Durham University

Durham E-Theses

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

Christopher David Hancock

How to cite:

Hancock, Christopher David (1984) The priesthood of Christ in Anglican doctrine and devotion: 1827 - 1900. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

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 https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/7473/ 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.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

'The Priesthood of Christ in Anglican Doctrine and Devotion: 1827-1900'

Christopher David Hancock

This thesis traces the history of the interpretation of the doctrine of Christ as priest in the doctrine and devotion of representatives of the Church of England from the publication of Keble's Christian Year in 1827 to the Oxford Conference, 'Priesthood and Sacrifice', of 1899. Between these years the image of Christ as priest was a recurring motif in Anglican thought. Representatives of all shades of Churchmanship were remarkably united in a common enthusiasm for the image, but deeply divided over its interpretation. A composite historico-theological analysis of this hitherto uncharted theme unfolds not only the prevalence of this christological motif in Anglican doctrine and devotion between these years, but also the potency of this image to shape, direct, and unify crucial features of Victorian religious development and theological controversy. The thesis argues, against the backcloth of a brief examination of the role, content, and significance of the doctrine in Anglican religion prior to 1827, that the prevalence and potency of the image of Christ as priest is to be accounted for as expressing a cardinal article of the Church of England's historic lex orandi. The fact that Tractarians, Evangelicals, the majority of Latitudinarians, Ritualists, Anglo-Catholics, and Biblical Scholars, united in adherence to this one thematic doctrinal image, but were, at times, bitterly divided over their understanding of it, indicates a focal point of Anglican religion, endorsed in its liturgy; namely, that Christ is "a great High Priest", through whom, and with whom, and in whom alone, the Church receives from God His life and gives to God its life, in worship and service. The thesis seeks to recover the historic, distinctive prominence of this doctrinal and devotional theme in Anglican religion.

VOLUME I

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

BY

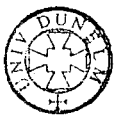
CHRISTOPHER DAVID HANCOCK

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



17. JUL. 1985

COPYRIGHT

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.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

PREFACE ii

INTRODUCTION

The Priesthood of Christ in Anglican Doctrine and Devotion -the Roots of a Tradition 1

I **The Priesthood of Christ and the Roots of Victorian Anglicanism** 2

1. The Bible 2
2. The Book of Common Prayer 6
3. The Thirty-Nine Articles 9
4. The Fathers 11
5. The Sixteenth Century Continental Reformation 16
6. The English Reformers 20
7. Hooker 24
8. The 'Caroline' Divines 25

II **The Priesthood of Christ and the Diversity of Anglicanism prior to 1827** 33

1. The Early Evangelicals 33
2. Orthodox Churchmen and 'New Orthodoxy' 39
3. Some Early 'Latitudinarians' and 'Liberals' 45

PART I

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

CHAPTER I

The Priesthood of Christ in the Doctrine and Devotion of the Oxford Movement 50

1. 'The Priest of Priests' and Early Tractarian Ecclesiology 56

2. 'Christus Humilis' - Christ's priesthood and Tractarian Christology 72

3. 'Christus Mediator' - Christ's priesthood and Tractarian Soteriology 82

4. 'Th'eternal Priest' and the theology of worship of Early Tractarianism. 95

CHAPTER II

R.I. Wilberforce and 'The High-Priestly Mediator' in Later Tractarianism 112

1. Charles Marriott and the establishment of a Tractarian tradition 113

2. E.B. Pusey and Christ the Heavenly Priest and Intercessor 116

3. Christ, the priestly Mediator, in the theology of R.I. Wilberforce 127

4. Henry Manning and the 'continuous sacrifice' of Christ as Priest 135

5. John Keble and Christ, the Ideal Priest 141

CHAPTER III

Charles Simeon and 'The Sympathising Heavenly Priest' in Early Evangelicalism 154

I The Foundation of Early Evangelical Interpretation of Christ's Priesthood 155

1. Charles Simeon and the doctrine of Christ's priesthood 156

2. The early Evangelicals and the Epistle to the Hebrews 163

II The Priesthood of Christ and the Defence of Evangelical Doctrine and Devotion: 1827-1867 168

1. Christ, the 'perfect priestly Mediator' in Evangelical doctrine and devotion: 1827-1842 169

2. James Garbett and Evangelical defence of Christ's unique priesthood: 1842-1851 181

3. The priestly sacrifice of Christ in Evangelical doctrine and devotion: 1851-1867 194

CHAPTER IV

F.D. Maurice and 'The High Priest of Humanity' in Early Victorian Latitudinarianism 204

I 'Christ the Only Priest' and the Oriel 'Noetics' 205

1. H.B. Wilson, an Oxford Liberal 205
2. Blanco White 206
3. Copleston 207
4. Hawkins 208
5. Whately 211
6. Hampden 215
7. Thomas Arnold 220

II Christ, 'The High Priest of Humanity', in Maurician Theology and Devotion 224

1. S.T. Coleridge 225
2. Thirlwall 226
3. F.D. Maurice 229
4. F.W. Robertson 240

PART II

CREATIVITY AND CRITICISM

CHAPTER V

Christ, 'The Liturgical Priest', in the Doctrine and Devotion of the Early Ritualists 244

1. Christ's priesthood and the foundation of the Ritualist Movement 245
2. The 'great High Priest' and human priesthood in Ritualist doctrine and devotion 253

3. The priesthood of Christ in the 'Parochial Mission' of the Ritualists 265

4. Devotion to Jesus as 'priest' in the spiritual ideals of R.M. Benson and the Ritualist Movement 283

CHAPTER VI

The Priesthood of Christ and the Development of Anglican Biblical Criticism 293

I Christ's Priesthood and Criticism: Hebrews and Oxford Liberalism in the 1850's and 1860's 294

1. Mid-Victorian Liberalism 295

2. Anglican exegesis of Hebrews and conservative scripturalism: 1827-1859 297

3. Benjamin Jowett and Christ's priestly sacrifice 302

4. Christ's priesthood and other contributors to 'Essays and Reviews' 306

5. A.P. Stanley and a Liberal's love of Hebrews 309

6. Colenso and Matthew Arnold: other challenges to Christ's priesthood 314

II B.F. Westcott, Christ's Priesthood, and the 'Golden Age' of Anglican Exegesis of Hebrews 317

1. The Epistle to the Hebrews as a 'landmark' in Anglican exegesis 318

2. Anglican Exegesis of Hebrews: 1859-1878 323

3. The 'Golden Age': 1878-1890 326

4. The priesthood of Christ and the 'Cambridge Trio' 334

i. B.F. Westcott 335

ii. J.B. Lightfoot and F.J.A. Hort 347

CHAPTER VII

Christ the Priest in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic Doctrine and Devotion 354

1. Introduction 354

2. 'Christus Consummator: Christus Consolator' - Christ's priesthood and the foundation of Anglo-Catholic Christology 356

3. 'Christus Redemptor: Christus Consummator' - Christ's priestly atonement in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism 368

4. R.C. Moberly and Christ's priesthood in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic Ecclesiology 378

5. 'Heavenly liturgist - earthly servant': Christ the priest in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic spirituality 392

CHAPTER VIII

'Our One Priest on High' - in Evangelical Doctrine and Devotion c.1860-1900. 408

I Christ's Priesthood and Evangelical Opposition to 'Romanizing Ritualism': 1860-1882 409

1. Evangelicals and the Ritualist threat to the Protestant Church of England 409

2. The Restatement of Evangelical 'Principles' 412

3. Christ's priesthood and defence of the heart of Protestant Anglicanism 415

i. Christ's priesthood and Evangelical devotion to Jesus 415

ii. Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood: a reflection of their scripturalism 417

iii. Christ's priesthood: an Evangelical principle of worship 422

iv. Christ's priesthood: the nub of Evangelical detestation of 'sacerdotalism' 425

v. Christ's priesthood and Evangelical soteriology 428

vi. Christ's priesthood and Evangelical sacramental theology 431

II Evangelical Defence of Christ's Sacerdotium: 1882-1900 434

1. Continuity and change in late-Victorian Anglican Evangelicalism 434

2. Litton and Moule 439

3. Perowne, Saumarez Smith, and Wace 444

4. Dimock 450

CONCLUSION 460

VOLUME II

NOTES 1

ABBREVIATIONS 154

BIBLIOGRAPHY 155

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the many people who have assisted completion of this thesis. To those Colleges and Institutions which have either housed or funded the work I am grateful for practical help: namely, the Department of Education and Science; the Church Commissioners; the Diocese of Leicester, and Holy Trinity Church, Leicester; the University of Oxford; The Queen's College, Keble College, Wycliffe Hall, Pusey House, Oxford; Cranmer Hall, Durham; and the state of Baden-Wurttemberg for a stipendium to attend Tübingen University. To those who have afforded academic stimulus, warning, and advice, I am indebted for more than wise words: among these, Professor Stephen Sykes, my supervisor, who has born with patience and fortitude the task of guiding me through the rich seam of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood, is owed my sincere thanks for his constant encouragement, friendship and incomparable intuitive insight. Bishop Stephen Neill, in the last months of his fruitful life, was a particular encouragement as the thesis approached its conclusion. Along the way I have also been grateful for the help of Professor Martin Hengel, Reverend Dr. John McHugh, Lord Ramsey, and the Reverend Dr. Geoffrey Rowell. To the libraries often supplying me with more material than I wanted, I am also grateful: especially, in Oxford, the Bodleian, Keble College, and Pusey House Libraries, and the University Library, Durham. To Suzie, my wife, and children, David and Charlotte, belong, however, my deepest thanks for helping, encouraging, and healthily distracting me, through to the work's completion.

15 Northcote Road,
Leicester.

Christopher Hancock

PREFACE

The doctrine of Christ as 'priest', or 'High Priest', preeminently expounded in the Epistle to the Hebrews, has occupied a central position within, and exerted a potent influence upon, the character and development of doctrine and devotion in the historic Church of England. Insufficient recognition of the historical resonances underlying allusions to this doctrine, in the new Alternative Service Book (1981),[1] threatens to deprive it of a cardinal article of its historic lex orandi.[2] This thesis attempts to recover the distinctive enthusiasm with which representatives of all shades of Anglican churchmanship have traditionally reverted to this image, through detailed analysis of the doctrine's place in Anglican thought between 1827-1900. Between these years the doctrine assumed a remarkable prominence in Anglican religion, being traditionally and creatively expounded. The shape and development of Victorian Anglicanism were fundamentally affected by the image of Christ as a priest. This fact has not been adequately acknowledged. The thesis asks, therefore, not only how scholars, pastors, and lay people in the Church interpreted the doctrine of Christ as priest, but also why they did so, and what impact interpretation and evaluation of this doctrine had upon them.

Analysis of this strangely neglected theme takes us to the heart of major controversies which sundered the Victorian Church, and to lesser-known reaches of its spirituality. It reveals an Anglican proclivity to revert to the image of Christ as priest in a host of different contexts with remarkable regularity and responsiveness. It illustrates historically the fruitfulness of this christological image, by giving systematic coherence to interpretations of the doctrine espoused by different schools of thought in the Victorian Church.

The thesis is a contribution to Victorian historiography, to Anglican historical theology, and to a lesser extent, to modern systematic theology. That little attention has been directed hitherto to this subject is surprising. Christ's priesthood was at the heart of 'evangelical' religion. Charles Simeon, avowed head of early nineteenth century evangelicalism, called for reflection on it - "till your hearts burn within you with gratitude and love".[3] J.C. Ryle, saintly Bishop

of Liverpool called it "the crown and glory of Christian theology".[4] Among High Churchmen, Alexander Knox, esteemed Irish precursor of Tractarianism, included it in "the great foundation by which the whole dispensation of the Gospel is supported".[5] John Keble, the scholar-saint, defended it keenly in his tract Considerations.[6] R.M. Benson, founder of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, embraced it warmly as a cardinal article of his meditative religion. Broad Churchmen shared this enthusiasm. Renn Dickson Hampden, prime object of Tractarian obloquy, called it "a joyous thought".[7] Thomas Arnold, too, once proclaimed:"There is no truth more important and more practical, than that of Christ being our only priest".[8] At times F.D. Maurice and B.F. Westcott, archetypal Anglican divines, reckoned Hebrews the most important book in the Bible. Such attitudes warrant examination.

Christ's priesthood was also, though, at the centre of controversy. Broad Churchmen like Benjamin Jowett, and Ritualist 'sacerdotalists' like Alexander Mackonochie, were attacked, for different reasons, because they appeared to derogate from the honour and glory of Christ the true and only priest. Our study traces the conflicts and controversies consequent upon a profound historically - and devotionally - determined commitment to the image of Christ as priest, characteristic of the faith of the vast majority of Victorian Churchmen. It focusses on the period between the publication in 1827 of John Keble's popular devotional anthology The Christian Year,[9] which effectively inaugurated Tractarian recovery of Caroline commitment to the heavenly priesthood of Christ, and the publication in 1900 of a conference Report Priesthood and Sacrifice,[10] the climax of a debate, to which Christ's priesthood was central. This extended period enables analysis of the ebb and flow of interpretation. The study does not claim to be exhaustive. It expounds representative interpretations within the period considered, with a view to illustrating the historico-theological context, the substantive content and mainlines of controversy accompanying those interpretations.

The historical theologian, necessarily sensitive to potentially distorting forces, is to be here aware, however, of an inhospitable climate for consideration

of this theme at the present time. Explanation of this claim and recognition of factors which may vitiate analysis of the doctrine's role, content, and significance in nineteenth century Anglicanism must be briefly considered.

Firstly, our study begins against a backcloth of widespread dogmatic neglect of Christ's priesthood in certain quarters[11] - product of a variety of factors but symptomatic of a theological 'distancing' between ourselves and the enthusiasm of many Victorian Churchmen. Neglect is neither new nor uniform. In a post-critical, or even, post-Christian era, the Judaic, forensic, cultic language of 'priesthood' and 'sacrifice' applied to Christ's person and work by Hebrews, have appeared to many less attractive linguistic tools for doctrinal restatement.[12] Objections have been levelled against the 'official' language of priesthood,[13] against the doctrine's obscuring of the cross,[14] against the implicit subordination of a priestly 'intercessor',[15] and, fundamentally, against the doctrine's correlation with a particular form of 'sacrificial', 'substitutionary' or 'penal' atonement theories.[16] Yet exegetical analyses of the doctrine still abound;[17] at times, expressly aware of the progressive popular unintelligibility or systematic doctrinal complexity of this christological image.[18] Conservative Reformed dogmatics does not baulk at the hermeneutical difficulties attached to persistent dependence upon the Epistle to the Hebrews and, customarily subsumes Christ's priestly office in the triplex munus,[19] fearing a Socinianising isolation of the sacerdotal from the regal and prophetical offices.[20] Again, Vatican II Roman Catholicism has officially reaffirmed the centrality of Christ's priesthood, viewed as the fons et origo of the Church's worship, ministry and regenerative life,[21] apace with its restrictive declarations regarding Mary as co-Mediatrix with her son.

The Anglican Church has paradoxically responded to this progressive demise by, on the one hand, failing to produce a sustained doctrinal analysis for over fifty years,[22] and, on the other, for ecumenical and liturgical reasons, increasing explicit liturgical exposure of the doctrine in the A.S.B. Against this complex background, the present study attempts to relocate the doctrine in the historic lex orandi of the Anglican Church, and thereby argue that its current demise in contemporary Anglican doctrinal reflection is a direct departure from

the traditionally determinative impact of the lex orandi upon the lex credendi[23] in the historic Church of England, in relation to the particular issue of Christ as priest.

Secondly, however, as corollary to the above, twentieth century Anglicanism is distanced from its nineteenth century counterpart by the now customary acquiescence of many in disclaimers of anything remotely distinctive about 'Anglican theology'[24] -apart, that is, from its three-fold methodological 'knot' of scripture, tradition, and reason,[25] or, more recently and less tangibly, from its distinctive 'spirit' or 'mood'.[26] Victorian Churchmen, for all their later 'undogmatic' temper, would have probably reacted against these disclaimers. Connop Thirlwall, prescient, theologically broad-minded Bishop of St. David's, once judiciously observed: "A Church without any common basis of faith, is not only an experiment new in practice and of doubtful success, but an idea new in theory, and not easy to conceive".[27] E.B. Pusey, too, once observed that, "every Church has a right to require of its ministers, as long as they profess to be ministers of that Church, to teach the doctrines which she holds..."[28] There was such a thing as 'Anglican doctrine' and 'Anglican devotion' in the nineteenth century, and the vast majority of Victorian Churchmen were conscious of the fact, and self-conscious in its defence. To that doctrine and devotion Christ's priesthood was alike central: indeed, it was a primary agent in uniting and harmonising these strands through the storms of Victorian controversy. The prevalency and potency of Christ's priesthood was derived both from the doctrinal and devotional teaching it embodied, and also, simply, from its constant reappearance by quiet, unconscious, application of Anglican theological methodology. To a renewed quest for Anglican theology of late, the present study presents historic Anglican adherence to Christ as the unique priestly mediator, and suggests that it aptly fulfils Professor Stephen Sykes's claim that there exist within Anglicanism doctrines "repeatedly affirmed by all parts of its liturgical tradition, including its most modern additions".[29] Hanging their interpretations upon more than simply its liturgical association, Victorian Churchmen repeatedly

acknowledged Christ's priesthood as a central article of their inherited Anglican lex orandi.

Thirdly, the study is undertaken mindful of the character of contemporary Victorian historiography. This could in various ways influence the study, as it has, to an extent, already contributed to neglect of the subject hitherto. The subject, of course, will be criticised by those who object in general to a preoccupation with Anglican affairs in nineteenth-century ecclesiastical history,[30] were its ecclesial purview not integral to its aims. But more significant 'liberalising' and 'catholicising' trends in Victorian historiography deserve comment. The nineteenth century has inevitably been examined for its formative influence upon 'liberal' and 'critical' thinking in the twentieth century Church. Kitson-Clark rightly observed, however, that there is a need to put back 'popular' religion into Victorian historiography.[31] The need is still inadequately satisfied. Study of Christ's priesthood, as, in part, a prominent article of 'popular religion', contributes further towards meeting this need. Our study would fail lamentably, in its attempt to represent the doctrine's place in Victorian doctrine and devotion, if restricted to leading theological figures.[32] Creation of a fuller understanding of the spiritual mentality of the Victorian era depends upon such studies of popular themes. We suggest, therefore, a new perspective on Victorian doctrine and devotion by recognition of the sometimes pivotal, or determinative, significance of the popular image of Christ as priest in Anglican thought and life between 1827-1900.

Victorian historiography has also tended to 'catholicise'.[33] Fruit of an earnest desire to portray the origins of contemporary Anglo-Catholicism, it has sometimes given the misleading impression that after 1850, or so, the Church of England was thoroughly 'catholicised'. This impression is fostered by historical laxity in evangelical circles. A strong case can be made for the persistent 'Protestantism' of Victoria's long reign. Study of Christ's priesthood illuminates the persistence of this 'protestant' spirit, even among Anglo-Catholics. Lest a 'conservative', 'Protestant' study appear justifiable, but dull, our aim is explicitly

to trace adherence to Christ's priesthood among representatives of all shades of Anglican churchmanship.

Study of this theme discloses unity in enthusiasm and diversity in interpretation among Anglican writers between 1827-1900. Evangelicals, Anglo-Catholics, Broad-Churchmen shared enthusiasm for this doctrine. Why was that? How was it possible? Our study directs us back to examination of their differing understandings of priesthood in general, and as specifically applied to the person and work of Jesus Christ. We must consider how the general and specific interpretation interacted with one another both in definition and application. At times, we discover interpretation of Christ's priesthood dominated by its association with the 'typical' immolation of the Day of Atonement (Lev.xvi-xvii.); at other times, we find the character of Christ as a priest -manifesting, for example, self-sacrifice, love, sympathy, and identification with those He represents - decisively shaping understanding of the essence of Old Testament priesthood and thence ministry in the Church. The fluctuating interaction of 'type' and 'antitype' will be discovered to be a crucial feature of Victorian interpretation, directly influencing the extent to which the doctrine of Christ's priesthood shaped or was itself shaped by contemporary christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, sacramental theology and liturgical theology. In response to this diversity in interpretation and application, the thesis argues that the key to it lies in an historic Anglican commitment to the 'image' of Christ as priest, fostered by its devotional appropriation to the Church's lex orandi. The impress of the Epistle to the Hebrews had left an indelible mark on Anglican devotion, so that Anglican Churchmen found its presentation of Christ as priest an image, to which their hearts and minds readily reverted. Victorian Churchmen inherited a faith in which the image of Christ as priest was prominent. Here was an article of Anglican devotion, a pregnant doctrinal image in Victorian faith. For this reason, it continued to exert a powerful influence on Anglican doctrine and devotion between 1827-1900. Our study confirms again the impact of the lex orandi upon the lex credendi in historic Anglicanism. But, as we shall also seek to show, devotion to the image of Christ as priest was not devoid of substantive doctrinal

meaning. It embodied truths to which Anglicans of all parties had been, and continued to be, passionately and defensively committed. The thesis seeks to identify these truths and to suggest that, by continuing to refer to Christ's priesthood directly or indirectly in its liturgy today, the Church of England continues to enunciate an historic devotional and doctrinal adherence to the image of Christ as priest.

Study of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900 has been largely ignored hitherto. It is neglected in general Church histories and theological surveys of the period. Studies in Anglican 'spirituality', and 'party' theologies of Anglo-Catholicism or Evangelicalism, more surprisingly, omit discussion of it. Scattered allusions do give a hint, though, of its importance. But the secondary evidence is, fragmentary, unsatisfying, at times distorting. For example, Elliott-Binns' English Thought 1860-1900: The Theological Aspect overlooks the ground-swell of Anglican interest in Hebrews at the end of the nineteenth century in its treatment of Westcott's Commentary (1885),[34] and misrepresents evangelical 'Jesus-worship' as fundamentally Docetic.[35] Study of Christ's priesthood sheds a general light on Anglican theological thought and spiritual life between 1827-1900.

A few scholars have, however, alluded to the importance of Christ's priesthood for nineteenth century Anglicanism, and to its distinctive location and interpretation therein. A.M. Ramsey in From Gore to Temple, examining 'The Doctrine of the Cross' in late-nineteenth century Anglo-Catholic thought, observed, for example, "The heavenly priesthood of Christ" had been a theme for many Anglican writers, going back to Jeremy Taylor. Moberly drew out this theme in the last chapter of his Ministerial Priesthood (1897)."[36] He also traces this theme to the eucharistic hymns of Charles Wesley and William Bright, and to H.B. Swete's The Ascended Christ.[37] Ramsey suggests a context, an interpretation, and a tradition, all centring on Christ as priest, in Anglican theology. He does not develop the allusion further and omits recognition of the controversy raging around Christ's priesthood at the time of Moberly's work. F.C. Clark, in Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, similarly identifies a

"renewed interest in the idea of a heavenly sacrifice.... among Anglican divines... in the second half of the nineteenth century".[38] "Some precedent" for interpreting the eucharistic offering by the Church as coterminous with a continual pleading of His sacrifice by Christ the priest in heaven, could, he argues, "be found in the writings of High Church divines of the seventeenth century and later".[39] He also notes: "The Report on Doctrine in the Church of England observes that the Arminian High Churchmen had links 'even with Socinian theology in the emphasis laid upon the High Priesthood of Christ'."[40] Clark, at least, elaborates upon the historical antecedents of late-nineteenth century interpretation but gives an inadequate account of the earlier nineteenth century background. E.L. Mascall considers the heavenly sacrifice of Christ as priest in 'The Eucharistic Theology of Charles Gore' in Corpus Christi,[41] but again fails to contextualise this in a late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic burgeoning of interest in Christ's priesthood per se. The lectures by the evangelical scholar Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, entitled 'The Blood of Jesus and His Heavenly Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews' (1973),[42] are a useful exegetico-historical critique of this theme, but ignore late-Victorian Evangelical defence of Christ's sacerdotium. The eucharistic application of Christ's heavenly priesthood has also attracted some wider recognition of its distinctiveness to Anglicanism. The Scandinavian scholar Gustav Aulén in Eucharist and Sacrifice (1958) speaks of "the strong accentuation of the high-priestly perspective" in Anglo-Catholic eucharistic theology, which "has not always been given due recognition".[43] The Roman Catholic scholar Emil Scheller's historico-theological treatise Das Priesterthum Christi am Anschluss an den. hl. Thomas von Aquin similarly describes the heavenly priestly perspective as characteristic of an 'High' Anglican eucharistic theology.[44] There has been no attempt, though, to locate this 'High-Priestly' emphasis generally in Victorian Anglo-Catholicism, nor in nineteenth century Anglican doctrine and devotion.

Through extended examination of primary material, the priesthood of Christ is found to be a leading feature of Victorian faith, as it was of historic Anglicanism prior to 1827. To illuminate this fact the method employed here is

more expository than critical. Exposition will per se illustrate the depth and breadth of Anglican adherence to Christ's priesthood. The extensive primary material available for study of this theme often has an unrounded, diffuse quality. Coherence is felt to be best achieved by expounding the interpretation of leading individuals, and, important works, alongside lesser-known figures, and by embedding doctrinal or 'systematic' exposition within a progressive historical review.

In order to expound this theme, therefore, the Introduction traces the 'roots' of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900 to their biblical, liturgical, and historical origins. Part I focusses on the first half of the Victorian era, and examines the 'Unity in Diversity' discovered among different parties in the Church. Hence, Chapters I and II examine the doctrine's changing fortunes in Oxford Tractarianism. Chapter III considers its popularity in early Evangelical doctrine and devotion, and Chapter IV the diverse reaction to be found in the writings of F.D. Maurice and Latitudinarian scholars. Part II traces the remarkable prominence Christ's priesthood attained in later Victorian religion. Chapter V presents its centrality to the theological and devotional principles underlying Anglo-Catholic 'Ritualism'. Chapter VI focusses on the impact nascent Anglican biblical criticism had upon interpretation of Christ as priest or High Priest, in the light of a burgeoning of Anglican interest in Hebrews in the latter half of the period. Chapters VII and VIII consider the conflicting responses of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical thought to this image.

In order to reflect adequately Anglican interpretation of, and enthusiasm for, the doctrine between these years, the thesis draws upon commentaries, scholarly treatises, sermons, tracts, articles, and letters. Indications of its devotional prominence are shown from hymns, prayers, and meditations, whilst its centrality to the spiritual and ministerial life of the Church is further confirmed by ordination sermons and Episcopal 'Ordination' and 'Visitation' Charges. One such Visitation Charge by Bishop Ollivant of Llandaff, simply expresses the spirit, if not the content, of how the majority of Victorian Anglicans responded to the image of Christ as priest between 1827-1900:

> "That our Blessed Lord, as our great High Priest, is entered into heaven itself to appear in the presence of God, and that He ever liveth to make intercession for us, pleading the merits of His precious blood, are truths dear to the heart of every Christian."[45]

Victorian historiography and Anglican historical theology are impoverished until there is due recognition of the potency of this Anglican commitment to the image of Christ as priest.

INTRODUCTION

The Priesthood of Christ in Anglican Doctrine and Devotion - 'The Roots of a Tradition'

R.C.K. Ensor's claim remains true. "No-one will ever understand Victorian England who does not appreciate that... it was one of the most religious that the world has known".[1] In society at large the urbanization of the community, reform of the electorate, industrialization of employment, improvement of social welfare, and imperialization abroad combined to produce a dramatic social revolution. 'Progress' was an ideal and a virtue. That Britain avoided the Continental revolutionary unrest of the 1790's, 1830's, and late-1840's testifies, however, to the tenacity and yet malleability of its conservative proclivities. The nation's capacity to endure 'change and decay' without falling, on the one hand, into a defensive reactionary obscurantism and, on the other, into an aggressive revolutionary idealism, testifies as much to the steadying influence of Queen Victoria's protracted reign, as it does to the fact that national 'initiative' never became a play-thing of popular or partisan politics. Caught between 'fear' and 'ambition', between the terrors of sans-culottism or revolutionary 'barricades', of Marxism or atheism, and the lust for power, for dominance, for the sovereignty of man, Victorian England derived its characteristic dynamism from gyrating in the mean between these extremes. Yet into this active tension a pervasive spirit of the duties and joys of a 'religious' life pervaded an acute sensitivity to another world: a spiritual realm, Hellish for the reprobate and unrepentant, Heavenly for the righteous and repenting sinner. Man sought a Redeemer from fear, a Mediator from this world to the next, from heaven's joys to earth's sorrows, to fulfil his ambitions for himself and his race. Into this tension between fear and ambition came the dynamic figure of Christ as priest, an image of Redemption, of Mediation, of Identification, of Hope. The doctrine of Christ's priesthood captured the spirit of the Victorian Church, and having captured it, it transformed it. Study of this theme affords a commentary on the tenacity and yet malleability of the nation's conservative spiritual proclivities. It confirms how fascinating and

religious Victorian England was. It illustrates the prevalence and potency of Christ's priesthood in Anglican doctrine and devotion between 1827-1900.

I

The Priesthood of Christ and the Roots of Victorian Anglicanism

The nineteenth century was an outstanding epoch in scientific and industrial discovery. It was, also as V.F. Storr rightly observed, an age of history even more than of science.[2] The golden age of English and German historiography, associated with the names of Gibbon, Macaulay, Ranke, and later Carlyle, the glorification of history in continental romanticism, and the philosophical justification for an historical approach central to Hegelian idealist dialectic, contributed to making the nineteenth century Church of England acutely aware of its historical antecedents. In the crises of identity through which it passed constant recourse was made to "the rock whence it was hewn". Christ's priesthood was repeatedly implicated in the Victorian Church's self-analysis. At times the Church of England's decisive theological stance was identified by reference to this article of its historic faith and devotional life. To understand the doctrine's prominence in Anglican doctrine and devotion between 1827-1900 we must consider first its place in key, historically-determined, characteristics of Victorian religion. We must trace the roots of a tradition. That is the aim of this Introduction.

1. The Bible

Victorian religion centred on the Bible, source and stay of Christian doctrine and life, in the Church and in the home: the English had become "the people of a book".[3] A traditional pre-critical approach to its study, harnessed to a popular doctrine of plenary inspiration and verbal infallibility, was "deeply entrenched",[4] and rendered its teaching amazingly relevant and contemporaneous.[5] Its doctrinal unity and testamental harmony inspired belief in the static character of Christian dogma and the fundamental interrelatedness of

doctrines. The century saw these assumptions fiercely attacked and staunchly defended. The enlightened scholar-bishop of Durham, William Van Mildert (1765-1836), in 1814 claimed it to be "impossible even to imagine a failure, either in judgement or in integrity in the Bible".[6] Eleven years later Connop Thirlwall (1797-1875), the prescient and equally scholarly, Bishop of St.David's, pronounced verbal inspiration "so long abandoned" as to be now "a waste of time to attack it".[7] The furore surrounding the liberal Oxford publication Essays and Reviews in 1860,[8] exemplifies the persistent conservatism of Victorian scripturalism.[9] The muted response to Lux Mundi in 1889,[10] by comparison, shows progress in Anglican biblical criticism and, ultimately, the Church's capacity to absorb change. The Bible was central, as enjoined by Article VI;[11] it was embroiled in controversy, as Continental 'Higher Criticism'[12] challenged old views on authorship, dating, structure, and meaning. Christ's priesthood was part of this historic Anglican biblical faith. It was embroiled in controversy raging around the Bible, particularly after 1860.

Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900 can first and foremost be traced to the Bible, and especially to the Epistle to the Hebrews: the foremost advocate, and at times fiercest adversary, of the doctrine of Christ as priest. Conservative scholarship drew deeply on the literal meaning of the Epistle's central teaching on Christ as the divine-human, "perfect" priest (Heb.i:2,5; ii:9,14ff), appointed, by divine oath, "after the order of Melchizedek" (v:5-10; vii:1-17). He is a High priest with both a superior nature, "the power of an endless life" (Heb.vii:16), and a higher calling than His earthly, "typical", Levitical predecessors. He is "merciful and faithful" (ii:17), "able to sympathize" with human weaknesses, having a nature "tempted like as we are yet without sin" (iv:14-16). Conservative biblicism venerated the christology and the soteriology of Hebrews. Christ is therein presented as having made a sacrificial offering of Himself, both Priest and Victim (vii:27), "once for all" (ix:12) a perfect, eternal atonement for sin - something, through mortality, plurality and sinfulness, the typical priesthood could never do (vii:25) - thereby securing through his own blood "an eternal redemption" (ix:12), a "new Covenant" (ix:15), and opening "a new and

living way" (x:20) into the heavenly sanctuary (ix:24f) where He sits at God's right hand and (x:12) "ever lives to make intercession for us" (vii:25).

This in outline is the primary biblical declaration regarding Christ as priest. A pre-critical approach to scripture in the Victorian era, meant that discourse on Christ's priesthood involved primarily, if not exclusively, faithful exposition of Hebrews. Anglican interpretation is, thus, partly traceable to the history of the exegesis of Hebrews and to the impact of nascent Anglican biblical criticism.

Hand-in-hand with acknowledging Hebrews as prime source of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood go two correlative comments. Firstly, Victorian enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood was fruit of a prior, historical and theological, Anglican view of Hebrews. Circa 1827 Hebrews was widely considered "one of the most important Apostolic Epistles";[13] the work, if not of Paul, then, as Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) held, "of an Apostolic Man filled with the Holy Spirit".[14] Alexander Knox (1757-1831) called it "St. Paul's masterpiece"[15] and an "exquisite portion of Holy Writ".[16] It was adjudged to be, in a particular way, "the key to the Old Testament".[17] Many followed Thomas Scott (1747-1821), the evangelical commentator in believing - "here the great doctrines (are)... stated, proved, and applied to practical purposes, with peculiar animation, energy, and persuasion".[18] For many, though, like Simeon, its presentation of Christ's priesthood was decisive; as he wrote rhetorically -"... who will say that he could have attained from the Gospels, or even from the Mosaic law itself, such clear views of the priestly office of Christ as are set before us in the Epistle to the Hebrews?"[19] Such enthusiasm was not restrictedly Evangelical, though it was a persistent characteristic of Victorian Evangelicalism. Rather, it was a characteristic trait of Victorian religion, with a few notable exceptions.

Here, though, was no new phenomenon. Enthusiasm for Hebrews is a marked characteristic of historic Anglicanism. This was partly product of the Epistle's prominence in the sixteenth century Reformation. It proved an attractive foil to "Romish priestcraft". At Augsburg the Reformers claimed:"Our

cause is primarily founded upon the Epistle to the Hebrews".[20] Martin Luther(1483-1546), for all his later doubts respecting Pauline authorship, pronounced it: "eine feine ausbündige Epistel die vom Priesterthum Christi ausredet".[21] John Calvin (1509-1564), without reservation, called it "an invaluable treasure in the Church".[22] The English translation and commentary by William Tyndale (1499-1536), Prologue to the Epistle to the Hebrews, expressed comparable sentiments.[23] Hebrews is the work of an Apostolic man. Christ's priesthood is proved "with scriptures inevitable".[24] "The meanings and significations of the sacrifices, ceremonies, and figures of the Old Testament" are incomparably unfolded.[25] Against Roman Catholicism he writes:

> "... if wilful blindness and pernicious malice were not the cause, this epistle only were enough to weed out of the hearts of the papists that cankered heresy of justifying works, concerning our sacraments, ceremonies, and all manner [of] traditions of their own inventions".[26]

William Gouge's (1578-1653) magisterial Puritan commentary, published in 1655, perpetuated this tradition of Anglican veneration for Hebrews, by now integral to its doctrine and devotion.[27] Christ's priesthood is "the most usefull and behooffull office" undertaken for man.[28] So, "It becomes us... to be well informed in the mystery of Christ's priesthood, much to meditate thereon, and well to place our confidence upon it".[29] Similar enthusiasm motivated Daniel Whitby's (1638-1726) encyclopaedic Arminian study of 1703,[30] and Bishop George Tomline's (1750-1827) observation: "The most important articles of the faith, and the most material objections to the gospel are answered with great force in this Epistle".[31] Similarly the Caroline scholar William Burkitt (1650-1703) held that, in its teaching on Christ's priesthood, it contained "the great foundation of our faith, and the main hinge whereon all our consolation depends".[32] The Puritan divine John Owen (1616-1683) simply stated -"the natural world might as well be without the sun as the Church of Christ without the Epistle to the Hebrews".[33] Victorian enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood is to be traced to, and partly explained by, a strong historic Anglican enthusiasm for the Epistle to the Hebrews, which transcended partisan theological affiliations.

Secondly, though, in a conservative biblical environment, enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood was not solely dependent on reverence for Hebrews. Hebrews, held by many to supremely endorse the unity of scripture, in presenting the typological fulfilment of Levitical atonement-ritual in the person and work of Jesus Christ, as priest and victim, was thereby also prime agent in diffusing throughout scripture, in conservative exegesis, the antitypical truth of Christ's priesthood. Anglican interpretation is rooted, then, also in the typical pattern of the High Priest's ministration on the Day of Atonement, recorded in Leviticus xvi and xvii. Christ's High Priesthood is interpreted frequently as the antitypical fulfilment of the sacrifice, intercession, and blessing, taught there. This connection is frequently made in exegesis of the Levitical passages. Likewise, Genesis xiv:18-20, with its enigmatic declarations regarding the ministrations of Melchizedek, a priest-king of Salem, Psalm 110's prophetic proclamation of a conquering priest-king "after the order of Melchizedek", and the teaching of Zechariah vi, are also often involved in exposition of Christ's priesthood. The strength of conservative commitment led to its being gleaned from throughout the Old Testament. So, too, in the New Testament: here, again, teaching on Christ's priesthood extends beyond exposition of passages ascribing a priestly or mediatorial ministry to Christ such as John xvii; Romans viii:34; 1 Tim.ii:5; 1 Pet.ii:25; 1 Jn.ii:1f. The crucial consequence is that Anglican enthusiasm for the image of Christ as priest was independent of Hebrews. Also, allegiance to Christ's priesthood was scriptural, but also, through its devotional associations, supra-Scriptural.[34] Bible critics could repeat age-old censures against Hebrews, without impairing Anglican enthusiasm.[35]

2. The Book of Common Prayer

The next most influential factor determining interpretation of Christ's priesthood in the Victorian Church was the Book of Common Prayer. As R.C.D. Jasper has shown, despite early latitudinarian agitation for reform and Anglo-Catholic extra-liturgical devotions, the 1662 Prayer Book was 'vindicated' in the nineteenth century Church.[36] As Jasper states:

> "In spite of its imperfections, it had withstood all attacks; and, because it had stood firm, the doctrinal standards of the Church of England remained unimpaired. It had established itself - to quote Alexander Knox... -as "the decus and tutamen of professional and vital Christianity". All parties professed a loyalty to it, although action sometimes belied the profession".[37]

Three factors produced this situation: first, the commitment of Charles Simeon and the early evangelicals. They were Prayer-Book men.[38] "The Bible first, the Prayer Book second, and all other books and doings in subordination to both", Simeon advised.[39] It was admired as devotional tool and doctrinal teacher.[40] It enshrined the leading Gospel truths. For Basil Woodd it was "a pure and unsophisticated standard of evangelical truth, so combined that no man can duly attend to the service, and remain ignorant of the nature of the Gospel".[41] Secondly, this doctrinal commitment was shared by the original Tractarians. It was, despite some reservations, Keble's alma mater.[42] The Christian Year was expressly constructed to bring the reader's "thoughts and feelings into more entire unison with those recommended and exemplified in it".[43] He confessed in a letter to J. Penrose in 1828, fearing disturbance to people's devotions - "I cannot go along with anybody who wants any material alteration in the Prayer Book".[44] To Alexander Knox, the Irish precursor of Tractarianism, it was "a standard... of doctrine as well as of devotion",[45] and "the pledge of our continuity as a church".[46] Tractarian defence was doctrinal more than liturgical. It did not prevent secessions and liturgical additions. Thirdly, consequent upon, and integral to this Tractarian response, came its 'liturgical' vindication through revived interest in liturgiology in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Ritualist liturgiologists like J.M. Neale(1818-1866) and R.F. Littledale (1833-1890), spoke of its severe devotional limitations, and advocated supplementation from Breviary and Sacramentary. Yet, to Jasper: "those who wished to revise it or supplement it only wished to make it, in their own eyes, a better book and more acceptable to other people".[47]

The Prayer Book shaped Anglican commitment to God and to the Church. The Prayer Book primarily fostered the doctrinal potency of the Church's lex orandi. The Church's prayer was the focus of unity,[48] and anvil of truth.[49]

Christ's priesthood was integral to this perception of the lex orandi, and shaped Anglican understanding of corporate and individual prayer both before and during the nineteenth century. We must trace the roots of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900, as before, to the Book of Common Prayer.

This connection was recognized traditionally, in three ways: firstly, in the liturgical formula ending the Collects, "through Jesus Christ our Lord", or "through our Lord Jesus Christ". Product of the patristic formula "through our (High) Priest Jesus Christ",[50] this phrase was popularly understood as declaring Christ's unique priestly mediation of prayer to the Father, and thus countering Roman Catholic devotion to the mediation of Mary and the saints. Victorian Evangelicals, Latitudinarians, and some Tractarians, echoed the much-beloved Nonjuring Bishop of St. Asaph, William Beveridge(1637-1708), who wrote:

> "...how great an ordinance of public prayer is, and how effectual a means of grace and salvation, especially as it is managed in our church, wherein all our prayers to God are directed to him only in the name of his only-begotten Son, all concluding with these words through Jesus Christ our Lord, or others to the same effect... and every time we meet together to offer up these our spiritual sacrifices, we praise God for every good thing we have, and we pray unto him for every thing we want, that can be good for us. And all this being done only in the name of our great High-Priest, who is always interceding for us, and presenting our prayers to his Father, with the incense of his all-sufficient merits, if we be not failing to ourselves in acting our faith upon him, we can never fail of a gracious acceptance with Almighty God, nor, by consequence, of the manifold blessings that follow upon it".[51]

Wheatly and Mant's popular commentaries on the Prayer Book similarly stressed that Anglican liturgical prayer is exclusively through Christ's intercessory mediation.[52] Wheatly, for example, applying this to the Lord's Prayer, wrote:

> "... it is so framed, that it is impossible to offer it up, unless it be in the name of Christ: for we have no right or title to call God our Father, unless it be through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, who hath made us heirs of God, and joint heirs with himself...".[53]

The persistent prominence of Christ's priesthood in Victorian Anglicanism was due in part to its association with this feature of the historic Anglican lex orandi. Secondly, the important addition to the 1552 Prayer Book - "who made there a one perfect sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world"[54] - was both before and during the nineteenth century, identified with the teaching of

Hebrews on the uniqueness, finality, and perfection of Christ's priestly sacrifice on the Cross. The Epistle provided scriptural justification for this phrase, and it was, in turn, often quoted in the Victorian Church to encapsulate Hebrews' thought.[55] The relation between Christ's sacrifice and the eucharist in nineteenth century Anglicanism is crucial and complex. This phrase contributed materially to the prominence Christ's priesthood achieved in nineteenth century Anglican eucharistic debates. Thirdly, interpretation of Christ's priesthood was shaped by the lectionary. Prior to revision of the lectionary by the Ritual Commission in 1867[56] Anglican congregations were directed to Christ's priestly atonement, from Heb.v:1-11, on the 6th Sunday in Lent. Similarly, Hebrews iv was the reading for Easter Eve. It was eventually replaced by Eph.iv:1-7. Hebrews i:1-4 remained one of the Christmas readings, and others were unaffected.[57]

In popular Anglican consciousness, then, Christ's priesthood was, until 1867 at least, bound to the central Gospel truth of the Easter atoning work of Christ, and was directly associated with the doctrine and devotion of the Prayer Book of 1662. The roots of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood are to be traced, to the Prayer Book and to the power of the lex orandi in historic Anglicanism.[58]

3. The Thirty-Nine Articles

The nineteenth century Church did not vindicate the Thirty-Nine Articles. They were staunchly upheld, to the end of our period, by Evangelicals and conservative Churchmen defending the 'Reformed' character of the Church, because of their overtly Protestant spirit.[59] Against this, some Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic scholars reacted by explicit denunciation,[60] or as in Tract XC, by claiming them to be patent of a broader Catholic interpretation.[61] Latitudinarian scholars found their dogmatic formulation as objectionable as their restrictive theology.[62] But, despite criticism of this feature of the Church of England's historic formularies, the Articles' indirect influence was still considerable. Popular commentaries, such as by Burnet and Browne[63] were prescribed reading for ordination candidates throughout the nineteenth century. Their frequent citation in Victorian exposition of Christ's priesthood, suggests Anglican

interpretation was also influenced by the Thirty-Nine Articles. The Articles initially indicated the protestant parameters of Anglican doctrine and identified features of the Christian faith interpreted by the English Church in a Protestant direction. Victorian Churchmen claimed their official status and historically-conditioned spirit made them never equal to the Prayer Book. If we follow Ensor, though, in seeing the nineteenth century in England as also, more specifically, an Evangelical epoch,[64] we must recognise the continued impact of the Articles on the character and development of the Victorian Church's doctrine and devotion.

The Articles shaped Anglican interpretation at a number of points. Firstly, from Article VI, they legitimated conservative defence of the canonicity,[65] if not Pauline authorship, of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[66] The commentaries endorsed this claim historically.[67] Next, Article XV, verbally echoing Hebrews iv:15, on the sinlessness of Christ, was frequently associated with the wider teaching of Hebrews on Christ, the great High Priest, who is "holy, without spot and blemish, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners".[68] Thirdly, the fourth part of Article II, presenting Christ's death as a sacrifice, similarly occasioned reflection on the typical pattern of the Levitical system fulfilled in Christ's priestly, sacrificial, atoning, sin-offering. Articles XI-XIV,[69] and XVII-XVIII on salvation, were, in an environment sympathetic to, and enthusiastic for Hebrews, similarly patent of association with Christ's priestly atonement. Fourthly, Christ's priesthood was traditionally associated with Article IV on the Resurrection and, particularly, the Ascension of Christ. Of the latter Browne wrote: "The importance of it to us was typified on the great day of atonement, when the High Priest entered into the Holy of Holies once every year".[70] Christ, the "great High Priest", fulfilled that at His entry within the heavenly "Holy of Holies". Pearson's very popular commentary <u>On the Creed</u> similarly related the ascension to Christ's session and intercession, marks and fruit of His completed sacrifice.[71] Fifthly, the teaching of Article XXIII, on ministry in the Church, afforded opportunity for clear affirmation of the absolute uniqueness of Christ's priesthood,[72] or, as in Browne's case, participation in it by human, priestly 'representatives'.[73] Sixthly, Articles on the sacraments, especially Article XXXI,

were frequently associated with Christ's priestly ministry.[74] Burnet's exposition of Article XXXI expatiated on the uniqueness and finality of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice, and affirmed its commemoration in the eucharist, writing,

> "Here are not general words, ambiguous expressions, or remote hints, but a thread of a full and clear discourse, to shew that, in the strict sense of the words, we have but one Priest, and likewise but one Sacrifice, under the Gospel; therefore how largely soever those words of priest or sacrifice may have been used; yet, according to the true idea of a propitiatory sacrifice, and of a priest that reconciles sinners to God, they cannot be applied to any acts of our worship, or to any order of men upon earth".[75]

Finally, Article XXII, 'Of Purgatory', with its disclaimer against 'Invocation of Saints' as "a fond thing, vainly invented",[76] similarly afforded an opportunity to articulate the doctrine of Christ's unique priestly mediation of the Church's worship and prayer. Burnet, for example, cites 1 Timothy ii:5 to Christ's unique mediation of Redemption and Intercession;[77] whilst Browne counters the practice of invocation historically citing Origen.[78]

In our quest for the roots of Victorian interpretation of Christ's priesthood, the Thirty-Nine Articles contributed both by broad definition of those areas in which the image of Christ as priest was customarily adduced in Anglican doctrinal thinking, and by identification of the general thrust of an historic Anglican approach to the doctrine itself.

4. The Church Fathers of the First Four Centuries

Next to scripture, the Prayer Book, and the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Anglican Church has both traditionally and officially venerated the teaching of the Fathers of the undivided Church.[79] At times in its history it has placed varying degrees of emphasis upon patristic scholarship. In contrast to its late-eighteenth century demise, the Victorian era witnessed a remarkable renaissance in Anglican patristic study of East and West.[80] This profoundly shaped Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood. Individuals and parties varied in their emphasis on the theology of individual Fathers or schools of patristic theology. F. D. Maurice(1805-1872), for example, did much to revive study of the Greek Fathers,[81] and E.B. Pusey's (1800-1882) life-long wish was for further study of

Chrysostom and Eastern theology.[82] John Henry Newman, by contrast, responded unenthusiastically to Antiochene thought, preferring that of Alexandria and undertaking a protracted appraisal of the Arians.[83] In addition to works of individual theologians, the century witnessed publication of The Library of the Fathers, and later a select Library of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers.[84]

Traditional interpretations of Christ's priesthood prior to 1827, albeit themselves ultimately shaped by biblical and patristic thought, were exposed to renewed patristic interest, and variously influenced thereby. The major contribution made by patristic scholarship to Victorian interpretation of Christ's priesthood was its legitimation of a wider doctrinal and devotional application of the image of Christ as priest than that immediately sanctioned by the Epistle to the Hebrews. Patristic thought from East and West afforded a rich and diverse tradition, both in terms of biblical exegesis and in relation to christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, sacramental theology, and the theology of worship and prayer. To trace the roots of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900 is to discover afresh the profound impact of patristic thought on Anglican doctrine and devotion at that time.

From the East, Victorian interpretation of Christ's priesthood inherited the popular works on Hebrews by Theodoret (d.c. 458),[85] and Chrysostom (344-407),[86] and the very enthusiasm which prompted early acceptance of Hebrews in the Canon of the New Testament.[87] It learned of the christological application of the doctrine in Clement of Alexandria's Philonic exposition of Christ's 'representative' Headship of humanity[88] and the centrality of Christ's priestly intercession and human mediation both in ante-Nicene christological debates and in Cyril of Alexandria's (d.444), refutation of Apollinarianism.[89] The Arians justified a subordinationist christology from Origen's (185-254), two-fold doctrine of prayer-prayer of a 'secondary kind' being, according to the Contra Celsum, a request to "the logos as High Priest of all the angelic host to convey our prayers to the Father's throne of grace".[90] Athanasius (296-373) responded, claiming the Son to be coequal with the Father, and His mediatorial, High priestly intercession simply expressive of His economic condescension.[91] Whereas among other

Alexandrian writers stressed the Eternal Priesthood of Christ, grounding it in his divinity, Athanasius places greater stress on its location in His incarnate humanity.[92] Cyril, on the other hand, against the Apollinarians and in the spirit of the Church's early liturgies, stressed that as the God-man priest, Christ is the one "by whom, with who, and through whom" the Church worships the Father.[93] From Athanasian and Cyrillian thought Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood inherited the doctrinal belief that He alone is the Divine-Human priestly mediator of the Church's life and worship. Anglican incarnationism, associated particularly with Tractarianism and later Victorian Liberal Catholicism, is also traceable to Eastern patristic roots, deriving marked characteristics therefrom. Hence Christ's priesthood becomes associated not with a particular sacrificial soteriology but the sacerdotal explication of Christ's representative Headship of Humanity. From Philo, Theodoret and Clement of Alexandria in the East this stress on Christ's priestly representative Headship passed into Anglican consciousness.[94] Clear ecclesiological implications accompanied this incarnationist soteriology. Theodoret wrote in his Commentary on Hebrews: "Now Christ is priest ..... not making an offering Himself, but acting as the head of those who offer".[95] An ontological relationship between Christ as priest and His Church is mediated to Victorian thought. He acts in and through His body: the Church offers and is offered in Christ's sacrifice and intercession. As Clement wrote: "The word, by becoming Incarnate, presents us as it were in Himself to the Paternal eyes, that He may commend us to the Father, forgiven".[96] From Clement and Greek thought B. F. Westcott derived his understanding of the intercessory power of Christ's heavenly presence.[97] Furthermore, Victorian writers and their predecessors not only raided Chrysostom's Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews and the writings of Antiochene fathers to deduce that Christ's intercession is supremely expressive of His sympathetic love,[98] but also discovered from De Sacerdotii that priesthood is not solely to be interpreted 'ceremonially' but also 'ontologically' as essentially to do with serving mediation and suffering love.[99] Chrysostom was a popular source in Victorian clerical idealism, also, as teaching Christ's presence in and liturgical

agency through earthly priests.[100] Lastly, a further general aspect of the eastern patristic legacy, was Basil of Caesarea's nascent articulation of Christ's three-fold ministry as prophet, priest, and king.[101]

Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900 drew deep from the rich mine of eastern exposition of Christ's priesthood, and, in so doing, recovered something of the prominence of the great antitypical Melchizedekian priest-king of heaven, characteristic of the doctrine and liturgical devotion of the earlier period.[102]

Anglican interpretation was also inspired by Western patristic teaching. Not wholly dependent on either East or West, Anglican doctrine and devotion between 1827-1900 is full of ambiguities consequent upon a composite theological heritage. There were very few Anglican writers, however, who shared a Western reluctance to acknowledge the full canonicity of Hebrews.[103] Common feelings regarding the importance and antiguity of Christ's priesthood were endorsed by the evidence of sub-apostolic articulation of Christ's priesthood in The Epistles of Barnabas[104] and Clement of Rome (d.101),[105] though the earliest reference to the priesthood of Christ in the Latin Church is found in Tertullian (c.160-222)[106]. From Irenaeus derived the idea of Christ, the Representative and priestly Head of Humanity, whose recapitulation of mankind in His sacrifice and therapeutic incarnation, was the foundation of a new people.[107] Irenaeus also adopted the apocryphal image of a 'heavenly altar' whereon Christ offers the Church's oblations and prayers.[108] The theme afforded assistance to late Victorian Anglo-Catholics when recovering a strong heavenly priestly eucharistic theology. The neo-platonism of Ambrose (340-397), who spoke of the 'reality' of Christ's heavenly priesthood and ministry, afforded an important source for Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic understanding of an earthly image representative of a heavenly reality. As Ambrose classically stated:

> ".....He Himself (the man Christ Jesus), as priest offers Himself, in order to take away our sins, here in image, there in reality, where with the Father He mediates as an advocate for us".[109]

Some Anglicans were attracted to these neo-platonic categories: rather more adopted an Augustinian outlook. Augustine (354-430) more

characteristically called Christ 'that One Mediator',[110] but also identified a clear two-fold ministry in Christ the Melchizedekian priest-king: viz. sacrifice[111] and intercession, and stresses that Christ is priest after the 'order of Melchizedek' in so far as he is man, and mediator, and "not as the offerer of sacrifice".[112] He described Christ as a priestly Head, though here of the redeemed. As he stated: ".....the whole and holy society of the redeemed and sanctified city is offered unto God by that great Priest who gave up His life in so mean a form for us to make us members of so great a head".[113] Christ's priesthood is integral to Augustine's doctrine of corpus Christi recovered by Charles Gore at the end of the nineteenth century.[114] From Augustine, too, came a spiritual definition of sacrifice, (viz. "any work done to keep our league of amity with God, referred to Him as our sovereign good, in whom we may enjoy true felicity"),[115] and a three-fold identification (viz. Old Testament, Christ's, and ours).[116] Furthermore, Augustine established a clear eucharistic connotation for Christ's priesthood, stating that the eucharistic oblation, a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice, responsively iterated in the lives of the communicants, "is everywhere offered under Christ the Priest".[117]

The impact of Western patristic thought on Victorian ecclesiology viz-à-viz Christ's priesthood, is also apparent in the prominence of a Cyprianic and Jeromic approach to ministry among some Victorian High Churchmen. Cyprian (d.258), for example, to the horror of Reformed minds, stated:

> "If Jesus Christ our Lord and God is Himself the great High Priest of God the Father, and first offered Himself a Sacrifice to the Father, and commanded this to be done in remembrance of Himself, surely that Priest acts in Christ's stead, who, imitates that which Christ did, offers a true and full Sacrifice in the Church".[118]

Jerome (c.342-420), on the other hand, stated the principle that the three-fold order of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, mirrored the Old Testament pattern of High Priest, Priest, and Levite, thus reaching to the antitypical fulfilment of the Aaronic High Priesthood both in the person and work of Christ and in the Episcopate.[119] It was from Jerome, too, and the Vulgate translation of Hebrews viii:3-"necesse est quod offerat", - that emphasis upon the heavenly altar came to

be attached to the idea of a heavenly offering by Christ,[120] in a tradition which stressed the inseparability of priesthood and sacrifice. This virtually obliterated a clear distinction between Christ's priestly sacrifice and His intercession for which Augustine had contended. The blurring between the 'eternal efficacy' and 'continuous offering' of Christ's priestly sacrifice was to become a central issue in the eucharistic controversies of the mid-and late-nineteenth century.

