The priesthood of Christ in Anglican doctrine and devotion: 1827 - 1900

Hancock, Christopher David

How to cite:

Use policy
The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a link is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.
Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.
VOLUME II

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

BY

CHRISTOPHER DAVID HANCOCK

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
University of Durham,
Department of Theology, 1984
NOTES

PREFACE


2 Lit. 'the rule of prayer'; pertaining to the character and influence of the Church's worship.


4 J.C. Ryle: 'Have you a Priest?: a question for 1872'. A Tract, 1872², p.5.


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, vii.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.


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 'threefold office'.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


37 Ibid., p.51.


39 Ibid., p.271.


45 A. Ollivant: A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the diocese of Llandaff at his sixth Episcopal Visitation, 1866, p.83.
INTRODUCTION


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, 1814, p.158.


8 On Essays and Reviews, see below pp. 294, 295f, 306f.

9 Cf. Dean Burgan'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, 1974, p.648.)


15 A. Knox: Remains, III.125.

16 Ibid., II.83.


19 C. Simeon: Horae Homileticae, XIX.328, Disc. 2310, on Heb., x.14-17.


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.


28 Ibid., p.241.

29 Ibid., p.462.


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.


37 Ibid., p.129.

38 O. Chadwick: Victorian Church I.442.

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, 1797, pp.62-3.


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.

Christian Year: Preface. See also A. Knox: Remains IV.333f, 592.


A. Knox: Remains, III.63.

Ibid., p.69.


On Simeon's sense of the power of prayer to unite, see below p.156.

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'."


W. Beveridge: Sermons, 6 Vols., 1817, III.50-1.


C. Wheatly, op.cit., p.6.

On the history of this phrase, see F.E. Brightman: The English Rite, 2 Vols., 1915, II.692-3.

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.

On the 'half-conscious' influence of liturgy on belief, see supra, Preface n.23.

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.

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.

O. Chadwick: Victorian Church I, 181-2, aptly describes the Articles as "a discomfit to Puseyites", because "they were the offspring of the Reformation and the Reformation was suspect."

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.

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).


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.


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.


E. Browne, *op.cit.*, p.103.


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.


On Newman's interpretation of Article XXXI, see below p.107f.


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...


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."

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."


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.


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.


88 See eg. C. Bigg: The Christian Platonists of Alexandria, 1866, p.75: "Clement speaks of Jesus as our High Priest, but only in the philonic sense, as our Representative and Intercessor (Protrept, 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.


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 (1869) - 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.


97 On this influential aspect of Westcott's exegesis see below p.345


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.41ff.).

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.1xxx-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."


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 (κομητανία) 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).
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."


Ibid., p.380.


For Charles Gore's recovery of the Augustinian theme of Corpus Christi, see below p.402.


Ibid., pp.379-80.

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..


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., 1804. 1.33; II.58.

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.

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.


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. Aulen: 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 Melancthon gegen das Opfer der heiligen Messe' in Divus Thomas (Fribourg) XXI, 1943, cited in F.C. Clark, op.cit., p.106.


128 See below pp. 61f, 127ff, 135ff.


130 K. Hagen sees as a distinguishing feature of Luther's Lectures on Hebrews (contra mediaeval exegesis) the stress on Christ as "excellentia" 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 Keuveröffentlichen Hebraerbrief-vorlesung Luthers von 1517-1518: Ein Beitrag zur Frage : Humanismus und Reformation, Tübingen, 1930; A. Gyllenkrok: Rechtfertigung und

133 M. Luther: *W.A.* 41, 203, 23.

134 Ibid., *W.A.* 40, 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."


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.


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.

147 Id., Commentary on Hebrews, p.32f. on iii: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.
154 T.W. Manson, op.cit., p.38.
156 T. Manson, loc.cit.
157 J. Calvin: Commentary on Hebrews, p.132f., on x:1.
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.
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).


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.


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.


184 Ibid.

185 Ibid., p.346.


187 Ibid.
On Reformed use of the terminology of 'heavenly sacrifice', see below p.192 n.223.

Id., 'The Sick Man's Salve', in Prayers and other pieces, P.S. 17, III.140.

Ibid.

Id., 'The Solace of the Soul', in Works, P.S.13, II.576. This concurs with Bacon's explicit knowledge and dependence on Chrysostom's interpretation of Christ's heavenly priesthood elsewhere cf. Prayers and other pieces, p.422.


Ibid., p.163.


J. Jewel: op.cit., p.733.

Ibid., p.1131.

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.


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.


Ibid.


209 Ibid., II, Bk.V. lxi.i.222.


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.


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.


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.


See below pp.105f, 122f.


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.

Ibid., p.17.

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 Sacerdoto' in Socini Opera Omnia, 2 Vols., Irenopolis, 1656, and on Anglican reactions below eg. pp.46f, 159.

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.

W. Outram: Two Dissertations on Sacrifices (De Sacrificiis), J. Allen (Transl.) 1828.

Ibid., pp.293-312.

Ibid., pp.301, 361. See also H. Thorndike (1598-1672) His Theological Works, 6 Vols., L.A.C.T., 1844-56, III. 2. 541.

W. Outram. op.cit., pp.305ff.

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."


Ibid., p.217.

Ibid.
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.

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.


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).

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.


Ibid., pp.54-60.

Ibid., pp.61-78.

Ibid., p.73.


C. Simeon: Horae Homileticae, I.473, Disc 99, on Ex.xxv. 29, 30.

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.


271 F. Mason: Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae; sive de legitimo eiusdem ministerio, 1625.

272 W. Gouge: Commentary on the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, pp.244-5.

273 Ibid., p.225.

274 Ibid., p.246.


277 On Owen's critique of Socinianism cf. esp. ibid., II. Exerc.xxx-xxxiii, VI.38ff, on Heb. vii.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.


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.
Cf. J.P. Smith: *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ*, 1842


Ibid., IV. 528.

Ibid., p.532.

Ibid., p.530.

From Newton's Hymn 'How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds' (1779).

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*, 1802.

---

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,
Prays them to the king" etc.

Cf. also nos. 258, 260, 261, 262, 142, 146, 518, 519.


F. Hildebrandt: *I Offered Christ*, p.31.

Ibid. Hildebrandt sees the language of "one with our Head for ever one", and "ourselves presenting with our Head" as ultimately echoing Theodoret.

See below pp.97f, 124f, 133f, 139f, 150f, 399ff.

The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley: No.5.

Cf. J. Julian (ed.): *A Dictionary of Hymnody*, 1907


Ibid., p.413, Introduction.


Ibid., p.416, on Heb. i.4-9; p.422, on Heb. ii.14-18.

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."

On W. Wilberforce see below p.172.


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.

I. Milner, Sermons, 2 Vols., 1820, II.13, 14. See also, on the triplex munus Christi, ibid., I.100, 115.

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.

T. Scott: The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments... with Explanatory Notes..., 6 Vols., 1830, VI on Heb. vii (ad loc.).

Ibid. on Heb. vii. 11-18, 'Practical Observations' (ad loc.).


F.W. Cornish, loc.cit.

P. Tulloch; Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1971 (Repr.) pp.9-10.

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.


C. Daubeny: Guide to the Church, I.413.

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.

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).
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 textbook of the Church of England on the subject of the Eucharist" (p.v.).
332 On Brett, see below p.44.
335 Ibid., p.419.
336 Ibid., p.461.
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.).
345 J. Butler, op.cit., p.239.
346 Ibid., p.249.
347 Ibid., p.251.
348 Ibid., p.252.
349 Ibid., p.253.
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.


C. Daubeny: Guide to the Church, p.37.

T. Sikes: A Discourse on Parochial Communion, in which the respective duties of Minister and People are deduced from Scripture, 1872, p.1.

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.).

G. Hickes'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.


Ibid., pp.263-4.

On the history of John Wade's Utilitarian attacks upon Church corruption, see O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I. 33-4.

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, 1797. 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.).

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.


Ibid., pp.26-7.

Ibid., pp.46-7.

Ibid., p.76.

See Art, 'Cambridge Platonists', O.D.C.C., and below p.204 n.1.

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.xliix, 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.


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.


384 On the 'Broad Church' Movement see below pp.224f.294.

385 Cf. O. Pfleiderer: Development of Theology in Germany since Leant and its progress in Great Britain since 1825, 1890, p.308.

See on J.C. Hare, F.D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, below pp.229ff.

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.

Ibid.


On Blanco White see further below p.206f.

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. Brilioth: The Anglican Revival, p.56.


4 C. Dawson: The Spirit of the Oxford Movement, 1933, p.3.

5 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., Preface.


8 q. Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.71.


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. Brilioth, 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.
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.
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. Härdein: Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist, pp.50-1.
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.).
30 Ibid., p.11.
31 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., pp.4-5.
28

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.
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. Hardelin, op.cit., p.27ff.
39 Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.ix.
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).
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.
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 theologists" 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

68 Christian Year: 'Gunpowder Treason'.
69 Ibid., 'The Purification'
70 Ibid., 'The Priest's Intercessor'.
71 Ibid.

73 Keble College, MS Tract on the Eucharist, 1834, pp.30-31.
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.
78 Christian Year: 'St. Matthias' Day'.
79 Ibid., 'Evening'. 


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.


P. Murray, *op.cit.*, p.34f.

Ibid.


J.H. Newman: *Apologia*, pp. 7, 8, 12.


Ibid., pp.14, 16.


Ibid.

A. Hardelin, *op.cit.*, p.112.

J.H. Newman, MS Sermon 225, 7f ; q. A. Hardelin, *op.cit.*, p.112 n.11

Tract II, 1833, p.3.

Tract X, 1833, p.4.


*P.P.S.* II.xxv.305.

Ibid., pp.300-1.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.303.

Ibid., p.304.

Ibid., pp.303-4.

Ibid.

*P.P.S.* II.xxxi. 381-2.

Ibid., IV. xviii.268.

Ibid.

Ibid., III.xiv.277.

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.

*P.P.S.* VI.x.125.


Ibid., p.292


Ibid., p.12.

Tract LXXIV: 'Testimony of writers in the later English Church to the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession', 1836, p.38.

*P.P.S.* VI.xvii.240.

Ibid., p.242.

Ibid., xx, 280.

Ibid., xxi, 309.

Id., *Lectures on Justification, 1874*, 197f.

Ibid., p.196.
131 Ibid., p.197.


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


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".


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 Eichhorn, see D. Jasper, op.cit., p.60.

147 q. G.L. Prestige: Pusey, p.27
33


150 O. Chadwick: *The Mind*, p.46.


153 Ibid., p.57

154 Ibid., pp. 56-57.


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.


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.


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*, 1838, p.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".


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 bede; and therefore permitted himself phrases which, for all his professed aim of sobriety, an older generation would have feared as enthusiastic".


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.


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.175 f.

202 Ibid., p.105 ff.

203 Christian Year: '24th Sunday after Trinity'.

204 Ibid., 'Sunday after Ascension'.

205 Ibid., 'The Purification'.


211 Ibid., pp.4-5.

212 J.H. Newman, P.P.S. XII.ix.130.

213 Ibid. V.vii.91.


215 Cf. R. Strange, op.cit., p.125.
On the 'Organon' concept in Newman's christology, see ibid., p.64f.

P.P.S., VI.v.61.

Ibid., p.64.


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.

P.P.S., V.ix.118.

Ibid., II.iii.30.

Ibid., p.39.

Ibid., V.ix. 118f; and see R. Strange, Newman and the Gospel of Christ, p.69f.

Ibid., II.iii.30; and see R. Strange, op.cit., p.78ff.

Ibid., V.xiv. 200f.

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.


Ibid., I.II.19.

Ibid., pp.287-8.

Ibid., pp.53-54.

Ibid., p.66.


Y. Brilioth, op.cit., p.250.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.125.

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; Scupoli's: 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.
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).

Y. BriJioth, op.cit., p.125.

E.B. Pusey: MS Lectures on Types and Prophecies, p.11.

Ibid., p.96.

Ibid., p.99.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.93.

The fact that Pusey interprets the 'veil' in different ways reflects his belief in the "manifoldness" of scriptural typology. See Ibid., p.93.

Ibid., p.93.

Ibid., p. 72f, 119f.

Ibid., p.72.

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."

I. Williams (ed.): Plain Sermons by contributors to the 'Tracts for the Times', 10 Vols., 1839-1847.

Ibid., III. lxxxvii. 226.

Ibid., pp.226-7.

Ibid., III.lxxxv.193.

See further below pp.103-106.

O. Chadwick: The Mind, p.35.

I. Williams: Hymns on the Catechism, 1843, xiv.18.

Id., The Cathedral, p.235.

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.

Ibid., Hymns, 1862, 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.

B.M.G. Reardon: Religious Thought, p.353.

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.
282 Id., Sermons Academic and Occasional, iii.52.
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'.


