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, II.505-6.
- 74 Id., University Sermons: 1843-1855, vi.59.
- 75 Id., An Eirenicon: The Church of England a portion of Christ's One Holy Catholic Church, and a means of restoring visible unity. A Letter to the Author of 'The Christian Year', 1865, p.108.
- 76 Ibid., p.119.

- 77 Id., University Sermons: 1843-1855, vi.59: and see his Parochial Sermons, II, xiii.231 and n.'u', where he attacks this idea in Liguori's popular manual Glories of Mary. For Pusey's juxtaposition of Christ's intercession and God's judgement, see id., 'Everlasting Punishment'. A Sermon preached before the University...21st Sunday after Trinity, 1864, 1864, p.28; and 'The Day of Judgement', A Sermon...in St. Peter's Brighton, 1839, p.27.
- 78 See above p.106. Confirmation that Christ's priesthood was implicated in R.C. devotion to Mary as the 'cruce' appears to emerge here in Pusey's First Eirenicon, for, when thus defending Christ's unique priestly mediation he also speaks of "that vast system as to the Blessed Virgin, which to all of us has been the special 'cruce' of the Roman system" (ibid., p.101). Replying, Newman rejects the idea that "as He (Christ) is Priest in like manner is she (Mary) Priestess", but evidently sees a difference between the sober English devotion to Mary Newman always espoused, and Pusey's supposedly unkind response to her. A Letter to E.B. Pusey on his recent Eirenicon, 1866, pp.119, 121.
- 79 Id., First Eirenicon, p.111.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Id., First Letter to the Very Rev. J.H. Newman, D.D. : In explanation chiefly in regard to the reverential love due to the ever-blessed theotokos: and the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception, 1869, p.411.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Pusey's First Letter was an eirenical appeal to Roman Catholics, "who hold together the same body of faith" (ibid., p.422), and indirectly to evangelicals; for his love for that party remained strong. Cf. Letters of the Rev. Dr. Pusey to the Earl of Shaftesbury and Sir John Romilly...reprinted from the 'Morning Chronicle', 1825, p.5: "We have wished, not so much to oppose Evangelicalism as to supply its defects. All its positive teaching almost is ours...I believe that, in proportion as we love one another, we shall understand one another."
- 84 Cf. eg. id., Parochial Sermons, II.xiii.235; xxi.374-5.
- 85 Cf. H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, II.53, 57, and D. Bowen, op.cit., p.61ff on the contrast between Newman and Pusey's views on episcopacy, and (ibid., p.112ff) on the Episcopate v the Ritualists, in which debacle Pusey was implicated.
- 86 On the revival of Convocation, see O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.309ff, and Pusey's Tract, 'The Royal Supremacy not an arbitrary Authority but limited by the laws of the Church of which Kings are members', 1850.
- 87 See D. Bowen, op.cit., p.109: "At mid-century Pusey and Keble had both come to the conclusion that the Bishops were not of the esse of the Church in the sense that Churchmen could lean upon them."
- 88 E.B. Pusey: 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', A Sermon mostly preached before the University...4th Sunday after Epiphany' 1846, 1846, p.5.
- 89 Id., Parochial Sermons, II.xiv.245.
- 90 Id., 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', p.5.

- 91 Cf. id., 'Will ye also go away?' A Sermon preached before the University...4th Sunday after Epiphany 1867, 1867, p.iv.
- 92 Cf. ibid., p.vi: "'Sacerdotalism' suggests the idea of human weakness and arbitrariness. People are taught to think that men put the sacraments in the place of Christ. They appeal to men's love for our Divine Redeemer, and forget that the self-same argument may be turned against the mediation of our Lord Himself, as coming between the soul and God."
- 93 Id., 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', pp.xvi-xvii.
- 94 See below where pp.276-281, Pusey's thought is further integrated in discussion of Ritualist practice.
- 95 Id., 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', pp.1-2.
- 96 Ibid., p.5.
- 97 Ibid., p.39.
- 98 Id., A Letter to the Rt. Hon and Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of London, in explanation of some statements contained in a letter by the Rev. W. Dodsworth, 1851⁴. The case of the evangelical cleric George Cornelius Gorham, who claimed to hold the Church of England's view of Baptism against Tractarian teaching on 'Baptismal Regeneration' crossed swords with Bp. Phillpotts of Exeter and was refused a licence when presented to the living of Bampford Speke, nr. Exeter. The history of the examinations, accusations, and hearings is chronicled in O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.250ff. The issue destroyed the fragile Tractarian cohesion after Newman's secession when Gorham's position was pronounced, in 1850, "not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England as by law established" (cf. G.C. Broderick and W.H. Fremantle (eds.): Ecclesiastical Judgements of the Privy Council... 1865, p.91). But on the method of litigation as contributing to Tractarian disquiet, see O. Chadwick, loc.cit., and C. Nias: Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter, 1951.
- 99 See W. Dodsworth: A Letter to the Rev. E.B. Pusey on the position which he has taken in the present crisis, 1850, p.6, where he declares Pusey's statement that "original sin is remitted to all infants in and by baptism", "insufficient". See also W. Dodsworth: The Gorham Case briefly considered: in reference to the judgement which has been given, and to the jurisdiction of the Court, 1850; and A few Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London, 1851⁵. Dodsworth, Maskell, Allies, Hope Scott, Manning and R.I. Wilberforce all seceded to Rome more or less directly as a result of the Gorham Case.
- 100 E.B. Pusey: Letter to the Bishop of London, p.22.
- 101 Ibid., p.28: q. from J. Taylor: The Worthy Communicant, l.iv.
- 102 Ibid., pp.30-31.
- 103 Id., The Real Presence, pp.15-16.
- 104 Id., First Eirenicon, p.28.
- 105 Ibid., p.27.
- 106 Id., Unlaw in Judgements of the Judicial Committee and Its Remedies : A Letter to H.P. Liddon, 1881, p.43.

- 107 Ibid., p.50.
- 108 Ibid. This is an interesting observation. It is most likely that Phillpotts was not the originator of this awareness to Ambrose, having corresponded with Keble and R.I. Wilberforce, at other times, on the content of his Pastoral Charges.
- 109 Ibid., pp.49-50.
- 110 Ibid., p.69.
- 111 In 1861, for example, Pusey declared: "My name is made a byword for that with which I never had any sympathy, that which the writers of the Tracts, with whom in early days I was associated, always deprecated - any innovations in the way of conducting the service, anything of Ritualism, or especially any revival of disused vestments" (H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, iv.211). That both ceremonially, and certainly as a result of persecution, Pusey had become more sympathetic towards Ritualism by the end of his life is evident in his writing of Unlaw. See further on Pusey's relation to Ritualism, below p.248.
- 112 Id., 'The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist', pp.21-22.
- 113 See id., The Real Presence, pp.114f, 172; and, 'The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist', p.iii.
- 114 Id., Eleven Addresses during a Retreat, p.7.
- 115 On other associations of this prayer with Christ's priesthood, cf. pp.150, 291, 397f.
- 116 Id., First Eirenicon, p.28.
- 117 Id., Letter to the Bishop of London, p.25.
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Id., Eleven Addresses during a Retreat, vi.57.
- 120 Ibid., p.71.
- 121 E.L. Mascall: 'The Eucharistic Doctrine of R.I. Wilberforce', in Theol., 49 (1946), 177f.
- 122 D. Newsome: The Parting of Friends, 1966, p.373
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 R.I. Wilberforce: The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its relation to mankind and to the Church, 1852⁴, pp.6,144ff.
- 125 Ibid., p.4.
- 126 Cf. eg. D. Newsome: The Parting of Friends, p.374.
- 127 E.R. Fairweather (ed.): The Oxford Movement, New York, 1964, p.285.
- 128 R.I. Wilberforce: Incarnation, p.314.
- 129 Ibid., p.188.

- 130 Ibid., cf: "For since He is a Mediator by nature, He is by nature fitted to be a Priest"; and pp.173ff, 314.
- 131 Ibid., pp.81, 202, et passim.
- 132 Cf. ibid., pp.25, 70f, 81f, 178, 182, 289.
- 133 Ibid., p.46.
- 134 Ibid., pp.46, 72, et passim.
- 135 Ibid., pp.12, 24f., et passim; and cf. id., Sermons on the New Birth, 1850, xvi. 160, xxi. 257; 'The Sacramental System', A Sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, Mar. 10, 1850, 1850, p.4.
- 136 Id., Sermons on the New Birth, xvi.160; Doctrine of the Incarnation, pp.24-5, 46f; The Doctrine of Holy Baptism: with remarks on the Rev. W. Goode's 'Effects of Infant Baptism', 1849, p.36.
- 137 Id., Incarnation, p.13.
- 138 Ibid., pp.10f. 161.
- 139 Ibid., pp.292f, 12, 25.
- 140 Ibid., p.291.
- 141 Ibid., p.173.
- 142 Id., Baptism, p.10f; Incarnation, pp.334, 222, 214; 'The sacramental System', pp.5-6, 14; The Evangelical and Tractarian Movements: A Charge to the Clergy of the East Riding...1851, 1851, p.13; and see A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.85.
- 143 Id., Incarnation, pp.173f, 314.
- 144 Id., The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 1853², pp.53-4, 305.
- 145 Id., Sermons on the New Birth, xxi. 253. See further on the Augustinian theme of man as the High Priest of Nature, below pp.360, 362f.
- 146 Ibid., pp.255, 257, 260, 262.
- 147 Id., Incarnation, p.437.
- 148 Ibid., p.176f.
- 149 Ibid., p.177.
- 150 Ibid., p.202; and cf. pp.184, 197.
- 151 Ibid., pp.208f, 312.
- 152 Ibid., p.175.
- 153 Ibid., pp. 181-3.
- 154 Id., Sermons on the Holy Communion, 1854, p.183
- 155 Id., Incarnation, pp.184, 186.

- 156 Ibid., pp.261ff; and cf. Sermons on the Holy Communion, p.184; Sermons on the New Birth, xxi.263-4; Eucharist, p.301.
- 157 Ibid., p.213, 199ff; Sermons on the New Birth, xviii.220-1.
- 158 Id., Sermons on the New Birth, xviii. 220-1, xvi. 194; Eucharist, p.315.
- 159 Id., Incarnation, p.206.
- 160 Ibid., p.242.
- 161 Ibid., and cf. ibid., pp.201, 202; Sermons on the Holy Communion, p.189.
- 162 Id., Incarnation, p.201.
- 163 Id., Sermons on the Holy Communion, pp.186, 190.
- 164 Id., Incarnation, p.212.
- 165 Ibid., pp.254ff, et passim.
- 166 Ibid., p.244.
- 167 Ibid., p.255: cf. "By the mystical body of Christ, is meant the whole family of those who by the Holy Ghost are visited in Church ordinances to His man's nature".
- 168 See on this connection E.L. Mascall: Corpus Christi, p.95 n: "Vonier was to a remarkable extent anticipated in the middle of the nineteenth century by R.I. Wilberforce".
- 169 Ibid., p.255.
- 170 Ibid., pp.267-8.
- 171 On this see A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.85; and id., Incarnation, p.310.
- 172 Ibid., p.329.
- 173 Ibid., p.330.
- 174 See eg. id., Eucharist, p.52, where the Chrysostomian liturgical principle is adduced that "the real minister in the consecration of the Holy Eucharist is Christ Himself".
- 175 Id., Incarnation, p.293.
- 176 Ibid., p.304.
- 177 Ibid., p.309.
- 178 Id., Eucharist, p.302.
- 179 Id., Sermons on the New Birth, xxi. 221.
- 180 Id., Incarnation, p.316.
- 181 Ibid., p.442.
- 182 Ibid., pp.214f, 319f, 326.

- 183 Id., Sermons on the New Birth, p.263.
- 184 Id., Incarnation, p.296.
- 185 Ibid., p.214.
- 186 Ibid., pp.214-5.
- 187 Ibid., p.222.
- 188 Sermons on the New Birth, xxi.257.
- 189 Ibid., p.263.
- 190 On Wilberforce's understanding of Christ's mediation as the basis of the Church's worship, see esp. id., Incarnation, pp.288ff, 336f, and A. Härdelin op.cit., p.284ff.
- 191 q. A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.284.
- 192 Id., Incarnation, p.304.
- 193 Ibid., p.299.
- 194 Ibid.
- 195 Ibid., pp.308-9.
- 196 Ibid., p.297f.
- 197 Ibid., p.331; and see D. Newsome: The Parting of Friends, p.378.
- 198 Ibid., p.332.
- 199 Ibid., p.336.
- 200 D. Newsome, op.cit., p.375.
- 201 R.I. Wilberforce: Baptism, p.128; and cf. ibid., p.36: "The regeneration of collective manhood was wrought in the instant of our Lord's Incarnation."
- 202 See D. Newsome, op.cit., p.372.
- 203 R.I. Wilberforce: 'The Practical Effect of the Gorham Case', a Charge to the Clergy of the East Riding delivered at the ordinary visitation, A.D. 1850', 1850, p.32.
- 204 Ibid.
- 205 See Letter from Manning to Wilberforce, 21.iv.1849, q. E.S. Purcell: Life of Cardinal Manning, 2 Vols., 1896², II.31.
- 206 See A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.163.
- 207 R.I. Wilberforce: Eucharist, p.219.
- 208 Ibid.
- 209 Ibid., p.300.
- 210 See A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.165f.

- 211 R.I. Wilberforce: Eucharist, p.301, et passim.
- 212 *Ibid.*, p.303.
- 213 *Ibid.*, p.86.
- 214 *Ibid.*, pp.313-4; and on Wilberforce's understanding of the 'Eucharistic Sacrifice', see A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.216f.
- 215 *Ibid.*, p.313.
- 216 *Ibid.*, pp.300-1.
- 217 See A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.217.
- 218 R.I. Wilberforce: Eucharist, p.336.
- 219 *Ibid.*, p.340.
- 220 *Ibid.*, p.338.
- 221 See E.S. Purcell: Life of Manning, I.259.
- 222 On Manning's Anglican career, see, in addition to Purcell, A. Chapeau, 'Manning the Anglican', in J. Fitzsimons (ed.): Manning: Anglican and Catholic, 1951, pp.1-39.
- 223 Tract LXXVIII : Catena Patrum III, 'Testimony of writers in the Later English Church to the Duty of Maintaining 'Quod semper, Quod Ubique, Quod ab Omnibus traditum est', 1837. Cf. A. Chapeau, op.cit., p.7.
- 224 Cf. A. Chapeau, op.cit., p.16.
- 225 On Manning's progress to Rome, cf. E.S. Purcell: op.cit., I. 355-361, 552-628. O. Chadwick: Oxford Movement, I.299f.
- 226 q. E.S. Purcell, op.cit., II.318.
- 227 O. Chadwick: Oxford Movement, I.254.
- 228 H.E. Manning: Sermons, 4 Vols., 1843-50. (On editions of individual volumes used, see bibliography).
- 229 On the evangelicalism of Manning's sermons, see D. Newsome: 'The Evangelical Sources of Newman's power' in J. Coulson and A.M. Allchin (eds.): The Rediscovery of Newman, p.27, and Y. Brilioth: The Anglican Revival, Chapter xiii.
- 230 H.E. Manning: Sermons, III.xiv.257.
- 231 *Ibid.*, IV.xii.223.
- 232 *Ibid.*, III.xiv.268.
- 233 *Ibid.*, III. xiv.256.
- 234 *Ibid.*
- 235 *Ibid.*, I.xx.294, (On Heb.v:8).
- 236 *Ibid.*, p.303.

- 237 See below p.175f.
- 238 Id., Sermons, II.x.179.
- 239 Ibid., pp.180,185.
- 240 Ibid., p.183.
- 241 Ibid., pp.188-9, 194f.
- 242 See *ibid.*, xi. 200ff, 'The Sympathy of Christ a Note of the Church'. A sermon which begins: "The Person of our blessed Lord is a type of the mystical personality of His Church."
- 243 Ibid., x.196.
- 244 E.g. B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.109n.
- 245 See *Ibid.*, IV.xii.212f, 214f.
- 246 E.g. *ibid.*, I.xvii.243.
- 247 *Ibid.*, IV.xii.214: cf. "The sacrifice of Christ is as everlasting as His Person".
- 248 *Ibid.*, p.212.
- 249 *Ibid.*, p.213.
- 250 *Ibid.*
- 251 *Ibid.*, pp.213-4.
- 252 *Ibid.*, p.214.
- 253 *Ibid.*, I.xvii.243.
- 254 *Ibid.*, IV.xii.215.
- 255 *Ibid.*
- 256 *Ibid.*, I.xvii.254.
- 257 *Ibid.*, p.253.
- 258 *Ibid.*, IV.xvii.215.
- 259 *Ibid.*, III.xiv.257: cf. "There is in the Divine presence a Man to whom we are united, through whom we may approach the throne of God."
- 260 *Ibid.*, p.262f.
- 261 *Ibid.*, p.264f.
- 262 *Ibid.*, pp.265,6.
- 263 *Ibid.*, p.262.
- 264 *Ibid.*

- 265 Ibid., p.257f: cf. "The glorious tokens of His Cross and Passion, exhibited before the throne of God, plead for us perpetually... His very presence in heaven is an intercession for us." On Christ's heavenly presence and intercession, cf. supra p.36f, below p.344f.
- 266 Ibid., IV.xii.215.
- 267 Ibid., III.xiv.261.
- 268 Ibid., IV.xi.200; xii.223f.
- 269 Ibid., II.xi.200; III.xi.255.
- 270 Ibid., IV.xii.225.
- 271 Ibid., p.223f.
- 272 Ibid., pp.223.
- 273 Ibid., p.224.
- 274 Ibid.
- 275 Ibid. On the notion of an "internal" and "external" priesthood, though differently interpreted, cf. below pp. 383f, 388f.
- 276 Ibid.
- 277 Ibid., III.xiv.262.
- 278 Ibid.
- 279 Ibid.
- 280 Ibid., p.257.
- 281 Ibid., p.272.
- 282 Ibid., p.273f.
- 283 Ibid., p.275.
- 284 Ibid., p.261.
- 285 Ibid., IV.xii.216.
- 286 Ibid., p.222f.
- 287 Ibid., I.xvii.251; IV.xii.225.
- 288 Ibid., p.248.
- 289 Ibid., IV.xii.220.
- 290 Ibid., p.224.
- 291 Ibid., p.216f.
- 292 Ibid., p. 224.

- 293 Ibid., pp.222,3.
- 294 According to Owen Chadwick (Victorian Church, II.254), this was Manning's "best and most influential book...in which he sought to give a theological and devotional ground" to his idealised, yet pragmatic, elevation of the priestly vocation, as active agent of spiritual renewal and Christian service in the Community. Through Manning, too, Anglican clerical idealism motivated by veneration for Christ's 'eternal priesthood' was enthusiastically mediated to Victorian Roman Catholicism.
- 295 See G. Battiscombe: John Keble, p.268.
- 296 Letter to G. Ryder, June 1845; q. G. Battiscombe, p.278.
- 297 W.J. Lock: Keble, p.172.
- 298 See G. Battiscombe, op.cit., p.275.
- 299 q. *ibid.*
- 300 Letter to R.I. Wilberforce, 10.viii.50; q. G. Battiscombe, op.cit., p.305.
- 301 See Keble College, MS 69 Letter, J. Keble to R.I. Wilberforce, 3.ix.54, which exclaims "...You have given us your old faith in Antiquity for a philosophical dream about development..."
- 302 Id., Considerations Respectfully Addressed to the Scottish Presbyters on the late Pastoral Letter of Six Bishops, 1858, p.33.
- 303 Id., 'On the Unchangeable Priesthood of Christ', in Sermons for the Christian Year, IV.386f.
- 304 See, on Keble's 'beautiful' treatise On Eucharistical Adoration, 1857, A.B. Donaldson: Five Great Oxford Leaders, 1903, p.37f; G. Battiscombe: John Keble, p.317.
- 305 O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.495.
- 306 Cf. W.J. Lock, op.cit., p.13.
- 307 G. Battiscombe, op.cit., p.317.
- 308 q. *ibid.*, p.322. See further details of the case of Bp. Forbes, *ibid.*, p.317f.
- 309 J. Keble: Considerations, p.30.
- 310 *Ibid.*, p.31.
- 311 *Ibid.*, and cf. Eucharistical Adoration, p.78.
- 312 *Ibid.*, pp.31-2: Eucharistical Adoration, p.85.
- 313 *Ibid.*, p.14.
- 314 Cf. *ibid.*, pp.84-87, for Keble's association of the Liturgical 'Sursum Corda' with exposition of the Visions of Heavenly worship in The Book of Revelation.

- 315 Ibid., p.116.
- 316 Ibid., p.84.
- 317 Cf. *ibid.*, p.80ff.
- 318 Ibid., p.80.
- 319 Ibid., p.78.
- 320 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, IV.xxxix.388f.
- 321 Ibid., p.392.
- 322 Ibid., p.389.
- 323 Ibid., p.390. For other references to these words in relation to Christ's priesthood, see pp.161, 184.
- 324 Ibid.
- 325 Ibid., p.390-1.
- 326 Id., Eucharistical Adoration, p.61.
- 327 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, IV.xxxix. 392.
- 328 Ibid.
- 329 Id., Considerations, p.31.
- 330 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, IV.xxxix.392.
- 331 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, 1887, I.xxxiii.335.
- 332 Ibid., p.336.
- 333 Ibid., VII.vii.48.
- 334 Ibid., IV.xxiii.238; *ibid.*, 1885, VI.xlv.459.
- 335 Ibid., VI.xlvi.470.
- 336 Ibid., p.472.
- 337 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, 1883, III.xlii, 424.
- 338 Cf. eg. Keble's review of Monro's 'On Pastoral Works' in Occasional Papers and Reviews, 1877, pp.338-380.
- 339 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, II.xxxii.319.
- 340 Id., Eucharistical Adoration, p.76.
- 341 Id., Considerations, p.31.
- 342 Id., Eucharistical Adoration, pp.90-91.

- 343 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, II.xxxii.320.
- 344 Ibid., pp.321f.
- 345 Ibid., p.322.
- 346 Ibid., p.325.
- 347 Ibid., xxxiv.344,5.
- 348 Ibid., p.345.
- 349 Ibid., I.xxxiii.339.
- 350 Ibid., p.338.
- 351 Ibid., IV.xxxix.394.
- 352 Ibid., I.xxxiii.338.
- 353 Id., Considerations, pp.31-2.
- 354 See *ibid.*, p.32 where he quotes Chrysostom (On. St. Matt. i:3): "When thou seest the Priest delivering it unto thee (viz. each. element), account not that it is the Priest that doeth so, but that it is Christ's hand that is stretched out."
- 355 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, I.xxxiii.338.
- 356 Ibid.
- 357 See above p.66.
- 358 Id., Eucharistical Adoration, pp.73f, 114; Considerations, pp.32, 33, 36.
- 359 Id., Considerations, p.31. For further citations of Gallican Liturgical prayer cf. supra p.99, below p.397.
- 360 Ibid., p.31.
- 361 Ibid., p.32f; and cf. Eucharistical Adoration, p.73f.
- 362 Ibid., p.31.
- 363 Ibid., p.33f.
- 364 Ibid.
- 365 Id., Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance, p.97. And see his comment, "Whoever can discreetly and effectually bring in confession will do, I should think, one of the best things for this poor Church, as she is at present."
- 366 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, I.xxxiii.337-8.
- 367 Ibid., II.xxix.295.

- 368 Ibid., VII.vii.48: and cf: "For even as our Lord in heaven is day and night presenting to the Father the very Body with its wounds, and the Sacred Blood, which was once for all offered on the Cross: so He hath appointed His Church on earth to join in that sacrifice of His, and present it to the Father, uniting thereby the services of earth and heaven." And see Eucharistical Adoration, p.82 et passim.
- 369 Id., Eucharistical Adoration, p.116.
- 370 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, II.xxix.295.
- 371 Ibid., xxxvi. 357, et passim.
- 372 Cited id., Considerations, p.10.
- 373 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, VI.xlvi.465-6.
- 374 Ibid., pp.467-8.
- 375 Ibid., p.470.
- 376 Ibid.
- 377 Ibid.
- 378 Ibid., p.471.
- 379 Ibid., xlv.450.
- 380 Ibid., xlv.458.
- 381 Ibid., IV.xxiii.238.
- 382 Ibid.
- 383 Ibid., III.xlii.425.
- 384 Ibid., IV.xxxix.393.
- 385 Id., Eucharistical Adoration, pp.7,48.
- 386 Ibid., p.7.
- 387 Ibid: and cf. id., Sermons for the Christian Year, V.xiii.147f.
- 388 Ibid., II.xxxiv.346; Eucharistical Adoration, p.75.
- 389 Id., Considerations, p.31.
- 390 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, I.xxxiii.337.
- 391 Id., Eucharistical Adoration, pp.60, 80.
- 392 Ibid., p.74.
- 393 Ibid., p.80.

- 394 Ibid., p.8.
- 395 Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, VII.vii.49.
- 396 Id., Considerations, p.36.
- 397 Ibid., p.34.
- 398 Ibid., p.36; and cf. Eucharistical Adoration, p.73f.
- 399 Ibid., p.38.
- 400 Id., Eucharistical Adoration, p.68.
- 401 Ibid.

CHAPTER III

- 1 The condition of the Evangelical party in the early nineteenth century has occasioned much debate. C.C.J. Webb in A Century of Anglican Theology, 1923, p.12, affords probably a balanced judgement claiming that Evangelicalism in the Church "had to some extent spent its first force, but was still probably the most vital spiritual power in the religious life of the Church of England." Cf. also P. Tulloch: Movements of Religious Thought, pp.9-10; V.F. Storr: The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1913, p.63.
- 2 Writers who have decried early Evangelical theology have been myriad. Otto Pfleiderer claimed that Evangelicals were so far removed from the thought and theological enquiry of the age that "any influence from this quarter upon the theology of the Church was not more, in fact still less, possible than was the case with the older German Pietism." (cf. The Development of Theology, p.303.) Earlier F.D. Maurice had criticised the Evangelicals' "hard, artificial, yet feeble theology". (F. Maurice: Life of F.D. Maurice, 2 Vols; 1884², I.423. To Miss G. Hare 14.i.1846.) But these and other condemnations overlook the power of popular devotion as a seed-bed for doctrinal creativity. To accept that Evangelical religion was not communicated in weighty tomes, is not necessarily the same as claiming its theological impact was negligible. As we shall see, the early Evangelicalism which nurtured Wilberforce's anti-slavery and the prodigious philanthropy of his Evangelical peers was an incarnational religion. The incarnation and atonement were twin-poles in early Evangelical religion and Christ's priesthood was a primary agent in binding them together.
- 3 C.R. Sumner: The Ministerial Character of Christ practically considered, 1824 (and cf. 1835 New enl. ed.), Preface.
- 4 Ibid. Sumner presents Christ's late disclosure of His priesthood to his disciples as singularly appropriate for "communications of such sublime and marvellous tendency." (ibid., p.204.).
- 5 W. Magee: Discourse and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice, Dublin, 1801. A direct counter to Deistic attacks on Christ as a Mediator. Cf. Review, Chr. Obs., 2. (1803), 232-6.