Patristic study raised as many questions as it answered; particularly respecting the meaning of 'priesthood', the relation between, and character of His heavenly and earthly ministry, the significance of Christ's priesthood for the individual and corporate worship and service of the Church.

5. The Sixteenth-Century Continental Reformation

If Victorian interpretation of Christ's priesthood reflects a renaissance in Anglican patristic scholarship then it was influenced, too, by the sixteenth century Reformation.[121] Vilified and castigated by Hurrell Froude (1803-1836) as "a limb badly set"[122] and by other Anglo-Catholics set on establishing in doctrine and devotion the 'Catholic' character of the English Church, the Reformers were to some a theological and historical embarrassment. But sixteenth century conflicts were refought in the nineteenth century Church of England. The publication of the Parker Society volumes[123] fuelled Reformed zeal. Reformation principles were promulgated with fresh vigour. Among these, the doctrine of Christ's priesthood was central. Sacrifice and priesthood were central issues in the nineteenth century as in the Reformation.[124] They were integral to a great Reformation doctrinal system of grace, of justification by faith alone, of Christ the end of the Mosaic law, of the believer's free access to God.[125] The Catholic doctrines of a human mediatorial priesthood and the idea of a propitiatory or repetitiory eucharistic sacrifice were anathema.[126] The Reformers turned to Romans and Hebrews: the good news of Christ's High Priesthood and once-for-all atoning sacrifice ignited their enthusiasm for the latter Epistle. As T. W. Manson wrote:

> "..... Reformation theology with its tremendous emphasis on the once-for-allness and complete sufficiency of the mediatorial work of Christ, was not hospitable to the idea of mediation by priests either as a substitute for or as a supplement to what had been done by the great High Priest himself and made directly available to every believer".[127]

The Church of England inherited from the Continental and English Reformers a deep veneration for the office of Christ as priest. The doctrine had received a new lease of life, and a theological or even 'partisan' label. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century it retained distinctive Protestant associations with the Reformation conflict. One fruit of its importance for Victorian Anglicanism was recovery of its Catholic interpretation, to which twentieth century Roman Catholicism bears rich testimony.[128] The roots of Anglican interpretation lie then in the sixteenth century Reformation.

Christ's priesthood was pivotal to Martin Luther's protest against Romish abuses. He wrote fiercely in the larger Commentary on Galatians:

> "St. Paul hotly contends against the Antichrist because the latter abolishes grace and denies the gracious work of Christ our High Priest, who gave Himself a sacrifice for our sins. So to deny Christ means no less than to spit and trample on Him, to usurp His place and say: 'I shall justify and save you'. 'What with?' 'With masses, pilgrimages, indulgences, observance of the monastic rule and the like'."[129]

In Christ's priesthood Luther discovered a truth which so elevated the person and work of Christ as to render Him far surpassing all human dignity and glory, all human work and mercy, all fallible priesthood and fading sacrifices.[130] Such a priest "is not made but born, not ordained but created".[131] In the teaching of Hebrews, expounded by the young scholar at Wittemberg in the critical period April 1517 - March 1518, no reference is made to Aquinas, and Luther confronts the radical entweder: oder dialectic regarding Christ's sacrifice and man's sin, of which the principle iustitia dei passiva was the fruit.[132] He later wrote:

> "One alone must do it, either Christ or my own work. If He is to be our priest, to reconcile us by His sacrifice and intercession and bring us to God, our own sacrifice and work will not do it, just because it is not Christ and His sacrifice".[133]

So Christ's priesthood became a key doctrinal truth, a deep experiential reality,[134] a source of comfort,[135] and a pattern for life.[136] 'Conformitas' to the

'auctor salutis'[137] undergirded Luther's fundamental evangelical belief that, by Him are uniformly all 'kings and priests', as many as believe on Christ,[138] having the priestly prerogative of access to God. Through and by Christ's priestly person and work all Christians, and not a special priestly estate or caste, are priests, except that there is a 'priesthood' with the ministry of preaching.[139] But, for all his indirect influence upon many in the Victorian Church, Luther's direct influence was focussed on the century's closing years,[140] when many evangelicals believed the Reformation struggle must be refought. The dominant continental Reformation influences on Anglican interpretation were John Calvin, Theodor Beza (1519-1605), and Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), for it was Reformed rather than Lutheran, and it was, if anything, more Calvinist than Tigurine. Study of Christ's priesthood confirms "old Bossuet's theme of the infinite divisiveness of Protestantism"![141]

Christ's priesthood was expounded in John Calvin's magisterial Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews,[142] of foundational importance for Anglican evangelical interpretation in the nineteenth century. It was integral to his focal doctrine of a Mediator in the Institutes of the Christian Religion.[143] It was the lynch-pin of his fully-fledged formulation of the triplex munus Christi.[144] For Calvin,"the honour of the priesthood was competent to none by Christ";[145] He alone "partakes of the divine nature"[146] and "put on our nature so that we might have the price of our reconciliation in our own flesh."[147] As the divine-human priest Christ exercises efficaciously the office and prerogative of appearing in the presence of God to obtain grace, and of appeasing His wrath by the offering of a sacrifice which is acceptable to Him.[148] His antitypical priestly ministry is two-fold - an earthly perpetually efficacious sacrifice,[149] the basis of the New Covenant,[150] and an heavenly intercession [151] grounded on that sacrifice. They are "two parts" of one whole.[152] Hence, His appearance in heaven, after His death and Resurrection is called "a powerful prayer for reconciling and rendering the Father propitious to us".[153] A priest was, for Calvin, an offerer of "piacular sacrifice".[154] This has been finally accomplished in Christ as Priest, Victim, and Altar.[155] There are no Christian 'priests' except "in Him", and then only in

name.[156] He jealously guarded the uniqueness of Christ's priesthood. He denounced the impertinence of the papists in making the apostles and martyrs indiscriminately mediators of intercession along with Christ. The eucharistic sacrifice derogated from the finality, unrepeatability, and unrepresentability of Christ's sacrifice.[157] Anglican interpretation reflects also Calvin's pastoral application:

> "Whoever does not know the office of Jesus Christ (as priest) can never trust in God, nor make prayers and supplications; he will always be in doubt and dissimulation. Unless faith comes and shows us the way, it is certain that we shall never have access to God".[158]

Calvinist tradition, potent in early nineteenth century popular devotion, embraced Christ's priesthood as a vital pastoral doctrine, betokening forgiveness, support, sympathy, and access to God.[159] Its attractiveness here ensured its popularity.

Heinrich Bullinger's influence on the English Reformation was considerable. Friend of Bishop Hooper (d.1555) and other Marian exiles, Bullinger's Tigurine Decades[160] were, in 1576, officially recommended reading among English clergy. They expatiate upon Christ as priest. In Him is the "budding of priesthood again",[161] prefigured by Melchizedek[162] but everlastingly and untransmissibly[163] exercised by Christ in His divine and human nature in heaven.[164] There He fulfils what Bullinger reckons, "the proper office of priesthood". He serves in the true tabernacle in heaven. He teaches, intercedes, blesses, offers sacrifice, sanctifies.[165] But Bullinger dilates on this intercession as involving a putting an end to contention.[166] He stresses the heavenly character of Christ's priestly ministry. At times His earthly sacrifice is virtually subsumed beneath the heavenly intercession. "The office of a Mediator touching redemption and intercession is one and the *self*-same",[167] he writes.

> "Therefore not by once offering up hath He redeemed us, being made the alone and only Mediator of redemption; but the everlasting and perpetual Mediator also of intercession, making intercession for us even till the end of the world".[168]

Christ's priesthood is essentially "spiritual" exercised "in heaven and in the catholic church",[169] as its priestly "master and teacher".[170]

Theodore Beza's influence came primarily through his much-respected Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.[171] It was responsible for "liberating Western exegesis from the cramping influence of the Vulgate".[172] To Beza, Christ's priestly sacrifice on earth was complete and finished.[173] The continuously efficacious heavenly intercession was grounded on its merits.[174] Like Philip Melancthon (1497-1560), he interpreted Christ's intercession as applying to men the merits of Christ's sacrifice.[175]

Here, then, is consistency in enthusiasm and variety in interpretation of Christ's priesthood among the Continental Reformers. It was variety, however, in a clear Protestant direction, for the doctrine was central to the protest they levelled against the Church of Rome.

6. The English Reformers

The Parker Society volumes of English Reformation theology influenced Reformed interpretation of Christ's priesthood in the Victorian era. They illustrate the degree to which the original writers had caught continental enthusiasm for the doctrine of Christ as priest. The volumes impress upon the reader the centrality of Christ's priesthood to the English Reformation. The indigenous roots of Anglican commitment to Christ's priesthood may be traced first and foremost to the English Reformers. They did not pursue a common line of interpretation, but they mediated to English religion the Reformation recovery of the radical excellence and eternal efficacy of Christ's unique sacrifice and priesthood.

In the Henrician period Archbishop Cranmer (1489-1556) praised the "honour and glory of Christ's priesthood wherein He admitteth neither partner nor successor".[176] In conflict with Bp. Gardiner (c.1490-1555), Cranmer repudiated a Scotist Roman Catholic view of priesthood[177] -"Because Christ is a perpetual and everlasting priest, that by one oblation made full atonement for sin for ever, therefore, His priesthood neither needeth nor can pass to another".[178] The association here with language proleptic of the Anglican eucharistic liturgy confirms the doctrine's foundational place in Cranmer's theology. The Homily on Salvation elaborates

upon justification, as "the office of God only ... which we receive of Him ... by His free mercy and by the only merits of His most dearly beloved Son", and stresses the importance of Christ's priestly obedience as a condition of His atoning work's efficacy.[179] "We must trust", he continues, "only in God's mercy, and in that sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Son of God, once offered for us upon the cross".[180] This sacrifice is alone propitiatory. Likewise all mass sacrifices were to Ridley (c.1500-1555) "a great derogation of Christ's passion";[181] a continuous death is inconceivable.[182] As Cranmer stated, "either they must needs make Christ's sacrifice, vain unperfect, and insufficient or else is their sacrifice vain".[183] His exposition of Christ's priesthood is motivated by positive affirmation of the radical excellence of that office and negative denunciation of a presumptuous human sacrifice or priesthood. He declared it "an abominable blasphemy to give that office or dignity to a priest which pertaineth only to Christ".[184] He wrote of Christ's "one oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient, sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world", and upheld in the Collects His unique mediation of intercession. Christian sacrifices are only gratificatory "sacrifices of justice, of laud, praise and thanksgiving."[185] Christ's priesthood was central to Cranmer's doctrine and devotion. Reformed Anglicanism followed Cranmer's example. The Church as a whole perpetuated his enthusiasm in a pervasive commitment to, at least, the fundamental image of Christ as priest.

Cranmer's contemporaries and successors perpetuated Reformation devotion to Christ's priesthood in theological treatise and polemical tract. His chaplain, Thomas Becon (c.1513-1567), declared: "Christ is an everlasting priest: and His priesthood is everlasting",[186] but, with Reformed zeal and linguistic inexactitude, continued "so likewise is His sacrifice everlasting ... in full virtue and perfect strength".[187] Reformed teaching on the 'everlasting' or 'heavenly' sacrifice of Christ was product both of eagerness to stress the "everlasting" efficacy of that sacrifice, and of the effective subsumation of Christ's sacrifice in His heavenly intercession recognized in Bullinger. Terms were later more defined but here are the roots of an important feature of Reformed Anglican

interpretation of Christ's priesthood.[188] Becon shared Cranmer's protectiveness towards Christ's unique mediation of prayer, writing in The Sick Man's Salve:

> "Whosoever, therefore, refuseth to pray unto this man Christ Jesus, to be His Mediator and Advocate unto God the Father, and fleeth unto other , without all doubt he is an enemy unto Christ ... for since the time of his ascension his chief and principal office is to be our Intercessor, Mediator, and Advocate".[189]

Christ's priesthood is not explicitly mentioned, but the terminological variations signify the same office.[190] Similarly, in The Solace of the Soul, we see the pastoral purview of Reformed enthusiasm:

> "Put away all fear ... there is no cause why thou shouldest fear the fierce and straight judgement of God. Christ Jesus is a Mediator before God: the same is an advocate, yea, and thy patron, defender, bishop and priest".[191]

Other contemporaries shared Cranmer's conviction. Miles Coverdale (1488-1568) iterated Beza's formula - "the true, only and chief priest".[192] To John Jewel, (1522-1571) protestant controversialist, "Christ only is that priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek ... being God and Man".[193] Alexander Nowell's (c.1507-1602) officially recognized Catechism of 1570 echoed Reformation teaching, presenting Christ as:"The greatest and everlasting priest, which alone is able to appear before God, only able to make the sacrifice which God will allow and accept".[194] In these early formulations Christ's priesthood is both christological designation, indicative of Christ's two natures and soteriological declaration of His atoning work. So Nowell teaches in an Irenaean manner, that,"Christ, our head, hath carried with Him our flesh into heaven".[195] John Bradford, (c.1510-1555) Martin Bucer's friend, applies Christ's sacrifice "once made by Himself on the tree" against Roman Catholic teaching on the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass (and Baptism) for atoning actual sins. Christ's is "the full and propitiatory sacrifice ... never more to be reiterated and done again, for that signifieth imperfection".[196] Affirmation of Christ's priesthood was popularly regarded as a foil to derogation of His person and work, of His once for all eternally efficacious sacrifice and unique mediation of prayer in and through His sacrifice. This conviction ran deep in Anglican consciousness through to the nineteenth century.

Later English Reformers followed Cranmer applying the doctrine to issues of human priesthood and eucharistic sacrifice. Christ's priesthood, John Hutchinson (1674-1737) said, "made an end of all the Levite's priesthood", ... "yea, and of all other priesthood, save that which belongeth to all christian men".[197] John Jewel echoed Hutchinson, rejecting a Scotist incursion into Christ's priestly prerogatives by a human sacerdotium.[198] Ordained ministers, he declared, "are called to the ministry of the saints, to the edification of the Body of Christ, and to the repairing of the Church of God".[199] Christ's priesthood overturned human priesthood but afforded a clear pattern for ministry. As the Ordinal made clear, both receive a divine 'call'.[200] Christ's declaration 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost', and not merely church tradition, was reckoned the pattern to be followed. As Archbishop John Whitgift (c.1530-1604) later wrote: "Surely if any pattern either in calling or ordaining ministers is to be followed, this of Christ is to be followed especially".[201] Even liturgical retention of the word priest appears affected by Christ's pattern of ministry, even though its non-hieratic signification and presbuteral derivation were affirmed.[202] From the first, English Reformation ecclesiology was alive to the truth of Christ's priesthood.[203]

The Edwardine and Elizabethan Reformers were equally clear that the fact of Christ's priesthood, as much as His sacrifice, was dishonoured by a propitiatory eucharistic sacrifice. John Bradford maintained:

> "..... the mass is a most subtle and pernicious enemy against Christ, and that double, namely, against his priesthood and his sacrifice. His priesthood is an everlasting priesthood, and such an one as cannot go to another. But the mass utterly puts him out of place".[204]

Nowell's Catechism similarly implicated Christ's priesthood in refutation of a eucharistic sacrifice, grounding his argument in the truth of Christ's "only and everlasting sacrifice" as the eternal Priest.[205] So, "For us there is nothing left to do but to take the use and benefit of that eternal sacrifice bequeathed to us by the Lord Himself, which we chiefly do in the Lord's Supper".[206] Jewel articulated an Augustinian response to the eucharist, against Harding's eucharistic application of a continual heavenly oblation by Christ of His sacrifice. Jewel's reply to such a position was,

> "Certainly our sacrifice is the very body of Christ, and that for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech, evermore standing in God's presence, and evermore obtaining pardon for us; not offered up by us, but offering us up unto God the Father".[207]

Christ's priesthood is pivotal to the doctrine and devotion of the English Reformers. Its foundational position established then in Anglican religion was little affected by the theological vicissitudes in later centuries, though periodically its interpretation underwent changes which the Reformers could not have sanctioned. The indigenous roots of Anglican devotion to the image of Christ as priest are to be traced to the Reformers. From them ultimately derived a vibrant sense of the primacy of Christ's unique priesthood and mediation, which was a dominant feature of Anglican thinking in Protestant and Catholic wings of the Church through to the nineteenth century.

7. Hooker

Richard Hooker (1553 - 1600) was architect and exponent of the Elizabethan ecclesiastical principle of 'comprehension'. His Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity illustrates a position Christ's priesthood occupied in much subsequent Anglican thinking. There were always those in the Church, who, for whatever reason, explicitly stressed Christ's office as priest. Others like Hooker, uncompromising in commitment to it, assumed its truth without articulating their commitment at length. Christ's priesthood is treated neither prominently nor lengthily in the Ecclesiastical Polity. What references there are indicate its implicit importance for Hooker. His concern for Church government and his comprehensive purpose may have moderated his use of it, especially if, as we have suggested, its early history in the Church of England was attached to a distinctive Protestant outlook. His treatment is still markedly Reformed. Hence he writes:

> "...in truth, government doth belong to his kingly office, mediatorship, to his priestly. For, as the high priest both offered sacrifice for expiation of the people's sins, and entered into the holy place, there to make intercession for them: so Christ, having finished upon the cross that part of his priestly office which wrought the propitiation for our sins, did afterwards enter into very heaven, and doth there as mediator of the New Testament appear in the sight of God for us."[208]

A further clear allusion to the doctrine confirms the degree to which Christ's priestly intercession imbued the Anglican lex orandi with a strong sense of Christ's incarnate humanity.

> "...taking to himself our flesh, and by his incarnation making it his own flesh, he had now of his own although from us what to offer unto God for us.// And as Christ took manhood that by it he might be capable of death whereunto he humbled himself, so because manhood is the proper subject of compassion and feeling pity, which maketh the sceptre of Christ's regency even in the kingdom of heaven amiable, he which without our nature could not on earth suffer for the sins of the world, doth now also by means thereof both make intercession to God for sinners and exercise dominion over all men with a true, a natural, and a sensible touch of mercy".[209]

An early Anglican emphasis on Christ's incarnation is here associated with Christ's priesthood: it was a relation to bear rich fruit in the nineteenth century Church. In Hooker we find Christ's priesthood embedded in the marrow of the established Church. For Hooker Christ's priesthood and sacrifice were unique. This rendered these offices, in Hooker's celebrated opinion, now "no part" of the Church's life and ministry. Christ's priesthood here came to exercise a function, noticeable in later usage, whereby it served to affirm Anglican orthodoxy and counter what was considered contemporary heresy. To this two-fold function a third was later added - catalyst to creative theological reflection . Each was product of what became an indigenous Anglican devotional commitment to the image of Christ as priest.

8. The 'Caroline' Divines

The roots of Victorian interpretation can also be traced to the seventeenth century Caroline divines. From this source Anglican interpretation derived many of its Catholic characteristics. To the Caroline divines Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic writers turned for inspiration and justification of their High Church principles. The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, gathered, edited, and disseminated many of the Carolines' works. They upheld Tractarian claims to the Catholic heritage of the Church of England. Their writings were popularised in the Catenae Patrum of the Oxford Tract writers. The prominence of Christ's High Priesthood in the writings of men like Andrewes, Bull, Beveridge, Bramhall,

Cosin, Hall, Hickes, Jackson, Laud, Ken, Taylor, and Wilson came thereby to exert a potent Catholic influence upon Victorian interpretation and application of the doctrine.

The controversial and, at times, diffuse nature of Anglican interpretation between 1827 - 1900 is product of its historically-determined dual nature: deriving from both Protestant and Catholic traditions of interpretation from within the same Church. In the history of Christ's priesthood in Anglican doctrine and devotion we see classically embodied the historic tensions consequent upon the Church of England's via media theological and ecclesiological stance; source, at times, of bitter controversy and yet catalyst of fruitful interaction. In Anglican devotion to the image of Christ as priest we see the crystallization under pressure from this tension of a beloved doctrinal gem in the historic Anglican lex orandi.

Christ's priesthood inheres in Caroline affirmation of High Anglican, Church principles: that is, of episcopacy as of the esse of the Church, of sacraments as channels of divine grace and of the eucharist, variously interpreted, as sacrifice as well as sacrament, as 'offering' as well as 'gifts of grace'. It is employed in its 'official' sense to designate particular characteristics of Christ's mediatorial 'person' and 'work'. It is associated with an Anglican type of clerical idealism, and corporate and individual devotion. Caroline theology was instinct with patristic thought. The Carolines inherited from them their multifaceted application of the image, and many of their distinctive interpretative variations, frequently articulated in opposition to Protestant Puritanism.

'Caroline' has an extended meaning determined by theological more than strictly historical criteria.[210] It includes Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester (1555 -1626), whose life and writing was a principal agent in formation of the distinctive doctrinal and devotional aspirations of Caroline Anglicanism.[211] Avowedly anti-Calvinist, employing high sacrificial language of the eucharist, and fostering ceremonialism in worship antithetical to Puritan simplicity, Andrewes personal devotional manual Preces Privatae is an Anglican classic.[212] Christ's priesthood is a recurring theme in his writing. His reply to the Roman Catholic

scholar Robert Bellarmine, Tortura Torti, rejects Papal claims to be Pontifex Maximus, declaring Christ Pontifex Magnus.[213] A human priest is not Vicarius Christi.[214] "The whole ministry of the New Testament was at first invested in Christ alone".[215] He has antitypically fulfilled the Aaronic priesthood in His sacrifice of Himself.[216] But, though King and Priest, neither order is, on this account, abolished.[217] In his eucharistic theology Andrewes followed Augustine speaking of the eucharistic offering not of Christum in capite but Christum in membris. Christ is the only Mediator and the Church's life, worship, prayer, and sacrifices, are offered through and in Him.[218] He is, as Andrewes stated in his beloved Preces Privatae, or 'Devotions for the Fourth Day', "in His sitting, to appear and intercede".[219] Like many of his non-Puritan contemporaries Andrewes reverenced the theological and devotional system of the Book of Common Prayer. He reflects its stress on Christ's unique priestly mediation and the finality, albeit commemoratively represented in the eucharist, of His atoning sacrifice, whereby we partake in His Incarnation.[220] Andrewes' esteem in the nineteenth-century made his approach to Christ's priesthood both accessible and influential for Anglican 'Catholics'.[221]

A different and yet more influential treatment is by the ex-Puritan Caroline divine, Thomas Jackson (1597 - 1640), Dean of Peterborough, "one of the most widely esteemed of Caroline divines down to the middle of the nineteenth century".[222] Christ's priesthood received extended treatment in Book IX of Jackson's twelve volume Commentary upon the Apostles Creed.[223] The influence of platonic and patristic thought is clear. Christ is "destinated" priest during his earthly life.[224] His Melchizedekian priesthood begins at the resurrection; it is "the day wherein the dignity of priesthood is actually collated upon Him".[225] As Melchizedekian priest, His ministry consists "only in the dignity of authoritative blessing",[226] whereby He communicates "the virtue and efficacy of His everlasting sacrifice unto our souls".[227] His language belies his Reformed Puritan origins. Fusing Reformed enthusiasm and High Church principles in his exposition of Christ's priesthood, Jackson occupies a primary place in accounting for the doctrine's prominence in 'High' Anglicanism and in historic Anglican tradition per se.

Christ's priesthood was integral to the Catholic yet Reformed character of Caroline theology. Jackson placed particular stress on Christ as "the everlasting priest",[228] the grace and efficacy of His atoning sacrifice, which fulfilled the Mosaic system, being ever mediated to the Church and believers through the sacraments.[229] His sacrifice, of infinite value and eternal efficacy,[230] atones for original and actual sin, though disparaged by Romish doctrines of Baptism and the eucharistic sacrifice. Jackson's presentation of Christ's everlasting priesthood in heaven opposes the Church of Rome. Defence of the honour of Christ's priesthood became as much a feature of Caroline as of Reformed theology. This protectiveness towards Christ's priesthood is a mark of the nineteenth century school which venerated Jackson's work. The volumes of the Anglo-Catholic Library provide a significant commentary on the impact of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood on Caroline christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, and sacramental theology. They make the fact of a nineteenth century reawakening of Anglican consciousness to its rich heritage in the doctrine of Christ as priest the more explicable.

Caroline christology was Reformed in exposition of the divine-human mediatorial character of Christ as priest. So it is presented, for example, in Of the Church[231] (1610), an apologetic defence of the Church of England against Rome, by Richard Field (1561 - 1616), Dean of Gloucester. Reformed teaching on Christ's pre-existent role as Mediator is fiercely attacked, though, in Bishop William Forbes (1585 -1634) of Edinburgh's erudite Considerationes (posth. 1658).[232] Caroline tradition was as composite as that of the Reformers. The christological association with Christ's priesthood is nevertheless a clear theme. Isaac Barrow (1630 - 1677), the mathematical Cambridge divine, associated it directly with Christ's incarnate humanity in two sermons 'On the Incarnation'. He stated:

> "It was requisite that He should be man, that He might atone for the sins of men; that He might become our High Priest and Intercessor; that His doctrine and example might be more intelligible and imitable; that His judgement might be more tolerable, and He apt to screen us from the insupportable presence of God".[233]

Christ's priesthood reflects Caroline patristic incarnationism and exemplarism. Its stress on the accessibility of the incarnate Christ as priest in heaven afforded a foil ultimately to deistical notions of a distant transcendent deity, and extreme Roman Catholic devotions to the sympathetic Blessed Virgin Mary.[234] The association between Christ's priesthood and christological orthodoxy was clearly established, too, through Bishop George Bull's (1634 - 1710) citation of evidence in his celebrated Defensio Fidei Nicaenae (1685).[235] It became prominent, also in the 'specific' Anglican piety of the Nonjurors,[236] with its "overestimate of the priestly office, and the institutional conception of the Church",[237] as Yngve Brilioth records critically. Against the background established hitherto, we can see this as a further expression of an emergent indigenous Anglican tradition. Bishop Beveridge wrote, free of any latent Socinianism,[238] in a sermon 'Christ a Saviour before His Incarnation':

> "I place the priesthood first, because the other were founded upon that; for if he had not first, as a Priest, offered up to God a sufficient sacrifice, whereby to make atonement and reconciliation for the sins of mankind, he could not, as a Prophet, have revealed the will of God unto them, nor, as a King, have ruled and governed them according to it: for these are such mercies that mankind would not have been capable of;..."[239]

Victorian Anglicanism did not inherit covert Socinianism. It did inherit a preparedness to ascribe primacy to Christ's office as priest - a fact to bear significant fruit in late-nineteenth century Anglican christology.

Caroline theology ascribed atoning efficacy to Christ's priestly sacrifice offered on the cross. They placed great emphasis upon Christ's heavenly pleading of the merits of His earthly sacrifice. This line of interpretation received strong reaffirmation in William Outram's (1625 - 1679) De Sacrificiis.[240] The second dissertation, 'The Sacrifice of Christ', is prefaced by a lengthy discourse on the nature and reality of Christ's priesthood.[241] Outram's exposition of Christ's priestly ministry as earthly oblation and heavenly pleading, explicitly refutes the very Socinianiam noted above. It counters Faustus Socinus' negation of Christ's priestly sacrificial death and affirmation of the impropriety of calling Christ's advocacy and presentation of His oblation on behalf of men the exercise of His

sacerdotal office.[242] It rejects Crellius' subsumation of the kingly and prophetic offices beneath the priestly.[243] Outram's work was republished in the early nineteenth century as a timely counterblast to Unitarian neo-Socinianism.[244] Caroline writers, as William Beveridge makes clear, generally interpret Christ's priestly intercession as offering up to God in Heaven His own Body and Blood sacrificed upon the cross.[245] Intercession and redemption are inseparable in Christ's priestly ministry for His Church; such mediation could not pass to another. Tractarian and later-Tractarian theology did not legitimately inherit from their Reformed Catholic Caroline predecessors any tradition contrary to Anglican stress on the unique priesthood and intercession of Christ.

Christ's priesthood is significantly upheld not only in those articles of Caroline faith, broadly speaking held in common with Reformed tradition (viz. christology and soteriology), but also in those over which they most fiercely quarrelled (viz. ecclesiology and sacramental theology). Central to Caroline thought was the Church as a visible and invisible divine community of which Christ was head spiritually and the monarch nationally. Their understanding of sacerdotal spiritual authority depended both upon the agency of an apostolically-commissioned episcopacy and upon the present, dynamic, activity of Christ as High Priest in and over His Church. They rejected on this basis papal claims to supremacy and adopted an essentially Scotist doctrine of the ministry. Following Duns Scotus consciously or unconsciously, priestly power was ascribed to human agents in His Church in an essentially 'representative' (though still real) way. Here was no absolute delegation, no vicarial sacerdotium. Rather, as George Herbert (1593 - 1633), archetypal poetic Anglican scholar-saint, wrote in his influential clerical manual A Priest to the Temple or The Countrey Parson (1652);[246] a pastor is someone who acts "in Christ's stead", as His "deputy..... for the reduction of man to the obedience of Christ".[247] So, he stated:

> "Out of this chartre of the priesthood may be plainly gathered both the dignity thereof and the duty: the dignity, in that a priest may do that which Christ did, and by His authority and as His vicegerent; the duty, in that a priest is to do that which Christ did, and after His manner, both for doctrine and life".[248]

Qualifying this further, he wrote in his poem 'The priesthood':

> "When God vouchsafeth to become our fare,
> Their hands convey him, who conveys their hands".[249]

Herbert inculcated into Anglican clerical idealism pastoral perspectives on priesthood and recognition of its christological basis and example. A tradition committed to Christ as priest not surprisingly understood priesthood per se not so much as "the offering of sacrifice", that work Christ had performed, as imitation or representation of His priestly, pastoral life of self-sacrificing service. This life Caroline figures, like Herbert, Bishop Ken, William Law, Bishop Wilson, epitomised. It was to them Keble and Pusey returned for inspiration. It was from them they derived their strong christological perspective on ministry.

Christ's priesthood also came to occupy a distinctively prominent position in Caroline sacramentalism. As human priests were ministers of Christ, so they were effective organs of divine grace. Caroline theology embraced the 'sacramental principle'.[250] It harmonised its use with enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood. Caroline eucharistic and baptismal theology is grounded in belief in Christ's dynamic priestly ministry in heaven and in His Church.[251] A noteworthy expression of this was Jeremy Taylor's (1613-1667) interpretation of the eucharist as representative of Christ, the eternal Priest's perpetual offering, or presentation,of His sacrifice in heaven.[252] In Taylor's influential view,Christ's earthly sacrifice is a perfect offering, and "because it was perfect, could be but one and that once".[253] On the basis of the Vulgate translation of Hebrews viii:3, he held that ".....it is necessary to have something to offer so long as He is a priest," to which office He was "designed for ever" but "consecrated on the cross". So, in The Worthy Communicant, he wrote: "It follows that Christ in heaven perpetuatally offers and presents that sacrifice to His Heavenly Father, and in virtue of that obtains all good things for His Church".[254] Taylor's thought has Ambrosian features. It also bore a marked resemblance to the Roman Catholic eucharistic theology of the French school of Olier, De Condren and Thomassin.[255] Taylor denied a propitiatory sacrifice in the eucharist, in sympathy with the view advanced by Bramhall that: "They are not the Protestants, but the Romanists who

pare off the pith of Christ's heavenly priesthood, who daily make as many propitiatory sacrifices as there are masses in the world".[256] Taylor's stress on Christ's heavenly priesthood expressed his desire to honour that office and not derogate from it. Taylor is not the source of Anglican emphasis on the heavenly priesthood of Christ (pace Ramsey),[257] but a Caroline perpetuator and interpreter of an emphasis characteristic of English thought from the Reformation.

Taylor was not unique in this association between the eucharist and Christ's priesthood. It was a prominent feature of Caroline theology. Daniel Brevint's (1616-1695) The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice (1673)[258] iterates this prominence. Christ is "eternal priest" and "eternal Victim" - His sacrifice "ever fresh" in heaven.[259] In the eucharist there is a sacramental, non-material, commemorative sacrifice of Christ,[260] and a real, actual 'sacrifice' of ourselves in an ethical mortification, conforming us to Christ's total self-giving to the Father.[261] To follow Him, as priest, and join with Him,the Church must

> ".....take upon them all the preparations, the course of life, and the like dispositions of mind, which were seen in this blessed Melchisedek, when he presented himself to God. To this effect, the faithful worshipper, presenting that soul and body which God fitted him with at his coming into this world, will lay them down at the altar".[262]

Victorian interpretation of Christ's priesthood inherited a dynamic sacrificial and ethical eucharistic theology from the Caroline fathers, moulded by commitment to Christ's office as priest.

From the Caroline divines, then, the roots of High Anglican interpretations of Christ's priesthood can also be traced. Victorian High Churchmen looked back to the Golden Age of the Carolines, as Evangelicals did to the Reformers. Both alike inherited a strong, though at points conflicting, adherence to the truth of Christ's priesthood, as expressive of Anglican doctrine and devotion. Analysis of the doctrine's role, content, and significance between 1827 - 1900 is set against recognition of its historic significance for the Church of England prior to 1827. The Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Early Fathers, the Reformers, the Caroline Divines, all contributed to the mosaic of Anglican interpretation between 1827 - 1900.

This Introduction must finally consider historically-determined features of nineteenth century interpretation, more immediately product of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, in order to create a doctrinal and devotional terminus a quo for the remainder of the work.

II

The Priesthood of Christ and the Diversity of Anglicanism prior to 1827

Circa 1827 we find it claimed that Christ's priesthood is "a subject of the most delightful meditation",[263] a "foundation stone"[264] of the Christian faith, and so well-known that few could ignore it.[265] One scholar justified exposition of Christ's prophetic office on the basis that His priesthood had already been "illustrated in all the branches of its sacrificial and intercessory duties with a particularity due to its primary importance".[266] A critic bemoaned the "unwarranted stress" placed upon it by some of his contemporaries.[267] What lay behind this enthusiasm? Of what was it product? Who were the critics?

1. The Early Evangelicals

Anglican interpretation of, and enthusiasm for, Christ's priesthood in the early nineteenth century was largely conditioned by an inherited Reformed approach. At the outset, the Evangelical party, - with their "simple worship and spiritual religion",[268] their mildly Calvinist theology, devotion to the Bible, the Prayer Book, and the English Reformers, their enthusiastic proclamation of a Gospel of the sinner's salvation from condemnation by personal faith in the atoning work of Jesus Christ,-exerted the greatest spiritual influence on the Church of England.[269] Headed by Simeon in Cambridge, their influence was effected by faithful parochial ministry, powerful popular preaching, self-denying acts of bravery and philanthropy, inculcation of a disciplined pursuit of personal holiness, rigorous missionary zeal, and a profound 'brotherly' affection among leaders and lead. Historically heir, to a lesser extent, of Puritanism and, to a greater extent, of the Evangelical Revival, Anglican Evangelicalism was a diverse

yet dynamic force, effective not through ecclesiastical eminence but diligent parochial preaching and pastoring. Theirs was a position established not from the lecture room but from the pulpit, not by persuasion of the mind but firing of the heart. 'Feeling' became a theological principle in the doctrine of assurance. Evangelical religion perpetuated an inherited Reformed devotion to Christ's priesthood.

The doctrine's place and interpretation circa 1827 and thereafter was in no small measure due to its centrality to early Evangelical religion. This centrality was heir of Puritan perpetuation of the cruciality of Christ's priesthood to Protestant faith and life. Richard Baxter's (1615-1691) moderate Reformed outlook had esteemed the priestly mediator, and commended His example to pastors.[270] Archdeacon Mason's (1566-1621) classic Protestant defence of the Church of England reasserted the dignity of Christ's unique sacerdotium, against the Church of Rome.[271] William Gouge supplied an extended Calvinist exegetical defence of Christ's priesthood, stating that - "All the benefits that flow from Christ's office and passive obedience, from His Death and Sacrifice, from His Buriall and Resurrection, from His Ascension and Intercession, are fruits and effects of His Priesthood".[272] Commenting on Christ's heavenly ministry in Hebrews viii:3,4, he wrote: "... though Christ's Priesthood was an externall act begun on earth, yet the continuation, consummation, and full accomplishment of it all is in heaven".[273] Therefore, "Such an office, so excellent, so needfull, so useful to us as Christ's priesthood is, cannot but require much duty from us".[274] Archbishop Leighton of Glasgow (1613-1674), a very different seventeenth century figure, reverenced by early Evangelicalism, stressed the ecclesiological implications of Christ's priesthood, commenting on 1 Peter ii:4f:

> "As they (Christians) are living stones built on Him into a spiritual temple, so they are priests of that same temple made by Him (Rev.i:6). As He was after a transcendent manner, temple, and priest, and sacrifice, so, in their kind, are Christians all these three through Him; and by His spirit that is in them, their offerings through Him are made acceptable".[275]

The most influential Puritan work was John Owen's (1616-1683) Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews (1668-1674).[276] Sometime Vice-

Chancellor of Oxford University, and Vicar of Coggeshall, Essex, Owen's sustained exegetical critique of Socinianism, was republished in 1813 to counter its early nineteenth century revival. His critique had four elements:

1. This appearance of Christ in heaven is nowhere called His oblation, His sacrifice or His offering of Himself.
2. It in no way answers the atonement that was made by the blood of the sacrifices of the altar.
3. The supposition of it utterly overthrows the true nature of a proper and real sacrifice.
4. It overthrows the nature of the priesthood of Christ. [277]

Owen believed Christ's 'High Priestly prayer' at the Last Supper the beginning and exercise of His priestly office .[278] As priest after the order of Melchizedek, established by divine oath, He overturned a legal priesthood.[279] Believing there can be no sacrifice where there is no priest ,[280] Owen interpreted Hebrews viii:3,4, as nevertheless indicating that "His oblation was to be on earth, but the continuation of the discharge of His office was to be in heaven".[281] So, against the Socinians he wrote:

> "we plead only Christ to have been a priest, and offered sacrifice on the earth, quoad ἱλασμον as to propitiation, or the expiation of sin; granting on the other side that he is still so in heaven quoad ἐμφανισμον, as to appearance and representation".[282]

His intercession, "the second act" of His sacerdotal office , after His session, "compriseth the whole care and all the actings of Christ, as our High Priest, with God in behalf of the Church",[283] and renders acceptable all the worship of the Church in their approaches to Him. [284] Owen's classic exposition stands alongside Beza and Calvin as leading Protestant defences of Christ's unique earthly sacrifice and dynamic heavenly ministry as only, true, mediatorial Priest. The Victorian Church inherited Owen's solemn warning:

> "The doctrine concerning the priesthood and sacrifice of the Lord Christ hath in all ages, by the craft and malice of Satan, been either directly opposed or variously corrupted; for it contains the principal foundation of the faith and consolation of the church, which are by him chiefly maligned".[285]

Late-Victorian Evangelicalism was likewise motivated by a spirit of Protestant fear and zeal.

Early nineteenth century Anglican Evangelical interpretation also drew deeply from the diverse Evangelical witness of the eighteenth century. Thomas

Scott (1747-1821), for example, the popular Evangelical commentator, expounded Hebrews in The Holy Bible (1788-1792).[286] His sources included the Independent John Guyse, the nonconformist Philip Doddridge, the Scottish Baptist Archibald McLean, and the Scottish Presbyterian James Macknight. Though divided bitterly on many issues, Anglican Evangelicalism shared with Nonconformists enthusiasm for Hebrews and the centrality of Christ's priesthood to Evangelical faith. 'External' affinity challenged and encouraged many Evangelicals in the Church of England. The works of John Pye Smith, (1774-1851) the Independent scholar, for example, were a stimulus to early nineteenth century Anglican Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.[287]

The early leaders of Anglican Evangelicalism John Fletcher (1729-1785), Henry Venn (1725-1797), William Romaine (1714-1795), and John Newton (1725-1807), who sought a revival of reality in religion and personal faith in God, were early associated with the Wesleyan revival and especially with George Whitfield. They sang and preached the doctrine of the atoning sacrifice and eternal intercession of Christ as priest. John Newton, ex-slave trading Calvinist preacher and co-author with William Cowper of the celebrated Olney Hymns, summarises well their understanding of Christ's priesthood, in a sermon 'On Searching the Scriptures':

> "Christ, the high priest of our profession, offered himself a sacrifice without either spot or blemish: he entered with his own blood within the vail, to the immediate presence of our offended God; and through him peace and goodwill is proclaimed to sinful men. He continues still to exercise the other part of his appointment; he makes continual intercession for his people; he presents their prayers and imperfect services acceptable before the throne; he gives them confidence and access to draw nigh to God; and he bestows upon them those gifts and blessings which are the fruits of his sufferings and obedience".[288]

"These old truths",he declared in another sermon,'The Intercession of Christ', "are always new to those who love him, and are the food by which their soul lives".[289] A message of salvation, hope, comfort, he wrote, "This powerful and abundant intercession abundantly compensates for the poverty and narrowness of our prayers".[290] Newton viewed Christ's intercession, as B.F. Westcott later did,as: "His presence there (in heaven), in our nature, with the marks of his sufferings

from us, as the Lamb that has been slain, an unceasing, virtual intercession on our behalf".[291] Though unashamedly untheological, early Evangelicalism was replete with astute theological insight. Through sheer commitment to Christ as priest it plumbed the depths of spiritual devotion in a disarmingly simple way:

> "Jesus, my Shepherd, Husband, Friend,
> My Prophet, Priest and King,
> My Lord, my life, my way, my end -
> Accept the praise I bring".[292]

The Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century was foundational for nineteenth century Anglicanism. Its veneration for Christ's priesthood bore remarkable fruit.

Early nineteenth century Evangelicalism was a hybrid phenomenon. It inherited the Calvinistic Olney Hymns of Newton, Cowper, and Isaac Watts (1674-1748)[293], and the Arminian Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley, published in 1745.[294] Favoured more by late-Victorian Anglo-Catholics, they reflect Wesleyan commitment to the doctrine of Christ as priest, and their eucharistic reinterpretation of it in an Ambrosian, or even Protestant, understanding of Christ's heavenly sacrifice. As Darwell Stone noted, they

> "...give devotional expression to belief in a spiritual communion with the body and blood of Christ by means of the reception of the Sacrament, and in a sacrificial commemoration of the death of Christ in union with His pleading of His sacrifice in heaven".[295]

The Wesleys' High Church sacramentalism and sacrificial understanding of the eucharist ill-accorded with Evangelical religion echoing rather the position of Brevint.[296] Their stress was on the Church in the eucharist "presenting with our Head" as He pleads His sacrifice in heaven.[297] Their hymns were proleptic of later Tractarian and late-Victorian eucharistic application of Christ's eternal pleading of His sacrifice in heaven.[298] As John Wesley wrote:

> 1. "O THOU eternal Victim, slain
> A sacrifice for guilty man,
> By the eternal Spirit made
> An offering in the sinner's stead,
> Our everlasting Priest art Thou,
> And plead'st Thy death for sinners now.

2. Thy offering still continues new,
Thy vesture keeps its bloody hue,
Thou stand'st the ever slaughter'd Lamb,
Thy priesthood still remains the same,
Thy years, O God, can never fail,
Thy goodness is unchangeable."[299]

Christ's priesthood was, through Evangelical recovery of hymnody,[300] deeply embedded in Anglican devotion, as a cardinal article of its historic lex orandi.

Christ's priesthood was, then, a leading article of Evangelical religion circa 1827. We discover Thomas Scott, to whom Newman held he owed his soul,[301] simply stating:"All good things past, present, and to come, were and are founded upon and flowing from the priestly office of Christ".[302] Evangelicalism espoused the biblicism which venerated Hebrews as 'key' to the Old Testament, its inner superiority putting "the Divine inspiration of it beyond doubt".[303] Yet, "every part of scripture was intended to honour... our glorious High Priest and Saviour",[304] Scott wrote. His priesthood illuminated Evangelical christology: to be a priestly Mediator He must be perfectly God and perfectly Man.[305] As God, His priesthood perfectly fulfilled the Aaronical and Melchizedekian types;[306] as Man, His priestly sympathy was, and is, perfect,[307] rendering Him, as Wilberforce stressed against the transcendentalism of the Deists, an accessible and intelligible deity.[308] The doctrine illuminated Christ's perfect once-for-all priestly sacrifice and eternally efficacious heavenly intercession. As William Goode enthused,

> "...Christ Jesus, the great High Priest of our profession! This, it must be acknowledged, is one of the most glorious characters of the Redeemer; most glorious to himself in his Mediatorial undertaking, and most important to every returning sinner in the work of salvation. It is only as we view the blessed Jesus in this respect, that we can behold the fullness, the perfection, the acceptance of his work, or have confidence of our own acceptance upon our return to an offended God".[309]

At times Evangelicals ascribed 'primacy' to Christ's office as priest, in the triplex munus. A reviewer of C.R. Sumner's (1790-1874) The Ministerial Character of Christ (1824) wrote appreciatively - "Against forgetting that His office of prophet was subordinate to His office of priest, Mr. Sumner has wisely cautioned his readers".[310] But Bishop Henry Ryder's (1777-1836) Primary Charge (1816) exhorted his clergy - "Exalt Him in all His offices of Prophet, Priest, and King - in all His manifestations of love - in all His exhibitions of power."[311] In 1820 Isaac Milner

(1750-1820), foremost Evangelical scholar and Dean of Carlisle, warned, as "a point of immense importance" that, "no man is in Christ, who is content at looking at one or two of His offices, and who feels no need of a third".[312] Evangelical tradition encompassed disagreements about the nature and extent of Christ's covenant, about the doctrine of 'double decrees', about the extent of Christ's priestly intercession. Some Calvinists held He prayed only for the elect in His Church, whilst other Arminians believed He interceded for the whole world - His prayer being coterminous with the foundation of Christ's offer of salvation to mankind at large. All agreed that the Book of Common Prayer's liturgical formula "through Jesus Christ our Lord" taught that He alone was High Priest of the Church, man's mediator and sole intercessor with the Father, and that Roman Catholic 'invocation of saints' dishonoured Christ.[313] His priestly sacrifice and intercession were held to define the spiritual character of the Church's worship, which, to Scott "... brought the Church to its highest state of liberty, and its worship to the most entire spirituality, of which its condition in the world admits ".[314] Hence, "No further change shall now take place in the priesthood, or the worship of the Church, by any future revelation from God."[315]

Despite interpretative variations, a dominant Evangelical spirituality made enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood a hallmark of early Victorian religion.

2. Orthodox Churchmen and 'New Orthodoxy'

The doctrine's place in 'orthodox' Anglican circles, also contributed to making it an important article of Anglican religion. Circa 1827 the 'orthodox' party dominated the higher échelons of the Church. It was the 'High Church' party in its 'High' view of the Established Church and of the Church-State connection. This was the Conservative 'High and Dry' Churchmanship of Georgian Anglicanism. Its reactionary antipathy to change (preferring to leave the status quo in 'dignified sameness')[316] and deep-seated suspicion of enthusiasm (abhorring the intensity of popular evangelicalism), were fuelled by the atheistic barbarity of Parisian, revolutionary sans-culottism. 'Pittite' clergy were eager to repress "dangerous ebullitions of popular feeling"[317] and preserve the "old-fashioned order"[318] of a

punctilious, unflorid, Prayer-Book observance, and a studiously sober, mild sacramentalism, against Evangelical and Roman Catholic alike. There was,in men like John Keble's father, and particularly in the 'new orthodoxy' of Alexander Knox (1757-1831), Joshua Watson (1771-1855), Thomas Sikes of Guilsborough (1767-1834), Archdeacon Daubeny (1744-1827), "more quiet and effective religion"[319] than negative generalisations sometimes suggest. Yet, "religious torpor", "theological stagnation" and "worn out" orthodoxy doubtless also existed circa 1827.[320] In this traditional Anglicanism, too, Christ's priesthood was revered. As John Hunt rightly observed, Church of England theology was "that of St Augustine moulded and formulated by Calvin".[321] In Daubeny's Guide to the Church, a student of Church life and theology is exhorted to draw from patristic and Caroline theology,"... as from a store well-furnished with information upon all matters of doctrine and government."[322] Christ's priesthood was adduced in the foundations of Anglican orthodoxy. It was caught up in orthodox attempts to perpetuate more than reinvigorate Anglican tradition.

This studied conservatism is seen in the variorum technique used in the quasi-official orthodox Bible commentary by George D'Oyly and Richard Mant, chaplains to Archbishop Manners Sutton.[323] Tomline and Burkitt's enthusiasm for Hebrews is cited as reflecting a traditional Anglican view.[324] The compilers raid acknowledged Anglican authorities to expound Christ's priesthood. Hooker's christological application, for example, expounds Hebs.ii:17,18;[325] whilst Beveridge comments on x:14, with Prayer Book resonances:

> "The Apostle hereby gives us to understand, that our High Priest, by the one oblation of Himself once offered, was a complete propitiation, or hath made sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; so that we need no other sacrifice but that, whereby to obtain the remission of our sins, and to make reconciliation for us."[326]

D'Oyly and Mant's Commentary is significant for the method it employed and popularity it enjoyed.[327] It effectively disseminated a profoundly orthodox historic Anglican commitment to the image of Christ as priest. Its emphasis was less on the ecclesiological and sacramental implications of the doctrine,as in later Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic thought, and more on its christological and

soteriological application, particularly against Roman Catholic veneration of other mediators;[328] and the figurative reinterpretation of Christ's sacrifice in neo-Socinian Unitarianism.[329]

Other eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century traditions shaped 'orthodox' views of Christ as priest.

One important product of the eighteenth century was the eucharistic thought of Daniel Waterland (1683-1740), republished in his edited Works by Van Mildert in 1823.[330] Waterland, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and later Archdeacon of Middlesex, wrote extensively on the Divinity of Christ, the Trinity, and Deism, but his Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist (1737) was admired by the nineteenth century for its scholarly review of patristic and Reformation theology, and its eucharistic doctrine.[331] Waterland struck a balance between a High sacramental and sacrificial view of the Real Presence, held by Thomas Brett (1667-1744)[332] and other Nonjurors, and the minimising view of Socinianism, Deism, and Evangelical 'memorialism' or 'virtualism'. The place Christ's priesthood occupied in Waterland's theology is crucial: a prominent theme in his Review and scholarly Archdiaconal Charges (1738-40), Waterland called it "a complicated office".[333] To Waterland the priesthood of Christ, the divine-human mediator, is two-fold: the antitypical fulfilment of both the transient priesthood of Aaron, in atoning for sin, and of the everlasting priesthood of Melchizedek, in 'permanent' application or distribution of the fruit of that atonement through intercession.[334] In Christ as priest, altar, sacrifice, Head of the Church, "We have all" we need.[335] From "our own excellent liturgy", Waterland observed,

> "... we never ask remission on account of any expiatory sacrifice but Christ's alone; never conclude our prayers (no, not even in the Communion service) through the sin offering of the Eucharist, but through Jesus Christ our Lord: that is, through his merits, solely and immediately, and his sacrifice, not through any sacrifice of our own".[336]

Waterland upheld Christ's priesthood as a characteristic feature of the Anglican lex orandi.

In Distinctions of Sacrifice Waterland distinguishes between an 'active' and a 'passive' sacrifice of Christ as priest; 'active' as once offered, 'passive' as participated in,"sometimes symbolically, as in the two Sacraments; and at other times, by faith only and a good life".[337] Christ's intercession is grounded in His active sacrifice. This distinction undergirded Waterland's application of Christ's priesthood to ecclesiology and sacramental theology. He embraces a Scotist view of Christian priesthood, with Christ the priest still acting towards God on behalf of the whole Church.[338] He is its heavenly Mediator, the "recommender" of its worship and prayer, the celebrant at its eucharists. As he wrote,

> "It is he that now sanctifies the symbols, as he then did, and, as it were, presides over our Eucharistical services, making the bread to become holy, which before was common, and giving the true food to as many as are qualified to receive it, along with the symbolical; that is, giving himself to dwell in us, as we also in him."[339]

"Evangelical priests", the Church's ministers, are empowered to offer up the Church's "spiritual sacrifices" and communicate God's gospel grace to mankind.[340] Following Jeremy Taylor, he also interpreted the eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice, imitative of Christ's heavenly action as priest. "Christ's offering Himself above", he wrote, "is rather commemorating a sacrifice, than sacrificing: and our doing the like below, is but an imitation even of that, so far is it from sacrificing either the signs or the things signified".[341] Christ's priesthood, it may be said, determines Waterland's eucharistic and ecclesiological stance not vice versa. Victorian Anglicanism inherited thereby a clear and determinative application of Christ's priesthood to the Church's ministry and eucharist from him.

Eighteenth century 'deism' concerns us primarily as provoking Joseph Butler's (1692-1752) incomparable conservative and scholarly defence of 'Revealed Religion', The Analogy of Religion (1736).[342] Required reading among Oxford undergraduates in the early nineteenth century, the Analogy informed the philosophical basis of Tractarian sacramentalism.[343] It is a crucial source for understanding Victorian religion. It repudiated the deistic transcendentalism of men like Herbert of Cherbury, Locke, J. Toland, A. Collins, and M. Tindal, who

advanced belief in an omniscient and transcendent Creator God unsullied by further interventions in His creation, as taught in Revealed Religion, Divine Providence, Miracles, and a 'reliable' Bible.[344] Such rationalism rejected a Mediator, and an atoning sacrifice. Christ's priesthood was crucial for Butler's defence of both. "There is not," he wrote, "I think, anything relating to Christianity which has been more objected against than the mediation of Christ in some or other of its parts".[345] But, in Book V, Butler argued that Levitical priesthood and sacrifices were merely 'types' of divine 'originals'. Christ's mediation was integral to God's eternal will.

> "The priesthood of Christ," he wrote, "and the tabernacle in the mount, were the originals;... The doctrine of this epistle (Hebrews) then plainly is, that the legal sacrifices were allusions to the great and final atonement to be made by the blood of Christ, and not that this was an allusion to those."[346]

As prominent in historic Anglican doctrinal and devotional consciousness, it is not surprising that Butler should depend upon Christ's priesthood and defend it in this way. The triplex munus Christi is, he claims, the "usual" way of articulating Christ's role as Mediator, and priestly offerer of a propitiatory atoning sacrifice.[347] He admits ignorance of the punishment from which man is remitted and the means whereby that is effected.[348] Maintaining man is not judge, he repudiates objections to "any part of Christ's mediatorial office revealed in Scripture, till it can be shown positively not to be requisite or conducive to the ends proposed to be accomplished, or that it is in itself unreasonable".[349] Christ's priesthood is integral to Butler's defence of Revealed Religion. It is foundational to God's relation to His creation and embodies the mystery of man's salvation.