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."


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.
325 Ibid., p.169.
326 Ibid., and cf. R. Strange, *op.cit.*, p.139ff.
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.
337 Ibid., II.I. 70.
338 Ibid., pp.151-2.
339 Ibid., p.152.
340 Ibid.
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.
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.

(E.B. Pusey): Dr. Hampden’s Past and Present Statements Compared, 1836, pp.8, 9.

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.

Ibid., p.68.

Id., MS Lectures on Types and Prophecies, pp.91-101.

Ibid., pp.24, 92, 94.

Ibid., p.92.

Cf. loc.cit., "The Sacrifices were purposely incomplete, lest they should be mistaken for the substance."

Ibid., p.24.

Ibid.  

Ibid., p.94.

Ibid., pp.8, 9, 93.

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".

Ibid., p.99.

Ibid.  

Ibid.  

Ibid.  

Ibid., pp.98-99.

Ibid., p.97.  

Ibid., p.96.

Ibid., p.97.

Ibid., p.101.

Ibid., p.99.

H. Davies: Worship and Theology, III.280.


376 Cf. W. Beek, *op.cit.*, p.11.

377 *Tract LXXXIX*, p.136.


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. Härderlin, passim.


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.


392 J. Keble: *Letters of Spiritual Counsel and Guidance*, p.163.


395 *Christian Year*: 'Holy Communion'.

396 Ibid., 'Sunday next before Advent'.
397 Ibid., 'Gunpowder Treason'.

398 On the history of these lines, see W. Beek, op.cit., p.145f; A. Härderlin, 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.


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).


405 Ibid., I.I.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.Ixi.204.

415 R.H. Froude: Remains, II.I.152.

416 Ibid., I.I.366; I.II.409.

417 Ibid., I.I.372.

418 Ibid., I.II.62.

419 Ibid.

420 Ibid., pp.10-11.

421 I. Williams: Hymns on the Catechism, xxiv, 27.

423 Id., The Baptistry, 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.


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., vi.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. Härdein, op.cit., p.155f.

437 P.P.S., [l. xviii.2ll-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.


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.Fauсет: 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.

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.


451 Ibid., p.33.

452 Id., Apologia, p.99.


455 Ibid., p.130.


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.


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.


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 cxi. 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.
486 Ibid., p.5.
487 Ibid., p.53. But cf. A. Härde, lin, op. cit., p.205 for Pusey's hesitation regarding talk of the eucharist as "a feast upon a sacrifice".
488 Ibid., p.6.
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.
493 Ibid., p.21.

CHAPTER II

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


2 q. ibid.

3 A. Mozley (ed.): The Letters of the Rev. J.B. Mozley, 1885, p.147.

5 q. ibid., p.303.


7 A.G. Lough: Pusey - Restorer of the Church, p.74.


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.


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.i.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 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, vii.60.

54 Id., Parochial and Cathedral Sermons, 1883, I.xix. 283; Parochial Sermons, II.x.179f; xiii.231.
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.

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.

Id., Eleven Addresses during a Retreat, vi.60-61. n.24.

Id., University Addresses: 1859-1872, p.98.


Id., University Sermons: 1843-1855, vi.59.


Ibid., p.119.
Id., University Sermons: 1843-1855, vi.59; and see his Parochial Sermons, II, xiii.231 and n.‘u’, where he attacks this idea in Liquori’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.

See above p.106. Confirmation that Christ's priesthood was implicated in R.C. devotion to Mary as the 'crux' 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 'crux' 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.

Id., First Eirenicon, p.111.

Ibid.


Ibid.

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."

Cf. eg. id., Parochial Sermons, II.xiii.235; xxi.374-5.

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.

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.

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."

E.B. Pusey: 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', A Sermon mostly preached before the University...4th Sunday after Epiphany' 1846, 1846, p.5.

Id., Parochial Sermons, II.xiv.245.

Id., 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', p.5.
Cf. id., 'Will ye also go away?' A Sermon preached before the University... 4th Sunday after Epiphany 1867, 1867, p. iv.

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.

Id., 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', pp. xvi-xvii.

See below where pp. 276-281, Pusey's thought is further integrated in discussion of Ritualist practice.

Id., 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', pp. 1-2.

Ibid., p. 5.

Ibid., p. 39.

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, 1851. 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. 250 ff. 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.

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, 1851. 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.


Ibid., p. 28: q. from J. Taylor: The Worthy Communicant, I. iv.

Ibid., pp. 30-31.

Id., The Real Presence, pp. 15-16.

Id., First Eirenicon, p. 28.

Ibid., p. 27.

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 byeword 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.


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.


118 Ibid.

119 Id., Eleven Addresses during a Retreat, vi.57.

120 Ibid., p.71.


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, 1852, pp.6,144ff.

125 Ibid., p.4.


129 Ibid., p.188.
Ibid., cf: "For since He is a Mediator by nature, He is by nature fitted to be a Priest"; and pp.173ff, 314.

Ibid., pp.81, 202, et passim.

Cf. ibid., pp.25, 70f, 81f, 178, 182, 289.

Ibid., p.46.

Ibid., pp.46, 72, et passim.


Id., Incarnation, p.13.

Ibid., pp.10f. 161.

Ibid., pp.292f, 12, 25.

Ibid., p.291.

Ibid., p.173.

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.

Id., Incarnation, pp.173f, 314.

Id., The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 1853², pp.53-4, 305.


Ibid., pp.255, 257, 260, 262.

Id., Incarnation, p.437.

Ibid., p.176f.

Ibid., p.177.

Ibid., p.202; and cf. pp.184, 197.

Ibid., pp.208f, 312.

Ibid., p.175.

Ibid., pp. 181-3.

Id., Sermons on the Holy Communion, 1854, p.183

Ibid., 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.
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*, xxii.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.


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.


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."


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.


208 Ibid.

209 Ibid., p.300.


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.


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.


226 q. E.S. Purcell, *op.cit.*, II.318.


228 H.E. Manning: *Sermons*, 4 Vols., 1843-50. (On editions of individual volumes used, see bibliography).


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.
59

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.


296 Letter to G. Ryder, June 1845; q. G. Battiscombe, p.278.


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.


305 O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.495.


308 q. ibid., p.322. See further details of the case of Bp. Forbes, ibid., p.317f.


310 Ibid., p.31.

311 Ibid., and cf. Eucharistical Adoration, p.78.

312 Ibid., pp.31-2: Eucharistical Adoration, p.85.


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.
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. euch. 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."
367 Ibid., II.xxix.295.
"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.


Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, II.xxix.295.

Ibid., xxxvi. 357, et passim.

Cited id., Considerations, p.10.

Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, VI.xlvi.465-6.

Ibid., pp.467-8.

Ibid., p.470.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.471.

Ibid., xlv.i.450.

Ibid., xlv.458.

Ibid., IV.xxiii.238.

Ibid.

Ibid., III.xlii.425.

Ibid., IV.xxxix.393.

Id., Eucharistical Adoration, pp.7,48.

Ibid., p.7.

Ibid: and cf. id., Sermons for the Christian Year, V.xiii.147f.

Ibid., II.xxxv.346; Eucharistical Adoration, p.75.

Id., Considerations, p.31.

Id., Sermons for the Christian Year, I.xxxxiii.337.

Id., Eucharistical Adoration, pp.60, 80.

Ibid., p.74.

Ibid., p.80.
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.


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.).

6 J.P. Smith: *Four Discourses on the sacrifice and priesthood of Jesus Christ and the Atonement and Redemption thence accruing* (1813), 1842 (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.


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.


15 q. Ibid., p. 25.


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.


23 Ibid., p.323, Disc. 2309 on Heb. x:5-10.
24 Ibid., p.328, Disc. 2310 on Heb. x:14-17.
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.182-103, 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."
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".
33 Horae Homileticae, XIX.265-6, Disc. 2296, on Heb.vii:1-3.
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.iii:14,15.
40 Eg. ibid., p.292ff, Disc.2302, on Heb.ix:13,14; p.308, Disc.2305, on Heb.ix:24.
42 Eg. ibid., X.476, Disc.1247, on Zech.vii:12,13; XIX.337, Disc.2312, on Heb.x:23-25.
43 Ibid., XIX. 273, Disc.2298, on Heb.vii:25.
44 Ibid., 1.473, Disc.99, on Ex.xxviii:29,30; ibid., p.478ff, Disc.101, on Ex.xxx:7-10.
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 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.l709, 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."


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,


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.


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.


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.


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.
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.


O. Chadwick: The Mind, p.27.


J.B. Sumner: Sermons on the Principal Festivals of the Christian Church: to which are added three sermons on Good Friday, 1827, p.106f.

Ibid., p.123.

Ibid., p.285.

Ibid., p.287.

W. Wilberforce: A Practical View of the Prevailing System of Professed Christians...contrasted with Real Christianity, pp.107-8.

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.

Ibid., p.108f.

Ibid., pp.113-4.

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.

Ibid., p.34.

Ibid., p.37.

Ibid., p.38.

Ibid., p.58.

Ibid., pp.60-61.

Ibid., p.62.

C. Simeon: Horae Homileticae, XIX. 212f., Disc.2286, on Heb.iv.15,16.

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, 1835, 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.
115 Ibid., p.364.
116 Ibid., pp.364-6.
117 Ibid., p.368.
118 Ibid., p.374.
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.
125 H. McNeile: Lectures on the Sympathies, Suffering and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1843, 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.
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.
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.
178 Ibid., pp.325-6, on Heb.ii:10; 328-9, on ii:17-18; p.391, on vii:11-19.
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, Decon, 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.
186 Art. 'James Garbett', D.N.B., VII. 844-5.
187 J. Garbett: Christ, as Prophet, Priest and King, l.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.


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.


226 Ibid., p.129.


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.


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.


261 Ibid., p.v.

262 Ibid., pp.v-vi.

263 Ibid., p.vii.
CHAPTER IV

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


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.


7 H.B. Wilson: *The Sympathising High Priest*, i.3,4.

8 See eg. ibid., p.9.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., iii.35.


12 On Blanco White see above p.49.


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*, 1845, 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.
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 was 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.

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.


51 Cited O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.42.

52 B.M. Reardon: Religious Thought, pp.43-4.

53 O. Chadwick, loc.cit.


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.
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".

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-patriarchial sacrifice.


B.M.G. Reardon; Religious Thought, p.44.


Ibid., p.179.

Ibid., p.178.

Ibid., p.x.

Cf. his condemnation of philosophers religion as cold, heartless and devotionless, in id., Peculiarities of the Christian Religion, p.136.

Ibid., p.141.

Ibid., p.152.

Cf. id., Essays on the Errors of Romanism having their origin in Human Nature, 3 series, 1830-1845, Ill. 8,9.

Ibid., p.89; and cf.p.102, "...in our religion, the only Priest, in that sense (viz. ἱερεύς /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'."

Ibid., Cautions for the Times, 1853, p.2.

Ibid., p.22.

Ibid., p.32.

Ibid., p.31.

Ibid., p.39.
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.
Cf. ibid., pp.202, 207-8, 189; ix.295; xiii.471.

Cf. ibid., pp.205,6.

Ibid., vii.238.

Ibid., ix.295.

Ibid., pp.289-90.

Ibid., xii.437-8.

Ibid., p.438.

Ibid., pp.437-8.

Ibid., p.440ff.

Ibid., p.418.

Ibid., xiii.502-3.

Ibid., 504-5.

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.

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.

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).

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.


On Arnold's difficulties with Hebrews and Stanley's view, cf. Life and Correspondence, II.137,8 n.'a'.

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.

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).

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.


On Arnold's difficulties with Hebrews and Stanley's view, cf. Life and Correspondence, II.137,8 n.'a'.
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.

Id., Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, x.83.

Ibid., p.84.

Ibid., p.85.


T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, x.85.

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."


T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, x.86.

Ibid., p.89.

Ibid., p.90.

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.)


T. Arnold: Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, Third series, xi.92.

Ibid., pp.92-3,95.

Ibid., p.93.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp.93-4.

Ibid., pp.94-5.


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.

q. J. Hunt; op.cit., p.134.
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.


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."


Cf. C.C.J. Webb: Religious Thought in England from 1850, 1933, p.34.

S.T. Coleridge: Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous, D. Coleridge (ed.), 1853, pp.73-4.

Ibid., p.114.

F.D. Maurice: The Kingdom of Christ, 2 Vols, 1842, p.xxv.

O. Pfleiderer: The Development of Theology, p.308.


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."
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.


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."

q. D.C. Somervell: English Thought, p.68.

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.


Cf. C.C.J. Webb: Religious Thought in England from 1850, 1933, p.34.

S.T. Coleridge: Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous, D. Coleridge (ed.), 1853, pp.73-4.

Ibid., p.114.