- 6 J.P. Smith: Four Discourses on the sacrifice and priesthood of Jesus Christ and the Atonement and Redemption thence accruing (1813), 1842² (Enl.). Cf.pp.70-71, a classic, but to some extent misleading, declaration of the centrality of the Atonement to Evangelical religion: "The sacrifice of the Son of God is the chief article of our message, the sun of our system, the central orb to which all lines of Christian truth converge." To Smith, however, Christ's priesthood was the most important office exercised by Him towards man, declaring both the fact of a God-Man Mediator and of a propitiator for sin. (ibid., p.80ff).
- 7 T. Brett: On the Deity and Mediatorial Character of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1821, p.36.
- 8 Ibid., p.48.
- 9 Ibid., p.122.
- 10 W. Goode: Essays on the Scriptural Names and Titles of Christ; or, the economy of The Gospel Dispensation as exhibited in the person, character, and offices of the Redeemer, 6 Vols., 1822, VI.259.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 On Simeon, see H.C.G. Moule: Charles Simeon, 1965 (New ed.);H. Evan Hopkins: Charles Simeon, 1977.
- 13 Cf. Lord Macaulay's estimation: "If you knew what his authority and influence were and how they extend from Cambridge to the most remote corners of England you would allow that his real sway in the Church was for greater than that of any Primate." q. G.R. Balleine: A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, pp.130-1.
- 14 F.W. Cornish: History of the English Church, I.24.
- 15 q. Ibid., p.25.
- 16 G.R. Balleine, op.cit., p.135.
- 17 As expressing his positive enthusiasm for the Liturgy, see his Address at the opening of Holy Trinity Church, Cheltenham in 1823: "A Congregation uniting fervently in the prayer of our Liturgy would afford as complete a picture of heaven as ever yet was beheld on earth." q. H. Evan Hopkins, p.42. See also his sense that the Liturgy contained "the pillar and ground" of Reformation truth in England in The Excellency of Liturgy : Four Discourses delivered before Cambridge University in Nov.1811, 1812. D.G. Brown: 'Divided Loyalties: The Evangelicals and the Prayer Book, and the Articles', Hist. Mag. 44 (1975), 189-209.
- 18 An 11 Volume edition of Simeon's Horae Homileticae had already appeared in 1819 with a 6 volume Appendix being added in 1828.
- 19 Ibid., XIX. 280-1, Disc.2299 on Heb. vii:26.
- 20 Ibid., p.181, Disc. 2278 on Heb.iii:1.
- 21 Ibid., p.274, Disc. 2298 on Heb. vii:25.

- 22 Ibid., p.287, Disc. 2300 on Heb. viii:6.
- 23 Ibid., p.323, Disc. 2309 on Heb. x:5-10.
- 24 Ibid., p.328, Disc. 2310 on Heb. x:14-17.
- 25 Ibid., pp.161-2, Disc. 2274 on Heb.ii:6-8.
- 26 Ibid., pp.276-7, Disc. 2299 on Heb. vii:26.
- 27 Ibid., Vol.I, Preface.
- 28 Ibid., Vol.XIX, p.134, Disc. 2269, on Heb. i: 6; and on worshipping Christ see *ibid*, p.134ff. Disc. 2269.
- 29 Ibid., pp.182-183, Disc.2279, on Heb.iii:5,6: Cf. *ibid.*, Simeon maintains re. "Emmanuel" - "It is in this later view more especially, that we are led to contemplate Him throughout this whole Epistle."
- 30 Ibid., pp.213,4. Disc.2286, on Heb.iv:15,16.
- 31 eg. L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought 1860-1900, pp.238-9. He also cites H. Rashdall: Principles and Precepts, H.D.A. Major and F.L. Cross (eds.), 1927, p.41: in popular belief Jesus was regarded as "not really man at all, but simply God walking about with a human body".
- 32 R. Strange: Newman and the Gospel of Christ, p.102.
- 33 Horae Homileticae, XIX.265-6, Disc. 2296, on Heb.vii:1-3.
- 34 Horae Homileticae, XIX, 136, Disc. 2269, on Heb. i:6.
- 35 Ibid., pp.288-9, Disc.2301, Heb.ix:11,12; p.295, Disc.2302, on Heb.ix:13,14.
- 36 Ibid., p.281f, Disc.2300, on Heb.viii:6.
- 37 Ibid., p.296, Disc.2302, on Heb.ix:13,14.
- 38 Eg. *ibid.*, p.229, Disc. 2289, on Heb.vi:1-3; cf. *ibid.*, V.142, Disc.529, on Ps xxiv: 7-10, and his Sermon at the Assizes at Cambridge Aug 22, 1797: 'The Danger of Neglecting the Great Sacrifice', 1797.
- 39 Ibid., p.171, Disc. 2276, on Heb.ii:14,15.
- 40 Eg. *ibid.*, p.292ff, Disc.2302, on Heb.ix:13,14; p.308, Disc.2305, on Heb.ix:24.
- 41 Ibid., XIV. III, Disc.1707, on John xvii: 1. For Simeon's stress on a 'Living' Christ, cf. *ibid.*, pp.275-6, Disc. 2298, on Heb.vii:25.
- 42 Eg. *ibid.*, X.476, Disc.1247, on Zech.vi:12,13; XIX.337, Disc.2312, on Heb.x:23-25.
- 43 Ibid., XIX. 273, Disc.2298, on Heb.vii:25.
- 44 Ibid., I.473, Disc.99, on Ex.xxviii:29,30; *ibid.*, p.478ff, Disc.101, on Ex.xxx:7-10.

- 45 Ibid., p.480, Disc.101, on Ex.xxx:7-10.
- 46 Ibid., XIX.335, Disc.2311, on Heb.x:19-22.
- 47 See supra. p.19f.
- 48 Eg.; Ibid., I.473, Disc.99, on Ex.xxviii:29-30; X.438-9, Disc.1239, on Zech.i:12,13; XIX.181, Disc.2278, on Heb.iii:1; p.310, Disc.2305, on Heb.ix:24; XX.375, Disc.2433, on 1 John ii:2., et passim, for the theme of the sympathising heavenly, priestly intercessor is recurrent throughout Simeon's Horae Homileticae.
- 49 Ibid., XIV. 119, Disc.1709, on John xvii:4,5.
- 50 Ibid., XIX. 309,310, Disc.2305, on Heb.ix:24.
- 51 Ibid., p.276, Disc.2298, on Heb.vii:25.
- 52 See on, ibid., p.215, Disc.2286, on Heb.iv:15,16 where Simeon stresses: "His offices are not intended to supersede our endeavours, but to encourage them, and to assure us of success in the use of the appointed means."
- 53 Ibid., p.266, Disc.2296, on Heb.vii:1-3; p.275, Disc.2298, on Heb.vii:25.
- 54 Id., Discourses on the Excellency of Liturgy, pp.86-7. Cf. other early Evangelicals held an even higher view of priesthood and stressed a christological identification of His priesthood and that of His earthly ministers in a manner almost identical with that of their orthodox, or 'new orthodox' contemporaries. See eg. T. Bowdler: Sermon 'The Origin and Character of the Priestly Office', (Heb.v:4,5), 1828, pp.4-5: "The ministers of Christ, deriving their authority from their divine Master, look to His office as the original pattern...", and, p.10: "Every minister in the church is the successor of Christ, or he is without authority. In himself he is nothing: a feeble mortal - bending under a sense of his unworthiness - shrinking even from the nearest office in the house of God. But acting in His master's name, and by authority delegated from Him, he takes his station."
- 55 Eg. B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.29, r.e. Evangelical doctrine of Scripture: "The result was a biblicism, not to say bibliolatry, the effect of which was intellectually benumbing...Not only was critical curiosity about the facts of the Bible's origins non-existent; the Evangelicals produced little in the way of scripture exegesis." Cf, too, G.W.H. Lampe who wrongly identifies the failure of Evangelicalism to come to terms with biblical criticism with what he sees as their insignificant contribution to Anglican theology "until quite recent times". (G.W.H. Lampe: 'The Bible since the rise of Critical Study', in D.E. Nineham (ed.): The Church's Use of the Bible, 1963, pp.131-2). This is a misleading correlation of two quite different issues as the impact of Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood indicates.
- 56 The importance of the history of scriptural exegesis is becoming increasingly recognised as an invaluable source for the history of doctrines, as F.H. Chase observed "the history of doctrine cannot rightly be understood apart from the history of interpretation." (in Chrysostom: A Study in the History of Bible Interpretation, 1887, p.viii, cited in L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought 1860-1900, p.217.) See also G. Ebeling: Kirchengeschichte als Geschichte an Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift,

Tübingen, 1947; J. Pelikan: Historical Theology, 1971, pp. 70, 137; J.D. Smart: The Interpretation of Scripture, 1961, p.62; K. Aland: 'Luther the exegete' Exp.T. 69, (1957), 45. F.W. Farrar: The History of the Interpretation of Scripture, 1886.

- 57 Review of M. Stuart's: Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Vol. I. (1828), in Chr.Obs., 28, (1828), 443-450.
- 58 G. Holden: The Christian Expositor. A Practical Guide to the Study of the New Testament, 1830, p.554.
- 59 Ibid., p.558.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Ibid., p.554.
- 62 Ibid., p.555.
- 63 Ibid., p.558.
- 64 See further below pp.297f., 314f. One of the most influential Evangelical analyses of the Epistle to the Hebrews was contained in T.H. Horne's widely acclaimed Introduction to the Critical Study of Scripture, 1818.
- 65 T. Chevallier: On the Historical Types contained in the Old Testament, 1826, p.303. On 'typology' see further below p.300.
- 66 Ibid., p.38.
- 67 Ibid., p.36.
- 68 R. Meek: Passion Week : A Devotional and Practical Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels appointed for that season, 1835, p.115.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 J. Garbett: Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King : Being a vindication of the Church of England from theological novelties, 2 Vols., 1842, I .134-5.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 See further on Garbett below p.181ff.
- 73 See further below p.183.
- 74 J.B. Sumner: A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and to the Hebrews, 1851.
- 75 J.D. MacBride: Lectures on the Thirty-Nine Articles of the United Church of England and Ireland, 1853. On MacBride's position in Oxford, see below p.178 n.134.
- 76 J.C. MacDonnell: The Doctrine of the Atonement, The Donnellan Lectures for 1857, 1858, pp.5-6,7.
- 77 E.A. Litton: The Mosaic Dispensation considered as Introductory to Christianity, Bampton Lectures, 1856, pp.131-2.
- 78 See above n.2.

- 79 Mark Pattison claimed: "By 1833 Evangelicalism was already effete...their intellectual weakness, contributed very greatly to the fall of the Evangelical school before a better informed generation." Cited by L.E. Elliott-Binns: Religion in the Victorian Era, 1963 (3rd.imp.), pp.50-1.
- 80 R.W. Church: Oxford Movement, p.15.
- 81 Y. Brilioth: Anglican Revival, p.42, cf. also id., Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement, 1934; E. Jay: The Evangelical and Oxford Movements, 1983, Introduction.
- 82 P. Toon: Evangelical Theology 1833-1856: A Response to Tractarianism, 1979.
- 83 O. Chadwick: The Mind, p.27.
- 84 P. Maurice: Popery in Oxford, 1833; The Popery of Oxford confronted, disavowed and repudiated, 1837; A Key to the Popery of Oxford, 1838. See further on Peter Maurice's polemical treatises against Ritualism, below p.411f.
- 85 J.B. Sumner: Sermons on the Principal Festivals of the Christian Church: to which are added three sermons on Good Friday, 1827, p.106f.
- 86 Ibid., p.123.
- 87 Ibid., p.285.
- 88 Ibid., p.287.
- 89 W. Wilberforce: A Practical View of the Prevailing System of Professed Christians...contrasted with Real Christianity, pp.107-8.
- 90 R.S. Lee: Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, their nature, interpretation, and some of their most important doctrines, preached before the University of Cambridge in the years 1827-8, 1830, p.110.
- 91 Ibid., p.108f.
- 92 Ibid., pp.113-4.
- 93 F. Goode: The Better Covenant practically considered from Heb.viii:6,10,12...to which are added notes on the Sinai Covenant, General Redemption, The Sympathy of Christ, 1833, pp.34-72.
- 94 Ibid., p.34.
- 95 Ibid., p.37.
- 96 Ibid., p.38.
- 97 Ibid., p.58.
- 98 Ibid., pp.60-61.
- 99 Ibid., p.62.
- 100 C. Simeon: Horae Homileticae, XIX. 212f., Disc.2286, on Heb.iv.15,16.
- 101 F. Goode, op.cit., p.57.

- 102 Ibid., pp.60-61.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid., pp.61-62.
- 105 J.T. O'Brien: Two Sermons, upon Heb.iv:15, Preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, 1833, Title-page.
- 106 E. Irving: The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human Nature, 1830.
- 107 Eg. J.H. Blunt: Discourses upon some of the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, 1835² p.117: "that modern revival of the heresy of Nestorius...that the nature of our blessed Lord was "a fallen nature", and His flesh "sinful flesh, applies language to the flesh of Christ which even they would not apply to Christ Himself..."
- 108 J.T. O'Brien, op.cit, pp.vii,x.
- 109 Ibid., pp.vii-viii.
- 110 Ibid., pp.4ff.
- 111 Ibid., p.24.
- 112 Ibid., pp.25-6.
- 113 J.B. Sumner: Sermons on the Principal Festivals, p.123.
- 114 F. Goode, Appended Note: 'On the Sympathy of Christ', in Better Covenant, pp.364-374.
- 115 Ibid., p.364.
- 116 Ibid., pp.364-6.
- 117 Ibid., p.368.
- 118 Ibid., p.374.
- 119 J.T. O'Brien, op.cit., pp.32-33.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 H. Hughes: Lectures on the Gospel, as gathered from the Life of Christ, intended for popular and family instruction, 1834, pp.69-70.
- 122 E. Bickersteth: 'Funeral Sermon on the death of the Rev. Joseph S. Pratt', in Occasional Works : Tracts and Sermons, 1838, pp.520-1.
- 123 J. Bickersteth: The Example of Christ: A Course of Sermons, 1838, pp.82-104, on Heb.iv:15.
- 124 J. Garbett: Parochial Sermons,^{2 vols,} 1843, ll.95-6.
- 125 H. McNeile: Lectures on the Sympathies, Suffering and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1843², pp.iii-iv. On McNeile's later belligerent anti-Ritualist activity and polemic, see J. Bentley: Ritualism and Politics, p.10f. McNeile was a staunch protestant and always in the vanguard of Evangelical anti-Catholicism. From a position of sympathy towards

Catholic Emancipation, Evangelicalism became increasingly divided and hardened in the mid-nineteenth century.

- 126 Ibid., p.v.
- 127 Ibid., pp.iv.f.
- 128 Ibid., p.v.
- 129 Ibid., p.viii.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Ibid., p.28.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 See supra pp.75f. 123f.
- 134 J.D. MacBride: Lectures on the Articles, pp.120-1. MacBride was a lawyer and an astute theologian. He was from 1813-18 Lay Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Cf. further J.S. Reynolds: The Evangelicals at Oxford 1735-1871, 1953, pp.84f.
- 135 J.B. Sumner: Sermons on the Principal Festivals, pp.282.
- 136 Ibid., p.284.
- 137 Ibid., p.281.
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 J. Davison: An Inquiry into the Origin and Intent of Primitive Sacrifice, 1825. Davison argued that Old Testament sacrifices were the result of primitive religions not of divine revelation. See further on Davison and the Noetics below p. 213 n 68.
- 140 G.S. Faber: A Treatise on the Origin of Expiatory Sacrifice, 1827, p.145.
- 141 C. Jerram: A Treatise on the Doctrine of the Atonement, 1828, p.3. Jerram, too, was contributing to the debate between Faber and Davison, which took its rise ultimately from William Magee's Discourse and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice, 1801, see supra p.155 n.5.
- 142 Ibid., p.20. Cf. *ibid.*, he calls Christ's priesthood and kingship "the foundation of the highest privileges and hopes of a Christian."
- 143 Ibid., pp.89: where he also rejects any notion of exact equivalence viz-à-viz Christ's death and the penalty due for man's sin.
- 144 Ibid., pp.263-4.
- 145 Ibid., pp.246-261.
- 146 Ibid., p.261.
- 147 F. Goode: The Better Covenant, pp.65-68.
- 148 Ibid., p.65.

- 149 E. Bickersteth: A Treatise on Prayer, pp.40-48, on the intercession of Jesus Christ.
- 150 F. Goode, op.cit., p.66.
- 151 Cf. H. Hughes: Lectures on the Gospel, pp.131-2, where he writes: "...Christ our Lord...intercedes for us with our God, and as our Mediator constantly offers up our prayers with Him. Christ, our priest and most powerful intercessor...imparts...worth and glory to the Christian's prayer."
- 152 Garbett was elected Professor of Poetry in preference to the Tractarian's candidate Isaac Williams. According to R.W. Church: "The Tractarians had been distinctly beaten; it was their first defeat as a party" (cf. Oxford Movement, pp.314-6, 318). On the details of the election, see O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.203-5.
- 153 In J.S. Reynolds, op.cit., p.112, we find it stated perceptively but, sadly, unelaboratedly that Garbett "significantly took as his subject Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King." Their significance is surely that, as Reynolds (p.92) has shown, they were an important Evangelical statement against Tractarianism, when Oxford Evangelicalism was in its "flowering period".
- 154 See supra p.174ff.
- 155 Cf. esp. H. Hughes: 'The Human Nature of Christ', in Sermons, 1850, pp.297-310. Cf. Hughes stress upon Christ's incarnation, pp.298-9: "...it has come to pass, that, while the essential Deity of Christ is constantly argued and maintained, and traced up to its remotest consequences, His manhood is rather taken for granted, than pictured in its own greatness, and invested with the honour which is due to its importance, and the real excellency of its effects."
- 156 Ibid., pp.299-304.
- 157 Ibid., p.302.
- 158 Ibid., p.304.
- 159 Ibid., pp.304-5.
- 160 G. Townsend: 'The Scriptural doctrine of the Two-Fold nature of Christ, the Happiness of the Christian, and the chief subject of the preaching of the Clergy, as the ministers of Christ and of His Church; A Sermon...Sunday July 18, 1845, 1845.
- 161 Ibid., p.9.
- 162 C. Heurtley: Justification, Bampton Lectures, 1845, p.69. Cf. also Heurtley's stress on Christ's sinlessness (p.63), and the clarity with which (contra later Scotist tendencies) the Incarnation is presented as purposive towards man's salvation from sin. See further on the development of Scotist thought in Victorian Anglicanism, below pp.356ff.
- 163 Ibid., pp.74-75.
- 164 (J.H. Stewart, ed.): The Priest upon His Throne, Lectures delivered during Lent 1849 at St. George's, Bloomsbury, by Twelve Clergymen of the Church of England, 1849.
- 165 Ibid., pp.149-181.

- 166 Ibid., p.151.
- 167 Ibid., p.157.
- 168 Ibid., pp.167-8.
- 169 Ibid., pp.169-170.
- 170 Ibid., p.170.
- 171 Ibid., pp.170,177f.
- 172 See supra f. p.17f and, on Birks in later Evangelical responses to Ritualism, below pp. 422f, 426f.
- 173 T.R. Birks: 'The True Melchizedek in his kingdom, contrasted with the pretensions of the Pope of Rome', in Popish Darkness and Millennial Light, The Bloomsbury Lectures, 1851, pp.252-286.
- 174 Ibid., p.254.
- 175 Ibid.
- 176 J.B. Sumner: A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and to the Hebrews, 1851. Sumner was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1848-1862, during the early phase of the Ritualist crisis, in which he took a strong Protestant position.
- 177 Ibid., pp.328-9, on Heb.ii:17-18; p.427, on Heb.x:19-25.
- 178 Ibid., pp.325-6, on Heb.ii:10; 328-9, on ii:17-18; p.391, on vii:11-19.
- 179 Ibid., p.396, on Heb.vii:26-28.
- 180 Ibid., p.427, on Heb.x:19-25.
- 181 E. Bickersteth: The Testimony of the Reformers, Selected from the writings of Cranmer, Jewell, Tindal, Ridley, Becon, Bradford, etc., 1836, p.83.
- 182 Ibid., p.142.
- 183 Ibid., p.xx.
- 184 W. Goode: The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice, 2 Vols., 1842, pp.xxxv-vi. On Goode's important contribution to Evangelical responses to Tractarianism, see P. Toon: Evangelical Theology 1833-1856, p.64f et passim.
- 185 P. Tulloch: Movements of Religious Thought, p.214.
- 186 Art. 'James Garbett', D.N.B., VII. 844-5.
- 187 J. Garbett: Christ, as Prophet, Priest and King, I.vii,xvi-xx.
- 188 Ibid., pp.55-60.
- 189 Ibid., p.69.
- 190 eg. ibid., p.159.

- of Christ against the mariolatry and saint-worship of Rome", in Six Lectures on Protestantism, 1852, p.130. On Close cf. further below pp.410ff.
- 216 J.C. MacDonnell: 'Our High Priest in Heaven', An Act sermon preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, May 20, 1860, 1860, p.13.
- 217 Ibid., p.14.
- 218 Ibid., p.13.
- 219 C.B. Tayler: Sermons for all seasons: chiefly on the subject of Tractarian Error, 1850, p.xi.
- 220 W. Tait: Meditationes Hebraicae, or a Doctrinal and Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 2 Vols., 1845, I.360-1. See on Tait below p.298.
- 221 Cf. this is integral to the comparable stress upon the 'Living' Christ as High Priest seen in Simeon, supra p.161f.
- 222 Cf. Lev.xvi:11-18.
- 223 For the development of this theme cf. supra pp.20. n.175, 161; below pp.429ff, 440f, 454f.
- 224 On this phrase see N. Dimock, below p.453.
- 225 H. Stowell: Tractarianism Tested by Holy Scripture and the Church of England, in a series of sermons, II Vols., 1845, I.127-8.
- 226 Ibid., p.129.
- 227 E.A. Litton: The Church of Christ, in its Idea, Attributes and Ministry: with particular reference to the controversy on the subject between Romanists and Protestants, 1851, p.287.
- 228 Ibid., p.607.
- 229 Ibid., p.608.
- 230 Ibid.
- 231 Ibid., p.610.
- 232 Ibid., p.621.
- 233 Ibid., p.655.
- 234 Ibid., p.656.
- 235 Ibid.
- 236 See supra p.106.
- 237 J.B. Sumner: A Practical Exposition, p.396.
- 238 F. Goode: The Better Covenant, p.57.
- 239 J.B. Sumner: A Practical Exposition, p.414.

- 240 Ibid., pp.402f, on Heb.vii:7-9; pp.411-3, on Heb.ix:11-14.
- 241 C. Simeon: Sermon at the Assizes at Cambridge August 22, 1797: 'The Danger of Neglecting the Great Sacrifice', 1797, p.5.
- 242 Cf. J.D. MacBride: Lectures on the Articles, p.89: "The divinity and humanity of our blessed Lord, and the union of them in his person, with all the consequences that flow from this union, is the sum and substance of our faith, the foundation of all our hope for eternity."
- 243 Ibid., pp.90, 107.
- 244 Ibid., p.126.
- 245 Ibid.
- 246 See supra p.46f.
- 247 Ibid., p.279.
- 248 Ibid., pp.392-3.
- 249 E.A. Litton: The Mosaic Dispensation considered as Introductory to Christianity, Bampton Lectures, 1856, p.vii. J.S. Reynolds, (op.cit., pp.127-8) writes of Litton: "...a former fellow of Oriel who had taken a 'double-first' as a member of Balliol College, was an Evangelical theologian of importance and distinction, whose personal influence at Oxford extended over some five and twenty years. Known as 'Donkey Litton', he was acknowledged as a 'Low Church Leader'. Nevertheless, Tuckwell argues that "in spite of his recognized ability", he was "inconspicuous" (W. Tuckwell: Reminiscences of Oxford, 1907², p.179). Cf. further on Litton below pp.439-442.
- 250 Ibid., p.ix.
- 251 Ibid., p.90.
- 252 Ibid., p.103.
- 253 Ibid., pp.130-2.
- 254 Ibid., pp.134,139.
- 255 Ibid., pp.126, 128, 137.
- 256 Ibid., p.144.
- 257 Ibid., pp.140-2.
- 258 Ibid., pp.138-9.
- 259 J.C. MacDonnell: The Doctrine of the Atonement deduced from Scripture, Six Discourses, 1858, p.v.
- 260 See esp. below pp.229-240, 302-6.
- 261 Ibid., p.v.
- 262 Ibid., pp.v-vi.
- 263 Ibid., p.vii.

- 264 Ibid., pp.5-6.
- 265 Ibid., p.4.
- 266 Ibid., pp.5, 53.
- 267 Ibid., p.19.
- 268 Ibid., p.25.
- 269 Ibid., p.26.
- 270 Ibid., p.59f.
- 271 Ibid., p.26.
- 272 Ibid., pp.57-8.
- 273 Ibid., p.87.
- 274 Ibid., pp.89-91.
- 275 Ibid., p.92.
- 276 See further below p.235.
- 277 J.C. MacDonnell, op.cit., p.65.
- 278 S. Waldegrave: A Charge delivered to the clergy of the Diocese of Carlisle at his Second Episcopal Visitation, 1864, p.55. Waldegrave (1817-1869) was Bishop of Carlisle from 1860-1869.
- 279 Ibid.
- 280 T. Cranmer: Works, P.5. 12, p.346.P. Miles: The Voice of the Glorious Reformation: or, an Apology for Evangelical Doctrines in the Anglican Church, 1844, p.iii.