From the New Orthodox party, High Church Anglicanism inherited the doctrine's direct implication in a theological and practical recovery of Anglican clerical idealism. The New Orthodoxy of the 'Hackney Phalanx' is rightly seen as proleptic of Tractarianism.[350] It recovered the High Church principles of the Carolines, stressing:- i)sacramentalism in the realm of nature and of faith; ii) Church, episcopacy, and priesthood as Divine Institutions necessary to the esse, not merely to the bene esse, of the Christian community; iii) tradition, via the Vincentian Canon (quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus) as, with scripture,

determinative of Christian faith and truth; and, iv) the Prayer Book as the Church of England's "pledge of continuity" and standard of faith and devotion.[351]

So, Charles Daubeny described the Church, as not an arm of "the establishment", "not a creature of the fancy, deriving an imaginary existence from the whim and caprice of man, but a settled and permanent establishment, the work of Divine Wisdom".[352] Surrounded by pluralism, non-residence, nepotism and clerical irreligion, Thomas Sikes of Guilsborough wrote in 1812, inspired by the example of Herbert, Ken and Law and the true spirit of Adam Bede or the better of Jane Austen's clerics: "If the sacred character and divine authority of the Christian Priesthood were correctly understood, it would greatly conduce to the prevention of those many divisions, which at present distract the Christian Church".[353] Apostolical Succession and a ministerial priesthood are articuli stantisque cadentis ecclesiae. Christ's priesthood is integral to their ecclesiology. They were heirs of the Nonjurors, nurtured on Thomas Brett's The Christian Priesthood (1711), and The Christian Altar and Sacrifice (1713),[354] and George Hickes' Two Treatises on the Christian Priesthood (1707).[355] Christian priesthood was originally performed by Christ and is now derivatively or representatively fulfilled by his earthly ministers. "The whole Ministry of the Church," Sikes wrote, "was at first exercised by our Lord Himself. He was on earth its first Pastor and Bishop."[356] "The Clergy,"... he maintained, "from the Bishop to the lowest Pastor, stand in Christ's stead (that is, as vicarial agents) in all religious acts whatever".[357] Clerical idealism countered the accusations of the Black Book and Extraordinary Black Book of John Wade[358] and William Wilberforce's (1759-1833) Practical View.[359]

The place of Christ's priesthood in this idealism is evident in Hugh James Rose's (1795-1838) The Commission and Consequent Duty of the Clergy, four discourses delivered at Cambridge in 1825.[360] Rose was a scholarly pre-Tractarian High Churchman, acquainted with German theology and host to the Hadleigh Conference at the start of the Oxford Movement. He bemoaned the low view of human priesthood entertained by clerical and lay folk alike, observing sadly "...little feeling, that as it confers on them (viz. clergy) a higher character

and additional privileges, so it requires from them the sacrifice of personal wishes and convenience, and the fullest devotion of their time and their talents, and their whole heart, their whole mind, and their whole strength".[361] Christ's call to the priesthood is to be echoed in all those deriving their priestly ministry in an unbroken succession of power and office from the Apostles themselves.[362] His present priestly activity is such that He "so connects Himself with it (earthly priesthood)", that, Rose declares, "we shall assuredly receive from Him the assistance, the aid, the countenance, and support we require in all that we faithfully undertake in the discharge of our office".[363] Echoing Herbert, he writes:

> Our best knowledge and our highest eloquence are the instruments by which He works, but it is He, and He alone who is the workman; He alone sows the seed here below, He alone visits it with the genial dew and sunshine, He alone brings it to the harvest-time above".[364]

New Orthodox, High Anglicanism promulgated a strong christocentric clerical idealism in which the present, dynamic activity of Christ as priest and pastor in His Church was crucial.

Evangelical and orthodox Anglican tradition circa 1827 contributed towards making Anglicans aware of their historic allegiance to the doctrine of Christ as priest. The enthusiasm with which the doctrine was upheld was also due to fierce criticism prior to 1827. Criticism came from inside and outside the Church of England. To create a terminus a quo we must also examine the sources and character of this criticism.

3. Some early 'Latitudinarians' and 'Liberals'

There is a long history of Latitudinarianism in the Church of England. The desire to remain in the Church of England whilst sitting light to dogma, organisation and liturgy, has often featured in an avowedly comprehensive Church. The Cambridge Platonists, in the mid-seventeenth century, pursuing a middle path of 'comprehension', between the High Church and Puritan parties, esteemed a mystical neo-platonic view of reason.[365] Gilbert Burnet was a late-seventeenth century Latitudinarian.[366] In the mid-eighteenth century Christ's priesthood was

challenged by the enigmatic Latitudinarian scholar Anthony Ashley Sykes in a series of studies: An Essay on the Nature, Design and Origin of Sacrifices (1748), A Paraphrase and Notes upon the Epistle to the Hebrews (1755), The Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption of man by Jesus Christ (1756). The first work, in contrast to contemporary thought, began discussion of sacrifice in etymology and religious life in general,and not in Christ's antitypical sacrifice.[367] In the work on Hebrews, he denied (again contra Butler) that "the legal sacrifices were allusions to the great and final atonement to be made by the blood of Christ", claiming,

> "St Paul never says that the Levitical Priesthood was a Type of the Priesthood of Christ, nor that the Priesthood of Christ was the Original... It is no more than a Shadow compared to a solid Substance. There is indeed some resemblance; but it is so faint, so small, so trifling a one, that it can't be considered as the very Image or even just Portraiture".[368]

"Type", he held, had to be intended: "likeness" was insufficient.[369] Applied to Christ, His priesthood must be heavenly (pace Socinus) and not earthly.[370] In The Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption, a doctrine of 'expiatory' or 'equivalent' sacrifice by Christ as priest,[371] to appease God's wrath, gives place to a 'moralist', Abelardian interpretation, in which the phrase "to offer Himself for the sins" is taken to mean,

> "... not to give himself an expiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of Mankind, but to present himself before God,as having done his Will upon Earth, having preached Remission of Sins through Faith, and assured Mankind of an eternal Inheritance, having reconciled them to God."[372]

Taylor's Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement (1751)[373] followed Sykes. It was countered in James Richie's A Criticism upon Modern Notions of Sacrifices (1761). This mid-eighteenth century debate was proleptic of the later criticism of Benjamin Jowett and Matthew Arnold almost exactly a century later.[374]

In the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries fiercest criticism of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice came from the neo-Socinian Unitarianism of Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), Thomas Belsham (1750-1829), Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808) and other English Unitarians. Denying Christ's Divinity, the Unitarians fiercely attacked the teaching of Hebrews i, by many contemporaries deemed a

bastion against Arianism.[375] The foundation of a mediatorial priesthood was attacked. Socinianism became synonymous with heresy of any variety. Affection for Hebrews and Christ's priesthood resented Priestley's estimation of Hebrews iv as "not particularly edifying",[376] and his claim that in Christ's priestly office "we find more of imagination than of judgement".[377] Similar reactions accompanied the claim that,"... there is nothing in all the writings of this apostle that is more open to objection than his reasoning concerning Melchizedek".[378] Thomas Belsham and Archbishop Newcome aroused similar antipathy for relegating Hebrews to biblical ἀντιλεγομενα and holding it "quite impossible that such writing and reasoning should have any claim to inspiration".[379] St. Paul, Belsham argues, "never carries his allegorical writing to that great, and I had almost said extravagant extent in which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews indulges himself."[380] Critical equally of Hebrews, priesthood, and the notion of Christ's expiatory atoning sacrifice, the Unitarians contributed directly to toughening conservative defence of the time-honoured image of Christ as priest.

The advance of Continental 'Higher Criticism' of the text of the Bible opened the way for English minds to see Hebrews as less a foundational pillar of Reformed theology and more a shakey piece of non-canonical, sub-apostolic Hellenism! Bishop Herbert Marsh of Peterborough (1757-1839), Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1807, was in the fore-front of English biblical criticism, translating from the German J.D. Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament (4 Vols. 1793-1801), in which the Epistle's Apostolicity and thence canonicity were impugned.[381] Just as we noticed earlier attacks on Hebrews did not necessarily threaten conservative veneration for Christ's Priesthood, so it is that we must later consider how the depth of Anglican devotion to Christ's priesthood did itself contrariwise motivate defence of Hebrews.[382] This is certainly in the mind of Moses Stuart who prefaced his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews with the statement:

> "The ordeal to which...(it) has been subjected by wild and extravagant hypotheses of some of the master-spirits of Germany, rendered it a matter of imperious necessity that it should be submitted to a fresh and full investigation."[383]

We shall return to the impact of biblical criticism on Anglican interpretation after 1827 in Chapter VI. Clearly the nineteenth century roots of a biblical debate surrounding this doctrine may be traced to this earlier period.

One scholar who did much to foster the development of Anglican critical studies was the poet, theologian, and philosopher, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834). Dubbed 'Father of the Broad Church Movement'[384] for his primarily Kantian view of the ethical foundation of Christianity and hope for a broad-based reunification of Christendom, Coleridge was a massively influential agent of integrating a romantic idealism into the stuff of English religion.[385] His advocacy of a literary approach to Bible reading as to any other book, his suspicion of a metaphysically-based dogmatism,[386] and espousal of pragmatic tests of the veracity of Christianity, influential as they were on later scholars like J.C. Hare, F.D. Maurice, and Charles Kingsley,[387] combined with his frustration with the constraints of Protestant orthodoxy, might suggest he, too, was antithetical to Christ's priesthood and Hebrews. In fact, he appears to have venerated both. Hebrews was, he believed, the work "of an Apostolic Man filled with the Holy Spirit"[388] intended to correct those 'bedazzled' by the splendours of the Old Order.[389] His enthusiasm for Hebrews is matched by his view of Christ's priesthood. As he wrote in Aids to Reflection (1825):

> "Do you rejoice when the Atonement made by the Priest has removed the civil stain from your name, restored you to your privileges as a Son of Abraham, and replaced you in the respect of your Brethren? - Here is an atonement which takes away a deeper, worser stain, an eating Canker – spot in the very heart of your personal Being!... Here is a Sacrifice, a Sin-offering for the whole world: and an High Priest, who is indeed a Mediator, who not in type or shadow but in very truth and in his own right stands in the place of Man to God, and of God to Man; and who receives as Judge what He offered as an Advocate."[390]

Coleridge's reaction is significant: as much a comment on his own basal conservatism as that of those who followed him. The image of Christ's priesthood fired an imagination pantheist in spirit and yet pragmatic in outlook.

Christ's priesthood is not found to be a rigid doctrinal theme in nineteenth century Anglicanism, but a flexible image, potent in its very malleability, popular in its identifiability with a stance which was at once Christian (as against Jewish)

and Protestant (as against Catholic). To many Latitudinarians it was a remarkably attractive image.

Circa 1827, as we shall see further in Chapter IV, Oxford Latitudinarianism was dominated by the'Noetics'of the Oriel Senior Common Room, and powerfully influenced young Fellows like J.H. Newman, Hurrell Froude, and John Keble, soon to be in the forefront of Tractarianism. The same conservatism discovered in Coleridge, viz-à-viz Christ's priesthood, is also discovered among the Noetics. For Blanco White (1775-1841), the individualist convert Spaniard, for example, the 'father', or 'grandfather' of Victorian Latitudinarianism,[391] it proved an imcomparable combative weapon to denounce the Roman Catholicism of his forebears. In his Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism (1825) and The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery (1825), Blanco White inveighs against 'invocation of saints' as one of the main points of divergence between the two Churches.[392] The rationalism of the Noetics did not preclude their enthusiastically embracing the image of Christ as priest. As we shall see in due course, it was a feature of their fierce anti-Romanism and a factor in their devout Anglicanism. They contributed an important Anglican dimension to the mosaic of Latitudinarian responses to Christ's priesthood circa 1827.

Interpretation and application of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900 can be traced, then, to a rich and diverse heritage both from within and without the Church of England. As we have come to see through consideration of the Evangelical, Orthodox and Latitudinarian antecedents of Anglican interpretation prior to 1827, there is much to suggest that our period begins with many Anglican writers sensitised to an historic Anglican commitment to the doctrine of Christ as priest. In subsequent chapters we must examine the way, between 1827-1900, Anglican writers, preachers, and lay-folk, responded to this inheritance.

PART I

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

CHAPTER I

The Priesthood of Christ in the Doctrine and Devotion of the Oxford Movement 1827 - 1845

Though Anglican interpretation of, and enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood in the early nineteenth century was largely conditioned by an inherited Reformed approach, we begin examination of the period 1827-1900 by consideration of the 'Catholic' tradition of enthusiasm for the doctrine in the Church of England in the Oxford Movement. The importance of the 'High Church' Oxford or 'Tractarian' Movement, for the revival of the Anglican Church in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, can scarcely be exaggerated. It has been described as "a phase of the Romantic movement",[1] and "a chapel in the great unfinished Cathedral of the Romantic Revival";[2] as of a decisive importance for English religious life[3] and "a very original and characteristic phase of English tradition";[4] as "the greatest movement of religious thought in the nineteenth century, not only in England but elsewhere"[5], and, as Horton Davies has written - "If the Evangelical Revival was the most significant religious movement in the English nation in the eighteenth century, the Oxford Movement was the most important factor in the deepening of the religion of the English Church in the nineteenth".[6] Recent celebrations accompanying the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of John Keble's Assize Sermon, 'National Apostasy', in July 1833, from which Newman, with candour and humility, dated the Movement's beginnings,[7] have served to heighten awareness of the Movement's importance. It forms an obvious, but complex starting-point.

This chapter traces the role, content, and significance of Christ's priesthood in the doctrine and devotion of the Oxford Movement from the publication in June 1827 of Keble's devotional anthology The Christian Year - which Newman also called the fons et origo mali![8] - to his own secession to Rome in October 1845. Between these years we discover Christ's priesthood to have been a recurrent motif in Tractarian writing and preaching. This fact has not been adequately treated in secondary studies. The primary material is

fragmentary: its interpretation and application of Christ's priesthood somewhat diffuse. Its evaluation is problematic: its interest considerable. A composite analysis of Tractarian interpretation of Christ's priesthood discloses the image's importance for their ecclesiological, christological, soteriological, and sacramental reflection. It confirms the persistence of an inherited Anglican commitment to the image, with unity in enthusiasm being matched by diversity in detailed interpretation. It enables us to identify recovery of High Anglican devotion to this doctrine, and the creation of a doctrinal ground-plan of interpretation and application upon which the weighty edifice of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic interpretation was constructed. Tractarian interpretation is an important starting-point for subsequent study: important through its relation to Tractarianism; important too, for its repercussions outside the Church of England. In this chapter we focus particularly on the views of John Keble (1792-1866), John Henry Newman (1801-1890), Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882) and Hurrell Froude (1803-1836), leading figures in a movement most profitably interpreted as variously motivating individuals.

The recurrence and significance of Christ's priesthood in Tractarian doctrine and devotion is partly accounted for by reference to certain basic presuppositions of the Oxford Movement.

Firstly, Christ's priesthood was a recurrent motif because Keble and other leaders of the Movement sought an "Anglican revival".[9] Tractarian utilisation of the image of Christ as priest perpetuated its place in historic Anglican doctrine and devotion. In the late 1820's and early 1830's, the Church of England appeared to many in the words of William Palmer, "challenged from without and within".[10] Staunch Churchmen feared a pervasive reforming erastianism in governmental spheres. Traditional 'establishment' views of Church-State relations were under severe strain. In Repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, (1828) in Catholic Emancipation, (1829) in Lord Stanley's Church Temporalities Bill (1833), which sought to suppress ten Irish bishoprics, leaders of the Oxford Movement saw the rights of the established Church invaded.[11] These Keble's Assize Sermon sought to defend.[12] The Oxford Movement was, in the words of Lyra Apostolica, responding

to "the ruffian band/Come to reform where ne'er they came to pray".[13] From "without", too, came the challenges of Non-conformity, and Roman Catholicism. When the Oxford Movement came, it was, as R.W. Church observed, "anti-Roman as much as it was anti-sectarian and anti-erastian".[14] "The air grew thick with apprehension".[15] Tired evangelicalism, declining clerical professionalism, rampant pluralism, cynical liberalism, such, the leaders believed, were signs of decay "within", which motivated them "to rouse the Church from its lethargy and to strengthen and purify religion by making it deeper and more real".[16] To Newman the Oxford Movement was a conscious reaction against "the dry and superficial character of the religious teaching and literature of the last generation or century".[17] But in this he, his Tractarian contemporaries, and sympathetic historians, perhaps blacken the years preceding to brighten the Movement's glory.[18] A sense of Anglican continuity, however, motivated Keble and the Movement's early leaders:

> "When we were awakened the Revival... was wholly from within." Pusey claimed. "We did not open a Roman Book. We did not think of them. ... We had all which we wanted within our own Church. We had the whole range of Christian doctrine, and did not look beyond, except to the Fathers, to whom our Church sent us".[19]

Historic Anglican adherence to the image of Christ as priest was brought to the fore in what was initially, at least, an 'Anglican Revival'.

Secondly, Tractarianism was preeminently "a movement of the heart",[20] concerned with the Church's lex orandi, and Christ's priesthood was adduced as a cardinal article of the historic lex orandi of the Church of England. From the outset the Oxford Movement was concerned with the spiritual content of the Church's corporate and individual worshipping life. It was expressly a spiritual "movement of religious piety",[21] "a movement for deeper religion",[22] inculcating in its adherents "self-devotion to a serious life".[23] In its formal sphere the leaders of the Movement were deeply influenced in their perception of the antiquity and meaning of liturgy by the lectures of Dr Charles Lloyd in Oxford in 1823, disseminated widely through William Palmer's Origines Liturgicae (1832).[24] They learned to value the Book of Common Prayer, as Alexander Knox, the

prescient Irish precursor of Tractarianism, had done before them, as "a standard of doctrine as well as of devotion".[25] Tractarianism, through the principles enunciated at the Hadleigh Conference, became synonomous, like moderate establishment evangelicalism, with devotion to the Book of Common Prayer.[26] Through this, and through antiquarian liturgiology,[27] which confirmed Tractarian belief in the Catholic antiquity of the Church of England, the leaders of the Movement were sensitized to the cruciality of Christ's priesthood to Christian devotion. In its spiritual idealism nascent Oxford Tractarianism shared with Evangelicalism a pursuit of "holiness".[28] A certain "continuity of piety" initially exists between the parties.[29] Esteeming religious 'feeling' and 'experience', Tractarianism eschewed Evangelical individualism, Roueaussist sentimentalism,and enthusiasm.[30] Tractarian religion commended a reserve and sobriety compatible with the mysteries of faith, and the humanistic piety of the Caroline Divines.[31] Self-discipline, duty, service, and sanctity were Tractarian virtues, and the source in their understanding of fides formata.[32] They recovered to Anglicanism the Benedictine tenet of worship as Opus Dei, and enjoined daily prayer and (initially) regular, and (later) daily, eucharists. As a characteristic feature of both the liturgical forms and spiritual content of Anglican devotion, Christ's priesthood was brought to the fore in this "movement of the heart".

Christ's priesthood was, thirdly, a recurrent motif in a movement which stood for a revival of "mediated religion". The christological language and imagery of priesthood was entirely compatible with Tractarian emphasis upon the "sacramental principle" and the "Church system". Newman defined "the sacramental principle" as "the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen".[33] Avowal of this principle was nurtured by a Tractarian platonism, employing the language of earthly 'types' and 'symbols', and heavenly 'ideas' and 'antitypes', familiar to readers of Hebrews; by a Butlerian education, which interpreted the created order as both a moral system and evocative parable of God's action through a mediator;[34] and by the 'Lake Poets' romanticism, indigenising a continental sense of creation's mystery

interpreted by the poet, and reality's penetrability revealing an invisible, supernatural order beyond.[35] John Keble articulated its Christian form:

> "When round Thy wondrous works below
> My searching rapturous glance I throw,
> Tracing Thy wisdom, Power, and Love,
> In earth, or sky, in stream or grove".[36]

Schooled and inspired by "the sacramental principle", the Movement's leaders turned readily to the image of a priest mediating between the heavenly and earthly realm, interceding "within the veil" of the heavenly tabernacle. "The sacramental principle" was harnessed to Tractarianism's advocacy of "the Church system". They sought to defend the Church of England practically and theologically. Following their Caroline forebears they saw the Church of England initially as the via media Church composed of Protestant and Catholic elements, and claimed its Catholic antiquity in the undivided Church of the first four centuries. Venerating Apostolic Christianity they stressed the spiritual character, independence, divine institution, and sacramental nature of the Church, its Apostles, bishops, priests and sacraments. In contrast to eighteenth century individualism it affirmed the corporateness of religion and faith. The Oxford Movement was a Church movement, in the Church and for the Church.[37] The subject of 'Priesthood' was in the Oxford air of the 1830's. Christ's priesthood coinhered in Oxford Tractarianism's revivification of "mediated religion".

Finally, Christ's priesthood was a recurrent motif in Oxford Tractarianism's advocacy of "the dogmatic principle".[38] As a cardinal article of Apostolic, Anglican Christianity, Christ's priesthood informed their interpretation and application of His person and work. Against, on the one hand, a rationalistic Liberalism or Latitudinarianism, which misused reason, eschewed revelation, and canonized private judgement, and, on the other, a sentimental evangelicalism, which replaced revealed doctrines by "a certain state of heart", Tractarianism stood for a solid, objective, orthodox, historical, definable corpus of revealed dogma. Tractarianism was "first of all an appeal to history".[39] The historical element in doctrines was crucial to their perception of "the dogmatic principle", which Newman defined as the belief that "the Gospel faith is a definite deposit - a

treasure, common to all, one and the same in every age, conceived in set words, and such as admits of being received, preserved, and transmitted".[40] The very antiquity of the image of Christ as priest, and its historic place in Apostolic Christianity, justified its inclusion in a Tractarian dogmatism nurtured in extensive patristic study.

Behind their patristic studies and avowal of "the dogmatic principle", was Tractarianism's quest for authority in religion.[41] This authority they found neither in reason, though they admired a right use of it, nor in experience, though they longed for spiritual depth, nor even in the Bible, though they approached it with a conservative veneration, which reckoned Hebrews Pauline (or at least Apostolic), but in the Apostolic faith and traditions of the Church. "Primitive tradition" was at the foundation of Tractarian thought.[42] They copied the mystical, allegorical, typological interpretative techniques of patristic exegesis,[43] in and through which Christ's priesthood assumed a new prominence.

It has been claimed the Tracts were practically devoid of theology, that the Movement's theological impact is greatly exaggerated, that it was "a movement of the heart more than of the head", - even by some who also articulate "the theology of the Tract writers", and "the mind of the Oxford Movement".[44] The place Christ's priesthood assumed in Tractarian religion, through direct application of the "dogmatic principle", reflects an important element in Tractarian theology, and thence in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic religion. However, its true significance, as we shall see, lay in the interaction between doctrine and devotion, between the lex credendi and lex orandi, in Tractarian thought, to both of which Christ's priesthood was crucial. Here, as throughout Victorian Anglicanism, the potency and prominence of the image of Christ as priest lay in its harmonisation and creative integration of the lex orandi in lex credendi.[45]

The place Christ's priesthood came to assume in Tractarian religion is to be in part accounted for, then, on the basis of its being an 'Anglican', 'spiritual', 'sacramental' and 'dogmatic' revival. However, to identify Christ's priesthood with these basic presuppositions of the Oxford Movement is to raise a number of

vital questions which the ensuing chapters must consider: viz. If Christ's priesthood is to be identified as an article of 'Anglican' doctrine and devotion, how did Newman and the later 'Romeward' tendency of the Movement respond to it? If the doctrine was a cardinal article of the dominant Reformed character of contemporary Anglican religion, how, or to what extent, did the Movement's leaders interpret the doctrine in a Catholic direction? Again, if integral to a revival of sacramental, 'mediated' religion, how did Tractarian writers relate Christ's mediatorial priesthood to other human or heavenly 'mediators'? Finally, if Christ's priesthood was caught up in Tractarian advocacy of the "dogmatic principle", how did they interpret this christological image doctrinally and, relate their exposition to later devotional 'developments' or 'accretions', such as devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the saints? As these questions suggest, examination of Tractarian interpretation of Christ's priesthood forces consideration of the inner heart and mind of the Movement, which, whilst accounts of the historical details of the Movement abound and do not bear recitation, continues to pose important questions for contemporary understanding of the nature and theology of the Church of England.

1. 'The Priest of Priests' and early Tractarian ecclesiology

What, then, was the doctrine's role, content, and significance in early Tractarian ecclesiology? It is a crucial question. It takes us to a critical context in which Tractarian writers and preachers articulated their understanding of Christ's priesthood and illuminates the Tractarian contribution to Anglican ecclesiological self-understanding. For, the 'Church', its foundation, character, ministry, and ministers, was central to Tractarian reflection, and Christ's priesthood recurs within it. Tractarian ecclesiology developed and divided between 1827-1845: so, too, did its interpretation of Christ's priesthood. The development of the Movement's leaders' understanding of Christ's sacerdotal office affords a useful commentary on Tractarian ecclesiology. However, the diffuse, emergent, individualist, unrounded, character of the original evidence,

militates against an identifiable Tractarian ecclesiological view of Christ's priestly office.

One figure who exempifies the continuity between the New Orthodoxy and Tractarianism, is Alexander Knox, (1757 - 1831) the Irish lawyer, intimate friend of the Wesleys, prescient theologian, and life-long correspondent with Bishop John Jebb. Of Knox, Newman wrote in February 1835: "He is a remarkable instance of a man searching for and striking out the truth by himself. Could we see the scheme of things as angels see it, I fancy we should find he has his place in the growth and restoration (so be it) of Church principles".[46] The independence Newman admired, Keble eschewed,[47] as Liddon recognized.[48] Brilioth and Hardelin have endorsed Newman's perception.[49]

Christ's priesthood is central to Knox's essentially Caroline ecclesiology, and for this reason, similar to that of Hugh James Rose. Knox is inspired theologically by a deep veneration for Hebrews which he interprets critically, and yet respectfully, as is worthy of "St. Paul's masterpiece",[50] "an elaborate epistle",[51] "an exquisite"[52] work, favourably compared by Knox to Ephesians and Romans.[53] Knox's ecclesiology integrates a prior idealisation of Christ's priesthood, the substance of Hebrews from Chapters ii to x, embodying the essence of priesthood - perfect access to God and sanctity of life. Christ's "priesthood, sacrifice, and intercession" are foundational to the Gospel.[54] Upon them he constructs a christocentric, sacerdotal ecclesiology. To Apostolic Succession, elevating episcopacy succeeding to Christ's first Apostolic Commission, Knox adjoins an elaborate doctrine of Christ's priesthood in His Church. As God and Man He is the Church's supreme High Priest,[55] having "the incommunicable priesthood of the mystical Melchizedek".[56] Reflecting his Wesleyan High Church proclivities, Knox interprets Christ's priestly sacrifice in Hebrews as purificatory and not expiatory, and His priesthood as designating the ontological characteristic of "holiness", and thence "access" to God, and not a functional ministry of sacrificial mediation.[57]

This understanding of Christ's priesthood shapes Knox's understanding of priesthood in the Church. He identifies a two-fold priesthood in the Church

directly related to Christ's: a 'derivative' priesthood of all believers, and a 'special' priesthood of the ministry. "The derivative priesthood of his faithful followers" pertains to those "who, in him, have spiritual access to the shekinah beyond the veil".[58] Their priesthood is conformed, qualified, and sustained by Christ as Priest.[59] "Living priests who have nothing of spiritual death in them", he writes, "are alone qualified to minister to the living God".[60] When "their hearts are sprinkled," Knox declares, they are

> "... assimilated to their Head, not only in unity of spirit,- but by walking as he walked, and being as he was in the world, they are made, in a humble measure, as far as in the nature of things is possible, partakers, both of his priesthood, and sovereignty".[61]

'Access' and 'Holiness' are characteristics of this 'derivative' priesthood. The participatory priesthood of the faithful in Christ's priesthood, in Knox's exposition, is markedly Augustinian, in its assimilation of the ministry of the members to that of the Head, and Caroline, in its Reformed Catholic defensiveness towards Christ's priesthood in the context of a High doctrine of the Church. It is also proleptic of the christocentric sacerdotal ecclesiology characteristic of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism and Vatican II Roman Catholcism.

Knox legitimates a 'special' priesthood in a Jeromic and Cyprianic manner by parallelism with Old Testament antecedents and the sacerdotal language of St. Paul. In his Letter to J.S. Harford, 'On Certain great truths... in the Epistle to the Ephesians' (1814) Knox identifies a three-fold parallelism between the theopolitical Jewish nation, Christ ("the king and priest of His mystical Israel"), and His "royal priesthood" of all believers.[62] Then he identifies "a special assimilation of the rulers and guides of the Church to the chief ruler and guide", and parallels "the peculiar priesthood" of the Aaronic tribe to the Christian ministry", which he calls "a more eminent and more appropriate application of the same title".[63] Of New Testament evidence , he writes:

> "I humbly think... that a special priesthood, subordinately assistant to that of the great High Priest, is clearly ascribed to the functionaries of the Christian Church by St. Paul; directly in one instance (viz. Rom.xv:16) and indirectly in several others (viz. 1 Cor.ix:13,14; x:15-22)".[64]

The supremacy and priority of Christ's priesthood in Knox's doctrine of the ministry is clear. The Christian ministry is superior to Jewish antecedents, because of "the more exalted dignity derived from that Head to whom they are subordinate".[65] In a Scotist manner Knox preserves a clear affirmation of Christ's unique and ever-active priesthood in His Church and a High doctrine of the ministry. In this, too, he anticipated later Tractarian thinking.

The Christian Year was, to Keble's surprise, an instant success. As treasured gift, devotional manual, 'Tractarian Bible', and religious poetry, it shaped the spirituality of successive generations of Victorian Churchmen. It reflects Keble. "Thy book I love," Isaac Williams declared, "because thyself art there".[66] It exemplifies Keble's later hopes for the Oxford Movement - a revival of practical religion, a recovery of clerical idealism, the restoration of the Church of England. To this "finest flower of the Old Tory High Church tradition"[67] -despite his deceptively romantic verse - religion must affect the whole person intellect, feelings, will. With an intimate sense of God's presence, Keble's manner of life and pattern of ministry, modelled on Anglican saints like Herbert, Wilson, Ken and Law, were wrought of a mystic communion between this scholarly saint and the transcendent yet immanent God he served and worshipped in devotion and prayer. Keble's own 'presence', his silent, solid, serene influence, exerted an almost incomparable influence on events in Oxford from his secluded Vicarage at Hursley. Integral to Keble's Nonjuring, High Anglican religion was the image of Christ as priest. It was basic to his clerical idealism, compatible with his Prayer Book devotion, expressive of his devout reverence for Christ and a feature of the 'Anglican revival' he desired. Christ, was to Keble "th'eternal Priest",[68] the "Priest by grace",[69] and, crucially, "the Priest of Priests".[70] In his consolatory clerical poem, 'The Priest's Intercessor', we read:

> "Teacher of teachers! Priest of priests! from Thee
> The sweet strong prayer
> Must rise,to free
> First Levi, then all Israel,from the snare,
> Thou art our Moses out of sight -
> Speak for us, or we perish quite."[71]

Christ's priesthood is, for Keble, from the start a solid basis for articulating a priestly ministry in the Church. A letter to Newman in the Autumn of 1833, as the Oxford Movement begins, expresses Keble's reservations regarding legitimating priesthood on an Aaronical analogy, in view of the Church's official reserve in the Ordinal, and calls for sober reflection on the subject of hierarchy in the Church.[72] However, his MSS Tract on the Eucharist (1834) indicates he saw no incompatibility between a priestly order in the Church and Christ's priesthood, despite the fact, that as critics pointed out, "some, claiming to be such (viz. priests), have disparaged the Priesthood of our Lord and Saviour."[73]

Keble's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is contextualized in a 'High' ecclesiology, in the spirit of Hooker, whose works he edited and admired. 'The Church' was, for Keble, 'One': minor differences with Rome not impairing that fundamental Catholick unity.[74] Its bishops are centres of unity:[75] its priests central to its life.[76] Apostolic Succession undergirds its authority, evidences its life, and, as found in the Anglican episcopacy, renders its ministry lawful and sacraments valid. The Church, an indispensable means for man to attain his ultimate end, is a supernatural, mystical body founded, united, sustained on sacramental grace. Keble believed that, despite its Protestant features, the Church of England was still the repetition of Christ's incarnation and a source of life to believers.

As a model of diligent, parochial, pastoring, moral care, and Christ-like service, who grieved over declining ministerial standards among his contemporaries, Keble described the Church as "Deacon" to Christ the "Priest", the servant of Christ's priesthood.[77] As we find in the Poem for St. Matthias' Day:

> "WHO is God's chosen priest?
> He, who on Christ stands waiting day and night."[78]

The note of priestly 'service' and 'self-sacrifice' found in Herbert, is echoed in Keble's 'Evening' poem:

> "Oh by Thine own sad burthen, borne
> So meekly up the hill of scorn,
> Teach Thou thy Priests their daily cross
> To bear as thine, nor count it loss!"[79]

Whereas priests before Christ were "shadows", Keble stresses (pace Ambrose) they are and must be now, "images" of Him, in His place. They sacramentally "represent" Him. Christ is present in them in His Divine Nature.[80] When someone confesses, they confess to the human priest, and Christ the priest in him. Keble abominated the Protestant system in which every man is "his own absolver".[81] In the spirit of Herbert, Andrewes, Cosin, and Law, Keble verbally and physically recalled his clerical contemporaries to the model of Christ's priesthood, as the source and standard of earthly ministry, and called his parishioners to come to him as to Christ the Priest, the Shepherd, the Pastor, the Friend. This was how Keble applied Christ's priesthood to his ecclesiology prior to 1845.

John Henry Newman's influence on the religious life of England, it has been claimed, can hardly be overestimated.[82] His influence has been considerable, though more cautious scholars have recognised he never led a 'party',[83] and abominated the idea; though unquestionably charismatic, he was untypical of the Tractarian movement.[84] His was "a simple, bold, and original mind",[85] which raised the movement to a higher plane, but his gifts lay supremely in communication, and others, such as R.I. Wilberforce, made a more significant and lasting contribution to Anglican theology. With regard to Newman's interpretation of Christ's priesthood, the Roman Catholic studies by Dom Placid Murray, OSB, Newman : The Oratorian, and John Coulson, Newman, and the Common Tradition,[86] have seen in Newman's Anglican writings, and later corrections, a line of interpretation directly anticipatory both of Vatican II's Constitution on the Liturgy, as "an excellent guide to the spirit of the Constitution",[87] and of Lumen Gentium's interpretation of the priestly function of the Church.[88] Commenting on passages in Newman's Parochial Sermon 'Waiting for Christ', and corrected edition of his Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification (1874), Murray writes:"... I do not know where one could find in liturgical literature of the nineteenth century so close an anticipation of the doctrine of the Constitution on Liturgy of Vatican II about the presence of Christ in the liturgy through His paschal mystery".[89] The weakness of Murray, Coulson, and also

Härdelin's, treatments of Newman's ecclesiological interpretation and application of Christ's priesthood is their lack of contextualisation, both in Newman's total understanding of Christ's sacerdotal office and in the Anglicanism of which he was heir. When that context, as here, is created, Newman's views appear as only a significant addition to an existent tradition of Anglican veneration for and interpretation of Christ's priesthood. How, then, did Newman integrate the doctrine of Christ's priesthood into his developing ecclesiological understanding as an Anglican?

The full richness and complexity of Tractarian ecclesiology is discovered in the writing and preaching of John Henry Newman. Newman reflects the Movement's concern to defend the Church, and to promote its spiritual independence, divine institution, and Catholic inheritance in England. His christocentric ecclesiology stresses Christ's spiritual presence in His Church. Newman endorsed the cry to clergymen from Hadleigh Rectory - "Stir up the gift that is in you". The Apologia states he learned from William James of "Apostolic Succession", from Butler of "a visible Church" independent from the State, from Whately of the Church as a "visible body", and from John Keble, the "sacramental nature" of the Church.[90] He encouraged moves at Hadleigh to make "the doctrine of the apostolic succession... the basis of the battle",[91] alongside opposition to Prayer Book Reform. But Newman's High Church principles were acquired by learning, Keble's inherited by tradition. However much or little of an Evangelical Newman had been,[92] it was more than Keble. He brought an evangelical's devotion to Christ's priesthood to his new-found ecclesiology.[93] From the outset Christ's priesthood is crucial for his understanding of the Church and the ministry. A Reformed christocentricism is wedded to a High ecclesiology. Keble's use of the image of Christ as priest reflects its historic place in Catholic Anglicanism: Newman's has a hybrid origin. Yet, for both, Christ is the sole true priest.

Christ's priesthood is, as Härdelin points out, a crucial feature of Newman's unpublished "first sermons... dealing thoroughly with the ministry", of 1830.[94] A number of unpublished sermons presented Him as "the only Priest of the gospel-covenant", and "the one true meritorious Priest.[95] The implication is that, to

avoid disparaging His office,[96] priests in His Church are only, "in a lower sense", "shadows", "figures", "representatives", and "ambassadors" of Christ, who "alone has merit in God's sight".[97] Others are "but the channels and instruments of those privileges which it was He who purchased".[98] He warns against confusing title and status. However, Newman declares, the ministry of human priests images and participates in the Godward -manward character of Christ's priestly mediation - offering souls to God for salvation and service, and administering the sacraments as mediating channels of grace.[99]

> "He who appointed the duty & the blessing, appointed those who should offer the prayer & so convey the grace," Newman declared. "In this sense it is that He has given to His ministers the keys of His Kingdom - the sacr(amen)ts are the keys, & they hold them - Thus they bind & loose - In summoning to united worship & in offering it they bring down a blessing on Xtians - so high is the office of the Xtian Priest as a shadow of the One true Mediator betw(een) God & man;- tho(ugh) not a sacr(amen)t its(elf), yet the earthly vessel in which the sacr(amen)ts are contained".[100]

In the earliest Tracts this christocentric view of human priesthood is effectively subordinated to a prior concern to establish the doctrine of Apostolic Succession which doubtless appeared politically, and thence theologically, more urgent. Tract II states, however, that "Christ, when He ascended, did not leave us orphans, but appointed representatives of Himself to the end of time",[101] and Tract X describes the Bishop as the "earthly likeness" of Christ,"a figure or witness of our Lord",[102] representing His authority and mediation. So both a ministerial and episcopal application of the doctrine were not lost entirely from view.

Newman's commitment to Christ's priesthood is reaffirmed in his sermon 'The Christian Ministry' (1834), an extended defence of a priestly order in the Church.[103] Perhaps narrowing his view as Härdelin claims,[104] Newman writes that:"By a Priest, in a Christian sense, is meant an appointed channel by which the peculiar Gospel blessings are conveyed to mankind, one who has power to apply to individuals those gifts which Christ has promised us generally as the fruit of His mediation".[105] The Christian priest has "a peculiar dignity", "superior to all other messengers from God"[106] in the Old Testament, because he is "the representative of Christ".[107] He establishes Christ's appointment of such representatives by

examining the reality and content of His original Apostolic commission (Lk.ix:1,2; Mt.x:40; Jn.xx:21-23), and "those sacred treasures committed to their custody... which flow from Christ as a Saviour, as a Prophet, Priest and King."[108] All Christ's gifts and offices were transferred by His Spirit to the Apostles and thence to Bishops and priests except His office as Saviour.[109] His prophetic office, "as authoritatively revealing the will of God and the Gospel of Grace", His sacerdotal office,"as forgiving sin, and imparting other needful divine gifts", and His regal office,"as ruling the Church", are all exercised by His "representatives" in His absence.[110] Newman then expatiates upon the origin and sacramental character of a priestly ministry, represented in scripture, promised by Christ, and fulfilled in His Church. His presentation of the gifts flowing from Christ's offices, atonement and Apostolic Commission, (viz. "preaching, teaching, reconciling, absolving, censuring, dispensing grace, ruling, ordaining,")[111] are described as 'vicarial' agencies, in spite of Newman's high doctrine of Christ's priesthood. If there is a narrower manward thrust in his interpretation of priestly ministry, as Härdelin believes, then its cause is surely the thrust of Newman's presentation of the manward delegation of Christ's offices to His ministers.

Christ's exemplary, active exercise of His priesthood, in and through His ministers, became an important feature of Newman's thought as the Oxford Movement progressed. His sermon 'Christian Zeal' commends zeal as a sacerdotal virtue, epitomised in the Temple confutation and confrontation (Lk.ii:48,49; Jn.ii:15) of "the one Great High Priest, the Antitype of all Priests who went before Him and the Lord and strength of all who come after...".[112] The Sermon 'The Gainsaying of Korah', too, celebrates the ministerial commission to the Apostles by Christ at His Resurrection, when He became "a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek", and instituted "the means... for exercising His priesthood on earth continually",[113] and presents His priestly ministers as ordained "frail and fallible as He is, to be the vessel of His gifts and to represent Him".[114]

The mid-thirties see Newman grappling with the Caroline divines, on Lowth's advice, and with the nature of the Anglican Church, of which The

Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church (1836-7) were the fruit. He is also preoccupied with the question of Christ's presence in His Church. An earlier sermon, 'Regenerating Baptism', stressed that though Christ has ascended on high to the right hand of God in heaven,"He is still with us"... "really present with us in an unknown way, and ever imparts Himself to those who seek Him".[115] This was the basis of Newman's sacramentalism and symbolic understanding of the Church,[116] and became increasingly the context for his understanding of Christ's priesthood. In the Easter sermon 'The Spiritual Presence of Christ in the Church', he presents the ubiquity of Christ as God and man, writing: "As being Christ, He says that He, the incarnate Mediator, shall be with His Church for ever".[117] The Lectures on the Prophetical Office, the central element in Newman's theology of Anglicanism,[118] his defence of the 'paper-theory' of the Anglican via media, and confutation of "the over systematization of Roman theology and the idiosyncratic individualism of Protestantism",[119] reflect Newman's concern to establish the Church's 'prophetic' authority or life-giving, regulative, teaching office, but do not ignore the sacerdotal office. The three-fold office of Christ, fruit of his Evangelical heritage, is a recurrent theme in Newman's thinking. So here he speaks of the Holy Spirit's glorification of Christ - "exalting Him as the Prophet of the Church, as well as her Priest and King",[120] and declares the most sacred portion of scripture to be "the words and works of the Incarnate Son", for "He is the One Prophet of the Church, as He is the One Priest and King".[121]

Christ's priesthood is progressively integrated in Newman's doctrine of the Church, in a manner already anticipated by Hugh James Rose, Knox, Keble, and the Carolines. The dynamic liturgical and pastoral presence of Christ the Priest in His Church, characteristic of George Herbert, Jeremy Taylor, Dodwell, (1641-1711), Bishop Thomas Wilson (1663-1775) and many others, was recovered both in the series of Tracts on Bishop Wilson's Meditations on His Sacred Office, and in Tract LXXIV. Bishop Wilson reminded the episcopacy that, as "associated with the priesthood of Christ", they "ought in imitation of Him, to sacrifice Himself for the advantage of His Church, and for all the designs of God".[122] He stressed that Christ is received in the Eucharist, both as prophet and king and - "as our

Priest, who offered Himself an acceptable sacrifice for us, to satisfy the Divine Justice, and to make intercession for us".[123] Archdeacon Harrison's Tract LXXIV: Testimony of writers in the later English Church to the Doctrine of the Apostolical Succession, quotes Dodwell's affirmation of Christ's unique priesthood, personated in the Bishops, so that union with episcopacy is union with Christ.[124]

Newman's sermon 'Waiting for Christ', reflects an Anglican tradition of emphasis upon the doctrine, and of interpretation in relation to Christ's present liturgical ministry in and through the Church's sacrament. His Anglican studies in the mid-1830's accentuated awareness of this tradition. His sermon is significant for its eschatological thrust and for the force of Newman's declaration that, in fulfilment of the Gospel, when Christ had come "No higher Priest could come", for He was to remain with His Church for ever.[125] "Christ is the sole Priest under the Gospel". As he declared:

> "The Jewish Covenant, indeed, had 'sundry times', which were ordered 'in divers manners;' it had a long array of priests and a various history; one part of the series holier than another, and nearer heaven. But when Christ had come, suffered, and ascended, He was henceforth ever near us, ever at hand, even though He was not actually returned, ever scarcely gone, ever all but come back. He is the only Ruler and Priest in His Church, dispensing gifts, and has appointed none to supersede Him, because He is departed only for a brief season. Aaron took the place of Christ, and had a priesthood of His own; but Christ's priests have no priesthood but His. They are merely His shadows and organs, they are His outward signs; and what they do, He does; when they baptize, He is baptizing; when they bless, He is blessing. He is in all acts of His Church, and one of its acts is not more truly His act than another, for all are His... All this witnesses to the duty both of remembering and of looking out for Christ...".[126]

The dynamic liturgical activity of Christ as priest became a marked feature of the neo-Scotist ecclesiology characteristic of later-Victorian High-Anglicanism. It was part of Newman's general ecclesiological integration of Christ's priesthood. His sermon 'The Visible Temple', for example, speaks of the Church since Apostolic times as a visible temple of Christian souls, "a Temple with God for its light, and Christ for the High Priest".[127] Elsewhere 'the Temple' image is applied to the whole created order, which he likens to "a vast Cathedral for the Bishop of our souls, the All-sufficient Priest, who first created all things, and then again,

because by purchase, their Possessor".[128] Christ is High Priest alike of the worship of His creation and of His Church.

Newman's Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification (1838), stress Christ's unique priesthood in contrast to Judaism.[129] In the Church, Newman declares, "... whatever is done is His doing".[130]

> " Before He came", Newman writes, "there were many priests, who had infirmity, offering sacrifices year by year continually, but now there is but One High Priest,'who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens, a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man;'... now all is superseded by One, in whom all the offices merge, who has absorbed into Himself all principality, power, might, and dominion, and every name that is named... He is the sole self-existing principle in the Christian Church, and everything else is but a portion or declaration of Him... There is under the Gospel but one proper Priest, Prophet and King, Altar, Sacrifice, and House of God. Unity is its characteristic sacrament; all grace flows from one Head, and all life circulates in the members of One Body."[131]

Christ's priesthood is here integral to Newman's understanding of the dynamic spiritual integration of the church derived from Christ's presence, as Prophet, Priest, and King. This theme received its fullest, final,and distinctive treatment by Newman as an Anglican, in his sermon 'The Three Offices of Christ' in Sermons on Subjects of the Day (1843).[132] It was not his initial reference to Christ's triplex munus in an ecclesiological context, as Coulson surprisingly claims,[133] but the culmination of his ecclesiological application of the three-fold office, applied to Christ's presence. Whilst his doubts of the Anglican Church were progressing,[134] he developed an elaborate ecclesiological application of the triplex munus. His offices are described as supremely expressing Christ's "mediatorial office".[135] They are likened to three kinds of mankind - viz. sufferers, toilers, and the learned.[136] They are applied to the Trinity seen in relation to Christ - "For in His own proper character He is a priest", Newman states,"and as to His kingdom He has it from the Father, and as to His own prophetical office He exercises it by the Spirit. The Father is the king, the Son is the Priest, and the Holy Ghost is the Prophet".[137] The triplex munus Christi is also applied to a ministerial order in the Church, "left behind" by Christ as "His representatives and instruments".[138] "They, though earthen vessels, show forth

according to their measure these three characters", Newman writes, "the prophetic, regal, and priestly, combining in themselves qualities and functions which, except under the Gospel are almost incompatible with each other"[139] The Apostles suffered, and taught by the Holy Spirit, and exercised authority.[140] Newman also applies this to "all His followers" in the Christian Church, who "in some sense bear all these offices", in a transforming conformity to Christ, manifesting "endurance, as represented in the confessor and monk; wisdom, in the doctor and teacher; power, in the bishop and pastor".[141]

In Newman's stress on the priestly character of the whole people of God, Coulson sees anticipated Lumen Gentium's teaching that the whole people of God "participate in the one priesthood of Christ".[142] Was not this something of the English tradition Newman brought to his adoptive Church, which Pusey hoped he would.[143] Alongside other more often publicized features of Newman's ecclesiological reflection, we can see how his hybrid origins equipped him to integrate Christ's priestly office into his understanding and presentation both of the Church's priestly order, and, latterly, of the whole people of God. The prominence of Christ's priesthood and its liturgical application in Newman's ecclesiology merely perpetuated a deep-seated Anglican tradition.

In 1836, having finally identified himself with the Tractarian movement,[144] E.B. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford, delivered a series of Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament[145] A primary source for understanding the centrality of Christ's priesthood to early Tractarian doctrine and devotion, they indicate Pusey's attitude towards crucial aspects of the doctrine, including its ecclesiological significance.

Pusey was a biblical scholar widely read in German theology.[146] He loved the Old Testament, and claimed the Bible must "never be out of our hands".[147] He was ὁ μεγας to Newman. From him, the latter ambiguously declared, the Movement derived a name, and a form, and a leader of a party - none of which Newman particularly desired![148] The Movement's doctor mysticus, Pusey brought theological reflection to the bar of a prayerful reason, admitting that clarity in understanding might indicate a rationalistic "shallowness".[149] His contribution as

a speculative theologian has been adjudged minimal.[150] Like Keble he increasingly eschewed novelty. After Newman's secession he adopted under duress the personally incommodious stance of Tractarian 'statesman'.[151] Allchin has seen in these Lectures, however, grounds for increased recognition of Pusey's theological creativity.[152] His approach to Christ's priesthood is a blend of conservatism and creativity.

His ecclesiological interpretation of Christ's priesthood reflects a positive response to an image venerated by the Reformers, and the biblical, conservative, Anglican, and neo-mystical character of his general outlook. The Lectures confirm his theological and devotional christocentricity, his veneration of the "Antients"' theology, and mystical or allegorical scriptural exegesis, and his romantic sacramentalism, in which, as for Tractarianism generally, "the natural world is an emblem of the spiritual".[153] However, as a two-fold attack both on the intellectualism of an older orthodoxism and on the anti-dogmatism of contemporary rationalism, by articulating the breadth, clarity, and profundity of a biblical theology of "images", or symbols,[154] Pusey's Lectures constitute an important theological commentary upon the progress of Tractarian interpretation of Christ's priesthood. The subject of the Lectures exercised Pusey throughout his life, and through the attendance of Newman, Williams and some twenty-seven other young scholars, it was brought to the attention of the leaders of the Oxford Movement. It is a matter of some signficance, therefore, that Christ's priesthood is central to Pusey's christocentric sacramental ecclesiology articulated here.

In the Lectures Pusey reacts against orthodox interpretation of scriptural prophecy and typology. He replaces a fragmentary fulfilment of individual prophecies with the view that "prophecy is coextensive with the whole system of God's providence or Dispensation".[155] The whole unitive system of scriptural types, images, and prophecies is part of God's revelatory dealings with mankind fulfilled in Christ.[156] Christ is for Pusey "our great High Priest"[157] and he declares: "It has been said in one sense rightly that 'there is only one Priest under the Gospel, our Lord Jesus Christ'."[158] However, he relates this teaching to the Church and ministry, in a manner anticipatory of Newman's Doctrine of

Justification and sermon 'The Three-fold Office', and speaks of "the narrowness of those systems, which, because the priesthood under the law ... eminently represented our great High Priest, would infer that there is only one Priest under the Gospel, and that those whom He has called to the holy office of priesthood have no correspondence with the Levitical priesthood".[159] The sacramental christocentric, priestly, character of the whole, Holy, Church as the organic body of Christ, sustained by the eucharist, is clearly reaffirmed by both men. "We are pure before Him", Pusey writes, "not in ourselves but as having ceased to be by ourselves, and as forming one whole with that High Priest, and existing in and through Him."[160] Pusey sees Christ's priesthood particularly represented in the Old Testament High Priests.[161] The perpetuity of Christ's unchangeable High-Priesthood is "in a manner exhibited by the perpetual succession of High Priests", for, he claims "the imperfection of the type was argued by the succession", His humiliation and glory by their life and death.[162] Every detail of the Melchizedek incident (Genesis xiv) - "half-speaking testimony of the inferiority and temporariness of Levitical priesthood",[163] is said to exhibit Him who is king and priest, and, as king of Salem or Zion, "the emblem of that Church, which He who is our peace hath made uniting both Jew and Gentile in one new Jerusalem - refreshing with bread and wine the wearied spiritual combatant".[164] Christ's priesthood is, for Pusey, the source of the Church's unity and spiritual life, forming "His mystical body".[165] Furthermore, Pusey writes: "When Christ is, then, in a measure, in His Church ; the Church is to share in the suffering of Christ, not vicariously but as part of Him; the Church is offered and presented by Christ to the Father".[166] Augustine's observation that the "whole redeemed city" is "wherever the congregation and society of saints is offered to God as one universal sacrifice by the High Priest", is pivotal for Pusey.[167] His priesthood is the basis of the Church's life and sacrifice.

Pusey's call to deeper study of Old Testament typology influences his relating of Christ's High Priesthood to priestly ministry. "The priesthood", he declares, "can only be understood in connection with the offerer of sacrifice, and the meaning of sacrifice is most fully seen in the rites of the great day of

atonement".[168] In contrast to Knox, Pusey stresses a functional definition of priesthood, relating human priesthood to a sacrificial ministry. He defends, as we began to see above, a "double application" of priesthood in the Church "primarily to our Lord and secondarily to that which represents Him".[169] His Anglican High Churchmanship is protective both of Christ's unique High priesthood and of a priestly order, effected through episcopal ordination and a communication of sacramental grace. The priesthood is, then in Pusey's Lectures a "symbol" which participates in the reality and glory of Christ's High Priesthood.

Among other early Tractarians, Isaac Williams, in The Cathedral (1838), reflects the close identification of Christ's and human priesthood found in Rose, Knox, Keble, Newman, and, as we shall see later, Pusey, writing:

> "But in Thy Priesthood Thou thyself art here,
> And virtue goeth from Thee...".[170]

Froude's Remains, (1838, 39), however, published to present a provocative portrayal of Tractarian piety[171] from this 'bold rider'[172] and brilliant mischief-maker, speaks more of a real communication of priestly power to human priests than of Christ's priesthood.[173] Priesthood is, Froude maintains, not incompatible with Christianity.[174] It was part of the religion Christ established.[175] Though bishops cannot be trusted, they are essential to the perpetuity of the Church; whilst an unchangeable priesthood is also a divine ordinance within it, receiving power from Christ Himself.[176] Froude's Roman Catholic proclivities lead him to wish for priests who turn to the Altar to pray,[177] and, being really priests, are 'above' others in the Church.[178] Thus Paul describes himself in Romans xv:16 as a priest.[179] Froude's progressive Catholicism appeared less concerned to protect Christ's priesthood when ascribing a 'vicarial' sacerdotium to human priests.

W.G. Ward's (1812-1882) Ideal of the Christian Church published in June 1844, in support of Tract XC and in refutation of William Palmer's On the Church (1838), likewise took an extreme Roman Catholic position against everything English, arguing that the Articles were intended to be interpreted in a Catholic manner, and calling upon England "to expel the Lutheran and evangelical spirit

from the national church".[180] The Ideal has no mention of Christ's priesthood in its ecclesiological study. If, as we have also argued, Christ's priesthood had at least some 'English' and Reformation overtones, this is not surprising. Frederick Oakeley, too, argued that the Articles were not intended to exclude Catholics.[181] He spoke of the minister as in a particular sense Christ's friend but did not relate his priesthood to Christ's.[182] The doctrine of the Church, he maintained though, as did Faber, does not obscure Christ.[183] In neither is Christ's priesthood adduced in ecclesiological discussions. F.W. Faber does relate Christ's eternal priesthood to the earthly Church's 'perpetuity',[184] but his ecclesiology does not reflect the depth of commitment evident in the movement's other leading figures.

"The Priest of Priests" was, however, an important theme in the ecclesiology of Keble, Newman and Pusey. If Newman carried his interpretation into the Church of Rome from 1845, then Keble and Pusey carried theirs into the later Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic phases of the Movement, and contributed directly, as we shall see in Chapter II, to the doctrine's place in late-Victorian Anglican ecclesiology.

But the significance of Christ's priesthood in Tractarian doctrine and devotion was not restricted to ecclesiology. Rather, it lay in its unitive function, as integrating discussion of ecclesiology with christology, soteriology, sacramental theology and liturgical theology. To those other facets we now turn.