F.D. Maurice: The Kingdom of Christ, 2 Vols, 1842, p.xxv.

O. Pfleiderer: The Development of Theology, p.308.


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."
On Thirlwall's view of inspiration in his Introduction to Schleiermacher's *Essays on St. Luke*, see above p.3 n.7.

In J.J.S. Perowne: *Remains of Connop Thirlwall*, I.24

Ibid., p.44.

Ibid., pp.46-7.

Ibid., p.53. For another Latitudinarian who used this phrase, see on R. Williams, below p.307.ii.258.

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.

Ibid., pp.244-5.

Ibid., p.244.

Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

See above pp.24-5.

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., 1884, 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.


q. ibid.

J. Morley: Life of Gladstone, II.208.


A. Mozley (ed.): Letters of J.B. Mozley, p.222; q. B.M.G. Reardon, loc.cit.

E. Abbott and L. Campbell (eds.): The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, 2 Vols, 1897, II.45.

O. Pfleiderer: The Development of Theology, p.373.

B.M.G. Reardon, op.cit., p.162.

O. Chadwick: Victorian Church, I.349.


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.)

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."

See below p.335ff; though B.F. Westcott claimed he did not read Maurice's writings.

F. Maurice: Life, I.419.

F.D. Maurice: On the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1846. Preface, pp.i.-cxxviii. 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: "Everything 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, lxvi-lxvii; 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).


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.


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 philosopical 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.


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.
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.
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.
230 q. B.M.G. Reardon, loc.cit.
231 Id., Doctrine of Sacrifice, pp.1-48, 280f.
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.
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.
Ibid., I.350f; cf. id., Prophets and Kings, i.3.

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...".

Ibid., p.372.

Ibid., p.350.


Id., Kingdom of Christ, II. 184.

Id., Prayer Book and Lord's Prayer, iii.35.

Ibid., p.37f.

Ibid., p.39.

Ibid., xvi.250.


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.

Id., Kingdom of Christ, II.144.

Ibid., pp.145, 183.

Id., The Epistle to the Hebrews, p.86.

Id., Kingdom of Christ, II.220-1.

Ibid., p.224.

Ibid.

Id., 'The Doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles', A Sermon, p.66.

Ibid., pp.54-55.

Cf. F. Maurice: Life of F.D. Maurice, II.365.

Id., 'The Doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles', p.65.

Id., Prayer-Book and Lord's Prayer, iii.38.

Ibid.

Cf. A.R. Vidler, op.cit., p.121f.

Ibid., p.118ff.

Id., Kingdom of Christ, II.464.
Ibid.


F.W. Robertson: *Sermons*, 1st Series, 18585, pp.112-130.

Ibid., p.112.


F.W. Robertson, *op.cit.*, p.112.


Ibid.


Ibid., p.115.

Ibid., p.114.

Ibid., p.115.

Ibid., p.116.

Ibid., p.118.

Ibid., p.120.

Ibid., pp.120-1.

Ibid., p.121.

'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.

Ibid., p.124.

Ibid., p.125.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.121.

Ibid., p.126.

Ibid., p.129.


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.


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.


6 Ibid., p.35.


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).


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.


14 Ibid., p.xxii.


19 Ibid., IV.221.

20 Ibid., IV.211.


O. Chadwick: *Victorian Church*, I.495.

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. Härderin, *op.cit.*, p.224f.


Ibid.

Ibid., p.xx.

Ibid., p.1v.

Ibid., p.1iii.

Ibid., p.xlvi.

Ibid., p.xxxii.

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.

E. King: *Sermons and Addresses*, B.W. Randolph (ed.), 1911, iii.23.


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.

Ibid., p.x.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Id., *Occasional Sermons*, 1873, i.11.

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. Härderlin, *op.cit.*, p.309f, and below n.53 on the E.C.U.

49 *Directorium Anglicanum*, pp.x-xi.


51 *Directorium Anglicanum*, p.xiii.


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.


55 Ibid., p.107.

56 Ibid., p.108.


59 Ibid., and cf. id., 'The Priesthood', *A Sermon preached at Clewer Parish Church, Advent 1878*, 1878, pp.4-5.


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."
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.

preached at St. Paul's Knightsbridge...Trinity, 1867, 1868, i.1f,7f.

Id., 'The Scriptural Rationale of Eucharistic Vestments': A
Sermon...January 14, 1866, 1866, p.6.


R.M. Benson: 'The High Priest after the order of Melchizedek' A
Sermon...Easter Day 1860, in Redemption: Some of the aspects of the

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.


Ibid., p.148.

W. Bright: 'The Priesthood', in Church Treasures, p.60. Cf. further on
Bright below pp.360f, 406f.

On R.C. Moberly see below p.387ff.


J.M. Neale: Sermons for the Church Year, ii.1xi.236.

E. King: A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the
Diocese of Lincoln...Primary Episcopal Visitation, 1886, pp.34-5.


R.M. Benson: Redemption, vi.168.

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.


Ibid.

W. Bright, op.cit., p.59.

Ibid., p.60.


Ibid., p.85.

Id., Parish Teachings, p.191.

Ibid., pp.191-2.
95

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.


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 water 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.


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.


126 R.M. Benson: The Followers of the Lamb: A Series of Meditations...for persons living under Religious Vows, xxi.238.

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.

R.M. Benson: The Final Passover, III. xvi.196.


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.

Cf. O. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I.496.

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.


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.

R. Liddell, 'Scriptural Rationale of Eucharistic Vestments', p.15.


E. King, 'Ezra and Nehemiah', p.19.


Ibid., p.29.

A.H. Mackonochie: 'First Principles against Erastianism': Six Sermons preached at St. Vedast's, Foster Lane... Lent, 1876, 1876, i.17,18.

Ibid., ii.22.

R.M. Benson, Redemption, p.172.

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.

R.M. Benson: The Final Passover, II.lxxx.425; xxx.287; id., Redemption, vi.158.

H. Davies: Worship and Theology, IV.115.


J.M. Neale: Occasional Sermons, xiii.159.


Ibid., xiv.113-4.

Directorium Anglicanum, p.ix.


R. Liddell, 'Scriptural Rationale of Eucharistic Vestments', p.16.

174 Ibid.
177 Id., *Blessings of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, loc.cit.
182 Cf. Bibliography for further details.
184 Id., *Sackville College Sermons*, I.xlix.318.
185 T.T. Carter; *Sermons*, xxi.354.
188 Id., *Parish Teachings*, p.190, et passim.
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.
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.
197 A Mozley (ed.): *Letters and Correspondence of J.H. Newman during his life in the English Church*, 2 Vols, 1903, II.405.


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 neither 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*.


207 q. ibid., p.115.

208 q. ibid.

209 J.M. Neale: *Sermons for the Church Year*, I.1vi.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.

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.
225 Ibid.
227 Ibid., p.19.
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.
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.


248 Id., p.173.

249 R. Liddell: The Christian Priesthood, Altar, and Sacrifice, i.10.


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."

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., l.i; vii.202.
277 Ibid., vii.202-3.
278 Ibid., vi.159.
279 Ibid., p.172.
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.
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.


5 M. Pattison: Memoirs, 1885, p.244.

6 A.M. Crowther: Church Embattled, p.124.


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".


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."


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: "Ober 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. McI. Gilmour & H.C. Kee (Tr.), 1973, p.133). See contra Baur. A. von Harnack: *Das Wesen des Christentums*, Leipzig, 1900, pp.58-59.


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).


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, l.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 gooness 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.


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.435n.


48 G. Faber: Jowett, p.44.


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 amathema 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.


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.


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.


Jowett was attacked, for example, in J.H. Rigg: *Modern Anglican Theology*, 1857, as Alexandrian.


I. Ellis: *Seven Against Christ*, p.46.

Balliol College, Jowett MSS, Box E. package 'd', Undated Letter (prob.1856) F. Temple to Jowett; q. in I. Ellis, *op.cit.*, p.46.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.48.


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".

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.


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."


Id., *History of Christianity*, 3 Vols., 1845, II.40.

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.

Ibid., pp.192, 193.

Ibid., p.204.


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.

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).

Cf. M.A. Crowther: *The Church Embattled*, pp.124-5, who records that this was Edward White Benson's view, at least.


Ibid., p.352.

Ibid., p.360.

Ibid., p.358.

Ibid., p.341.

Ibid., pp.353-4.

Ibid., pp.346-7.

Ibid., p.347.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp.349-50.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.369.

Ibid.
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."

A.P. Stanley: The Bible: its Form and Substance, Three Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, 1862, p.v.

Ibid., p.iii.
Ibid., pp.v-vi.
Ibid., pp.42-3.
Ibid., p.96.
Ibid., p.43.
Ibid., pp.43-4.
Ibid., pp.44, 99f.
Ibid., p.97.
Ibid., p.63.

See further on a form of soteriology in which this was a popular text, below pp. 368ff.

Ibid., p.101f.
Ibid., p.105.
Ibid., p.107.


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).

J.E. Carpenter: The Bible in the Nineteenth Century, p.109f

Cf. ibid., p.126.

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.
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).

On this prestigious and more liberal son of Thomas Arnold, cf. L. Trilling: Matthew Arnold, 1955 (3rd. impr.).

R.M. Grant: op.cit., p.129.


Ibid., p.164.

Ibid., p.165.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.162.

Ibid., p.165.

Ibid.

Id., Literature and Dogma, 1873², p.269.

Id., St. Paul and Protestantism, p.163.

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".

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).

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).


C.J. Vaughan: ΠΡΟΕ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ : The Epistle to the Hebrews with Notes, 1890, pp.xi, xix.


Ibid., 1892, Prefatory Note.

Ibid., 1906, p.494.

H.C.G. Moule: Our Great High Priest, 1899, p.9.


Ibid., p.62.

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.

Ibid., p.39: nb. ibid., he also admits an English "inaptitude for candid critical research" due to party bias.

Ibid., p.40.


Ibid., p.75.

Ibid., pp.86-7.

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 transitionary 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.


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.xxii, 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.


185 Ibid., p.ix.

186 Ibid., pp.ix-x.

187 Ibid., p.9.

188 Ibid., pp.28,40.

189 C.J. Vaughan: ПРОΚ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ, p.vi.

190 Ibid.

191 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, p.142.

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.
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).

Ibid., pp.37-8.

Ibid., p.47.

Ibid., p.20.

Ibid., p.21.

Ibid., p.79, on Heb. ii:17,18.

See further on the distinction between an ontological and functional view of priesthood, below p.381ff.

F. Rendall: The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1888, p.v.

Ibid., p.vi.

Ibid.

Cf. esp. ibid., p.21ff, on Heb. ii:17f; p.41ff, on Heb:iv.14ff.

Ibid., p.56f, on Heb.viii: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."

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."

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."


Ibid., p.v.

Ibid., p.133.


C.J. Vaughan: ΠΡΟΣ ΕΒΠΑΙΟΥΣ , p.x.


C.J. Vaughan: op.cit., p.xviii.

Ibid., p.xii.

234 Ibid., pp.265-275.

235 Ibid., pp.265f.

236 Ibid., p.270.


239 Cf. _supra_ p.317f.


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.


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.


251 G.W.H. Lampe: 'The Bible since the rise of Critical Study', p.137.

252 B.M.G. Reardon: _Religious Thought_, p.354.


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.
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.
268 Id., Lessons from Work, p.151.
271 Ibid., p.93.
273 Id., Hebrews, p.71f.
274 Ibid.
275 Ibid., and cf. i:3 ad loc.
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.
Ibid.

Ibid., p.57, on Heb.iii:17; and p.58, on ii:18.

Ibid., p.75, on Heb.iii:1.


Ibid., p.106.

Ibid., p.107, on διεληλυθόντα τοῦς οὐρανούς (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; ii:3), and entered into the royal rest of God."

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".

Ibid., where αὐτὸς ἡ γεννησία (Heb.iv:16) is described as "no symbolic mercy-seat, but the very centre of divine sovereignty and love".


Ibid., p.123f.

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".

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".

Ibid., p.124.

Ibid., pp.125-6.

Ibid., p.126.

Ibid., p.129, on Heb.v:8.

Ibid., p.131, on Heb.v:9.

Cf. ibid., on τελείωθείς (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".

See below p.362f.

Ibid., p.166, on Heb.vi:20.


Ibid., p.181.
306 Ibid., p.185, on Heb. vii:14.
309 Ibid., p.191f, on Heb.vii:22.
310 Ibid., p.192, on Heb.vii:25.
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.
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.
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.
121


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.


341 Id., Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy, p.23.


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.


357 Id., Sermons, p.197.
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.

q. H. Davies: Worship and Theology, IV.209.


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.


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.


25 Ibid., vi.187.


27 Id., Village Sermons, loc.cit.

28 Id., Village Sermons, III.xxxi.301f.


30 Ibid., p.22.


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".