CHAPTER IV

F.D. Maurice and 'the High Priest of Humanity' in early Victorian Latitudinarianism

- 1 On the Cambridge Platonists, see H.R. McAdoo: The Spirit of Anglicanism, 1965; W.R. Inge: The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought, 1917; F.J. Powicke: The Cambridge Platonists, 1926; G.R. Cragg: The Cambridge Platonists, 1968. Centred on Emmanuel College, their leaders were B. Whichcote (1609-83), R. Cudworth (1617-88), J. Smith (1616-52), N. Culverwell (1618-51), H. More (1614-87). They refused to divorce natural theology from revealed religion, believed reason the source of the soul's enlightenment, and praised it as "the Candle of the Lord." Reason was reckoned, too, the basis of morality, As Basil Willey observed: "The Alexandrine Fathers grafted Christianity on to a recognized philosophy; The Cambridge Platonists grafted philosophy on to a recognized Christianity." (The English Moralists, 1964, p.172).
- 2 See F.E. Hutchinson: 'The Growth of Liberal Theology', in The Cambridge History of English Literature, A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller (eds.), 12 Vols., 1932, XII.285, on 'Noetic' views of a 'party': "To form a party was never their wish; indeed, it would have defeated their chief object, which was the creation of a habit of intellectual independence."

- 3 See W. Paley: Evidences of Christianity, in Three Parts. (1794), in Works, 2 Vols., 1828, I. I. Paley sought to defend Christianity against Deistic rationalism by a clear, systematic, evidential, utilitarian defence of the dogma of the Christian faith through an analytical destructive and reconstructive principle of argumentation. On Paley's views see eg. V.F. Storr: Development and Divine Purpose, 1906, 21ff, 122ff. Paley's Evidences were a compulsory subject for admission to Cambridge University until 1821.
- 4 See above p.104 n.442.
- 5 I. Ellis: Seven Against Christ: A Study of 'Essays and Reviews', Leiden, 1980, p.214.
- 6 Review of H.B. Wilson.D.D. : 'The Sympathising High Priest': Three sermons preached in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Aldermary', 1828, in C.R., 10 (1828), p.629.
- 7 H.B. Wilson: The Sympathising High Priest, i.3,4.
- 8 See eg. ibid., p.9.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid., iii.35.
- 11 I. Ellis, op.cit., p.214.
- 12 On Blanco White see above p.49.
- 13 H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, I.360.
- 14 Cf. J. Blanco White: A Letter to Protestants converted from Romanism, 1827, p.34ff, where he tells of his own conversion from Roman Catholicism when aged 26, and of his belief that Roman Catholics may be saved "yet so as by fire!"
- 15 Ibid., p.27.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., pp.30-1.
- 18 Ibid., pp.30,33f.
- 19 B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.43.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 E. Copleston: The Essential Difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, illustrated in Two Sermons...and in a Pastoral Address on Roman Catholic Errors, 1845², i.6; ii.20.
- 22 Ibid., i.18; and cf.ii.49, on what the Reformation purged the Church of England from: "She does not begin her worship with salutation of the Virgin as 'Queen of Heaven'; but she calls upon sinful men to repent, and to come unto their Saviour. She does not invoke the spirit of a pious man, who died a thousand years ago, to pray for us in heaven; but she bids us come boldly to the throne of grace, and ask forgiveness of our sins of God, through faith in the One Mediator for between God and man, even Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith."

- 23 Ibid., p.12.
- 24 Ibid., 'Pastoral Address', p.68.
- 25 Ibid., pp.56-57, 68. Among the works Copleston relies on to support his position are Bp. E. Gibson's (1669-1748) popular Preservative Against Popery, 1738, and, significantly, J.H. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, p.7. (q. *ibid.*, p.91).
- 26 On Copleston's political activities and support for Hampden's appointment to the Bishopric of Hereford, see O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.29-31; 239, 246-8.
- 28 E. Copleston: The Essential Difference, ii.33.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 q. B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.43.
- 31 q. W. Tuckwell: Reminiscences of Oxford, pp.156-7.
- 32 E. Hawkins: A Manual for Christians after Confirmation, 1826, pp.13-14.
- 33 Id., 'On the extent and efficacy of the Mosaic Sacrificial Atonements', in Discourses upon some of the Principal Objects and Uses of the Historical Scriptures of the Old Testament, 1833, pp.169-193.
- 34 Ibid., p.169.
- 35 See above p.46f.
- 36 Id., Sermons on Scriptural Types and Sacraments...with some observations upon some recent theories, 1851: cf.p.71, where Hawkins, too, relates Christ's priesthood to His person and work, declaring the world's reconciliation to be effected by "our great Redeemer and High Priest, at once Son of Man, and Son of God."
- 37 Ibid., pp.96-7.
- 38 Id., 'The Ministry of Men in the economy of grace and the danger of over-valuing it...A Sermon Oct. 25, 1840, 1840, pp.14,15.
- 39 Ibid., pp.19,20; where he adduces W. Outram's De Sacrificiis in his defence, see above p.29f Cf. Hawkins was one of a line of scholars who held it to be the "safest and wisest course to avoid even the formation of opinions upon heavenly subjects beyond what has been revealed." (*ibid.*, p.26).
- 40 Id., Sermons on the Church preached before the University of Oxford, 1847, pp.177ff.
- 41 Ibid., pp.176, 177.
- 42 Ibid., p.188.
- 43 Ibid., p.189.
- 44 Ibid., p.179, 182.
- 45 Ibid., vii.208.

- 46 Ibid., p.202.
- 47 Ibid., p.208, 214. Hawkins declaration that Christ's High Priesthood had not been delegated to the Pope, as Roman Catholicism at times stressed, was a position many Anglicans took as expressing their sense of His continued Headship of the Church.
- 48 F.E. Hutchinson: Growth of Liberal Theology, p.285; but cf. J.S. Mill's insight into Whately's forceful independence: "He was the least equipped with books among any of the great thinkers of his times." (q. *ibid.*).
- 49 On Hampden, see H. Hampden (ed.): Some Memorials of Renn Dickson Hampden, 1871.
- 50 On Arnold, see T.W. Bamford: Thomas Arnold, 1960.
- 51 Cited O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.42.
- 52 B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, pp.43-4.
- 53 O. Chadwick, loc.cit.
- 54 See J.H. Newman: Apologia, pp.7, 8.
- 55 On his appointment and archiepiscopacy see O. Chadwick, op.cit., I.53f, 133. On Thomas Arnold's high regard for Whately's holiness and Christian Spirit, cf. A.P. Stanley (ed.): The Life and Correspondence of Dr. Arnold, 2 Vols., 1845⁵, I.316,7.
- 56 R. Whately: The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Matters of Religion, Bampton Lectures, 1822, pp.201, 233; and cf. *ibid.*, pp.241-2 on his attitude towards the Anglican Church's liturgy, and impact of its lex orandi on lex credendi; "Our liturgy, is so framed as to be a continual check upon the preacher, - a corrector of his errors, if he venture to teach anything inconsistent with it...in short a standing monitor both to the minister and to the congregation." Whately's view of Christ's unique priestly mediation was undergirded both by scripture and this view of the Anglican liturgy in which the office was commonly perceived to be repeatedly enjoined.
- 57 Id., Five Sermons: on Several Occasions preached before the University of Oxford, 1823, v. 137-169.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p.161.
- 59 *Ibid.*, pp.149,158,161.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p.152,160,161.
- 61 *Ibid.*, pp.152,3.
- 62 *Ibid.*, pp.164-5.
- 63 *Ibid.*, pp.166ff.
- 64 *Ibid.*, pp.144,146.
- 65 *Ibid.*, pp.144, 158f.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p.169.

- 67 Whately rejected that view of the Bible which isolated and venerated selected texts, but he saw the Church's teaching ultimately substantiated by the Bible, read with reverence and reasoned judgement, and not Tradition; cf. B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, pp.44-6, and R. Whately: Cautions for the Times, 1853, p.22: "Tradition...is not the Interpreter of Scripture, but Scripture is the Interpreter of Tradition".
- 68 John Davison (1777-1834) was a Noetic - a close friend of John Keble, and author of Discourses on Prophecy, Warburton Lectures 1819-20, 1824, and Inquiry into the Origin and Intent of Primitive Sacrifice...and reflections on the Unitarian controversy, 1825. In his influential work on Prophecy Davison limited the usefulness of fanciful conservative eisegesis and prophecy's predictive value, arguing, like Pusey, for a broader interpretative approach and stressing its moral, educative function. In his work on Sacrifice he denied the divine revelatory origin of pre-patriarchal sacrifice.
- 69 R. Whately: Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion, 1825, pp.126-7.
- 70 B.M.G. Reardon; Religious Thought, p.44.
- 71 R. Whately: Elements of Logic, 1827². Cf. O. Pfleiderer, Development of Theology, p.369.
- 72 Id., Essays on some of the Difficulties in the writings of St. Paul, and in other parts of the New Testament, 1828, p.180.
- 73 Ibid., p.179.
- 74 Ibid., p.178.
- 75 Ibid., p.x.
- 76 Cf. his condemnation of philosophers religion as cold, heartless and devotionless, in id., Peculiarities of the Christian Religion, p.136.
- 77 Ibid., p.141.
- 78 Ibid., p.152.
- 79 Cf. id., Essays on the Errors of Romanism having their origin in Human Nature, 3 series, 1830-1845, III. 8,9.
- 80 Ibid., p.89; and cf.p.102, "...in our religion, the only Priest, in that sense (viz. ἱερεὺς /sacerdos) is Jesus Christ Himself; to whom consequently, and to whom alone, under the Gospel, the title is applied by the inspired writers. He alone has offered up an atoning sacrifice for us, even the sacrifice of His own blood; He 'ever liveth to make intercession for us', He is the 'one Mediator between God and Man'; 'through Him we have access to the Father'; and 'no man careth to the Father but by Him'."
- 81 Id., Cautions for the Times, 1853, p.2.
- 82 Ibid., p.22.
- 83 Ibid., p.32.
- 84 Ibid., p.31.
- 85 Ibid., p.39.

- 86 Ibid., pp.40f.
- 87 Cf. *ibid.*, p.166: Tractarians "may be compared to a recruiting depot for the Church of Rome".
- 88 *Ibid.*, p.306f.
- 89 *Id.*, Sermons on the Principal Christian Festivals, 1854² viii.129.
- 90 *Ibid.*, xii.203ff.
- 91 *Id.*, The Scripture Doctrine concerning the Sacraments, 1857, pp.91, 106, 113.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p.113.
- 93 The conservatism of Latitudinarian biblical scholarship, particularly here with regard to Hebrews, is a remarkable fact. It is uniformly assumed to be an inspired, authoritative work, and certainly the strongest biblical weapon against 'Romish priestcraft'. The fact that these early Latitudinarian scholars shared with Evangelicals, and High Churchmen, a veneration for this Epistle is undoubtedly a contributory factor in the diffuse, yet broadly uniform, character of their response to Christ's priesthood. They also shared a common regard for the Anglican Liturgy, which strengthened their defence of Christ's unique priesthood.
- 94 R.D. Hampden: 'Observations on Religious Dissent', A Tract, 1834. On its publication, reception, and Newman's reaction to it, see O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I.93,4.
- 95 Cf. B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.46, for a defence of Hampden.
- 96 Hampden's Bampton Lectures: The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology, 1833, were, not surprisingly, defended by other Latitudinarians. (Cf. eg. A.P. Stanley (ed.): The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, 2 Vols., 1845⁵, II.7f.
- 98 *Id.*, Parochial Sermons: Illustrative of the Importance of the Revelation of God in Jesus Christ, 1828, xix.419.
- 99 *Id.*, Sermons preached before the University of Oxford...1836-1847, 1848, ii.31f.
- 100 *Ibid.*, p.49.
- 101 *Ibid.*, p.50.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p.40.
- 103 *Ibid.*, vi.180,185,194; ii.40.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p.188.
- 105 *Ibid.*, p.183.
- 106 *Ibid.*, pp.185-6.
- 107 *Ibid.*, p.190.
- 108 *Ibid.*, p.202.

- 109 Cf. *ibid.*, pp.202, 207-8, 189; ix.295; xiii.471.
- 110 Cf. *ibid.*, pp.205,6.
- 111 *Ibid.*, vii.238.
- 112 *Ibid.*, ix.295.
- 113 *Ibid.*, pp.289-90.
- 114 *Ibid.*, xii.437-8.
- 115 *Ibid.*, p.438.
- 116 *Ibid.*, pp.437-8.
- 117 *Ibid.*, p.440ff.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p.418.
- 119 *Ibid.*, xiii.502-3.
- 120 *ibid.*, 504-5.
- 121 See *ibid.*, p.477, where Hampden adduces from the 'Ordering of Priests' in the B.C.P., the Church of England's position on the minister's continual reliance on the priestly mediation of Christ for his ministry. Hampden affords a clear example of the determinative and distinctive potency of an historic Anglican adherence to Christ's priesthood upon its doctrine of the ministry. Hampden's claim was (*ibid.*, p.505) that Tractarians were attempting to introduce a view of the priesthood which did not do justice to the place traditionally ascribed to Christ's unique priesthood in 'High' Anglican ecclesiology. The distinction he drew between a neo-Thomist and neo-Scotist view of priesthood in the Church presciently anticipated the tensions inherent in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism.
- 122 On the details of and public response to, Arnold's Principles of Church Reform, which sought, unpopularly, to open the Church to a broad-based National Church incorporating Dissenters, to increase the numbers of Bishops, and to create an old-fashioned identification of Churchman and citizen, so that Parliament was yet more directly involved in Church affairs, see O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I. 42-46.
- 123 Arnold's article 'The Oxford Malignants', released during the Hampden Affair, accused Tractarians of "conspiracy, fanaticism, wickedness, corrupt conscience" (O. Chadwick, op.cit., I.119). Principal Tulloch observed, he became "the most unadulterated enemy of the Tractarians and he was the man they most hated". (Movement of Religious Thought, p.134).
- 124 In later life Arnold pronounced his Essay the best thing he had ever written. On His Essay on the right Interpretation and Understanding of the Scriptures, cf. A.P. Stanley: Life and Correspondence, I.217ff, where Arnold's concern for, and practice of, critical and historical study of scripture is clearly stated.
- 125 *Id.*, Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, Third series, 1876 (New ed.), x.83-91; xi.92-99.
- 126 On Arnold's difficulties with Hebrews and Stanley's view, cf. Life and Correspondence, II.137,8 n.'a'.

- 127 Cf. A Neander's pamphlet: 'The Theology of Thomas Arnold, its importance and bearing on the present state of the Church', 1846, for an evaluation of Arnold's relation to "the scientific method" of German biblical criticism.
- 128 Id., Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, x.83.
- 129 Ibid., p.84.
- 130 Ibid., p.85.
- 131 W. Tuckwell: Reminiscences of Oxford, p.99.
- 132 T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, x.85.
- 133 See O. Pfleiderer: Development of Theology, pp.365-6: to Arnold "the essential thing in Christianity is practical godliness, based on the revelation of God in scripture, and especially in the person of Jesus, and manifesting itself in the moral purification and sanctification of personal and social life."
- 134 Cf. D.C. Somervell: English Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1929, p.112.
- 135 T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, x.86.
- 136 Ibid., p.89.
- 137 Ibid., p. 90.
- 138 Cf. P. Tulloch's comment: "If ever, indeed, there was a mind intensely English in the practical ethical bent underlying all his studies and all his work, it was Arnold's" (Movements of Religious Thought, p.61.)
- 139 T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, IV.lii.
- 140 Cf. B. Willey: Nineteenth Century Studies, 1964, p.59; and, A.P. Stanley: Life and Correspondence, I.226,7.
- 141 T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, Third series, xi.92.
- 142 Ibid., pp.92-3,95.
- 143 Ibid., p.93.
- 144 Ibid.
- 145 Ibid., pp.93-4.
- 146 Ibid., pp.94-5.
- 147 Cf. B. Willey, op.cit., p.59.
- 148 q. J. Hunt: Religious Thought, p.135.
- 149 On Arnold's critique of Tractarian ecclesiology, and divergence from Whately on the issue of Apostolic Succession, cf. A.P. Stanley, Life and Correspondence, II.228f, 240f, 264f, 398.
- 150 q. J. Hunt; op.cit., p.134.

- 151 T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, xi, 97.
- 152 Ibid., p.99.
- 153 Ibid., p.96.
- 154 The title 'Broad Church' was in Anglican parlance before its earliest literary appearances. Benjamin Jowett tells us it was proposed in his hearing by another Oxford Liberal Broad Churchmen A.H. Clough (see F.E. Hutchinson: The Growth of Liberal Theology, pp.292-3). But Dean Stanley employed the term in the Edinburgh Review in 1850 and W.J. Conybeare followed him in an article therein on 'Church Parties' in 1853. On the early movement, cf. C.R. Sanders: Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, 1942..
- 155 Cf. P. Tulloch: Movements of Religious Thought, p.255.
- 156 Cf. A.M. Crowther: The Church Embattled, p.124: "The Broad Churchmen were inquiring by nature but essentially conservative; they...pushed their inquiries as far as they could without actually denying the inspiration of the scriptures or the existence of hell or the actuality of prophecy and miracle."
- 157 q. D.C. Somervell: English Thought, p.68.
- 158 Cf. W.R. Sorley: A History of British Philosophy to 1900, 1965, p.239f.
- 159 On Coleridge's knowledge of the works of the German scholars Eicchorn and Lessing, and for his resistance to doubts respecting the authority and (probably) Pauline authorship of Hebrews, see E.L. Griggs (ed.): Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1971, V.46, Letter 1235 to J.H. Green, 25.v.1820; VI.611. Letter 1546 to C.A. Tulk, 8.ix.1826; VI.784, Letter 1655 to J.H. Green, 7.ii.1829. Cf. above on his attitude towards Hebrews in his Aids to Reflection, p.48.
- 160 Cf. S.T. Coleridge: Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, H.N. Coleridge (ed.) 1840, pp.84, 10. His Confessions, as Tulloch points out, "gather together all that is valuable in the Biblical Criticism of the author scattered through his various writings." (op.cit.p.24). That nineteenth century biblical scholars acknowledged his contribution to the development of Anglican biblical criticism, see F.W. Farrar: The History of Interpretation, Bampton Lectures, 1885, p.422; and, F.J.A. Hort: 'Coleridge' in Cambridge Essays, 1856, pp.292-351.
- 161 Cf. C.C.J. Webb: Religious Thought in England from 1850, 1933, p.34.
- 162 S.T. Coleridge: Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous, D. Coleridge (ed.), 1853, pp.73-4.
- 163 Ibid., p.114.
- 164 F.D. Maurice: The Kingdom of Christ, 2 Vols, 1842², p.xxv.
- 165 O. Pfleiderer: The Development of Theology, p.308.
- 166 P. Tulloch: Movements of Religious Thought, p.7.
- 167 J.M. Robertson: A. History of Free Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1929, p.137; and cf. ibid., p.138: His appointment by Lord Melbourne to the modest see of St. David's (1840) is one of the illustrations of theological liberalism among the statesmen of that age."

- 151 T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, xi, 97.
- 152 Ibid., p.99.
- 153 Ibid., p.96.
- 154 The title 'Broad Church' was in Anglican parlance before its earliest literary appearances. Benjamin Jowett tells us it was proposed in his hearing by another Oxford Liberal Broad Churchmen A.H. Clough (see F.E. Hutchinson: The Growth of Liberal Theology, pp.292-3). But Dean Stanley employed the term in the Edinburgh Review in 1850 and W.J. Conybeare followed him in an article therein on 'Church Parties' in 1853. On the early movement, cf. C.R. Sanders: Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, 1942..
- 155 Cf. P. Tulloch: Movements of Religious Thought, p.255.
- 156 Cf. A.M. Crowther: The Church Embattled, p.124: "The Broad Churchmen were inquiring by nature but essentially conservative; they...pushed their inquiries as far as they could without actually denying the inspiration of the scriptures or the existence of hell or the actuality of prophecy and miracle."
- 157 q. D.C. Somervell: English Thought, p.68.
- 158 Cf. W.R. Sorley: A History of British Philosophy to 1900, 1965, p.239f.
- 159 On Coleridge's knowledge of the works of the German scholars Eicchorn and Lessing, and for his resistance to doubts respecting the authority and (probably) Pauline authorship of Hebrews, see E.L. Griggs (ed.): Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1971, V.46, Letter 1235 to J.H. Green, 25.v.1820; VI.611. Letter 1546 to C.A. Tulk, 8.ix.1826; VI.784, Letter 1655 to J.H. Green, 7.ii.1829. Cf. above on his attitude towards Hebrews in his Aids to Reflection, p.48.
- 160 Cf. S.T. Coleridge: Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, H.N. Coleridge (ed.) 1840, pp.84, 10. His Confessions, as Tulloch points out, "gather together all that is valuable in the Biblical Criticism of the author scattered through his various writings." (op.cit.p.24). That nineteenth century biblical scholars acknowledged his contribution to the development of Anglican biblical criticism, see F.W. Farrar: The History of Interpretation, Bampton Lectures, 1885, p.422; and, F.J.A. Hort: 'Coleridge' in Cambridge Essays, 1856, pp.292-351.
- 161 Cf. C.C.J. Webb: Religious Thought in England from 1850, 1933, p.34.
- 162 S.T. Coleridge: Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous, D. Coleridge (ed.), 1853, pp.73-4.
- 163 Ibid., p.114.
- 164 F.D. Maurice: The Kingdom of Christ, 2 Vols, 1842², p.xxv.
- 165 O. Pfleiderer: The Development of Theology, p.308.
- 166 P. Tulloch: Movements of Religious Thought, p.7.
- 167 J.M. Robertson: A History of Free Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1929, p.137; and cf. ibid., p.138: His appointment by Lord Melbourne to the modest see of St. David's (1840) is one of the illustrations of theological liberalism among the statesmen of that age."

- 168 On Thirlwall's view of inspiration in his Introduction to Schleiermacher's Essays on St. Luke, see above p.3 n.7.
- 169 In J.J.S. Perowne: Remains of Connop Thirlwall, I.24
- 170 Ibid., p.44.
- 171 Ibid., pp.46-7.
- 172 Ibid., p.53. For another Latitudinarian who used this phrase, see on R. Williams, below p.307.ii.258.
- 173 Ibid., II. 243ff. Thirlwall was not unique in his philosophical, or theological reserve about discourse on heavenly things. It is a hallmark of confident evangelical interpretation, however, as much as it is of much Ritualist and Anglo-Catholic thought that, either such reflection was legitimated by a particular view of scripture (pace evangelicalism), that the inspired Word of God unfolded the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom and legitimated faithful reflection within or from the Biblical evidence, or that understanding of heavenly things was facilitated by a particular view of God's creation (pace a Platonic, Butlerian sacramentalism), that the mysteries of God's heavenly realm are unfolded to the eye of faith through the things He has made. With the advance of a philosophical immanentism and critical approach to scripture, Thirlwall's asking of philosophical questions about the nature of Christ's heavenly ministry, particularly in the twentieth century, has become one factor in distancing nineteenth and twentieth century reflection on Christ's priesthood.
- 174 Ibid., pp.244-5.
- 175 Ibid., p.244.
- 176 Ibid.
- 177 Id., 'The Apostolical Commission', An Ordination Sermon, Dec. 21, 1851, 1852, p.9.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Ibid.
- 180 See above pp.24-5.
- 181 J.C. Hare, a close friend of Thirlwall and sharer in his German studies, was Maurice's tutor in Cambridge, and remained a staunch ally of Maurice's, though his Mission of the Comforter, 2 Vols., (1846), The Victory of Faith (1840), and other theological works, contain none of the characteristic doctrines associated with his pupil, including that of Christ as 'the High Priest of Humanity'. Significantly, though, Maurice does acknowledge

indebtedness to Hare for his views on 'sacrifice' (cf. F. Maurice: The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, 2 Vols., 1884², II.504-7) Kingsley is traditionally seen as one of Maurice's disciples, though altogether unlike him. Sharing Maurice's orthodox scripturalism, and love of the Prayer Book, and being "one of the most robust and attractive mid-Victorians", (D.C. Somervell: English Thought, p.114) Kingsley, for all his Catholicity of social and theological interests, and antipathy to Rome, made little of Christ's priesthood in his popular writing and preaching.

- 182 On Maurice's life and theology, cf. esp. A.M. Ramsey: The Gospel and the Catholic Church, 1936; id., F.D. Maurice and the conflicts of Modern Theology, 1951; F.McClain: Maurice, Man and Moralist, 1972; A.R. Vidler: F.D. Maurice and Company, 1966, C.F.G. Masterman: F.D. Maurice, 1907.
- 183 q. J.E. Courtney: Free thinkers of the Nineteenth Century, 1920, p.19.
- 184 q. *ibid.*
- 185 J. Morley: Life of Gladstone, II.208.
- 186 A Carlyle (ed.): New Letters of Thomas Carlyle, 1904, I.29: q. B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.163.
- 187 A. Mozley (ed.): Letters of J.B. Mozley, p.222; q. B.M.G. Reardon, *loc.cit.*
- 188 E. Abbott and L. Campbell (eds.): The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, 2 Vols, 1897, II.45.
- 189 O. Pfleiderer: The Development of Theology, p.373.
- 190 B.M.G. Reardon, *op.cit.*, p.162.
- 191 O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.349.
- 192 A.M. Ramsey: The Gospel and the Catholic Church, p.210.
- 193 See C.F.G. Masterman's description of this facet of Maurice's critique of Broad Churchmen: "(He was) a dogmatist to the backbone, and repudiated all advocacy of vague and watery creeds" (*op.cit.*, p.172; q. L.E. Elliott-Binns: Religion in the Victorian Era, p.144.)
- 194 See *supra* p.11. P. Tulloch draws an interesting analogy between "the school which gathered around Mr. Maurice and that of the Cambridge Platonists in the seventeenth century" (Movements of Religious Thought, p.277). Certainly Maurice had learned from Coleridge their key principle that Reason is "the candle of the Lord."
- 195 See below p.335ff; though B.F. Westcott claimed he did not read Maurice's writings.
- 196 F. Maurice: Life, I.419.
- 197 F.D. Maurice: On the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1846. Preface, pp.i.-cxxxviii. His Lectures attracted little attention at the time and few comments since. To ignore them, as C.R. Sanders does (*op.cit.*) in a work which contains an extended Bibliography on Maurice, is to overlook another crucial piece in that doctrinal and devotional substructure of Anglican adherence to the image of Christ as priest which exerted such a potent influence on Victorian religion.