2. Christus Humilis - Christ's priesthood and Tractarian christology

Tractarian christology has received fresh attention from the publication of Fr Roderick Strange's Newman and the Gospel of Christ (1981). Though treating of Newman, it stimulates general reflection on Tractarian christology. Devotion to Christ was central to Tractarian religion. Study of Christ's priesthood confirms this. Horton Davies has rightly observed: "... the characteristic note of Tractarian piety was a tender, if sober, devotion to Christ, avoiding both an excessively intellectual or notional understanding of faith, and an ecstatic, enthusiastic one".[185] Study of Christ's priesthood demands that the interaction between Tractarian devotion and doctrine be considered, for it inhered in the

Tractarian lex orandi and lex credendi. It confirms the potency and place of the lex orandi in Tractarian religion.[186] This theme also indicates the importance of Hebrews' christology in Tractarian reflection, as a source for their humanistic piety. Weinel and Widgery claimed Tractarian writers were largely unconcerned with the Jesus of the synoptics.[187] But what sort of Christ-figure did Tractarian writers worship? According to Church, it was through study of the Gospels that, "the great Name stood no longer for an abstract symbol of doctrine, but for a living master, who could teach as well as save".[188] This section argues that Christ's office as priest is crucial for the development of Tractarian incarnationism, and that a characteristic Tractarian understanding of Christ the priest was as Christus humilis.

Keble's Christian Year encouraged High Churchmen not to fear feelings. His religion embraced a devout reverence for the person of our Lord. Christ's priesthood is regularly adduced in direct and indirect expression of this reverence. His poetry exudes a deeply pious practical humanitarianism, evocative of romantic, 'gentlest saviour', christologies. Thus:

> "Sun of my soul! Thou saviour dear,
> It is not night if Thou be near:"[189]

Or again,

> "But I am weaker than a child
> How can I live without Thee here."[190]

"The very practice and cultivation of poetry will be found to possess, in some sort, the power of guiding the mind to worship and prayer", Keble claimed.[191] The christology of both Keble's poetry and prose is evocative of dutiful obedience and reverence.[192] His Christ is the incarnate saviour, the loving, caring, serving friend.[193] Keble does not ascribe to Christ's humanity divine attributes, through his stress on Christ's human nature, as some claim. His immanentist christology[194] is neither harsh nor brash, but reflects the subtlety Newman praised - "Keble is too subtle and spiritual a light to be seen unless placed on a candlestick."[195] Christ's priestly sympathy and humility are elements in this christology. "The awful child on Mary's knee" becomes the sympathising saviour. The poem 'The Holy Communion' comforts the fallen thus:

"That,dearest of thy bosom friends,
Into the wavering heart descends:-
'What? down again? yet cheerful rise,
'Thine Intercessor never dies'."[196]

Keble warmly embraced the doctrine of the incarnate, sympathising heavenly priest. This was a lynch-pin of early nineteenth century Anglican religion, a recurring devotional motif.[197] Heb.ii:16,17, and iv:14-16 are beloved scriptural texts undergirding Keble's piety.

"Thou know'st our bitterness - our joys are Thine -
No stranger Thou to all our wanderings wild:
Nor could we bear to think,how every line
Of us, Thy darken'd likeness and defil'd,

Stands in full sunshine of Thy piercing eye,
But that Thou call'st us Brethren: sweet respose
Is in that word - the LORD who dwells on high
Knows all, yet loves us better than He knows."[198]

Keble's studied pursuit of humility imaged the economic condescension of the incarnate Son, to suffer and rise again to intercede for sinners with sympathy.[199] His sympathy reflects that of "the Priest of priests".[200] In Charlotte Yonge's Musings on the Christian Year the sympathy of One who has fellow-feeling with us- "in all things tempted as we are" - is seen to underlie Keble's warm advocacy of Confession,[201] His individual care and attention to be the foundation of Keble's sympathising parochial intercession.[202] Christ's sympathy is perfect,

"... since Thou hast deign'd
Creator of all hearts! to own and share
The woe of what Thou mad'st,and we have stain'd."[203]

His love binds His priestly prayer to ours:

"The golden censer in his hand,
He offers hearts from every land,
Tied to his own by gentlest band
Of silent Love:"[204]

The eye of faith to the pure in heart penetrates the veil of earthly reality, perceiving the great king and priest in heavenly procession. As 'The Purification' states:

"Give ear, ye kings - bow down,
Ye rulers of the earth -
This, this is He; your Priest,by grace,
Your God and King by birth."[205]

Keble's sacerdotal christology was not merely a source of devotional comfort: the priest is "God and king", demanding purity of heart and humbleness of spirit.

Study of Christ's priesthood further illuminates Newman's christology. His Parochial Sermons at St. Mary's are described as "the mind of the Oxford Movement",[206] as creating and shaping Tractarian piety,[207] as belonging to the literature of all time.[208] Strange has shown how in them, and in his other writings, Newman ascribes a determinative priority at times to christology.[209] They confirm the cruciality of Christ's priesthood for Newman. His ecclesiology has a patristic, christological basis, nurtured by veneration for the christology of Hebrews, and undergirded by his belief that the whole of Biblical narrative and subsequent history is unified by Christ.[210]

Newman's attitude towards Christ has been convincingly interpreted in the light of his Athanasian and Alexandrian studies.[211] His christological exposition of Christ's priesthood serves to confirm Strange's interpretation. From the doctrine of Christ as priest Newman derived significant insights into Christ's two natures and their relationship.

It is integral to his Alexandrian perception of the economic condescension of the Son of God. He stated: "None can bring us to Him but He who came from Him." He declared, "He reveals God, and He cleanses man. The same is our Prophet and our Priest".[212] Christ's priesthood informs his belief in the Virgin Birth of the Incarnate Son. For, as the sermon 'The Mystery of Godliness' states, to be "the immaculate Lamb of God, and the all-prevailing Priest", Christ had to come, not in the way of those priests who offer "first for their own sins", but through one unsoiled by sin.[213] But Newman did not ascribe priesthood to Christ's pre-existence, as his study of the Arians reveals. "The Arians," he wrote, "considered that our Lord's priesthood preceded His incarnation, and belonged to His Divine Nature, and was in consequence the token of an inferior divinity", which Newman could not accept.[214] Likewise, he rejected Nestorius' view "that the man Christ Jesus was the Priest";[215] for, as his The Dream of Gerontius also later stated, in its declaration that Christ smote the foe "in man for man": "The Catholic doctrine is, that the Divine Word is Priest in and according to His

manhood".[216] Christ's priesthood informed Newman's explication of the relation between Christ's two natures. In particular, it was integral to his 'organon'[217] concept of Christ's humanity, perceived as "an instrument of His purposes, not as an agent in the work".[218] Aware of implicit dangers in this notion of instrumentality, Newman clarified his position in the sermon 'Christ the Son of God made man':

> "... our High Priest and Saviour, the Son of God, when He took our nature upon Him, *did* act through it, without ceasing to be what He was before, making it the instrument of His gracious purposes... but... taken into the closest and most ineffable union with Him."[219]

Christ's priesthood participated in Newman's affirmation of the unity of the two natures in Christ, for the priest, to be truly priest and Mediator between God and Man, must be truly God and truly Man.

Newman's allusions to Christ's High Priesthood, as in the sermon above, were not incidental, but expressive of the Alexandrianism of his christological reflection, and only one element in his understanding of the doctrine as a whole, which Strange's study inevitably overlooks. Newman contributed significantly to nineteenth century Anglican exposition of Christ's priesthood through his patristic studies, but neither in this nor in his revivification of a Catholic Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood was he unique.

Christ's priesthood and priestly attributes, as originally presented in Hebrews, particularly shaped his understanding of Christ's humanity. Key themes in Hebrews became central principles of Newman's understanding of the Incarnate Saviour. Horton Davies has remarked with some truth that, "...Newman's christology, for all its adamantine Athanasian orthodoxy, had more of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of nineteenth century humanism in it than 'the Tome of Leo'."[220] Recovering the cruciality of Christ's priesthood to Alexandrine exposition of Christ's incarnate humanity, Newman discovered a patristic basis for many already popular Reformed convictions, in early nineteenth century Anglicanism.[221]

The priestly Christus humilis is integral to Newman's incarnationism. It is for him expressive of the economic condescension and humiliation of the Eternal

Son. Christ's true humanity is the basis of man's salvation; community of nature being the only foundation for humanity's restoration to wholeness in Christ. Hebrews' christological language is repeatedly adduced in Newman's explication of Christ's true humanity. His sermon 'Christian Sympathy', on Hebrews ii:16, contains a classic expression of this.

> "There is not a feeling", he states there, "not a passion, not a wish, not an infirmity, which we have, which did not belong to that manhood which He assumed, except such as is of the nature of sin. There was not a trial or temptation which befalls us, but was, in kind at least, presented before Him, except that He had nothing within Him, sympathizing with that which came to Him from without... 'we have not a High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but' one, who 'was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.' And again, 'In that He Himself hath suffered being tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted'."[222]

This is both theological insight and pastoral premise: dogma is to be established as a basis of devotion. His sermon 'The Incarnation' also praises the "wonderful condescension" with which Christ came, "not as before in power, but in weakness, in the form of a servant, in the likeness of that fallen creature whom He purposed to restore".[223] As a servant, as Christus humilis, He is a priest:

> "He bore to live in a world", he states, "that slighted Him, for He lived in it, in order in due time to die for it. He came, as the appointed Priest, to offer sacrifice for those who took no part in the act of worship; He came to offer up for sinners that precious blood which was meritorious by virtue of His Divine Anointing ...".[224]

Christ's priesthood is integrated in Newman's incarnationist soteriology, and from the christology of Hebrews he finds support for: i) his conviction of the perfect human 'sympathy' of the Incarnate Christ, which as God He could never comprehend;[225] ii) his stress upon Christ's temptation, expressive of His true humanity; and, iii) his crucial affirmation of Christ's sinlessness.[226] As he wrote in the sermon 'Transgressions and Infirmities', on Hebrews x:38:

> "... the same Apostle says, that we have a High Priest who is 'touched with the feeling of our infirmities', in that He had them Himself, all but their sin. - This implies that we have sinful infirmities, yet of that light nature that they can be said to be in substance partaken by One who was pure from all sin."[227]

The centrality of Christ's priesthood to Newman's christology, inherited from his neo-evangelicalism, endorsed by his theological Alexandrianism, and

reinforced by his sense of the unity or reciprocity of doctrines,[228] leads us to reject Hilda Graef's explicit claim, in God and Myself, that Newman's Christ was almost the unapproachable Christ of Jansenism and not "the brotherly high priest of the Epistle to the Hebrews".[229] Christ's priesthood was a cardinal article of Newman's christology, which Strange's study fails to present in an integrated manner. Graef is right, though, to distinguish between Newman and the popular, evangelicalized, sentimental response to the sympathising high priest in heaven. Newman's approach is, in contrast to Keble too, ultimately more doctrinal than devotional.

Hurrell Froude's Remains contain a number of incidental allusions to Christ's priesthood which suggest that Christ's priesthood was in the marrow of Froude's christological devotion. He focuses primarily on Christ's heavenly 'Eternal Priesthood'. "The priesthood of Jesus Christ in Heaven is", he claims, "an ordinance".[230] Like many of his contemporaries, Froude found comfort in the teaching of Hebrews ii:16,17 on the true, tempted, humanity of Christ. In Religious Uses of Industry (1830) he observes: "Even our Lord Jesus Christ was tempted in all things like unto us."[231] A sermon fragment on the Resurrection, also links Christ's priesthood to His humanity. From the revelation of His humanity between the Resurrection and Ascension, Froude deduces:

> "We are by this means informed that such as He was while He dwelt on earth, and was found in fashion as a Man, such He is still in His eternal and glorious kingdom now that His mortal (nature) has put on immortality; that though He is no longer conversant among us, still we have in Heaven a Great 'High Priest', which can 'be touched with the feeling of our infirmities;' a no less real object of affection, of awful love, than when He wept over the affliction of Martha, or absolved the disconsolate sinner who washed His feet with her tears."[232]

Elsewhere he similarly states that, the "other great blessing" of the Resurrection is, "the knowledge that such as Jesus Christ was upon earth, such He is now after His victory over death", and summarizes the advantages of Christ's resurrection in the words of Hebrews x:19-22.[233]

Froude's christology is characterised by a Tractarian, moralist, pragmatism. His sermon, 'The Gospel the completion of Natural Religion',

pronounces sheer knowledge of Christ's divinity inadequate to gain divine favour. Knowledge and obedient reverence are inseparable in Tractarian pursuit of the imitatio Christi. Faith is lacking, he declares:

> "... unless our belief makes us different persons, - more holy in our lives, by the imitation of His example, - more earnest in our prayers, by the knowledge that we have in heaven a great High Priest, who is not unable to be touched with a feeling of our infirmities, - more patient under all the afflictions with which God visits us, from the recollection of the sufferings which Jesus Christ underwent for our sake".[234]

Despite his provocative Romanism and "deprecation of Anglican calm",[235] Froude's spirituality remained fundamentally Anglican. His allusions to Christ's priesthood suggest his Anglican affinities and confirm a proclivity in early Tractarian piety towards the priestly figure of the incarnate Christus humilis.

Yngve Brilioth identifies the Augustinian theme of Christus humilis particularly in the writing and preaching of E.B. Pusey.[236] Christ's priesthood is again a recurring motif in Pusey's doctrinal and devotional explication of His Person. Brilioth expounds Pusey's Christus humilis, as "the self-humiliation of Christ, whereby He exchanged forma Domini for forma servi, as the real content of the Incarnation, and also the prototype and pattern of all human self-denial."[237]

Pusey's christology was the response to Christ of a committed Anglican, progressively defensive of its doctrine and devotion,[238] which his introduction of Catholic devotional manuals after 1841 only sought to enrich.[239] It reflects his veneration of patristic mysticism, his awareness of continental works, such as D.F. Strauss' (1808-1874) Das Leben Jesu,[240] and his own contrary commitment to an "objectivized piety"[241] and incarnational devotion. "The whole system of religion, contemplation, and practicals, is ", he declares, "one of God's condescension: God cometh down to us: not we mount up to God."[242] Christ's humiliation and identification are thematically intertwined in the christology of his Lectures on Types and Prophecies, and writing in general, with his christological exposition of Christ's priesthood. Hence, his lectures describe the priest on the day of atonement, "in a state of humiliation entering into the immediate presence of God, alone...".[243] The "glory" following upon the

"humiliation", of the transient earthly representative priesthood is antitypically fulfilled in Christ.[244] He is both "our High Priest ... taken from among His brethren"[245] and "a great High Priest, Jesus, the Son of God", who has passed through the heavens, or 'veil of the heavens', into the presence of God.[246] Though the type of the 'veil' is interpreted as either[247] "the human nature wherein our Lord veiled His Godhead", or "those heavens which bound our sights, and beyond and through which we cannot see God",[248] Pusey's belief that Christ's priesthood teaches the reality and unity of His divinity and His humanity is clear. In keeping with his developed Melchizedekian typology, Pusey presents Christ as God and Man, and as the "king of righteousness" and of "peace".[249] The figure of Melchizedek, according to Pusey, "in some respects" represents the Great High Priest,[250] and to the priestly figure of Christus humilis contributes especially an emblematic revelation of His divinity, excellence and eternal sovereignty.[251]

This duality is evident in Pusey's sermons contributed to the volumes Plain Sermons by Tract writers.[252] There Pusey states his belief that in Christ the indwelling Godhead deifies His human nature, though Christ is still a Man "penetrated with God, yet not absorbed into God", and "... that Body, now spiritual, life-giving, Deified, hinders not the closeness of His unspeakable union with the Father, but is in God".[253]

> "Great is the comfort to us," he writes in eirenic vein, "that HE, our High Priest, our Intercessor, is thus glorified, is thus present with GOD, and is GOD; well may we, in our miseries, 'come boldly to the throne of grace', assured that HE, Who in the Eternal Presence bears the marks of His sufferings for us still, will remember us, whom by His most precious Blood HE redeemed; that HE, the well-beloved SON, can 'save to the uttermost those who come unto GOD by HIM '."[254]

Pusey's christological exposition of Christ's heavenly priesthood affirms His divinity alongside the more traditional emphasis on His sympathising humanity. His interpretation is, however, also worked out in the context of devotional reflection, as the lex orandi shaped the lex credendi in Pusey's mind.

> "...we should seek to impress upon ourselves", he states at one point, "by repeating our Creeds, and earnest meditation, that we approach HIM not only as the REDEEMER and High Priest, Who was not ashamed to 'call us Brethren', but as our LORD and

> our GOD, who as GOD heareth the prayers, which as GOD, Who hath taken into HIMSELF our manhood, HE presenteth to the FATHER with whom He is One GOD. So only shall we be saved from irreverence, and pray really in His Great Name."[255]

Pusey's sacerdotal christology is formulated in a typological exegesis of scripture, a stress on the incorporation of the humanity of Christ and all believers into the Divinity of the Redeemer, and in acute awareness to the Church's worship and devotion. This latter point became decisive in the later split, ecclesiastically and doctrinally, between Pusey and Newman, as we shall see.[256]

Other Tractarians also employed Christ's priesthood in expositions of Christ's person and expressions of devotion to Him. His incarnate sympathy as Christus humilis is again prominent. Isaac Williams (1802-1865), "in some ways the most 'typical' figure of the whole movement,"[257] as the poetic, quiet, obscure country parson who avoided noise, publicity, and where possible controversy, confirms his representative role in his Hymns on the Catechism (1843), where a Keblean romanticism extols Christ's three-fold office.

> "O Jesus, sweet and holy Name,
> How all our hearts Thy love doth claim!
> O God the Father only Son;
> O Christ, the great Anointed One,
> What fragrance doth around Thee spring,
> Our Priest, our Prophet, and our King!" [258]

His The Cathedral (1838) pronounces Christ as the unique mediator, since "There is One only all-prevailing Name", and 'The Song of the Blessed Virgin' defends this against Mariolatry.

> "For not in thee, thou maiden-mother mild,
> As superstition deem'd, 'tis not in thee
> That we rejoice, meek mother undefiled,
> But in Our God alone both thou and we:
> For thou wast compass'd with humanity,
> And Christ alone thy light, thy strength, thy tower,
> Thine innocence, thy victory, thy dower."[259]

This christocentricity is crucial, for as we shall see in due course, Mariolatry encountered a Tractarian resistance to other heavenly mediators, nurtured by devotion to the sympathising heavenly priest. Even among the later 'Roman Catholic' wing of the Tractarian movement, a christocentric devotion is strong. To F.W. Faber (1814-1863), writing in 1840, before his Mariology fructified, "the whole of a religion is a looking out of ourselves unto Christ"[260].

His Anglican hymns are shot through with intense devotion to the humanity of Christ.

> "Jesus! Who at this very hour
> At God's Right Hand in pomp and power
> Our nature still dost wear,
> Oh let Thy Wounds still intercede,
> And by their simple silence plead
> Thy countless merits there."[261]

To some Tractarians this devotion to Christ was and remained incompatible with devotion to the saints and to Mary.

Christ's priesthood was not only central to Tractarian sacerdotal christology, with its sacramental and incarnational application to their christocentric ecclesiology, it was also, as we must now see, controversially implicated in discussion of the character of His ministry, and in its concomitant sacramental and liturgical associations.

3. Christus Mediator - Christ's priesthood and Tractarian soteriology

The following sections form two parts of one whole, focussing on the impact of Christ's past and present priestly ministry upon Tractarian interpretation of the Church's corporate and individual spiritual life. Reflecting the Movement's Augustinian theology,[262] the two-fold earthly sacrifice and heavenly intercession of Christ is generally upheld in their soteriology and theology of worship. The figure of the priestly 'mediator' permeates Tractarian writing and preaching, its study adds to the doctrinal mosaic of their interpretation of Christ as priest.

In his Remains Alexander Knox counters the popular interpretation of Hebrews which sees "the expiatory virtue of our Redeemer's sacrifice" as "the point principally dwelt upon",[263] and writes - "undoubtedly it is the sacrifice of Christ; but in that special aspect which befitted the leading object; that is neither merely, nor chiefly, in its expiation of guilt, but in its influential efficacy to cleanse and sanctify the human mind and heart".[264] Knox's High Church, Wesleyan preoccupation with sanctification sought to interpret Hebrews in terms of "the supreme moral efficacy of the Christian covenant".[265] He deprecates

"putting the divine mediation of the Messiah in the place of its great and glorious purposes",[266] denies the propitiatory significance of Christ's sacrifice as the Epistle's primary declaration,[267] and presents "purification" or "perfection" through "implanted righteousness",[268] as being the "keynote"[269] and distinctive contribution of "this elaborate Epistle".[270] How directly reinterpretation of Christ's priestly sacrifice influenced Tractarian soteriology is not clear. Concern for morality, sanctification, and Hebrews' doctrine of Christ's priestly sacrifice, are, however, recurrent themes.

Keble's soteriology adopts the language of sacrifice. His soteriology, in general, reflects : his love of the Old Testament[271] and belief that God's redemptive plan embraces the whole of the scriptures, its types and anti-types;[272] his veneration of Butlerian common-sense and moral pragmatism, so that man is called to engage actively in his own salvation, without which Christ's work is of no avail;[273] his concern for holiness and sense of the heinousness of sin which has blinded man to life's chief purpose in Christ, as a corrupting disease;[274] and, his acute sense that 'Grace' is the essential unitive and determinative factor in life.[275] The language of 'sacrifice' is integral to his recovery of basic Bible truths.[276] He applies it both to Christ's life and to the participation, imitation,[277] and self-denial enjoined on all who follow Christ.[278] Christ's death is said to satisfy divine justice, though its achievement cannot be explained.[279] According to Keble, our acceptance by God, and incorporation into Christ,[280] ultimately derive from a given righteousness 'of God', for the sake of our Mediator.[281] All men depend on Christ's sacrifice for a salvation, which, though in part man's responsibility,[282] involves the 'safe way' of 'implicit faith';[283] that is, relying on invisible certainties in Christ's past and present ministry. By the Incarnation and Atonement man is restored to two worlds, the natural and the supernatural.[284] His infinite debt paid, man is united with the One Mediator, and the 'Covenant' of man's "second birth" is secured.[285]

The Christian Year implicity connects Christ's priestly sacrifice with His continuing 'sacrificial' state in heaven, founded in His eternal, heavenly priesthood.[286] "O most entire and perfect sacrifice,"[287] he proclaims, and speaks

of Christ-"Once bleeding, now triumphant for my sake".[288] Yet, alongside veneration of Christ's cross, Keble portrays the believer seeing, believing, and trusting in Christ's ever-bleeding, pleading, heavenly wounds, redeeming man from sin.

> "Lo, at thy feet I fainting lie,
> Mine eyes upon thy wounds are bent,
> Upon thy streaming wounds my weary eyes
> Wait like the parched earth on April skies".[289]

Stephen, too, saw "The Son of Man, th'atoning wounds",[290] and a poem for Whitsun week states,

> "And through the cloud by glimpses shew,
> How bright,in Heaven, the marks will glow."[291]

He speaks of the eternal sacrifice of Christ particularly in a eucharistic context - "For the dear feast of JESUS dying, Upon that altar ever lying".[292] The poem 'Holy Communion', likewise runs -

> "Fresh from th'atoning sacrifice
> The world's Creator bleeding lies,
> That man, his foe, by whom He bled,
> May take him for his daily bread."[293]

Christ's heavenly victim-state was integral to Keble's recovery of a Caroline view of His heavenly ministry as priest. Though poetic, it also betokens Keble's desire to inculcate awareness of the eternally effacious, ever-available fruit of Christ's priestly sacrifice for the repentant sinner.

Hence, in Keble's Sermons for the Holy Week (1876), Christ's priesthood is prominent. The Old Testament High Priest's sin-offering on the Day of Atonement is, he maintains, "purposely ordered" to remind believers of Jesus' sacrifice on the altar of the Cross.[294] "Hereby also He offered Himself for sin, became a willing sacrifice to bear what we deserved," he declared one Good Friday. "No man took His life from Him, but He laid it down of Himself; the blessed Cross being His altar, as He Himself both Priest and Offering."[295] Christ's priestly sacrificial death is once and alone efficacious, Keble states, as the High Priest only made atonement annually.[296] In His Priestly Office He pleaded "Father, forgive them...", and offered the great Atoning Sacrifice, declaring in,"It is finished...",the fulfilment of Old Testament types in His "wonderful sacrifice

which He then finished offering".[297] Holding Christ's sacrifice an expiation for past sins, Keble was wont to echo the Prayer Book formula - "that one sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world".[298]

Keble also declares that believers enter the holy place through communion with Christ. His broken body is 'the rent veil' disclosing His Divinity and effecting our Eternal Life.[299] We feast on His sacrifice of Himself. "The Flesh of Jesus", he states,"...His glorified body, offered by Himself as High Priest, is a new and living way, through which believers, baptized persons, drawing near from time to time, may with reverent boldness enter the holy place."[300] But Keble binds the efficacy of the Cross to Christ's heavenly ministry. On the High Priest's entering with blood, he observes: "... this part of the ceremony takes us far beyond Good Friday, even to Ascension Day, for then it was that the Great High Priest entered into the Eternal Sanctuary, with His own Body and Blood, which He is now there offering to His Father, day and night, for us sinners."[301] Blood alone was not sufficient to effect cleansing, so that Aaron was required to bring sin-offerings, of blood and of incense.[302] The incense is now prayer, Keble states, "... the prayer of believing penitent people, offered by our Great High Priest along with His own Blood before the Mercy seat in Heaven."[303] Here man actively cooperates in his salvation. As incense was required of Aaron, "so our hope in Christ is vain, if we do not offer Him continually the sweet incense of sincere prayer, to be presented by Him to His Father."[304] Good works, too, are the "scent", the "perfumed wine, wine and incense together worthy to be a memorial sacrifice joined with the Great Memorial of Christ's death, ... to be presented with it by the High Priest in Heaven."[305] So believers participate in Christ's sacrifice in the eucharist and in an imitative life of self-denial and intercession. Keble's soteriology, then, embraces the Old Testament imagery of sacrifical atonement and an incensed offering of prayer, and expresses his Caroline devotion to the doctrine of Christ as the great High Priest.

Newman's soteriology has attracted much study. His interpretation, too, reflects his basic historico-theological presuppositions and is shaped by his sacramentalist incarnationism, wherein the figure of Christ, the priestly

Mediator, recurs. As before, his soteriology reflects a patristic reappraisal of his earliest Christian experiences, as his Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification (1838), and Parochial Sermons show.[306] Christ's priestly sacrifice and intercession are a recurrent motif in his writing and preaching, and they illuminate again the way Christ's priesthood fostered interaction between the lex orandi and lex credendi in Tractarian religion. In general, Newman's exposition of Christ as a priestly Mediator expresses: i) a sense of the united scriptural witness to Christ, and belief that glorious scriptural truths are sometimes veiled;[307] ii) a conviction that man's salvation was and is wrought by Christ who is both God and Man;[308] iii) a pietistic affirmation of the need for Christ's saving work to be not only wrought for us but in us; and, iv) a moral preoccupation with Christ's sacrifice being individually and corporately continued in the spiritual life and sacramental ordinances of the Church. Newman's interpretation of Christ's priestly salvific work reflects theologically conservatism and creativity.

Besides a patristic expostion of the Saviour Christ as Illuminator, Pattern, and Victor (over the powers of sin and death), Newman, as Strange correctly observes, interpreted His redemptive death as an "Atoning Sacrifice".[309] Of this "Atoning Sacrifice" Newman wrote in his sermon 'The Cross of Christ, the measure of the world' (1841):

> "...the Cross" is "the heart of religion" and "the sacred doctrine of Christ's Atoning Sacrifice is the vital principle on which the Christian lives, and without which Christianity is not. Without it no other doctrine is held profitably... unless we receive also the doctrine of Christ's sacrifice."[310]

As he had earlier confessed to Sir James Stephen, however, whilst admiring Evangelical teaching on the incarnation, he shrank from their unreserved doctrine of the atonement.[311] This sermon stresses that, like a heart obscured in a body, "the sacred doctrine of the Atoning Sacrifice is not to be talked of, but to be lived upon; not to be put forward irreverently, but to be adored secretly."[312] Newman's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is implicit in talk of Christ's Atoning Sacrifice and participates in Newman's sense of the "reserve" due to such mysteries. The sermon 'The Incarnate Son, a Sufferer and Sacrifice', rightly

interpreted as a study of Christ's Atoning Sacrifice,[313] urges listeners to concentrate, and

> "...clear our minds of things transitory, temporal, and earthly, and to occupy them with the contemplation of the Eternal Priest and His one ever-enduring Sacrifice; - that Sacrifice which, though completed once for all on Calvary, yet ever abideth, and, in its power and its grace, is ever present among us, and is at all times gratefully and awfully to be commemorated."[314]

As Newman admits, Christ's sacrifice is "a vast topic".[315] Behind his interpretation lies an acute awareness of man's sin and the need for its expiation. His early writing is Thomist, presenting that sacrifice as the cause of Christ's incarnation, and of Old Testament sacrificial antecedents of sacrifice and suffering antitypically fulfilled in Christ. The Evangelicalism which inspired Newman's original devotion to Christ's priestly sacrifice on the Cross, is progressively rejected as evaporating the 'mystery' behind the expiation of man's sin by Christ's Atoning work. Likewise Erskine's rationalistic interpretation of God's loving remedy for sin as a fierce display of God's justice is also denied.[316] Rather, all that Christ has done, Newman maintains, including "His death, His priesthood, His sacrifice, His resurrection", is shadowed forth in the Old Testament, though "Not openly ... for neither is His death nor His priesthood taught openly, but covertly, under the types of David and Aaron, or other favoured servants of God."[317]

Though all the Old Testament prophets foreshadow Christ's priesthood in their sufferings,[318] according to Newman, His mediatorial priesthood is supremely shadowed forth in Moses, the Mediator between God and Man, the shadow of Him who, "By His Cross and passion... made atonement for our sins and bought for us the forgiveness of God", being Himself God and Man.[319] However, though Newman stresses that Christ, the God-Man, is the only Mediator between God and Man, nevertheless His priestly work on the Cross is specifically ascribed to His Human nature, the 'instrument' of man's redemption.[320] His shed blood belonged to His manhood, though "full of power and virtue, instinct with life and grace, as issuing most mysteriously from Him who was the Creator of the world."[321] "As He became the Atoning Sacrifice by means of His human nature,"

he states, "so is He our High Priest in heaven by means of the same"... "For Christ is come a High Priest through the perfect tabernacle which He assumed."[322] Christ's priesthood is caught up in Newman's declaration that Christ's sufferings are truly God suffering through the instrument of His Son's human nature, whereby mankind suffers to be revivified. "In Him," he states, "our sinful nature died and rose again."[323] In that one sacrifice and priesthood under the Gospel all previous sacrifices and priesthoods are superseded.

Christ's priestly sacrifice is, then, an important element in Newman's exposition of Christ's priestly work, and informs Newman's understanding of the crucial 'application' of Christ's atoning work. For, as his Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification, state: "Christ's cross does not justify by being looked at, but being applied".[324] Justification is, in Newman's anti-Pelagian soteriology, wholly God's work. Righteousness is not a feeling, nor a state of mind, as contemporary evangelicalism appeared to Newman to teach, but a definite gift of Christ's indwelling presence in the believer by His Spirit.[325] Righteousness before God is "a spiritual power or divine virtue".[326] The believer, Newman taught, is mystically indwelt by Christ's presence. The justification given to faith is remission of sins, adoption, reconciliation, and new life.[327] Following Athanasius, he also taught that man's nature is thereby divinized into the likeness and character of God.

In his Lectures Newman relates 'Justification' to Christ's priesthood by presenting Him as the sole-existing principle, or ἀρχὴ , of life in the Christian Church.[328] His priestly life "circulates in the members of One Body".[329] Christ's priesthood also informs Newman's understanding of righteousness. For, according to Newman, St. Paul,

> "... declares that Christ is made a priest 'not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life;' His eternal and spiritual existence becoming, through His sacerdotal intercession, an inward power to His followers, such as could not be imparted by any mere earthly system."[330]

Hence, Newman spoke of "the Eternal Priest" and His "ever enduring Sacrifice".[331] The heavenly priest applies His sacrifice and sanctification to believing hearts. St. Paul, he maintains, glorified not in the material cross and

sacrifice of Christ, but in "that Sacrifice coming in power to him who has faith in it, and converting body and soul into a sacrifice".[332] As there had been "a material, local sacrifice of the Son once for all", so, Newman stated in the Lectures, "for our Justification, there must be a spiritual ubiquitious communication of that Sacrifice continually".[333] This communication Newman saw objectively effected through the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church's sacraments. In Baptism and in the eucharist, through the ministry of Christ's priests, Christ's priestly life comes and indwells the believer.[334] By this means the image of Christ is reflected in individual Christians as in the whole Church.

The doctrine of Christ's mediatorial priesthood is, then, integral to Newman's understanding of justification and salvation.

> "This, I repeat, is our justification," he wrote, "our ascent through Christ to God, or God's descent through Christ to us; we may call it either of the two; we ascend into Him, He descends into us; we are in Him, He in us; Christ being the One Mediator, the way, the truth, and the life, joining earth with heaven."[335]

By its very recurrence, Christ's priesthood became an important agent of doctrinal unity in Newman's early Anglican religion. Furthermore, in the very 'liturgical' language of Christ's priestly sacrifice and intercession, reflection on Christ's 'liturgical' offering on earth and in heaven, as undergirding the Church's lex orandi, shaped Newman's perception of the nature of man's relation to God. Lex credendi was thus altered by Newman's interpretation of this aspect of lex orandi. There are few references to Christ's salvific work as priest in Froude's Remains. He does describe Christ, though, as "the Saviour of the world, the Mediator of a new Covenant, the Blessed Son through whom we have access to the Father", and of "that last Awful Mystery by which our redemption was effected,- the precious Sacrifice which our Lord offered upon the Cross."[336] Furthermore, as in Keble, human disposition and divine grace are prerequisites of appropriating God's saving ordinances.

> "The death of Jesus Christ upon the cross was an Ordinance", he states, "and yet was necessary to our salvation; as our faith is necessary to it. The Priesthood of Jesus Christ in Heaven is an Ordinance, and yet is necessary to obtaining God's favour for us; as our prayers are necessary to it... That suitable dispositions are indispensably requisite towards this

> end, no one doubts; but that they are themselves sufficient, is inconsistent alike with every leading doctrine of Christianity; with the necessity of Christ's death upon the Cross, with the effects ascribed to His ascent into heaven, with His Eternal Priesthood, and with the office ascribed to Him as Judge at the last day."[337]

Froude's exposition here inheres in legitimation of priesthood in the Church as compatible with the glory of Christ's saving work. Likewise, he maintains, a sacrificial interpretation of ποιειν ('offer' or 'sacrifice'), in Christ's eucharistic command "Do this in remembrance of Me...", is compatible with affirmation of the finality of Christ's atoning sacrifice;[338] "The continuance (viz. in a commemorative eucharistic sacrifice)," he states, "in no way interferes with the perfection and sufficiency of the one "sacrifice for the sins of the whole world", offered by Christ on the Cross."[339] The one is "a sacrifice for sins"; the other is offered as a memorial of that sacrifice.[340]

Froude has, then, no extended treatment of Christ's priestly merits and mediation: something the Remains' original editors recognised, and for which they predicted condemnation. So Newman wrote to Keble in August 1837, presciently adumbrating critical reviews:

> "Both by what he omits and by what he maintains - by his blindness towards the doctrine of Christ's merits and his attachment to Popery, he shows us what is in the mind of such as Dr. Pusey, much as they may declare against Popery, much as they may profess to revere the doctrine of justification by faith and Christ's merits."[341]

Somewhat dismayed at Newman's projected response from the critics, Keble replied:

> "If any person when they read the Journal give it the sort of construction which you have imaged out as to the point of not making more (express mention) of our Lord and of his mediation, I can only say that I firmly believe it would be a most untrue surmise. Indeed his faith and conduct with regard to the Holy Eucharist appear to me alone sufficient entirely to refute it. I can vouch for this: that he seemed to me to look on the Manifestation of Our Lord's Human Nature in the Gospel with more awe and reverence than almost any person I ever knew: and that many (many) years ago. This and a deep sense of his own (what he called) imbecility : and dread of saying more than he meant, seem to me generally to have been the causes of his instinctively avoiding the Name of our Lord, even when he was most completely talking as it were to himself."[342]

The exchange is illuminating. Froude's natural hesitancy and theological 'reserve', are claimed to account for the paucity of references to Christ's mediation, but the issue of Christ's mediation did provoke the charge of Pusey to Romanism. For Christ's priestly mediation was a prominent article of the contemporary Reformed devotion of the majority of Froude's Anglican peers. After 1838, hitherto sympathetic moderate evangelicals, associated with the Christian Observer, took fright at the implicit Romanism of a movement which, in Froude, appeared to derogate from Christ's honour.[343] In the closing years of the early Tractarian phase Christ's priestly mediation was to become a critical issue of controversy both between Tractarians and their opponents, and among Tractarians themselves.

At the centre of Pusey's doctrine of Christus humilis is the Cross. The heart of Christ's humiliation, his self-emptying love for mankind, is His sacrifical death on the Cross. It has been said that theologia crucis is as central to Pusey's preaching as to evangelicalism.[344] "Pusey brought with him from the Evangelical sphere an intense and tender theology of the Cross", Brilioth writes, "constantly deepened by contact with the classic Passion mystics of the Church".[345] The ascetic doctor mysticus nourished his devotion by contemplation of the Saviour's suffering.[346] He modelled his rule of life on the one "who learned obedience through the things he suffered" (Heb.v:8). Having learned from the tragic loss of relatives and friends to contemplate the Cross, Pusey comforted those who similarly suffered. In Pusey's piety we see fructifying the roots of later Catholic evangelicalism.[347] The Incarnation and Cross were the two moons of Pusey's theological cosmos. From one he learned of a Saviour who could suffer, and from the latter of one who truly did, on the Cross. The doctrine of Christ's priesthood is applied by Pusey to man's salvation and relation to God.

Christ's priestly ministry of sacrifice, and especially intercession, are recurrent themes in Pusey's thought. They inform his defence of God's sovereign action in Redemption and of the legitimate Anglicanism of the Tract writers, in this early period. His Tract LXVII accused the Roman Church of obscuring "the primary articles of Justification and of the Intercession of our Blessed Lord",[348] and exhibits Pusey's firm commitment to Christ's sacrifical and intercessory

priesthood. In 1836 he attacked Hampden's use of Church language to describe Christ as incarnate and "a meet sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world",[349] as veiling a deceitful Pelagianism. His Letter to the Bishop of Oxford (1839), likewise defended the Anglican doctrine of Justification, which "directs men to look neither to their faith, nor to their works, but to Christ alone", against both the Roman Catholic position - ("in that it excludes sanctification from having any place in our justification") - and the Lutheran, -("in that it conceives justification to be not imputation merely, but the act of God imparting His Divine Presence to the soul through Baptism, and so making us temples of the Holy Ghost").[350] Heylin's explanation of the Anglican position is quoted:

> "...by God's mercy and in the virtue of that Sacrifice which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Son of God, once offered for us upon the Cross, we do obtain God's grace, and remission as well of our original sin in Baptism, as of all actual sin committed by us after Baptism, if we truly repent and turn unfeignedly unto Him again. Which doctrine of the Church of England, as it is consonant to the word of God, in Holy Scripture, so is it also most agreeable to the common and received judgment of pure antiquity."[351]

These allusions to Christ's priesthood, in Pusey's defensive writing, introduce its cruciality for his interpretation of Christ's past and present ministry.

Christ's priestly sacrifice is integral to his Lectures on Types and Prophecies. It is presented as the fulfilment of the Levitical sacrificial system. In a section 'On Sacrifice' Christ's priesthood is pivotal.[352] Old Testament study is, he claims, itself justified by the light shed on 'vicarious sacrifice'[353] and a Christian priesthood thereby.[354] Old Testament sacrifices are not, however, complete 'types', he argues, since too close identification with the great Antitype of Christ's sacrifice might confuse shadow with substance.[355] He defends figurative phrases, such as "the sacrifice of Christ", "the kingdom of God", "the temple of the Holy Spirit", against those dismissive of their use and meaning, because "still through the medium of these figures... we understand (as far as we do understand), the reality".[356]

> "When moderns ... attempt to translate into plain terms the figurative language of H[oly] Scr[ipture], and to substitute abstract, and as they would fain know it, clearer terms for their types and typical language of the O[l]d Testament], they uniformly, by this transmutation, evaporate much of their meaning."[357]

Against a contemporary rationalistic Socinianism, Pusey defends the value of an imprecision in typological language others condemned. Under this umbrella the image of Christ's priesthood is also affirmed. There must be no incorrect precise equations such as Law = Dark and Gospel = Light, Pusey claimed.[358] The New Testament incomparably illuminates the Old , and is in turn illuminated by it through the use of broad images, and symbols.[359] Christ's priestly sacrifice and ministry explicate, and are explicated by, the whole typological system of Old Testament sacrifice.

Pusey's treatment of sacrifice centres on the ritual of the Day of Atonement. He interprets it in its own right and as a commentary on the priestly sacrifice of Christ. Drawing inevitably on Hebrews,[360] Pusey contrasts the two sacrificial systems, though establishes their typological relationship. He stresses the imperfection of the Levitical Day of Atonement, as a figure and as a reality. It did not, he claims, perfectly prefigure Christ's priestly sacrifice: for, on the one hand, the day of Atonement involved repetition, and, on the other, "the perfect image" was a composite compilation of many imperfect parts in the old system.[361] For,

> "...the High Priest was perfectly pure," he states, "but only such by having,firstly offered for His own sins: the victim was without spot, but only freely offered by another; and both together, when Priest and sacrifice should be one, could alone complete the image of the self-sacrificing love of Himself for the sins of the whole world:"[362]

In the imperfect figure of transitory High Priests who existed only for the office of the Day of Atonement, Pusey saw the 'perfect image' of Christ the priest in His humiliation to death, His glorification to life, and His "one perfect, sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."[363] Of the Old Testament High Priest he wrote - "the more imperfect his office, the more vividly was its representation".[364] It was an imperfect reality, too: its power was derivative from Christ's perfect priestly sacrifice, its effect transitory, its

atonement external. By contrast, Christ's permanent, once-for-all priestly suffering is of infinite power, of enduring efficacy, of an 'inward' atoning character.[365] But Pusey sees good in the predictive, temporary, derivative sacrifice of the Day of Atonement. For the Old Testament system declared sin needed an adequate compensation. Vicariousness was integral to the meaning of Old Testament sacrifices, and the day of Atonement presented sin predictively as remitted by vicarious death.[366] As he wrote:

> "The rites exhibited positively a priest, altogether justified, but in a state of humiliation entering into the immediate presence of Almighty God, alone, and veiled from the sight of every human eye, and there presenting before Him that blood, of a victim without spot or blemish, which God Himself had appointed as an atonement for their souls and on this all the offences of His whole congregation were remitted, and in part as a visible symbol of this, the substitute, upon which they were laid, going far away to carry them, as it were, out of sight."[367]

Whereas, the sacrifice of the earthly High Priest was transitory and outward, Christ's sacrifice on the cross was permanent, cleansing from sin and the consciousness of sin.[368] Pusey also saw in the occasional sacrifices of the Levitical system, "that daily remission of our daily infirmities, through the intercession of our High-Priest."[369] The enduring efficacy of Christ's priestly sacrifice lay, for Pusey, in the eternal intercession of Christ, pleading the merits of His earthly sacrifice. So, he wrote, elucidating Hebrews vii:25:

> "He abideth always, the Living Source of life. And He is there, as our High Priest - consequently, not as distinct from us and interceding for us only, but as our representative, as having our nature, even as our High-Priest was taken from among his brethren, and exhibiting us and our nature pure before God,-and we are pure before Him, not in ourselves, but as having ceased to be ourselves, and as forming one whole with that High Priest, and existing in and through Him."[370]

Hence Pusey's devotion to the Cross is consummated in his rich ecclesiological and soteriological affirmation of the eternal intercession of Christ as High Priest. This is the fulfilment of the Day of Atonement: Christ, His people's priestly Mediator.

4. 'Th'eternal Priest' and the theology of worship of early Tractarianism

Pusey's interpretation of Christ's heavenly intercession aptly introduces this final section, which examines the role, content, and significance of Christ's priesthood in the 'sacramental' and 'liturgical' theology of the early Tractarian lex orandi. According to Davies: "It was in the realm of worship that its (Tractarian) theology was most profoundly emphasized."[371] Study of Christ's priesthood exposes the dynamism and tension inherent in Tractarian reflection on the meaning, character and basis of worship in the Anglican Church. It confirms the transforming power of the Tractarian lex orandi in their theological reflection, and argues that at a decisive point in the Movement's history, Christ's unique mediation and priestly intercession were crucial for determining the Anglicanism, or not,of the Movement's leaders. The Oxford Movement not only recovered the prominence of a cardinal article of the historic 'Catholic' Anglican lex orandi, which shaped the forthcoming doctrine and devotion of successive generations of Anglo-Catholic Churchmen, but also contributed towards making Christ's priesthood again a characteristic feature of Anglican religion. The Oxford Movement was more than "a reality and a life",[372] it involved specific and lasting doctrinal beliefs. One such belief, rooted in biblical, patristic, and Caroline theology and early Tractarian devotion, was the image of Christ as priest.

To grasp the significance of Christ's priesthood for 'the theology of worship' of early Tractarianism, we must examine their interpretation of the heavenly ministry of Christ as priest. In this light the theology of worship, in its sacramental, liturgical, and intercessory character, was and is to be understood. Alf Härdelin's The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist lacks this contextual perspective in its treatment of Christ's priesthood in Tractarian eucharistic theology. This sacerdotal principle in Tractarian religion further illuminates the roots of "the neo-Anglican doctrine of the eucharist" prior to 1843,[373] and the character and decisive significance of Tractarian understanding of man's relation to God through Christ's priestly mediation and heavenly ministry in worship, prayer, and service.

The centrality of Christ's priesthood to Keble's eucharistic thought appears most clearly after 1845 and will be examined in detail in the following chapter. However, Christ's heavenly ministry as a priest was an important feature of his Caroline theology of worship, and the basis of his later writing appears in this earlier period. Christ's unique priestly mediation was central to Keble's High Church Anglican devotion and to the lex orandi he inherited and propounded. His interpretation of Christ's heavenly ministry as priest reflects not only his commitment to the image tout court, but also his romantic Butlerian sacramentalism. The latter force inspired his creative recovery of Christ's priesthood as a central principle of the Anglican lex orandi.

Keble's poetic ideal spoke of "lifting men out of the 'ignorant present' and causing them to shape even trivial actions by reference to an archetype beyond the reach of man."[374] His platonic cosmology conceived of an ideal realm of archetypal actions dimly reflected in the 'images' or 'sacraments' of the created order. For Keble the natural and supernatural exist in two closely related realms,[375] for the world is the meeting place of God and man,[376] and visible things are symbols of invisibles.[377] In the Christian Year the sacramental principle is applied to the symbolic character of creation; later he spoke of created means as instruments of invisible grace. So faith was for Keble,"making a venture of things unseen", "looking towards things out of sight as real things".[378] The Church's sacraments are part of this wider sacrament of nature.[379] They are "an outward visible sign by which grace is denoted and given".[380] 'Real faith' is the fruit of Baptismal grace,[381] but the eucharist supremely manifests sacramentally God's presence among men,[382] and denotes participation in Him.[383] But Keble's sacramentalism also led him to embrace the doctrine of Christ ministering in an ideal heavenly tabernacle near to men.[384] It led him to see the living Christ as the supreme sacrament of God's presence among men. It led him, as Beek rightly observes, to see this heavenly ministering Christ as also Himself "the chief minister of each sacrament".[385]

The significance of Christ's heavenly priestly ministry for the Church's spiritual life, prayer and worship is evident in Keble's poetry. Christ is presented as the heavenly agent of the Church's, prayer and worship:

> "Thou art our Moses out of sight -
> Speak for us, or we perish quite"?[386]

Christ is depicted with "The golden censer in His hand" offering the "prayers in throng" that rise to the heavenly shrine.[387] He it is who,

> "When out of sight,in heart and prayer
> Thy chosen people still to bear , " [388]

so that

> "Happy the soul, whose precious cause
> You in the Sovereign Presence plead—".[389]

Christ's prayer undergirded his pastoral ministry, so when lost for words he counsels a correspondent:"... but He to whom and through whom you (I am sure) pray continually, will I trust help me."[390] Keble's spirituality was grounded in the belief that Christ is the active, intercessory priest in heaven for individuals. As Charlotte Yonge wrote of his poems: "No one can read them without being carried along by their grave, solemn sweetness and beauty, as they make us realize that it was not for an undistinguished herd of mankind, but for us - our individual selves, one by one - that our Lord interceded."[391] Against the background of devotion to Christ's priestly mediation Keble wrote: "We worship His person who is both God and Man, without scruples or ideal separations: but we do not call upon His Saints or Angels, because He had not commanded us to do so."[392] To Keble the Blessed Virgin Mary was also,"A holier mother rapt in more prevailing prayer",[393] but his mild Anglican mariology is vastly overshadowed by his devotion to the heavenly ministry of Christ as priest. He freely expressed devotion to Mary, as Anglicans had done before him,[394] not instead of to Christ as the sympathising heavenly priest and intercessor, but because there was no shadow of doubt in his mind that his life, hope, and salvation ultimately depended on Christ alone. Keble's commitment to Christ's priesthood was as an article of his Anglican doctrine and, crucially, of his devotion.

Keble's projection of Christ's earthly sacrifice onto a heavenly victim-state and pleading of His sacrificial wounds, was integral to his inherited High Anglican association between Christ's heavenly priesthood and the Church's earthly eucharist. The Christian Year articulates a commemorative sacrifice and a feasting on a sacrifice in the eucharist. Christ is, "Fresh from th'atoning sacrifice"... that "Man may take Him for His daily bread".[395] "The dear feast of Jesus dying,/Upon that altar ever lying", is that to which men, "Are call'd to sit and eat".[396] It is ironic that a clear eucharistic association with Christ's heavenly priesthood occurs in a notoriously controversial stanza!

> "O Come to our Communion Feast,
> There present, in the heart
> Not in the hands, th'eternal Priest,
> Will His true self impart —." [397]

The tortuous history of the stanza has oft been told.[398] Keble's protracted intransigence should, perhaps, also be seen as expressive of his devotion to the heavenly ministry of Christ as priest and His role as chief minister in the Church's sacraments. The issue was about more, for Keble, than just the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharistic elements.[399]

The meaning and significance of this controversial stanza are often lost. Keble saw in the eucharist a real participation of the believer in the eternal priesthood of Christ: that is, an effectual spiritual identification of the believer with the life, holiness, sacrifice and perpetual intercession of the heavenly priest. In Keble's Anglican spirituality this was a traditional declaration of hope, comfort, and sympathy. But that Keble consciously identified the eucharist with Christ's priestly ministry of intercession is not evident in his Tract on the Eucharist but in his undated sermon 'Eucharistical Offices'.[400] It is a sustained eucharistic exposition of Christ's High Priestly Prayer in John xvii. "It comes before us", Keble wrote, "as a solemn service from the mouth of the Great High Priest: a prayer of invocation and intercession: a verbal oblation, accompanying and ratifying the actual oblation of His sacred Body and Blood."[401] In recognition of Christ's 'sanctification' of Himself to the Father's will and prayer for the Church's life, love, and unity prior to His sacrifice on the cross, Keble sees a

eucharistical prayer, echoing and echoed in the Church liturgies, rich in doctrinal and consolatory truth.[402] This High Priestly celebrant at the first eucharist was, for Keble, the heavenly celebrant and earthly ministrant in all the Church's sacraments. As his sermon here makes plain, a doctrinal truth is bound to a profound devotional and spiritual principle in Keble's interpretation of Christ as priest. Through Christ's priesthood, Keble's lex orandi shaped his lex credendi.

Froude's response to the phrase "not in the hands" was simply-"How can we possibly know that it is true to say 'not in the hands'?"[403] But behind Froude and Keble's differing responses was a similar anti-rationalist acceptance of mystery. This influenced Froude's theology of worship. He spoke of the eucharist as a 'mystery', as a miracle, and his Remains do not afford more than hints to an interpretation of it.[404] His approach to Christ's heavenly ministry reflects this same reserve. He does not pry beyond what is revealed. He speaks of the abiding humanity of Christ in heaven, made known through the Resurrection, as putting the believer "in possession of a fact respecting their relation to the supreme being, of which they must otherwise have remained in ignorance",[405] and affording "practical comfort".[406] Hebrews x:19-22 denoted for Froude the appropriately trusting disposition of mind and heart to "come boldly to the throne of grace", and indicates the importance of Hebrews for his theology of worship.[407] So that Christ, the priestly intercessor, is called a "real object of affection, of aweful love".[408]

Froude does not, however, expatiate upon his perception of the significance of Christ's priestly ministry for the Church's worship. Is this only 'reserve'? Or did he, in fact, sit light to Christ's priestly mediation, as his critics claimed. His antipathy to anything smacking of Protestantism,[409] his ascription of priestly 'power' to ministers in the Church,[410] effectively immobilising Christ in heaven, and his espousal of Roman Catholic saint-worship and Mariology after 1833, might all confirm this.[411] Despite his knowledge of early liturgical integration of Christ's priesthood in Roman and Gallican rites,[412] his writings exude a different spirit both from the rhetorical contributor to the Plain Sermons who enquired - "Are not our prayers, the prayer of the Church, offered up wholly and only in His

Name?",[413] and from the one who stressed that in the Church of England's weekly Collects, "... there is perhaps not one but what teaches us practically to trust only in the Mediation of Jesus Christ, and in the continual help of His Spirit".[414] Clearly, Froude did not, as we have seen, reject altogether a practical devotion to Christ's mediatorial priesthood, but there is a distinctive difference in degree, if not in kind, in his later interpretation, which contrasts with Keble's tenacious Anglican 'orthodoxy'.

His application of the doctrine to the eucharist is likewise paradoxical. He ascribes "continuance" to the eucharistic sacrifice, as not interfering with the perfection of Christ's one sacrifice[415] and this, in Keble, allowed for a 'high' view of Christ's priestly ministry in the eucharist. Furthermore his enthusiasm for ancient liturgies, to silence Protestant critics of a eucharistic sacrifice,[416] made him aware of an ancient liturgical legitimacy for associating Christ's priesthood and the eucharist. But, his claim that Ordination, by confering priestly power, renders the Church's Altar more sacred than the Levitical Holy of Holies,[417] as the Christian place of sacrifice, militates against a Keblean view of the significance of the heavenly liturgical ministry of Christ in heaven for the Church's eucharist. Furthermore, whilst claiming there to be no contradiction between Christ's Body and Blood in heaven and on the Altar, being "the same in that sense in which our bodies after the Resurrection will be the same with our present bodies"[418] - he nevertheless rejects speculative "guesswork"[419] about the character and location of heaven and thus, not surprisingly, does not have a strong eucharistic exposition of Christ's ministry as priest in heaven. The eucharist was a "mystery", "the most prominent feature in the worship of the faithful",[420] but Froude has little place for Christ's priestly ministry there.

Isaac Williams' consistently Anglican, though Catholic, devotional writing does not reflect Froude's reservations or 'reserve', if such it was, regarding Christ's mediatorial priesthood in heaven. A Hymn on Christ's heavenly session, expatiates upon the typical pattern of the High Priest's ministry on the Day of Atonement fulfilled by Christ in heaven.

"Before His Father there
His sacrifice He pleads;
And with unceasing prayer
For us He intercedes."[421]

Identification of Christ's heavenly intercession with the Church's worship and life is a persistent theme in Williams' later writings. The Altar: or Meditations in Verse on the Great Christian Sacrifice (1847) vividly portrays the agonising fact of Christ's prayer:

"Thus our High-Priest enters the holy place
With His Own Blood to intercede; and now
Calls us to join with Him, and leaves below
His prayer, and His example, and His grace; -
His Spirit in our hearts, in this short space
Given for repentance. Thus He bids us know
His groanings of unutterable woe,
And 'neath the cloud of God's averted face
Mourns in our heart of hearts. O awful scene!
Where our High-Priest, as if within the vail,
By us below is interceding seen,
In that dark night of anguish kneeling pale,
With crying,and with tears, and failing breath,
Pleading with Him who can redeem from death."[422]

In The Baptistery (1848) the ecclesial application is apparent - "There at the footstool is the Heavenly Bride,/In whom - for whom - the Intercessor pleads".[423] Here is a breadth and depth of interpretation unmatched by Froude.