34 Ibid., p.72.


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.


46 Ibid., vii.67-77.
47 Ibid., p.67f.
48 Ibid., p.70.
49 Ibid., p.77.
50 Ibid., p.79.
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.
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*, l.ix.82.
67 P.G. Medd: *The One Mediator*, p.301.
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.

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".


C. Gore: Dissertations, p.218.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp.218-9.

Ibid., p.220.

Cf. id., Incarnation, p.111: "Of such self-abandoning sympathy the Incarnation of God is the prototype".

Ibid., pp.142-172.


R.W. Church: Village Sermons, I.xxxi.301f.

H.S. Holland: Pleas and Claims for Christ, Sermons, 1892, x.162.

Id., Creed and Character: Sermons, 1887, viii.113.


Ibid., II.285.


Lux Mundi, pp.216-7.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp.217, 219, 222f, 224.


C. Gore: Dissertations, p.146.

Ibid., p.142.

Ibid., p.165.

Id., Incarnation, p.166.

Ibid., p.166.
99 Ibid., p.167.
100 Ibid., p.222.
101 Ibid., p.223.
102 Ibid., p.224.
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.
107 Id., *Some Words for God*, viii.235f; id., *Thoughts on Present Church Troubles: Four Sermons... St. Paul's*, Dec. 1880, 1881, iii.49.
109 Ibid., iv.50.
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.
117 Ibid., viii. 226f, 236f; *Passiontide Sermons*, i.7, 15.
119 Ibid.
120 Ibid., p.8.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
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.
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.
151 Ibid., p.27.
152 Ibid., p.30.
153 Ibid., p.33.
154 Ibid.
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.
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.
175 Cf. A.M. Ramsey, loc.cit.
177 C. Gore: The Mission of the Church: Four Lectures delivered in June 1892 in the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, 1892, p.5.
179 Cf. id., From Gore to Temple, p.50.
180 Cf., ibid.

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 ἐπισκόποι, and did not accept traditional historico-theological exposition of the origins of Apostolic Succession.

186 H.P. Liddon: University Sermons 1868-1882, x.183ff.


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.


195 Ibid.


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.


201 Ibid., p.53.

202 Ibid., pp.50-51.


204 Ibid., p.xiii.

205 Ibid.

206 Ibid., p.144.
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."


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."

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."

Ibid., p.63.

Ibid., p.50f.

Ibid., p.27.

Ibid.

See supra p.63.

W.E. Heygate: The Good Shepherd; or, meditations for the Clergy upon the example and teaching of Christ, 1884 (Rev. and enl.), p.71.

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 dost offer? and Thou who art offered?"


Ibid.

Ibid., p.374.


Ibid.

Ibid., p.12.

Ibid., p.28ff.

Ibid., p.xi.
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."
251 Ibid., pp.249-50.
252 Ibid., p.250.
253 Ibid.
254 Ibid., p.251.
255 Ibid.
256 Ibid.
257 Ibid., p.254f.
258 Ibid., p.255.
259 Ibid., p.256.
260 Ibid., p.257.
261 Ibid.
262 Ibid.
263 Ibid., p.258.
264 Ibid., p.261.
265 Ibid.
266 Ibid.
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.

J.R. Illingworth: Sermons preached in a College Chapel, 1881, xi. 141f.

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.)


On Matthew Arnold's resistance to liturgical revision, cf. ibid., IV. 205.


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).

J.B. Mozley: Sermons preached before the University of Oxford and on various occasions, 1876, xiv.285-6.

A.L. Moore: Holy Week Addresses delivered at St. Paul's Cathedral...1888, 1888, ii.93.


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".

M.F. Sadler: Our Worship, 1892, p.69.


Ibid., pp.86-7.


A.B. Webb: The Minister of the True Tabernacle, and His Ministry in the Church of England: some thoughts and suggestions for the eve of ordination, 1888, p.xxii.
299 Ibid., pp.xxiii-iv.
300 Ibid., p.xxv.
301 Ibid.
302 Ibid., p.xxvii.
303 Ibid.
304 Ibid., pp.xxviii-ix.
306 W.C.E. Newbolt: Counsels of Faith and Practice: Sermons, 1883, p.44.
308 A.M. Ramsey: From Gore to Temple, pp.50-1.
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.
325 C. Gore: 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice', p.5.
327 Ibid., p.7.
On this Augustinian theme earlier, cf. supra p.360 n.39.


A.G. Mortimer: The Eucharistic Sacrifice, p.554; and cf. p.515ff.


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.

Cf. J.R. Illingworth: Sermons preached in a College Chapel, xi.141f.

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."

On Westcott, see supra p.343.


Cf. E.M. Goulburn: A Commentary Expository and Devotional on the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion according to the use of the Church of England, 1875 (New ed.) pp.66-67, re. prayer: "Offer it for us, Thou Great High Priest! As often as we are assembled to commemorate Thy full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, present it for us Once again before the throne of God. Plead for us its unspeakable merits and virtues. And Thou shalt not, for Thou canst not, plead in vain. Our prayers, in union with Thine, shall be presented upon the golden altar: and so united, shall not fail to find acceptance, and to draw down a blessing!"

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."

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.


5 Ibid., p.83.


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.


19 F. Close: 'Ritualism', in *Church Association Lectures delivered at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly,... February and March, 1867*, 1867, No. II.p.3.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.144ff, 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 Eq. id., 'Evangelical Religion', p.138ff, where these principles are catalogued.

53 Ibid., pp.146-151.

54 Id., 'Able to Save', being thoughts on Hebs.vii:25, 1859. p.3.

55 Id., 'The True Priest', p.6.

56 Id., 'Have you a Priest?', p.17.

57 Ibid., p.18.

58 Ibid.

59 Id., Knots Untied, pp.292, 312.

60 Ibid., p.321.

61 Ibid., p.327.


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.


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.


75 F. Close: 'Ritualism and Scepticism', p.5.

76 Ibid.

77 Id., 'Ritualism', in Church Association Lectures (1867), II.3. p.13.


80 Ibid., p.90.

81 Ibid., p.80.

82 Ibid., p.81.

83 Ibid., p.82.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid., p.88.


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.


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, 1873\(^2\), p.10.


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.


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.


107 Id., 'Evangelical Religion', in *Truths for the Times*, p.150.

108 Ibid.


112 P. Maurice, 'Postscript', p.87.


114 Ibid., pp.88-9.


117 S. Waldegrave: 'Christ the True Altar', and other Sermons, 1875, p.11.

118 W. Fremantle, *op.cit.*, p.87.

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.


123 Ibid., p.255.
125 On the Headship of Christ the priest in early evangelical ecclesiology, cf. supra p.161f.
126 Id., 'A Departure from the Gospel' ... in Present Danger and Present Duty, p.19.
127 S.H. Langston, Sermons preached in St. Margaret's Chapel, Brighton...1872, 1873, xv.204.
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.
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".
133 J.C. Ryle: Knots Untied, p.312.
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.
143 Ibid., p.211.
144 Ibid., pp.216-7.

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.


154 Ibid., p.323f.


156 H. Wace: Christianity and Morality: or, the correspondence of the Gospel with the moral nature of man, Boyle Lectures 1874-5, 1876, vi.97.


158 Id., op.cit., viii.147.

159 F. Close, 'Ritualism and Scepticism', p.12.

160 Ibid., p.13.

161 Id., 'Our Absent Lord not present in the sacramental elements', A Sermon preached in Carlisle Cathedral, Ascension, 1867, 1867, p.17.

162 Ibid.

163 J.C. Ryle, 'Have you a Priest?', p.12.

164 Ibid.

165 Ibid., p.17.

166 F. Close, 'Our Absent Lord', p.18.

167 Ibid., p.16.

168 Ibid., p.17.

169 Ibid., p.15.

170 Cf. as C.J. Ellicott argued in 'Ritualism fed by the Popular Theology': A Letter, 1867, p.3.
171 Ibid., pp.4-5.
172 Ibid.
173 See supra p. 192 n.223 on the origins and development of this tradition.
174 Ibid., p.8f.
176 C.A. Heurtley: Sermons on Subjects of Recent Controversy, p.xii.
179 On the Denison Case, see above p.121 n.69.
180 J.C. Ryle, 'Why were our Reformers burned?', in Church Association Lectures, VI.21.
181 C.A. Heurtley: 'The Doctrine of the Church of England touching the Real Objective Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the Adoration of Christ in the Sacrament... Remarks on a Declaration of Belief... by Rev. W. Butler... to the Archbishop of Canterbury', 1867, pp.ii, 5-6.
183 Cf. Id., 'Have you a Priest?', pp.4f; and F. Close, 'Our Absent Lord', p.9.
186 Id., Sermons on Subjects of Recent Controversy, ii.32, 34, 42.
188 Cf. ibid., pp.22-3: "The Lord's Supper is not in its right place when it is made the first, foremost, principal, and most important thing in Christian worship".
189 J.C. Ryle: A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Liverpool at his Second Visitation, Oct 1884, 1884, p.46.
190 Ibid., p.47.
191 Id., Light from Old Times: or Protestant Facts and Men, 1891, p.xxix.
192 H.C.G. Moule: The Evangelical School in the Church, p.108.
193 Ibid., p.109.
194 J.C. Ryle, Light from Old times, p.xxviii.
195 Ibid., p.xix.
196 Ibid., p.xx.

197 Ibid., p.xxi.


199 W. Odom, Essay X, in What is the Gospel?, 1894, p.89.


202 Ibid., p.xii.

203 Ibid., p.xv.

204 Ibid., p.xiv.

205 See above p.334ff.

206 R.B. Girdlestone: 'The Faith of the English Church', in English Church Teaching on Faith, Life, and Order, 1897, p.32.

207 Ibid., p.37.

208 Ibid.

209 Ibid., p.39.

210 Ibid., p.46.

211 Ibid., p.49.

212 Ibid., p.51; and Cf. F.J. Chavasse: Plain Words on Some Present Day Questions: ... Four sermons preached at St. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford, 1898, i.7-15, for Chavasse's attack on Sacramental Confession.

213 H.C.G. Moule, 'The Life of the English Church', in English Church Teaching, p.75.

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.

220 q. ibid.

221 E.A. Litton: Introduction to Dogmatic Theology, 2 Parts, (1882, 1892), 1912', II.215.

222 Ibid., p.218.
223 Ibid.
224 Ibid., p.232n.
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.
238 J.I. Packer, op.cit., p.86f.
239 It is the losing of the explicit connection between Christ's priestly office and the liturgy of the Church of England, which freed Hebrews, too, from the protective clothing of official devotion.
240 See supra p.322.
242 Ibid., p.103.
243 Ibid.
244 Ibid.
245 Cf. on Westcott, supra p.339, 341f, 344; and cf. H.C.G. Moule: Christ is All: Sermons, 1892, p.83, on Christ's Ascension: "We welcome in it the assurance for ourselves of all the blessings of His Headship, His Intercession, His Enthroned and Royal Priesthood".
246 Id., Outlines, p.104.
247 Ibid., p.105.
248 Ibid., p.104.
249 Ibid., p.105.
250 On 'the cult of the sympathising heavenly priest', see above pp.175ff.

Ibid., p.8ff.

Ibid., p.21.

Ibid., p.32.

Ibid.

Ibid., p.33.

Ibid., p.53.

Ibid., p.55.

Ibid., pp.35, 37, 38.

Ibid., p.102f.

Ibid., pp.64, 85, 92.

Ibid., p.39.

Ibid., p.42.

Ibid., p.44f.

Ibid., p.110.

Cf. J. Bennett: *Crux Christi: being a consideration of some aspects of the Doctrine of Atonement, with especial reference to the recent suggestions of Bishop Westcott*, 1892, p.166ff, where Bennett defends the direct association of Christ's blood with His body broken on Calvary in death.


Ibid., p.2.

Ibid., p.18f.

Ibid., p.2.

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".

Id., *'The One Oblation of Christ', in The Church and Her Doctrine*, 1891, p.29.

Ibid., p.30f.

Ibid., p.36.
275 Ibid., p.37f.
276 Ibid.
277 Ibid., pp.38-9.
278 Ibid.
279 Ibid.

281 Cf. *ibid.*

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.
289 Ibid., pp.52.
290 Ibid., p.56.
291 Ibid., p.77.
292 Ibid., p.82.
293 Ibid., p.88.

294 W.H.K. Soames: *The Priesthood of the New Covenant*, 1898, 'Introductory Note'.
295 Ibid., p.5.
296 Ibid., p.6.
297 Ibid., p.20ff.
298 Ibid., p.28.
299 Cf. *ibid.*, pp.31-46.

302 *D.N.B.*, loc.cit.
305 J.I. Packer, loc.cit.