- 198 See *ibid.*, p.lvii: "Every thing I have said turns upon the first words of the Epistle; upon the assertion, 'God hath spoken to us by a son.'" For a comparable estimation of the importance of these words in defending a doctrine of 'Progressive Revelation', see on A.P. Stanley below p.312.
- 199 *Ibid.*, p.lxi; and cf. p.lxviii.
- 200 *Ibid.*, p.lxviii.
- 201 *Ibid.*, p.96.
- 202 *Ibid.*, p.lvi-lvii, lxvii-lxviii; and cf. B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, pp.182,3.
- 203 *Id.*, The Kingdom of Christ, 2 Vols., 1842², I.375.
- 204 Maurice said he learned of the Incarnation and not the Atonement as the central doctrine of Christianity from Erskine of Linlathen's Brazen Serpent (Cf. Life of F.D. Maurice, I.108, 121).
- 205 Cf. A.R. Vidler: F.D. Maurice, p.43; and F.D. Maurice: The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament, 1890, p.56; Kingdom of Christ, I.373.
- 206 *Ibid.*
- 207 See eg. *id.*, The Doctrine of Sacrifice deduced from the Scriptures, A Series of Sermons, 1854, p.278.
- 208 *Ibid.*, p.275; and cf. *id.*, The Prayer-Book and Lord's Prayer, 1893, iii.35.
- 209 *Id.*, The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament, Sermons, 1894, xxv.457.
- 210 *Id.*, What is Revelation? 1859, p.127. Maurice's pamphlet was an unsuccessful reply to the Bampton Lectures of 1858 by Mansel of St. John's College, Oxford, entitled Limits of Religious Thought. Mansel's Lectures were a popular philosophical attack on the metaphysical religious language and speculation of German theology and a defence of the categories of mystery, faith, and the regulative power of religious truth. To Maurice an unknowable God was unacceptable and, in What is Revelation?, he tried - though according to Chadwick (Victorian Church, I.558) he was "vanquished, demolished" - to resuscitate and defend the immediacy of religious experience.
- 211 On Maurice's view of the Fatherhood of God, cf. F. McClain: Maurice, of Man and Moralist, pp.87, 94f.
- 212 D.L. Edwards: Leaders of the Church of England: 1828-1944, 1971, p.154.
- 213 F.D. Maurice: 'The Faith of the Liturgy' and 'The Doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles' 2 Sermons...Sept.9, 1860, 1860, pp.15-16.
- 214 On Maurice's sense of the "nearness" of God, see B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.170.
- 215 As he once wrote: "Except I could address all kinds of people as members of Christ and children of God, I could not address them at all" (Life of F.D. Maurice, II.236; q. B.M.G. Reardon, op.cit., p.171).
- 216 Cf. on Christ's perfect example of self-sacrifice: The Kingdom of Christ, II.84,5; and on the sacrifice of Christ revealing God's nature, see Maurice's Sermons, 1859, VI. 244,5.

- 217 Id., Commentary on the Epistles of St. John, 1857, p.208.
- 218 F. McClain, op.cit., p.73.
- 219 F.D. Maurice: Doctrine of Sacrifice, p.xlviii.
- 220 Id., Theological Essays, 1853, p.442.
- 221 See above pp. 199-201 on J.C. Macdonnell's critique of Maurice.
- 222 Eg. id., Kingdom of Christ, I.372f.
- 223 Cf. H. Rashdall: Principles and Precepts, p.159; and F.D. Maurice: The Prayer Book and Lord's Prayer, xviii. 258.
- 224 Cf. R.E. Prothero: Life and Correspondence of A.P. Stanley, 2 Vols., 1893, I.249f; F.D. Maurice: Theological Essays, xi.270; id., On the Prayer Book and Lord's Prayer, xviii.258.
- 225 Id., Kingdom of Christ, II.133,4.
- 226 On Evangelical reactions and Maurice's view of sin, see F. McClain, op.cit., pp.75-78
- 227 Cf. ibid., p.13f, 94f.
- 228 Id., Theological Essays, p.xvi.
- 229 Id., Kingdom of Christ, 1838 ed., 1.275f; cited in B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.190.
- 230 q. B.M.G. Reardon, loc.cit.
- 231 Id., Doctrine of Sacrifice, pp.1-48, 280f.
- 232 q. B.M.G. Reardon, op.cit., p.192. On Maurice's application of the principle of sacrifice cf. F. McClain, op.cit., pp.70-81.
- 233 Id.; Doctrine of Sacrifice, p.278.
- 234 Ibid., p.279.
- 235 Ibid., p.280.
- 236 Ibid., p.278.
- 237 Ibid., p.280.
- 238 Cf. F. McClain op.cit., p.70ff
- 239 On the Church as a 'redeemed family' in Maurice's thought, see eg. Kingdom of Christ, II.145.
- 240 Cf. A.R. Vidler: F.D. Maurice and Company, pp.63, 67, 69.
- 241 See id., Kingdom of Christ, I.372ff; id., Prayer-Book and Lord's Prayer, viii.120.
- 242 Ibid., II.224.
- 243 Id., Prophets and Kings, i.5.

- 244 Ibid., I.350f; cf. id., Prophets and Kings, i.3.
- 245 Ibid., 357-9; cf. R.E. Prothero: Life and Correspondence, I.250, where in reply to the second part of Stanley's Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, F.D. Maurice wrote of the prophetic and priestly offices in the Old Testament dispensation: "Each of those offices, like the royal, subsists, I think, in its original purpose and significance, Christ being the real interpreter of each, embodying them all in Himself who is the same yesterday, today, and for ever..."
- 246 Ibid., p.372.
- 247 Ibid., p.350.
- 248 Cf. A.R. Vidler, op.cit., p.63.
- 249 Id., Kingdom of Christ, II. 184.
- 250 Id., Prayer Book and Lord's Prayer, iii.35.
- 251 Ibid., p.37f.
- 252 Ibid., p.39.
- 253 Ibid., xvii.250.
- 254 Cf. A.R. Vidler, op.cit., p.131.
- 255 Id., Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer...on the name 'Protestant'; on the seemingly ambiguous character of the English Church: and on the Bishopric of Jerusalem, 1842, p.78.
- 256 Id., Kingdom of Christ, II.144.
- 257 Ibid., pp.145, 183.
- 258 Id., The Epistle to the Hebrews, p.86.
- 259 Id., Kingdom of Christ, II.220-1.
- 260 Ibid., p.224.
- 261 Ibid.
- 262 Id., 'The Doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles', A Sermon, p.66.
- 263 Ibid., pp.54-55.
- 264 Cf. F. Maurice: Life of F.D. Maurice, II.365.
- 265 Id., 'The Doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles', p.65.
- 266 Id., Prayer-Book and Lord's Prayer, iii.38.
- 267 Ibid.
- 268 Cf. A.R. Vidler, op.cit., p.121f.
- 269 Ibid., p.118ff.
- 270 Id., Kingdom of Christ, II.464.

- 271 Ibid.
- 272 Cf. A.R. Vidler, op.cit., p.123; and cf. Kingdom of Christ, I.275f.
- 273 Id., Kingdom of Christ, I.275f: cited in A.R. Vidler, op.cit., p.124.
- 274 C.C.J. Webb: Religious Thought, p.170.
- 275 F.W. Robertson: Sermons, 1st Series, 1858⁵, pp.112-130.
- 276 Ibid., p.112.
- 277 J. Hunt: Religious Thought, p.197.
- 278 F.W. Robertson, op.cit., p.112.
- 279 On this quest, cf. B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.221.
- 280 Ibid.
- 281 F.W. Robertson, op.cit., pp.113,4.
- 282 Ibid., p.115.
- 283 Ibid., p.114.
- 284 Ibid., p.115.
- 285 Ibid., p.116.
- 286 Ibid., p.118.
- 287 Ibid., p.120.
- 288 Ibid., pp.120-1.
- 289 Ibid., p.121.
- 290 'Sympathy' was a prized Victorian virtue. In an 'evangelical' society (pace Ensor), it denoted a Christ-like priestliness of character. It was itself a potent facet of image of Christ as priest in Victorian religion. See further below p.364ff.
- 291 Ibid., p.124.
- 292 Ibid., p.125.
- 293 Ibid.
- 294 Ibid., p.121.
- 295 Ibid., p.126.
- 296 Ibid., p.129.
- 297 Cf. F.W. Robertson: Sermons, Second Series, 1858⁴, II.153ff.
- 298 Ibid., p.162.

CHAPTER V

The Priesthood of Christ in the Doctrine and Devotion of the Early Ritualists

- 1 Art., 'Ritual', O.D.C.C., p.1189.
- 2 R.F. Littledale: What is Ritualism? And why ought it to be supported? 1867, p.1; cf. id., Ritualistic Practices: 1) What they are, 2) What they mean, 1876.
- 3 Ibid., p.2.
- 4 William Laud (1573-1645), Archbishop of Canterbury had in the seventeenth century sought to revive Anglican ceremonial according to pre-Reformation liturgical practice, which the Puritans eschewed.
- 5 On the Cambridge Movement see the eponymous monograph by J.F. White: The Cambridge Movement, the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival, 1962.
- 6 Ibid., p.35.
- 7 q. J.R.H. Moorman: A History of the Church of England, 1954³, p.6.
- 8 q. A.G. Lough: John Mason Neale - Priest Extraordinary, 1976, p.20.
- 9 R.F. Littledale: The Law of Ritual, 1867, p.1.
- 10 One of the most influential Church architects at this time was Augustus Pugin (1812-1852). Cf. his: The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841); An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (1843); The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (1843).
- 11 Cf. N.P. Williams: 'The Theology of the Catholic Revival', N.P. Williams and C. Harris (eds.), in Northern Catholicism : Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements, 1933, p.139.
- 12 In their devotional practices Ritualists were also aided by many of the Continental Roman Catholic manuals E.B. Pusey had introduced in England: notably, Avrillon's Meditations; Surin's Foundations of the Spiritual Life; Abbé Gaume's Manual for Confessors, The Paradise of the Christian Soul; Ignatius Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, etc.
- 13 J.M. Neale^{and B. Webb}: The Symbolism of Church and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the 'Rationale Divinorum Officiorum' written by William Durandus, sometime Bp. of Mende, 1843, pp.1viii-lix.
- 14 Ibid., p.xxii.
- 15 P.G. Medd: 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice', in The Church and the World: Essays on questions of the Day, O. Shipley (ed.), 1866, p.330.
- 16 S.L. Ollard: A Short History of the Oxford Movement, 1915, pp.152-3.
- 17 Lord Blachford, letter of 1884; q. S.L. Ollard, op.cit., p.159.
- 18 H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, III.369.
- 19 Ibid., IV.221.
- 20 Ibid., IV.211.

- 21 q. W.J. Sparrow Simpson: 'The Revival from 1845 to 1933' in Northern Catholicism, pp.49-50.
- 22 Cf. H. Northcott: 'The Development and Deepening of the Spiritual Life', in Northern Catholicism, p.322 on Ritualist use of Tractarian eucharistic theology.
- 23 O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.495.
- 24 29 Volumes of the Ecclesiologist appeared between 1841-68. It was an effective forum for debate and voice for ecclesiological evangelism. On the Cambridge Camden Society, see A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.224f.
- 25 J.M. Neale: Symbolism, p.xxvi.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid., p.xx.
- 28 Ibid., p.lv.
- 29 Ibid., p.liii.
- 30 Ibid., p.xlix.
- 31 Ibid., p.ciii.
- 32 E. King, 'Ritual', A Sermon, in Church Treasures: Five Sermons preached at St. Barnabas, Oxford, during the Octave of the Rededication Festival, 1874, 1874, i.11.
- 33 E. King: Sermons and Addresses, B.W. Randolph (ed.), 1911, iii.23.
- 34 W.J. Sparrow-Simpson: The History of the Anglo-Catholic Revival from 1845, 1932, p.70.
- 35 F.G. Lee (ed.): Directorium Anglicanum: A Manual...for the performance of...rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the ancient use of the Church of England, 1865², p.ix.
- 36 Ibid., p.x.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 R.F. Littledale: Catholic Ritual in the Church of England: Scriptural, Reasonable, and Lawful, 1865², p.6.
- 40 T.T. Carter: 'The Pattern shewed on the Mount'; or, thoughts of quietness and hope for the Church of England in her latterdays, A Sermon, 1850, p.6.
- 41 R.F. Littledale: The Christian Sacrifice, n.d. (?1867), p.4.
- 42 Cf. eg. T.T. Carter: The Doctrine of Priesthood in the Church of England, 1857, p.115; id., Sermons, 1862, xi.177.
- 43 Cf. eg. J.M. Neale: Sermons on the Blessed Sacrament, 1900 (New ed.), ii.10.
- 44 Id., Occasional Sermons, 1873, i.11.

- 45 P.G. Medd, 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice', p.330.
- 46 On minute performance of ceremonial as an expression of love, see Directorium Anglicanum, p.xiv.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p.ix, where representation of Christ 'the Great High Priest' is explicitly adduced as a stimulus to reverent handling of the sacramental mysteries. See further on this relation below pp.258ff.
- 48 The Eastward position was one of the English Church Unions '6 points' of Anglican Ritual. See A. Härdelin, op.cit., p.309f, and below n.53 on the E.C.U.
- 49 Directorium Anglicanum, pp.x-xi.
- 50 T.T. Carter (ed.): The Guide to Heaven : A Book of Prayers for every want, 1870, p.92.
- 51 Directorium Anglicanum, p.xiii.
- 52 On Carter's life, see Art. 'T.T. Carter', D.N.B., 2nd suppl., 1901-11, pp.319-321.
- 53 The 'English Church Union' was formed in 1860 from the 'Church of England Protection Society' (1859), to defend and spread High Church principles in the Church of England and is particularly associated with defensive of persecuted or prosecuted Ritualist clergy. See G. Bayfield Roberts: The History of the English Church Union: 1859-1894, 1895.
- 54 T.T. Carter: Doctrine of Priesthood, pp.129-30.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p.107.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p.108.
- 57 *Id.*, Parish Teachings, Second series: The Lord's Prayer and Other Sermons, 1886, p.199.
- 58 *Id.*, Doctrine of Priesthood, p.99.
- 59 *Ibid.*, and cf. *id.*, 'The Priesthood', A Sermon preached at Clewer Parish Church, Advent 1878, 1878, pp.4-5.
- 60 *Id.*, (ed.): The Treasury of Devotion: A Manual of Prayers for General and Daily Use, 1869, p.96ff.
- 61 *Id.*, (ed.): A Book of Private Prayers...for those who would live to God amid the business of daily life, 1861, pp.167-8.
- 62 J.M. Neale: Sermons preached in Sackville College Chapel, Two Series, 4 Vols., 1898 (ed.), I.iii.340.
- 63 *Id.*, Sermons preached in a Religious House, First Series, 2 Vols., 1869, I.xi.92.
- 64 *Id.*, Sermons preached in a Religious House, Second Series, 2 Vols., 1874, I.xxii. 198; and cf. *id.* Sermons for the Church Year, 2 Vols., 1876, I.xiii.104: "Thou seest, O Lord, now unable I am to help them; do Thou Thyself, the great High Priest, who needest not the aid of any earthly Priest, give them Thine own help, comfort then with Thine own consolation, make Thy grace sufficient in all things."

- 65 On the famous Liddell v. Westerton, and Liddell v. Beal cases in the Consistory Court which effectively began anti-Ritualist Litigation, re. a cross behind the altar, a credence table, and altar candlesticks, see O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.496, and J.R.H. Moorman: History of the Church of England, p.369.
- 66 R. Liddell: The Christian Priesthood, Altar, and Sacrifice: Four Sermons preached at St. Paul's Knightsbridge...Trinity, 1867, 1868, i.1f,7f.
- 67 Id., 'The Scriptural Rationale of Eucharistic Vestments': A Sermon...January 14, 1866, 1866, p.6.
- 68 R.F. Littledale: The Christian Priesthood, 1867, p.3.
- 69 R.M. Benson: 'The High Priest after the order of Melchizedek' A Sermon...Easter Day 1860, in Redemption : Some of the aspects of the Work of Christ, 1861, pp.158-9. See further on Benson below p.283ff.
- 70 R.M. Benson: The Life beyond the Grave: A Series of Meditations upon the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1885, p.185.
- 71 T.T. Carter: Doctrine of Priesthood, p.10.
- 72 Ibid., p.148.
- 73 W. Bright: 'The Priesthood', in Church Treasures, p.60. Cf. further on Bright below pp.360f, 406f.
- 74 On R.C. Moberly see below p.387ff.
- 75 T.T. Carter: Doctrine of Priesthood,pp.147-8.
- 76 J.M. Neale: Sermons for the Church Year, II.lxi.236.
- 77 E. King: A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Lincoln...Primary Episcopal Visitation, 1886, pp.34-5.
- 78 R. Liddell: The Christian Priesthood, Altar, and Sacrifice, p.2.
- 79 R.M. Benson: Redemption, vi.168.
- 80 Cf. Liberalism in the Priest's Craft: A Letter to the Bishop of Manchester in reference to The First Paper read by Dean Cowie at the Diocesan Conference, 1875, p.3.
- 81 T.T. Carter: Doctrine of Priesthood, p.148.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 W. Bright, op.cit., p.59.
- 84 Ibid., p.60.
- 85 T.T. Carter: Spiritual Instructions on the Holy Eucharist, 1870, pp.98-9.
- 86 Ibid., p.85.
- 87 Id., Parish Teachings, p.191.
- 88 Ibid., pp.191-2.

- 89 Id., Doctrine of Priesthood, pp.100-1.
- 90 Ibid., p.103.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid., p.153.
- 93 Ibid., p.103.
- 94 Ibid., p.17, and cf. p.94 where he endorses Jeremy Taylor's description of the Church's ministry as "ministers of Christ's Priesthood" and thence true priests.
- 95 Ibid., p.29.
- 96 W. Bright, loc.cit. On Newman and Keble's understanding of the liturgical agency of Christ, see supra pp.61, 66f, 147f.
- 97 T.T. Carter: Doctrine of Priesthood, p.93.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid., p.94f.
- 100 Ibid., p.98.
- 101 Ibid., p.99.
- 102 Ibid., pp.89-90.
- 103 Ibid., p.92.
- 104 Ibid., p.94.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Ibid., p.35; and cf. Sermon 'The Priesthood', pp.4-5.
- 107 Cf. eg. id., Parish Teachings, p.191: "The human ministry is the representative of the ministry of Jesus" ... "You see through us the living Christ, see Him at the heavenly Altar, see His uplifted hands, hear His voice of blessing."
- 108 Id., Doctrine of Priesthood, p.91, where he observes that "ambassadors" are "the complete representative of the unseen sovereign."
- 109 Cf. eg. id., A Sermon preached at the Ordination...by the Lord Bishop of Oxford...Advent, 1849, 1850, p.6, where of the eucharistic ministry of the Church after the Lord's Supper, Carter wrote: "What He had begun, they and the long line of their ministry were to perpetuate, or rather He in them, in an uninterrupted succession."
- 110 Id., Doctrine of Priesthood, p.128ff. Cf.pp.129-30: "When therefore the word 'improper' is applied to the Priesthood, it is with the view of marking the derived and dependent character of its commission, in contradistinction to the Priesthood of CHRIST. It expresses the truth taught by the Fathers, and already mentioned, that Christ is "the only High Priest by nature", and that all other priests are but channels, through which the acts and virtues of His Priesthood pass, as a fountain diffuses its waters along many ducts, or the sun derives its central light through many media."

- 111 Id., A Book of Private Prayers, p.137.
- 112 Id., Doctrine of Priesthood, p.134.
- 113 Id., Ordination Sermon, 1849, p.12; cf.p.16, where he also stresses, in a class-conscious society, that - "The Priesthood of the Lord absorbs all distinctions of birth or fortune."
- 114 Id., Doctrine of Priesthood, pp.91, 134.
- 115 J.M. Neale: Sackville College Sermons, II.lxxi.48.
- 116 Ibid., lxxxi.138.
- 117 R.F. Littledale: The Christian Priesthood, p.3.
- 118 W. Bright, op.cit., pp.58-9.
- 119 Ibid., p.67.
- 120 Cf. G. Congreve and W.H. Longridge (eds.): Letters of Richard Meux Benson, 1916, Letter to a Priest, 14.v.1900 pp. 306-7: "A Priest acts as Christ's representative towards Christ's children, not as a mere official or deputy, but as a living channel of the grace which comes from Christ the Head". Cf. also id., The Final Passover: A Series of Mediations upon the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3 Vols, 1884-93, p.479
- 121 W.J. Butler: Sacerdotalism: a paper read before the Clifton Branch of the E.C.U. Nov. 21, 1889, 1890, pp.7, 12. Butler is famed for his long incumbency at Wantage (1846-80), and establishment of the 'Community of St. Mary the Virgin', there. He was an advanced Ritualist and trained many later famous curates: viz. incl. A.H. Mackonochie, W.C.E. Newbolt, H.P. Liddon. In 1880 he was appointed Canon of Worcester, and in 1885 Dean of Lincoln.
- 122 Cf. R. Liddell: 'The Ministry: its Duties and Snares', in The Warnings of Advent: A Course of Sermons preached in St. Bartholomew's Church, Cripplegate, Advent 1852, 1853, xv.216, where he writes: "We, then, under Him are enjoined to feed His flock. He worketh His soul-converting, soul-feeding work in, and by, and through us. Hence, St. Paul says, "We therefore, as co-workers together with Him, beseech you that ye receive not the grace of God in vain."
- 123 See below pp.415f, 420f, 425f, on evangelical accusations of vitiating Christ's unique priestly ministry.
- 124 W.J. Knox-Little: 'Alexander Heriot Mackonochie', A Sermon preached before the E.C.U. Jan 30, 1888, 1888, pp.14-15. Curate of W.J. Butler at Wantage and Charles Lowder (1820-80), another leading Ritualist, Mackonochie was put in charge of the new Church of St. Alban's, Holborn, in 1862, and from 1867 the Evangelical Church Association (see below p.409, and Chapter VIII passim) inveighed furiously against his introduction of ceremonial additions, notably the mixed chalice and altar lights. The object of episcopal suspicion and suppression, Mackonochie finally resigned in 1882, martyr to a cause but respected as a saintly servant.
- 125 T.T. Carter: Ordination Sermon, 1849, p.16.
- 126 R.M. Benson: The Followers of the Lamb: A Series of Meditations...for persons living under Religious Vows, xxi.238.

- 127 J.M. Neale: Sermons on the Blessed Sacrament, ii.11; vii.55-6; id., Sermons preached in a Religious House I.xxi.170.
- 128 Cf. this description in the controversial work The Priest in Absolution : A Manual for such as are called unto the higher ministries in the English Church, 2 Parts, 1866, pp.2-9.
- 129 R.M. Benson: The Final Passover, III. xvi.196.
- 130 R.F. Littledale: 'Ritualists' and 'Romanists', 1876, p.8.
- 131 H.L. Stephen: A Century of Anglo-Catholicism, Toronto, 1929, p.173.
- 132 Cf. J.R.H. Moorman: History of the Church of England, p.352. On W.J.E. Bennett see Art. O.D.C.C., p.158.
- 133 Cf. H. Davies: Worship and Theology, IV.116.
- 134 R.F. Littledale: The North Side of the Altar : A Liturgical Essay, 1865, p.12.
- 135 Cf. C.J. Blomfield: A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, 1842, p.30.
- 136 Id., A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, 1850, p.51; cf. J.R.H. Moorman, op.cit., p.353.
- 137 q. F.W. Cornish: History of the English Church, I.346-7. Russell echoed Blomfield's Charge of 1850 in his inflammatory castigation of Popery in Britain. See O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.296-8.
- 138 q. W.J. Sparrow-Simpson: History of the Anglo-Catholic Revival, p.69,
- 139 P. Thureau-Dangin: The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century, 2 Vols. ^{1/2}cf. H. Davies, Worship and Theology, IV. 120-1.
- 140 J.M. Neale: Symbolism, p.cxxxii.
- 141 Cf. eg. R.F. Littledale: Incense: A Liturgical Essay, 1866, p.6.
- 142 J.M. Neale: op.cit., p.cxxxii.
- 143 E. King: Ezra and Nehemiah: two examples for Priests and Laymen in the present movement in the Church of England, Sermons... after Easter 1872, 1872, p.15.
- 144 Cf. O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I.496.
- 145 Eg. R.F. Littledale: 'Catholic-not Roman Catholic': Tract 88, in The Church Defence Handy Volume..., 1892⁶, p.8: "The Church of England has kept the safe line between these two parallel errors and has neither added to the faith of ancient Christendom, nor taken away from it, and accordingly, while she is Catholic, which the sects are not, she is not Roman Catholic, with mere local and modern variation for the worse from the old teaching of the Church universal." See further on Littledale's rejection of worship of the BVM, below pp.290f.
- 146 Cf. D. Voll: Catholic Evangelicalism, p.86.
- 147 Cf. N.P. Williams, 'The Theology of the Catholic Revival', p.139.

- 148 q. F.W. Cornish: History of the English Church, II.136.
- 149 The 'Church Association' was formed by Protestant Churchmen in May 1865 "with the object of resisting innovations in ceremonial by legal action". (O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, II.319). On the Association's activities see also H. Davies, Worship and Theology, IV.124. On S.F. Green, see O. Chadwick, op.cit., pp.348, 358, 392.
- 150 R. Liddell, 'Scriptural Rationale of Eucharistic Vestments', p.15.
- 151 q. W.J. Sparrow-Simpson: History of the Anglo-Catholic Revival, p.80.
- 152 E. King, 'Ezra and Nehemiah', p.19.
- 153 R.M. Benson: The Final Passover, II. xxxv. 340-1.
- 154 G. Congreve and W.H. Longridge: Letters of R.M. Benson, Letter to a Priest, 14.v.1900, pp.306-7.
- 155 T.T. Carter: Sermons, xv.240.
- 156 E. King: Primary Charge, p.14.
- 157 Ibid., p.29.
- 158 A.H. Mackonochie: 'First Principles against Erastianism': Six Sermons preached at St. Vedast's, Foster Lane... Lent, 1876, 1876, i.17,18.
- 159 Ibid., ii.22.
- 160 R.M. Benson, Redemption, p.172.
- 161 R. Liddell: 'The Church's belief in the Real Presence - the Key to her Ritual', in Two Sermons preached at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge... Trinity, 1867, 1867, pp.13-14.
- 162 R.M. Benson: The Final Passover, II.lxxx.425; xxx.287; id., Redemption, vi.158.
- 163 H. Davies: Worship and Theology, IV.115.
- 164 q. D. Bowen: Idea of the Victorian Church, p.126.
- 165 J.M. Neale: Occasional Sermons, xiii.159.
- 166 R.M. Benson: The Manual of Intercessory Prayer, 2 Parts, 1872, II.52.
- 167 q. E.A. Down, 'Pastoral Ideals and Methods of the Movement', pp.281-2.
- 168 J.M. Neale: Sermons on the Blessed Sacrament, xiii.104-5.
- 169 Ibid., xiv.113-4.
- 170 Directorium Anglicanum, p.ix.
- 171 F.G. Lee (ed.): Manuale Clericorum: A Guide to the Reverent and Decent celebration of Divine Service..., 1874, p.1.
- 172 R. Liddell, 'Scriptural Rationale of Eucharistic Vestments', p.16.
- 173 R.F. Littledale: The Christian Sacrifice, p.4.