In Williams' Series of Sermons on the Epistle and Gospel (1853) Hebrews viii:1 is interpreted as a source of confidence in Christ's heavenly ministry as priest; "Here is all our strength, all our confidence, while in prayer we wait without for His again appearing."[424] Froude never matched the richness of Williams' liturgical application of this cardinal principle of his 'representative', Tractarianism, and Prayer Book Anglicanism. So, in The Psalms interpreted of Christ (1863), we read:

> "...Christ our Advocate with the Father takes our words and pleads for us, and gives us His own words of intercession, and puts them into our mouth; and we feel that in the Psalms He is Himself using our words for us with all-prevailing mediation, and we to the Father are using His words."[425]

Here is a devout declaration of the centrality of Christ's intercessory mediation as priest for Williams' Anglican lex orandi. A simple eucharistic hymn similarly extols the Melchizedekian priesthood of Christ:

"MELCHISEDEC, that Salem's king,
Brought forth the bread and wine;
To Abraham's seed so Thou didst bring
The better feast divine."[426]

The difference between Williams and Froude lies, perhaps, more in spiritual or devotional conviction than doctrinal content. In a Movement distinguished by its preoccupation with lex orandi, the differences between Tractarians on this issue significantly illuminates the tensions and disagreements the Movement contained.

What, then, of Newman and Pusey? Were they united in their understanding of Christ's priestly ministry in and through the Church's worship? Did Pusey share Newman's ecclesio-liturgical application of Christ's priesthood to "all acts of his Church".[427] Do they interpret Christ's priestly intercession in the same way? Did they both integrate Christ's heavenly priesthood in discussion of the eucharist? These are crucial questions. They illuminate Newman's progressive anti-rationalism in the early 1830's, and progressive anti-Anglicanism in the early 1840's. They suggest that decisions made with respect to the historic centrality of Christ's priestly mediation in the lex orandi of the Church of England, were part and parcel of Newman's decision to depart from, and Pusey's to stay in, the Anglican Church. The one stimulated reflection on Christ's priesthood in the Roman Catholic Church, the other in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism.

Christ's High Priestly intercession is a recurrent theme in Newman's writings from the beginning: Integral both to his interpretation of Christ's priestly ministry and Alexandrian incarnationism. "As He became the Atoning Sacrifice by means of His human nature, so is He our High Priest in heaven by means of the same," he declared. "He is now in heaven, entered into the Holy Place, interceding for us, and dispensing blessings to us."[428] Supreme among His blessings is the gift of the Holy Spirit.[429] He intercedes in heaven as "the Eternal Son of God", addressing the Father now "as before, but under far other circumstances, and in a new way... through the feelings and weepings of human nature".[430] Newman's interpretation of Christ's priestly intercession reflects his understanding of Christ's two natures as priest.

As the sermon 'Waiting for Christ' illustrates, Newman was by the mid-1830's stressing Christ's spiritual presence not only in heaven but also in His Church. In his maturer Anglican reflection, Christ's liturgical agency as priest is confined neither to earth nor to heaven, and is a primary agent in uniting heavenly and earthly worship. But, alongside Newman's clear presentation of the earthly ministration of Christ as priest, from an early stage he cautioned 'reserve' in rationalistic speculation into the character of Christ's priestly intercession in heaven, despite his use of the traditional language of "pleading His wounds".[431] Heaven is, for Newman, a fixed place, not to be evaporated by figurative interpretations.[432] He exhorts his hearers, in the spirit of Hebrews x:19-22, to come boldly to it as their Christian home.[433] He explicates the mediatorial 'type' of Moses as Intercessor,[434] and speaks of Christ interceding above while Christians intercede below.[435] But, his declaration of 'reserve' is unequivocal. Christ's antitypical fulfilment of the Levitical High Priest's entry within the veil is declared a mysterious 'figure', not to be explained away as merely figurative, nor to be invaded by improper curiousity, nor neglected through misunderstanding,[436] but, as he writes:

> "We will hold it as a Mystery, or (what was anciently called) a Truth Sacramental; that is, a high invisible *virtue* lodged in an outward form, a precious possession to be piously and thankfully guarded for the sake of the heavenly reality contained in it. Thus much we see in it, the pledge of a doctrine which reason cannot understand, viz. of the influence of the prayer of faith upon the Divine counsels. The Intercessor directs or stays the hand of the Unchangeable and Sovereign Governor of the World; being at once the meritorious cause and the earnest of the intercessory power of His brethren."[437]

Christ's priestly intercession recurs in Newman's writings in the 1830's less as a 'popular', intelligible, devotional truth, and more as a 'mystery' apprehended by faith. His 'reserve' in devotional explication of Christ as the incarnate sympathising High Priest, apparent in his christology, is evident again here in relation to His intercession as the basis of the Church's spiritual life.

Newman treated of Christ's intercession in Tract XC, which was intended to present the Thirty-Nine Articles as patent of a Catholic interpretation. Writing on 'the invocation of saints', he cited the Prayer Book's Homily on Prayer.

Christ in heaven, he states, "hath an everlasting priesthood" and "always prayeth to His Father for them that be penitent"... "so that this Holy Mediator is sufficient in heaven, and needeth no others to help Him".[438] "Invocation is a thing proper unto God, which if we attribute unto the saints, it soundeth unto their reproach, neither can they well bear it at our hands".[439] Newman interpreted this as not referring to all invocation but only "Romish" excesses of sacrifice and prostration, such as is "proper to God" alone.[440] As Owen Chadwick has noted, this raised the issue of whether the ora pro nobis of some liturgies was to be condemned, even if it enriched personal devotion, since "the mode of worshipping might begin to affect the creedal propositions believed to be true".[441] The issue was the lex orandi. Protestant sensibilities were aroused by discussion of Christ's mediation.[442] In Oxford Faussett lectured on the Thirty-Nine Articles in June 1841, and enquired,

> "...What becomes of the solemn declaration of the Apostle, 'there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus?' -...and ex animo subscription to the Article which declares... simple Invocation to be not merely a vain invention and unfounded in Scripture, but to be repugnant, literally contradictory, to the word of God?"[443]

Newman had touched on a divisive issue even for Tractarians.

Tract XXXVIII had quoted Bishop Hall's view that "the direct invocation of Saints is a dangerous practice, as tending to give, often actually giving, to creatures the honour and reliance due to the Creator alone".[444] Pusey in Tract LXVII observed how evident it was that "the addition of the single practice of 'soliciting the saints to pray for men', has in the Romish Church obscured the primary articles of Justification and of the Intercession of our Blessed Lord."[445] As Liddon records, the issues of 'invocation of saints' and devotion to Mary, in Tract XC, prompted considerable correspondence between Pusey and Newman.[446] Pusey counselled and obtained a slight alteration in the second edition of Tract XC on 'Invocation of Saints', Pusey had stated his position in his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford (1839), where he objected to direct invocation of the saints as tending to "interfere with the Office of the Great Intercessor".[447] He was hard-pressed to agree with Newman in regard to Tract XC. His Letter to Dr Jelf (1841), in its

support drew an historic Anglican distinction (pace Thorndike) which claimed the Articles taught, between the early Church's legitimate indirect invocation of saints through Christ, and the later 'Romish' direct invocation, which enjoined or inculcated devotion to the saints.[448] He cautioned against the danger of embracing "even such modified invocations", advocating, rather, direct approach to Christ as "the safe way".[449] In Newman's own Letter to the Bishop of Oxford (1841) his protestations against worship of Mary, invocation of saints, worship of images in Tract LXXV are cited,[450] as is his view that certain invocations in the Roman Catholic Breviary "carry with them their own plain condemnation, in the judgement of an English Christian", whilst its 'Antiphons to the Blessed Virgin' reveal "the utter contrariety between the Roman system, as actually existing, and our own."[451] The mediation of Christ was behind these declarations and directly implicated in an 'English' or 'Anglican' view of the invocation of saints and devotion to Mary.

Newman said that in 1841 he was "on his death-bed, as regards ... membership with the Anglican Church".[452] This disagreement with Pusey enlightens this claim. Pusey's commitment to the office of the great priestly Intercessor was, for all his introduction of adapted Roman Catholic manuals, positively and repeatedly affirmed. It was a cardinal principle of his religion, as we shall see further in the next chapter. Newman, on the other hand, in Tract XC had, according to all except his most 'Roman Catholic' Tractarian contemporaries, intruded upon a sacred preserve of Anglican religion -devotion to Christ's unique priestly mediation and intercession in heaven. Newman's attitude towards the 'Invocation of Saints' in Tract XC reflects a decision made with regard to Christ's priestly mediation. Was it his cautious devotional application and interpretation of the doctrine of Christ's sympathising heavenly priesthood which made him more susceptible to contemplation of devotion to other mediators through whom to approach God? As Newman and W.G. Ward were well aware "an English Christian" had inherited doctrinal and devotional sensitivity towards Christ as the 'One Mediator', the one High Priest, between God and Man making the introduction of Mariology fraught with difficulty.[453] Is devotion to Christ's

priestly mediation not partly the cause of Newman's agonising over Roman Catholic devotion to Mary?[454] Did she not in part become the 'crux', as he called her,[455] in his progressive anti-Anglicanism, because of the strength of an historic Anglican commitment, in the Church's lex orandi, to the image of Christ as the sympathising heavenly priest? Was he not prepared finally to accept devotion to Mary because, as he stated:"Our Lord cannot pray for us, as a creature prays, as Mary prays; He cannot inspire those feelings which a creature inspired."[456] This much can be said. The issue of Christ's priestly intercession was as critical an issue in the Romeward movement of some early Tractarians as either Apostolic Succession in the Church of England or the nature of eucharistic sacrifice. For it touched on the person and work of Christ, at the centre of Tractarian and Anglican piety. It was an issue in the Church's lex orandi which sundered Tractarian ranks, and aroused their opponents.

But, finally to understand fully the role, content, and significance of Christ's High Priestly ministry in the theology of worship of Newman and Pusey we must consider its place in their sacramental, and, especially, eucharistic theology.

Newman, as we have seen, came to speak of Christ's priestly ministry "in all acts of His Church", including, explicitly, Baptism and blessing.[457] A believer, he stated elsewhere, appropriates Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King through the sacraments,[458] for Christ is present there.[459] As Härdelin points out, in the 1830's, and particularly in his Letter to Faussett, Newman grappled with the question of the manner and location of Christ's presence in the eucharist.[460] His understanding of Christ's being 'Really Present' in the eucharist, whilst also in heaven, is the key to his liturgical explication of Christ's priestly ministry "in all acts of His Church". To Newman, the mystery of Christ's presence is the mystery of His nature.[461] His body is now spiritual. He can now be Man at the Father's right hand and really or literally present in the eucharist, not just as Spirit but in His incarnate nature[462]. Newman described this as "a Sacramental Presence." "We kneel before His heavenly Throne", he wrote "and the distance is as nothing; it is as if that Throne were the Altar close to us."[463] This was his philosophical

justification of Christ's Real Presence in the Letter to Faussett, it was "the denial of the existence of space except as a subjective idea of our minds."[464] This principle illuminates Newman's early and later application of Christ's priesthood to the eucharistic sacrifice and sacramental action of the Church. His treatment of Christ's priesthood reflects his progressive eucharistic theology.

In his two unpublished sermons on liturgy of 1830, Newman presented the ministry as sacerdotal.[465] The Christian sacrifice in the eucharist is the offering by the priest of the Church's sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving, not a sacrifice identified with Christ's on the cross.[466] He connects a representative priesthood with Christ's sole High Priesthood, but does not establish an identity between the Victim and the Sacrifice of the Church. As Härdelin comments, "The condition ... was belief in the real presence of Christ's body and blood".[467] As yet no direct sacramental identification is established between the eucharist and the cross, nor between the ministry of Christ as priest in heaven and the eucharistic sacrifice, though the first-stage of that identification is made through earthly priests 'representing' Christ.

By 1838 Newman's understanding of Christ's priestly presence in His Church had developed to such an extent that his Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification contrast the many sacrifices and priests of the Old Testament with the sole sacrifice and priesthood of Christ in the Church, upon which those of the Church depend.[468] The eucharistic sacrifice is here, not merely a symbolic oblation of bread and wine, but essentialy one with and a 'continuation' of Christ's sacrifice on the cross: as he wrote, "being instinct with that which they commemorate, they are absorbed and vivified in it."[469] By Christ's priestly agency, through human 'representatives', the eucharist becomes a manward "spiritual ubiquitous communication" of the sacrifice of the cross, and a Godward "mysterious representation of His (Christ's) meritorious sacrifice".[470] Both here, and in Newman's treatment of Art.XXXI in Tract XC - the most controversial, inconsistent, and regretted part of the Tract, - the doctrine of Christ's priesthood impinges upon Newman's eucharistic thought by affording the christological and ecclesiological framework for discussion. Christ's priestly presence is the basis of

the Church's ministry. His one priestly sacrifice is the essential reality continued and communicated in the eucharist.[471] The focus of Christ's priestly ministry, through the doctrine of Christ's Real Presence, is the worshipping life of the Church. Christ is, for Newman, the true Melchizedek, the Lord and Saviour, who by His priests distributes still the bread and wine.[472]

Pusey's stress upon Christ's heavenly ministry as priest, apparent in his repeated advocacy and articulation of His priestly intercession, is evident in his eucharistic thought. His Lectures on Types and Prophecies, Catena of Anglican authors on the eucharistic sacrifice in Tract LXXXI and treatment of the subject in other writing and preaching, formed a major force in recovery of patristic and Caroline correlation of the Church's eucharistic offering with the ministry of the heavenly Priest.

The section 'Passover', in his Lectures,[473] argues that, as subsequent passovers were "commemorative", propitiatory sacrifices, "representative" of the first life-giving, vicarious sacrifice in the original Passover, so that event was a type of the Lord's Supper, a sacrifice "commemorative" of the death of Christ.[474] As Pusey points out, in the Ancient Church, the eucharist was an "enacted confession" that it could not approach God "save with the memorials of His cross and Passion, who had brought them near to Him".[475] "The eucharistic oblation expressed in action," he states, "the same as in words the Confession wherein will we close each prayer 'through Jesus Christ our Lord'."[476] For Pusey, though, the eucharist is not an enactment of Christ's mediation, it is grounded upon it. The eucharistic ministry of 'evangelical priests' is, therefore, listed as:

> "1) as commemorating, in solemn form the sacrifice here below, which Christ our High Priest commemorates above.
> 2) as handing up (if I may so speak) those prayers and sacrifices of Christians to Christ our Lord, who as High Priest recommends the same in heaven to God the Father.
> 3) as offering up to God all the faithful, who are under their care and ministry, and who are sanctified by the Spirit."[477]

The eucharist is, he states, "a commemorative sacrifice, whereby we plead the death of His Son, and in that we plead it, we are accepted". "... In so far as it is

given us by God, it is the Body and Blood of Christ, imparted by God by the means of the Bread and Wine."[478] For Pusey the dynamic heavenly ministry and agency of Christ as priest is crucial. "It is no small thing", he writes, "that we present unto God the figure, that whereof Christ our High Priest presents the reality continually - the figure or memorials of that sacrifice, which was offered for the sins of the whole world".[479] And, quoting Augustine, he states: "in that thing which she offers, she herself is offered."[480] The lower sacrifice is not merged in the higher. Rather, Augustine "represents the lower as contained in the mystery of the higher".[481] Christ's heavenly commemorative sacrificial offering as priest is the basis of the Church's eucharist.

But Pusey presents the earthly eucharist as both the image of a heavenly type, and the antitypical fulfilment of Melchizedek's mysterious offering of bread and wine, "emblematic of the spiritual food of the Christian, the body and blood of Christ."[482] This eucharistic interpretation of Christ's Melchizedekian priesthood, - an office, Pusey argues, begun at the Last Supper and consummated on the cross, - is pronounced one of the "hard sayings" omitted by Hebrews, but repeated by fathers of the East and West who had learned it from the Apostles.[483] Christ's priesthood is fulfilled in His Melchizedekian self-offering, "when, in consecrating for ever the Eucharistic symbols, He presented to His Father His own body and blood".[484] The significance of Christ's priesthood for the Church's eucharistic worship is embedded, according to Pusey, in the types and prophecies of the Old Testament.

Pusey's Tract LXXXI revived Anglican awareness of the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice in the historic Church of England, and provoked bitter controversy. "Left so long to tradition", Pusey saw the doctrine perpetuated almost exclusively by Nonjurors and the Scottish Episcopal Church, despite being "a doctrine ... which our Church retains", albeit "one of the most withdrawn from sight, lest it should, at one time, perchance have been misapplied or profaned."[485] His theological introduction presents the Early Church's view of the eucharist as "offering the memorials of that same Sacrifice, which He, our great High Priest, made once for all, and now being entered within the veil, unceasingly presents

before the FATHER, and the representation of which He has commanded us to make".[486] Pusey interprets Christ's heavenly ministry as the 'presentation' of His earthly sacrifice. The Eucharist is an 'impetratory'[487] sacrifice. His heavenly ministry has this manward dimension.

> "They first offered to God His gifts", Pusey states, "in commemoration of that His inestimable gift, and placed them upon His Altar here, to be received and presented on the Heavenly Altar by Him, our High-Priest; and then, trusted to receive them back, conveying to them the life-giving Body and Blood."[488]

Pusey cites sixty-five Anglican authors in Tract LXXXI, and it stands as signal testimony to the prominence of Christ's priesthood in historic Anglican eucharistic theology. It provided historical tools for subsequent Tractarian articulation of the doctrine in which Christ's priesthood was pivotal.

That Pusey was himself a disciple of men like Andrewes, Bramhall, Taylor, Herbert, and Ken, in his eucharistic application of Christ's High Priesthood is evident in his condemned sermon of 14 May 1843, 'The Holy Eucharist, a Comfort to the Penitent'.[489] The eucharist, he maintains, is a commemorating sacrifice since, in it Christ "puts us in a position to plead before the Father the one meritorious offering upon the cross, which He, our High Priest, ceaselessly in His own Divine Person pleads in Heaven."[490] The eucharist is supremely a means of support and enlargement of life.[491] Life is imparted through the eucharist as it is through the Incarnate Word of God and One Mediator between God and Man,[492] who in His Passion, as a priest offered Himself through the Eternal Spirit to God and 'consecrated' Himself to suffer at the hands of guilty men.[493] This eucharistic understanding of Christ's priesthood is found, too, in a letter to Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892) in the autumn of 1843:

> "I only believe, that as He continually offers up His Atoning Sacrifice in Heaven as our Mediator, so does He also, by the hands of His Priests; or, as Bishop Taylor, I think, says, after the Ancient Church, we do on earth what He does in Heaven, the image and likeness of what He does, Whom the Priest represents."[494]

The heavenly priestly perspective is clear.

Christ's heavenly ministry as priest was a fundamental principle of Pusey's 'theology of worship'. In contrast to Newman, it was that christocentric heavenly

perspective, nurtured in a strong doctrinal and devotional commitment to Christ's priestly ministry, that helped to preserve Pusey's Anglicanism. From his example, in part, the Puseyite party progressively embraced Christ's priesthood as a significant doctrinal and devotional trait.

We have considered, then, in this chapter the subject of the role, content, and significance of Christ's priesthood in the doctrine and devotion of the Oxford Movement. We have represented its significance as a crucial theme in relation to Tractarian ecclesiology, christology, soteriology, and theology of worship, and thence presented its composite importance as a unitive principle in Tractarian religion in toto. Our exposition has led us to recognize significant interpretative variations in regard to Tractarian doctrine and devotion. Indeed, in the last section, we have argued that the issue of devotion to Christ's unique priestly heavenly ministry was one which divided those who left from those who stayed within the Church of England. Christ's priesthood requires, then, to be recognized as, in its own right, a cardinal principle of early Tractarianism.

CHAPTER II

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

Newman's secession, by many long anticipated, was a severe blow to the Movement. A. P. Stanley believed it fatal.[1] Benjamin Webb, in Cambridge, reckoned as a result "almost all the true-hearted would secede one by one".[2] Only twenty four converts followed Newman, and J. B. Mozley was right, stating in 1843, "there is a spirit within the Church now, I think that will work, whatever individuals leave here."[3] The Movement lost Newman's charismatic, academic and journalistic brilliance. For some his departure brought relief and recommitment. John Keble writing to Isaac Williams, confessed:"... now I have thrown off Newman's yoke ... things appear quite different."[4] Neither Newman, nor unfaithful Bishops could drive him from the Church. "If the Church of England were to fail altogether," he wrote, "it would be found in my parish."[5] But others like R. I. Wilberforce, Henry Manning, Frederick Oakeley, William Dodsworth, did later secede, to Keble's dismay. Pusey's response was phlegmatic even conciliatory. In his 'open letter' to a friend of 16 October 1845 he recalled,"how devotedly he (JHN) worked for our Church, and how he strove to build her up."[6] His commitment to the Church of England remained completely unshaken[7] and remained so till his death. So the Anglican Revival "was not, in fact, killed or even arrested by the shock of 1845," though as Church also points out "... after 1845, its field was as much out of Oxford as in it".[8]

This chapter examines the later thought of first generation Tractarians. It presents the increasing importance of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood in the Movement's later stages by examining in detail the outlook of five leaders of the Movement after 1845. This will facilitate exposition of the unitive function of the doctrine within that theological and devotional understanding. We will see not only how it became increasingly prominent in Pusey and Keble's thought but also how it was central to R. I. Wilberforce's Tractarian theological systematisation and Henry Manning's Anglican sermons. If Chapter I presented the recovery of an Anglican tradition regarding Christ as priest, then this chapter considers its

establishment and development in the centre of later Tractarian doctrine and devotion.

1. Charles Marriott and the establishment of a Tractarian tradition

Symbolic of the dissemination and concretisation of Tractarianism in the mid-Victorian Church, the month Newman seceded saw Pusey opening a Church he largely financed, - St. Saviour's, Leeds, - soon to become a focus of controversy. Reflecting on the celebrations accompanying its opening, Pusey wrote with sorrow that "for the first time, he had to go forth to his labour, apart from the friend of above twenty-two years".[9] His own hopes for the Movement were confided to Keble. "It was a very cheering week. There seemed such a much deeper spirit among the clergy, a great sense of the need of intercession."[10] After 1845 the ministries of priesthood and prayer were cardinal principles of the Movement. At the centre of these was the focal image of Christ as priest.

In Oxford, Newman's place was effectively filled by Charles Marriott (1811-1858). Influenced by Newman whilst a Fellow at Oriel, Marriott succeeded him as Vicar of St. Mary's. To Newman he was "a grave, sober, and deeply religious person, a great reader of ecclesiastical antiquity; and having more influence with younger men than any one perhaps of his standing."[11] Lacking Newman's oratorical genius, Marriott's lasting contribution to the Movement, "out of all proportion to his acknowledged literary work",[12] lay in the spiritual force of his personality and in his co-editorship of the Library of the Fathers begun in 1836. Pusey, his co-editor, acknowledged Marriott undertook the lion's share of the later work at the expense of his health.[13] He died in 1858.

Marriott's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is contained in his Sermons and Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans (1859). The centrality of Christ's priesthood to Marriott's incarnational sacramentalism and theology of worship sets the tone for our study. His interpretation of Christ, the great High Priest, is significant, though overshadowed, by subsequent clarification and development in later Tractarian thought.

Marriott's Sermons preached before the University (1843), dedicated to Newman "by one who owes him much", formsa useful backcloth for understanding his later views. His dependence on Newman is clear. His early 'reserve' towards Christ's priesthood reflects this. Like many of his Tractarian contemporaries Marriott spoke of "the very great importance of the true doctrine of the Incarnation."[14] Christ's priesthood is caught up in his incarnational theology. A sermon of 1839, 'The Church One in Christ', presents Christ as "the Son of God...the true High Priest",[15] the one Mediator in whom alone "men can become... one in Christ" and accepted by God.[16] Man is incorporated into Christ, the incarnate Priest. This influences Marriott's theology of prayer. As he states, "... in the perfect state of union He is so their Mediator as not merely to speak to the Father for them from their prayer, but Himself, by His Spirit, to speak in them to the Father."[17] Again, "... they are brought so near to Him, so made one with Him, that in their very prayer He prays".[18] This Augustinian interpretation of prayer was to become a significant trait in later Tractarian writing. Marriott also stressed that Christ "is everything to us, and our pattern in everything."[19] Christ's priesthood became the model and inspiration of the Church's sacrifice and priesthood. His Easter Day sermon of 1840, proclaimed Christ's perfect antitypical fulfilment of the Old Testament's legal ordinances in His one great Sacrifice of Atonement, being "at once the highest atonement offered to God, and the feast freely offered for man to partake of".[20] It was both a propitiation and exemplary sacrifice, participated in by man in the eucharistic sacrifice. "On earth it is finished" he declared "in Heaven it is continually offered, and must prevail."[21] This Ambrosian or Taylorian interpretation of the commemorative sacrifice of the eucharist, stressing Christ's heavenly priestly self-offering, and man's sacramental participation in it, appears in his sermon 'The Reasonable Sacrifice' of 1843:

> "We do offer ourselves to Him," he states, "when we seek to be partakers in the sacrifice of our Lord, by offering the memorials of His Passion, and receiving them again from Him as the Living Bread of the True Melchizedek. We do not take away the offering from God, but add ourselves to It, that we may be sanctified through Him Who communicates Himself to us in It.."[22]

Christ's priestly ministry, entered upon in the humiliation of the cross, is the inspiration and ground of human priesthood. As he reminded his University congregation in 1843: "The outward transactions and ceremonies solemn though they be in themselves, do but veil Christ. Under the lintel of the Cross, and His extended hands, do they pass to the sheep that He has purchased with His Blood."[23] Christ's present priestly ministry became, in Marriott's early sacramental incarnationism, central to the Church's life, worship and ministry.

His later work confirms these emphases. A christocentric sacramentalism exudes from his five sermons, On the Principles of Faith and Church Authority (1850). The Christian faith, he writes, "centres in the Person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."[24] In a sermon 'Apostolic Communion' of 1844, Marriott states that His presence shapes and inspires with divine authority the Church, - its worship, priesthood, and ministry.[25] "Christ our Lord fills and pervades all things," he declares elsewhere "and makes present everywhere the virtue and active influence of His glorified Manhood".[26] He is spiritually present under the forms of bread and wine and is shown forth as present in the earthly priest.[27] "The making man partaker of a Divine Nature from God," he declares "gives a character of Divinity to the whole system of union in that society, which is the Body of Christ".[28] Priests have a delegated power of "effective absolution" and Bishops that of admission into "spiritual communion".[29] Marriott's writing shows awareness of the dynamic present ministry of Christ as priest; a ministry whose fruits are appropriated through the sacraments. In a characteristic Tractarian manner, the importance of Christ's 'indwelling' is upheld - "The main thing for each one of us," he states, "is within, to have in his own soul the power and full effect of God's witness to His Son's Incarnation."[30] 'Feasting' on the eucharist was a primary channel for this 'indwelling'. His exhortative sermon at the closure of St. Margaret's Chapel, prior to rebuilding, therefore, declared:

> "Blessed be God for evermore for the mercies and graces He has showered upon us within this poor Tabernacle! Blessed be His Name for the many celebrations of our Heavenly Passover, in which we have been fed with the very Flesh and Blood of our Everlasting Sacrifice, and refreshed with the presence of our merciful High Priest!"[31]

Marriott became increasingly concerned with the context and content of worship. In 1851 he bemoaned the fact that,"In too many places has the worship of God been stinted of needful means and left to be performed in the midst of filth and ruinous decays".[32] His Lectures on Romans present the foundation of 'true worship', bound to emphasis upon Christ's sacrificial ministry as priest:

> "For true and perfect worship, then, there must be on God's part,the gift of the Spirit, like the fire from Heaven, to make it living and effectual, and there must be the truth, the present power of the one real, everlasting sacrifice, which taketh away the sin of the world,-the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world."[33]

Marriott's interpretation reflects again the heavenly perspective of Tractarian eucharistic theology. The seeds of later more explicit Anglo-Catholic stress on Christ's priesthood are already sown in his writing and preaching. Christ's heavenly priesthood and priestly ministry became for many Anglicans in subsequent years the model, measure, and inspiration of the Church's earthly worship.

2. E. B. Pusey and Christ the Heavenly Priest and Intercessor

Newman's secession and Marriott's death left E. B. Pusey uncontested head of the "rump" of Oxford Tractarianism.[34] His reluctant, conciliatory leadership, sheet-anchor of the later Movement, caused avoidance of excess and some frustration to extreme ritualistic High Churchmen. He was the focus, too, of Protestant obloquy. His death in 1882 ended the effective contribution of first-generation Tractarians to the Anglican Revival. Throughout his later life Pusey felt impelled to comment on major controversies in the Church. His prolific writings - doctrinal, devotional, homiletical, and polemical, - are a mine of information on Christ's priesthood. They illustrate his individual stance and confirm thereby the doctrine's centrality to the Movement he lead. The main lines of Pusey's interpretation, presented in a composite systematic form, may be readily drawn.

The longest extant treatment of Christ's priesthood in Pusey's works was a Retreat Address, of 1868, to the 'Companions of the Love of Jesus'. Entitled,

'Love of Jesus for individual souls in His continuous High-Priestly Office for us', the address embodies the essence of Pusey's mature reflection on the doctrine.[35] As the context suggests, the prime importance of Christ's priesthood for Pusey lay in its illumination of the Church's primary tasks of worship and intercession. The Church's lex orandi for Pusey, hinged on the fact that,"Our Lord Jesus Christ still intercedes for us".[36] In this address, as throughout his preaching and writing, Pusey extolled Christ, the unique priestly Intercessor. In the image of Christ as priest Pusey discerned a rich and multi-faceted motif, which informed his christological, soteriological, ecclesiological, and sacramental reflection. His devotion to Christ's priesthood continues to reflect a deep historic Anglican commitment to this image.

As his Retreat Address makes clear, however, Pusey believed Christ's "perpetual intercession for us is a matter of faith".[37] That is, it is a truth received by spiritual 'vision' not intellectual reflection, by Christian hope not unbelieving doubt. Emphasis upon the Christian's beatific vision of Christ, as the ascended priest in His humanity at God's right hand, is a feature of Pusey's sermons at the opening of St. Saviour's, Leeds.[38] A Parochial Sermon on 'Hope', likewise states that hope reaches into heaven,

> "...that where He is gone, there we might enter in, might tread the way which He has trod before, follow after, where He is the Forerunner and holdeth wide open the Everlasting Doors, which lifted up their heads to receive Him, a High Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedeck, ever living to intercede for us."[39]

In his Retreat Address, the vision of Christ's heavenly intercession is related to Christ's passion. "Ours will be no mere reflection on it," he writes, "we shall ever see it: for we shall ever see the prints of the nails in the glorified Body of Jesus."[40] This 'sight' of Christ's heavenly intercession, recurs in many aspects of Pusey's doctrinal and devotional writing. It was his way of circumventing philosophical objections to discourse on Christ's heavenly ministry.

The cosmological and sacramental foundation of Pusey's thought is therefore crucial. Despite the language of 'ascension' and 'entry' into heaven, his thought reflects the sacramental immanentism characteristic of later

Tractarianism. 'Heaven' was not for Pusey "a distant object, removed from us, in space and time";[41] rather, it was that place where Christ is, "that place where the blessed see Him".[42] The blessed 'see' Christ in His human nature in heaven.[43] Yet, he also stresses, "He is still, as God, as near to us, as when He was in the flesh. Here, where we are gathered in His Name, could our eyes behold Him, He is in the midst of us."[44] In Pusey, and later Tractarian thought, God is immanent in the world; heaven and earth are "near"; Christ is sacramentally present though created media.[45] So, when His heavenly priesthood and ministry are adduced in doctrinal and devotional writing, it does not betoken a sense distance but nearness. Four main features of Pusey's later interpretation of Christ, the priestly Intercessor deserve particular mention as illuminating the unitive role Christ's priesthood played in his thought.

Firstly, Christ's priesthood continued to inform Pusey's understanding of the person of Christ, on earth and in heaven. His doctrine and devotion are still fundamentally christocentric, and defensive of the honour and glory of Jesus. His writings continue to be a signal repudiation of contemporary Evangelical claims that Tractarians,"Substitute the sacraments for Christ".[46] Christ's priesthood is throughout his life integral to his devotion to Jesus, the Christus Humilis. "The mystery of the Incarnation has changed everything upon earth," he declared, "and has encompassed us with mysteries as with blessings."[47] Through the Incarnate priestly Mediator "all things,'both which are in heaven and which are on earth' are gathered together and summed up." [48] In this Christmas sermon at the end of his life, Christ's priesthood is adduced:

> "He took man into Himself," he writes, "that, through that Human Nature which He had taken, His gifts and fulness and In-dwelling might extend through our whole nature. The Precious Ointment, which is the Holy Spirit, was received on the Head of our High Priest, that it might reach even unto us, and hallow us, if we be but the skirts of His garment, the mortality wherewith He clothed Himself, that He might give it His own Immortality and Life."[49]

But, union with Christ and His priesthood are not an immediate result of the Incarnation. "He joined our Manhood to Himself," he wrote, "that He might join us on, one by one to Him, that He might by His sacraments impart Himself to

us."[50] In his later thought Christ's priesthood helps to bind Pusey's incarnationism to his sacramental theology.[51] That Pusey believed Christ entered into His priesthood on earth also appears after 1845. He speaks of His actions at the Last Supper and on the Cross as works of our great High Priest.[52] Christ's priesthood continued to illuminate his understanding of the incarnate Christ, and of the heavenly Christ as Intercessor, who is God and Man. On a number of occasions he quotes Augustine: "He prays for us as our High Priest, prayeth in us as our Head, and is prayed by us as our God."[53] Pusey continued to stress that, as the heavenly priestly Intercessor, Christ appears before God "in that Human Nature which for us He took", whereby He pleads with sympathy, fellow-feeling and love.[54] As he stated in a Parochial Sermon, 'The Ascension our Glory and Joy': "It is the very ground of the boldness of our approach to His throne of grace, that 'we have not an High Priest who cannot be touched with the feelings of', cannot sympathise with (so the word is), 'our infirmities'."[55] As in the earlier period, this, as we shall see, continued to inform Pusey's understanding of the Church of England's lex orandi.

In this later period we also find Pusey, the biblical scholar, presenting the language of priesthood applied to Christ as part of the Bible's picture-language, whereby God accommodates Himself to man's understanding. In his University Sermon of 1853, 'The presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist', Pusey argues that, in speaking of God, scripture is "full of figures" ... "expressing some reality".[56] Among this, "one great picture-language, to make present to our senses and minds what is invisible, intangible, inconceivable",[57] Pusey lists the christological title 'priest'.

> "Whether then our Lord be called a Lion, a Lamb, a Rock, a Hiding-Place, a Fountain, a Vine, a Door, a Branch, a King, a Judge, a Priest, a Shepherd, these are but different letters of the one great alphabet of that condescending language, in which God reveals Himself to man."[58]

Pusey is not saying here the title 'Priest' is merely descriptive, but he is making a significant distinction between the reality associated with the title 'Priest' and the truth it communicates, as the neo-Socinians, in a more extreme form, had done.[59] In a subsequent University Sermon 'The prophecy of Christ our Atoner

and Intercessor' on Isaiah liii, he reverts again to the traditional contrast between the Old and New Testaments. "Prophets, priests, and kings were", he states, "in their fleeting succession, images of Him, the Eternal Word, the Priest for ever, the King of kings and Lord of lords."[60] In Pusey, then, devotion to Christ as priest begins to denote more precisely commitment to the language of 'Priesthood', applied to Christ, as more symbolic of a heavenly, or Christian, truth, than indicative of a functional or official heavenly reality. Pusey, the well-informed biblical scholar, in this later period illustrates the marrying of critical reflection on scriptural truth and the conservatism of devotion, in his commitment to an interpretation of Christ's priesthood.

Pusey's persistent stress upon Christ as the heavenly priestly Intercessor, however, conditioned his interpretation and application of the work of Christ. His University Sermons of 1843-1855 do indeed contain an 'Appended Note' repudiating Benjamin Jowett's objections to the language of sacrifice and satisfaction,[61] and his sermon 'Christ our Atoner and Intercessor' does present Christ's atonement as the divine counterpart of the whole Old Testament system - Priest, Altar, Sacrifice, and Victim[62] -however, in Pusey's exposition of Christ's atoning sacrificial work His perpetual heavenly, priestly, intercession is often a dominant feature.

Without compromising the perfection of Christ's once-for-all atoning work on the cross, and being confessedly "jealous" for the meritoriousness of His propitiatory sacrifice, Pusey closely identifies Christ's sacrifice and intercession. He finds justification for this in what he sees as Isaiah's prophetic "blending" of the past atoning death of Christ and the present and future High Priest's office.[63] Isaiah, he maintains,

> "...does not stop short in the Atonement, without speaking of the abiding office in which it was to issue; nor of our Lord's present office, justifying, cleansing, interceding for us, as separate from the Atonement, by whose meritorious virtue He justifies, cleanses, availingly intercedes for us".... "The Atonement, although ended as an Act, is not a mere past Act. It lives on in effect in our Lord's abiding Intercession" ..." He is our Propitiation, in the present, and not in the past only, because that Propitiation, although in itself perfected when He bare our sins on the Cross, is ever present with God, ever makes Him propitious to us sinners".[64]

In like manner at St. Saviour's, Leeds, he spoke of Christ in heaven as "even now looking on us all, not from the Cross, yet as from the Cross",[65] since He still bears on His human body in heaven the wounds of the Cross.[66] Through commitment to Christ's Intercession, Pusey vividly teaches that His heavenly presence and 'wounds' plead for mankind, as He continually presents the blood of His Atoning Sacrifice.[67] "The Passion Lives on in Heaven", he could declare.[68] His treatise The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ of 1857, occasioned by the Denison case,[69] likewise stated: "In that sacred Body, indeed, our Lord intercedes for us, and continually exhibits, in the Presence of the Father, those glorious Scars, the tokens of His Cross and Saving Passion. In it He is present there, our High Priest for ever 'who ever liveth to make intercession for us'."[70] Hence, Christ's intercession is foundational for Pusey's later soteriology.

Pusey also emphasised the human sympathy with which Christ prays. He spoke of the unity existing between the prayers of Christ, the incarnate Head and High Priest, and those of His Body the Church. "We pray to Him, with Him, and in Him; and we speak with Him, and He speaks with us," he stated to the 'Companions of the Love of Jesus.'[71] But, His intercession is also that of the glorious Saviour, who "Gives as One with God the Father what, as Man, He obtains for us".[72] Pusey's understanding of the past and present work of Christ was dominated by the thought of Christ's continual priestly Intercession in heaven.

As a direct corollary of this, Pusey continued to be defensive towards Roman Catholic devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the 'invocation of saints'. In his Letter of 2 March 1846, for example, a solicited response to Newman's secession and Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, one of Pusey's points justifying the Tractarian position was,

> "that there are very serious things in the Roman Communion which ought to keep us where we are. I would instance chiefly the system as to the Blessed Virgin - as the Mediatrix and Dispenser of all present blessings to mankind. (I think nothing short of a fresh Revelation could justify this)"[73]

A later University Sermon, 'The Rule of Faith as maintained by the Fathers and the 'Church of England', likewise rejects 'invocation of saints', on the grounds of Christ's priesthood.

> "... the Church of England may ask;" he writes, "Since no one text of Holy Scripture can be alleged for the invocation of saints, since it is said of our Lord that 'He ever liveth to make intercession for us,' that 'we have not a High Priest who cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities;' that we may 'come boldly to the throne of grace;' that there is but One Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus; on what authority is this teaching delivered in the name of the Church?"[74]

His First Eirenicon addressed to Keble, 'The Church of England a portion of Christ's one Holy Catholic Church, and a means of restoring visible unity' (1865), articulated the same position. Though eirenical in spirit, and later critized by Newman as unbalanced, Pusey was forced to state that the Homilies make clear objections to "Invocations" which seem to interfere with the all-sufficiency of the Intercession of our Divine Redeemer",[75] and to enquire "How can it be thought by any that Jesus, — Who 'ever liveth to make intercession for us'...-is not willing to hear us, unless we seek a Mediatrix with Him, who is to dispose Him to hear us?"[76] As he made clear elsewhere, he repudiated the Roman Catholic notion, expressed in some devotional manuals, that in heaven Christ's Manhood was withdrawn again into His Divinity as Judge, so that mankind requires His mother's mediation to pacify His divine wrath against sin.[77] As Mary was the crux for Newman,[78] so Pusey declared: "It is notorious that this system (of the B.V.M.) is the great barrier and ground of alienation of pious minds in England"... "Nothing which seems to interfere with exclusive trust and reliance on Jesus will, without some great revolution, gain hold of the hearts of the English people."[79] For this reason, he states, his edition of Paradise for the Soul (1848) deliberately "omitted all mention of Invocation of Saints from it."[80] However, Pusey's First Letter to Newman (1869) does trace historic Anglican traditions of devotion to Mary, but Pusey expressed his belief that "we gaze on our dear Lord on the Cross, and scarce dare think of the sword which pierced His Mother's soul, and enhanced His grief."[81] Furthermore, he was thankful that continental devotions were not de fide, should his ecumenical endeavours succeed, though admits, as Keble had implied, that Anglican feelings have been too cramped, "nor have we ventured to dwell on the mysteries connected with the Mother of our Lord God."[82] Pusey sought, therefore, to

supplement his deep devotion to Christ as the sympathising heavenly priest, which he shared with evangelicals, by a due reverence for Mary through her Son.[83]

Thirdly, the continual heavenly intercession of Christ, clearly shaped Pusey's understanding of the Church, its Bishops, priests and priestly ministry, in this later period. Pusey's ecclesiology is undergirded by a sense of Christ's dynamic sacramental presence and activity as the one true High Priest of the Church. To Pusey, the Church is the Body of the Incarnate Christ ever mediating in heaven and spiritually present in and through the Church's sacraments.[84] His sense of the nearness and unity between the Priestly Head and Body undergirded his growing sense of the Church as <u>in toto</u> a priestly body. His ever growing exasperation with the episcopate,[85] his moves to restore Convocation[86] and his avowal of authority as residing in the whole people of God,[87] are compatible with, if not indicative of, this movement. As early as 1846, in his first sermon after his suspension, 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', he stressed that, "in all which is performed according to His will, He it is who, 'distributing to every man severally as He wills', worketh, through each member of His Mystical body and His visible instruments, that which He commandeth to be done in His own Name".[88] In determining the function and authority of a priestly ministry in the Church, he assumes, "One only is the High Priest; One only consecrates."[89] So, he declared, "In all things the Church and her ministers are not instead of, but the instruments of Christ",[90] with a delegated authority. This was the position he adopted in the 'Sacerodotalist' controversies of the 1860's -, the "battle of the sacerdotium", as he called it in 1867.[91] Pusey sought to do justice both to Christ's present priestly ministry and to that of His earthly ministers. He held that Christ's mediation, too, could justly be said to come between the soul and God.[92] He upheld a High view of a representative priesthood, in a neo-Scotist manner. He rejected excessive advocacy of 'vicarial' "priestly power", "spiritual independence", "sacerdotal rights",[93] voiced by only the most extreme neo-Thomist Anglo-Catholics.

Pusey's renowned advocacy of sacramental confession and priestly absolution reflects this position.[94] In his sermon 'Entire Absolution of the

Penitent', Pusey directed his hearers eyes and hearts to dwell both "on all those untold and ineffable mercies contained in the intercession of our Lord, at the Right Hand of God for us"[95] and on the reality of the priest's powers of Absolution. Christ, he declared, "Himself looseth the bands of sin which He commandeth His servants who stand by to unloose in His Name".[96] He comforted penitents, declaring:"... so soon as His Priest has, in His Name, pronounced His forgiveness on earth, the sins of the true penitent are forgiven in Heaven, 'whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them'".[97]

Furthermore, having established an intimate relation between the earthly and heavenly priest Pusey not surprisingly had little cause to stress the essential dependence of a priest upon his Bishop's authority, and, as some other High Churchmen did, the Bishop's function as Christ's sacerdotal successor. Christ's priesthood was one feature of Pusey's reaction to Episcopacy.

Finally, though, Christ's heavenly intercession was, for Pusey, visibly represented and sacramentally participated in, in the Church's eucharistic worship. Throughout the sacramental and ritualistic controversies of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Pusey's contribution lay primarily in the weight his words carried, in the conciliatory tone they often adopted, and in the doctrinal views which he sought to impart into sometimes heated, empty-headed, and bigoted disputations. Throughout he reflected an Ambrosian and Caroline presentation of the commemorative sacrifice of the eucharist, and upheld Christ's real objective presence. In both, Christ's priesthood was central. His eucharistic thought appears clearly in his Letter to the Bishop of London (1857). It was an aggrieved response to the recent Gorham judgement[98] and countered William Dodsworth's recent claim that Pusey's initial response had been injudiciously acquiescent.[99] Pusey's defence of the commemorative sacrifice of the eucharist is presented as "part of our Blessed Saviour's priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, as has ever been understood by the Church".[100] Quoting Jeremy Taylor, Pusey stated:"we minister in the Priesthood of Christ" - "that is, we are ministers in that unchangeable Priesthood, imitating, in the external ministry, the prototype of Melchizedek... and, in the internal, imitating the antitype, or

substance, Christ Himself, who offered up His body and blood for atonement for us...".[101] Christ's heavenly priesthood is determinative of his eucharistic theology. Echoing consciously the thought of writers like Field, Taylor, Forbes, Brevint, Overall, Andrewes, Bramhall, Mede and Patrick, Pusey wrote:

> "Our Ever-Blessed Lord, unceasingly presents in Heaven that Sacrifice which He once offerd on the Cross;.... He the One High Priest,having entered once for all into the Holy of Holies, the Heaven of Heavens, is there our Unchangeable, Unceasing Intercessor, 'ever living to make intercession for us.' At the Holy Eucharist we are admitted, as it were, to see in image,(as St.Ambrose saith ,) what in truth He ever doth in Heaven. He Himself invisibly sanctifieth what is offered, Himself, the Only High Priest, offereth before the Father, what His Word sanctifieth. The Church pleadeth as a suppliant that same sacrifice, which He presenteth as High Priest, efficaciously".[102]

His treatise The Real Presence of 1857 adopts a like stance. He speaks of "the memorials of the Death and Passion of our Lord, whereby we plead to God that same sacrifice on the Cross, which He, our Great High Priest and Intercessor, pleadeth unceasingly in heaven, in that Glorified Body which still bears, (in what exceeding Glory!) the marks of His Passion."[103] In his First Eirenicon he states his belief that the Churches of England and Rome both believe the Holy Eucharist to be an 'application' of the one meritorious sacrifice of the Cross.[104] The Church of England is, he claims, particularly jealous for the meritoriousness of Christ's one great atoning sacrifice which he believed this eucharistic theology in no way compromised.[105] His open letter at the end of his life to his close friend and protégé, H.P. Liddon, entitled Unlaw in Judgements of the Judicial Committee (1881), expressed his exasperation with judicial action against Ritualist priests, - "To most non-Ritualists like ourselves, it has seemed one long unmitigated evil", he declared.[106] Pusey traces his Ambrosian, Tractarian eucharistic theology most immediately to ("the anti-Roman controversialist")[107] Bishop Phillpotts' of Exeter's Charge of 1836 and Pastoral Letter of 1851.[108] Any strict adherent of the Prayer Book, he maintains, could not compromise Christ's once-for-all atoning sacrifice whilst regularly reciting the Eucharistic Prayer.[109] Of the Ritualists and their prosecutors he writes:

> "The prosecutors have not learned,that what binds the ritualist to what they think externals, is the love of Jesus crucified for us and now living at the Right Hand of God to make intercession for us. The ritualists love to do and represent on earth as far as man can, what He, the great High Priest, is evermore doing for us in heaven, pleading on earth that same Sacrifice, of which He has left us the memorial."[110]

Pusey and the Ritualists, often divided over ceremonial,[111] were closer in the determinative significance ascribed to Christ's heavenly ministry as priest in the formulation of their eucharistic theology.

This heavenly perspective influenced Pusey's eucharistic thought and understanding of worship in other ways. His sacred Body being in heaven, Pusey held, Christ's presence in the eucharist must be of a 'spiritual' and 'sacramental' though nevertheless 'real' kind.[112] On the same grounds, he denied the Lutheran doctrine of 'ubiquity' and affirmed the donative character of the eucharistic feast, whereby especially the believer is brought into sacramental union with the indwelling Christ.[113] Christ's perpetual self-offering in heaven and desire to nourish His people 'spiritually' informed Pusey's encouragement of frequent communion. Furthermore, he believed the perpetual heavenly liturgy afforded a pattern for the 'Daily Hours' and 'Offices' of the Church, and he praised the "perpetual intercession" of the 'Companions of the Love of Jesus'.[114] Fundamentally though, Pusey believed his understanding of Christ, the Heavenly priestly ministrant and Intercessor, expressed the spirit of that cardinal principle of the historic Anglican lex orandi, the liturgical phrase "through Jesus Christ our Lord".[115] Pusey expressly believed that "the rule of prayer forms the rule of faith. The transmitted prayers of the Church hold in life and being her transmitted faith". Hence, whilst defending the eucharistic sacrifice he wrote in the First Eirenicon: "That One Sacrifice we plead in every 'through Jesus Christ our Lord', with which we end each prayer... In the Eucharist we do in act what in our prayers we do in words".[116] Earlier, his Letter to the Bishop of London stated: "The Eucharistic Oblation expresses, in same as in words, the confession wherewith we close each prayer 'through Jesus Christ our Lord'. It is something out of ourselves, above and outside our prayers".[117] That 'something' he explained as, "His abiding Priesthood after the order of Melchizedek", in which

Christ pleads, intercedes, and offers Himself in heaven.[118] It was this conception of Christ as priest, then, which forcibly shaped Pusey's christological, soteriological, ecclesiological and sacramental thinking. It was for Pusey, "part of the mystery of His love",[119] to be imitated in the ministry of the priesthood and in the Church's ministry of intercession.[120]

3. Christ, the priestly Mediator, in the theology of R. I. Wilberforce

Marriott and Pusey lead the Tractarian 'rump' in Oxford. R. I. Wilberforce, Henry Manning, and John Keble exercised their ministry primarily elsewhere; key figures disseminating Tractarian principles more widely. Of R. I. Wilberforce, (1802-1857) E. L. Mascall wrote:"He was theologically perhaps the greatest of Tractarians".[121] Wilberforce's dogmatic trilogy, Doctrine of the Incarnation (1848), Doctrine of Holy Baptism (1849), and Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist (1851), together with his Archdiaconal Charges and Sermons on the New Birth (1850) stand out as a remarkably coherent systematic theological corpus. This son of the anti-slavery campaigner, brother of 'Soapy Sam' (Bishop of Oxford) and Henry, provided, as David Newsome has written, "the theological synthesis of much Tractarian thinking",[122] which Manning and others believed he could and must do.[123] Raised an Evangelical and converted to Tractarianism at Oxford in the early 1830's, Wilberforce wrote as the old Anglo-Catholic confederacy collapsed after the Gorham Judgement in 1850. His theological outlook was, as his works make clear, further shaped by disagreement with Schleiermacher, and sympathy towards the ecclesiological sacramentalism of Möhler, and Günther, the theology of Dorner, and the exegesis of Olshausen.

Central to Wilberforce's thought was the doctrine of Christ as Mediator. It is, he held, the consequence of His incarnation, which is "the starting point".[124] Christ's priesthood is integral to that doctrine. Its study takes us to the heart of his thought. His writing also hinges on the belief that the Incarnation is "the great objective fact of Christianity",[125] and represents consolidation of the movement, Christus Redemptor: Christus Consummator, so often recognised in early Victorian Anglicanism.[126] Integral to that movement, though largely

unacclaimed, was the doctrine of Christ as priest. Wilberforce's writing illustrates this fact. Christ's High Priesthood was a prominent feature of his incarnational thought. It further reveals a strong Tractarian, and thence Anglican, proclivity for this doctrinal image.

Christ's priesthood recurs in Wilberforce's writing in a number of different doctrinal contexts as in Pusey. He employed it firstly in exposition of Christ's person and work. This is particularly evident in his magnum opus Doctrine of the Incarnation, which E. R. Fairweather adjudges "unquestionably the great synthesis of Tractarian thinking".[127] "Christ's office as High Priest", Wilberforce maintains, "is the consequence of His Nature".[128] His priesthood "does not only arise from His having an offering to make on our behalf; it lies in His constitution; it is the result of that personal union which binds man to God."[129] In the language of priesthood Wilberforce articulated his central doctrine of Christ as the God-Man Mediator.[130] As priest He was truly human;[131] throughout, Wilberforce relies heavily on the vivid incarnational language of Hebrews.[132] He was not merely man as priest, but, as in orthodox doctrines of the Incarnation, He was the man,[133] the Pattern Man,[134] the Head of Humanity,[135] man's High Priest, the second or last Adam.[136] In His 'office', nature and sympathy,[137] Christ by participating in humanity has ennobled the whole human race,[138] and, as the antitype of the High Priests of the Jewish Nation, represents mankind, with whom He is intimately related, before God.[139] In His priesthood, however, He is the 'bridge'.[140] In His Incarnation He took manhood into God and the permanency of the Hypostatic union[141] is the basis upon which the whole 'sacramental' or 'Church' system depends, wherein all God's manward actions and man's Godward actions are channelled.[142] Christ entered on His priestly office at His Incarnation.[143] He was 'consecrated' to His Melchizedekian priesthood in His offering of bread and wine at the Last Supper.[144] Mankind should have been "High Priest of Creation",[145] for such they were created to be in Adam, but through Christ, the Great High Priest, Adam's sin is reversed and Humanity is 'assumed' or 'recapitulated' into heaven.[146] Wilberforce's incarnational christology has this prominent 'sacerdotal' strain.

In Wilberforce's great "law of Mediation"[147] Christ's priesthood indicates the perpetual union of Godhead and representative Manhood in His mediatorial nature.[148] It also testifies to Christ's past and present 'action' as Priest on man's behalf,[149] pleading now in heaven "that perfect sacrifice of Himself, which He shared our nature to offer".[150] Rejecting Sabellianism, Wilberforce consciously stresses the 'true', 'present', 'reality' of Christ's priestly action as Mediator.[151] It is not a passing mode of the divine self-revelation. His present mediation is the ground of all divine human relations.[152] It is crucial for man that Christ lived an exemplary life, taught and offered Himself the Head of the race[153] as the only true sacrifice,[154] the antitypical fulfilment of all the Old Testament sacrifices.[155] For now through His humanity blessings accrue to mankind, as He continually presents that self-same sacrifice of the Cross in heaven.[156] Hence, in the Doctrine of the Incarnation and in the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, Wilberforce treats "first" that "real work",[157] Christ's intercession, in the 'Church' or 'sacramental' system, the ground of His bestowing blessings on mankind.[158] It is, he maintains, "the only reality ... at this moment all men ought to remember".[159] Upon the union between the Head and members "depends our right as well in that which He effected on the Cross, as in that work of intercession which He is performing in heaven".[160] Man's salvation depends upon the grace mediated through Christ's permanent High priestly intercession in heaven, pleading and presenting His perpetual sacrifice for sin.[161] In his Doctrine of the Incarnation Wilberforce describes Christ's intercession as "speaking on our behalf".[162] In his Sermon 'The Christian Sacrifice' the dynamic character of Christ's heavenly ministry has assumed such prominence that His Intercession is presented as not words but "action".[163] The underlying point remains unchanged; man can depend upon the sacrificial, heavenly "liturgy" of Christ the High Priest.[164] On His sacrifice and intercession as a priestly Mediator the very universe is built.

The full title of Wilberforce's magnum opus is The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its relation to Mankind and to the Church, indicating the ecclesiological purview of his task. What we have seen of Christ's

priesthood in Wilberforce's exposition of Christ's person and work pertains directly to his ecclesiology, theology of worship and sacramental theology. Examination of Christ's priesthood exposes the synthetic doctrinal harmony of Wilberforce's systematic theology and the unitive endorcement it afforded for contemporary belief in the fundamental interrelatedness of doctrines.