308 Ibid., p.17; see supra p.35 n.285.

309 Ibid., p.23.


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.
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.
355 Ibid.
356 Ibid., pp.9-11.
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.)
Dr. Moberly (Oxford)
Canon Gore (Westminster)
Canon Scott Holland (St. Paul's)
Rev. C.G. Lang (Portsea)
Dr. Salmond (Aberdeen)
Dr. Davison (Handsworth)

Archdeacon Wilson (Rochdale)
Dr. Ryle (Cambridge)
Dr. Moule (Cambridge) (nb. did not attend).
Canon E.R. Bernard (Salisbury)
Dr. Sanday (Oxford)
Dr. Fairbairn (Oxford)
Dr. Barrett (Norwich)
Dr. Forsyth (Cambridge)


2 Ibid., pp.vii,viii.

3 Ibid.


5 Priesthood and Sacrifice, pp.20, 24.

6 Ibid., p.153.

7 Ibid., pp.19-20.


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

I UNPRINTED SOURCES

Keble College, Oxford

KEBLE, J. On the Use of Primitive Ecclesiastical Terms in Discoursing of the Holy Communion, 1834. (The 'Tract on the Holy Eucharist').

Letter to Rev. J.H. Newman, Christmas 1834 (?)
Letter to Ven. R.I. Wilberforce, 8.vii.1851.
Letter to Ven. R.I. Wilberforce, 22.vi.1853.

Pusey House, Oxford

PUSEY, E.B. Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament, 1836.

Copy of Letter to H. Manning, Autumn 1843.

II UNPUBLISHED THESSES (Select)


III PERIODICALS

Academy
Anglican Theological Review
Athenaeum
Bibliotheca Sacra
British Critic
Canadian Journal of Theology
Christian Examiner
Christian Observer
Christian Remembrancer
Churchman
Church Quarterly Review
Concilium
Concordia Theological Monthly
Dublin Review
Ecclesiologist
Eclectic Review
Edinburgh Review

English Historical Review
Historical Magazine
Journal of Biblical Literature
Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology
Journal of Ecclesiastical History
Journal of Theological Studies
London Quarterly and Holborn Review
Manuel de Science Religieuse
Nineteenth Century
One in Christ
Quarterly Review
Scottish Journal of Theology
Theologische Rundschau
Theology
Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie
Union Review
Worship
IV. GENERAL PRINTED SOURCES


AINSLIE, J.L. The Doctrines of Ministerial Order in the Reformed Churches of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Edinburgh 1940.


ALINGTON, C. A Dean's Apology, London 1952.


Preces Privatae (1648), Transl. with an Introduction and notes by F.E. Brightman, London 1903.

Tortura Torti, Sive Ad Mattheai Torti Responsio, Oxford 1851.

Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic letter of Pope Leo XIII, on English Ordinations...1896..., a translation into English, repr. with...introduction by John Wordsworth, London 1912.

ARNOLD, M. God and the Bible, London 1875.

Literature and Dogma, London 1870.


Miscellaneous Works, London 1845.

'The Oxford Malignants and Dr. Hampden', Edin. Rev., 63(1836), 225-239.

Principles of Church Reform, London 1833.

Sermons on Christian Life and Doctrine, 3 Series, London 1874-6 (New ed.).


ATHANASIUS The Orations against the Arians, W. Bright (ed.), Oxford 1873.

ATKINSON, J. Martin Luther and the Birth of Protestantism, Harmondsworth 1968.

The Atonement: A Clerical Symposium on 'What is the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement?' (Farrar, Rainy, Littledale & Others), London 1883.


AUGUSTINE The City of God, Harmondsworth 1972.


Eucharistic Faith and Practice, London 1939 (Repr.).

AVRILLON, J.B.E. The Year of Affections, or reflections on the love of God, drawn from the Canticles for every day in the year, E.B. Pusey (ed.), London 1845.

*Credo*, J. McNab (Tr.), London 1936.

*The Epistle to the Romans*, Oxford 1975 Edn.


BENNETT, J. *Crux Christi: being a consideration of some aspects of the Doctrine of Atonement, with especial reference to the recent suggestions of Bishop Westcott*, London 1892.


BENSON, R.M. Benedictus Dominus: A Course of Meditations for Most Days of the Year, London 1879.

Bible Teachings, The Discourse at Capernaum, London 1875.

The Divine Rule of Prayer, or Considerations upon the Lord's Prayer, with various forms of analysis and paraphrase, London 1866.

'The Efficacy of Prayer', A Sermon... Lent 1866, London 1866.

An Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, London 1892.

The Final Passover: A Series of Meditations upon the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3 Vols., London 1884, 1885, 1893.

The Followers of the Lamb: A Series of Meditations... for persons living under Religious Vows, London 1900.


The Life Beyond the Grave: A Series of Meditations on the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, London 1885.


'The Name of Jesus', A Sermon... Epiphany 1865, London 1865.


BERNARDIN, L.S. The Intercession of our Lord, New York 1933.


Sermons, 6 Vols., Oxford 1817.

Discourse upon the Thirty Nine Articles, 2 Vols., Oxford 1840.


The Testimony of the Reformers Selected from the writings of Cranmer, Jewell, Tindal, Ridley, Becon, Bradford, etc., London 1836.

A Treatise on Prayer, London 1819.


The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer, London 1880 (rev. and enl.).


BILEY, E. A Supplement to the Horae Paulinae of Archdeacon Paley, London 1845.


Romanism unknown to Primitive Christianity, London 1851.


BIRKS, T.R. 'The True Melchizedek in His Kingdom contrasted with the pretensions of the Pope of Rome', in Popish Darkness and Millennial Light, Bloomsbury Lectures 1851, London 1851, pp.252-286.


BLOMFIELD, C.J. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London ... 1842, London 1842.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London...1850, London 1850.


Posthumous Sermons, 3 Vols., London 1845.


'The Church in Comparison with the Sects', A Sermon... Trinity 1873, London 1873.

'The Doctrine of the Church of England on Confession and Absolution', A Sermon... Nov.2, 1873, Wolverhampton 1873.


'The Principles of the English Reformation', A Sermon... Wolverhampton 1873.


BOWDLER, T. 'The Origin and Character of the Priestly Office', A Sermon... London 1828.


BRETT, T. The Christian Altar and Sacrifice, London 1713.

The Honour of the Christian Priesthood, and the necessity of a divine call to that office (1711), Oxford 1838.

BRETT, T. On the Deity and Mediatorial Character of our Lord Jesus Christ, London 1821.


BRICKNELL, W.S. The Judgement of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology, Oxford 1845.

BRIGHT, W. Ancient Collects and Other Prayers: for the Use of Clergy and laity, selected from various rituals, Oxford 1857.

Family Prayers for a Week, Oxford & Cambridge, 1885.

Hymns and Other Poems, London 1866.

Hymns and Other Verses, London 1874² (enl.).

The Incarnation as a Motive Power, Sermons, London 1889.


The Seven Sayings from the Cross, London 1887.

See Athanasius, The Orations...

'The Eucharistic Sacrifice', Church Historical Society Lectures, Oxford 1890.

Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford 1896.


The Humiliation of Christ, Edinburgh 1905.


'Recent contributions to the Understanding of Hebrews', Exp.T., 80 (1968-9), 260-264.


BUCHSEL, F. Die Christologie des Hbfs, Gutersloh (Beitr.f.Ford.Ch.Th.27) 1922.


BUSHNELL, H. The Vicarious Sacrifice, London 1866.

BUTLER, J. The Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature..., London 1886. (New ed.).


Plain Thoughts on Holy Communion, with short forms of preparation and thanksgiving, London 18856 (rev.).

Sacerdotalism: a paper read before the Clifton Branch of the E.C.U. Nov. 21, 1889, Birmingham 1890.


Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (1540), D.W. and T.F. Torrance (eds.), Edinburgh 1972 (Repr.).


CARPENTER, J.E. The Bible in the Nineteenth Century, London 1903.

The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ, London 1911.


The Distinctions between the Church of England and Church of Rome, London 1850.

The Doctrine of Confession in the Church of England, London 1869².


Family Prayers, to which are added short prayers for private use, London 1867.

'Fellowship with the Saints', A Sermon... Festival of All Saints, 1868, London, 1868.


The Imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ, London 1865 (Rev.).

'The Last Forty Years', A Sermon... London 1878.

The Life of Sacrifice, London 1864.

'Our Lord's Agony, A Sermon preached... in Oxford, March 27, 1857, Oxford 1857.


'The Pattern shewed on the Mount', or, Thoughts of quietness and hope for the Church of England in her latterdays, A Sermon, Oxford & London 1850.

'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., London 1846/.

'The Priesthood', A Sermon preached at Clewer Parish Church, Advent 1878, London 1878.


A Sermon Preached at the Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of Oxford at Christ Church Cathedral on the 4th Sunday in Advent 1849, Oxford & London 1850.

Sermons, London 1862.

Spiritual Instructions on the Holy Eucharist, London 1870.

Tracts on Catholic Unity, London 1885.


CAVE, A. The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice, Edinburgh 1877.


Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, Lincoln 1968.


166


CHURCH, R.W. Village Sermons, preached at Whately, 3 Series, London 1892-7.


Human Life and Its Condition: Sermons preached before the University of Oxford 1876-78, with three Ordination Sermons, London 1878.

Cathedral and University Sermons, London 1892.

The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-45, London 1892.


A Course of Nine Sermons intended to illustrate some of the leading truths contained in the Liturgy of the Church of England, London 1825.

The 'English Church Union': A Ritualist Society, London 1868.

'The Errors of Romanism, the Perversion of Truth', A Sermon..., London 1847.


'Our Absent Lord, not present in the sacramental elements'. A Sermon preached in Carlisle Cathedral, Ascension, 1867, London, 1867.

'Priestly Usurpation, Its causes and consequences', A Sermon..., London 1845.

'Ritualism and Scepticism', Two Sermons... 1866, London 1866.

COCKERILL, J.B. 'Heb.i.:1-14, 1 Clem.xxxvi:1-6 and the High Priest Title', J.B.L., 97 (1978), 437-440.


COLERIDGE, S.T. Aids to Reflection in the formation of a manly character on the several grounds of prudence, morality, and religion, London 1825.


Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous, D. Coleridge (ed.), London 1853.


CONGREVE, G. The Sacrifice of Christ, London 1890.

Christian Life ... a Response, London 1899.


COOK, F.C. (ed.) see The Speaker's Commentary...

COPLESTON, E. 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, London 1845².


COWIE, B.M. Five Sermons: on Sacrifice, Atonement, Vicarious Oblation, the Example of Christ, and the Punishment of Sin, Cambridge 1856.

'Ministerial work', A Sermon..., Manchester 1872.
COX, W.L. Paige  The Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord, Oxford 1929.


Works, P.S.12, Cambridge 1844.


CYPRIAN  The Epistles of S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage..., L.F., Oxford 1844.

DAUBENY, C.  A Guide to the Church, 2 Vols., London 1804.


DAVISON, J.  Discourses on Prophecy..., Warburton Lectures 1819-20, London 1824.

An Inquiry into the Origin and Intent of Primitive Sacrifice, ...and reflections on the Unitarian controversy, London 1825.


DAWSON, C.  The Spirit of the Oxford Movement, London 1933

DEMAREST, B.  A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7:1-10, from the Reformation to the Present, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblischen Exegese 19), Tübingen 1976


Didascalia Apostolorum, Intro. and Notes by R.H. Connolly, Oxford 1929.


DILLENSCHNEIDER, C. Christ the one priest and we His priests, 2 Vols., M. Rennell (Tr.), St. Louis, Missouri 1964-5.

DIGGES LA TOUCHE, E. The Person of Christ in Modern Thought, Donnellan Lectures 1911-12, London 1912.


Confession and Absolution in the Church of England, London 1877.


The Doctrine of the Death of Christ, in relation to the Son of Man, the condemnation of the Law, and the dominion of Satan, London 1891.

On Eucharistic Worship in the English Church, London 1876.

Our One Priest on High: or the Present Sacerdotal Function of Christ in Heaven, London 1899.


Some Light from History on Christian Ritual, London 1900.

Directorium Anglicanum: A Manual...for the performance of...rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the ancient use of the Church of England, F.G. Lee ed.) London 1865.


DODDRIDGE, P. Works, 10 Vols., Leeds 1802-5.

Hymns founded on various texts in the Holy Scriptures, London 1776 (New ed.).

DODSWORTH, W. Anglicanism Considered in its Results, London 1851.

'The Connection between Outward and Inward Worship, A Sermon...', Brighton 1847.

Discourses on the Lord's Supper: Preached in Margaret Chapel, St Marylebone, London 1826.

A Few Comments on Dr Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London, London 1851.
The Gorham Case briefly considered: in reference to the judgement which has been given, and to the jurisdiction of the Court, London 1850.

A Letter to the Rev E.B. Pusey on the position which he has taken in the present crisis, London 1850.