- 174 Ibid.
- 175 A.H. Mackonochie, Sermon at St. Alban Martyr, 1867, pp.6-7.
- 176 T.T. Carter: The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist drawn from Holy Scripture and the records of the Church..., 1867, pp.11ff; id., Spiritual Instructions on the Holy Eucharist, 1870, 82ff; id., The Blessings of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, practically explained and the Duty of Frequently Communicating enforced, 1835, p.iv.
- 177 Id., Blessings of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, loc.cit.
- 178 R.F. Littledale: The Christian Sacrifice, loc.cit.
- 179 R. Liddell: The Christian Priesthood, Altar and Sacrifice, i.9.
- 180 R.M. Benson: Final Passover II.lxxvii.407.
- 181 E. King: The Communicants' Manual, 1871², ('Spiritual Communion') p.68.
- 182 Cf. Bibliography for further details.
- 183 J.M. Neale: Sermons preached in a Religious House, xxx.257.
- 184 Id., Sackville College Sermons, l.xlix.318.
- 185 T.T. Carter; Sermons, xxi.354.
- 186 Id., 'Our Lord's Agony', A Sermon preached... in Oxford, March 27, 1857, 1857, p.12.
- 187 Id., Sermons, xxi.353-4.
- 188 Id., Parish Teachings, p.190, et passim.
- 189 C. Lowder: The Penitents' Path, 1848, p.24.
- 190 N. Elffen: Light in the Heart, or, short Meditations on subjects which concern the soul. Translated from the French by W.J. Butler, 1869, xxi.156.
- 191 R. Liddell: A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London on Confession and Absolution, with special reference to the case of the Rev. Alfred Poole, 1858, p.20.
- 192 J.M. Neale: Sermons for some Feast Days in the Christian Year, n.d., xvii. 160.
- 193 Id., Sermons on the Blessed Sacrament, ix.83.
- 194 E. King: Easter Sermons preached in Lincoln Cathedral, B.W. Randolph (ed.), 1914, i.4.
- 195 Cf. eg. T.T. Carter: Sermons, xi.26-7.
- 196 On Tractarian encouragement of Confession, see above p. 123f, 148. And cf E.A. Down: 'Pastoral Ideals and Methods Of the Movement', p.279f.
- 197 A Mozley (ed.): Letters and Correspondence of J.H. Newman during his life in the English Church, 2 Vols, 1903, II.405.

- 198 q. W.J. Sparrow-Simpson: History of the Anglo-Catholic Revival, p.107: cf. ibid., pp.105ff. on the revival of Confession and Absolution in the English Church.
- 199 H.P. Liddon: Life of E.B. Pusey, II.358.
- 200 In E.B. Pusey: 'Habitual Confession not discouraged by the Resolution accepted by the Lambeth Conference', A Letter to His Grace, The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, 1878, p.43ff.
- 201 On the Poole case, cf. W.J. Sparrow-Simpson, op.cit., p.105.
- 202 Cf. G. Moberly: The Administration of the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ, Bampton Lectures 1868, which stated. "O let no shrinking from the honest and faithful use of the divinely ascended powers that come to the Church and to her priest from the holy words and breath of Christ... grudge to his dying brother the clear, outspoken, ringing words of absolution, which the Church has put into his mouth." Cited in W.J. Sparrow-Simpson, op.cit., p.108.
- 203 Cf. John Jackson: A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London in 1879, pp.60, 67; though he believed "the Saviour's redeeming merits, God's pardoning love, embraced, and held fast by a penitent faith, leave nether need nor room for private absolution and auricular confession". Cf also W.J. Sparrow-Simpson, op.cit., p.121.
- 204 Cf. G.H. Wilkinson: 'Absolution', A Sermon, 1874, p.7, where he states that Ministers are "only organs of the Body: the hand, as it were, by which Christ the Head employs the entire force of the Body in lifting off a weight from a laden soul," and claims it to be no new doctrine that Christ has "delegated to human beings the commission to exercise, as His ministers a power which belongs, absolutely, to Himself alone." Cf. also id., 'Confession', A Sermon, 1874.
- 205 E. King: A Reply to C.J. Elliott, 1879, p.9: q. W.J. Sparrow-Simpson, op.cit., p.122.
- 206 Cited in W.J. Sparrow-Simpson op.cit., p.109f.
- 207 q. ibid., p.115.
- 208 q. ibid.
- 209 J.M. Neale: Sermons for the Church Year, II.lvi.190.
- 210 Id., Lectures on Church Difficulties, 1871, xiv.265, 259.
- 211 Ibid., p.264.
- 212 Id., Confession and Absolution: A Lecture, 1854, p.15.
- 213 Id., Sermons preached in a Religious House, I.iii.21.
- 214 Id., Sackville College Sermons, I.lix.384.
- 215 Ibid., III.xxxvii.294.
- 216 T.T. Carter: 'The Perfecting Of the Saints the object of the ministry', A Sermon preached... May, 27, 1846, at the visitation of the Ven. Archdeacon of Bucks, 1846, pp.20-1.

- 217 Id., The Doctrine of Confession in the Church of England, 1869², pp.291-2.
- 218 Ibid.
- 219 Ibid., pp.299-300.
- 220 Ibid., p.252.
- 221 Ibid., pp.289-90.
- 222 Cf. *ibid.*, where Christ's exercise of His Priesthood through His human nature is the basis for Carter to write: "He exhibited Himself under this aspect the primary instance of the Divine prerogative operating through human means, that His people might be prepared for the continual operation of the same great gift, even more to be bestowed 'on earth'... - to be still indeed His own inalienable prerogative, but exercised mediately through others, through a line of subordinate agency, His own ministers, deriving from Himself in an unbroken continuity of living grace."
- 223 The Priest in Absolution, p.1.
- 224 G.H. Wilkinson, 'Absolution', p.7.
- 225 Ibid.
- 226 R. Liddell: Letter to the Bishop of London, p.21.
- 227 Ibid., p.19.
- 228 Ibid., pp.12-13.
- 229 Ibid., pp.13-14.
- 230 Cf. on their labours, esp. D. Voll: Catholic Evangelicalism.
- 231 On G. Body, see Art, D.N.B., Second Suppl. 1901-1911, p.190.
- 232 G. Body: 'The Doctrine of the Church of England on Confession and Absolution', A Sermon... Nov.2. 1873, 1873, p.12.
- 233 Id., The Church in Comparison with the Sects', A Sermon... Trinity, 1873, 1873, p.11.
- 234 Id., The Atonement and the Living Christ : notes of Last Lectures and Addresses, 1912, pp.58ff.
- 235 G. Body: 'The Priest upon his Throne', in The Anglican Pulpit Today : forty short biographies and forty sermons of distinguished preachers in the Church of England, 1886, pp.258-266.
- 236 Ibid., p.265.
- 237 Ibid.
- 238 Ibid., p.263
- 239 Ibid., p.264
- 240 Ibid., p.265.
- 241 Ibid., p.264.



- 242 Ibid.
- 243 q. H. Davies; Worship and Theology, IV.136.
- 244 M.V. Woodgate: Father Benson, Founder of the Cowley Fathers, 1953, p.162; on Benson, see also M.L. Smith (ed.): Benson of Cowley, 1980.
- 245 G. Congreve and W.H. Longridge: Letters of R.M. Benson, pp.255-6.
- 246 On the revival of the Religious life in the late-nineteenth century, see P.F. Anson: The Call of the Cloister, Religious Communities and kindred bodies in the Anglican Communion, 1956; A.M. Allchin: The Silent Rebellion, Anglican Religious Communities 1845-1900, 1958.
- 247 R.M. Benson: Redemption, vi.167.
- 248 Id., p.173.
- 249 R. Liddell: The Christian Priesthood, Altar, and Sacrifice, i.10.
- 250 R.M. Benson: Redemption, vi.165.
- 251 Id., The Life Beyond the Grave, p.185.
- 252 Ibid.
- 253 Ibid., p.186.
- 254 Ibid., p.187.
- 255 Ibid., p.189.
- 256 Ibid., p.190.
- 257 Id., The War-Songs of the Prince of Peace : a devotional Commentary on the Psalter, 2 Vols., 1901, II.360-396.
- 258 See supra p.175f.
- 259 Id., Redemption, vi.177.
- 260 Ibid., p.152.
- 261 Id., The Final Passover, III.xxv.296ff.
- 262 Ibid., p.297.
- 263 Ibid.
- 264 Ibid., iv.36.
- 265 Id., Benedictus Dominus: A course of Meditations for Most Days of the Year, Part I, 'Advent to Trinity', 1879, p.181.
- 266 Cf. eg. T.T. Carter, Parish Teachings, p.193: "Our Lord's own ministry was founded on this idea. His High Priesthood was the more perfect because of His common nature and His power of sympathy."
- 267 G. Williams: 'The Priestly Office of Christ', A Sermon... at the Festival of the Annuciation of the B.V.M., 1856, 1856, Preface, pp.3-4.

- 268 Ibid., p.11.
- 269 Ibid., p.15.
- 270 R.M. Benson, Redemption, vi.155-6.
- 271 Id., The Final Passover, II.xxxv. 339.
- 272 Ibid., II.lxxvii.407; id., Redemption, p.vi.
- 273 Ibid., xvi.157.
- 274 Id., Redemption, p.xi.
- 275 Ibid., vii.188.
- 276 Ibid., I.i; vii.202.
- 277 Ibid., vii.202-3.
- 278 Ibid., vi.159.
- 279 Ibid., p.172.
- 280 Id., Manual of Intercessory Prayer, p.23; Id., The Final Passover, II.lxv.347.
- 281 Id., 'The Efficacy of Prayer' A Sermon... Lent, 1866, 1866, p.22.
- 282 Id., The Final Passover, II.lxv. 338.
- 283 Ibid., II.xi. 54ff.
- 284 Id., 'The Name of Jesus' A Sermon... Epiphany 1865, 1865, p.24.
- 285 Id., The Life Beyond the Grave, p.197.
- 286 Ibid., p.198.
- 287 Cf. eg. id., Redemption, ix.412; The Final Passover, II.xi.54ff.
- 288 Id., The Followers of the Lamb, vii. 86.
- 289 Ibid., p.93.
- 290 Id., Redemption, vi.169.
- 291 Ibid., vii. 208.
- 292 Id., The Followers of the Lamb, ix.115ff; id., The Final Passover, II.xxx.287f.
- 293 Id., The Final Passover II.lxxxviii.459.
- 294 Ibid., II.xxxv.334ff.
- 295 Id., Redemption, iii.61.
- 296 Id., The Divine Rule of Prayer, or Considerations upon the Lord's Prayer, 1866, p.3.
- 297 Id., The Final Passover, II.xxxv. 334.

- 298 Id., The Divine Rule of Prayer, p.1.
- 299 R.F. Littledale: Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome, 1880, pp.21-2; and cf. id., Catholic-not Roman Catholic, p.7.
- 300 T.T. Carter: The Distinctions between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, 1850, p.11.
- 301 Id., The Roman Question : in Letters to a Friend, 1888, p.119.
- 302 Id., 'Fellowship with the Saints', A Sermon... Festival of All Saints, 1868, 1868, pp.7-8.
- 303 G. Williams: 'The Priestly Office of Christ', p.20.
- 304 Ibid., p.21.
- 305 Ibid.
- 306 J.M. Neale: Sackville College Sermons, I.xxviii.181.
- 307 R.M. Benson: The Final Passover, III.xvi.192.
- 308 Ibid., pp.201-2.

CHAPTER VI

The Priesthood of Christ and the Development of Anglican Biblical Criticism

- 1 On 'Higher Criticism', see supra, p.3, n.12.
- 2 As F.W. Farrar caustically remarked in 1885: "Can there be a better proof of the stagnation of fifty years ago than that the popular commentary was the 'variorum' mediocrity of D'Oyly and Mant?" (History of Interpretation, p.421).
- 3 For a thorough survey of the background, content and effect of Essays and Reviews, see I. Ellis: Seven Against Christ: A Study of 'Essays and Reviews', Leiden, 1980. On Essays, and Reviews see below p.295f.
- 4 C.C.J. Webb: A Century of Anglican Theology, p.37.
- 5 M. Pattison: Memoirs, 1885, p.244.
- 6 A.M. Crowther: Church Embattled, p.124.
- 7 C.C.J. Webb, op.cit., p.37.
- 8 L.E. Elliott-Binns: Religious Thought in the Victorian Era, p.277.
- 9 E. Dowden: Life of Robert Browning, 1915, p.325; q. L.E. Elliott-Binns, op.cit., p.277.
- 10 E.A. Abbott and L. Campbell (eds.): The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, 2 Vols., 1897, I. 275.
- 11 H.B. Wilson: 'The National Church' in Essays and Reviews, 1860, p.177.
- 12 Cf. ibid., B. Jowett: 'On the Interpretation of Holy Scripture', p.367, where he is critical of a scripturalism in which: "Words which occur in scripture

are singled out and incorporated in systems like stones taken out of an old building and put into a new one".

- 13 H.B. Wilson, op.cit., p.176.
- 14 As Owen Chadwick points out: "The book was important because it was written by clergymen". (Victorian Church, II.78).
- 15 Cf. Letter F.J.A. Hort to B.F. Westcott, 11.xii.1860, (in A. Hort (ed.): The Life and Letters of F.J.A. Hort, 2 Vols., 1896. I. 436): "I quite feel with you that we are in a very critical state of things. The 'Essays and Reviews' have, I think, flung back into mere orthodox assertion many who were feeling their way onwards, and such views will on the other hand be accepted widely as the utmost now tenable. Our own position is becoming more unpopular, but also I think, more important."
- 16 G.W.H. Lampe: 'The Bible since the rise of Critical Study' in D.E. Nineham (ed.), The Church's Use of the Bible, 1963, p.126.
- 17 Cf. J.D. Michaelis: Introduction to the New Testament, 4 Vols., H. Marsh (transl.), 1802⁴, IV. 264: "However excellent its contents may be, they alone will not oblige us to receive it, as a work inspired by the Deity."
- 18 Cf. F.C. Baur: 'Über der Ursprung der Episcopats in der Christlichen Kirche', T.Z.T., 3 (1838), 123, 141-3, re. Hebrews, The Pastoral Epistles, and Philippians, as an attempt by the Pauline party to overcome the conflict with the Jewish Christians. "Of these irenic works which form a class of their own, which belong to a definite period, the letter to the Hebrews is perhaps to be regarded as the first member. In all its peculiarity...it appears perhaps to be the first attempt, though one still with a certain ambiguity, to pursue the business of bringing both parties into harmony and of establishing peace by this literary means, by letters put into circulation in the name of the Apostle". (q. W. Kummel: The New Testament: A History of the Interpretation of its problems, S. McL. Gilmour & H.C. Kee (Tr.), 1973, p.133). See contra Baur. A. von Harnack: Das Wesen des Christentums, Leipzig, 1900, pp.58-59.
- 19 Cf. too, O. Michel's frank admission: "Man wird dem Rationalismus nicht unrecht tun, wenn man behauptet, dass er für den Hebr. nicht viel Verständnis gehabt hat", (in Der Brief an die Hebräer, Meyers Kommentar XIII, Göttingen, 1975 edn., p.87).
- 20 G. Faber: Jowett: A Portrait with a background, 1957, pp.224-5.
- 21 See above p.163ff.
- 22 Cf. review of G.V. Sampson: A Literal Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, 1828, in C.R., 11 (1829), 160-168. Interestingly, the evangelical reviewer in the Christian Observer did not find Sampson's departures from the A.V. offensive, since, he maintained, "he supports these in notes in which the Apostle's figurative allusions are explained, with much learning and with great ingenuity." So, he concluded, "...the critical student of the Epistle to the Hebrews may consult this work with considerable advantage". (C.O., 28 (1828), 450).
- 23 P.N. Shuttleworth: A Paraphrastic Translation of the Apostolical Epistles, 1829, p.392. Shuttleworth's anti-Socinian use of Hebrews and defense of Christ's divinity became a popular source for later Anglican commentaries, and one often finds an odd reference to it. On Shuttleworth see Art. 'P.N. Shuttleworth', D.N.B., XVII. 175-6.

- 24 G. Holden: The Christian Expositor: A Practical Guide to the Study of the New Testament, 1830, p.554. On Holden, see above p.164.
- 25 Cf. T. Parry: The Apostleship and Priesthood of Christ: A Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1834, p.83: "We are ministers for you, brethren, not mediators; - ordained not to serve God in your stead, as your deputies, but to assist in affording you the means, especially the public means, opportunities, and instruction necessary for serving God yourselves."
- 26 Ibid., p.84. Cf. Parry was Archdeacon of Antigua and one of a line of Oxford men with links with the Caribbean (eg. Keble was offered the Archdeaconry of Barbados in 1824 and Froude spent much of the last years of his life convalescing there).
- 27 G. Montagu: Horae Hebraicae: An attempt to discover how the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews must have been understood by those addressed therein, 1835. Nb. p.2, he admits to not having "a style, luminous as well as concise", as he devotes 557pp. to 4 Chapters.
- 28 Cf. Ibid., pp.94f, 312f, 325ff.
- 29 Cf. C. Forster: The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews: 'An Inquiry in which the received title of the Greek Epistle is vindicated, against the cavils of objectors, ancient and modern, from Origen to Sir J.D. Michaelis, chiefly upon grounds of internal evidence hitherto unnoticed: comprizing a comparative analysis of the style and structure of this Epistle and of the undisputed Epistles of St. Paul, tending to throw light upon their interpretation', 1838. Forster's work was another frequently cited study, and was for many the last word in defence of Hebrew's Pauline authorship.
- 30 W. Tait: Meditationes Hebraicae: or, a Doctrinal and Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In a Series of Lectures, 2 Vols., 1845, pp.xx-xiv. Tait was Vicar of Holy Trinity, Wakefield. He claimed to have only used the works of Moses Stuart (1828) and G. Montagu, and to have been unacquainted with the popular works by Owen, Deering, Gouge, Lawson, Jones, Vaughan and Maclean. See on Tait above p.298.
- 31 Ibid., p.xx.
- 32 J. Kitto: A Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature, 2 Vols., 1845, I.826.
- 33 Cf. eg. J. Stow: Reflections on the Epistles of St. Paul and on that to the Hebrews, with Scriptural Illustrations, 1847, p.674, 679; "Generally supposed to have been by St. Paul's dictation under Divine Inspiration". ... "the High Priest of his (the Christian's) Profession should ever be regarded with the most reverential fear and holy love." Constructed as essentially a catena of illuminative scriptural texts, Stow's work abundantly illustrates popular belief in the unity and harmony of Scripture.
- 34 Cf. C. Wordsworth D.D.: On the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and on the Apocrypha, Eleven discourses preached before the University of Cambridge, ...Hulsean Lectures, 1847, 1848, pp.200-246. Cf. *ibid.*, p.202f, where Wordsworth explicitly rejects German denials of the Epistles apostolicity and, thence, inspiration, citing its Pauline ascription in the A.V. and B.C.P., and observing, "...although, if it be proved not to be his, its claims to Inspiration would not therefore be annulled." Drawing on Forster's evidence, he concludes "Let us admire and

bless God's goodness for the assurance He has given us of the Inspiration of this Epistle, which contains so much instruction of the sublimest points of Christian Doctrine, and on the cardinal articles of Christian Duty." (p.243).

- 35 S. Davidson, D.D.: An Introduction to the New Testament, 3 Vols., 1848-51, III. 294, 5. Cf. *ibid.*, he rejects both the extreme negativity towards the Epistle by the Roman Catholic scholar Feilmoser, and John Owen's positive acclamation - "the World may as well be without the Sun as the Church this epistle." He also praises G. Montagu's Horae Hebraicae as "a work containing many excellent illustrations of the course of thought pursued by the inspired writer", and does not agree with Shuttleworth that Christ's divinity is set forth more prominently in Hebrews than in any other NT epistle.
- 36 Cf. W.D. Conybeare and J.D. Howson: The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, 2 Vols., London, 1852, II.508: "There is no portion of the New Testament whose authorship is so disputed; nor any of which the inspiration is more indisputable." On Alford, see below p.323f.
- 37 Cf. R. Williams: 'Bunsen's Biblical Researches', in Essays and Reviews, p.84; and cf. *ibid.*, p.184.
- 38 See above p. 163f, on early evangelical interpretation which illustrates the conservative response to Hebrews.
- 39 S. Davidson, *op.cit.*, III.294,5.
- 40 The progress of a rationalistic critique of scriptural typology is well illustrated in Salomon Glassius's Philologia Sacra (1623). The 1711 edn., (Amsterdam, Vol.II. Bk.II.211-5), contains a long section with nine canons for interpreting 'Types'. In the 1797 edn., (Leipzig, Vol.II.22-29), all this is set aside - "his temporibus accomodata". Cited in J.E. Carpenter: The Bible in the Nineteenth Century, 1903, p.104.
- 41 J.E. Carpenter, *op.cit.*, p.104.
- 42 Cf. H. Marsh: Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible, 1842 Edn., p.373; cited in J.E. Carpenter, *op.cit.*, p.105.
- 43 On Pusey's typological interpretation of the Old Testament see above p.69f.
- 44 Cf. Pusey House, MS Letter Pusey to Keble, 23.x.1861, - "What Jowett rebels against is not Tractarianism but mystery"; q. I. Ellis, Seven Against Christ, p.37.
- 45 C. Forster: The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, p.435.n.
- 46 B. Jowett: The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans. With critical notes and dissertations, 2 Vols., 1855, II.468-482.
- 47 R.E. Prothero: The Life and Letters of A.P. Stanley, I.473.
- 48 G. Faber: Jowett, p.44.
- 49 C.C.J. Webb: A Century of Anglican Theology, p.45.
- 50 G. Faber: Jowett, p.212f.

- 51 q. *ibid.*
- 52 According to Faber: "The reception of his two outspoken essays *On Atonement and Satisfaction* and *On the Interpretation of Scripture* had forced him to realize that most of what he thought was not only anathema to the great majority of Clergymen, but would be repudiated even by such men as Tait or Temple." (*op.cit.*, PP.325-6).
- 53 Cf. B.M.G. Reardon: *Religious Thought*, p.338.
- 54 From a review in *Edinburgh Review*, April 1861; q. B. Willey: *More Nineteenth Century Studies*, 1956, p.173.
- 55 W. Ward: *W.G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, 1890², p.434.
- 56 Cf. I. Ellis: *Seven Against Christ*, p.46, re. Jowett's *Commentary* in general: "(It) opened up new fields and was theologically far more advanced than anything that Powell, as the most notorious of the Oxford men, had written."
- 57 According to Abbott and Campbell, in the second edition of Jowett's *Commentary*, which appeared in the summer of 1859, "the *Essay on Atonement* in particular was entirely rewritten, and had threatened at one time to grow into a separate volume. (*Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, I.253).
- 58 *Ibid.*, I.233-4.
- 59 B. Jowett: 'On the Atonement and Satisfaction', p.477.
- 60 *Ibid.*
- 61 *Ibid.*, p.469.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p.474.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p.476.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p.482.
- 65 As Jowett reflected on the events surrounding the *Commentary* from the perspective of 1888, he remarked: "Our problems are not so serious as those of thirty or forty years ago. Then men thought they had to receive as a revelation from God that which conflicted with their sense of justice, and puzzled themselves with trying to reconcile God's goodness with the doctrine of eternal punishment." (E. Abbott and L. Campbell: *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, II.305).
- 66 Though Jowett was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford, in succession to Dean Gaisford, shortly after the publication of his *Commentary*, and on "the threshold of an outstanding theological career" (I. Ellis, *op.cit.*, p.37), his liberal theological spirit appears to have failed to inspire him to pursue his studies against the tide of popular opinion.
- 67 B. Jowett: 'On the Atonement and Satisfaction', p.468f.
- 68 q. from Second Edition, in E. Abbott and L. Campbell: *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, I.253.
- 69 See J.B. Lightfoot's Review of B. Jowett's *Commentary*, in *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, III (1856), 81-121.

- 70 Jowett was attacked, for example, in J.H. Rigg: Modern Anglican Theology, 1857, as Alexandrian.
- 71 See Review of B. Jowett's Commentary, in Q.R., 98, (1855-6), 148-189.
- 72 I. Ellis: Seven Against Christ, p.46.
- 73 Balliol College, Jowett MSS, Box E. package 'd', Undated Letter (prob.1856) F. Temple to Jowett; q. in I. Ellis, op.cit., p.46.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Ibid., p.48.
- 77 M.C. Church (ed.): Life and Letters of R.W. Church, 1895, p.155.
- 78 H.B. Wilson: 'The National Church', in Essays and Reviews, pp. 202-3, where interestingly, Wilson advocates retention, "in idea and spiritually", of Christ as "Son of David, and Son of Aaron, both Prince of Peace and High Priest of our profession" ... "even if it be unproved, ... in historic fact." The "ideologian," he maintains, "is one who would retain these 'ideas' and allow for variety in interpretation".
- 79 Cf. eg. H.B. Wilson: Three Sermons for the Opening of a New Organ at St. Chrysostom's Church, Everton, 1861, 1861 (New ed.), II.28, where he declares that were these doctrines thrown off the Christian religion would be "relieved of one of its greatest difficulties". On Wilson cf. further I.Ellis, Seven Against Christ, p.214f, and M.A. Crowther: Church Embattled: Religious Controversy in Mid-Victorian England, 1970.
- 80 R. Williams: Psalms and Litanies, Counsels and Collects for Devout Persons, 1872, p.vi.
- 81 E. Williams (ed.): The Life and Letters of R. Williams D.D., 2 Vols., 1874, II.313. On Rowland Williams part in Essays and Reviews and subsequent arraignment for heresy see O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, II.75-90, and M.A. Crowther, op.cit., passim.
- 82 A.O.J. Cockshut: Religious Controversies of the Nineteenth Century, 1966, p.116.
- 83 S.C. Neill: Anglicanism, p.247.
- 84 Cf., too, A.P. Stanley: Addresses and Sermons, 1877, p.58: "It was one of the last anxious aspirations of Dean Milman (History of the Jews, 3rd Edn., Lxxxiv.) that some means might be found to avert the wide and widening breach which he seemed to see between the thought and religion of England."
- 85 H.H. Milman: History of the Jews, 3 Vols., 1829, I.12.
- 86 Id., History of Christianity, 3 Vols., 1845, II.40.
- 87 Id., 'Hebrew Prophecy', A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, March 26, 1865, 1865, p.35. The sermon as a whole defends J. Davison's On Prophecy (see above p.213 n.68.) as insisting not on the truth of individual prophecies about Christ, but on the collective force of OT prophecies concerning them.