The Church was for Wilberforce, "the extension of the Incarnation".[165] The Incarnate Christ is present in the Church.[166] It is His 'Mystical Body",[167] - a designation remarkably anticipating the theology of men like Vonier, Mersch, Congar and De Lubac in twentieth century Roman Catholicism.[168] "That which joins men to Christ's Mystical Body the Church, is their union with His man's nature; and their means of union with His man's nature is bestowed in His Church or Body Mystical".[169] Such is the intimacy of union between Christ the priestly Mediator and the Church that "when He joins His members to Himself, they are really, though by immaterial and spiritual influence, engrafted into His purified humanity".[170] As in Jewish society, the whole people of God are 'kings' and 'priests', and their status and calling depend upon the mediation and ministration of the great High Priest.[171] The continual mediatorship and mediation of Christ as priest are intimately connected with the Church's nature and office. Belief in His active presence on earth and in heaven as priest informs Wilberforce's understanding of the ministry, worship and sacraments of the Church.

Wilberforce was eager to emphasise, again drawing on Jewish parallels, that the "sacerdotal system whereby we maintain union with His man's nature, instead of derogating, as some have imagined, from the privilege of individual Christians, is the very circumstance on which their tenure depends".[172] For, he continues, "Those public ordinances ... through which as Mediator He unites them (earthly ministers) to His own Manhood, are the very life of theirs. To be found in Him their representative is to share His honour, because it is to share His Nature".[173] For Wilberforce Christ was always the real ministerial Priest active in His Church and in Heaven.[174] There was an earthly order of priesthood who offered the Church's sacrifices. Their priesthood derogated neither from that of individuals nor that of Christ.[175] It was, as seen above, the channel of Christ's

life to His people. It was so, however, only in performing a constituent part of Christ's priestly ministry as His representatives.[176] We cannot speak too highly of what is effected by their ministry,[177] so long as it is expressly declared to be subservient to His sacrifice and intercession. The truth is - "He speaks through their voice; they act by His power".[178] Hence, "The value of the Christian ministry must stand or fall according as men value the mediation of Christ".[179] "All priests and prophets are mediators by office so long as He acts and speaks in them, who is Mediator by nature".[180] Wilberforce doubted their ministry was thus esteemed, enquiring-"Is it practically believed that the perpetual sacrifice of our great High Priest has its operation through the ministry of His earthly servants?"[181] He based his legitimation of a ministerial priesthood not on an earthly phenomenon, - viz. Apostolic Succession mediated through a human episcopal agency, - so much as on the present priestly mediation of Christ, active in and through His priestly human representatives.

At the heart of Wilberforce's sacramental ecclesiology was the worship of the Church, with Christ, the great High Priest, the supreme mediatorial Liturgist. His priestly mediation is the ground of all the Church's worship and prayer.[182] The Church's common worship, in which the people of God exercise on behalf of themselves, and the whole universe,[183] their restored priestly privilege of access to God, in giving sacrificial praise and glory to God, is a means of union in and with the mystical Body of Christ, of which Christ is the priestly Head.[184] "To believe in Christ's Mediation, is to believe that through His manhood alone can the Father be addressed".[185] To Christ's mediation "all prayer is relevant - on this all worship depends".[186] "Now whatsoever has the character of worship is to pass through that one channel, through which the human nature of the Eternal Word has been opened to mankind".[187] In one of his Sermons on the New Birth, entitled 'The Privilege of Worship Restored', Wilberforce set great store by the restoration of mankind as the High Priest of the visible world, but, as he made clear: "If the privilege of worship be restored, and humanity as of old has access to God, it is that 'this man, because He continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood'. For He has offered 'one perpetual sacrifice for sins'."[188] The Church's worship, and in

a particular manner its eucharistic sacrifice, "rests upon that great truth of our ascended Lord's perpetual Intercession, which is the grand charter of His Church".[189] Christ's imparted life to His Church, the manward part of His priestly mediation, renders the Church fit for worship, to participate in the Godward part of His priestly mediation.[190] The church's worship is "the voice and action" of the Church giving utterance to that "quickening energy with which it is instinct".[191] In Christ's mediation the worship of heaven and earth are united.[192] The Church's system of worship is the "necessary correlative" of Christ's High Priestly intercession in heaven.[193] All the Church's liturgical acts are sacrificial, as "part of that grand sacrifice which has its consummation in heaven";[194] they are, "an actual participation in this sacrifice".[195] But, as Wilberforce's view of worship was grounded in his incarnational and sacramental ecclesiology, he rejected the notion of "a mere individual relation" to Christ expressed in private prayer and worship, apart from communion with His mystical body.[196] This,he held,smacked of Sabellianism and overlooked the fact that His Mediation is the consequence of that permanent character, which He was pleased to adopt by assuming manhood. Christ's priesthood, then, exercised a determinative role in Wilberforce's understanding of the nature of Christian worship.

This role is evident in his sacramental theology, which was the natural corollary of his christology and ecclesiology. The sacraments are a natural outworking of the Incarnation: they too are called, following Athanasius, Irenaeus, and Jeremy Taylor in particular, "the extension of the Incarnation".[197] They are the appointed channels of grace in the 'Church system', whereby the benefits of Christ's mediation are communicated to the members of His Body.[198] They are the source of His life and the means of union with Him.[199] Wilberforce's Doctrine of Infant Baptism, more a livre de circonstance than the other works,[200] being a reply to the Evangelical scholar William Goode's The Effect of Infant Baptism (1849), makes clear his belief in baptismal regeneration as grounded in Christ's mediation. He regards Christ's Incarnation as "the Regeneration of Nature and the sacramental system as our means of participating in this mighty alteration".[201] Likewise in his Charge of 1850, 'The Practical Effect of the

Gorham Case', Wilberforce, like so many of his Tractarian colleagues, expressed horror at the court's decision that baptismal regeneration was an open question in the Church of England, though he, for personal and practical reasons was tied to the Anglican Church, and did not secede as many did, as a result, until 1854.[202] It was, he held, "a fundamental article of the Christian faith... that the Holy Ghost bestows His saving gifts upon infants, through that sacrament of Baptism, whereby they are made members of Christ".[203] This view hinged on his belief that "the doctrine of our Lord's Mediation... not only implies that by one sacrifice He has made atonement for all His brethren, but likewise that He is the one medium through which those graces which had their origin in God are communicated to mortals".[204] Christ is both the priestly Mediator and the only true Baptizer.

Wilberforce distinguished between the sacramental character of Baptism and of the Eucharist. In the latter, as he came to teach (through a clarification and revision of terminology called for by Manning)[205] in the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, there are the res sacramenti, Christ's body and blood, and the virtus sacramenti following thereon, whereas in Baptism there is no outward part other than the blessing bestowed.[206] For Wilberforce the eucharist was the last link in the chain uniting man to God.[207] To be united to Christ's manhood in the eucharist is to be united to His person, in whom Godhead and manhood are joined together in the hypostatic union.[208] He called the eucharist "the crown of public worship; the bond whereby we are attached to Christ; the focus on which all Christian ordinances culminate".[209] His eucharistic theology encapsulated his christology and ecclesiology, and, as such, Christ's priesthood is also central here. Wilberforce's Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist is an important landmark in Anglican eucharistic theology as he moves to affirm the 'real objective Presence' of Christ and to confirm his doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice,[210] with its characteristically heavenly priestly perspective, dealt with at length in the Doctrine of the Incarnation. Wilberforce presents the eucharist as the earthly counterpart to Christ's heavenly liturgy as High Priest.[211] His mediation unites the worship of heaven and earth.[212] Truly, then, he wrote;"the Holy Eucharist...

is the carrying out of that act which took effect in the Incarnation of the Son of God".[213] Christ's presence as a priest in heaven and on earth inheres directly in Wilberforce's understanding of the eucharist as a 'sacrifice'. The eucharistic sacrifice "rests on the fact that all access to God is through the intercession of Christ"[214] and "has its foundation in the truth of the Real Presence".[215] Christ's heavenly intercession, as we have seen, consists in His continually "pleading the merits of that sacrifice, which in His own identical Person He effected on the Cross", so the heavenly liturgy is 'sacrificial'. Earthly eucharistic worship is the counterpart of this sacrificial liturgy. It renders it efficacious, as Christ the High Priest offers Himself, His Body and Blood to the Father, the one sacrifice for sin. Without Christ's perpetual heavenly ministration there would be no sacerdotal or sacramental system, and the means afforded by God for man's sanctification outside of himself would disappear. The eucharistic sacrifice depends ultimately on the Cross, though, for its efficacy.[216] This is stressed in the later work. It is the same victim, for there is in the eucharist the real presence of that "slain Humanity of the Incarnate Word, which is present by spiritual power in holy ordinances".[217] Through Christ as Head and High Priest the eucharist is, as in Augustine, also the offering of the whole people of God in that which is offered.[218] It is Christ offering His Body through His earthly ministers. Through "this service... the great High Priest, who has been consecrated according to the order of Melchizedek, performs His perpetual functions".[219] To conclude, the centrality of Christ's priesthood to his eucharistic thought is well illustrated in this summary contained in the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist:

> "He who has been consecrated a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek, chooses this medium for giving effect to His perpetual intercession. That acceptance which He purchased by the sacrifice of the cross, He applies through the sacrifice of the altar. He Himself it is, who through the voice of His ministers consecrates these earthly gifts, and thus bestows the mystery of His Real Presence. By Himself, again, is the precious Victim presented before the Father's throne; and the intervention of their Heavenly Head gives reality to the actions of His earthly ministers".[220]

The doctrine of Christ's priesthood is discovered, then, to have been a rich and multifaceted motif in Wilberforce's theology. In his treatment we see the

summit of Tractarian interpretation. What was hinted at by Marriott, and sought for by Pusey, is discovered in Wilberforce's doctrinal exposition. Like Newman, Wilberforce's early Evangelicalism doubtless heightened awareness of Christ's sacerdotal office. Again, as in Newman, Wilberforce's exposition was more doctrinal than devotional. Wilberforce, too, seceded to Rome, leaving a remarkable testimony to the importance of Christ's priesthood in study of the Victorian era, and to its place in later Tractarianism.

4. Henry Manning and the 'continuous sacrifice' of Christ as Priest

The most important Anglican to secede, after Newman, was Henry Edward Manning(1808-1892), Archdeacon of Chichester, and later a Cardinal in the Church of Rome. His secession preceded that of his close friend and theological sparring-partner, Robert Wilberforce, by three years. Like Wilberforce, Manning's Tractarianism was fostered in a consciously independent, sometimes controversial and belligerent, manner outside Oxford.[221] He, too, came from an upper-middle class, pietistic Evangelical family, learning his Tractarianism first by post, while the young Rector of Lavington in Sussex, and then, as he became imbued with the spirit of the Oxford Tracts, increasingly by personal contact with Newman and the Oxford Leaders.[222] He wrote Tract LXXVIII, published on 2 February 1837.[223] He collaborated with Pusey on the projected Library of the Fathers, being given responsibility for Justin Martyr. To some Manning appeared a providential successor to Newman.[224] But Manning,whilst publicly castigating 'the Romanists', privately struggled with an increasing theological and devotional attraction to Rome. A private visit to Rome, the Romeward drift of many friends, the controversial Crown appointment of Renn Dickson Hampden as Bishop of Hereford, the Gorham Case, the failure of a petition to secure evidence of a widespread reaction to the continued intrusion of Royal Supremacy into ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs, and finally the victory in his own heart of belief in Roman Infallibility, all conspired to bring Manning to the point where, on 5 April 1851, he and his friend Hope were received into the Church of Rome.[225] Gladstone, with some justice, said of Manning, that he was "an ecclesiastical

statesman; very ascetic, but not a theologian nor deeply read".[226] Chadwick more aptly calls him a "powerful offspring of the Oxford Movement".[227] His attitude towards Christ's priesthood found in his two powerful and popular Volumes of Anglican Sermons,[228] is a fusion of Evangelical and Tractarian piety, an expression of Reformed Catholicism.[229] At many points following R. I. Wilberforce, they are nevertheless another important early source for exposition of the eucharistic doctrine of the heavenly sacrifice of Christ as Priest, characteristic of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism.

Christ's priesthood is grounded for Manning, too, in the hypostatic union of perfect Godhead and perfect Manhood. He is priest and mediator because He is God and Man.[230] "He alone is king and priest..."[231] He is "the only and true High Priest..."[232] All the priests before Christ were shadows.[233] He is the perfect antitype and fulfilment of the Old Testament shadows, being priest and sacrifice in One.[234] Like Wilberforce, Manning's sacerdotal christology was fundamentally incarnational. In a sermon 'Suffering the school of obedience', one of many on texts from Hebrews, the Incarnate Christ is said to be "made not only like us, but one with us".[235] He is the priestly Head of Humanity: "perfected through suffering" and identified with us in ours. He explains Christ's perfection through suffering as,

> "not only a sacerdotal perfection by consecration to the priesthood of Melchisedec, but something of which that was the formal expression and manifestation; a great spiritual reality, a perfection of holiness, knowledge, obedience, will, and sympathy; this was perfection in truth and spirit of 'the one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus'."[236]

Christ's learning, through suffering and obedience, perfect sympathy as a priest, in the spirit of Heb.ii:18, was prominent in Evangelical writing and receives comparable treatment in Manning's sermons.[237] One, 'The Sympathy of Christ' on Heb.iv:15, begins: "One great and blessed truth contained in the mystery of the Incarnation is the sympathy of Christ: that as He is truly Man, so He truly and really partakes of our infirmities, and has a fellow-feeling of them with us".[238] We see it confirmed in Manning that any true exposition of the sacerdotal christology of Hebrews must be the basis of an incarnational theology. Christ's

perfect sympathy arises from His sinless humanity: "it is the property of spotless sanctity to flow forth with the fullest stream of compassion".[239] Above and beyond all sympathy is that of our High Priest.[240] It is the basis of our confident approach, and the ground of our appeal, to God.[241] It should be a dominant characteristic of the members of Christ's Body.[242] Manning exhorted his flock - "Let us go at once to Him.[243] We are one with Him, by the mystery of His Holy Incarnation, by the gift of our new birth. There is nothing can separate us from His sympathy but our own wilful sins". The trace of severity sometimes seen in Manning's sermons must be balanced by this pietistic, pastoral, eirenic theme of Christ's High Priestly sympathy.[244]

Manning's interpretation of Christ's priestly work arises from his christology. As in Wilberforce, the sacrifice and intercession of Christ as priest are virtually inseparable; if anything Manning's interpretation bears greater similarities with Wilberforce's later thought wherein the earthly sacrifice on the cross was more prominent. At the centre of Manning's thought was a radical two-fold conviction of the unity and continuity of Christ's priestly sacrifice: that it was one, abolishing the multiplicity of shadowy Old Testament sacrifices, and that it was, like the Great High Priest, an 'eternal' sacrifice, abolishing repetition.[245] Christ was for Manning inseparably the one High Priest and sacrifice.[246] His sacrifice reflected His priestly person.[247] A sermon, 'The Only Sacrifice' on Heb.x:12-14, presents this sacrifice as "incomparable"[248] - in its nature, as expressive of the redeeming divine love;[249] in its quality, as the obedient offering of the God-Man;[250] in its passion, as encompassing the sinless sacrifice of atonement in the death of the righteous for the unrighteous.[251] "Therefore," he wrote, "we adore this one great Oblation, as one, alone, unapproachable, absolute, and transcending the order of creation: the only true 'perfect and sufficient sacrifice, Oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world'. This, then, is its unity."[252] An earlier sermon makes the Abelardian note of perfect obedience being efficacious for atonement clearer: "... in a word, the atoning Oblation was His perfect obedience, both in life and in death, to the will of His Father".[253]

Regarding its continuity, Manning argues that because the sacrifice is infinite it "must be, in time, continuous; for in itself it is eternal. The Sacrifice of Christ is as everlasting as His Person". "The cross is the foundation of 'eternal redemption'."[254] Manning iterates the theme of "the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world" to establish his belief that,

> "All the generations of God's elect, from righteous Abel until the oblation upon Calvary, were redeemed by the continuous virtue of this one great sacrifice offered in the Divine foreknowledge. After He had,in time, once offered up Himself for ever, He sat down, the everlasting sacrifice, at the right hand of God. From the great day of atonement until now, all the elect of God have been made perfect through the continuous power of that one oblation, made once for all."[255]

Justification lies in being offered up in Christ.[256] By faith we are conformed to Christ's self-sacrifice.[257]

Christ's one and continuous sacrifice is inseparable from Manning's exposition of Christ's priestly intercession - "the perpetual presenting of His own sacrifice, that is, of Himself, bearing the wounds of His passion."[258] The nature of Christ's heavenly ministry is shaped by His incarnate person and work as Priest. Christ's human nature as priest is 'within the veil' of heaven.[259] His intercession in heaven is unlike His prayer on earth; for, though with the love, knowledge and sympathy of His humanity,[260] it is powerful prayer, applying the fruits of His victory over the powers of darkness,[261] which both purifies and comforts men.[262] It is unceasing, the mysterious source of all grace;[263] on its perpetuity man's life, salvation, worship, and access to God depend.[264] Christ's heavenly ministry is, then, in a sermon 'The Intercession of Christ', two-fold: firstly, it is the exhibition of Himself.[265] As Manning states elsewhere "The memorial, the very and true reality of the cross, is always in heaven. He was pierced on Calvary, but His passion is still before the mercy-seat".[266] Secondly, it is the prayer of the sympathising Heavenly Priest, praying that His work "may be made perfect in His whole mystical body".[267]

As in Wilberforce, Manning's interpretation of Christ's sacerdotal person and work influenced directly his ecclesiology and sacramental theology. Christ is presented as the priestly Head of His Mystical Body the Church.[268] It is a "type

of His personality" outside the veil.[269] Christ is the Church's "dowry".[270] He offers Himself through and with His mystical body.[271] Though the whole people of God, the Body of Christ, are a royal priesthood, there is only One priesthood, namely Christ's.[272] Nevertheless, Manning identifies a "ministering priesthood" in the Church.[273] For, though One, the priesthood in the Church is two-fold: there being an internal priesthood, "which is hidden and universal", and an external priesthood "visible and particular, delegated to the sacerdotal order by Christ Himself", which is "the expression and embodying of the internal" and "thereby fulfils its ministry of sacrifice and worship".[274] "But whether internal or external", Manning maintains, "it is all one priesthood still; the priesthood of Christ descending from the Head to the body, whereby He offers the body in Himself, and the body, in and for itself, offers Him unto the Father".[275] The whole Church as a priestly body offers Christ through "His ministering priesthood", which is Christ "offering Himself in the sacrament of His Body and Blood".[276] As in Wilberforce, we find an ecclesiology, proleptic of Vonier, and a neo-Scotist doctrine of priesthood, as Christ the High Priest appoints 'representatives and vicars' through whom He acts in His Church.

The worship of the Mystical Body of Christ is offered in and through Christ its priestly Head. As in Wilberforce, the heavenly liturgy of Christ is the counterpart of the church's worshipping and sacramental life. In his sermon 'The Intercession of Christ' Christ's continual prayer in heaven is seen as determinative of the character, efficacy, and inspiration of human intercession. His intercession is "the source of all grace" for His Church.[277] "From it all sacraments and mysteries derive their power".[278] "The whole work of the Incarnation is applied to us by His intercession within the veil...," he wrote, "It is the strength of our prayers, the stay of our hope, our help in temptation, the source of our perseverance".[279] Again we see the fertile devotional suitability and application of Christ's priesthood in Victorian Anglicanism, as the lex orandi shapes the lex credendi. When the believer prays, He does so through Christ's intercession in heaven and by the power of His Spirit on earth.[280] He should think of that prayer.[281] It should fill him with thankfulness and be the law of his

life.[282] We should seek to pray for what Christ our High Priest prays, and let that prayer conform us to Him,[283] and Manning's homiletic treatment encourages individual prayer. Manning, too, then builds upon the Augustinian dictum: "He prays for us as our High Priest, He prays in us as our Head, He is prayed to by us as our God".[284]

Finally, Christ's heavenly priesthood shaped Manning's eucharistic theology. The Church, he maintained, has a "real and true" sacrifice to offer in the eucharist,[285] the supreme act of the Church, whereby the Mystical Body is united sacramentally to its Head and the merits of His Passion are applied to faithful souls.[286] As in much Tractarian thought, echoing the Fathers, the Church's eucharist is the "pure offering" of Malachi i:11.[287] Sacraments were, for Manning, both "gifts of spiritual grace from God to us" and "expressive of self-oblation".[288] Christ's priesthood is integral to a Manward and Godward understanding of the eucharistic sacrifice. On the one hand, Christ the priest is present in the Church and applies the merits of His once-for-all sacrifice through His broken Body and shed Blood in the eucharistic service,[289] and, on the other, He is offering Himself continually in heaven.[290] The representative and commemorative eucharistic sacrifice is neither added to, nor separated from, the one sacrifice on the Cross.[291] It is, rather,

> "... Christ in heaven offering Himself in visible presence; and on earth, by His ministering priesthood, offering Himself in the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. Though manifold in operation, and various in kinds and accidents, it is still all one sacrifice, one priesthood, one continuous act of memorial and exhibition to the Father, of union and application to the Church".[292]

From his understanding of Christ's eternal sacrifice, Manning came to hold that, "In that Holy sacrament He is really present; and by His real presence it is the one and continual offering of Himself"..."He [who] truly offers Himself perpetually, both in heaven and earth, through and with His mystical body, the Church".[293] This formulation of the eucharistic sacrifice anticipated popular late-Victorian, Anglo-Catholic interpretation.

In Manning, then, we see not only the unitive function of the image of Christ as priest, harnessed here to his understanding of Christ's continual

sacrifice, we also see that blend of Reformed Catholicism in which devotional adherence to the sympathising priest assumed an exemplary ecclesiological character, and Reformed commitment to Christ's heavenly sacrifice took on eucharistic garb. It was this emphasis upon Christ's priesthood which Manning carried into the Roman Catholic Church, ultimately bearing fruit in his The Eternal Priesthood (1870).[294] His Anglican sermons testify again to the centrality of Christ's priesthood in later Tractarian doctrine and devotion.

5. John Keble and Christ the Ideal Priest

Finally, we consider Keble's later writings and sermons, in which his earlier views find fullest expression. In particular, Keble's work illustrates the importance Christ's priesthood assumed in the development of Tractarian eucharistic thought, which many have seen as dominating the second phase of the Oxford Movement. Study of this theme also confirms the degree to which Christ, the Ideal Priest, shaped Keble's exemplary pastoring and spirituality.

Following Newman's secession, though shocked, Keble came into his own. He took up avidly the task of defending the Church of his fathers.[295] In June 1845 he wrote to George Ryder saying "the onus probandi lies on those who go, not on those who stay, and therefore I hope to go quietly on."[296] Behind the controversies in which Keble was embroiled was "calm response", "the quiet constructive work both of the student and of the parish priest".[297] His attitude towards Christ's priesthood after 1845 reflects his continued commitment to the Church of Andrewes, Cosin, Ken and Law, of the Bible, Prayer Book and via media.[298] In this spirit he wrote his Open Letter to the Bishop of Winchester after the Gorham Case. "I am sure, please God, that the Church of England will never deny the Faith nor can it ever become a man's duty to leave that Church. But my Lord, in saying this I mean the old Church of England, such as I was baptized and bred in."[299] The Gorham judgement caused him much grief. It appeared to deny the Anglican inheritance of baptismal regeneration. The decision shook but did not sever his commitment to the Church of England. To Robert Wilberforce he wrote eirenically in July 1850: "I myself feel more deeply

every day that it would be a deadly sin to separate from the present Church of England".[300] He later castigated Wilberforce's secession.[301]

Keble's spirited Anglicanism shaped his attitude towards Christ's priesthood between 1845-1866. He drew more deeply upon historic Anglican, and thence patristic sources, to justify his stance. Interpreting, what he once called "the comfortable doctrine" of Christ's heavenly priesthood.[302] Keble's piety sought to counter spiritual laxity at a parochial and national level. He sought to further inculcate doctrinal and devotional dependence upon Christ's unique ideal priesthood as a foil to rationalism and irreligion. Study of Christ's priesthood in Keble's thought after 1845 confirms its centrality for his own, and the later Tractarian, lex orandi.

The primary sources for Keble's interpretation after 1845 are his Sermons for the Christian Year and two eucharistic treatises, On Eucharistical Adoration (1857) and Considerations (1858). A number of his sermons indirectly treat of Christ's priesthood. One, for Passion Sunday 1858, is entitled 'On the Unchangeable Priesthood of Christ'.[303] His two treatises, fruit of the eucharistic controversies of 1857 and 1858, both treat extensively of Christ's priestly office. His mystical and "beautiful" little treatise On Eucharistical Adoration,[304] in Chadwick's words, "meditates poetically upon the reality of the sacramental gift and the response of the heart".[305] It is an historico-theological defence of Archdeacon Denison's advocacy of Christ's Real Presence in the eucharist, and of the practice of adoring Christ present in the eucharistic elements. He follows the Hookerian method of arguing from natural piety as well as from scripture, the Fathers, Ancient Liturgies, and Anglican divines.[306] Keble, of all the later Tractarians, was also most involved in the case of Bishop Forbes of Brechin.[307] Forbes' Charge of 1858 taught the Real Presence of Christ in the eucharist. It was censured by three Bishops. In May 1858 the Scottish Episcopal Synod also censured Forbes. He challenged their doctrinal capacity to do so. Through personal and canonical ties, Keble felt justified in intervening. He distributed Eucharistical Adoration and then the less influential treatise Considerations respectfully addressed to the Scottish Presbyters on the late Pastoral Letter of

six Bishops (1858). In February 1860 Forbes was finally rebuked and charged "to be more careful for the future so that no fresh occasion may be given for trouble and offence".[308] No reference was made to the Real Presence!

Keble's treatment of Christ's priesthood, though in this later period often subsumed beneath eucharistic debate, is nevertheless multifaceted, pertaining as well to christology, soteriology and ecclesiology. Throughout Christ is presented as the sole,true, ideal High Priest.

Keble's confident and enthusiastic exposition of the doctrine abides. In the Considerations defence of Christ's sole priesthood is explicitly declared to be a primary objective.[309] Upon this hung his belief in the "special Presence of our High Priest" in the eucharist.[310] Throughout Keble holds confidently and uncritically to the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews on Christ's perfect antitypical fulfilment of the Levitical High Priests and priests.[311] He is both 'Aaron' and 'Melchizedek', the one who offers sacrifice and the one who pleads.[312] A priest on earth and in heaven. In Eucharistical Adoration, Heb.v:5f is interpreted as designating the Father's glorification of the Son to be an High Priest at "the moment of His Incarnation", by "anointing the human nature that was in Christ with the Holy Ghost, without stint or measure".[313] His priesthood is again associated with Christ's mediation as the incarnate human priest. The doctrine is an adjunct of Tractarian emphasis upon the Incarnation.

Christ's priesthood is also consistently implicated in the sursum corda spirit of their theology.[314] To Keble Christ is the ascended, glorious, ministering Melchizedek in the heavenly sanctuary.[315] Interestingly, in his exposition of Christ's priesthood during this later period Keble relies more on the Apocalyptic visions of the Book of Revelation. "The Priesthood which it delineates," he maintains, "is that which He exercises in glory, not that which wrought out its work upon the Cross".[316] His priesthood is eternal, unchangeable, ever active. So Keble's mystical and literal interpretation of scripture passages comes to the fore in this approach to Christ's priesthood. He reads the scripture passages in a reverently devotional and largely uncritical manner, depending heavily, in this instance, upon the exegesis of Ambrose and Chrysostom.[317] From Ambrose he

explicitly derives the language of the 'image' of Christ's priesthood in the gospel, as against its 'shadow' in the Old Testament, and 'reality' in heaven.[318] He believes Hebrews "not inaptly ... considered, from beginning to end, as one grand theological harmony, its theme being the pregnant saying, that 'the Law hath a shadow of good things to come, but not the very image of the things' (Heb.x:1)."[319] Unlike Pusey, Keble registers no reservations regarding the language of priesthood applied to Christ, nor doubts respecting the reality of the function and character thereby signified. His priestly Christ is a real, though heavenly, figure.

Upon the humanity and divinity of Christ as priest depends Keble's interpretation of Christ's sacerdotal ministry. His sermon 'On the Unchangeable Priesthood of Christ' on Heb.vii:25, begins by affirming that Christ as priest is God and Man. As Man He suffered;"...as God, His Sufferings had that power and virtue in them, that they were able to redeem a lost world", to "save to the uttermost".[320] He is the Priest and Victim, the Sacrificer and Intercessor.[321] He has opened the way to heaven through the veil of His flesh. His present priestly ministry is crucial in Keble's later writings. Presenting Christ's "unchangeable priesthood", he urged believers not to think of Christ's priestly sacrifice "as of a thing past and done".[322] He died and His sacrifice was "a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world".[323] But He continues to sustain creation. Though "He died once for all mankind; ... He lives again, lives for ever, to communicate the benefits of His Death to the Church which is His Body, and to each Christian in particular".[324] He also urged recollection of Christ's Resurrection and Ascension in His redeeming work.

> "The Son of Man," he wrote, "our High Priest and Saviour, obtained eternal Redemption for us by what He endured upon the Cross: but for you and me and each of us to reap finally the fruit of that Redemption, we must be partakers of that which He is now doing for us in heaven".[325]

Keble accepted the soteriological language of sacrifice applied to Christ's priestly expiation on the Cross and affirmed the perfection of that act of Christ's Aaronic priesthood.

Equally, he applied sacrificial language to Christ's heavenly priestly ministry, though calls the sending of the Spirit as "the first act" of His heavenly priesthood,[326] and retains a vivid sense of His priestly intercession, though "not exactly as one praying".[327] His heavenly pleading and offering of His Body and Blood before His Father's presence, is His intercession for His people.[328] Christ is offering continually in heaven "His own appointed memorial of that sacrifice on the Cross."[329] In Keble this note of 'memorial' is stronger than in Manning, whose sense of the identity and unity of the two sacrifices we noted above. Keble held, though, a priest had necessarily a sacrifice to offer, as Hebrews viii:3 he believed, indicates.[330] That sacrifice was supremely Christ's own Body and Blood offered on earth on Calvary. Now He intercedes in His humanity with love, sympathy, power, and understanding. He prays as the Head of His people, and, as Keble stated in a sermon 'The Christian Priesthood: its nature and office', likening the High Priest's Ephod to Christ's assumption of human nature: "... His single appearing for us before God is as if we all appeared; we are all gathered or summed up in Him".[331] And again,

> "Thus is our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, God Incarnate, the very True and only Priest, in Whom as the Head and Surety of the whole race, being both God and Man, all are gathered in one before God. He suffered for all, He intercedes for all, He offers for all, He blesses all."[332]

But, as his sermon for Ascension Day 1855 makes clear, Keble believed that Christ's ascended mediation,"...whether it rightly be called prayer or no, depends almost or altogether on the memorial which...He perpetually maketh before His Father, of the Sacrifice of His Death on the Cross".[333] His intercession is a memorial of this earthly sacrifice, not a continuous sacrifice as in Manning. It is an efficacious mediation since the Father looks lovingly on the Son's sacrificial offering.[334] It is a corporate offering since Christ, through the Incarnation, "with Himself ... offers to His Father the prayers and good works of His saints on earth".[335] Keble, the pastor, saw this truth as insufficiently attended to by his parishioners. At the end of his sermon 'What prayers are not made in Christ's Name?' he therefore wrote: "Is all this taking place in heaven, that He may be there as our High Priest, to receive our prayers and give us every blessing; and

shall we, whom it most concerns, take no notice of it?"[336] Keble took much notice of it,and upon Christ's sacerdotal person and work he developed important aspects of his ecclesiological, and sacramental thinking.

As we have begun to see, Keble's sacerdotal and incarnational christology informed directly his ecclesiology. Under the shadow of Christ's wings His people are brought in Him before the throne of God.[337] Perhaps more strongly than any of the other later Tractarians, Keble, that enthusiast for a sacerdotal parochial ministry,[338] stressed the priesthood of all God's people and related this directly to Christ's ideal priesthood.

> "...He is the only true Priest," he declared, "of Whom all other priests, whatsoever their time and order, whether they followed Aaron or Melchisedec, whether they came before or after their Lord, are nothing more than shadows and types. He is a High Priest for ever, and therefore His people and members, in their measure and degree, are priests also: they are not only a spiritual House but a holy priesthood".[339]

Similarly, in Eucharistical Adoration he wrote: "All the people of God, with the true Melchisedec at their head are 'a kingdom of priests, a royal priesthood', and every one is a 'king and priest unto the Father, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ'."[340] Keble's ecclesiology has at its centre Christ's unique sacrificial and intercessory priesthood. On earth the Church is united with its priestly head in the eucharist.[341] In heaven the faithful "are living and reigning with Christ, as so many inferior Melchisedecs, priests at once and kings".[342] The priestly people of God offer 'spiritual' sacrifices.[343] They offer themselves as 'living sacrifices', holy lives worthy of their head. Service was of the essence of Keble's understanding of priesthood. In a sermon 'The priesthood of all Christians, and the sacrifices they should offer', Keble lists worthy communion, the 'sacrifice of praise' and participation in the eucharist, alms, and self-offering in hardship as indicative of priestly service.[344] He designates eucharistic participation in the sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist as,"...the chief thing,in which Christian people shew themselves priests".[345] "We must join with those", he wrote, "who are His priests by office in offering His holy Eucharist; and we must to the best of our power accompany that Sacrifice with the offering of pure bodies, loving alms, and patient

sufferings".[346] The High Priestly Head of the Church, in His own life and self-offering, afforded the ideal model and spiritual inspiration whereby the whole Church expressed its priestliness. Hence, in a sermon 'On Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving' (Heb.xiii:15), the Christian sacrifice of praise is the Holy Eucharist, this is the "continuation" of Christ's High Priestly sacrifice.[347] "Would that we too would carry with us the spirit of that holy Service into the world;" he proclaimed, "the spirit of dutiful homage, and the spirit of loving and devout thanksgiving".[348] Christ's priesthood became a key doctrinal principle, full of moral incentive, in Keble's parochial teaching.

In Keble's thought the priesthood of the whole people, dependent though it be on Christ's priesthood, was so only through His representatives, His ministerial priests who serve in His Church.[349] In Keble's stress on Christ's unique, sole priesthood, there was no tension between the priesthood of all and of a few. His thought again reflects the neo-Scotism of Anglican ecclesiology when a High view of ministry is wedded to a firm commitment to Christ's priesthood located in the Church's lex orandi. Human priests are described as "tokens of His presence",[350] "instruments in the Lord's hands",[351] "as Himself among men",[352] "not shadows but images of Jesus Christ".[353] They have a representative and not a vicarial priesthood. Keble retains a strong Chrysostomian sense of Christ's present priestly activity in and through His priests.[354] In this sense they are "in His stead".[355] In contrast to Pusey, Keble defended an Apostolic Episcopacy, as channel of sacerdotal authority, alongside stress on this direct relation between Christ, the ideal High Priest, and His earthly representatives.[356] Through the laying on of hands, Keble held, his ministers are sealed for office by Christ's immediate communication of Himself. Keble continued to seek to elevate the priest's own self-esteem and the people's regard for the powers of the ministry. As in Newman, as we began to see in Chapter I, the relation between the liturgical action of Christ the only priest and earthly ministry is stressed.[357] Christ is presented as the one Baptizer, the One Consecrator, the Head of the Church's offerings.[358] In the Considerations, Christ's sole priesthood and present dynamic activity are defended through citation of the ancient prayer -

> "O Jesu, the good High Priest! come, come, and be in the midst of us, as Thou wast in the midst of Thy disciples; sanctify this oblation, that, it being sanctified, we may receive it by the hands of Thy holy angel, O Holy Lord and Eternal Redeemer!"[359]

He defended Forbes by recalling this promised, active, "special presence" of "Christ made our High Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec".[360] He quotes Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, and Leo, to defend Christ's active agency and "virtual" presence of Christ in His divine nature in His earthly priests.[361] Christ, he maintains, offers Himself through His earthly ministers.[362] They are joined to His heavenly priestly ministry, in offering the bread and wine in the eucharist, in praying, teaching, distributing Christ's gifts.[363] They image this sacrificial service in their life of devotion. They are the instruments whereby the whole people of God are united and conformed to Christ.[364]

As Keble sought to inculcate a spirit of reverence for Christ through the figure of the priest in Baptism and Consecration, so he continued to do in regard to confession. He advised a correspondent in one of his Letters of Spiritual Counsel, regarding confession prior to communion: "... you may pour it out into your loving Lord's ear, through some one of His unworthy priests, and be by Him, through the priest's mouth ... fully absolved".[365] In Keble's later writings we see the fruition of his christocentric, pastoral, sacrificial understanding of the ministry, grounded in the ideal of priesthood advocated by writers like Chrysostom, Herbert, Taylor, Ken, Law, and Bishop Wilson.

So, Christ's priesthood continued to shape Keble's understanding of the Church's worship and sacramental life: indeed, it came to occupy increasingly a determinative position in his spirituality. Of the relation between Christ's priesthood and human priesthood Keble had also written: "The Priests who celebrate it (the eucharist) do so in Christ's stead; it is He Who gives it by their hands, as by their hands He made it what it is, by their hands He offers it to His Father. It is His doing, not at all their's, all the while, from beginning to end".[366] This same spirit inspired Keble's understanding of the foundation of Christian worship and prayer. It is an activity of the incarnate Christ as priest in which the

Church participates. In a sermon 'The Duty of Public Worship', Keble defined this foundational Christian act as, "in short,...owning Him for our King and our God, not in thought only, nor in word only, but in outward actions, such as our fellow creatures can take notice of".[367] It is an act in heaven and on earth.[368] Christ is the liturgical agent in both. He worships in and with us on earth. In the Eucharistical Adoration, though defending the ancient practice of adoration of Christ, because He is present at the eucharist, Keble sets much store by the fact that prayer and worship are not addressed to Christ until the Gloria, as evidence of His participation in and Headship of the Church's offerings.[369] The Church's worship in toto - all its acts done in honour of God, inward and outward[370] - is only acceptable through the perfect oblation of Jesus Christ the High Priest, which He is continually presenting before His Father in heaven.[371] This is as true of prayer as it is of the sacraments, which in Keble's thought are particularly closely related. Christ's priesthood was central to later Tractarian doctrine and devotion because it was deemed to be the basis of their characteristic preoccupation with worship. Keble explicitly endorsed the precept of Jeremy Taylor, Legum credendi lex statuit supplicandi.[372] The application of this is clearly seen in the way belief in Christ's agency as priest of the Church's prayer and worship determined his understanding of the sacraments.

Keble devoted considerable time to teaching on prayer. "Prayer", he once stated, "is not, of course, merely saying the words even of the best form of devotion, no, not of our Lord's own prayer; but it is, when in our heart and inward meaning we speak to God Almighty, and ask Him for what we want".[373] But, he continued, "to pray, a person must first be a true and real member of Christ, and secondly, he must offer his prayer in union with Christ's everlasting intercession in heaven".[374] All prayer is "offered in dependence on Him, ascended as He is in heaven, there to be our High Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek".[375] Prayer was for Keble the pleading of Christ's suffering and death.[376] It was thus epitomised and embodied in the Holy Communion.[377] That feast created the unity between Christ and the believer essential to true prayer. Prayer is essentially a sacramental act. As Bishop Wilson urged, it must be linked to regular

communion.[378] Christian prayer alone is prevailing prayer; prayer "in Christ's Name", from a life united to Christ and "presented to the Father by the great High Priest and Intercessor".[379] Our prayer depends on Christ's continual intercession as our sympathising heavenly priest who, in his human nature, mediates with understanding in heaven. Through responding to Christ's command to come to Him, our prayers are made precious by His,[380] since they are united to the memorial of the redeeming death Christ is continually presenting before His Father in heaven.[381] Knowing that Christ is "touched with the feeling of our infirmity", Keble, the pastor, continually stresses the confident approach of sinners to the throne of grace. "He continues to be true Man and our true Mediator", he wrote,"presenting Himself before the Father, in never-ceasing intercession for us".[382] So, "... it is well that on joining here in the Lord's Prayer we should strive to remember that it is Christ praying for us, not so much us praying for ourselves".[383] Dependence on Christ and His work is paramount. As in Pusey, this dependence found liturgical expression supremely in the words "through Jesus Christ our Lord", a Prayer Book symbol of a definitively Anglican commitment to the past and present fact of Christ's unique priestly mediation. As Keble wrote:

> "As often as we say an earnest prayer in His Name, as often as any poor distressed sinner begs mercy and grace of the Father, as our Prayer Book teaches, 'through Jesus Christ our Lord', so often, depend on it, our merciful High Priest in some unspeakable way makes His heavenly memorial of what He endured on mount Calvary. And the Lord smells a sweet savour, and accepts our prayers, as incense in His Tabernacle, for the sake of Him who unites them to His own Sacrifice".[384]

Christ's priesthood was, for Keble, as for so many of his contemporaries, a central article of Anglican liturgical theology, tacitly affirmed throughout the Book of Common Prayer. Therein lay a primary cause of the doctrine's permanence, prevalence, and potency.

Finally, Christ's priesthood became more evidently central to Keble's sacramental understanding during this period. As before, the sacramental system, -whereby grace, life, and union with Christ are mediated to mankind through the Church, - was foundational for Keble's doctrine and devotion. In his Eucharistical

Adoration and Considerations we see the centrality Christ's heavenly priesthood and sacrifice came to assume in Keble's full reemphasis upon the Caroline doctrines of his forefathers. The eucharist is presented as "the extension of the Incarnation",[385] the chief instrument of union with Christ, whereby Christ is in us.[386] His redeeming blood is only applied to those who receive it or participate in it.[387] It is a central principle of spiritual life, to be regularly, if not daily, offered and received by the whole people of God, through the agency of Christ and His earthly ministers. It is a 'sin-offering' only as the memorial before God and Man of Christ's once-for-all redeeming sacrifice.[388] In the eucharist all the services and sacrifices of the Church are gathered and offered to the Father.[389] The eucharist is a sacrifice and a sacrament.[390]

In Keble's later Treatises we find it affirmed that as Christ is One - priest and victim on earth and in heaven - so the eucharist is one with the worship of heaven. In it heavenly and earthly worship are united.[391] It is on earth a representation of Christ's perpetual sacrifice as High Priest in heaven. Keble also stresses there is only one eucharist for ever.[392] The Church joins in our Lord's Last Supper, and participates in the continuation of that first eucharist offered in heaven and on earth by Christ in His Melchizedekian High Priesthood, bringing forth Bread and Wine to nourish and refresh His people.[393] He is the eucharistic gift, giving Himself in the sacrament to His people.[394] There is one priesthood and one sacrifice in the Church. "The Holy Communion is our Lord's heavenly ministry transferred to earth: there is the same Priest in heaven, Jesus Christ, only out of sight; and there is the same sacrifice, His very Body and Blood".[395] What is more, as he stated in the Considerations: "... on the identity of each one of our Eucharists with that which our Lord Himself celebrated in the beginning depends the final and most transcendent circumstance of what is revealed concerning this Sacrifice - the identity of both with our Saviour's Presentation of Himself in heaven within the veil".[396] Keble saw no incompatibility between the Church's pleading of Christ's sacrifice and Christ's heavenly pleading, for they are one act.[397]

His eucharistic theology in Eucharistical Adoration is expressly dependent on the visions of the heavenly priest in Revelation and the teaching of Hebrews on what he interpreted as Christ's continual pleading of his sacrifice in heaven, though the treatise as a whole draws its inspiration from John xvii. In the sursum corda spirit of Keble's interpretation we see again the emphasis upon Christ's heavenly priesthood characteristic of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic eucharistic theology. Keble defends adoration of Christ in the eucharist on the basis of his "special presence" - "virtually" in His priesthood, and "really" in the Bread and Wine, - as priest and victim in the Church's eucharistic offering of His Body and Blood.[398] The onus probandi, he claims, lies with its opponents, the doctrine being in itself consistent with the teaching of scripture, the Fathers, the Ancient liturgies, the Divines of the Church of England, and, particularly, Article XXXI.[399]

He defends Forbes, too, on the grounds of his advocacy of Christ's sole priesthood and Taylorian presentation of the relation between the eucharist on earth and Christ's continual intercession as High Priest in heaven. The eucharist is no new sacrifice, but the heavenly pleading, represented on earth, of the one great sacrifice of Christ on the Cross continually presented in heaven by the true Melchizedek. It is a commemorative, unbloody, sacrifice reminding God and Man of that one, yet eternal, redeeming act. Keble links his strongly anamnetic eucharistic theology to memorial prayers, such as, "Remember me, O my God, for Good" (Neh.xiii:31, Ps.xxxiv:2,18), and also likens it to "that which is the conclusion of almost all the collects which we address to God the Father, - 'through Jesus Christ our Lord'."[400] For, as he writes, again illustrating the popular valence of these words:

> "That short form is in words what the Christian memorial Sacrifice is in act and deed; pleading with the Father by Christ crucified; presenting to Him the Body and Blood of His Incarnate Son, with all His wounds, and all His merits and mercies, that in Him and by Him we may be accepted; that the remedy provided for all may be applied to, and taken by, each one in particular".[401]

The doctrine of Christ's priesthood occupied a crucial place in Keble's eucharistic theology after 1845. At times, as in the doctrine and devotion of

other later Tractarians, it occupied a determinative position in his thinking. The testimony of one who avowedly stood in the doctrinal and liturgical tradition of his High Church forefathers has, of course, great significance in our attempt to understand the doctrinal and devotional prominence of Christ's priesthood in the Victorian Church of England. It lends substantial weight to our argument that the reason for the potency and prevalence of this sacerdotal image arose from its having been a distinctively prominent article in the lex orandi of the historic Church of England before the nineteenth century. Keble's methodology serves to confirm this claim.

In this chapter we have examined in detail the role and significance of Christ's priesthood in the doctrine and devotion of representative first-generation Tractarians after 1845. We have discovered a burgeoning of interest in and utilisation of this sacerdotal image, in line with a reemphasis upon Caroline and patristic thought. Throughout we have discovered the doctrine to have been a multifaceted motif, integral to nascent Tractarian incarnationism, burgeoning forth in a sustained representation of a neo-Scotist view of Church and ministry, and in emphasis upon Christ's continual heavenly ministry as High Priest. This period also represents an important consolidation of Anglo-Catholic principles respecting the centrality of Christ's priesthood to the Church's worshipping and sacramental life. In Chapter V we shall consider the doctrine's place in the life and thought of the younger generation of Ritualist High Churchmen who emerged in the mid-Victorian period. For the present, we now turn to examine in more detail early Evangelical interpretation in the face of this Tractarian approach.

CHAPTER III

Charles Simeon and 'The Sympathising Heavenly Priest' in Early Evangelicalism

Mention has been made already, on a number of occasions, of the importance of Christ's priesthood for a Protestant, or Reformed, position in the historic Church of England. On account of the spirit and popular strength of the Evangelical party at the beginning of our period their interpretation may be said to have exerted the greatest influence on Anglican understanding in the first half of the nineteenth century.[1] The aim of this chapter is to examine the role, content, and significance of Christ's priesthood in Evangelical doctrine and devotion in the first half of the Victorian era. It will enable us to understand more fully the tradition from which a number of leading Tractarians emerged, and the defence Evangelical scholars made to Tractarianism, through reference to Christ's priesthood. It will also lead us to consider the doctrinal contribution early Evangelicals made, contrary to a popular misconception,[2] by their persistent devotional adherence to the image of Christ as priest.

The passage of time and exigencies of Victorian scholarship have largely obscured the fact that study of the image of Christ as priest in the writings of the early Evangelical heirs of the eighteenth century Wesleyan revival touches the theological and devotional heart of Evangelical religion. In the first half of the Victorian era Evangelical divines constantly reverted to this theme in both espousing and defending the theology of the sixteenth century Reformers. They embraced it warmly in their popular and pervasive expressions of spiritual devotion. Here is a potent characteristic of Anglican, Evangelical religion staunchly upheld throughout the nineteenth century. Examination of the views of leading representatives of the party in this early period will begin to illustrate this fact and shed light on its later prominence in sacerdotalist controversies after 1860.

I

The Foundation of Early Evangelical Interpretation of Christ's Priesthood

In 1824 Preb. Charles Sumner (1790-1874), the Evangelical scholar and future Bishop of Winchester (1827-1869), alluded to the contemporary popularity of Christ's priestly office in his short treatise The Ministerial Character of Christ. It was expressly a study of Christ's office as prophet. However, he selected this subject, he tells us, as "a part of our Lord's mediatorial character, that seems to have attracted less attention than any other leading topic connected with this ministry",[3] by contrast with "the inspired description of the priesthood of Christ, which... has been illustrated in all the branches of its sacrificial and intercessory duties, with a particularity which was due to its primary importance."[4] He may have had in mind when writing this Archbishop Magee's Discourse and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice (1801) which contained a protracted study of Christ's priesthood;[5] or, the Independent scholar J.P. Smith's (1774-1851) popular volume The sacrifice and priesthood of Christ published first in 1813.[6] Or, again, he may have had in mind Thomas Brett's On the Deity and Mediatorial Character of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (1821), which not only reveals the christocentricity of Evangelical thought, calling Him "the true centre of the Evangelical circle", because "every doctrine, gift, grace, duty, and experience, should be treated of as so many lines diverging from Him, who is all, and in all",[7] but also its characteristic devotion to the Epistle to the Hebrews as "a beautiful and concise commentary" upon the "grand theme" of Christ's priestly, vicarious sacrifice,[8] and Divine-human Mediator.[9] William Goode's Essays on the Scriptural Names and Titles of Christ (1822) might also have been a source for Sumner's view. The third essay of Goode's work on the title 'Priest', is replete with expressions of Evangelical enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood. He calls "the great High Priest of our profession" - "a subject of the most delightful meditation"[10] and "one of the most glorious characters of the Redeemer".[11]

Whatever the source for Sumner's comment, few of his Evangelical contemporaries would have doubted its veracity. Indeed, Christ's priesthood was,

as we have begun to see, a leading Anglican doctrine and devotional theme in the first half of the Victorian era. The prevalence of a conservative, Evangelical spirit did much to foster that prominence. The history of the doctrine in the first half of the Victorian era reveals a remarkable unity in enthusiasm and diversity in interpretation in the Church as a whole.

1. Charles Simeon and the doctrine of Christ's priesthood

One for whom Christ's priesthood continued to be a doctrine of "primary importance" was Charles Simeon (1759-1836), for fifty-four years Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, and the avowed leader of establishment Evangelicalism in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.[12]

It is appropriate that we begin with Simeon, though by 1827 he was already in his dotage, the best part of his life's work done. He died in 1836. An Etonian with a love of horses and fine clothes, Simeon experienced an oft-chronicled Evangelical 'conversion' as an undergraduate at Cambridge. Appointed Fellow of Trinity College, he was as an Evangelical controversially appointed in 1783 to the living of Holy Trinity Church. His ministry blossomed finally among University and City people alike. His powerful popular preaching, devotedly assiduous pastoring, and astute financial manipulation of the Church's patronage system, made him, despite quirks of character, and political shortcomings, one of the most respected and influential churchmen of his day.[13]

Simeon's theology was unashamedly narrow in its strict allegiance to a literalist interpretation of the divine verbally-inspired scriptures.[14] But he sought to rise above internecine Evangelical squabbling in the Georgian era believing that pious men, whether Arminian or Calvinist, "approximate very nearly when they are upon their knees before God in prayer",[15] and that the Bible contains a system of theology greater than mere party opinion.[16] He reflects that blend of scripturalism and veneration of the lex orandi esteemed by many of his contemporaries. Simeon was a convinced Churchman, deeply committed to the Book of Common Prayer[17] and the Reformed character of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion. At the heart of the doctrine and devotion Simeon and his

party espoused was "Christ and Him Crucified", illuminated by Christ's office as priest.

Simeon profoundly influenced the religion of his day and the religious outlook of the party to which he belonged. His interpretation of Christ's priesthood is, therefore, of crucial importance. His sermon skeletons Horae Homileticae, the primary source for his theological and devotional beliefs, appeared in their final twenty-volume edition between 1832-3, making his views more accessible at the beginning of our period.[18] The homiletic form doubtless shaped his interpretation and application of the doctrine, but his position was clear. Christ's priesthood was central to Simeon's doctrine and devotion.

The image of Christ as priest is a recurring motif throughout the Horae as he expounds most of the Bible. His enthusiasm is constant. "Christians, blessed are ye", he declared, "for you have an High Priest, and one too, who is altogether suited to you, and sufficient for you."[19] Expounding Hebrews iii:1 he enthused: "As Apostle or Prophet of the Church, He will instruct all (Mt xi:29) - As the High Priest He will open a way for us into the holy place - O reflect on these till your hearts burn within you with gratitude and love!"[20] Exuding Evangelical pragmatism, he proclaimed the doctrine to be "no mere sentiment in the Christian's mind, but a living principle, by which he is actuated in all His approaches to the throne of grace."[21] His conviction of the doctrine's importance for the believer's faith and life led him to bemoan the fact that "the great generality of Christians... do lamentably neglect their duty in relation to our great High Priest."[22] His readers and hearers are to be left in no doubt of the doctrinal, devotional and practical value of knowing Christ personally as a "great High Priest".

But why was Simeon so convinced of the doctrine's importance? To some extent, of course, his views perpetuated the Evangelical tradition he inherited. The Horae are shot through with allusions to the Calvinist formulation of the triplex munus Christi, and the Reformation principles solus Christus, sola fide, sola scriptura. His thought is predictably Augustinian in its interpretation of Christ's sacrifice and, as we shall see, surprisingly 'Tigurine' in its interpretation

of the heavenly work of Christ. Simeon's approach was historically determined: in this, as in all things, though, he was no slave to tradition. His approach to Christ's priesthood was occasioned by doctrinal, situational, and pastoral considerations.

Regarding the doctrinal sources of Simeon's thought: his constant reference to Christ as priest arises, firstly, from a conviction about the nature of scripture. Together with the party to which he belonged, Simeon believed in the authority and supremacy of scripture as the Christian's regula fidei. He held to its divine plenary inspiration, christocentric unity, and doctrinal homogeneity. Scripture was, in this view, bound together in a complex system of typical and antitypical relations, of prophecies, promises and fulfilment. Hence, he believed no "important truth contained in the New Testament was not before revealed in the Old Testament."[23] Christ the priest of the Epistle to the Hebrews was also an eternal figure to be discerned in and through the whole Bible. Hence, Simeon preaches on Him in passages from Genesis to Revelation, though he shared Reformed veneration of Hebrews. "And who will say," he enquired, "that he could have attained from the Gospels or even from the Mosaic law itself, such clear views of the priestly office of Christ as are set before us in the Epistle to the Hebrews?"[24] The book which so gloriously declared Christ's office as priest also incomparably unlocked the types, mysteries, and prophecies of the Mosaic dispensation in relation to the Christian.[25] As Simeon confessed:

> "Without the Epistle to the Hebrews, we could never have understood the true scope of the Levitical law, much less its full accomplishment in the Lord Jesus Christ; we could never have ventured to have traced such a correspondence between Melchizedek and Christ..".[26]

The doctrine of the priesthood of Christ was in Simeon, and in Evangelical theology as a whole, enthusiastically greeted as cause and effect of their veneration for the Epistle to the Hebrews, and inextricable thereby from their doctrine of scripture per se.