Popular Delusions concerning the faith and practice of Catholics, London 1857.


'Why have you become a Romanist?', letter to R.W. Sibthorp, London 1842


D'OYL Y, G. and MANT, R. (eds.) The Holy Bible, according to the A.V. with Notes, Explanatory and Practical: taken primarily from the most eminent writers of the United Church of England and Ireland, 3 Vols., Oxford 1817.


Luther: An Introduction to His Thought, London 1975.


EDEN, R. The Churchman's Theological Dictionary, London 1890. (New ed.).


EDWARDS, T.C. The Epistle to the Hebrews, The Expositor's Bible, London 1888.

ELLFEN, N. Light in the Heart, or, Short Meditations on Subjects which concern the Soul, W.J. Butler (Tr.), London 1869.

ELLICOTT, C.J. 'Ritualism fed by the Popular Theology' A Letter, London 1867.


Religion in the Victorian Era, London 1964 (3rd Imp.).

ELLIS, I. Seven Against Christ: A Study of 'Essays and Reviews', Leiden 1980.


English Church Teaching on Faith, Life and Order, (R.B. Girdlestone, H.C.G. Moule, T.W. Drury, and Others), London 1897.


ERSKINE, T. Brazen Serpent, Edinburgh 1831.

Essays and Reviews, Oxford 1860.


Hymns, London 1862.

Jesus and Mary: or Catholic Hymns, London & Derby 1849.

Oratory Hymns, London 1854.


The Rosary of our Lord Jesus Christ, London 1843.


'Christ's Teaching and the primitive Church', in Church and Faith, Edinburgh and London 1899.
Ephphathon or the Amelioration of the World, London 1880.

The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews, with Notes and Introduction, C.C.T.S.C., Cambridge 1888.

The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews, with Notes and Introduction, C.B.S.C., Cambridge 1883.

Eternal Hope, London 1878.


The History of the Interpretation of Scripture, Bampton Lectures 1885, London 1886.

In the Days of Thy Youth, London 1876².


The Silence and the Voices of God, with other Sermons, London 1874.

Truths to live by, London 1890.

FIELD, J.E. 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, London 1882.

FAUSSETT, G. The Thirty-Nine Articles considered as the standard and test of the Church of England with reference to the views of No.90 of The Tracts for the Times, Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford 3 June 1841, Oxford 1841.

FIELD, R. Of the Church, 5 Books, London 1853 Edn.

FITZPATRICK, J. Characteristics from the writings of Father Faber, London, New York, etc. 1903.


FORSTER, C. The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, London 1838.


FULLER, R.H. 'The Role of Mary in Anglicanism', Worship, 51 (1977), 214-224.


GARBETT, E. The Dogmatic Faith, Bampton Lectures 1867, London, Oxford & Cambridge 1867,

Evangelical Principles: A Series of doctrinal papers explanatory of the positive principles of Evangelical Churchmanship, London 1875.

'Extreme Ritualism', An Address delivered at the Clerical Meeting, Islington, Jan.9, 1866, London, 1866.

The Obligations of Truth in Religious Controversy, London 1874.

'The Pentateuch: in its relation to the other Scriptures and to the Scheme of Christianity', A Sermon... Oxford, Nov.16, 1862, London 1862.

'Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century', A Paper read at the Southport Evangelical Conference, May 29, 1877, Southport 1877.

Voices of the Church of England against modern Sacerdotalism... on the Nature of the Lord's Supper and the Christian Ministry, London 1869.


Parochial Sermons, London 1843.

Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King: being a vindication of the Church of England from theological novelties, Bampton Lectures 1842, Oxford 1842.


GIBSON, E. (Ed.) A Preservative Against Popery, in Several select discourses, ...by the most eminent divines of the Church of England, London 1738.

GIRDLESTONE, C. The Holy Bible : Commentary, 6 Vols., London 1873 (New and rev. ed.).


GOODE, F. 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, London 1833.


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., London 1822.


Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation, London 1907² (Repr.).

'The Eucharistic Sacrifice', A Sermon on Heb.xii:22 preached before the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, June 20, 1889, London 1889.

Hints for the Study of Theology with a view to Holy Orders, London 1886.

The Incarnation of the Son of God, Bampton Lectures 1891, London 1909² (Repr.).

The Mission of the Church: Four lectures delivered in June 1892 in the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, London 1892.

Primary Charge to the Clergy and Churchwardens of Worcester Diocese, London 1904.

Roman Catholic Claims, London 1889.


GOUGE, W. A learned and very useful commentary on the whole Epistle to the Hebrews... substance of thirty years Wednesday lectures at Blackfriars, London, London 1635.

GOULBURN, E.M. A Commentary Expository and Devotional on the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion according to the use of the Church of England, London, Oxford & Cambridge, 1875 (New ed.).

Sermons preached on Different Occasions during the last twenty years, London, Oxford & Cambridge 1869⁴.


GYLLENKROK, A. Rechtferigung und Heiligung in der frühen evangelischen Theologie Luthers, Uppala 1952.


'The Church patient in her mode of dealing with controversies', A University Sermon..., Oxford 1851.


HAHN, W. Gottesdient und Opfer Christi, Göttingen 1951.


HALIFAX, Viscount see Wood, C.L.


HAMPDEN, R.D. A Charge delivered at his 2nd Triennial Visitation, 1853, Hereford 1854.

A Charge delivered at his 3rd Triennial Visitation, August 1856, London 1856.

A Charge delivered at his 4th Triennial Visitation, August 1859, Hereford 1859.


The Scholastic Philosophy Considered in its Relation to Christian Theology, Bampton Lectures 1832, Oxford 1833.

Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the Cathedral Church from 1836-1847, London 1848.


The Victory of Faith, and other Sermons, Cambridge 1840.


HARNACK, A. von Das Wesen des Christentums, Leipzig 1900.

HARRISON, B. Tract LXXIV: 'Testimony of Writers in the later English Church to the Doctrine of the Apostolical Succession', Oxford 1836.

HARVEY, A.E. Priest or President? London 1975.


HAWKINS, E. Discourses upon some of the Principal Objects and Uses of the Historical Scriptures of the Old Testament preached before the University of Oxford, Oxford 1833.


Sermons on the Church preached before the University of Oxford, London 1847.

Sermons on Scriptural Types and Sacraments, preached before the University of Oxford with observations upon some recent theories, London 1851.

HENLEY, R. The Great High Priest, Brighton & London 1858.


HEURTLEY, C.A. 'The Doctrine of the Church of England touching the real objective presence, the eucharistic sacrifice, and the Adoration of Christ in the sacrament, Remarks on a Declaration of Belief... by Rev. W. Butler... to the Archbishop of Canterbury', London 1867.

'The Doctrine of the Eucharist: Christ present by Spirit and Grace', A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, Jan. 27, 1867, Oxford 1867

The Form of Sound Words: Helps towards holding it fast, Seven Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, Oxford 1862.

An Inquiry into the Scriptural Warrant for addressing prayer to Christ, Oxford 1867.

Justification, Bampton Lectures 1845, Oxford 1846.

Sermons on some subjects of recent controversy preached before the University of Oxford, Oxford 1871.

HEYGATE, W.E. The Good Shepherd: or Meditations for the clergy upon the example and teaching of Christ, London 1884 (rev. and enl.).


Hierurgia Anglicana, or Documents illustrative of the ritual of the Church of England after the Reformation, Ed. members of the Cambridge Cambden Society, Cambridge 1843.


HOARE, E. 'Christ our Propitiation', A Sermon, in Christ and His People, London 1888.


- 'Faith in Jesus Christ' in *The Faith of Centuries*, London 1897
- *God's City and the Coming of the Kingdom*, London 1894.
- *Good Friday*, London 1884.
- *Pleas and Claims for Christ, Sermons*, London 1892


HORST, J. *Paradise for the Christian Soul... Adapted to the Use of the English Church by E.B. Pusey*, Oxford & London 1910 (New ed.).


HUGHES, H. *Lectures on the Gospel as gathered from the Life of Christ, intended for popular and family instruction*, London 1834

- *Sermons*, London 1850


HUTCHINSON, R. Works, P.S. 4, Cambridge 1844.


ILLINGWORTH, J.R. University and Cathedral Sermons, London 1893.

Sermons preached in a College Chapel, London 1881.


JACKSON, John A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London in 1879, London 1879.

JACKSON, T. 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., Oxford 1844.


JOWETT, B. The Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, with critical notes and dissertations, 2 Vols., London 1855.


JULIAN, J. A Dictionary of Hymnology, London 1907² (Rev.).

JUNGMANN, J.A. Die Stellung Christi im Liturgischen Gebiet, Münster 1925.

KEBLE, J. The Case of Catholic Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles Considered, London 1841.

The Christian Year, Oxford 1827².

Considerations respectfully addressed to the Scottish presbyters on the late pastoral letter of six Bishops, Edinburgh 1858.


Lyra Innocentium: Thoughts in verse on Christian Children, their ways and their privileges, Oxford 1846.

'National Apostasy' ... a Sermon preached at St. Mary's Oxford, before His Majesty's Judges of Assize, Oxford 1833.


Rev. J. Keble and The Ritual Question: being an extract from his recent letter on that subject, London 1666.

Sermons Academic and Occasional, Oxford 1847.

Sermons for Advent to Christmas Eve, Oxford 1875.


Studia Sacra: commentaries on the introductory verses of St. John's Gospel,... with other theological papers, Oxford 1877.

Tract IV: 'Adherence to Apostolical Succession the Safest Course', London 1833.


KING, E. An Address...at his Third Triennial Visitation, Lincoln 1892.

A Charge: Delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Lincoln at his Primary Visitation, Lincoln, Oxford & London 1886.

A Charge ... at his Second Visitation, Lincoln, Oxford & London 1889.

A Charge... at his Fifth Triennial Visitation, Lincoln 1898.


Ezra and Nehemiah: Two Examples for Priests and Laymen in the present movement in the Church of England, Sermons... after Easter 1872, Oxford & London 1872

A Reply to C.J. Ellicott, London 1879.


KNOX, W.L. and VIDLER, A.R. The Development of Modern Catholicism, London 1933.


LACEY, T.A. Temple Worship, London 1892.


LAMPE, G.W.H. 'Typological Exegesis', Theology, 56 (1953), 201-208.


LANGSTON, S.H. Sermons preached in St. Margaret's Chapel, Brighton, on Sunday Evenings 1872, London 1873.


LEE, F.G. *The Words from the Cross*, Aberdeen 1861.

LEE, S. *Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, their nature, interpretation, and some of their most important doctrines, ... before the University of Cambridge ... 1827-8*, London 1830.


LEGG, J.W. *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement*, London 1914.

LEIGHTON, R. *A Practical Commentary upon the First Epistle of St. Peter, 2 Vols.*, London 1849.

*Liberalism in the Priests' Craft: A Letter to the Bishop of Manchester in reference to The First Paper read by Dean Corrie at the Diocesan Conference, London 1875.*


'The Church's Belief in the Real Presence - the key to her Ritual', in *Two Sermons preached at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge... Trinity 1867, London 1867.*

'The commemorative Sacrifice of the Eucharist', *A Sermon..., London 1857*

*A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London on Confession and Absolution, with special reference to the case of Rev. Alfred Poole, London 1858.*


*A Pastoral Farewell to the Parishioners of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, London 1881.*

'The Scriptural Rationale of Eucharistic Vestments', *A Sermon... January 14, 1866, London 1866.*

LIDDON, H.P. *Advent in St. Paul's: Sermons chiefly bearing on the Two Comings of our Lord, London 1906 (New ed.).* 

Christmas in St. Paul's: Sermons bearing chiefly on the Birth of Our Lord and the end of the Year, London 1889

*Clerical Life and Work, London 1894.*

*The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Bampton Lectures 1866, London, Oxford & Cambridge 1871.*


Forty-two sermons on various subjects: preached ... St. Paul's, ... selected from The Penny Pulpit, Third series, London 1886.


'Our Lord's Example the Strength of His Ministers', An Ordination Sermon, in Christ Church, Oxford...1860, London 1861.

Passiontide Sermons, London 1891.

Practical Reflections on every verse of the Psalter or Psalms of David, London 1890.


Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, London 1869 (rev.).


Sermons preached on special occasions, London 1897.


A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, London 1886

The Christian Ministry, (reprinted from his Commentary on Philippians, 1868), London 1901.


Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy, London 1890.


Sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, London 1891.

Sermons preached on Special Occasions, London 1891.
LIGUORI, St. Alphonsus The Glories of Mary (1750), R.A. Coffin (transl. from the Italian), London 1868.

LINTON, H. Christ in the Old Testament ... in Type, in Prophecy, in Sacrifice, and in Personal Manifestation, from the Creation to His birth, London 1873.


Sermons preached on various occasions 1861-1887, Oxford 1888.


Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome, London 1880.


'Ritualists' and 'Romanists', London 1876.

What is Ritualism? and why ought it to be supported? London 1867.

LITTON, E.A. The Church of Christ, in its idea, attributes, and ministry: with particular reference to the controversy on the subject between Romanists and Protestants, London 1851.

The Mosaic Dispensation considered as Introductory to Christianity, Bampton Lectures 1856, London 1856.

Introduction to Dogmatic Theology, 2 parts, London 1882, 1892.


LOUGH, A.G. Dr. Pusey - Restorer of the Church, Newton Abbot 1982.


LOWDER, C. The Penitents' Path, London 1848.

Sacramental Confession explained by Pastoral Experience, London 1874.

Twenty-One Years at St. George's Mission and Account of its Origin, Purpose and Works of Charity, London 1877.


'The Ritual Crisis': How it may be turned to the best account, London 1899.


Lyra Apostolica, Derby, Oxford & London 1838.


Remains, London 1850.


MACBRIDE, J.D. Lectures on the Thirty-Nine Articles of the United Church of England and Ireland, Oxford 1853.

McCAUL, J.B. 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, London 1871.


The Doctrine of the Atonement deduced from Scripture Six Discourses Donnellan Lectures 1857, London 1858.

MACKARNESS, C.C. 'The Poetry of Keble', ... Read at a meeting of Members of the Malton Clerical Society, 7 July 1891, London 1918.

MACKNIGHT, J. A New Literal Translation from the Original Greek of all the Apostolical Epistles, 4 Vols., Edinburgh 1795.

MACKONOCHE, A.H. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, A Sermon... at St. Alban the Martyr, Oxford 1867.

'Mfirst principles versus Erastianism: Six Sermons Preached at St. Vedast's, Foster Lane... Lent, 1876, London 1876.


MACLEAN, 'The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews', in Book by Book: Popular Studies on the Canon of Scripture, London 1892.


'Show Thyself to the Priest', A Sermon..., London 1872

MacNEILL, H.L. The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chicago 1914.

MAGEE, W. Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice, Dublin 1801.

MANNING, H.E. Sermons, 4 Vols., London 1843(I), 1849(II), 1850(III), 1856(IV).

MANSEL, H.L. The Limits of Religious Thought..., Bampton Lectures 1858, Oxford 1858.


MANT, R. The Book of Common Prayer... with Notes Explanatory, Practical, and Historical from approved writers of the Church of England, Oxford 1819.


'On the Principles of Faith and Church Authority', Five Sermons, Littlemore 1850.

Sermons preached before the University and other places, Oxford 1843.

'The true cause of insult and dishonour to the Church of Christ, A Sermon... at St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, Jan. 5, 1851, Littlemore 1851.

MARSH, H. A Charge delivered at the Visitation in July 1823, London 1823.

A Charge, delivered at the Visitation in July 1827, London 1827.

A Charge delivered at the Visitation in July 1831, London 1831.
Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible, Cambridge 1842 Edn.


'The Eucharistic Doctrine of R.I. Wilberforce', in Theology, 49 (1946), 177-180.


MASKELL, W. A Letter to Dr. Pusey on his practice of receiving persons in auricular confession, London 1850.


MASON, F. Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae; sive de legitimo eiusdem ministerio, London 1625.


MATHIESON, W.L. English Church Reform 1815-1840, London 1923.


MAURICE, F.D. Christmas Day and Other Sermons, London 1843.


The Doctrine of Sacrifice deduced from the Scriptures, A Series of Sermons, Cambridge 1854.


The Kingdom of Christ, 2 Vols., London 1842.

On The Epistle to the Hebrews, Warburton Lectures, London 1846.


The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament, Cambridge 1890.


Reasons for not joining a party in the Church, a letter to the Ven. Samuel Wilberforce..., London 1841.

The Religions of the World and their relation to Christianity..., London 1848.


Sermons preached in country churches, London 1873.

Theological Essays, Cambridge 1853.

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, London 1842.


What is Revelation, Cambridge 1859.

'The Worship of the Church, A witness for the redemption of the world', A Sermon..., Cambridge 1857.


'Popery in Oxford', Oxford 1833.

'Postscript to the Ritualism of Oxford Popery', A letter to Dr. MacBride, London 1867.


'The Biretta and Confessional', a sequel to the 'Ritualists or Non-Natural Catholics', London 1873.


The Ritualists or Non-Natural Catholics, London 1870.

MEDD, P.G. The One Mediator: The Operation of the Son of God in Nature and in Grace, Bampton Lectures 1882, London 1884.

The Priest to the Altar : or Aids to the devout celebration of Holy Communion, chiefly after the ancient English use of Sarum, Privately printed 1861.


MENEGOZ, E. La Théologie de l'Epitre aux Hébreux, Paris 1894.


MICHEL, O. Der Brief an die Hebräer, Meyers Kommentar 13, Göttingen 1975 Edn.


MILES, C.P. The Voice of the Glorious Reformation: or, an Apology for Evangelical Doctrines in the Anglican Church, London 1844.


MILLIGAN, G. The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Edinburgh 1899.


MILMAN, H.H. The Character and conduct of the Apostles considered as an Evidence for Christianity, Bampton Lectures 1827, Oxford 1827.


History of Christianity, 3 Vols., London 1845.


'All Saints, Kings, and Priests,' Two Sermons...preached at...Winchester 1850.

MOBERLY, R.C. Christ our Life, London 1902.

Enrichment of Private Prayer, London 1897.


Sorrow, Sin and Beauty; Three series of addresses, London 1889.

MONTAGU, G. Horae Hebraicae: An Attempt to discover how the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews must have been understood by those addressed therein, London 1835.

MONTEFIORE, H.W. The Epistle to the Hebrews, Blacks N.T. Commentaries, London 1977 (Repr.).

MOOR, J.F. The Birthplace, Home, Churches... connected with the Author of The Christian Year, London & Winchester 1867.

MOORE, A.L. Holy Week Addresses delivered at St. Paul's Cathedral...1888, London 1888

The Message of the Gospel: Addresses to Candidates for Ordination and Sermons...before the University of Oxford, London 1891.
Some Aspects of Sin, London 1891.

MOORMAN, J.R.H. The Curate of Souls, London 1958


MORTIMER, A.G. The Eucharistic Sacrifice, London 1901

MOULE, C.F.D. 'Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews', Theology, 61 (1958), 228.


Charles Simeon, London 1965 (New ed.).

Christ is All: Sermons, London 1892.

The Evangelical School in the Church of England, London 1901.

Our Great High Priest, London 1899


Sermons Parochial and Occasional, London 1879.

Sermons preached before the University of Oxford and on various occasions, London, Oxford & Cambridge 1876.

MOZLEY, J.K. The Doctrine of the Atonement, London 1915 (1962 8th imp.).

Some Tendencies in British Theology, London 1957.


MURRAY, F.H. Two Sermons...preached at St. Nicholas' Church, Chislehurst, Greenwich 1857.

MURRAY, P. (ed.) Newman the Oratorian, his unpublished Oratory papers, with an introductory Study on the continuity between his Anglican and his Catholic ministry, Dublin 1969.

NAGEL, N. 'Anglican Christology of the upper stream from 'Lux Mundi' to 'Essays Catholic and Critical'', Con. Th.M., 26 (1955), 401-22.
NAIRNE, A. The Epistle of Priesthood, Edinburgh 1913.


Confession and Absolution : A Lecture, London 1854.

Hymns for the Sick, London 1843.

Lectures on Church Difficulties, London 1871


Occasional Sermons, London 1873.

Sermons for some Feast Days in the Christian Year, London 1875.

Sermons for the Church Year, 2 Vols., London 1876.

Sermons on the Blessed Sacrament, London 1900 (New Ed.).


Sermons preached in Sackville College Chapel, 2 series, 4 Vols., London 1898.

Tractarian Delusions, London 1856.


NEANDER, A. 'The Theology of Thomas Arnold, its importance and bearing on the present state of the Church', Cambridge 1846.


Anglicanism, Harmondsworth 1958.

NEWBOLT, W.C.E. Counsels of Faith and Practice Sermons, London 1883.

The Diary of Prayer : Being Devotions for every Hour of those who would wish to live near to God, London 1900.

Priestly Ideals, London 1898.


The Voice of the Prayer Book, London 1890.


*Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford*, London 1892 (New ed.).


*A Letter to Dr. Jelf, in explanation of No XC in the series called 'The Tracts for the Times'* , Oxford 1841.

*A Letter to E.B. Pusey on his recent Eirenicon*, London 1866.


*Tract I: 'Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission' (1833)*, London 1840.


NEWTON, J. Works, 6 Vols., London 1808.


NOLLOTH, C.F. The Person of our Lord and Recent Thought, London 1908.


OAKELEY, F. The Subject of Tract XC examined, in connection with the history of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the Statements of Certain English Divines, London 1841.

'Christians, the Salt of the Earth and the Light of the World', A Sermon... Oxford & London 1838.


'Christ manifested to the faithful through His Church', A Sermon... 25th Sunday after Advent, Oxford, & London 1839.

Sermons preached chiefly in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, Oxford & London 1839.

O'BRIEN, J.T. Two Sermons upon Hebrews iv:15, preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, London & Dublin 1833.

A Charge, at his Ordinary Visitation 1866, London & Dublin 1867.

O'CONNOR, W.A. The Epistle to the Hebrews : with Analytical Introduction and Notes, London 1872.


OLLIVANT, A. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the diocese of Llandaff at his Sixth Visitation, London 1866.

OTTLEY, R.L. The Filial Heart, London 1891.


   Lancelot Andrewes, London 1894.

Outlines of Theological Study, compiled and Published with the Approval of the Committee of the Conference upon the Training of candidates for Holy Orders, 1881-1887, Cambridge & Oxford 1887.

OUTRAM, W. Two Dissertations on Sacrifices (De Sacrificiis), J. Allen (Tr.), London 1828.


   The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, London 1894.


   A Narrative of Events Connected with the publication of Tracts for the Times... and on the present duties and prospects of Members of the Church of England, Oxford 1843.

   Origines Liturgicae, or Antiquities of the English Ritual, 2 Vols., Oxford 1832.

   A Treatise on the Church of Christ : designed chiefly for the use of Students in Theology, 2 Vols., London 1838.


PATTERSON, A.S. Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Edinburgh 1856.

PATTISON, M. Memoirs, London 1885.


PEARSON, J. An Exposition at the Creed, Oxford 1864.

PERCEVAL, A.P. A Collection of Papers Connected with the Theological Movement of 1833, London 1843.


PEROWNE, T.T. Our High Priest in Heaven, London 1885.

PFLEIDERER, O. The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant, and its progress in Great Britain since 1825, London 1890.

PHILLPOTTS, H. A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter...1848, London 1848.


PRIDEAUX, H. The Old and New Testament Connected in the history of the Jews and the neighbouring nations, from the declension of the kingdom of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ (1717-9), 2 Vols., London 1845 Edn.

The Priest in Abolition: A manual for such as are called unto the higher ministries in the English Church, 2 parts, London 1866.

PRIESTLEY, J.B. Notes on all the Books of Scripture for the use of the Pulpit and Private Families, 4 Vols., Northumberland 1803-4.


PURCELL, E.S. Life of Cardinal Manning, 2 Vols., London 1896.

PURCHAS, J. 'Christ in His ordinances', A Sermon..., London 1853.

'Auricular Confession. Six Letters, on the Catholic Principle and Practice of Private Confession to a Priest. In which are embodied some of the Principal Testimonies, as well as of the Primitive Fathers, as of the highest Anglican authorities, in favour of that Practice', in Brit.Crit, 33(1843), 295-347.

'Blessed are the meek', A Sermon at Keble College, St. Mark's Day, 1876, London 1876.

'Christianity without the Cross', A Sermon..., Oxford, 1875.

'The Church, the converter of the heathen', Two Sermons..., Oxford and London 1838.

A Course of Sermons on Solemn subjects chiefly bearing on repentance and amendment of life, preached at St. Saviour's Church, Leeds, during the week after its Consecration..., Oxford 1845.

'The Day of Judgement', A Sermon... in St. Peter's, Brighton, 1839, Oxford, 1839.

Dr Hampden's past and present statements compared, Oxford and London 1836.

An Earnest Remonstrance to the Author of the 'Pope's Letter to certain members of the University of Oxford', London 1836.


Eleven Addresses during a Retreat of the Companions of the Love of Jesus, Oxford 1868.

'Entire Absolution of the Penitent, A Sermon mostly preached before the University... 4th Sunday after Epiphany, 1846, Oxford 1846.

'Everlasting Punishment, A Sermon preached before the University... 21st Sunday after Trinity 1864, Oxford & London 1864.