- 88 B. Powell: Christianity without Judaism: A Second Series of Essays, 1857, pp.194-5.
- 89 Ibid., pp.192, 193.
- 90 Ibid., p.204.
- 91 Ibid., p.202.
- 92 He wrote to A.C. Tait, on hearing of the Letter of the Four Tutors cautioning, "...do not draw these articles too tight or they will strangle more parties than one". (in R.T. Davidson and W. Benham (eds.): Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 2 Vols., 1891, I.93, q. O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I.186.
- 93 His Commentary was not well received. As he wrote to his mother, on Lightfoot's review (cf. supra n.69.): "The Cambridge notice of our books is severe, but without a spark of malignity, and so can be read without the smallest displeasure. It does point out a good many mistakes, mostly from the book having been written at so many odd times." (R.E. Prothero: Life and Correspondence of A.P. Stanley, I.475-6) Stanley acknowledged his own weakness, writing to Pearson: "He (JBL) says, and I think he is right, that in undertaking to write critical notes I have completely missed my vocation" (R.E. Prothero, op.cit., II.477).
- 94 Cf. M.A. Crowther: The Church Embattled, pp.124-5, who records that this was Edward White Benson's view, at least.
- 95 A.P. Stanley: Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Age, 1847, p.338ff.
- 96 Ibid., p.352.
- 97 Ibid., p.360.
- 98 Ibid., p.358.
- 99 Ibid., p.341.
- 100 Ibid., pp.353-4.
- 101 Ibid., pp.346-7.
- 102 Ibid., p.347.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid., pp.349-50.
- 105 A.P. Stanley: Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, 3 Vols., 1862, II.xxxvi.368.
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Ibid., p.369.
- 110 Ibid.

- 111 Cf. the comment on these sermons in R.E. Prothero (ed.): The Life and Correspondence of A.P. Stanley, II. 107-8: "The three discourses form a commentary on the opening verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In discussing the discrepancies between the Old and the New Testament he had quoted this passage, and in a subsequent continuance of the same discussion the passage was similarly used by Archbishop and Metropolitan of Moscow, the aged Philaret. Stanley protests against the theory of an uniform and equal inspiration of every word and letter of the Bible. Such a theory he holds to be a modern introduction into Christian theology. So far as Colenso's work undermined this late hypothesis, he welcomes the Bishop's enquiry as useful."
- 112 A.P. Stanley: The Bible: its Form and Substance, Three Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, 1862, p.v.
- 113 Ibid., p.iii.
- 114 Ibid., pp.v-vi.
- 115 Ibid., pp.42-3.
- 116 Ibid., p.96.
- 117 Ibid., p.43.
- 118 Ibid., pp.43-4.
- 119 Ibid., pp.44, 99f.
- 120 Ibid., p.97.
- 121 Ibid., p.63.
- 122 See further on a form of soteriology in which this was a popular text, below pp. 368ff.
- 123 Ibid., p.101f.
- 124 Ibid., p.105.
- 125 Ibid., p.107.
- 126 For a detailed study of the life and work of Colenso, see P. Hinchcliff: J.W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, 1964; J.Guy: The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso, 1814-1883, Johannesburg, 1983.
- 127 As R.M. Grant observed: "Colenso was an Anglican missionary Bishop in Natal who endeavoured not only translate the Old Testament into the Zulu language, but also to explain some of the more obvious difficulties which occurred to his converts". (A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, 1963, p.128).
- 128 J.E. Carpenter: The Bible in the Nineteenth Century, p.109
- 129 Cf. *ibid.*, p.126.
- 130 The 'Grafians' denotes a loosely affiliated group of Old Testament scholars who followed the early nineteenth century Old Testaments critics George and Vatke who identified the Pentateuchal sources 'P' and 'D' and dated much of 'P' later than 'D'. On the Grafians, see J.E. Carpenter, op.cit., p.128f.

- 131 As E. Kraeling commented on the alarm caused by Colenso's Pentateuch: "Here for the first time the Anglican fold was actually invaded by the continental type of Higher Criticism." (The Old Testament since the Reformation, 1955, p.90).
- 132 On this prestigious and more liberal son of Thomas Arnold, cf. L. Trilling: Matthew Arnold, 1955 (3rd. impr.).
- 133 R.M. Grant: op.cit., p.129.
- 134 M. Arnold: St. Paul and Protestantism, 1870, pp.164-5.
- 135 Ibid., p.164.
- 136 Ibid., p.165.
- 137 Ibid.
- 138 Ibid., p.162.
- 139 Ibid., p.165.
- 140 Id., Literature and Dogma, 1873², p.269.
- 141 Id., St. Paul and Protestantism, p.163.
- 142 Cf. C.C.J. Webb: A Century of Anglican Thought, p.43; re. the 'Cambridge Trio', they "combined learning and thoroughness with reverence and deep religious conviction".
- 143 Cf. F.F. Bruce's caution, however: "The members of the Cambridge trio were sufficiently different in outlook and temperament to impose limitations on any attempt to make a composite appraisal of their work; yet it can readily be said that all of them were characterized by a wide, deep, and exact scholarship which refused to take short cut or cut corners". ('The History of New Testament Study', in I.H. Marshall (ed.): New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods, 1977, p.45).
- 144 Cf. A.S. Peake's recollection: "The conservative bias of these men was strong and often detrimental to good scholarship, but they were real critics and not merely obscurantist defenders of tradition" (id., Recollections and Appreciations, W.F. Howard (ed.), 1938-9, pp.118-9; q. W.G. Glover: Evangelical Non-conformists and Higher Criticism, p.27).
- 145 Cf. further on the relation between their work and German 'Higher Criticism', H. Rashdall: Principles and Precepts, H.D.A. Major and F.L. Cross (eds.), 1927, p.164; T.A. Langford: In Search of Foundations, English Theology: 1900-1920, Nashville, 1969, p.116.
- 146 S.C. Neill: The History of New Testament Interpretation: 1861-1961, 1964, p.93.
- 147 L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought 1860-1900, p.168.
- 148 Cf. A.F. Hort: Life and Letters of F.J.A. Hort, 2 Vols., 1896, I.372.
- 149 W. Sanday: The Study of the New Testament: Its Present Position and some of its Problems. An Inaugural Lecture (as Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, Oxford), 1883, pp.36-7.

- 150 W. Sanday: 'Review of B.F. Westcott on Hebrews', in Acad., 37 (1890), 154-5, 190-1.
- 151 These are listed by Westcott in his article 'The Epistle to the Hebrews', in W. Smith and J.M. Fuller (eds.): A Dictionary of the Bible, 3 Vols., 1893², I:II. 1308-1322. For a useful survey, see B. Demarest: A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7:1-10 from the Reformation to the Present. Beitrage zur Geschichte der Biblischen Exegese 19, Tübingen, 1976.
- 152 Cf. A.B. Bruce: The Epistle to the Hebrews: The First Apology for Christianity, 1892. W. Milligan: The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord, 1892. G. Milligan: The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1899.
- 153 See 'Review of B.F. Westcott: Hebrews,' in C.Q.R., 32 (1891), 63.
- 154 Ibid.
- 155 B.F. Westcott: Art. 'The Epistle to the Hebrews', p.1322.
- 156 C.J. Vaughan: ΠΡΟΣ ἙΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ : The Epistle to the Hebrews with Notes, 1890, pp.xi, xix.
- 157 B.F. Westcott: The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays, 1906³, p.v.
- 158 Ibid., 1892², Prefatory Note.
- 159 Ibid., 1906³, p.494.
- 160 H.C.G. Moule: Our Great High Priest, 1899, p.9.
- 161 Cf. A. Alford: The Greek Testament, 4 Vols., 1859, IV:I.1-87.
- 162 Ibid., p.62.
- 163 Cf. esp. p.38, where he reviews German criticism from Semler (1763) to Delitzsch (ET, 1868, 1870) on the issue of the Epistle's authorship. Devoting 62pp. to this question, Alford indicates that this NT chestnut was one of the earliest questions raised in the advance of 'Higher Criticism' into England.
- 164 Ibid., p.39: nb. *ibid.*, he also admits an English "inaptitude for candid critical research" due to party bias.
- 165 Ibid., p.40.
- 166 Cf. Art., 'Henry Alford', D.N.B., I. 282-4.
- 167 F.C. Conybeare: History of New Testament Criticism, 1910, p.20.
- 168 B. Demarest: A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7:1-10, pp.75, 79.
- 169 H. Alford: The Greek Testament, IV:I.125f.
- 170 Ibid., p.75.
- 171 Ibid., pp.86-7.
- 172 Ibid., p.54, on Heb.ii:18, 19.

- 173 Ibid.
- 174 Cf. also p.87ff. on Heb.iv:14-16.
- 175 On his interpretation of Christ's priesthood generally, cf. *ibid.*, pp.90ff, where Alford's stress is on the attributes and actions of the Jewish High Priest as determinative of Christ's, and not vice versa (pace Butler).
- 176 C. Wordsworth: The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the Original Greek with Notes, 4 Parts, 1859, III.383.
- 177 Cf. W.H. Fowle: The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Epistle of St. Paul 1860, Preface: "...it is simply the bringing together for the reader to compare passages from the Hebrews, and those from the Epistles acknowledged to be St. Paul's."
- 178 E.H. Knowles: Notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews: with Analysis and Brief Paraphrase, 1861. Knowles' work is transitional as both seeped in historic Anglican authorities, and exegesis, and at the same time attempting to grapple with textual readings, meanings, and variations. It does not attempt to apply the text.
- 179 F. Sargent: A Compendium of Biblical Criticism on the Canonical Books, 1870, (Rev. and enl.), p.7. Like Knowles, Sargent is essentially involved in the 'Lower' Criticism of the text of Hebrews and not with historico-critical questions.
- 180 J.B. McCaul: The Epistle to the Hebrews: in a Paraphrastic Commentary with illustrations from Philo, the Targums, the Mishna, the Gemara, the later Rabbinical Writers, and Christian Annotators..., 1871, p.vii; and cf. p.xxi, where he writes: "Nothing has ever been adduced in modern times, of sufficient authority to reverse the testimony of nearly nineteen hundred years of fiery trial and patient investigation. The charge of ignorance against the old school of interpretation is singularly unsuitable in the mouths of pretended professors of a 'higher criticism' especially in England".
- 181 *Ibid.*, p.xvi.
- 182 *Ibid.*, p.46.
- 183 O'Connor, trained at Trinity College, Dublin, was, at the time of writing, Rector of St. Simon and St. Jude, Manchester.
- 184 W.A. O'Connor: The Epistle to the Hebrews: with Analytical Introduction and Notes, 1872, p.vii.
- 185 *Ibid.*, p.ix.
- 186 *Ibid.*, pp.ix-x.
- 187 *Ibid.*, p.9.
- 188 *Ibid.*, pp.28,40.
- 189 C.J. Vaughan: ΠΡΟΣ ἙΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ _____, p.vi.
- 190 *Ibid.*
- 191 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, p.142.

- 192 W.F. Moulton: 'The Epistle to the Hebrews', in C.J. Ellicott (ed.): A New Testament Commentary for English Readers. By Various Writers, 3 Vols, 1878-9, III.282.
- 193 Ibid., p.278.
- 194 Ibid.
- 195 Ibid., pp.278-9.
- 196 Ibid., p.281.
- 197 Ibid., p.282.
- 198 Ibid.
- 199 Ibid.
- 200 Eg. W. Sanday in his review of Westcott's Hebrews, described it as representing "rather an extreme of conservatism". (cf. supra. p.319. n.150).
- 201 W. Kay: 'Hebrews: An Introduction and Commentary', in F.C. Cook (ed.): The Holy Bible according to the A.V. (1611) with an explanatory and critical commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church, (The Speaker's Commentary), 4 Vols., 1881, IV.3.
- 202 Cf. ibid., where he quotes Erasmus: "I do not think the faith is exposed to peril, if the whole Church be mistaken in regard to the title of this Epistle, so long as it is settled that the Holy Ghost is its principal author; and on this point we are agreed."
- 203 Ibid., pp.4ff; and cf.p.20, where he states that he believes St. Paul took great care over its composition for Hebrew Christians thus creating its different style and content.
- 204 Ibid., p.15.
- 205 Ibid., p.20.
- 206 Ibid., pp.20-21.
- 207 Cf. J.E. Field: The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Being a Commentary on the Epistle in its relation to the Holy Eucharist, with Appendices on the Liturgy of the Primitive Church, 1882, p.v.: "One chief purpose of this work is to trace throughout the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews a continuous line of allusions to the Holy Eucharist showing that the writer keeps this always in view as the practical centre of Christian worship and the highest expression of the Christian Faith. Its further purpose is to examine the important subject of alleged quotations from the Greek Liturgy of St. James in the New Testament."
- 208 Ibid., pp.8-9.
- 209 F.W. Farrar: The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews, with Notes and Introduction, C.B.S.C.,1883; The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews, with Notes and Introduction, C.G.T.S.C.,1888.

- 210 Id., Hebrews, 1883. pp.12. (nb. The Introductions to the two Commentaries are virtually identical. References here are, therefore, only given to the earlier work).
- 211 Ibid., pp.37-8.
- 212 Ibid., p.47.
- 213 Ibid., p.20.
- 214 Ibid., p.21.
- 215 Ibid., p.79, on Heb.ii:17,18.
- 216 See further on the distinction between an ontological and functional view of priesthood, below p.381ff.
- 217 F. Rendall: The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1888, p.v.
- 218 Ibid., p.vi.
- 219 Ibid.
- 220 Cf. esp. *ibid.*, p.21ff, on Heb.ii:17f; p.41ff, on Heb.iv.14ff.
- 221 Ibid., p.56f, on Heb.vii:11-28: "Instead of those shortlived generations of mortal men we have one undying heavenly priest, able to save entirely because He ever liveth to intercede for sinners, and is Himself perfect in holiness, and lifted above all contact with sin; who made His life a sacrifice, yet needs no more sacrifice, but is consecrated for ever."
- 222 Ibid., p.72, on Heb.ix:11: "As He was present once in visible humanity, so He is still present in glorified humanity in His Church on earth: He is still the way to God as our High Priest in heaven."
- 223 Ibid., p.74, on Heb.ix:13,14: "... in the eternal spirit of redeeming love the Son had from the beginning planned this offering of Himself for man's redemption. Such holy sympathy with the guilty, and such divine sanctification of their redemption were well fitted to inspire the unclean with hope, and quicken in them the desire of returning to God afresh in spite of their uncleanness and their past transgression."
- 224 T.C. Edwards: The Epistle to the Hebrews, The Expositor's Bible, 1888, p.vi.
- 225 Ibid., p.v.
- 226 Ibid., p.133.
- 227 q. A. Westcott: The Life and Letters of Brooke Foss Westcott, 2 Vols., 1903, II.29.
- 228 W. Sanday: 'Review of B.F. Westcott on Hebrews', p.155.
- 229 C.J. Vaughan: ΠΡΟΣ ἙΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ, p.x.
- 230 B.F. Westcott: Hebrews, p.lvii.
- 231 C.J. Vaughan: op.cit., p.xviii.
- 232 Ibid., p.xii.

- 233 M.F. Sadler: The Epistles of St. Paul to Titus, Philemon, and the Hebrews, with Notes Critical and Practical, 1890, pp.xv-xxiii.
- 234 Ibid., pp.265-275.
- 235 Ibid., pp.265f.
- 236 Ibid., p.270.
- 237 A.B. Bruce: 'The Epistle to the Hebrews', in J.E. Hastings (ed.): The Dictionary of the Bible, 4 Vols., 1899, II.327.ff.
- 238 W. Robertson Smith and H. von Soden: 'Hebrews', in T.K. Cheyne D.D. and J. Sutherland Black (eds.): Encyclopaedia Biblica, 4 Vols., 1901, II. 1990-2001.
- 239 Cf. supra p.317f.
- 240 S.C. Neill: The Interpretation of the New Testament: 1861-1961, p.34.
- 241 Westcott was enthroned as Bishop of Durham, on May 1, 1890. Cf. Art. 'B.F. Westcott', D.N.B., Second Suppl., 1901-11, pp.635-641.
- 242 Cf. esp. B.F. Westcott: Christus Consummator: Lessons from an Epoch of change, 1890³, pp.3-79. Westcott's sermons epitomize, and explicitly declare, the shift in Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood from Christus Consolator, of a popular Reformed devotion, to Christus Consummator, of nascent Anglican (socialist) incarnationism.
- 243 S.C. Neill, op.cit., pp.34-5. On the background to the projected series, cf. A. Westcott (ed.) The Life and Letters of B.F. Westcott, I.372, 418, 452.
- 244 On Westcott's Presidency of the Christian Socialist Union from June 1889, see O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, II.278f.
- 245 B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.351.
- 246 B.F. Westcott: Hebrews, pp.496-7.
- 247 On the influence of Platonism on nineteenth century Anglicanism, cf. C.C.J. Webb: A Century of Anglican Theology, p.8ff.
- 248 D. Newsome: Bishop Westcott and the Platonic Tradition, The Bishop Westcott Memorial Lecture of 1968, 1969, p.6. Newsome maintains that strictly speaking Westcott's thought was more Plotinist than Platonist.
- 249 W. Sanday: 'Review of B.F. Westcott on Hebrews', p.155.
- 250 B.M.G. Reardon: op.cit., p.353. Cf. B.F. Westcott: Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West, 1891, pp.142-152.
- 251 G.W.H. Lampe: 'The Bible since the rise of Critical Study', p.137.
- 252 B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.354.
- 253 A. Westcott (ed.): The Life and Letters of B.F. Westcott, II.88.
- 254 B.F. Westcott: Lessons from Work, 1901, Preface.
- 255 Id., The Gospel of Life: thoughts introductory to the study of Christian doctrine, 1892, p.252.

- 256 Id., Christus Consummator, p.12.
- 257 Ibid., p.24; and cf. below p.340.
- 258 Id., The Gospel of Life, p.xxi.
- 259 Id., Lessons from Work, Preface.
- 260 B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.354.
- 261 Id., The Gospel of Life; q. B.M.G. Reardon, loc.cit.
- 262 Id., Hebrews, p.59.
- 263 Id., The Revelation of the Father : Short Lectures on the titles of the Lord in the Gospel of St. John 1884, p.149ff.
- 264 Id., The Revelation of the Risen Lord, 1881, p.53.
- 265 Id., Lessons from Work, p.137.
- 266 Id., Some Thoughts from the Ordinal, 1884, p.22.
- 267 Id., An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, 1860, p.412.
- 268 Id., Lessons from Work, p.151.
- 269 On Westcott's approach to the text of Scripture, see S.C. Neill: The Interpretation of the New Testament: 1861-1961, p.93; F.F. Bruce: 'The History of New Testament Study', in I.H. Marshall (ed.): New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods, p.44ff.
- 270 S.C. Neill, op.cit., pp.34-5.
- 271 Ibid., p.93.
- 272 B.F. Westcott: Lessons from Work, p.48; Id., Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, Preface.
- 273 Id., Hebrews, p.71f.
- 274 Ibid.
- 275 Ibid., and cf. i:3 ad loc.
- 276 Ibid., p.14.
- 277 Ibid., p.72.
- 278 Ibid., p.60
- 279 Ibid., p.60, on Heb.ii:18.
- 280 Ibid.
- 281 Ibid., p.56, on Heb.ii:17.
- 282 Ibid., p.59, on Heb.ii:18.
- 283 Ibid.

- 284 Ibid.
- 285 Ibid., p.57, on Heb.ii:17; and p.58, on ii:18.
- 286 Ibid., p.75, on Heb.iii:1.
- 287 Ibid., p.107, on Heb.iv:14.
- 288 Ibid., p.106.
- 289 Cf. *ibid.*, p.107 on *διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς* (Heb iv:14) which Westcott interprets as signifying, too, Christ's superiority over the Jewish High Priest: "He has passed not through the veil only but through the heavens up to the very throne of God (comp. ix:24; i:3), and entered into the royal rest of God."
- 290 Ibid., p.109, on Heb.iv.16; and cf. also p.189, on vii:19 on the priesthood of all Christians "in fellowship with our High-priest".
- 291 Ibid., where *τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος* (Heb.iv:16) is described as "no symbolic mercy-seat, but the very centre of divine sovereignty and love".
- 292 Ibid., p.108, on Heb.iv:15.
- 293 Ibid., p.123f.
- 294 Cf. *ibid.*, p.124, on Heb.v:5,6: "The kingly priesthood of Melchizedek was promised to Christ. Such a priesthood naturally belongs to the exalted Son".
- 295 Cf. *ibid.*, p.126, on Heb.v:7,8: "Christ - the Son, the priest after the order of Melchizedek - has been shewn to have fulfilled one condition of true High-priesthood by His divine appointment: He is now shewn to have fulfilled the other, as having learnt through actual experience the uttermost needs of human weakness".
- 296 Ibid., p.124.
- 297 Ibid., pp.125-6.
- 298 Ibid., p.126.
- 299 Ibid., p.129, on Heb.v.8.
- 300 Ibid., p.131, on Heb.v.9.
- 301 Cf. *ibid.*, on *τελειωθεῖς* (Heb. v:9): "This perfection was seen on the one side in the complete fulfilment of man's destiny by Christ through absolute self-sacrifice, and on the other in His exaltation to the right hand of God, which was in the divine order its due consequence".
- 302 See below p.362f.
- 303 Ibid., p.166, on Heb.vi:20.
- 304 Ibid., pp.172ff, on Heb.vii.1-10. Cf. B. Demarest: A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7: 1-10, p.81.
- 305 Ibid., p.181.

- 306 Ibid., p.185, on Heb. vii:14.
- 307 Ibid., p.187, on Heb. vii:16,17.
- 308 Ibid., p.189f., on Heb.vii:20-22.
- 309 Ibid., p.191f, on Heb.vii:22.
- 310 Ibid., p.192, on Heb.vii:25.
- 311 Ibid., p.199, on Heb.vii:28.
- 312 Cf. *ibid.*, p.194, on Heb.vii:25: "...His very presence before God in His humanity is itself a prevailing intercession."
- 313 Ibid., pp.194ff.
- 314 Ibid., p.213, on Heb. viii:1.
- 315 Ibid., p.214, and cf. 'Additional Note on viii:1. Christ the High-priest and the Highpriest-King', pp.229-30.
- 316 Ibid., p.216, on Heb. viii:2.
- 317 Ibid., p.217, on Heb. viii:3.
- 318 Ibid.
- 319 Ibid., p.232, in 'Additional Note on viii:1,2. The present work of Christ as High-priest'.
- 320 Ibid., p.231.
- 321 Ibid.
- 322 Ibid., pp.283-294.
- 323 Ibid., pp.295-297.
- 324 Ibid., pp.299-300.
- 325 Ibid., p.283; see supra above p.179.
- 326 Ibid., p.296.
- 327 Ibid., p.319.
- 328 Ibid., p.325 on Heb. x:23; and cf. p.440, on Heb. xiii: 10f.
- 329 Ibid., p.323 on Heb x:21.
- 330 Cf. *ibid.*, p.326, on Heb. x:24: "The well-being of each believer is bound up with the well-being of the whole body."
- 331 Cf. *ibid.*, p.327f, on Heb.x:25; and cf. p.333f. on Heb.x:29.
- 332 Ibid., pp.440, 464.
- 333 Ibid., pp.441f. on Heb. xiii:11,12.
- 334 Ibid., p.444, on Heb. xiii:13.

- 335 Cf. A Westcott: The Life and Letters of B.F. Westcott, I.372.
- 336 J.B. Lightfoot: Sermons preached on special occasions, 1891, v.86. On Lightfoot cf. G.R. Eden and F.C. MacDonald (eds.): Lightfoot of Durham: Memories and Appreciations, Cambridge, 1932.
- 337 Id., Sermons, The Contemporary Pulpit Library, 1890, p.53.
- 338 Id., Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy, 1890, pp.219-20.
- 339 Ibid., pp.220-1.
- 340 Id., The Christian Ministry, (Reprinted from his Commentary on Philippians, 1868), 1901, p.132.
- 341 Id., Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy, p.23.
- 342 Id., Sermons, p.180.
- 343 Id., Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy, p.115.
- 344 Id., Cambridge Sermons, 1890, p.184.
- 345 Ibid., pp.183-4.
- 346 Id., Sermons, p.125.
- 347 Ibid., p.2.
- 348 Ibid., pp.180, 190.
- 349 Cf. id., Primary Charge: Two Addresses delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, Dec. 1882, 1884, p.91: "Her comprehensiveness is the great boast of the Church of England", standing, as it does midway between "the irregular forces of Protestant non-conformity and the rigid militarism of Rome". (p.53).
- 350 Ibid., Sermons, p.107.
- 351 Id., The Christian Ministry, p.7.
- 352 Ibid., p.3.
- 353 Ibid., pp.3,4; and cf. p.6: "For communicating instruction and for preserving public order, for conducting religious worship and for dispensing social charities, it became necessary to appoint special officers. But the priestly functions and privileges of the Christian people are never regarded as transferred or even delegated to these officers. They are called stewards or messengers of God, servants, or ministers of the Church, and the like: but the sacerdotal title is never once conferred upon them. The only priests under the Gospel, designated as such in the New Testament, are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood."
- 354 Ibid., p.1.
- 355 Id., 'Except ye die'. A sermon preached in ... Trinity College, Cambridge, Feb.16, 1873, 1873.
- 356 Id., The Christian Ministry, p.1.
- 357 Id., Sermons, p.197.