Simeon's repeated references to Christ as priest arise, secondly, from the doctrine's being, in conservative, biblical Evangelicalism, as in Tractarianism, a many-sided doctrinal motif, and an illuminating commentary upon the heart of

Simeon's thought - "Christ and Him crucified."[27] He reverts to the biblical image of Christ as priest, for example, in defence of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. In line with historic Reformed interpretation, but directed towards contemporary Unitarianism, Simeon interprets Hebrews i as decisive biblical evidence for Christ's true divinity.[28] Against the Arianism of the contemporary form of Unitarian neo-Socinianism, he stressed the divinity of the Son who is the eternal, incomparable, Melchizedekian priest and mediator,[29] and "Emmanuel" -"God with us". Following Article II, though, Simeon also employs the christology of Hebrews to assert Christ's true humanity. The conservative reaction to the transcendent divinity of eighteenth century deistic rationalism embraced enthusiastically, in 'gentlest saviour' christologies of the post-romantic era, the figure of an accessible, sympathising human priest; one who, in Simeon's words, "was the foremost in every trial that we can possibly be called upon to sustain: and, notwithstanding, in Him was no sin, He was, far beyond any of the sinners of mankind, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."[30] Study of Christ's priesthood in Simeon and early Evangelicalism provides convincing proof that popular christologies were not monophysite, or docetic as some scholars have claimed.[31] On the contrary, such was their stress upon Christ's incarnate priestly humanity that they are to be seen as an important source for the subsequent development of Anglican incarnationism. Did not Newman praise Evangelical understanding of the Incarnation?[32] Newman's christology was not only product of Alexandrian studies, but also of the strong incarnational thrust of an Evangelical theology in which the christology of Hebrews was central. Thus, for example, believing Christ a priest "from all eternity",[33] Simeon held that His priestly ministry of mediation began at the Incarnation.[34] Simeon declared:

> "He assumed our nature...that He might be capable of officiating as our great High Priest, and, in that nature, He both comes from God to us,and goes to God from us... Christ was 'bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh'; and He assumed our nature on purpose that He might stand in our place and stead."[35]

Simeon follows Reformed tradition, again, against a deistic interpretation, in stressing in defence of Chalcedonian orthodoxy but in a non-metaphysical manner,

Christ to be, both in His person and work, ontologically and functionally, the divine-human priestly Mediator. He is, in a beloved text for Simeon, "the Daysman, who lays His hand upon both parties," (Job. ix:33) the Mediator of a New Covenant.[36]

The christological application of Christ's priesthood was, however, inseparable from Simeon's understanding of Christ's atoning work and intercession. "The doctrines of the atonement and of the divinity of Christ are so interwoven with each other", Simeon wrote, "that neither of them can be denied without effectually subverting both."[37] His divinity gives eternal efficacy to His sacrifice. He is the divine Offerer and Offering, Priest and Victim. His priesthood antitypically fulfils the Aaronic High Priesthood, and is characterized by the office of sacrificing, interceding and blessing, supremely expressed in the ritual ministry of the great Day of Atonement when the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies.[38] In a classic declaration on Hebrews ii:14,15, Simeon presents the preeminent excellence of Christ's sacrificial ministry:

> "The blood of bulls and goats will not suffice:" he states, "nor if the highest angel in heaven could offer himself, would that be adequate to the occasion; seeing that His merits, whatever they might be, could never extend to all the millions of our guilty race: the sacrifice, to answer that end, must be of infinite value:... it must be offered by a person of infinite dignity: He must be God as well as man. He must be man that He may suffer; He must be God, that His sufferings may be available for the desired end. Hence the necessity for our blessed Lord to become incarnate; and hence the necessity for Him to die."[39]

Christ's priesthood is integral to Simeon's presentation of the central doctrine of the Atonement. Holding to the "reality" and inseparability of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice, against Priestley and the neo-Socinians, Simeon constantly reverts to the theme of the superior efficacy of Christ's shed blood to propitiate God, and expiate vicariously for man's sin.[40] In common with other early Evangelicals, Simeon, in an Augustinian manner, stressed the Federal Headship of the incarnate priest, the second Adam, and the imputation of sin to mankind through Adam, and of righteousness through Christ.

However, when expounding Christ's present life and work as priestly Head of the Church,[41] Simeon also expatiates upon Christ's advocacy and intercession

in heaven, to apply the merits of Christ's sacrifice to the believer, to sanctify them, and to sustain them to persevere to the end.[42] In a sermon on Hebrews vii:25, he expounds this heavenly ministry by direct allusion to the Anaphora of the Book of Common Prayer:

> "In his Father's presence", he declares, "He pleads for us a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and as the price paid for all those blessings which His people stand in need of for their full and complete salvation."[43]

In a Tigurine manner elsewhere he also asserts that there is an "absolutely indissoluble" connection between Christ's sacrifice and intercession as two parts of one priestly work.[44] The former is, he maintains in a traditional Reformed manner, the basis and substance of the latter; but, in a Tigurine manner, he also declares that Hebrews vii:25 "lays the greatest stress on the intercession of Christ as being the most effectual means for the salvation of this people"... "In the New Testament there being always a superior efficacy ascribed to the intercession of Christ than even to His death."[45] Likewise, on Hebrews x:19-22, again stressing Christ's heavenly intercession, he states:"... not even the death of Christ is, of itself, sufficient warrant for us to draw nigh to God. But this intercession added to it gives us boldness, and access with confidence."[46] Clearly Simeon did not intend any derogation from the finalty and efficacy of Christ's atoning sacrifice on the Cross, but his thought does reflect perpetuation of an interpretation seen in Bullinger[47] in which the eternal efficacy of Christ's priestly sacrifice is dependent on His heavenly intercession, which is then, by a process of assimilation, itself accreditted with atoning and sacrificial connotations.

Simeon also stresses that, as the divine priest, Christ's sovereign prayer is effective, and challenging: as human, it is sympathetic, and the source of comfort, hope and peace for His people.[48] Through the indissoluble connection between Christ's sacrifice and intercession as a sympathising priest, His humanity being in heaven,[49] Simeon identified the indissoluble connection in early Evangelicalism between Christ's Atonement and Incarnation. "It was not as an individual merely that Christ ascended into heaven", he further observed, "but as the Head and Representative of His redeemed people."[50] His prayer is the ground

of the Church's worshipping life and service, and the source of the Church's life, protection, and blessing. Simeon, the pastor, continually applied Christ's priesthood and ministry practically to his readers' or hearers' lives, to encourage and to challenge. "Does Jesus live altogether for us in heaven", he enquired at one time, "and shall we not live altogether for Him on earth?"[51] Here is Christ's priesthood as a motive moral principle.

> "It is not the death of Christ as our sacrifice, nor the intercession of Christ as our High Priest, that will save us, if we do not pray for ourselves", he elsewhere declared,"... 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."[52]

Here was a vital pastoral theme, enunciated for his own and his hearers' benefit.

Though the weight of Simeon's interpretation fell on the christological and soteriological significance of Christ's priestly office, his stress on Christ's 'Headship' of the Church's intercession suggests, too, his awareness of its ecclesiological application. Hence, whilst stressing Christ's unique mediation, Simeon also followed Calvin in declaring all believers priests "in Him" with access to God to offer sacrifices of their alms, oblations, and lives of service. As an eternal, living priest, Simeon rejects any other priestly mediators.[53] In keeping with other establishment Evangelicals, Simeon also had a high regard for the Church's ordained ministry, calling it a "priesthood", as did the Ordinal, though of a completely different order from Christ's;[54] and, in common with the English Reformers, related Christ's to it by stressing that both are "called" by God, as Christ was, to their ministry, and thus are questioned by the Bishop at their ordination.

In Simeon, we find the enthusiasm, pragmatism, and pastoral application of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood characteristic of early Evangelical interpretation. In contrast to Tractarianism, Evangelical interpretation is more narrowly focussed on Christ's priestly person and work. Scriptural exegesis, the Anglican liturgy, Reformed theology and his own doctrinal understanding and pastoral concerns, combine to shape Simeon's interpretation. How, then, did

Simeon's Anglican Evangelical successors interpret the doctrine he loved? We conclude the first part of the chapter by examining Evangelical attitudes towards the Epistle to the Hebrews in general.

2. The early Evangelicals and the Epistle to the Hebrews

We noted above that Simeon's response to Christ's priesthood was inseparable for his enthusiasm for the Epistle to the Hebrews and, indeed, from his doctrine of scripture as a whole. Did other Evangelicals continue to share this position? What was their attitude to the Epistle to the Hebrews? These are the questions to be considered briefly in this section. We shall return to the subject of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews in Chapter VI. We anticipate that discussion here, because to a unique degree, in contrast to Tractarianism, Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood primarily involved exegesis, or explanation, of Hebrews. This section affords an important backcloth, therefore, for detailed study of early Evangelical interpretation, to be considered in Part II of this Chapter.

Little attention has been directed to the history of Anglican Evangelical biblical exegesis. This neglect extends to the Epistle to the Hebrews. It reflects upon the widespread scholarly conviction that conservative biblicism in the nineteenth century, militating against the advance of English 'higher criticism', was not productive of creative exegesis.[55] This is partly true. However, in this neglect a primary source and expression of Anglican popular devotion in the Victoria era, and an important aspect of the Victorian defence of Anglican orthodoxy, are lost.[56] With regard to Anglican exegesis of Hebrews, Evangelical writing during this period contributed significantly to the general shape and content of Anglican understanding of the Epistle and of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood in particular.

Anglican Evangelicals shared Simeon's enthusiasm for the Epistle to the Hebrews in the first half of the Victorian era, as their explicit declarations and numerous expositions make clear. In 1828, for example, the reviewer of Volume I of the American scholar Moses Stuart's (1780-1852) Commentary on the Epistle to

the Hebrews wrote, in the important literary organ of moderate Evangelicalism, The Christian Observer:

> "The Epistle to the Hebrews is one of the most important of the Apostolic Epistles, from the singular ability... with which it enforces those cardinal doctrines of the Gospel, the supreme dignity of the person of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ, and the reality of His vicarious atonement."[57]

Evangelical writers expounded Hebrews according to orthodox principles of scriptural interpretation, affirming its authority, inspiration, and plain, straightforward, literal meaning. It was a treasured coffer of sound doctrinal teaching and a bastion of Protestant orthodoxy. They remained either ignorant of, or at least impervious to, the progress of Continental Higher Criticism during this period, which, for example, challenged the Epistle's canonicity, dismissed its language as 'figurative', and effectively underminded its authority. Their brief Introductions to exposition of the Epistle do not consider 'critical' issues. A Pauline authorship and a Judaeo-Christian readership are traditionally upheld. It was the content which attracted their attention: even denials of Pauline authorship could not shake belief in the Epistle's inspiration. The Epistle was foundational for their doctrine and devotion. George Holden, Vicar of Maghull, near Liverpool, described Hebrews,in his The Christian Observer (1830), simply as, "an highly important portion of the inspired volume"[58] and, as of "the highest importance to believers in every age."[59] In a characteristically Calvinistic manner, he also expounded the Epistle's doctrinal and practical significance, declaring:

> "As a statement and vindication of the divine nature of Christ, his atonement, his work and offices in the redemption of man, it forms a most important part of the sacred writings, and ought to be carefully studied by all who desire to strengthen their faith in the awful mysteries and essential doctrines of our religion.[60]

Holden also illustrates Evangelical views respecting the authorship, purpose, and scriptural significance of the Epistle. He holds the evidence of Pauline authorship to be "so ample and decisive, that it can leave little doubt in any impartial mind".[61] He identifies its aim as being "to confirm the faith of Hebrew Christians, in danger of apostasising through the delusions and limitations of their

brethren of the Jewish race".[62] He presents its scriptural role, or function, as forming "a key, furnished by an inspired writer, to the Old Testament, opening to our view the real nature and object of the Jewish ritual, its typical design and temporary duration."[63] In his straightforward way Holden expressed the popular conservative view of the Epistle at the time.

Evangelical writers shared Simeon's conviction that the Epistle to the Hebrews, in a peculiarly decisive manner, endorsed their understanding of the fundamental doctrinal unity and typological, or prophetical, cohesion of the Bible. Upon the inspiration of Hebrews hung their understanding of the Old Testament, and yet, too, -and this was to become a crucial issue in later years, - upon the divine inspiration of the Pentateuch, if not of the whole Old Testament, hung the credibility, authority, and typology of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[64]

The conservative position, espoused by orthodox and Evangelical alike, was expressed clearly by Temple Chevallier (1794-1873), Hulsean lecturer in Cambridge in 1826, and later Professor of Hebrew and Astronomy in Durham. In his Hulsean Lectures, On the Historical Types contained in the Old Testament, he declared, "The Epistle to the Hebrews is the book of the Holy Scriptures, which most clearly develops the connection between the law of Moses and the Gospel of Christ."[65] Hebrews was to Chevallier, and his Evangelical contemporaries, essential for popular defence and exposition of scriptural typology upon which their belief in the plenary inspiration and unity of scripture so heavily depended. The inspiration of the Epistle was of cardinal importance. Chevallier, therefore, confidently stated: "Undoubtedly, there is found in the whole of this Epistle, an unhesitating boldness, in referring the historical types to their corresponding antitypes, which nothing but the authority of inspiration can justify."[66] Furthermore, he wrote:

> "The perusal of the Epistle to the Hebrews is alone sufficient to convince any unprejudiced enquirer, that the history of the New Testament lays claim to a preconcerted connection with the events recorded in the Old Testament: that this connection consists not in the mere casual similarity of circumstances, and is not produced by a perversion of facts to satisfy a system of ingenious accommodation, but is sometimes clear, decided, unequivocal: so obvious that no one can deny the existence of the claim; so intimate as to

> pervade, at least, all the peculiar institutions of the Jewish people."[67]

The Epistle to the Hebrews was integral to the foundation of the scripturalism upon which Evangelicalism was based. Through Hebrews, Christ's priesthood and Evangelicalism were inextricably intertwined.

Many evangelicals during this period would, then, have gladly concurred with John Owen's dictum, quoted, for example, by Rev. Robert Meek, Evangelical Rector of Brixton Deverill, Wilts., and later of Richmond, Yorks., in his Passion Week: a devotional and practical exposition of the Epistle and Gospels (1835) that "the natural world might as well be without the sun as the Church of Christ without the Epistle to the Hebrews".[68] Concerning the Epistle's illumination of the Levitical rites and dispensation, Meek too declared,

> "...how little should we have been able to comprehend of the wisdom and design of God in their institution! Considered in this light, how important and valuable is that portion of holy Scripture, on which we are now to meditate![69]

Such general enthusiasm for Hebrews was, as we shall see, focussed in the image of Christ as Priest.

Hebrews assumed a new importance for Evangelicals , however, in their response to Tractarianism, in the 1840's and early 1850's. Hebrews, it was held, was an incomparable and unassailable foil to Romanism. Hence, James Garbett's Bampton Lectures of 1842, entitled Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King, to be considered in detail in the next section, drew heavily upon the Epistle. He called it "that exquisite composition" and enthusiastically declared:

> "It is remarkable, throughout, for sublimity of thought, and a harmony and beauty of expression corresponding to it, which seems inspired and sustained by the very grandeur of the subject of which it treats; and which fills, with its depth and breadth, even the capacious mind of the inspired Apostle".[70]

Furthermore, he continued, illustrating the extent to which Evangelical enthusiasm for the Epistle was tied not merely to the Epistle's general doctrinal significance but more particularly to its presentation of Christ as priest:

> "It could hardly be otherwise in such hands, - when he (Paul) contemplated the availing Priesthood of our blessed Lord, - with its tenderness and human sympathies exalted by the Godhead, and the Godhead, tempered from its intolerable majesty, by the conjoined humanity-..."[71]

Hebrews was revered as the primary biblical repository of the beloved image of Christ as priest. However, the very fact that Garbett placed such weight upon this Epistle, when employing the triplex munus Christi to vindicate the Church of England from "theological novelties", amply testifies to contemporary Evangelical confidence in the Epistle's relevance and doctrinal orthodoxy. Garbett unhesitatingly employed the Epistle in his attack upon contemporary Tractarianism and Unitarianism.[72] He was not alone in employing the Epistle thus.

There was a burgeoning of Evangelical emphasis upon the Epistle and its doctrine consequent upon the progressive advance of Tractarianism. Hence, the important annual Evangelical Bloomsbury Lectures were in 1849 entitled The Priest upon His Throne, and contained a series of expository studies largely focussing on Hebrews. Those of 1851 also contained one by the Evangelical scholar T.R. Birks (1810 - 1883) entitled 'The True Melchizedec in His kingdom'.[73] In the same year J.B. Sumner (1780 - 1862), the Evangelical Archbishop of Canterbury, also treated of this subject in his aptly named devotional study, A practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon and to the Hebrews.[74] In 1853, J.D. MacBride, (1778 - 1868) Lay Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and avowed head of Oxford Evangelicalism, published his Lectures on the Thirty-Nine Articles, in which he, too, placed repeated emphasis upon the teaching of Hebrews, declaring that it "may be considered as an inspired exposition of His priestly character."[75] Not all Evangelicals during this period restricted their enthusiasm for Hebrews either to its illumination of the Old Testament or to its presentation of Christ as priest. Hence, the Irish scholar, John Cotter MacDonnell, in his Donnellan Lectures of 1857, entitled The Doctrine of the Atonement, dubbed Hebrews "a treatise on sacrifice", and "the nearest approach to a complete theory of sacrifice to be found in the sacred volume."[76] Evangelical enthusiasm for the Epistle arose most

often, however, directly or indirectly, from its presentation of the doctrines of the priesthood and priestly sacrifice of Christ, though general reaffirmation of fundamental Reformation principles lead to considerable emphasis once again upon this crucial scriptural text, as a bar to measure truth and foil to counter heresy. Edward ('Donkey') Litton (1814-1897) reflects this emphasis in his Bampton Lectures of 1856, The Mosaic Dispensation considered as Introductory to Christianity, where he writes:

> "One whole Epistle, of which, whether it be the production of St. Paul or not, the canonicity has not as yet been assailed, is devoted to this special object; - to show how Christ, by absorbing in Himself all the elements of the Jewish sacrifical system, has put an end for ever to the ceremonial law. In the other Epistles the same line of thought occurs, though the subject is not so frequently or so formally discussed."[77]

Hebrews explicated the essential truths of the Gospel in an age of crisis and controversy.

Having established the foundation of early Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood in the doctrine and devotion of Charles Simeon, and in their enthusiasm for Hebrews, as central to their doctrine of scripture, and as affording popular source for their doctrinal and devotional reflection in toto, we must now proceed to consider in detail their interpretation, application, and evaluation of the particular doctrine of Christ as priest.

II

The Priesthood of Christ and the Defence of Evangelical Doctrine and Devotion 1827-1867

Scholarly examination of Victorian Evangelicalism has often been harsh in its evaluation of Evangelical theology.[78] R.W. Church, for example, in the spirit of Mark Pattison in Essays and Reviews,[79] claimed that by 1827, "The evangelical school represented all the characteristics of an exhausted teaching and a spent enthusiasm."[80] Other scholars have claimed Evangelicals had no learning to meet the attacks of deism and liberalism, that their imagination was limited, and their biblicism "intellectually benumbing". It has fallen to scholars such as Yngve Brilioth and Peter Toon to reinstate the significance and intellectual ability of

Evangelical writers, the former has pointed to the role Evangelicalism played "in bringing about the new Anglicanism of the later nineteenth century",[81] and, the latter has shown the reasoned case Evangelical scholars made in response to Tractarian theology.[82] Neither of these last named has, however, considered the role Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood played in articulation and defence of their theological position in the development of Anglican theology in the nineteenth century in general. Whatever our ultimate evaluation of their theology, study of Christ's priesthood reveals its continued centrality to Evangelical doctrine and devotion. To appreciate this fact we must follow those who have shown that neither the content nor impact of Evangelicalism were restricted to its articulation in weighty theological tomes. Indeed, study of Christ's priesthood here again discloses the potency of their lex orandi upon the Church's lex credendi.

In many respects Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood was static during this period, founded on theological and devotional principles common to Simeon and historic Reformed Evangelicalism. In other respects, however, significant historically-, and theologically-determined emphases, characteristic of this particular period appear, and our study focuses primarily upon these. For through much of the period 1827 to the mid-1860's, Christ's priesthood was employed largely defensively by Evangelical writers responding to the threat first of Tractarianism and then of Latitudinarianism, as we shall see in sections 2 and 3. Before this, however, Evangelicalism turned to Christ's priesthood in more creative doctrinal and devotional explication of His person and work. The remainder of this chapter traces Evangelical interpretation through those three distinctive and illuminating phases.

1. Christ, the 'perfect priestly Mediator', in Evangelical doctrine and devotion : 1827-1842

How, then, did Evangelicals interpret and apply the doctrine of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1842? The period embraces much of the early phase of Tractarianism. Prior to 1838, and the more evident Romanism of Froude's

Remains, many Evangelicals were sympathetic towards the Movement's early ideals. There was, indeed, a certain "continuity of piety" between the Evangelical and Tractarian movements.[83] Both were "movements of the heart", both sought to engender spirituality, holiness, and a reality in religion among their adherents. Publications such as Peter Maurice's Evangelical diatribes Popery in Oxford (1833), The Popery of Oxford confronted (1837),[84] and A key to the Popery of Oxford (1838), were, especially before 1838, more the exception than the rule during this early period. Significantly, Maurice makes no appeal to Christ's priesthood. Between 1827-1842 Christ's priesthood was not a prominent characteristic of Evangelical writing against Tractarianism. It was not enjoined as a Protestant article of an opposing Evangelical ecclesiology. The thrust of Evangelical interpretation continued to be in relation to Christ's priestly person and work. Between these years Evangelical devotion to this image, on which many leading Tractarians were originally nourished, continued to flourish, being constantly employed as a key to unlock the truths of 'orthodoxy' and a weapon to fight the progress of 'error'. For early Evangelicals were devoted to the images of the 'perfect priestly Mediator' and 'the sympathising heavenly priest'.

In 1827 the Evangelical scholar and future Archbishop of Canterbury, J.B. Sumner, at the time of writing Prebendary of Durham, and Vicar of Mapledurham, Oxon., published a sermon series entitled Sermons on the Principal Festivals of the Christian Church. The sermons usefully illuminate aspects of early Evangelical interpretation and application of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood after Simeon. In sermon VI, 'On the Persons and Offices of Christ', based on Isaiah v:3.4, Sumner presents Christ's office as a priestly intercessor and mediator as a source of comfort to the penitent.[85] His discussion is associated with clear reaffirmation of an orthodox Chalcedonian christology.

> "He is God, with power to save; He is Man, with tenderness to pity:" he writes, "he has loved you, as no man ever loved his nearest friend; he is with you, to strengthen your faith; he is with God, to intercede for your transgressions; he has power over all things in heaven and earth; and he your Redeemer and Mediator, will be your Judge at the last."[86]

For Sumner, Christ's priesthood focusses a christocentric Evangelicalism on the person and work of Christ. Upon closer examination his sermons illustrate four characteristics of this early phase of Evangelical interpretation, alluded to in relation to Simeon.

Firstly, in Sumner we find the doctrine of Christ's priesthood explicitly and pastorally implicated in a characteristic evangelical stress upon the accessibility of God, and the very idea of God, through the image of Christ, the divine-human mediatorial priest. Hence, Sumner commented on Christ's priestly intercession, in his sermon 'The Ascension of Christ':

> "The apostle, certainly, intends that this should be to us a subject of consolation. For, writing to the Hebrews, who had been accustomed to the typical intercession of the High Priest, he lays peculiar stress upon the thought that even under the Christian dispensation by which the shadows of the law were superseded, we not only have an High Priest,...but we have an High Priest who can still 'be touched with the feeling of our infirmities.' Though without our corruption, he knows our weakness; though free from all spot of sin, he knows our temptations. We may 'therefore come bodly to the throne of grace, that we may find mercy, and grace to help in time of need.' And there is comfort in the reflection ... Certainly we could never doubt, whether God is acquainted with the nature of man whom he has made: and the conclusions of reason must assure us, that he knows us and our condition far better than we know ourselves. But how few, comparatively, can apply the power of reason to these matters?"[87]

The image of Christ as priest assured mankind that God was aware of, and accessible to, an individual's deepest needs. But, Sumner proceeds, again employing this image of Christ's humanity as the priestly intercessor in a manner directly contrary to the distant, transcendant divinity of eighteenth century deistic rationalism:

> "Therefore the plain and intelligible fact, that he who 'was made flesh, and dwelt among us,' and experienced human infirmities, and was acquainted with human sorrows, and had been himself exposed to temptation and assaulted by the hostility of Satan, is still employed as our 'Advocate with God' in completing that work of mercy which he began: this assurance has something in it wonderfully adapted to the state of human nature, something which may be laid hold of by that vast majority who are incapable of raising their minds to the abstract idea of Him whom 'no man has seen at any time'."[88]

Christ's priesthood was, Sumner maintains, an image accessible to the understanding of any person. The God of Victorian Evangelicalism was not only

the wrathful avenger of man's unrighteousness and rebellion, who condemned unbelievers to eternal damnation, so often caricatured, but also the accessible deity personified in the figure of a divine-human priest.

Sumner was not unique in this understanding of Christ's priesthood. The doctrine was caught up in Evangelical humanitarianism. The social ideals of 'sympathy', and 'sacrificial' identification with the needy, were a reflection of their understanding of Christ's priestly sympathy and sacrifical service through which God revealed Himself. Hence, for example, William Wilberforce, the Evangelical philanthropist and campaigner against slavery, alluded to this truth in his searing condemnation of contemporary Christianity, A Practical View of the Prevailing System of Professed Christians (1797). Arguing against those who claimed it to be unreasonable to love an invisible deity, unable to enter into our concerns, Wilberforce wrote, "we are graciously assured that He is not one 'who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, having been in all points tempted like as we are' (Heb iv:15)".[89] R.S. Lee, (1783-1852) Evangelical Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, in his Six Sermons on the Study of Holy Scriptures (1830), likewise reveals the pragmatic, non-metaphysical christocentrism of early Evangelicalism in which Christ's priesthood was central.

> "The revelation of the Divinity of our Lord seems to have been made for practical, not abstract, purposes"; he stated, "and, if the salvation of the soul can be secured on this view of it, I need never be anxious about the metaphysical part of the question."[90]

Then, relating Christ's priestly sympathy directly to his endorsement of worship of the divine Christ,[91] a subject, of course, anathema to contemporary Unitarians, he declared:

> "Cursed, we know, is he that trusteth in any son of man, however lofty his situation or extensive his power: but, when we are told that our Redeemer was with God before the world existed, and was God, and that he then enjoyed the incommunicable glory of the Father; we then know that he is worthy to be honoured, even as the Father is; and that he who believes in the Father, can with confidence also believe in him. But we are also told, that although now elevated above the heavens, he is still touched with the feeling of our infirmities:...and it will follow, that he who doubts, doubts unreasonably; and most justly deserves all the consequences pronounced against unbelief".[92]

The image of Christ as priest was integral to the Evangelicals' doctrine of God. Confident that Hebrews expressly declared Christ's divinity as priest, contemporary Evangelicalism, in which the christology of Hebrews was all-pervasive, employed this image confidently in their articulation of 'the human face' of God. Victorian humanitarianism owed much to Evangelical devotion to Christ's priesthood.

Secondly, Sumner followed Simeon's Reformed emphasis upon Christ as the divine-human Mediator. To be a real priest and Mediator He must be God and Man. This is a prominent theme in early Evangelical theology throughout the first half of the Victorian era. In 1833 it found clear expression in a work entitled The Better Covenant practically considered from Hebrews viii:6, 10-12., by Francis Goode, (1797-1842) lecturer of Clapham and a former Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Chapter III is devoted particularly to consideration of Christ's person as the priestly mediator.[93] He calls it "a subject full of encouragement" to "behold and triumph in the glory of the person of Jesus, in the perfection of His work, in the all-sufficiency of His intercession," who is "the apostle and high priest of our profession".[94] Having established the need for a Mediator, on account of man's sin and God's holy antagonism towards sin, Goode proceeds to argue that a suitable Mediator "must be sufficient for both parties" ... "such as both can fully rest on, for the removal of every bar to peace."[95] So, he states:

> "Clearly, he that is to be the mediator between God and man must have the nature of both.// Blessed be God, such a mediator is found in the person of Jesus,/gives security to both parties *for* the fulfilment of all that is necessary on either side for peace. While, as man, he can give security to God on our behalf,- as the eternal Word, equal with the Father, he gives security to us for God."[96]

Christ was, for Goode, and for contemporary Evangelicalism, in this sense the perfect priestly Mediator: on the one hand, "He was truly man, and therefore He could legitimately present Himself for the expiation of the guilt of man, His brother. This, indeed, was a principal reason for His incarnation."[97] On the other, like Simeon, Goode stressed that Christ's divinity gave infinite value to His sacrifice,[98] and observed that, with regard to His life, "this Priest as well as victim, possessed in Himself infinite ability both to lay it down, and to take it

again."[99] Despite emphasis here upon the divinity of Christ, the priestly mediator, there can be little doubt that during this period Evangelical interpretation was, in fact, characterised more by its distinctive stress upon Christ's humanity as priest.

Thirdly, in the writing of Sumner, Goode, and other contemporary Evangelicals of this period, Christ was preeminently the perfect priestly Mediator because of two characteristics reflected in His human nature - He was 'sinless', and His 'sympathy' with man was perfect.

Regarding Christ's sinlessness, Simeon had stressed that Christ did not suffer on the cross for His own sins. Of his temptation to sin, Simeon declared: "You hear the apostles affirm" that, 'though in all points tempted like as we are, He was yet like as we are, He was yet without sin'; you read the account of His temptation, and perceive that Satan could get no advantage over Him, over Him alone of all that ever appeared in human form...".[100] Herein lay Christ's incomparable sinlessness as priest. Goode, too, stressed Christ's sinless humanity as priest, writing:

> "Consider him, brethren, as our Offering. In his humanity, he was perfectly holy, having no spot or taint of sin, either original or actual. ... Thus, while he was bone of our bone ... he was yet without sin."[101]

Later , too, he identifies Christ's sinlessness as a distinguishing feature of the "creature life" of Christ the great High Priest, which rendered it, therefore, "unforfeited".[102] "Death", he explained, "is the wages of sin; and had Christ taken upon Him, as some assert, sinful flesh, His life had been necessarily forfeited."[103] Goode presented unelaborately the fact of Christ's sinlessness, - that he did not assume "sinful flesh" else His priestly sacrifice would have been ineffectual, - though did so alongside explicit declarations of His being, in every other respect, 'like unto His brethen'.[104]

The full significance of this Evangelical affirmation of Christ's sinlessness as priest only emerges, however, in the light of two sermons, also of 1833, on Hebrews iv:15, by the Irish Evangelical scholar James T. O'Brien (1792-1874). The sermons were, he stated:

> "An attempt to prove that the blessed Lord might have been truly tempted,and tempted like as we are, though he assumed and bore our nature free from the corruption in which we receive and bear it."[105]

O'Brien's sermons were a conscious response to the publication of Edward Irving's (1792-1834) The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human nature in 1830.[106] Irving taught that Christ took sinful humanity. Though in this respect original, his thought bore some resemblance to the Nestorian heresy, as contemporaries recognised.[107] O'Brien rejects Irving's view of Christ having taken sinful flesh,[108] and upholds continually soteriological and pastoral implications of the issue.[109] He is eager to stress equally the facts of Christ's true divinity, His truly temptable humanity, and His sinlessness.[110] Of Christ's sinlessness, he declared:

> "He was not holy and harmless, and undefiled in act merely, but, receiving a pure nature, he preserved it pure: inherited no depravity, and contracted none: in this intimate union with our frail nature he was as free from spot or blemish as before he humbled himself to assume it."[111]

Though without sin, O'Brien stressed, "He actually was tempted in all points like those sinners whom He deigns to call and to make His brethren", and He overcame temptation because supported by a higher nature, which does not interfere with His capacity to sympathize.[112] Evangelical writing of this period contained repeated affirmations of the humanity and sinlessness of Christ as priest.

The second characteristic of Christ's humanity as priest prominent in contemporary Evangelicalism, Christ's 'sympathy', arose directly from discussion of His incarnate temptation and sinlessness. It can with justice be claimed that between 1827-1842 a 'cult of the sympathising heavenly priest' came to its doctrinal and, especially, devotional fruition in early Evangelicalism. When speaking of Christ as priest, Evangelical writers almost invariably spoke of his 'sympathy'. When they portrayed His temptation, humanity, and fellow-feeling, they again had in mind His capacity to show priestly sympathy. "He is man, with tenderness to pity," Sumner had proclaimed.[113] Francis Goode in an appended Note to his Better Covenant, entitled 'The Sympathy of Christ',[114] professes his inability to add anything new "to what has been written of late on this much

agitated point".[115] However, Goode defines Christ's sympathy as His fellow-feeling with mankind, arising from His sharing of man's nature, - though not His circumstances and disposition to sin.[116] Goode admits the difficulty of understanding Christ's fellow-feeling on account of His divinity and sinless humanity,[117] but repudiates the suggestion that Christ must have a sinful nature before He can truly sympathise. "The exception of a proneness to evil in our blessed Lord," he writes, "lessens not in any degree, His capability of sympathizing with His tempted people. In truth it is necessary that He may sympathize."[118] J. T. O'Brien, too, when expounding Hebrews iv:15, directly associates Christ's temptation, sinlessness and sympathy.

> "The plain purpose of my text," he states,"...is to bring back to the mind of Believers, the peculiar support under temptation, which a sense of the community of the Lord's nature with ours is fitted to afford:... he has (so to speak) qualified himself to sympathise with us in temptation, by assuming the nature, which renders us capable of being tempted; and in it sustaining temptations, like to those by which we are tried."[119]

O'Brien professed his sermons to be throughout a conscious attempt both to refute Irving and to protect popular devotional belief, which derived such comfort from the notion of Christ's priestly sympathy.[120]

Many other Evangelical writers are to be found between 1827-1867, reflecting this 'cult of the sympathising heavenly priest'. Henry Hughes, thus, for example, of Trinity College, Oxford, declared in his Lectures on the Gospel (1834), that "God has become man, and not only that, but man 'touched with the feeling of our infirmities', and 'in all points tempted like as we are', man in toil and danger and mournful vicissitude, man in sorrow and affliction...".[121] Again, Edward Bickersteth (1786-1850), of the influential Evangelical clan, in his sermon 'The Ever Present Saviour', preached on April 15, 1838, in St. Margaret's Church, Stansted, after the death of Rev. Joseph Pratt, declared that Christ, "with all the perfections and unsearchable glories of the Godhead, has all the sympathies, tenderness, fellow-feeling and compassion of the manhood".[122] Likewise, John Bickersteth, (1781-1876) Rector of Sapcote, Leicester, in a series of sermons, The Example of Christ, also stressed Christ's priestly sympathy.[123] James Garbett,

presents a classic Evangelical interpretation and application, writing in his Parochial Sermons.

> "... it was a part of God's purpose, that his only begotten Son should not only be a sacrifice for our sins, and die upon the cross for our transgressions; but descending from the majesty of a pure and heavenly nature, which is too high above us, should draw us to himself by a sense of real brotherhood, an actual fellow feeling which our hearts within us should, in the very inmost depths, acknowledge. Brethren, we want this sympathy! we cannot do without it! ... He knoweth, we are sure, that we are set in the middle of many and great dangers, and have sore temptations to struggle with, and lack, in our strait, for this our frail humanity, a gentle and compassionate and ever-loving Saviour! We know that we have what we want because he himself hath been tempted. 'We have not a high priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are; so that, in as much as he himself has suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted'."[124]

There can be little doubt that this theme of Christ, the sympathising priest, was integral to the 'gentlest saviour' christologies characteristic of Evangelical popular devotion, and deeply influenced Evangelical theological reflection. But its true historico-theological significance only becomes fully apparent through two works which appeared in and after 1842. The first was Hugh McNeile's (1795-1879) Lectures on the Sympathies, Suffering and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, first delivered in St. Jude's Church, Liverpool, at Easter 1842. He claimed the subject to be "more closely connected, than is generally perceived, with both the fullness of our Christian consolation, and the integrity and consistency of our Christian faith."[125] For, he declared, whilst the repeated message of the Gospel of Christ, 'the sacrifice for sin', affords "a refuge from the paroxysms of conscience",[126] man is regularly deprived of "a brother" in sympathy, to meet the cravings of experience.[127] The reason for this is, he maintains, that, "while the Godhead of the Saviour is contemplated, His true and proper manhood is grieviously neglected"[128] - except, that is, by the "most prominent attempt of modern times to recall attention to it",[129] associated with the "horrifying thought of ascribing sinfulness to Christ's humanity".[130] Against the background of Evangelical devotion to the incarnate priest, McNeile attempts, therefore, by reference to Hebrews' christological teaching on Christ's temptation, sinlessness, and sympathy, to encourage deeper devotional adherence

to Christ's humanity and to redress what he sees as imbalanced emphasis upon the divinity of Christ, occasioned by orthodox defensiveness towards contemporary Socinianism,[131] and so to mend "the damage sustained by both the faith and experience of the Church", resulting from its neglect of Christ's humanity.[132]

McNeile turned Evangelical minds to that devotional image to which they were already deeply attached - the image of 'the sympathising heavenly priest'. Christ's priestly sympathy was, then, both the cause and content of an early, hitherto uncharted, Evangelical emphasis upon the doctrine of the Incarnation in Victorian theology and devotion, which arose directly out of Evangelical popular devotion. This was the background from which Newman, and Wilberforce's sacerdotal incarnationism in part, at least, emerged.[133]

The second work is J.D. Macbride's Lectures on the Articles (1853), in which we find the following suggestive statement on Evangelical devotion to the person of Christ:

> "... many Latin hymns to the Saviour in the Breviary are justly admired for their piety; yet as far as my knowledge reaches he appears in them rather as the sovereign and the judge, than the gracious friend of repentant sinners; and I believe it is only in Protestant collections of hymns, and especially in the multitude provided for English congregations; from Watts, our earliest and most abundant author, both in quality and quantity, down to the beautiful compositions of the still living poet of the United Brethren, that Jesus is magnified as Emmanuel, and as 'our great high priest above;' and if so, the Anglo-Saxon race is privileged above the other families of man at home, and beyond the Atlantic, and in its settlements in Australia, to 'celebrate his Lord's constant care and sympathetic love'."[134]

We have earlier considered some of the evidence alluded to here by Macbride, respecting the role, content and significance of Christ's priestly sympathy in the doctrine and devotion of the Evangelical revival. His statement casts new light upon this tradition. We cannot test its validity fully here. If true, of course, and we have considered some evidence to suggest it to be so, then a distinctive association between Anglican thought, and not just English doctrine and devotion, and Christ's priesthood becomes again not implausible.

Finally, returning to Sumner's sermon series, we find him teaching, as Simeon did, two aspects to Christ's priestly work - viz. His sacrifice and His

intercession. He says little about Christ's sacrifice and satisfaction for sins, and expatiates upon His intercession, first for "the wicked, the careless, and the unprofitable",[135] and then for His devotees.[136] It is, he maintains, "a mighty subject of contemplation", and "the fact of it indisputably revealed".[137] However, he, like many of his contemporaries, stressed that it does not "become us to inquire curiously into the nature of His intercession".[138]

Concerning Christ's priestly sacrifice, there were few significant developments in Evangelical interpretation during this early period. However, in 1827, the Evangelical scholar G.S. Faber (1773-1874) published his Treatise on the Origin of Expiatory Sacrifice. It was a response to the brief, Latitudinarian, study by the Noetic, J. Davison, An Inquiry into the Origin and Intent of Primitive Sacrifice (1825).[139] Faber claimed, "through the medium of the Epistle to the Hebrews", to have demonstrated, "the primeval divine institution of patriarchal expiatory sacrifice":[140] a fact which, of course, was integral to Evangelical interpretation of Christ's antitypical eternal priesthood and sacrifice, as noted in Simeon. In 1828, Charles Jerram, (1770-1853) Vicar of Chobham, Surrey, published his Treatise on the Doctrine of the Atonement, which reaffirmed the traditional centrality of the atonement for Christian faith and life,[141] and the reality, superiority, and sovereignty of Christ's antitypical Melchizedekian priesthood.[142] Furthermore, claiming the Book of Common Prayer's Eucharistic Prayers encapsulated the Anglican doctrine of the Atonement,[143] Jerram proceeded to ascertain, by comparison with Hebrews, whether "the sacrifice which Christ made for the sins of the world, was of the same nature as those under the Mosaic dispensation":[144] that is to say, whether His death on the cross was the antitypical, vicarious, expiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world, to be appropriated by faith.[145] He concluded it was.[146] Those who defended Christ's sinless humanity, related his perfection as the priestly Mediator to His capacity to offer an acceptable offering of Himself to God. Francis Goode's Better Covenant taught this and related Christ's priestly sacrifice to the establishment of a new covenant between man and God as taught in Hebrews ix and x.[147]

Goode and other contemporary Evangelicals, also spoke of Christ's intercession as necessary to render His sacrifice effectual, in a manner which echoed Simeon and Tigurine thought.[148] As the stress upon Christ's 'sympathy' suggests, too, Evangelical doctrine and devotion placed considerable emphasis upon Christ's heavenly ministry as Intercessor and Advocate in His ascended, glorified, and regal humanity. His profound fellow-feeling for mankind, Edward Bickersteth taught in his Treatise on Prayer (1819), undergirded Christ's effectual 'pleading His wounds' before the heavenly Father.[149] Sumner, as we have seen, urged reticence respecting the manner of Christ's priestly intercession. Goode, however, having emphasised that - "If He had not been a priest on earth, He would not have been a priest in heaven", - followed Heb.ix:7, 12 contra Socinianism and wrote:

> "That blood he now presents and sprinkles before the mercy-seat; and on the ground of it he claims, for returning sinners, the fulfilment of all the grace of the covenant, as the reward of his sacrifice ... Our title, then,to all covenant blessings is the death of our Surety, and he who died for us now lives for us: lives to plead our title to those blessings."[150]

Christ, was, then, the perfect priestly Mediator in early Evangelicalism, as Henry Hughes Lectures on the Gospel make clear, by being the heavenly Intercessor and presenting man's prayer effectively before God.[151] Here was a foundational principle in Evangelical devotion.

In this early phase, then, the person and work of Christ as priest, as presented in Hebrews, was a central theological and devotional theme in Victorian Evangelicalism. Their thought is christocentric, studiedly orthodox, and initially little influenced by the rise of Tractarianism. Yet Evangelicalism contributed directly to the rise of nineteenth century incarnationism through its interpretation of Christ's priesthood. After 1842, however, the situation changed dramatically and to examination of Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood thereafter we now turn.

2. James Garbett and Evangelical defence of Christ's unique priesthood: 1842-1851

In 1842, the Oxford Bampton Lectures were delivered by the controversially appointed, though widely esteemed, theological Professor of Poetry,[152] the Evangelical scholar, James Garbett (1802-1879), Rector of Clayton, Sussex, and later Archdeacon of Chichester. They were 'significantly' entitled, Christ, as Prophet, Priest and King.[153] Without the context provided by detailed study of Christ's priesthood in Anglican doctrine and devotion prior to, and during the period 1827-1900, their significance has been largely ignored. They are, however, an important and sophisticated source for analysis of a scholarly Anglican Evangelical interpretation and utilisation of the image of Christ as priest. Their publication significantly influenced, if it did not fundamentally alter, Evangelical attitudes towards this doctrine in relation to Tractarian theology. Before examining Garbett's Lectures, and other Evangelical responses to Tractarianism, we begin by reviewing other Evangelical writing during this period not directly embroiled in anti-Tractarian polemic.

In many respects Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1842-1851 stands in direct continuity with that of Charles Simeon and other early Victorian Evangelicals, since grounded upon the same basic theological assumptions concerning scripture, the nature of God, and His self-revelation in the person and work of Jesus Christ. There is the same emphasis upon Christ as 'Emmanuel', 'God with us', in His incarnate humanity, now ascended and reigning in heaven. Hugh McNeile's emphasis upon the importance of the Incarnation, in his Lectures on the Sympathies, Sufferings, and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ (1843), recorded earlier, is a recurring theme in Evangelical writing.[154] Evangelical commitment to the figure of the sympathising heavenly priest remained constant. Henry Hughes, Perpetual Curate of All Saints, Gordon Square, London, in a series of Sermons published in 1850, wrote emphatically of the reality of Christ's incarnate humanity now glorified.[155] In one, 'The Human Nature of Christ' on 1 Tim ii:5, Christ is presented as truly God and Man, as the surety, forerunner, Mediator and Head of the Church.[156]

> "Our nature is in heaven", he declared. "There is a man there in the enjoyment of the full fruition of its rewards. With himself, Christ Jesus has carried up his Church; for all are members of his body, and inseparably united to him."[157]

He is our Mediator in His humanity. Reiterating the inseparability of Christ's priesthood from the Evangelical doctrine of God, he wrote: "In Him there is nothing to repel, no awful and intolerable splendours. The terrors of the unapproachable Godhead are all veiled. He is man. Man who has sorrowed and suffered as we do."[158] So, he concluded, there is true sympathy in our heavenly Mediator.

> "There is," he wrote, "something inexpressibly sweet in the thought of the sympathy of Jesus. The sympathy of earthly men is dear to us, how much more the sympathy of that sinless and loving man, the friend, the Redeemer, that is in heaven."[159]

Evangelical writing also persisted in its interpretation and utilisation of Christ's priesthood, to endorse Chalcedonian orthodoxy. George Townsend, (1788-1857) of Durham, for example, formerly Chaplain to Bishop Shute Barrington, spoke, albeit in a somewhat artificial manner at times, of the triplex munus Christi as three characters in all of which Christ is presented in His divine and human nature:[160]

> "... the divine, yet human Prophet, to give us the knowledge of God's will - the divine, yet human Priest, to atone for our sins, and to purchase our pardon - the divine, yet human King, to give us the assistance of God's grace in conjunction with the means of grace;..."[161]

Charles Heurtley (1806-1895), the Evangelical scholar and future Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford (1853-1895), also stressed the humanity and divinity of Christ, the mediatorial priest, in his Bampton Lectures on Justification of 1845. Basing Lecture II, 'Man Restored in Christ', as much on the theology of Hebrews as on the text from Romans v:15, Heurtley presented the person and work of Christ the priest in a traditional manner.

> "Here was one," he wrote, "who being without sin Himself, both original and actual, and having the strength of Godhead bound up indissolubly with His human nature, was able to sustain the enormous load. Was it necessary, after God had provided a victim of sufficient price to make atonement, that a high priest should be found worthy to enter within the inmost recesses of the heavenly temple, and sprinkle its blood before the mercy-seat? Here was one, who needed not daily, as the

> priests under the law, to offer up sacrifice first for his own sins, and then for the people's, seeing that he was holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens... Here was one, in whom the prince of this world, when He came, had nothing which He could challenge as His own; who, though He was tempted in all points like as we are, was yet without sin; and who, joining to this perfect sinlessness of His human nature the Almighty strength of Deity, was able to bind the strong man, and to lead captivity captive, and thus to spoil principalities and powers, and to make a show of them openly, triumphing over them in His Cross."[162]

Here was Heurtley's defence of Christ's unique priesthood and sacrifice. From His priesthood he deduced that Christians are "kings and priests", too: maintaining, in a Calvinistic manner, that "because Christ is the King of kings, and the great High Priest of the Father, ... they are kings and priests in Him."[163] During this period, then, Christ's unique priesthood was articulated and defended, as before, in relation to His person and work as priest.

However, the doctrine became increasingly caught up in Evangelical exposition of human priesthood and priesthood in the Church, largely in defensive writing against the progress of 'Romanism' in England. It was this which inspired the Bloomsbury Lectures of 1848, The Priest upon His Throne.[164] Lecture II was by T.R. Birks, Rector of Kelshall, Hertfordshire, and entitled 'The Melchizedec priesthood of Christ in the present and coming dispensations'.[165] Birks reflects a growing Evangelical concern to defend the glory and uniqueness of Christ's priesthood. In this lecture he expatiates upon the glorious subject of Christ's Melchizedekian priesthood against those who "may feel directly disposed to charge the apostle with giving the reins to an unbridled fancy" in his typological exegesis.[166] After examining the Melchizedekian 'type' Birks presents Christ's Melchizedekian priesthood as "spiritual in its nature, universal in its application, immutable in its basis, heavenly and glorious in its exercise, linked with kingly authority and perfect righteousness, and lasting in its eternal continuance".[167] His interpretation is located in his identification of the triplex munus with three phases of Christ's eternal ministry. The prophetic office pertains to Christ's earthly ministry, the priesthood to His heavenly ministry and his kingship to His eschatological return in power.[168] In the present Christ is, he maintains, "ever

applying the merits of His precious sacrifice to secure the salvation of penitent sinners",[169] and mediating the Church's prayer and worship to the Father.[170] As the 'king - priest', he will one day return to bless and intercede for ever.[171] Birks' lecture is a reminder that alongside the more Calvinist note of Christ's human sympathy as priest, is found this characteristically Lutheran stress upon Christ's glorious Melchizedekian priest-kingship, albeit here incorporated into Christ's triplex munus.[172]

Against the background of Birks' cosmic presentation of Christ's unique Melchizedekian priesthood here, we can understand the rationale behind his fierce anti-Roman polemic, 'The True Melchizedek in His kingdom, contrasted with the pretensions of Rome', in the Bloomsbury Lectures of 1851.[173] In this lecture he employs the theory of the former one to repudiate the 'priestly' system of Roman Catholicism which claims to offer the Mass-sacrifice and to exercise temporal Lordship.[174]

> "The Lord Jesus Christ is the true Melchisedec". He declares. "He is the Priest who alone has power to offer a perfect and all-sufficient sacrifice - the King of righteousness and of peace, who must reign for ever. His priestly work began in the sacrifice on the cross, and He now continues it by His glorious and ceaseless intercession in heaven. His kingly office, also, has now begun, in earnest of its fuller exercise, while He rules as a sovereign in the hearts of the willing people."[175]

In the wake of the establishment of Roman Catholic sees in England, Evangelicals turned away from the temporal aspirations of Roman Catholicism to stress Christ's heavenly office as priest and king. Birks was not alone in thus defending, in a traditional Protestant manner, Christ's unique priesthood. J.B. Sumner expatiated upon Christ's personal priestly superiority and incomparable sacrifice, in his traditional, pastoral exposition of Hebrews, published in 1851.[176] He allowed for no possibility of Christ's glorious mediation being in any sense shared.[177] He is, Sumner maintained, 'merciful and faithful High Priest', 'perfected through suffering', whose mediatorial priesthood is eternal and heavenly,[178] and whose sacrifice was "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world", as the ground of the 'Better Covenant' between Man and God.[179] His priestly office is unique because inseparable from His saving

work. To ascribe to human officials priestly powers was, to Evangelicals, to invade His prerogatives and accomplishments as Saviour. He alone can do what no human priest can -bring man to God; and, as Sumner commented on Hebrews x:19-25,

> "The very object and intent of Christ in becoming an High Priest, was to 'bring us to God,' in full assurance of faith: for what stronger ground of assurance could be given, what clearer token of God's love, than that 'he spared not his own Son' for our redemption?"[180]

There was, then, in Evangelical writing of this period a strong tradition which not only perpetuated the interpretation of Christ's priesthood characteristic of Simeon and other earlier Evangelicals, but also began to be increasingly defensive towards Christ's "honour and glory as priest".

During this period a more aggressive and sometimes more creative defence of Christ's unique priesthood by Evangelical writers also appeared. Garbett's Bampton Lectures of 1842 reflect this tradition, though they did not initiate it. For Christ's priesthood was integral to defence of the theology of the Protestant reformers found in a few earlier Evangelical responses to Tractarianism. Thus, for example, Edward Bickersteth's selection from the English Reformers entitled, The Testimony of the Reformers (1836), included the passage in the Catechism of Edward VI which spoke of Christ as "our everlasting and only high Bishop; our only Mediator".[181] Jewel's Apology is also quoted: "We have no mediator and intercessor by whom we approach to God the Father, but Jesus Christ, in whose name only, all things are obtained".[182] Evangelicals took their stand on the theology of the English Reformers, and publication of the Parker Society volumes pressed their cause. Their defence of Christ's priesthood was integral to their opposition to what they, too, saw as a 'Romish' invasion of His glory.

> "This is the antichrist which has for 1200 years virtually dethroned Christ," Bickersteth wrote, "and under the mask and appearance of his pure and holy gospel, has set up the virgin Mary in his room; the chief prayers, images, chapels , pilgrimages, and worship, being everywhere made by the papists in countries under their full influence, to the virgin rather than to Christ."[183]

Christ's unique mediatorial priesthood became a crucial theme in Evangelical responses to Roman Catholicism, and what they perceived of it in Oxford

Tractarianism. Evangelicals increasingly understood Tractarian reemphasis upon Apostolic Succession and a ministerial priesthood, as directly counter to their christocentric theology of individual faith and access to God. Reformation Christ's priesthood endorsed their perception of the 'immediacy' of Christian experience and the complete, finality of this saving work, to which 'faith' and not meritorious 'works' were the appropriate Christian corollary. So it was William Goode (1801-1868), arguably the leading Evangelical scholar of the period, wrote in his extensive repudiation of the Catholic principle of 'tradition', entitled The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice (1842):

> "... we trust that the substitution of a system in which 'the Church' and 'the priest' are thrust almost into the place of God and Christ, for the everlasting gospel, will be permitted to have but a very precarious and temporary hold upon the minds of men."[184]

Evangelical writing against Tractarianism between 1842-1851 is characterised by strong defence of 'Christ alone' at the centre of Evangelical religion, as the unique priestly mediator between God and man. This was the essence of Garbett's Bampton Lectures which teach, according to Hunt, that "Romanism and its probably unconscious imitation in the new Oxford Movement interfered with the offices of Christ."[185] The D.N.B. describes Garbett as "a representative evangelical".[186] His outlook reflects the Anglican, establishment Evangelicalism which permeated the party in the mid-nineteenth century. Hence, Garbett presents Christ's triplex munus as integral to the historic tradition and formularies of the Anglican Church, under threat from nascent Oxford popery: his appeal is as much to Anglican theology as to Evangelicalism.[187] He describes his lectures, therefore, as "a vindication of the Church of England from theological novelties". Christ's priesthood is central to his "vindication".

Garbett states his aim to be to show, against those who claim a vicarial, transference of Christ's power to His ministers, and reject a mere ministration of men, that, leaving the actual exercise of the Church's offices to Christ Himself, He does still exercise His offices Himself in His Church through His ministers, as Anglican tradition teaches.[188] Christ, he writes:

> "dispenses actually, though invisibly, the inestimable blessings which result from them, to the soul which is prepared for their reception -making the church indeed His fulness, not because He has conferred His offices upon it, but because He who is thus inexhaustible in power and goodness is Himself conjoined with it and dwells in it, animating its services, giving efficacy to the means of grace, and communicating His treasures to us, in proportion to the capacity of our souls to receive them, and our disposition to improve them!"[189]

Garbett's ecclesiology is fundamentally christocentric.[190] He shared with Tractarians a sense of the dynamic present activity of Christ as priest both in and over His Church, but rejected any sense of delegated authority. In his Evangelical federal ecclesiology Christ is 'all in all'. He is the real, divine-human ubiquitous mediator,[191] who is 'all in all' for ever as the gloriously unique Melchizedekian priest.[192] To this extent the roots of Garbett's and Tractarian ecclesiology may be traced to the same deep Anglican commitment to Christ's office as priest.[193] But, Garbett, and Evangelical theology in general, rejected the notion of human priests as Christ's 'vicegerents' or 'representatives' within His Church.[194] For Garbett, "Christ is all in all, not notionally, and in verbal confession only, but literally and practically",[195] and this did not, and could not incorporate a human hieratic order. Such would interfere with the soul's "immediate" relationship with Christ the heavenly priest and intercessor. For,

> "...the soul, from first to last, has no other Priest or Mediator than that divine Saviour who is always present to it–", he wrote, "to Him, every ministration leads, and with Him, not by works or sacraments operative in themselves, but by faith it is brought into a close and constant union."[196]

Evangelicals did not believe priests or sacraments ex opere operato were sufficient to establish a close union between Christ as priest and the believer.[197] Faith and Christ's priestly presence must effect that bond.

Garbett's stress upon Christ's unique antitypical untransferable, mediatorial priesthood, did not militate against adherence to an Apostolic Succession and to 'presbuteral', though not 'sacerdotal', ministers in the Church. Episcopacy is, he claimed, of the bene esse, or 'perfection', of the Church, not of its esse.[198] Presbuteral ministers, he claimed, had no sacerdotium to offer a eucharistic sacrifice, but acted, at times, as representatives of the Church.[199] Christ's priesthood and priestly sacrifice put an end to sacrifice other than as a

eucharistic "commemoration" of His once-for-all offering on the cross, or as the total life-offering of the believers, symbolised in alms, oblations, thanksgiving and service.