An Historical Enquiry into the probable causes of the Rationalist character latterly predominant in the Theology of Germany, 2 Parts, London, 1828-1830.


Justification, Oxford 1853.


Letters of the Rev. Dr. Pusey to the Earl of Shaftesbury and Sir John Romilly, rep. from the 'Morning Chronicle', Leeds 1852.

The Life of Christ in Glory on Earth, ad. from the French of Nouet, London 1846.

Nine University Sermons 1843-1855, Oxford & Cambridge 1879 (New ed.).

Parochial and Cathedral Sermons, London 1883.


'Patience and Confidence, the Strength of the Church', A Sermon..., Oxford & London 1837

'The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist', A Sermon preached before the University... Second Sunday after Epiphany, 1853, Oxford & London 1853.

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, Oxford 1857.

'The Royal Supremacy not an arbitrary authority but limited by the laws of the Church of which kings are members', Oxford 1850.

Sermons for the Church's Seasons: Advent to Trinity, London 1883.

Sermons preached before the University of Oxford 1859-1872, Oxford & Cambridge 1872.


Ten Sermons preached before the University of Oxford 1864-1879, Oxford & Cambridge 1880.

Tract LXVII: 'Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, as established by the consent of the Ancient Church and contrasted with the system of modern schools', London 1835.

Tract LXXXI: 'Testimony of the Writers of the Later English Church to the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, with an Historical Account of the Changes made in the Liturgy as to the expression of that doctrine', Catena Patrum IV, London 1837.


'Will ye also go away?' A Sermon preached before the University... 4th Sunday after Epiphany, 1867, Oxford 1867.

PUSEY, E.B. and LIDDON, H.P. Correspondence concerning Keble's 'Christian Year' and the line 'Not in the hands', Oxford 1878.


F.D. Maurice and the conflicts of modern theology, Maurice Lecture 1848, Cambridge 1951.

From Gore to Temple, London 1960.

The Gospel and the Catholic Church, London 1936.

RAMSEY, M. 'What is Anglican Theology?' Theol., 48 (1945), 2-6.


RAVEN, C.E.  Apollinarianism: an essay on the Christology of the early Church, Cambridge 1923.


RENDALL, F.  The Epistle to the Hebrews, London 1888.


REYNOLDS, J.S.  Canon Christopher of St. Aldates, Abingdon 1967.


RICHELIEU, J.  A Criticism upon Modern Notions of Sacrifices; An Examination of Dr. Taylor's Scripture - Doctrine of Atonement, London 1761.


RYDER, H. Three Charges delivered to the clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester in 1816, 1819 and 1822, Gloucester 1824.

RYLE, J.C. 'Able to Save', being thoughts on Heb.vii:25, Ipswich and London 1859.


Church Reform, London 1870.

Expository Tracts, 3 Series, London 1879.

'Have you a Priest?: A Question for 1872', A Tract, London 1872.

'How do you worship?' A question for 1868, London 1868.

Hymns for the Church on Earth, Ipswich & London 1861.

Knots Untied, London 1874.

Light from Old Times: or Protestant Facts and Men, London 1891.

Old Paths, London 1877.

'The True Priest' A Sermon preached in St. Thomas' Church, Dublin, April 10, 1859, Dublin 1859.

'What do we owe to the Reformation?', London 1877.


SADLER, M.F. Emmanuel, or the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Foundation of Immutable Truth, London 1867.


The One Offering: a treatise on the sacrificial nature of the eucharist, London 1875.

Our Worship, London 1892.

Parish Sermons, London 1862.

SAMPSON, G.V. A Literal Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, G.V. Sampson (ed. - Son), London 1828.


'Review of B.F. Westcott on Hebrews', Acad., 37 (1890), 154-5, 190-1.


SANDAY, W. and HEADLAM, A.C. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, I.C.C., Edinburgh 1895.

SANDERS, C.R. Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, (Duke Univ. publ.), Durham 1942.


SARGENT, F. A Compendium of Biblical Criticism on the Canonical Books, London 1870 (rev. and enl.).


SCOTT, E.F. The Epistle to the Hebrews; its doctrine and significance, Edinburgh 1922.

SCOTT, T. The Holy Bible containing Old and New Testaments...with Explanatory Notes, Practical Observations, and copious marginal references, 6 Vols., London 1830 New Edn.


SEYNAEVE, J.  Cardinal Newman’s Doctrine on Holy Scripture, Diss. Louvain (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis, Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica ... conscriptae, Ser. 2:45) 1953.

SHAIRP, J.C.  John Keble, Edinburgh 1866.


SHUTTLEWORTH, P.N.  A Paraphrastic Translation of the Apostolic Epistles with Notes, Oxford 1829.

SIBTHORP, R.W.  ’Some answer to the Enquiry, Why are you become a Catholic?’ A Letter to a friend, London 1842.

SIKES, T.  A Discourse on Parochial Communion in which the respective duties of Minister and People are deduced from Scripture, London 1812.

SIMEON, C.  ’The Danger of Neglecting the Great Sacrifice’, Assize Sermon at Cambridge, 22nd August 1797, Cambridge 1797.

  The Excellency of the Liturgy, Four discourses delivered before Cambridge University in Nov.1811, Cambridge 1812.


SMART, J.D.  The Interpretation of Scripture, London 1961.


SMITH, J.P.  Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ, and the Atonement and Redemption thence occurring, London 1842, (enl.).


  Prophecy a Preparation for Christ, Bampton Lectures 1869, London 1869.


  The Church and Her Doctrine, Cambridge 1891.

‘Poena Vicaria’ or, to what extent was Christ’s death a suffering for Sin? Birkenhead 1876.


SOCINUS, F. 'De Christi Sacerdotio' in Socini Opera Omnia, 2 Vols., Irenopolis 1656.


SOUTHEY, R. The Book of the Church, 2 Vols., London 1824.


The Speaker's Commentary: 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, 4 Vols., F.C. Cook (ed.), London 1881.


STANLEY, A.P. Addresses and Sermons, London 1877.

The Athanasian Creed, with a preface on the general recommendations of the Ritual Commission, London 1871.

The Bible: its Form and Substance, Three Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, Oxford and London 1862.

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, 3 Vols., London 1862 (New ed.).


Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Age, Oxford 1847.


STEPHEN, H.L. A Century of Anglo-Catholicism, London & Toronto 1929.


'The Invocation of Saints', (repr. from C.Q.R.), London 1903.


The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, London 1913.


STOW, J. Reflections on the Epistles of St. Paul and on that to the Hebrews, with Scriptural Illustrations, London 1847.

STOWELL, H. Lectures against Popery II: The Mariolatry of the Church of Rome, Shewsbury & London 1851.

Tractarianism Tested by Holy Scripture and the Church of England, ... a series of Sermons, 2 Vols., London 1845.


STUART, M. Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, 2 Vols., London 1828-34.

SUMNER, C.R. A Charge to candidates for Holy orders at an Ordination at Farnham Castle, London 1860.

A Charge delivered to clergy of the Diocese of Winchester, at his 9th Episcopal Visitation, London 1862.

A Charge delivered to clergy of the Diocese of Winchester, at his 10th Episcopal Visitation, London 1867.

The Ministerial Character of Christ practically considered, London 1824.


SUMNER, J.B. Apostolical Preaching Considered, London 1815.

A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester... at his Visitation 1832, London 1832.

A Charge to the clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury at his Visitation... 1853, London 1853.

A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and to the Hebrews, London 1851.

Sermons on the Principal Festivals of the Christian Church: to which are added three sermons on Good Friday, London 1827.

A Paraphrase and Notes upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, London 1755
The Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption of Man by Jesus Christ, London 1756.

The English Religious Tradition, London 1961 (Rev. Edn.).


TAIT, W. Meditations Hebraicae, or a Doctrinal and Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews in a Series of Lectures, 2 Vols., London 1845.

TALBOT, E.S. The Location and Dangers of the Church, London 1899.

TALBOT, E.S. Sermons preached in Leeds Parish Church 1889-1895, London 1896.


TAYLER, C.B. Sermons for all seasons: chiefly on the subject of Tractarian error, London 1850 (New ed.).


TAYLOR, John Scripture Doctrine of Atonement, London 1751.


Remains... see Perowne, J.J.S.


The Scriptural doctrine of the two-fold nature of Christ, ... A Sermon, Sunday, July 13, 1845, London & Durham 1845.

Tracts for the Times, by Members of the University of Oxford, 6 Vols., London 1839-41. (For information on individual Tracts, see under respective authors).


TRILLING, L. Matthew Arnold, London 1955 (3rd. imp.).

Truths for the Times, (J. Bardsley, J.C. Ryle and others), London & Ipswich 1867.


TULLOCH, P. Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, Leicester & New York 1971. (Repr.).


VAN MILDEERT, W. An Inquiry into the General Principles of Scripture Interpretation, Bampton Lectures 1814, Oxford 1814³.


VAUGHAN, W. The Epistle to the Hebrews with Notes, London 1890.

VEYSIE, D. The Doctrine of Atonement, Bampton Lectures 1795, Oxford 1795.

VIDLER, A.R. The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789 to the present day, Harmondsworth 1961.


WACE, H. Christianity and Morality: or the correspondence of the Gospel with the moral nature of man, Boyle Lectures 1874-5, London 1876.


WACE, H. and BUCHHEIM, C.A. (ed.) First Principles of the Reformation or the Ninety-five Theses and the Three Primary works of Dr. Martin Luther, (E.T.), London 1883.


'Christ His own Altar', A Sermon..., London 1867.

'Christ the True Altar' and other sermons, London, 1875.

Words of Eternal Life; or, some of the First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, Eighteen Sermons, London 1865.


WARD, W. Last Lectures, London 1918.


WARD, W.G. The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in comparison with Existing Practice, London 1844.


WEBB, A.B. The Minister of the True Tabernacle, and His Ministry in the Church of England: some thoughts and suggestions on the eve of ordination, London 1888.


WEINEL, H. and WIDGERY, A.G. Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After, Edinburgh 1914.


WESTCOTT, B.F. The Bible in the Church, a popular account of the collection and reception of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church, Cambridge 1864.

Christus Consummator: Lessons from an Epoch of Change, London 1890.

The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays, London 1906.

Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West, London 1891.


Some Thoughts from the Ordinal, London & Cambridge 1884.


What is the Gospel? London 1894.

WHATELY, R. Cautions for the Times, London 1853.

Elements of Logic, London 1827.


Five Sermons on Several Occasions Preached before the University of Oxford, Oxford 1823.

Sermons on the Principal Christian Festivals, London 1854 (rev. ed.).

The Scripture Doctrine Concerning the Sacraments, London 1857.

The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Matters in Religion, Bampton Lectures 1822, Oxford 1822.


WHITE J. Blanco A Letter to Protestants converted from Romanism, Oxford 1827.

Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism, in six letters addressed to the impartial among the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, London 1825.


The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ in its relation to mankind and to the Church, London 1852.

The Evangelical and Tractarian Movements: A Charge to the Clergy of East Riding, London 1851.

'The Practical Effect of the Gorham Case, A Charge... to the Clergy of East Riding,...1850, London 1850.

'The Sacramental System', a Sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, Mar. 10 1850, London 1850.


Sermons on the New Birth, London 1850.

WILBERFORCE, W. A Practical View of the Prevailing System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this country contrasted with Real Christianity, Glasgow 1797.
WILKINSON, G.H. 'Absolution' A Sermon, London 1874.

'Confession', A Sermon, London 1874.


WILLIAMS, G. 'The Priestly Office of Christ', A Sermon... at the Festival of the Annunciation of the B.V.M., 1856, Cambridge 1856.


The Baptistery, Oxford 1848 (New ed.).

The Cathedral, or the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England, Oxford 1838.

Hymns on the Catechism, London 1843.


A Series of Sermons on the Epistle and Gospel for each Sunday in the Year, and on some of the Chief Festivals, 2 Vols., London 1853.

Tract LXXXVI: 'Indications of a superintending Providence in the Preservation of the Prayer Book and in the changes which it has undergone', London 1842.


'Platonism and Hebrews', S.J.Th., 16 (1963), 415-424.

WILLIS, E.F. The Sacrificial Aspect of the Holy Eucharist considered in relation to the One Atoning Sacrifice upon the Cross, An Eirenicon, Oxford & London 1878.

Three Sermons composed for the Opening of a new Organ at St. Chrysostom's Church, Everton, London 1861 (New ed.).


WOODD, B. 'The Excellence of Liturgy', A Visitation Sermon..., London 1810.


WORDSORTH, Chr. 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, London 1848.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the original Greek, with Notes, 4 Parts, London 1859.

YONGE, C.M. Musings on the Christian Year and 'Lyra Innocentium', together with a few gleanings... by several friends, Oxford & London 1871.

YOUNG, F. The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom, Patristic Monograph Series No. 5, Philadelphia 1979.