- 358 Ibid., p.199.
- 359 Ibid., p.202.
- 360 Ibid.
- 361 Id., Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy, pp.57-8.
- 362 Ibid., p.222.
- 363 Id., The Christian Ministry, pp.129-30, 132.
- 364 Ibid., pp.132-3.
- 365 Id., Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy, p.30.
- 366 Id., The Christian Ministry, pp.3f, 85f, 91.
- 367 Ibid., pp.87-8.
- 368 Cf. id., Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy, pp. 38ff, 106, 115, 135.
- 369 See A.F. Hort: Life and Letters of F.J.A. Hort, I.420.
- 370 As Sanday wrote of Hort's projected commentary on James, Peter and Jude -"That, too, is a work which we would not willingly lose." ('Review of B.F. Westcott on Hebrews', p.191).
- 371 Ibid., II.86.
- 372 Ibid., I.400.
- 373 F.J.A. Hort: Village Sermons, 1897, xxiii:254.
- 374 Id., Cambridge and other Sermons, 1898, xi:123-4.
- 375 Id., Village Sermons, x.106.
- 376 Id., Village Sermons, x.106f.
- 377 See supra p.175f.
- 378 A. Hort: Life and Letters of F.J.A. Hort, II.50; q. L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought 1860-1900, p.239.

CHAPTER VII

Christ The Priest in Late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic Doctrine and Devotion

- 1 Thomas Hill Green was Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy from 1878-1882. A Tutor from 1866 at Balliol College, Oxford, and dubbed "the prophet of reason and the spirit" by Wilfrid Richmond, Green exerted a potent Hegelian influence on many leading Anglicans, though Charles Gore lead a reaction to his Hegelianism. On Green's influence, see C.C.J. Webb: A Century of Anglican Theology, p.46; and, L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought 1860-1900, pp.68-9.
- 2 q. H. Davies: Worship and Theology, IV.209.

- 3 q. L.E. Elliott-Binns: Religion in the Victorian Era, p.242.
- 4 q. R. Lloyd: The Church of England: 1900-1965, 1966, p.121.
- 5 J.K. Mozley: Some Tendencies in British Theology, 1951, p.17.
- 6 The best study of Anglican incarnationism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century is still in A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, pp.1-43.
- 7 C. Gore (ed.): Lux Mundi: a series of studies in the religion of the Incarnation, 1921¹⁵ (Repr.), Preface, p.vii. Charles Gore, was the first Principal of Pusey House (1884), and successively Bishop of Worcester (1902), Birmingham (1905), and Oxford (1911). Though distanced at times from more extreme Ritualists Gore was an avowed spiritual, idealistic, head of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid., p.viii.
- 10 Cf. H. Weinel and A.G. Widgery: Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After, 1914, p.28: "It may be asserted with confidence that no century so continually occupied itself with Jesus, and so earnestly asked what He means to humanity, as the century that has just closed".
- 11 H. Davies: Worship and Theology, IV.154.
- 12 W.L. Knox and A.R. Vidler: The Development of Modern Catholicism, 1933, p.38.
- 13 Renan's Vie de Jésus (1863) was a popular demythologization of the 'Christ of History' presenting Him as more a successful demagogue than the traditional Jesus of faith. On D.F. Strauss' Das Leben Jesu, see supra p.37. J.R. Seeley's anonymous publication Ecce Homo (1865) presented Christ as a lovable moral reformer, which did little justice to orthodox perceptions of His saving work. It integrated English thought in Continental christological developments against which Liddon reacted.
- 14 H.P. Liddon: The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Bampton Lectures for 1866, 1871⁵, p.338.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., p.323.
- 18 Ibid., p.320.
- 19 Ibid., p.323.
- 20 Id., Some Elements of Religion, Lent Lectures in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, 1870, 1872, vi.230-1.
- 21 R.W. Church: Village Sermons preached at Whatley, Three Series, 1892-7, I.xiii.121; H.P. Liddon: Passiontide Sermons, 1891, v.69.
- 22 H.P. Liddon: Practical Reflections on every verse of the Psalter, or Psalms of David, 1890, p.xiv.

- 23 Id., Some Words for God: Sermons preached before the University of Oxford... 1863-1865, 1865, viii.220.
- 24 Id., Sermons preached before the University of Oxford: Second Series, 1868-1882, 1883^s, vi.101f.
- 25 Ibid., x.187.
- 26 Cf. R.W. Church: Village Sermons, I.ix.82; H.P. Liddon: Passiontide Sermons, ii.22f; id., Christmastide in St. Paul's : Sermons bearing chiefly on the birth of our Lord and the end of the year, 1889, xiii.220-1.
- 27 Id., Village Sermons, loc.cit.
- 28 Id., Village Sermons, III.xxxi.301f.
- 29 H.P. Liddon: 'The Secret of Clerical Power', An Ordination Sermon in Salisbury Cathedral, 15th Sunday after Trinity, 1865, 1865, p.21.
- 30 Ibid., p.22.
- 31 Cf. H.P. Liddon: Passiontide Sermons, i.7; id., Advent in St. Paul's: Sermons chiefly bearing on the two comings of our Lord, 1906 (new ed.), xlv.562.
- 32 Cf. R.W. Church: The Discipline of the Christian Character: Sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, August 1885, 1885, v.117-8: "His reality, His purity, His compassion, His self-sacrifice, His strength, His tenderness, His justice, His lowliness, - these were all things that men can understand and copy, though so far below their divine perfectness".
- 33 P.G. Medd: The One Mediator: The operation of the Son of God in Nature and in Grace, Bampton Lectures 1882, 1884, p.vii.
- 34 Ibid., p.72.
- 35 Ibid., p.67.
- 36 Ibid., pp.72-3.
- 37 Ibid., pp.67-8.
- 38 Ibid., p.73.
- 39 Cf. further on this Augustinian theme, supra pp.15, 119 n.53, 139, 290; below p.402
- 40 W. Bright: The Incarnation as a Motive Power. Sermons, 1889, pp.x, xv.
- 41 Ibid., pp.xvii-iii.
- 42 Ibid., pp.xii-iii.
- 43 Ibid., pp.xvii-iii.
- 44 Ibid., vi.50.
- 45 Ibid., ix.83-4.
- 46 Ibid., viii.67-77.

- 47 Ibid., p.67f.
- 48 Ibid., p.70.
- 49 Ibid., p.77.
- 50 Ibid., p.79.
- 51 R.L. Ottley: The Doctrine of the Incarnation, 2 Vols., 1896, p.127.
- 52 C. Gore: 'The Church and the Ministry', A Review of the Rev. E. Hatch's Bampton Lectures, 1882, pp.23-4.
- 53 Cf. eg. C. Gore: The Incarnation of the Son of God, Bampton Lectures 1891, 1909² (Repr.), pp.98, 104, 111, 113, 142ff, 148, 205 et passim.
- 54 Lux Mundi, pp.150-1.
- 55 Ibid., p.217f.
- 56 H.S. Holland: Four Addresses on the Sacrifice of the Cross: given during Holy Week, in St. Paul's Cathedral 1879, 1879, p.21ff.
- 57 Ibid., p.30ff.
- 58 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, p.45.
- 59 q. S.C. Carpenter: Church and People, p.482.
- 60 H.S. Holland, op.cit., pp.10, 13f.
- 61 Ibid., pp.12, 15f.
- 62 Ibid., p.23f.
- 63 Ibid., p.21.
- 64 Ibid., p.11.
- 65 Ibid., p.12.
- 66 R.W. Church: Village Sermons. I.ix.82.
- 67 P.G. Medd: The One Mediator, p.301.
- 68 H.S. Holland, op.cit., pp.32, 36.
- 69 G. Congreve: The Sacrifice of Christ, 1890, pp.4,8.
- 70 R.C. Moberly: Sorrow, Sin and Beauty: Three short series of addresses, 1889, p.37.
- 71 'Kenosis' (κένωσις), from Phil. ii.7, pertained in late-Victorian Christology to the self-emptying of Christ's attributes of Deity, such as omniscience, in order to become man. On the difference between Gore's kenoticism and that of earlier Swiss Lutherans, such as Godet, cf. J. Carpenter: Gore: a study in liberal Catholic thought, 1960.
- 72 J.K. Mozley: Some Tendencies, p.17.

- 73 Cf. E. Digges La Touche: The Person of Christ in Modern Thought, Donnellan Lectures 1911-1912, 1912, p.351.
- 74 C. Gore: Incarnation, p.266; and cf. id., Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation, 1907² (Repr.), p.97: "...the self-sacrifice of the Incarnation appears to have lain in great measure, so far as human words can express it, in his refraining from the divine mode of consciousness within the sphere of his human life, that He might really enter into human experience".
- 75 On this aspect of Gore's Christology, cf. J. Carpenter, op.cit., p.172.
- 76 C. Gore: Dissertations, p.218.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Ibid., pp.218-9.
- 79 Ibid., p.220.
- 80 Cf. id., Incarnation, p.111: "Of such self-abandoning sympathy the Incarnation of God is the prototype".
- 81 Ibid., pp.142-172.
- 82 Cf. H.P. Liddon: 'Our Lord's Example the Strength of His Ministers', An Ordination Sermon, in Christ Church, Oxford... 1860, 1861, pp.17-18; id., 'The Secret of Clerical Power', p.22.
- 83 Id., 'The Secret of Clerical Power', pp.13, 21, 23.
- 84 R.W. Church: Village Sermons, I.xxxi.301f.
- 85 H.S. Holland: Pleas and Claims for Christ, Sermons, 1892, x.162.
- 86 Id., Creed and Character: Sermons, 1887, viii.113.
- 87 R.L. Ottley, Doctrine of the Incarnation, I.3.
- 88 Ibid., II.285.
- 89 C. Gore: Hints for the Study of Theology with a view to Holy Orders, p.7.
- 90 Lux Mundi, pp.216-7.,
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid., pp.217, 219, 222f, 224.
- 93 R.L. Ottley, op.cit., p.292f.
- 94 C. Gore: Dissertations, p.146.
- 95 Ibid., p.142.
- 96 Ibid., p.165.
- 97 Id., Incarnation, p.166.
- 98 Ibid., p.166.

- 99 Ibid., p.167.
- 100 Ibid., p.222.
- 101 Ibid., p.223.
- 102 Ibid., p.224.
- 103 Cf. L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought 1860-1900, p.243.
- 104 A.L. Moore: The Message of the Gospel: Addresses to Candidates for Ordination and Sermons... before the University of Oxford, 1891, p.24.
- 105 For an Anglo-Catholic critique of Jowett, eg. cf. M.F. Sadler: Emmanuel, or the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Foundation of Immitable Truth, 1867, p.182f.
- 106 H.P. Liddon: Passiontide Sermons, iv.50; id., Some Words for God, viii.217ff.
- 107 Id., Some Words for God, viii.235f; id., Thoughts on Present Church Troubles: Four Sermons... St. Paul's, Dec. 1880, 1881, iii.49.
- 108 Id., Passiontide Sermons, iii.40-1.
- 109 Ibid., iv.50.
- 110 Id., Forty-Two Sermons on Various Subjects: preached... in St. Paul's... selected from the Penny Pulpit, Third Series, 1886, no. 1019. p.376.
- 111 Ibid., p.375.
- 112 Id., Passiontide Sermons, iv.64.
- 113 Id., Some Words for God, viii.244.
- 114 Id., Passiontide Sermons v.69.
- 115 Ibid., iv. 50.
- 116 Cf. id., Some Words for God, viii. 241.
- 117 Ibid., viii. 226f, 236f; Passiontide Sermons, i.7, 15.
- 118 R.F. Littledale in The Atonement: A Clerical Symposium on - 'What is the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement?', 1883, p.7.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Ibid., p.8.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Ibid., p.14.
- 124 Cf. ibid., p.15.
- 125 A.J. Mason: The Faith of the Gospel, 1888, pp.154-5.

- 126 Ibid., p.144.
- 127 Ibid., p.148.
- 128 Ibid., p.150.
- 129 Ibid., p.157.
- 130 Ibid., pp.165-6.
- 131 Ibid., p.173ff, 183.
- 132 Ibid., p.184.
- 133 Ibid., pp.167, 186, 188f.
- 134 Ibid., pp.165f, 186f.
- 135 Ibid., p.184.
- 136 D. Stone: Outlines of Christian Dogma, 1900, p.89.
- 137 Ibid.
- 138 Ibid., p.90.
- 139 Ibid., p.96.
- 140 Ibid., p.94.
- 141 Ibid., p.96.
- 142 Ibid., p.105f.
- 143 Cf. *ibid.*, p.186: "The whole view of the High priesthood of Christ which is worked out at length in the Epistle to the Hebrews implies that His priestly work includes the continual pleading of an abiding sacrifice, and a connexion between the intercession of Christ in the heaven and the eucharist is obviously appropriate".
- 144 Ibid., pp.105-6.
- 145 Ibid., p.188.
- 146 H.S. Holland: Addresses on the Sacrifice of the Cross, p.22.
- 147 Ibid., pp.21-2.
- 148 Ibid., p.23.
- 149 Ibid., pp.24-5.
- 150 Ibid., p.26.
- 151 Ibid., p.27.
- 152 Ibid., p.30.
- 153 Ibid., p.33.
- 154 Ibid.

- 155 Id., Logic and Life: With Other Sermons, 1882, xiv, 219-20.
- 156 Ibid.
- 157 Id., Creed and Character: Sermons, 1887, vi.86.
- 158 Ibid.
- 159 Id., Good Friday, 1884, p.3.
- 160 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, p.7.
- 161 A.T. Lyttleton: 'The Justice of the Atonement', Oxford House Papers No. XVI, 1887, p.6.
- 162 Ibid., p.9.
- 163 Ibid., p.13.
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 Cf. *ibid.* : "He bare our sins not by imputation, but by the power of perfect sympathy, because our nature is His also".
- 166 Lux Mundi, p.217.
- 167 Ibid., p.216.
- 168 Ibid., p.218.
- 169 Ibid., p.216.
- 170 Ibid., p.218.
- 171 Ibid., p.228.
- 172 Ibid., p.219.
- 173 Cf. C. Gore: Hints for the study of theology, p.7.
- 174 Id., The Reconstruction of Belief, p.597: cited in A.M. Ramsey, op.cit., p.49.
- 175 Cf. A.M. Ramsey, loc.cit.
- 176 L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought 1860-1900, p.233.
- 177 C. Gore: The Mission of the Church: Four Lectures delivered in June 1892 in the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, 1892, p.5.
- 178 A.M. Ramsey: 'Charles Gore and Anglican Theology', Gore Lecture in Westminster Abbey... 1954, 1955, p.17.
- 179 Cf. *id.*, From Gore to Temple, p.50.
- 180 Cf., *ibid.*
- 181 C. Gore: The Body of Christ, 1901. pp.252-3.
- 182 On Gore's episcopal ministry see G.L. Prestige: Life of Charles Gore: a Great Englishman, 1935, pp.238-273, 320-334.

- 183 Cf. L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought : 1860-1900, p.267.
- 184 Cf. *ibid.*, p.260f, and below p.386f on Walter Lock, with whom these ideas are directly associated.
- 185 Hatch had argued that the origin of Christian episcopacy lay in the financial administrators of Greek religious institutions, or ἐπίσκοποι , and did not accept traditional historico-theological exposition of the origins of Apostolic Succession.
- 186 H.P. Liddon: University Sermons 1868-1882, x.183ff.
- 187 *Ibid.*, pp.194, 198, 200.
- 188 *Ibid.*, p.200.
- 189 *Ibid.*, p.201.
- 190 *Ibid.*, p.200.
- 191 *Ibid.*, pp.200-1.
- 192 *Ibid.*, p.201.
- 193 *Ibid.*, p.199.
- 194 R.W. Church: Human Life and its Conditions: Sermons preached before the University of Oxford 1876-78, with Three Ordination Sermons, 1878, vii.189.
- 195 *Ibid.*
- 196 W.C.E. Newbolt: Speculum Sacerdotum: or, the Divine Model of the Priestly Life, 1894, p.289.
- 197 R.W. Church, op.cit., p.185.
- 198 E.F. Willis: The Sacrificial Aspect of the Holy Eucharist considered in relation to the one atoning sacrifice upon the Cross, An Eirenicon, 1878, pp.34-5.
- 199 Cf. on Anglo-Catholic eucharistic application of Christ's priesthood, below p.399ff.
- 200 M.F. Sadler: The One Offering: A Treatise on the Sacrificial Nature of the Eucharist, 1875, pp.55-6. On Sadler's exegetical work see supra, p.333.
- 201 *Ibid.*, p.53.
- 202 *Ibid.*, pp.50-51.
- 203 A.W. Hutton: The Anglican Ministry: Its Nature and Value in relation to the Catholic priesthood, 1879, p.v.
- 204 *Ibid.*, p.xiii.
- 205 *Ibid.*
- 206 *Ibid.*, p.144.

- 207 Cf. C. Gore: The Mission of the Church, p.ix, where he also quotes Farrar's view of a 'vicarial' priesthood: "it is an abuse of the sacerdotal conception if it be supposed that the priesthood exists to celebrate sacrifices or acts of worship in the place of the body of the people or as their substitutes."
- 208 Id., 'The Church and the Ministry', p.1.
- 209 Ibid., pp.7f, 10, 17f, 24ff; and cf. p.63: "The essence of the Church's life is a spiritual fact, but it is made dependent in all its stages on outward transactions...There is no shadow of an excuse anywhere in Scripture for making the outward organization a mere accident or result of the inward life."
- 210 Cf. *ibid.*, p.49, where Gore concludes from sub-apostolic and patristic evidence that "the special administrative prerogative of a class ordained from above, is there from the first."
- 211 Ibid., p.63.
- 212 Ibid., p.50f.
- 213 Ibid., p.27.
- 214 Ibid.
- 215 See supra p.63.
- 216 W.E. Heygate: The Good Shepherd: or, meditations for the Clergy upon the example and teaching of Christ, 1884 (Rev. and enl.), p.71.
- 217 Ibid., pp.59f, 68f, 71f, and cf. p.72: "Do I tread in Thy steps, and as a visible priest act for Thee, the Invisible? Am I Thy representative? Dost Thou speak by me and act by me? Is it Thou who dost bless? Thou who doest offer? and Thou who art offered?"
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- 220 Ibid., p.374.
- 221 J.R. Woodford: The Great Commission: Twelve Addresses on the Ordinal, H.M. Luckock (ed.), 1886, ii.30.
- 222 W. Bright: 'Christ's presence with His ministers', An Ordination Sermon...July 3rd, 1887, in The Incarnation as Motive Power, xxviii. 246-7.
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- 224 A.B. Webb: The Priesthood of the Laity in the Body of Christ: Addresses to Communicants on a parochial Quiet Day, 1889, p.4.
- 225 Ibid.
- 226 Ibid., p.12.
- 227 Ibid., p.28ff.
- 228 Ibid., p.xi.

- 229 Ibid., pp.xi-xii.
- 230 Lux Mundi, p.286ff.
- 231 Cf. *ibid*: "The Body of Christ was to take the place of the Temple when the Jews destroyed it. And here, as in all other respects, the body is the organ and representative of the risen Lord. He, when on earth, had been a priest in the deepest sense of the word: He, as the representative of the Father, had mediated the Father's blessings to man: He, as one with man, had become a merciful and faithful high-priest for man; He had offered His whole life to God for the service of man; He had by the offering of His pure will made purification of sins: He lives still, a priest for ever, pleading, interceding for mankind. And so the Church, His body, carries on this priestly work on earth."
- 232 *Ibid.*, p.287.
- 233 *Ibid.*
- 234 *Ibid.*
- 235 *Ibid.*, p.288.
- 236 *Ibid.*, pp. 269f, 289f.
- 237 *Ibid.*, p.275.
- 238 The Papal Bull Apostolicae Curae was issued on 13th Sept. 1896 by Pope Leo XIII. For the full text of the Bull, see H. Bettenson (ed.): Documents of the Christian Church, 1963², pp. 385-6.
- 239 B.J. Kidd (ed.): Selected Letters of William Bright, 1903, Letter W. Bright to B.J. Kidd, 22. ix. 1896, pp.258-60.
- 240 A Responsio was issued in 1897 by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. For the full text see, T.A. Lacey (ed.): A Roman Diary and Other Documents, 1910, pp.354-94. See also Lord Halifax: Leo XIII and Anglican Orders, 1912. For a critique of the Archbishop's Reply, see N. Dimock: The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium, 1910, p.1ff.
- 241 B.J. Kidd: Selected Letters, *loc.cit.*
- 242 R.C. Moberly: Ministerial Priesthood: Chapters on the Rationale of Ministry and the Meaning of Christian Priesthood, pp.220-290.
- 243 *Ibid.*, p.243.
- 244 *Ibid.*
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- 248 *Ibid.*
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- 263 Ibid., p.258.
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- 267 Ibid., p.263.
- 268 Ibid.
- 269 Ibid., pp.265f, 275.
- 270 Ibid., p.286.
- 271 Ibid., p.285.
- 272 Ibid.
- 273 Ibid., p.286.
- 274 Ibid., p.288f, 297f.
- 275 Ibid., p.293f.
- 276 Ibid., p.295.
- 277 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, p.50.
- 278 Ibid.
- 279 H.P. Liddon: Some Elements of Religion, p.200.
- 280 R.C. Moberly: Enrichment of Private Prayer, 1897, p.9.

- 281 Lord Halifax: 'Worship', in The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist, 1892, p.22.
- 282 J.R. Illingworth: Sermons preached in a College Chapel, 1881, xi. 141f.
- 283 Cf. as H. Davies observes, worship in the second half of the nineteenth century is noted for its "quiet spirituality...as befitted Christians engaged in troubled heart-searching". (Worship and Theology, IV.206.)
- 284 A.M. Ramsey: 'Charles Gore and Anglican Theology', p.4.
- 285 H. Davies, Worship and Theology in England, V 'The Ecumenical Century 1900-1965', Princeton, 1965, p.151.
- 286 On Matthew Arnold's resistance to liturgical revision, cf. *ibid.*, IV. 205.
- 287 Cf. L.E. Elliott-Binns: English Thought: 1860-1900, p.318.
- 288 The Henry Bradshaw Society was founded in 1890 "for the purpose of printing liturgical manuscripts and rare editions of service books and illustrative documents on an historical and scientific basis, preference being given to those which bear upon the history of the Book of Common Prayer or of the Church of England". Many Anglo-Catholics shared Liddon's belief that liturgiology was of present value to the spiritual life of the Church as endorsing awareness of continuity with early Christian faith and not merely as justifiable "on grounds of antiquarian feeling". (*id.*, Advent in St. Paul's, xxv, 307).
- 289 J.B. Mozley: Sermons preached before the University of Oxford and on various occasions, 1876, xiv.285-6.
- 290 A.L. Moore: Holy Week Addresses delivered at St. Paul's Cathedral...1888, 1888, ii.93.
- 291 H.P. Liddon: Advent in St. Paul's, v.61.
- 292 W.C.E. Newbolt: The Voice of the Prayer Book, 1890, p.50.
- 293 Cf. eg. P.G. Medd: The One Mediator, pp.69-70, where Christ the one Mediator is described as "offering up, with the infinite acceptableness of His own supreme and divine and sole adequate worthiness, the sacrifice, finite, yet complete in that it was all that each had to give, of the self-devoting worship of angels and men". Cf. also R.W. Church: Village Sermons, xviii.174: "O eternal High Priest, who offerest at the everlasting throne the Worship, the longings, the sighs of human hearts, show us Thy goodness, show Thy mysterious and quickening power in our souls when we seek to know thee in the stillness of our prayers".
- 294 M.F. Sadler: Our Worship, 1892, p.69.
- 295 Cf. W. Bright: Ancient Collects and other Prayers: for the use of clergy and laity, selected from various rituals, 1857, pp.22-3.
- 296 *Ibid.*, pp.86-7.
- 297 *Ibid.*, pp.115-6: and cf. M.F. Sadler, *op.cit.*, p.75.
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- 299 Ibid., pp.xxiii-iv.
- 300 Ibid., p.xxv.
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- 302 Ibid., p.xxvii.
- 303 Ibid.
- 304 Ibid., pp.xxviii-ix.
- 305 C. Gore: 'Eucharistic Sacrifice', A Sermon... preached before the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, June 20, 1889, n.d., p.14.
- 306 W.C.E. Newbolt: Counsels of Faith and Practice: Sermons, 1883, p.44.
- 307 F.C. Clark: Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, pp.270-1.
- 308 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, pp.50-1.
- 309 M.F. Sadler : The One Offering, p.50. On Sadler's work, cf. A.G. Mortimer, The Eucharistic Sacrifice, 1901, p.546f.
- 310 Ibid.
- 311 Ibid., p.40.
- 312 Ibid., p.55.
- 313 Ibid., p.45.
- 314 Ibid., p.53.
- 315 Ibid.
- 316 Ibid., pp.45-6.
- 317 Ibid.
- 318 Ibid., p.40ff.
- 319 Ibid., p.55.
- 320 Ibid., p.50.
- 321 Ibid., pp.47-8.
- 322 E.F. Willis: Sacrificial Aspect of the Eucharist, p.30.
- 323 C. Gore: The Body of Christ, p.253; On this cf. F.C. Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, p.274.
- 324 A.M. Ramsey: 'Charles Gore and Anglican Theology', p.6.
- 325 C. Gore: 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice', p.5.
- 326 A.M. Ramsey, op.cit., pp.6-7.
- 327 Ibid., p.7.

- 328 C. Gore, op.cit., p.13.
- 329 Ibid., p.4; A.M. Ramsey, loc.cit. On this Augustinian theme earlier, cf. supra p.360 n.39.
- 330 Ibid., p.9f.
- 331 Ibid., p.8.
- 332 Ibid., pp.4, 5, 7.
- 333 C. Gore: The Body of Christ, pp.183-4; cf. On Gore's Eucharistic theology, E.L. Mascall: Corpus Christi, pp.138-156.
- 334 H.M. Luckock: The Divine Liturgy, p.45.
- 335 Ibid.
- 336 A.G. Mortimer: The Eucharistic Sacrifice, p.554; and cf. p.515ff.
- 337 F.E. Brightman: 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice', 1890, pp.12-13.
- 338 Ibid., p.14.
- 339 Ibid., p.16.
- 340 Ibid., pp.1-2, 15.
- 341 Cf. H.P. Liddon: Some Elements of Religion, v.166-203.
- 342 Ibid., p.169.
- 343 Cf. J.R. Illingworth: Sermons preached in a College Chapel, xi.141f.
- 344 H.P. Liddon, op.cit., pp.166, 195; and cf. C. Gore: The Sermon on the Mount: A practical exposition, 1896, pp.132-3: "To pray in the Name of Christ means to pray in such a way as represents Christ. The representative always must speak in the spirit and meaning of those for whom he speaks. If Christ is our representative, that must be because He speaks our wishes, or what we ought to make our wishes; and if we are to pray in the Name of Christ, that means we are, however far off, expressing our wishes and intentions".
- 345 On Westcott, see supra p.343.
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- 347 Cf. W.E. Heygate: The Good Shepherd, p.62: "Let Thy intercession give both life and efficacy to mine... Let them also seek to be more like thine in charity and perseverance".
- 348 E.M. Goulburn, op.cit., p.173.

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- 350 Ibid., p.32.
- 351 Ibid., pp.150-1.
- 352 Ibid., p.151.
- 353 D. Stone: 'The Invocation of Saints', Reprinted from the C.Q.R., 1903, p.50.
- 354 Cf. G.L. Prestige: Charles Gore, p.340f, where Gore's opposition to departure from Prayer Book devotions is rather underplayed. Cf., rather, C. Gore The Mission of the Church, p.34, where Gore inveighs against 'exaggerated devotion' to Mary and other saints.
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- 356 C. Gore: Roman Catholic Claims, 1889, p.173.
- 357 W. Bright: Hymns and Other Poems, 1866, ('The Sympathies of Christ'), p.31.
- 358 Ibid., 'We have an altar', pp.22-3.
- 359 Ibid.
- 360 Id., Hymns and Other Verses, 1874² (enl.), 'Eucharistica IV', p.22.
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- 362 Ibid., 'The Evening Absolution', p.118.
- 363 Ibid., 'Ye are come unto Mount Sion', p.29.

CHAPTER VIII

'Our One Priest on High' - in Evangelical Doctrine

and Devotion c. 1860-1900

- 1 Cf. N. Dimock: Our One Priest on High: or the Present Sacerdotal Function of Christ in Heaven, 1899. See on Dimock below. p.450ff.
- 2 J.C. Ryle: "A well organized Union of Evangelical Churchmen, Lay and Clerical, would seem to be required for the purpose of upholding 'the Truth of the Gospel', and withstanding the efforts which are now being made to unprotestantize the Church of England", in Present Danger and Present Duty. Papers read... at Islington, Jan 1868, 1868, p.120.
- 3 J.K. Mozley: Some Tendencies in British Theology, 1957, p.26.
- 4 Cf. J.I. Packer: 'The Oxford Evangelicals in Theology', in J.S. Reynolds: The Evangelicals at Oxford: 1735-1905, 1975, p.85.
- 5 Ibid., p.83.
- 6 On Shaftesbury, 'the Bishop-maker', cf. eg. F.W. Cornish: History of the English Church, p.213.

- 7 J.S. Reynolds, op.cit., pp.123, 155.
- 8 Cf. H.C.G. Moule: The Evangelical School in the Church of England, 1901, pp.5-6, 108ff.
- 9 J.C. Ryle: 'Have you a Priest? A Question for 1872', 1872 (Repub. 1896), p.17.
- 10 Id., Knots Untied, 1874, p.329f.
- 11 Id., 'Have you a Priest?', p.19.
- 12 Id., 'The True Priest', A Sermon preached in St. Thomas' Church, Dublin, April 10th, 1859, 1859, p.9.
- 13 Id., 'Have you a Priest', p.17.
- 14 Ibid., p.19.
- 15 F. Close: 'Ritual and Scepticism', Two Sermons... 1866, 1866, p.21.
- 16 C.A. Heurtley: Sermons on Some Subjects of Recent Controversy preached before the University of Oxford, 1871, p.v.
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- 18 J.C. Ryle: 'The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper...', in Papers for the Times, 1866, p.28.
- 19 F. Close: 'Ritualism', in Church Association Lectures delivered at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, ... February and March, 1867, 1867, No. II.p.3.
- 20 On The Church and the World, cf. supra, p.247.
- 21 F. Close: op.cit., p.23.
- 22 Cf. id., 'The Catholic Revival': or Ritualism and Romanism in the Church of England illustrated from 'The Church and the World', a Paper read at the ... Evangelical Union of the Diocese of Carlisle, 1866, p.21: and, id., 'Ritualism', p.4.
- 23 Id., 'Ritualism and Scepticism', p.15.
- 24 Ibid., p.16.
- 25 Cf. J. Bardsley: 'Ritualism: its Origin, Tendency, and Antidotes', in Truths for the Times, 1867, p.102, where he urged the need for "clear and distinct teaching on the priesthood of our Blessed Saviour".
- 26 On Peter Maurice's earlier opposition to Tractarianism, see supra p.170.
- 27 P. Maurice: 'Postscript to the Ritualism of Oxford Popery': A Letter to Dr. MacBride..., 1867, pp.72, 87.
- 28 Ibid., p.122f.
- 29 Id., 'The Ritualism of Oxford Popery': A letter to Dr. MacBride, 1867, p.1.
- 30 Id., 'The Birretta and Confessional', a sequel to the 'Ritualists or Non-Natural Catholics', 1873, p.1.

- 31 Id., 'Postscript', p.75.
- 32 J.C. Colquhoun: 'On the Tactics of Ritualism and the Danger of Them', in Church Association Lectures, delivered at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly... February and March, 1867, p.v.
- 33 C.H.H. Wright: Ritualism and the Gospel: Thoughts upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, 1866, p.22; cf. also W.H. Fremantle: 'Christ the only Priest, Altar, and Sacrifice', in The Churchman Armed. A Course of Lectures on the distinctive Protestant Principles of the Church of England, by Eight Clergymen, 1864, p.76.
- 34 J.C. Ryle: 'Evangelical Religion: What it is, and what it is not', in Truths for the Times, p.163.
- 35 Cf. F. Close 'The Catholic Revival', p.6; and J.C. Ryle: 'Why were our Reformers Burned?', in Church Associations Lectures, No. VI.22: "The man who fancies that the whole dispute is a mere aesthetic one, a question of taste like one of fashion and millinery, must allow me to show him that he is under a complete delusion".
- 36 Cf. eg. J.C. Ryle, 'Why were our Reformers Burned?' p.25.
- 37 J.C. Ryle: 'What do we owe to the Reformation?' 1877, p.9.
- 38 Cf. E. Garbett: 'There is a Departure from the Spirit of the Gospel, and the Teaching of the Reformers... and a Growing Tendency to Assimilate our Worship to that of Rome', in Present Danger and Present Duty, p.31. And cf. on evangelical defence of Reformed Anglicanism, J.I. Packer, op.cit., p.84.
- 39 J.C. Ryle, op.cit., p.22.
- 40 E. Garbett: Evangelical Principles: A series of doctrinal papers explanatory of the positive principles of Evangelical Churchmanship, 1875, pp.xii-xiv.
- 41 Ibid., p.xvi.
- 42 Ibid., p.xiv.
- 43 Ibid., p.xv.
- 44 Ibid., p.xvi.
- 45 Cf. id., 'Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century'. A Paper read at the Southport Evangelical Conference, May 29, 1877, 1877, (p.12f) where contra a doctrinal Ritualism he reaffirms the need for dogma, not dogmatism, to expose their fallacious use of language and recreate the dogmatic principles of Protestant Anglicanism.
- 46 F. Close: 'Ritualism and Scepticism', p.33.
- 47 J.C. Ryle: 'Evangelical Religion', p.154.
- 48 Cf. E. Garbett: 'Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century', pp.11-12: "The subtlety of the evil is here, that in the books containing this teaching all our familiar Christian words and phrases are retained".
- 49 Cf. C.R. Sumner: A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester at his Tenth Episcopal Visitation, 1867, p.23f: "The principle of

the public worship of the Church is uniformity of doctrine, as defined by our Articles; uniformity of prayer, as dictated by our Liturgy; moderation in her rites, as directed in the Rubric."

- 50 Cf. F. Close: 'The Catholic Revival', p.11, (re. The Church and the World, pp.38, 42): "The Prayer Book is libelled and travestied again and again", as "wanting plasticity, as rigidly intellectual, unsuited to the ignorant and to children. Antique in its phraseology; of a too high spiritual level for the mass of worshippers; simply unintelligible".
- 51 Ibid., p.12; and cf. J.C. Ryle, 'Evangelical Religion', pp.144f, where, with Scripture and the Articles explicitly in view, he writes: "I believe firmly that impartial inquiry will always show that Evangelical Religion is the religion of Scripture and of the Church of England".
- 52 Eg. id., 'Evangelical Religion', p.138ff, where these principles are catalogued.
- 53 Ibid., pp.146-151.
- 54 Id., 'Able to Save', being thoughts on Hebs.viii:25, 1859², p.3.
- 55 Id., 'The True Priest', p.6.
- 56 Id., 'Have you a Priest?', p.17.
- 57 Ibid., p.18.
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- 59 Id., Knots Untied, pp.292, 312.
- 60 Ibid., p.321.
- 61 Ibid., p.327.
- 62 Ibid., pp.329-30.
- 63 Id., Expository Tracts, Three Series, 1875, I.vii.5; cf. id., 'Have you a Priest?', pp.4-9.
- 64 Id., 'Have you a Priest?', p.14; id., 'Able to Save', p.9.
- 65 Cf. further E.H. Bickersteth: Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer, 1880 (rev. and enl.). See on Christ's priesthood in Evangelical hymnody, above p.36 n.288.
- 66 Cf. eg. (A Lay member of the Church of England): "The Catholic Revival in the Church of England", Union Rev., 25 (1867), 378-412.
- 67 J.C. Ryle: 'How do you worship? A Question for 1868', 1868, p.9.
- 68 F. Close: 'Ritualism', in Church Association Lectures (1867), II.19.
- 69 On its early manifestation see above p.175ff.
- 70 Cf. eg. E. Auriol, 'Introductory Address', in Present Danger and Present Duty, pp.6-7, where the fundamental errors of Ritualism are called "contrary to the teaching of God's Holy Word".
- 71 Cf. further below p.420f; and cf. J.I. Packer, op.cit., p.84.

- 72 E. Garbett: 'The Pentateuch: in its relation to the other scriptures and to the scheme of Christianity', A Sermon... Oxford, Nov. 16, 1862, 1862, pp.16-17.
- 73 T.D. Bernard: The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament, Bampton Lectures 1864, 1900⁵, p.150ff.
- 74 R. Payne Smith: Prophecy a Preparation for Christ, Bampton Lectures 1869, 1869, pp.38-9.
- 75 F. Close: 'Ritualism and Scepticism', p.5.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Id., 'Ritualism', in Church Association Lectures (1867), II.3. p.13.
- 78 J. Bardsley: 'Ritualism: Its Origin, Tendency, and Antidote', in Truths for the Times, p.102.
- 79 W. Fremantle: 'Christ the Only Priest, Altar, and Sacrifice', in The Churchman Armed, pp.47ff.
- 80 Ibid., p.90.
- 81 Ibid., p.80.
- 82 Ibid., p.81.
- 83 Ibid., p.82.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Ibid., p.88.
- 86 R.B. Girdlestone: Synonyms of the Old Testament: their bearing on the Christian Faith and Practice, 1871, p.377ff.
- 87 Ibid., p.385.
- 88 Ibid., p.384.
- 89 Ibid., p.386.
- 90 Ibid., p.385.
- 91 Ibid., p.386ff; and cf. p.390: "It is right, therefore, that the Lord's Supper should be administered by the presbyter as a leader in the Church, but not as a sacerdos, and at a table, not at an altar".
- 92 Ibid., pp.214, 211.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Ibid., p.210.
- 95 Ibid., p.314.
- 96 H. Linton: Christ in the Old Testament... in Type, in Prophecy, in Sacrifice, and in Personal Manifestation, from the Creation to His birth, 1873², p.10.

- 97 Ibid., p.49f.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid., pp.53ff, 55, 58f, 83f.
- 100 T.D. Bernard: The Witness of God: Five Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, 1863, p.60.
- 101 F. Close, 'The Catholic Revival', p.26.
- 102 Cf. T.R. Birks, 'That the Evangelical Body have a special duty at this crisis, as faithful Representatives of our Reformed Church', in Present Danger and Present Duty, pp.73-4.
- 103 T.R. Birks, 'The Essentials of Christian Public Worship as laid down in Scripture defined and exhibited', in The Churchman Armed, p.95.
- 104 J.C. Ryle: Knots Untied, p.239.
- 105 T.R. Birks, 'The Evangelical Body have a special duty', in Present Danger and Present Duty, pp.73-4.
- 106 J.C. Ryle, 'How do you Worship?', pp.9ff.
- 107 Id., 'Evangelical Religion', in Truths for the Times, p.150.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 F. Close, 'The Catholic Revival', p.26.
- 110 W. Fremantle, 'Christ, the Only Priest, Altar, and Sacrifice', in The Churchman Armed, p.88.
- 111 G.H. Sumner: Life of Charles Richard Sumner D.D., Bishop of Winchester, 1876, p.447.
- 112 P. Maurice, 'Postscript', p.87.
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- 115 J.C. Ryle, 'How do you worship?', p.15.
- 116 Cf. E. Garbett: 'Extreme Ritualism', An Address delivered at the Clerical Meeting, Islington, Jan 9, 1866, 1866, p.14.
- 117 S. Waldegrave: 'Christ the True Altar', and other Sermons, 1875, p.11.
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- 119 Ibid., p.90.
- 120 Cf. J.C. Ryle, 'Have you a Priest?', p.13; 'Able to Save', p.8; 'The True Priest', pp.7-8.
- 121 Cf. W.W. Champneys: Things New and Old: Sermons preached at St. Paul's and St. Pancras, London, 1869, p.223.
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- 123 Ibid., p.255.
- 124 E. Garbett, Evangelical Principles, p.ix.
- 125 On the Headship of Christ the priest in early evangelical ecclesiology, cf. supra p.161f.
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- 128 E. Garbett: Voices of the Church of England against Modern Sacerdotalism... on the nature of the Lord's Supper and the Christian Ministry, 1869, p.78; id., 'A Departure from the Gospel', p.22.
- 129 J.C. Ryle, 'How do you worship.', p.25.
- 130 Cf. F. Close, 'The Catholic Revival', p.9.
- 131 Cf. W. Cadman: 'The Christian Minister: his true position and the purposes of his office', in The Churchman Armed, p.126, where he denies a sacrificing priesthood in the Christian Church as inconsistent both with the general teaching of scripture and Christ's finished priestly sacrifice. However, he maintains, "the necessity for testifying servants and faithful stewards continues, because the effects or blessings of the atonement are still to be appropriated by sinners who are brought to Christ, and by believers who are built up in Christ, and are to be matters of daily and continual experience, the result of real appropriating faith in the finished sacrifice of which the Gospel testifies".
- 132 E.H. Bickersteth: 'The Authority and Responsibilities of the Christian Ministry', A Sermon preached... at the general Ordination of the Lord Bishop of Ripon, Sept. 23, 1866, 1866, p.11.
- 133 J.C. Ryle: Knots Untied, p.312.
- 134 J.C. Ryle: 'What do we owe to the Reformation?', p.18.
- 135 H. McNeile: 'Priesthood', in Church Associations Lectures (1867), No.I. p.4.
- 136 Ibid., p.5.
- 137 Ibid., p.8.
- 138 Ibid., p.9.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Cf. ibid., pp.13-25.
- 141 Ibid., p.27.
- 142 T.R. Birks: 'The Nature and Office of the Christian Ministry', in Evangelical Principles, pp.203-233.
- 143 Ibid., p.211.
- 144 Ibid., pp.216-7.

- 145 Ibid., pp.219-223.
- 146 Ibid., p.223.
- 147 Ibid., p.226.
- 148 Ibid., p.228.
- 149 Ibid., p.231.
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- 151 H. Linton: Sermons preached in the Parish Church of St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford, 1878, vii.98.
- 152 Cf. eg. J.C. Miller: 'The Confessional', in Church Association Lectures (1867), No.IV p.4: "The Confessional is obviously and avowedly the chief engine of the sacerdotal power of the Church of Rome". Cf. also, C.A. Heurtley: The Form of Sound Words: Helps towards holding it fast, seven sermons preached before the University of Oxford..., 1862, p.150.
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- 214 Ibid., p.119.
- 215 Ibid., p.126.
- 216 J.I. Packer, op.cit., p.86.
- 217 Cf. J.S. Reynolds, op.cit., p.28, for the criticism of D. Bowen.
- 218 q. J.I. Packer, loc.cit.
- 219 q. ibid.
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- 221 E.A. Litton: Introduction to Dogmatic Theology, 2 Parts, (1882, 1892), 1912³, II.215.
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- 223 Ibid.
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- 225 Ibid., p.233.
- 226 Ibid.
- 227 See supra p.430f.
- 228 Ibid., p.218.
- 229 Ibid., p.219.
- 230 Ibid.
- 231 Ibid
- 232 Ibid., p.220.
- 233 Ibid., p.221.
- 234 Ibid.
- 235 Ibid., p.222.
- 236 Ibid., p.224f.
- 237 Ibid., p.231.
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- 240 See supra p.322.
- 241 H.C.G. Moule: Outlines of Christian Doctrine, 1889, p.102.
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- 264 Ibid., p.44f.
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- 267 W. Saumarez Smith: The Blood of the New Covenant: A Theological Essay, 1889, p.1.
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- 270 Ibid., p.2.
- 271 Cf. id., 'Poena Vicaria' or, to what extent was Christ's Death a Suffering for Sin?, 1876, pp.14-15, where from both the NT, Lev.iv:xvi, and Is liii, Smith argues - "we shall find that the natural, straightforward interpretation of part of the language used concerning Christ's Death is that, in the wonderful economy of God's revealed love, Jesus Christ, as the spotless lamb of God, offered for the sins of the whole world, became a representative for sinful man, bore an exemplary penalty that He might remove the curse of the law from us who deserved it, and so, 'Himself the victim and Himself the priest', satisfied God's holy law, and made atonement for the sins of the people by His own blood".
- 272 Id., 'The One Oblation of Christ', in The Church and Her Doctrine, 1891, p.29.
- 273 Ibid., p.30f.
- 274 Ibid., p.36.

- 275 Ibid., p.37f.
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- 277 Ibid., pp.38-9.
- 278 Ibid.
- 279 Ibid.
- 280 J.I. Packer, op.cit., p.88.
- 281 Cf. ibid.
- 282 H. Wace: The Sacrifice of Christ: Its Reality and Efficacy, 1898, p.v.
- 283 Ibid., p.vi.
- 284 Ibid., pp.2, 14, 16.
- 285 Ibid., pp.22, 25f.
- 286 Ibid., pp.28, 30.
- 287 Ibid., pp.40-1.
- 288 Ibid., pp.51f.
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- 293 Ibid., p.88.
- 294 W.H.K. Soames: The Priesthood of the New Covenant, 1898, 'Introductory Note'.
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- 296 Ibid., p.6.
- 297 Ibid., p.20ff.
- 298 Ibid., p.28.
- 299 Cf. ibid., pp.31-46.
- 300 Cf. Art., 'Nathaniel Dimock', D.N.B. Second Suppl., 1901-1911, 509-10.
- 301 J.I. Packer, op.cit., p.88.
- 302 D.N.B., loc.cit.
- 303 q. J.S. Reynolds: Evangelicals at Oxford, p.87.
- 304 q. ibid., p.88.

- 305 J.I. Packer, loc.cit.
- 306 N. Dimock: The Sacerdotium of Christ: In relation to the Blood of the New Covenant, 1899, p.9.
- 307 Ibid., p.14.
- 308 Ibid., p.17; see supra p.35 n.285.
- 309 Ibid., p.23.
- 310 Id., The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium: as contained in the Scriptures and taught in our Formularies, 1910 Edn., p.4.
- 311 Ibid., p.5.
- 312 Cf. eg. id., Sacerdotium of Christ, p.20 n.
- 313 Id., Doctrine of Sacerdotium, loc.cit.
- 314 q. ibid., p.5 n.
- 315 Ibid., pp.1-3, and cf. p.39: "Our Church not only knows no such intention: she has repudiated such a priesthood. Indeed, I believe it may be truly said that there is no point which our English reformers more strongly insisted on than the rejection of the Romish sacerdotium".
- 316 Ibid., p.7.
- 317 Ibid., pp.5, 7.
- 318 Ibid., p.17.
- 319 Ibid., pp.10, 39, 45.
- 320 Ibid., p.19f.
- 321 Cf. ibid., p.30f, et passim.
- 322 Ibid., p.23.
- 323 Ibid., pp.24-5.
- 324 Ibid., p.27.
- 325 Ibid., p.34.
- 326 Ibid., p.46.
- 327 Ibid., p.45.
- 328 Ibid., p.15.
- 329 Ibid., p.39.
- 330 Ibid., p.45.
- 331 Ibid., p.50ff.
- 332 Id., Our One Priest on High, 'Introductory Note'.

- 333 Ibid., p.9.
- 334 Ibid., p.10f.
- 335 Ibid., p.21.
- 336 Ibid.
- 337 Ibid., p.22.
- 338 Ibid., p.25.
- 339 Ibid., p.26.
- 340 Ibid., p.27ff.
- 341 Ibid., p.31f.
- 342 Ibid., p.35f.
- 343 Ibid., p.36.
- 344 Ibid., p.39.
- 345 Ibid., p.39f.
- 346 Ibid., p.41.
- 347 Ibid., p.43.
- 348 Ibid., p.42.
- 349 Ibid., pp.45, 47f.
- 350 Ibid., p.57.
- 351 Ibid., pp.65, 69-73.
- 352 Ibid., p.86.
- 353 Ibid., pp.90, 105.
- 354 Id., Sacerdotium of Christ, p.9.
- 355 Ibid.
- 356 Ibid., pp.9-11.
- 357 Ibid., p.14.
- 358 Ibid., p.19f.
- 359 Ibid., p.23.
- 360 Ibid., pp.31, 32, 34f.
- 361 Ibid., pp.34f, 38.
- 362 Ibid., pp.38, 41f; and cf. pp.35-6n, where Dimock reviews different positions re. the beginning of Christ's priesthood.

- 363 Ibid., p.42.
- 364 Ibid., p.27.
- 365 Ibid.
- 366 Ibid., pp.42, 48f.
- 367 Ibid., p.45f.
- 368 Ibid., p.53f.
- 369 Ibid., p.65.
- 370 Ibid., p.79f.
- 371 Ibid., pp.81, 85.
- 372 Ibid., pp.89, 95.
- 373 Ibid., p.101.
- 374 Ibid.

CONCLUSION: NOTES

1 The participants at the Conference are listed as:

Father Puller (S.S.J.E.)	Archdeacon Wilson (Rochdale)
Dr. Moberly (Oxford)	Dr. Ryle (Cambridge)
Canon Gore (Westminster)	Dr. Moule (Cambridge) (nb. did not attend).
Canon Scott Holland (St. Paul's)	Canon E.R. Bernard (Salisbury)
Rev. C.G. Lang (Portsea)	Dr. Sanday (Oxford)
Dr. Salmond (Aberdeen)	Dr. Fairbairn (Oxford)
Dr. Davison (Handsworth)	Dr. Barrett (Norwich)
	Dr. Forsyth (Cambridge)

In W. Sanday (ed.): Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice: A Report of a Conference held at Oxford, December 13 and 14th, 1899, London, 1901 (New impr.).

- 2 Ibid., pp.vii,viii.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 On the Fulham Palace Conference, see E.L. Mascall, Corpus Christi, pp.139ff; R.C. Moberly: 'The Fulham Palace Conference', in J.T.S., 2 (1901), 321-349.
- 5 Priesthood and Sacrifice, pp.20, 24.
- 6 Ibid., p.153.
- 7 Ibid., pp.19-20.
- 8 Ibid., p.14.
- 9 Ibid., p.6.
- 10 Ibid., p.xv.
- 11 Ibid., pp.107-8.
- 12 Ibid., pp.ix-x.
- 13 Ibid., p.15.
- 14 Ibid., pp.31, 33, 34, 74-5, 142f.
- 15 Ibid., pp.69-70.
- 16 Ibid., pp.17f, 33, 105f, 116f.
- 17 Ibid., p.ix.

ABBREVIATIONS

Acad.	Academy.
Ang. Th. Rev.	Anglican Theological Review.
A.S.B.	Alternative Service Book.
Bib. Sacr.	Bibliotheca Sacra.
Brit. Crit.	British Critic.
Can. J. Th.	Canadian Journal of Theology.
CBSC.	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.
CGTSC.	Cambridge Greek Text for Schools and Colleges.
Chr. Obs.	Christian Observer.
Con. Th. M.	Concordia Theological Monthly.
C.Q.R.	Church Quarterly Review.
C.R.	Christian Remembrancer.
C.S.U.	Christian Socialist Union.
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography.
E.C.U.	English Church Union.
Edin. Rev.	Edinburgh Review.
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
Exp. T.	Expository Times.
Hist. Mag.	Historical Magazine.
I.C.C.	International and Critical Commentaries.
J.B.L.	Journal of Biblical Literature.
J. Eccl. H.	Journal of Ecclesiastical History.
J.T.S.	Journal of Theological Studies.
L.A.C.T.	Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.
L.C.C.	Library of Christian Classics.
L.F.	Library of the Fathers.
M. Sci. Rel.	Manuel Science Religieuse.
N.T.C.S.	New Testament Commentary for Schools.
O.D.C.C.	Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.
P.G.	Patrologia Graeca, J.P. Migne (ed.).
P.L.	Patrologia Latina, J.P. Migne (ed.).
P.P.S.	Parochial and Plain Sermons (J.H. Newman).
P.S.	Parker Society.
Q.R.	Quarterly Review.
S.J.Th.	Scottish Journal of Theology.
S.S.D.	Sermons on Subjects of the Day (J.H. Newman).
Theol.	Theology.
Theol. Rund.	Theologische Rundschau.
T.Z.T.	Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie.
W.A.	D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe, Weimar.

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III PERIODICALS

Academy	English Historical Review
Anglican Theological Review	Historical Magazine
Athenaeum	Journal of Biblical Literature
Bibliotheca Sacra	Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology
British Critic	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
Canadian Journal of Theology	Journal of Theological Studies
Christian Examiner	London Quarterly and Holborn Review
Christian Observer	Manuel de Science Religieuse
Christian Remembrancer	Nineteenth Century
Churchman	One in Christ
Church Quarterly Review	Quarterly Review
Concilium	Scottish Journal of Theology
Concordia Theological Monthly	Theologische Rundschau
Dublin Review	Theology
Ecclesiologist	Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie
Eclectic Review	Union Review
Edinburgh Review	Worship

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