In Garbett, then, as in other contemporary Evangelical writings, considerable stress was placed upon Christ the priest's heavenly location and ministry of mediatorial prayer based on the glory of His shed blood.[200] In the 'spiritual religion' of Evangelicalism, Christ the priest is active spiritually not only in, and through, but also over, the life of the Church and of individual Christian believers united to Him by faith.[201] His prayer is the basis of Christian life, faith, and endurance. Whilst Garbett's lectures reflect creative application of Christ's priesthood to Tractarianism and a shift in emphasis in evangelical interpretation to counter directly 'popish' notions of other priests, mediators, sacrifices, and means of grace,[202] they are also rooted in persistent commitment to the devotional truths this priesthood embraced. In their 'method', Garbett employs not only scriptural exegesis, and Anglican doctrinal traditions, but also the witness of the Church's historic liturgy to the fact of Christ's unique priestly mediation.[203] Herein lay part of the strength of his position.

Garbett's lectures gave fresh impetus to Evangelical application of Christ's priesthood to the issue of Tractarianism between 1842-51. The doctrine was employed during this period in a number of crucial contexts. Throughout Christ's unique priestly mediation is assiduously defended as an article of Reformed Anglican religion.

In the first place His priesthood was employed in defence of the 'spiritual religion' to which Evanglicalism was historically and theologically committed. This became a more prominent theme in the second half of the Victorian era,[204] but it is evident already in Charles Miles' The voice of the glorious Reformation (1844). Miles was minister of St. Jude's Church, Glasgow, and he described his volume as, "an unquestionable index of the doctrinal principles maintained by the divines of the sixteenth century".[205] Furthermore, he wrote,

> "The glorious Reformation has taught us, instead of relying on sacraments, to repose in the bosom of Jesus, and, instead of exalting idle ceremonies, to worship the Father, in spirit and

> in truth, and, with boldness, to approach a throne of grace, through the intercession of Christ, the only priest, - the only mediator between God and man, - the all-sufficient Saviour of his purchased flock."[206]

No mediator, or ceremony, was to be interjected between the present activity of Christ and the life of His Church, as some early ceremonialists appeared to him to be doing.[207] Christ's priesthood undergirded Evangelical advocacy of a "simple worship and a spiritual religion".

Secondly, Evangelicals were predictably fierce in their denunciation of anything which appeared to inculcate 'Romish' devotions to Mary and the saints. C.S. Bird (1795-1862), for example, in his A Defence of the Principles of the English Reformation from the attacks of the Tractarians, (1843) castigated Mariolatry and "the strange readiness which some at the least of the Tractarians show to adopt this shocking superstition; which so entirely changes the character of Christianity."[208] For, as he later claimed in his Romanism unknown to Primitive Christianity (1851): "An incarnate and crucified Mediator is the great revelation of the whole Bible".[209] It was this stress on Christ's death as the foundation of Christ's mediation and not His incarnation which motivated his attack on R.I. Wilberforce, in his The Sacramental and Priestly Systems examined (1851).[210] Anything, whether it be the Church, the priesthood, the eucharistic sacrifice, which obscures, or intercepts,the glory of Christ could not be countenanced. So, for Bird, "The Romish doctrine of the intercession of saints in heaven - especially that of the Virgin Mary - is calculated to have this effect. It interposes something merely human, between us and Jesus."[211] He quotes Augustine in his defence: "Christ is the Priest, who being now entered within the veil, alone there of them who have been partakers of the flesh, makes intercession for us."[212] He points to scripture, and maintains that it teaches that the power of advocacy depends directly upon the act which propitiated God, namely, the Atonement. This, he declares, "destroys the distinction which subtle Romanists make between mediation and intercession."[213] For Bird, like Simeon, Christ's atonement and intercession were inseparable parts to one whole priestly work of Christ, and their inseparability countered the possibility of other heavenly mediators.

The 'cult of the sympathising heavenly priest' can be seen to have also directly shaped Evangelical responses to Mariolatry, and saint-mediation. Christ's humanity as priest is at times presented as a direct counter to the felt need for an human mediator before an Almighty God, which had issued forth in devotion to Mary. Certainly Hugh McNeile, in his Lectures cited above, interpreted a devotional neglect of Christ's human sympathy as the theological and devotional cause of man seeking or venerating other mediators.[214] Hugh Stowell, Incumbent of Christ Church, Manchester, similarly declared in his second series of Lectures against Popery, entitled The Mariolatry of the Church of Rome (1851):

> "Let no minister, no Church, no human being, no angelic being, come between you and Christ - you and God. Christ in all, Christ through all, Christ over all. This is Christianity. There is a distance between the Creator and the creature which is illimitable, - there must be no attempt to bridge it over, - there must be no human intervention to make God near to us. No - he is ever near to us, but we must approach Him only through the mediation of his incarnate Son."[215]

Recognition that the need for human sympathy in religion had inspired devotion to the incarnate heavenly priest, and the doctrine's neglect, consequentially contributed to Mariolatry and saint-worship, was most acutely perceived by John Cotter MacDonnell, the Irish Evangelical scholar. In an Act sermon, 'Our High Priest in Heaven', preached in Trinity College, Dublin on May 20, 1860, MacDonnell stressed the present heavenly ministry of Christ as priest, who "can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, while he ministers as our High Priest in the Holy Place above",[216] and renders intelligible, and accessible to our hearts and minds, "the great and glorious Jehovah".[217]

> "We may safely say," he continued, "that it is to the want of the habitual contemplation and adoration of Christ at the right hand of God that saint-worship and Mariolatry owe the strong hold which they have obtained on the affections of professing Christians. It was in the soil where devotion to a living Christ might have flourished, that these strange plants took root and overran the Church. That this is no far fetched idea will appear, if we fairly ask the question, how is it that practices so flagrantly opposed both to the letter and the spirit of Scripture, have grown so as to overshadow and choke all purer and higher worship?"[218]

To counter these dangers, therefore, MacDonnell presented a vivid picture of the power and value of individual and personal devotion to Christ the sympathising,

ever-living, heavenly priest. As far as Evangelicals were concerned, devotion to 'the sympathising heavenly priest' more than adequately satisfied the need for a human sympathising mediator before God.

Christ's unique priestly mediation as an ever-present reality for the Church was also implicated in the much-disputed issue of 'Baptismal Regeneration'. The majority of Evangelicals would probably have subscribed to the view of Charles Tayler, Rector of Ottley, Suffolk, who prefaced his anti-Tractarian sermons of 1850 with the observation: "Unsound and unscriptural views on Baptism are at the root of many of the gravest errors in doctrine and practice, and often the secret cause of ministerial inefficiency."[219] But it was William Tait, in his Mediationes Hebraicae of 1845, who established most decisively the connection, writing of Baptismal Regeneration:

> "...let me shew to you the bitter root of it - Christ's priesthood is set aside. His passion is indeed spoken of, and the forgiveness of God is represented as vouchsafed to us thereby. But the appearance of the Saviour in the presence of God on behalf of his believing people is never spoken of, and the divine forgiveness instead of being represented as a continuous and ever-repeated act, vouchsafed in answer to a continued intercession, is spoken of as an instantaneous act, done and finished in the celebration of an ordinance."[220]

Tait represents Reformed Evangelical understanding of the continual presentation of Christ's blood and efficacious intercession in heaven upon which hung the daily forgiveness and life-long "perseverance of the saints". His continued living intercession, rather than a 'once-for-all' Baptismal act, is to be focussed on when discussing man's forgiveness.[221] The accusation may have been harsh and imperceptive of the meaning of 'Baptismal Regeneration', but it does illustrate the role Christ's priesthood was reckoned to play not only in justification, but also in sanctification in Evangelical eyes. Proponents of this tradition were also prepared to speak of Christ's earthly sacrifice as "once-for-all", without confining His atoning work to the earth. Adhering literally to the typological ritual of the day of Atonement, Christ's 'sacrifice' had for them two parts - the earthly slaughter and the heavenly 'presentation' or 'sprinkling' of His blood.[222] This 'presentation' was both the basis of, and integral to, his efficacious intercession. Reformed scholars continued to use the language of Christ's priestly 'heavenly

sacrifice' of this ministry.[223] It was only later that Evangelical theology, threatened by an Anglo-Catholic eucharistic appropriation of the language of 'heavenly sacrifice', adopted linguistically and theologically its more characteristic position respecting Christ's priestly sacrifice - "one, once, once-for-all".[224] At this period, too, however, Christ's present unique priestly mediation, as an article of Evangelicalism's "simple worship and spiritual religion", was for many a dynamic counter to Tractarian sacramentalism, for Christ as sovereign priest was not bound to sacramental means of grace. He was directly active through His spirit in the hearts and lives of believers.

The fourth and final corollary to this Evangelical position was that Christ the only priest was presented as active in, and Head of, the Church. We saw this form of christocentric ecclesiology in James Garbett, and find it to be a characteristic of Evangelical writing. Hugh Stowell, for example, in his sermon series Tractarianism Tested by Holy Scripture and the Church of England (1845) repudiated the analogy between the High Priest, Priest, and Deacon of Hebrew Law and the Bishop, Priest, and Deacon under the Gospel as requiring that the Jewish High Priesthood be filled by the Papacy.[225] Stowell reasserted Christ's untransferable supremacy,

> "...for our great high priest has not resigned or suspended his office ;"he wrote,"but as St. Paul declares, 'He abideth an high priest for ever.' And again, 'Forasmuch as he continueth ever, he hath an unchangeable priesthood.' In the exercise of that blessed priesthood, he is continually engaged; 'he ever liveth to make intercession for us.' 'Having, therefore, a great high priest over the house of God,' one who has assured us, 'Lo! I am with you alway even to the end of the world,' we need have, and we can have, no other head."[226]

Edward Litton's lengthy treatise The Church of Christ (1851) was equally decisive in its affirmation of Christ's unique, antitypical, fulfilment of all priesthood in Himself. Arguing from the 'spiritual' character of Christianity, as against the 'substantial'[227] character of the Levitical system, Litton wrote, indicating the impact of soteriology upon Evangelical ecclesiology:

> "The legal sacrifices pointed to the one great sacrifice to be offered up upon the cross; the Levitical priesthood was a type of the heavenly priesthood of Christ. He it is, the object both of type and prophecy, who is the true priest and mediator between God and man. Through Him all Christians have direct

> and immediate access to God. As we need not, so we have not, any other priest, any other advocate with the Father. For the anti-type being come, the type necessarily ceases, the reality supersedes the figure."[228]

Litton presents Christ's priestly ministry as "exercised by them in heaven", and dates it from His entry there.[229] By that event, he observes, "a new order of things was introduced, superseding, and rendering unnecessary, the ancient priesthood, and every institution of a similar nature ."[230] Against 'Romanists' and Tractarians, therefore, Litton argues for, not only the all-sufficiency of Christ's priesthood, but also the altogether spiritual, antitypical character of it, which put an end to all earthly, typical priesthood.[231] But Litton does speak of priesthood in the Body of Christ - "to the members of which covenanted grace is conveyed through its glorified High Priest, Christ Jesus."[232] His authority is "delegated", according to Litton, to His whole Church, but He explicates this in terms of the priesthood of all Christians in and through Christ,[233]

> "...inasmuch as direct access to Him, as the perpetual High Priest of His Church, is opened to every Christian, He is virtually present also in His priestly function; for to say that all Christians are everywhere present to Christ is equivalent to saying that Christ is everywhere present to them: the Deity of our High Priest renders Him omnipresent."[234]

Litton counters, therefore, a vicarious priestly ministry in Christ's Church. Christ's agency and activity as priest are defended reverently as expressing no more than the truth and, crucially, the character of the Christian faith.[235]

Evangelical writing between 1842-1851 repeatedly reverted to the image of Christ as priest. It did so both in ways characteristic of earlier Evangelical interpretation, and in explicit response to Tractarianism or Roman Catholicism. Though variously interpreted and applied, the fact of Christ's unique priestly mediation is staunchly upheld. Evangelicals claimed to be defenders of Anglican orthodoxy and the theology of the English Reformers, whose views they faithfully expounded. They shared with them devotion to, and jealousy for, the figure of Christ as priest. Motivated sometimes more by a blind devotion to Christ's priesthood than a theological perception of the devotion to the image which they shared with their Tractarian contemporaries, their Anglican Evangelical devotion

to the human Christ as priest, and antithetical presentation of 'the cult of the sympathising heavenly priest' to Mariolatry, appears to endorse the dilemma which, as noted above, Newman ultimately faced as an Anglican, as Mary became the 'crux' of his internal agonising.[236]

In Chapter VIII we will return to consider how Later Evangelicals responded to what many saw as the greater threat of 'Ritualism'. We turn now, though, to examine how Evangelicals defended Christ's priesthood between 1852-1867, when the foe was predominantly of a different kind.

3. The priestly sacrifice of Christ in Evangelical doctrine and devotion : 1851-1867

In J.B. Sumner's Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles (1851) the priestly sacrifice of Christ is expounded in a traditional Evangelical manner in relation to Hebrews 7:26-28, as follows:

> "...Jesus, when he offered of himself, was himself the sacrifice; for being man, he bore the nature of a sinner; and being man 'without spot of sin', he was liable to no penalty, free from all obligation, and was therefore able to make a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of all men. When he, 'the just, died for the unjust', when he who was holy, harmless, undefiled, gave himself for the sinful race of Adam, he paid an actual price, he surrendered that which had a real value, and was not like the offering of men which have infirmity, and can bring nothing which is not already due to their heavenly creditor."[237]

This statement reveals the fundamental inseparability, in traditional Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood, of His person and work: that He was, as Augustine stressed, both Offerer and Offering, priest and victim. As Francis Goode had written:

> "He appeared, therefore, upon earth in the double character of Offerer and Offering, Priest and Victim; and his infinite sufficiency for both these characters rests upon the union of the divine and human nature in the one person of Christ."[238]

Sumner's statement also reveals a Pauline, or Calvinistic, understanding of Christ's sacrificial atonement, as the vicarious payment of a debt to appease an offended deity, and also an Anselmian awareness of the worth of the one who

offered the sacrifice. Christ's sacrifice was, Sumner stressed, the fulfilment of the law.

> "Thus it was," he commented on Hebrews ix:15-22, "that Christ by the sacrifice of the cross did not destroy, but fulfilled the law: explained the meaning of those sacrifices which the Jews had offered year by year continually: and removed the need of any further, any future sacrifice".[239]

In common with other Evangelical writers prior to 1851, Sumner followed Butler in presenting Christ's sacrifice as prefiguring the Old Testament sacrifices of the Law.[240] Charles Simeon in an Assize Sermon of 1797, 'The Danger of Neglecting the Great Sacrifice' on 1 Sam ii:25, had thus written:

> "It should be remembered ... that these Sacrifices were typical of the great Sacrifice which Christ was in due time to offer upon the Cross. The whole Epistle to the Hebrews was written to establish and illustrate this point. 'The blood of bulls and of goats could never take away sin:' They had no Efficacy at all, but as they typified him who was 'to appear in this last dispensation to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself'."[241]

Now this traditional interpretation of Sumner, Simeon and other Evangelical writers prior to 1851 was, between 1851-1867, exposed to a number of criticisms. This final section examines the defence Evangelicals made of their understanding of Christ's priestly sacrifice.

J.D. MacBride's Lectures on the articles of the United Church of England and Ireland, (1853) not only stressed Christ's true humanity and divinity, but also defended forcefully the New Testament relation between Christ's priestly,[242] piacular sacrifice and the remission of sins.[243]

> "There is scarcely a book of the New Testament in which it may be not found;" he wrote, "and the Epistle to the Hebrews may be considered as an inspired exposition of his priestly character, which, unless he had had something to offer could never have been sustained. We may therefore rest satisfied, that the death of Christ was a real sacrifice; and a propitiation not only for original sin, that of Adam; but also for actual, that is, the personal transgressions of his descendants."[244]

Linking his interpretation to Article XXXI, he also stated: "the offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual."[245] In MacBride's position we see the traditional position of Evangelical soteriology defended on a number of fronts. Firstly, in his stress upon the 'reality' of Christ's sacrifice we see an

allusion to a long-standing historical controversy, originating in the Georgian, neo-Socinianism of Joseph Priestley, Theophilus Lindsey and later Thomas Belsham, which had ridiculed as "figurative" the sacrificial imagery of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[246] Socinianism remained a living spectre that haunted conservative scholars throughout the first half of the Victorian era. MacBride turned to a 'true' interpretation of Hebrews to raise its ghost. Secondly, MacBride's emphasis upon the completion of Christ's sacrifice, for sins "both original and actual", reaffirmed Protestant orthodoxy against Roman Catholic teaching on the propitiatory efficacy of the eucharistic sacrifice, which Evangelical scholars saw reiterated in later Tractarianism. MacBride shows no tendency to ascribe 'sacrificial' or 'propitiatory' significance to Christ's heavenly intercession in his defence of the completion or 'perfection' of Christ's earthly work. Thirdly, in relation to this, MacBride defends the finality of Christ's priestly sacrifice in establishing the connection between justification and sanctification in his comments on Article XI:

> "Justification then is by a righteousness without us," he wrote, "sanctification by holiness wrought in us; that precedes as a cause, this follows as an effect; justification is by Christ as a priest, and has regard to the guilt of sin; sanctification is by him as a king and refers to its dominion; the former deprives it of its condemning power, the latter of its reigning; justification is instantaneous and complete in all its subjects, sanctification is progressive."[247]

Against those High Churchmen who stressed 'sanctification', MacBride defended a balanced presentation of them both, as the fount and ongoing source of Christian life. Finally, in his comments on Article XV, MacBride provides a valuable -albeit caustic! -summary of Evangelical attitudes towards the priestly mediation of Christ and His atoning sacrifice, as the sole means of salvation and access to the Father. For him, too, atoning mediation and efficacious intercession were indivisible:

> "Through the Son we have access by one Spirit unto the Father; and, if any man sin, we have - what? ten thousand mediating saints? no, but - an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is our advocate on the only basis - his atonement - on which alone intercession can have any value, for he is the propitiation for our sins (1 Jn. ii:2).

> He is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him (Heb vii:25), and because we are sons, hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying - not Hail Mary, or Queen of Heaven and of Angels, pray for us, but - Abba, Father! (Gal.iv:6)".[248]

In these various ways the priestly sacrifice of Christ was both challenged and defended in MacBride's Lectures.

Christ's priestly sacrifice was also treated at length in E.A. Litton's Bampton Lectures, The Mosaic Dispensation considered as Introductory to Christianity (1856). They are a defence of the Levitical foundation of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice against the incursions of Continental Higher Criticism. Litton devotes Lectures III and IV to 'The Priesthood and Sacrifice of Christ'. His presentation of Christ's priestly sacrifice is set against the belief that "the structure of the Mosaic economy itself, and its relation to the Christian, have not received from our divines an equal measure of attention".[249] Litton defends the Mosaic system, as introductory to Christianity, retrospectively through the antitypes of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. For, he observes, "In the rationalistic movements of the Continent it is the Old Testament against which the first attacks have commonly been directed ",[250] by pinpointing presumed problematic defects in the scriptural witness to the Mosaic system, such as the meaning and origin of 'sacrifice', the authorship of the Pentateuch, and the intelligibility or coherence of its teaching. His legitimation of the Old Testament system, through its relation to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice, testifies to the strength of popular veneration of Christ's priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Hebrews is again central to an Evangelical defence of the inspiration of the Old Testament.

According to Litton, the Levitical priests, though types or 'prophetic symbols' of Christ, really were, nevertheless, true mediators and their sacrificial offerings agents of spiritual cleansing.[251] Their sacrifices were imperfect, compared with Christ's, but founded also on the principles of a law broken, consequent guilt, liability to punishment, and forgiveness on the basis of vicarious suffering.[252] In the Levitical system the truth of Christ's atoning work is proleptically prefigured. Herein lies the value of studying it. For, Christ, Litton

maintains, is the antitypical fulfilment of this Old Testament sacrificial system.[253] Like so many of his contemporaries, Litton quotes Rev. 5:6 - "the Lamb slain from before the foundation of the world" - to endorse a Butlerian interpretation of Christ's eternal prefigurative self-sacrificial offering.[254] Christ is the real, incomparable priest who fulfils the Old Testament, Litton claims, against a 'Socinianising' figurative exposition, and His priestly death was "a true expiatory, and propitiatory, sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. A piacular sacrifice ... that removes guilt by atoning for it".[255] Furthermore, of Christ's sacrifice, he writes, "He freely offered Himself as our substitute; by His own blood He washed us from our sin; and He now, in His sacerdotal office, applies the efficacy of that blood-shedding to all who by faith come to Him."[256] But Litton, in a characteristic, anti-Pelagian, Augustinian manner, also described Christ's sacrifice as the vicarious act of the Church's representative Head. Christ's righteousness is imputed by Him to the Church corporately.[257]

Against those, then, who either denied the reality of Christ's priesthood or the importance of the Mosaic dispensation, Litton therefore wrote:

> " So far from the scheme of the Gospel having been accommodated to the Law, the very reverse was the case; the Law was framed with a prospective reference to the Gospel ... The sacrifice and priesthood of Christ dated from all eternity; He was a 'Lamb slain from the foundation of the world,' He was 'a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedec ;' these were the heavenly things of which the Mosaic appointments were the earthly patterns. So that the work of Christ was first in the counsels of God, and then came the typical representation; not in the reverse order."[258]

In many respects Litton's interpretation merely represents a classical Reformed exposition of Christ's atoning work, grounded upon a literalist interpretation of scripture, a vigorous application of Old Testament principles of substitution and sacrifice, and a fond respect for sola fideism. Viewed in another light it serves to confirm our earlier claim that to study Christ's priesthood and priestly sacrifice in early Evangelicalism is to touch the doctrinal and devotional heart of Evangelical religion. For we see the image of Christ as priest engaged in defending the integrity of the doctrinal witness of scripture, against a rationalistic challenge.

We see the doctrine enthusiastically endorsed as fundamentally illuminating the eternal person and work of Christ.

Orthodox interpretation was also challenged at this time by members of the Church of England itself. In his Donnellan Lectures, The Doctrine of the Atonement, (1858) John Cotter MacDonnell, with regret, professed the doctrine to be, "now assailed, not by Socinians only, but by members and ministers of our Church ." [259] He had in mind the views of Frederick Denison Maurice and Benjamin Jowett. We shall consider the views of Maurice and Jowett in detail in Chapters IV and VI.[260] For different reasons both men had challenged traditional understanding of Christ's priestly sacrifice. Maurice, in his The Kingdom of Christ (1838) and Doctrine of Sacrifice (1854), and Jowett in an appended 'Dissertation' to his commentary, The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans (1855). MacDonnell's lectures form one of the most forceful conservative responses to these writers' views on Christ's priestly atoning work.

MacDonnell presents the Maurician school as having taught their followers, "to regard everything, which had been generally considered essential to this doctrine, as the idle inventions of a semi-heathenish priestcraft";[261] whilst Jowett, he held, adopted the position "before considered peculiar to the Unitarian and Deist."[262] MacDonnell's avowed aim was more to restate scriptural doctrine, "in such a form as to exhibit the futility of these attacks, than to review the objections themselves in detail."[263] Hence, his views can be examined in their own right without extensive treatment here of those he criticizsed.

Hebrews is the primary biblical source for MacDonnell's argument. As noted above, he held it to be "a treatise on sacrifice".[264] Contrary to Jowett, who objected to popular understanding of the language of 'sacrifice' applied to Christ's atonement, MacDonnell stresses that, - "It is impossible to read the New Testament without being struck by the numerous allusions to sacrifice in connexion with Christ's work".[265] Furthermore, he maintains, again contra Jowett, that Hebrews' presentation of the relation between 'Law' and 'Gospel' is just as radical in its condemnation of the former as St. Paul.[266] Against those

who upheld the 'relative efficacy' of Old Testament sacrifices, through their typical relation with Christ's, MacDonnell followed Hebrews' more rigid view that Old Testament sacrifices could "never take away sins".[267] So MacDonnell endorsed the non-figurative teaching of Hebrews, respecting Christ's priestly, bloody, sacrifice and self-offering on the cross, whereby "remission of sins" and "the purging of the conscience" are effectually procured for the believer.[268] He claims that Paul's doctrine of the Atonement in Hebrews, is that which "the Catholic Church has ever believed".[269] He admits it neither explains the Atonement nor reduces it to well-known principles of natural law.[270]

> "We have a High Priest", he writes, "who offered his own body and shed his own blood for the remission of our sins; not merely that he might leave behind an example of unparalleled virtue, and an assurance of our immortality; but that he might thereby 'redeem us from the curse of the law,' from the threats of an accusing conscience, and the denunciations of a righteous God. He died not only to proclaim peace between man and God, but to procure it - 'to make atonement (ἱλάσκεσθαι) for the sins of the people;' and so 'he became' not only the teacher, but 'the author of eternal salvation (αἴτιος σωτηρίας) to all that obey him.' (Heb. v:9)[271]

MacDonnell rejects, therefore, Jowett's figurative, exemplarist, interpretation of Christ 'sacrificing' or 'giving Himself up' for man, since he finds throughout the New Testament Christ's sacrifice interpreted according to Old Testament language as a piacular or expiatory sacrifice and sin-offering.[272]

MacDonnell also rejects, perhaps more vehemently, F.D. Maurice's "opposite" interpretation, which he maintains denies the expiatory and vicarious character of Jewish sacrifice, and finds no difficulty in reconciling the sacrificial language applied to Christ with what MacDonnell calls "a virtual denial of His atonement".[273] The Old Testament teaches the objective barrier of sin overcome by propitiatory sacrifice, MacDonnell maintains, as it does belief in this barrier's removal, and the substitutionary role of the victim's life for that of the offerer, whose life was forfeit through sin.[274] Maurice, MacDonnell claimed, repudiated all of these in a neo-Abelardian stress upon Christ's sacrificial obedience and surrendered life, as declamatory of the already existent fellowship between man and God.[275] Maurice appeared to MacDonnell, and many other conservative scholars, to underestimate the heinousness of sin.[276]

We shall consider Jowett and Maurice further later. We can begin to see even in this cursory presentation of MacDonnell's Lectures, how Christ's priesthood and priestly sacrifice were at the centre of theological thought and controversy in Victorian Anglicanism. The vehemence of the debate derived from the issue's centrality to orthodox belief. MacDonnell's 'Prayer Book' presentation of Christ's priestly sacrifice[277] involved little more than a reiteration of early Evangelical soteriological dogma under threat from Latitudinarianism in the Church. His response is defensive. This new challenge posed new problems, and Evangelical writing became increasingly 'responsive' as the party entered a crisis of confidence, undermined first by Tractarianism and then by Latitudinarianism.

Inevitably, the new challenges also provoked some change or development in Evangelical thinking. There are additional indications of development in Evangelical thinking at the end of our period. The Second Visitation Charge of the eminent Evangelical Bishop of Carlisle, Samuel Waldegrave, delivered in 1864, for example, contained a fascinating combination of traditional enthusiasm, and cautious defensiveness, towards this beloved christological motif, involving an interesting shift in emphasis. Waldegrave devoted considerable space in his Charge to expatiating upon the glories of Christ's person and threefold office as prophet, priest, and king. Of Christ's Melchizedekian priesthood and incomparable sacrifice he, therefore, wrote:

> "...He is the Priest after the order of Melchizedec, who needed not often to offer the same sacrifices which can never take away sin - for He hath put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. And now hath He passed into the heavens, not with the blood of bulls and goats but with His own blood, and there He ever liveth, by His irresistible intercession to save to the uttermost them that come unto God by Him."[278]

Waldegrave then proceeded to defend Christ's unique priesthood, sacrifice, and intercession, and, significantly to employ it not to uphold the doctrine of the Incarnation, as in earlier Evangelicalism, but in fact quite the reverse, consciously employing the doctrine against the Scotism of much Anglican incarnationism.

> "My Reverend Brethren," he declared, "let us vindicate for Him the exclusive honour of so gracious a Priesthood, so efficacious a Sacrifice. Let us, I say, vindicate Him that honour! Let not the enemy prevail in his soul-destroying endeavour to substitute His birth for His death, His

> incarnation for His atonement....-for His incarnation and His birth were but preparatory steps, necessary to fit Him for that great sacrificial work which He accomplished, once for all, on Calvary. It is to Him lifted up there that the sinner who would be saved must look. To direct that sinner's eye to the manger of Bethlehem, or to any stage of his earthly pilgrimage short of that, is to direct it to that in which he cannot, shall not, find life, - for without shedding of blood is no remission.
>
> //And then let the Lord Jesus have the exclusive honour of such Priesthood. True He hath made all His people kings and priests unto God and His Father. Their joyful work is ever to offer up to God -not only with their lips, but also with their lives - the spiritual sacrifices of thanksgiving and praise. But no priests who can offer propitiatory sacrifice, are now to be found under the canopy of heaven. Any who claim that prerogative are vain pretenders, daring usurpers. From such vain pretence, from such daring usurpation, Good Lord deliver us!"[279]

Waldegrave's words form a classic Evangelical presentation of the doctrine towards the end of the first half of the Victorian era. They suggest to us that, viz-à-viz Christ's priesthood, Evangelical thinking moved away from its incarnational emphasis upon the priestly characteristics of Christ's human nature and towards a more narrowly soteriological understanding of the sacerdotal office, as they saw His Incarnation ascribed soteriological significance and His atonement consequently subsumed beneath it. This 'shrinking' in Evangelical interpretation is a notable feature of much nineteenth century Evangelical writing. But in Waldegrave we see reaffirmed, too, the depth of Evangelical commitment to Christ's priesthood which the process of defence only served to deepen. Under pressure from opposition, Evangelical doctrine and devotion was crystallised into clear, strong belief once again in the Reformation principle of "the honour and glory of Christ's priesthood" - "wherein He admitteth neither partner nor successor".[280]

Christ's priesthood was, then, central to Evangelical doctrine and devotion between 1827-1867. Much more evidence could be adduced to indicate a theme repeatedly and enthusiastically expounded and extolled in Evangelical writing and the revivalist hymns of the eighteenth century. But the above must suffice to illustrate its significance both for Evangelicalism and for the character and development of Anglican doctrine and devotion in the nineteenth century. Neglect of this subject hitherto has obscured the depth of Evangelical

christological reflection, has ignored their contribution to the development of Anglican incarnationism, and has overlooked the light this further sheds on the power of the lex orandi to shape the lex credendi in Evangelical and Anglican religion. We have seen the doctrine employed articulating 'orthodoxy' and countering 'heresy'. As a multi-faceted motif at the heart of Evangelicalism, Christ's priesthood readily endorsed their belief in the fundamental interrelatedness of doctrines, and as in Tractarianism, exerted a unitive influence upon their understanding. We have also noted on occasions the methodological significance of Evangelical interpretation. For, as in Tractarianism, the strength of Evangelical adherence to this image derived from their belief that their position was legitimated biblically, liturgically and historically.

We have discovered contrasting Tractarian and Evangelical enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood. How, then, did Latitudinarian scholars, respond bearing in mind the criticism we have discovered of F.D. Maurice and Benjamin Jowett? To consideration of Maurice and early Victorian Latitudinarianism we, therefore, now turn.

CHAPTER IV

F. D. Maurice and 'The High Priest of Humanity' in Early Victorian Latitudinarianism

We consider in this chapter the third main grouping in the Church of England in the first half of the Victorian era - so-called 'Latitudinarian' members of the national Church. They can scarcely be called a 'party'. Their broad-minded, 'comprehensive' attitude on many issues embodied a degree of tolerance, which militated against partisan dogmatism. But they were staunch 'Churchmen', and at the outset of our period in the vanguard of anti-Romanism; conscious,in their corporate adherence to a Latitudinarian tradition in the Church of England, that they were heirs of seventeenth century Cambridge Platonism.[1] In this early period there were two distinct elements in the advance of a Latitudinarian position in the Victorian church. The first element centred on Oxford and especially Oriel College. There the cynically named 'Noetics' of the Senior Common Room,[2] a potent influence on the early leaders of the Oxford Movement, chopped logic and fired syllogisms with deft aptitude borne of the rigid Aristotelianism of the schools and the dry, but popular, pedantry of Paley's Evidences (1794).[3] The second element, drawing its philosophical and theological roots more from Cambridge than Oxford, centred on the person and work of (John) Frederick Denison Maurice, who was in turn deeply influenced by Samuel Taylor Coleridge. This chapter considers the place and significance of Christ's priesthood in the doctrine and devotion of both these Latitudinarian elements in the Victorian Church. We shall again find a variety of opinions. Yet study of Latitudinarian interpretation of Christ's priesthood, in the first half of the Victorian era reveals consistent enthusiasm and regular utilisation of the image of Christ as priest. Though their rationalism was condemned by Evangelical and Tractarian alike, they were, almost to a man, staunch and enthusiastic defenders of this feature of nineteenth century Anglican religion. It arises in defensive protection of their understanding of Christian truth. It informs their creative formulation of contemporary Anglican interpretation of that truth. It inspires

their devotional, practical, and rational response to God. Study of Christ's priesthood among these groups of Anglican divines is no less illuminating of their theological mind and devotional outlook, than it was of Evangelicalism and Tractarianism. We see the potency of the image of Christ as priest in Anglican religion in its very malleability. We see devotional conservatism beginning to wrestle with theological creativity. Yet distanced from the period we can clearly perceive a pattern of Anglican veneration for the image of Christ as priest worthy of attention.

I

'Christ the only Priest' and the Oriel 'Noetics'

1. H.B. Wilson, an Oxford Liberal

In 1828, Harry Bristow Wilson (1774-1853), father to the better known H.B. Wilson (1803-1888), - signatory of the Letter of the Four Tutors against Tract XC,[4] and contributor to Essays and Reviews,-published three sermons on Hebrews iv:15 entitled The sympathising High Priest, which he had formerly preached in the parish Church of St. Mary, Aldermary of which he was Rector. Neither father nor son were Oriel men but both were representatives of a succession of Latitudinarian scholars in Oxford.[5] The sermons represent for us the paradoxical character of Latitudinarian interpretation of Christ's priesthood in the first half of the Victorian era, though their reviewer in the Christian Remembrancer perhaps judiciously observed: "With respect to the literary or theological merit of the doctor's publication, we cannot undertake to estimate them above mediocrity".[6] In them Wilson takes the popular doctrine of Christ as an exemplary sympathising human priest, which the prevalent Evangelical ethos of the Church esteemed, and utilizes it for his own Latitudinarian purposes. Stressing Christ's incarnate humanity he calls on his readers to contemplate Christ "in the most gracious attribute of our exalted Intercessor and Advocate, the sympathy suggested in the assurance of the Apostle, that we have not a High Priest which cannot be touched - or, in other words, we have a High Priest which can be touched - with the feeling of our infirmities".[7] This is an entirely orthodox

Anglican interpretation, bearing witness again to the importance of this christological image in nascent Anglican incarnationism.[8] But his sermons take the notion of Christ's priestly 'sympathy',[9] and use it not only to present a moral example to be followed, but also to create a theological peg on which to hang his 'universalist' defence of the Established National Church. The doctrine of Christ's vicarious priestly sacrifice for the sins of all men, he maintains, "furnishes a motive to us to have a compassionate feeling for our fellow sinners".[10] As Ieuan Ellis, in Seven Against Christ (1980), observed: "he upheld the national Church because it was able to embrace all men; there must be bad as well as good in the visible Church, and Christ's death was a sacrifice and expiation for all men".[11] H.B. Wilson's sermons, perhaps in an extreme form, illustrate the paradox to be found in early Victorian Oxford Latitudinarianism. In its interpretation of Christ's priesthood, a deep contemporary historic Anglican devotion to the image wrestled with advocacy of freedom and progression in theological reflection. Wilson's was a radical resolution of this conflict.

2. Blanco White

In general, however, the characteristic interpretation of Christ's priesthood to be found in the writings of the Oriel Noetics is of a more conservative and defensive kind. Christ's priesthood is caught up first in their reaction to Romanism and then in their antipathy towards the Romanising of Tractarianism. We have already illustrated this by reference to the polemical writings of Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841) prior to 1827.[12] In that year Blanco White, adjudged by Pusey real founder of the modern Latitudinarian school in the English Church ,[13] published a further Letter to Protestants converted from Romanism.[14] It is as bitter in its denunciation of the Church of his youth as any hitherto. He calls Roman Catholicism a "counterfeit faith"[15] with corrupt doctrines: how else, he asks, had the practice of the invocation of saints arisen? - "If the reliance on Christ's blood ... had been known as the essential condition of our salvation, who could have been so blind as not to perceive, that a multitude of intercessors with God, must divide that reliance, and consequently endanger our eternal happiness?"[16]

Blanco White's Letter is characteristic of Latitudinarian jealousy for Christ's unique priestly mediation as "the safe way" to approach God.[17] As he wrote impassionedly,

> "Whatever diminishes our heart-felt trust in the mediation of Christ, is essentially anti-christian. Whatever divides our reliance for salvation between the Saviour and anything or person however holy, endangers our saving faith ... But I appeal, my friends, to your own past experience; I appeal to the experience of every open-hearted person, who has been educated in the Roman Catholic Church. On that experience I rely for the fact, that the first direction of the Romanist's mind, in fear or danger, is not to God in Christ, but to the Virgin and the saints".[18]

Ironically, though sadly too, this enthusiastic defender of Anglican orthodoxy here in the 1820's was a theological bird of passage, and in 1834 pronounced himself, when in Ireland, a Unitarian and faded from sight and influence.

3. Copleston

A more consistent Latitudinarian response to Christ's priesthood is to be found in the writings of the successive Provosts of Oriel whose combined tenure of this post spans sixty crucial years. Edward Copleston (1776-1849) succeeded Provost Eveleigh, another energetic Latitudinarian, with unanimous approval, in 1814, only to be succeeded, on his appointment to the Bishopric of Llandaff in 1828, by Edward Hawkins (1789-1882) who held the post until 1874. Neither his brilliant undergraduate days, nor his astute financial reorganisation of the College when a Fellow and Bursar, nor indeed his Professorship of Poetry or twelve-year Provostship, contribute materially to our understanding of Copleston's attitude towards Christ's priesthood. He was a respected Whig, Liberal in his thinking, but, for all that, unoriginal.[19] Unlike the Tractarians, Copleston, in keeping with the essence of ecclesiastical Latitudinarianism, admired the independent spirit of the sixteenth century Reformers. Whilst believing in the Divine foundation of the visible church and in its inherent authority, mediated by an historical continuity with apostolic times, Copleston could not credit apostolic succession with the transmission of a distinctive sacerdotal power or virtue.[20] In contrast, he remained unwavering in his commitment to Christ as the only Mediator.

In 1840, when Bishop of Llandaff, Copleston published two sermons, entitled The Essential Difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and appended a Pastoral Address to the inhabitants of Newport on the opening of an enlarged Roman Catholic Chapel in that Town. Throughout them he inveighs against the errors of Romanism, particularly regarding "the worship of the Virgin, or of saints, or of images and pictures" and eucharistic sacrifices.[21] He praises the restoration of doctrinal purity affected by the Reformers in the Church of England.[22] He exhorts his hearers not to compromise heavenly truth - "especially when they are offences against His divine nature, and detractions from His office as sole Mediator for sinful man".[23] In his Pastoral Address, he identifies Catholic protestations to respect Christ's unique mediation, and to teach invocation of saints as being only to pray "for His sake",[24] but decisively repudiates Mariology and invocation:

> "For it is notorious", he declares, "that this corruption (Mariology) has become far more prominent and offensive to a true disciple of Christ than all the rest, inasmuch as it has encroached more audaciously upon the Divine prerogative, and has even usurped the honour due to the Redeemer... We maintain that the worship of the Virgin and the saints is a departure from the faith in Christ as the sole mediator between God and man;"[25]

Copleston's Latitude, whilst embracing Parliamentary Reform and staunchly defending Hampden,[26] did not extend to what he saw as Romish incursions upon Christ's unique priestly prerogatives.[27] He was just as vehement in his repudiation of a eucharistic sacrifice. He defended the prefigurative 'typical' character of Old Testament sacrifices and the 'commemorative' nature of sacrifices after Christ.[28] His position was self-consciously Anglican - "Such is the doctrine of our Church", he asserted, "and it is directly opposed to the Church of Rome".[29]

4. Hawkins

In the writings and sermons of Edward Hawkins, Christ's priesthood has a higher profile than in Copleston. Hawkins was less of a Liberal, - but no less of an opponent of Tractarianism. It was Hawkins who advanced Newman's cause in the

Fellowship exams of 1822, and he who, appointed Vicar of St. Mary's in 1823, instituted the afternoon sermons Newman capitalized upon. He was independent, belligerent, bullish. It was he who studiously refused to hear Newman first preach at St. Clement's, and, to the horror of other Noetics, upheld the principle embraced by the Tractarians - "The Church to Teach, the Bible to prove".[30] It was Hawkins who dismissed the three young tutors -Newman, Hurrell Froude and Robert Wilberforce - from jealous pique more than sound judgement. It was, too, under the leadership of this particular, sharp, sometimes sour, sometimes witty, High Churchman that Oriel's preeminence waned. As Mark Pattison wrote of Hawkins' appointment: "From this date the College began to go downhill, both in the calibre of the men who obtained Fellowships and in the style and tone of the undergraduates".[31]

Hawkins' High Churchmanship embraced warmly the traditional Anglican image of Christ as priest. In 1826, before his appointment, his life-long love of children found expression in A Manual for Christians after Confirmation. Of Jesus Christ, as taught in the Catechism and Creeds, he writes, "Hence we believe in Him as our Saviour, our Redeemer, our Advocate with the Father, the Mediator between God and Man, the Prophet who teaches us, the Priest who makes atonement for our souls, the king whom we obey".[32] This same correlation between Christ's priesthood and atonement finds fuller expression in an appendix to his Discourses upon some of the Principal Objects and Uses of the Historical Scriptures of the Old Testament, preached before the University in 1833. The appendix, entitled, 'On the extent and efficacy of the Mosaic Sacrificial Atonements', is conservative in its dependence upon the Epistle to the Hebrews to present the inferiority and inadequacy of the Mosaic sacrificial dispensation.[33] In it Hawkins states: "The doctrine of the atonement by Jesus Christ, or the reconciliation of a fallen and sinful world to their offended Maker by the sacrifice of the Saviour upon the Cross, is almost universally admitted to be the great foundation of the Gospel".[34] The Noetics did not sympathise with Socinian, 'figurative' interpretations of Christ's sacrifice:[35] nor do we find in Hawkins any

reservation respecting the language of sacrifice per se. For him the atonement is foundational, and remained so.

His Sermons on Scriptural Types and Sacraments, preached in Oxford and published in 1851, are a sustained attack on R. I. Wilberforce's christology.[36] Sermon III, 'The Person and Offices of the Redeemer' on Hebrews ii:16-18, presents a forceful defence of those "most mysterious" doctrines of Christ's sacrifice and priesthood, relating them directly, not to the Incarnation (pace Wilberforce), but to Christ's atoning reconciliation of the world to God.[37] Dismissive of Tractarian claims to the historicity of apostolic succession, Hawkins was equally decisive in his defence of Christ's unique priesthood. His sermon of 25 October 1840, 'The Ministry of Men in the economy of grace and the danger of overvaluing it', stresses that the very use of the term 'Priest' of Christian ministers, unknown to the Apostles, tends, as in the Roman Church, towards the exaltation of human instrumentality and ultimately to the "invasion of the divine Glory",[38] which its attribution, as by the Apostles, to Christ alone, preserved against.[39] The subject is treated of at greater length in his Sermons on the Church, published in 1847, but the conclusion is the same. There are, he argues, no real priests (except usurpers) in the new dispensation except Jesus Christ.[40] He has no "partners"in His"incommunicable offices" as the Church of Rome is said to teach.[41] Concluding his examination of Hebrews he writes:

> "How can we receive the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work of Inspiration, and not confess unequivocally that there is now no real Sacrifice, and no real Priest, but only Christ our Saviour?" // "I have pursued this subject at so much length,not merely because the text invites us to, but on account of its own importance. If a Christian ruler exceeds his power, or is puffed up by the pride of place, the individual is so far corrupted; but if the Christian minister becomes the Mediator and the Priest, he corrupts, not only himself, but the doctrine. He alters the very character of his office; whilst he exalts himself, he detracts from the perfect Sacrifice, and invades the peculiar functions,of our one only Priest and Mediator".[42]

Under the name of piety, though actually rooted in sin, men assume Christ's mediatorial function, and Hawkins, in keeping with the other Oriel Noetics, abominates this presumption.[43] The Church of England services contain no true sacrifice: hence, there can be "no proper priesthood."[44] So, too, in the sermon

'The Oneness of the Church and the Unity of all Christians', the Old Testament types of sacrifice and priesthood are shown to be fulfilled in Christ, and not in 'retrogressive' applications to the Church's eucharist and ministry.[45] "The errors of the Mass, of Purgatory, of Saint-worship" are castigated as doctrines which "impair the fundamental doctrines of Atonement, Mediation, Judgement to come".[46] The unity and being of the Church are found, he maintains, neither in the Papacy, nor in Episcopacy, nor Apostolical Succession, but in Christ as High Priest.[47] Hawkins would have no truck with any ecclesiology which appeared to require Christ's glory, as only priest and sacrifice, to be shared.

5. Whately

As so often, the pupils ultimately outshone the masters. Richard Whately (1787-1863), Renn Dickson Hampden (1793-1868) and Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) were all Oriel men, close acquaintances, and famed for their endeavours in very different fields. Whately, perhaps "the ablest and most typical" of the Noetics,[48] went from the Professorship of Political Economy (1829) to be Archbishop of Dublin, from 1831 until his death in 1863. Hampden, the prime object of Tractarian opprobrium, was, despite fierce opposition on both occasions, appointed successively Regius Professor of Divinity (1836) and Bishop of Hereford (1847).[49] Thomas Arnold is renowned as the progressively reforming Headmaster of Rugby, to which position he was appointed in 1828.[50] Each of these espoused the Oriel spirit of 'Latitude', though they interpreted that differently. How did they respond to the doctrine of Christ's priesthood?

Elected to a fellowship at Oriel in 1811 and appointed Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1825, after a brief curacy away from Oxford, Richard Whately, the 'White Bear' as he came to be dubbed,[51] epitomises the hard-headed rationalist liberalism of the Noetics in their hey-day.[52] His magna opera Logic (1826), and Rhetoric (1828), acquired for him a formidable academic reputation as the reviver of Aristotelian Logic in Oxford, - though Copleston had also played his part.[53] His influence upon the young Newman is well-documented. He used the clarity of the young Evangelical's mind as the anvil for his own metaphysical development. He

imparted to Newman, especially through his anonymous Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian (1826), an appreciation of the visible Church and the doctrine of Apostolical Succession.[54] Both their views changed dramatically in later years. Whately's controversial appointment to the Archbishopric of Dublin, by the sympathetic, though ignorant Whig Grey, was greeted in England and Ireland with unmitigated hostility.[55] This dogged his archiepiscopacy and cast a dark shadow over his otherwise vivacious, playful, single-minded, and forceful personality. As his Bampton Lectures of 1822, The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Matters of Religion, made clear, he believed party bias and legal suppression of theological differences militated against a reasoned, though respectful, quest for divine truth.[56] Whately's approach to Christ's priesthood, throughout positive and creative, despite other changes in outlook, reflects the consistently 'Christian' and 'Anglican' mind and heart behind this formidable Latitudinarian.

One of Whately's Five Sermons : on Several Occasions preached before the University of Oxford, published in 1823, is entitled 'Christ the only Priest under the Gospel'.[57] Preached on 5 November 1821, it is a sustained critique of what Whately sees as the paganism of Romish priestcraft and a strong defence of Christ's unique priesthood in the Christian Church. As he states, "the Romish Church... has, in fact, in a great degree, transformed the πρεσβύτερος, - the Priest of the Gospel dispensation, - into the ἱερεὺς , or Levitical Priest : thus derogating from the honour of the one great High Priest, and altering some of the most characteristic features of His religion, into something more like Judaism or Paganism than Christianity".[58] The picture of Christianity presented in scripture is, according to Whately, one of presbyters teaching, not priests sacrificing;[59] one of individual priestly access to God for all baptised believers, not mysterious spiritual truths confined to a priestly caste;[60] one of celebrating Christ's single High Priestly oblation in the eucharist as a past event, not a religion of a sacrificing ministerial priesthood in the eucharist;[61] one of a religion and holiness and immediacy before God for all believers, not just for 'the religious' priests.[62] Whately like other Noetics is more inclined to apportion the blame for Romish and pagan errors to human sin, particularly indolence, than to the original

propagators of the faith.[63] This early sermon, affirms that Christ is the only ἱερεὺς in the Christian Church.[64] This, Whately maintains, is a distinguishing feature of the Christian religion, which lacks an earthly, hieratic order.[65] Of Christian believers, he writes,

> "Let them indeed look to a Priest for salvation; only let it be no earthly Priest, but to that great High Priest, 'the Author and Finisher of our Faith,' - whose whole life is an example to us of perfect virtue, - whose death is an all-sufficient atoning sacrifice; - through whose merits and sufferings on earth, his sincere and obedient followers hope for justification and acceptance; - and who is our gracious Mediator in heaven: for 'He is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing that He ever liveth to make intercession for us'."[66]

This sermon introduces us to the character and depth of Whately's commitment to the image of Christ as priest. It was integral to his defence of what he interpreted as 'biblical' Christianity, from which he never wavered.[67]

Whately's liberal spirit reacted against simplistic, and, as he evidently believed, presumptuous orthodox interpretations of Christ's atoning, priestly sacrifice, - a reaction he shared with John Davison, his Oriel, intellectual sparring-partner.[68] In his Essays on some of the peculiarities of the Christian Religion (1825), he wrote: "... why the sacrifice of Christ was necessary for our redemption, is a mystery beyond the reach of our present faculties; and all attempts to explain it have served only to excite a prejudice against the doctrine, and to expose the weakness of arrogant speculation: but to consider why this sacrifice of Christ was announced to mankind, is both allowable and necessary."[69] Here is Whately's characteristically respectful recognition of the limits of reason confronted by the mysteries of faith, which are, he held, to be approached scientifically but not dogmatically.[70] His approach to Christ's priestly sacrifice also reflects his fundamental biblicism. In his Logic of 1826 he maintained that the death of Christ must be received on the authority of Scripture, though it cannot be shown to be necessary.[71] His important Essays on some Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul, published in 1828, which called for a critical reappraisal of accepted biblical terminology, such as 'election', 'law', 'grace', and 'justification', uphold Pauline, sacrificial atonement terminology and speak of Christ as, "a

spotless victim, and an undefiled Priest" in man's salvation, though deny that the spotless righteousness of Christ's perfect life is "imputed" to believers.[73] His retention of the language of sacrifice and priesthood of Christ, pertaining to "the meritorious cause of man's salvation",[74] arises also from his avowed intention in the Essays, as elsewhere in his writings, "to set forth the importance of the religion of the Old Testament as an interpreter, by analogy, of the New".[75] The strength of Whately's commitment to Christ's priesthood, as with so many of his contemporaries, arose from his belief in the united scriptural witness to this christological office. Furthermore, being no heartless, devotionless, philosophical rationalist, as his Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion make explicit,[76] he too, spurning misplaced devotion to other mediators, expatiates upon the human sympathy of Christ as priest in Hebrews iv:15. He writes of Christ's human characteristics: "It will give an affectionate fervour to our devotions, to have an habitual remembrance, that this very God was also man, deigning for ourselves to be 'made flesh, and dwelt among us'."[77] The Incarnation was, for Whately, no abstract speculative point, but the basis of Christian worship and obedience.[78]

In later years Whately, like the other Noetics, turned his commitment to Christ's unique priesthood against the errors of Romanism. His popular Errors of Romanism, first published in 1830, inveighed against the sin which Romish priestcraft thrived upon,[79] and the 'vicarious religion' which placed faith in a human priest mistakenly in the void left by neglect of personal religion, and dependence upon Christ as the only priest.[80] His work explicitly reiterates the position adopted in the Sermon of 1821. His Cautions for the Times (1853) and Sermons on the Principal Christian Festivals (1854) are likewise anti-Romanist. The Cautions, explicitly responding to Papal aggression, symbolized for Whately in the recent establishment of Roman Catholic episcopal sees in England, denounce papal claims to be Christ's vice-gerent,[81] and Romish presumption in making 'tradition' the interpreter of Scripture.[82] Advocating 'the safe way' in not invocating the saints or Mary[83] - a practice he calls "plainly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel",[84] - Whately sets forth what he sees as the remarkable fact,

contrary to human nature, that the Apostles believed, "and continually tell us"[85] Christ alone is priest and mediator before God, a view set forth preeminently in Paul's letter to the Hebrews.[86] The Cautions illustrate Whately's bitter hostility to the romanising of Tractarianism,[87] and later repudiation even of Apostolical Succession.[88] In a sermon on 'The Marriage at Cana', however, Whately sees in Jesus' refusal to respond to Mary's intervention a warning against claiming or seeking the mother's mediation in place of the son's.[89] In Sermon XII, 'A Christian place of worship', Christ's unique priestly mediation in and of the Church's worship is linked directly to emphasis upon this as a central feature of the Christian dispensation.[90] Finally, as late as 1857, in his The Scriptural Doctrine Concerning the Sacraments, we find this staunch Latitudinarian, in a cautious Butlerian manner, devoted to Hebrews' presentation of the efficacy of Christ's unique, priestly, once-for-all atoning sacrifice, as grounds for rejecting the eucharist as "a fresh sacrifice".[91] "How, and in what way it had this efficacy", he observes, "there are not wanting persons who have endeavoured to explain; but I do not find that Scripture has explained it".[92] If anything Whately's commitment to Christ's priesthood progressively intensified, in line with his calcifying anti-Romanism.

6. Hampden

Renn Dickson Hampden's attitude towards Christ's priesthood is similar to his friend Whately's. Neither Latitudinarian appears affected by Continental criticism of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in their enthusiastic advocacy of Christ's priesthood.[93]. Both were seemingly more preoccupied, in a characteristically isolationist Anglican manner, with the Romish foe at home than the Liberal abroad. In both we see the conservatism of devotion and the centrality of Christ's priesthood to their interpretation of Anglican Christianity, embedded in a Latitudinarian theological framework. They both endured, throughout much of their life, largely undeserved popular animosity. To Hampden's generally retiring, diffident spirit, this was particularly hurtful.

Hampden first aroused Tractarian hostility, when Professor of Moral Philosophy, through his tract on religious dissent of 1834.[94] In it he supported accommodation of a dissenting spirit in the University by the substitution of a 'Declaration of Assent' to the Thirty-Nine Articles, in place of subscription under oath. The accusations of heresy against his Bampton Lectures of 1832, The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology, only emerged when he was nominated, and controversially appointed, by Lord Melbourne as Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford in 1836.[95] But Hampden was no heresiarch. He was a prescient and diligent scholar, as his unsuccessful adversaries in the University and some subsequent historians have failed to perceive.[96] As his attitude towards Christ's priesthood, and ultimately peaceful episcopacy in Hereford, reveal, Hampden was at root a devout, largely conservative Anglican High Churchman. As his Bampton Lectures show, he was committed to the primacy of scriptural truth, convinced of the importance of theological reflection to define and develop ill-formed scriptural doctrines, and sceptical of the legitimacy of all doctrinal extrapolations adduced by a scholastic rationalism.[97] In the old Latitudinarian tradition,he wanted to confine dogmas to the smallest area, but included as a central tenet of Latitudinarian Anglican religion the priesthood of Christ.

It is from his Sermons preached before the University of Oxford as Regius Professor, between 1836-1847, that his attitude towards Christ's priesthood is primarily gleaned, though we find earlier evidence of his enthusiastic commitment to "that great High Priest ... passed into the heavens" in his Parochial Sermons (1828).[98] The University Sermons, forming a consistent commentary on the Reformation principle sola Christi, uphold throughout the uniqueness and efficacy of Christ's past and present work as Priest, in and of the Church. His sermon 'Filling up the Afflictions of Christ', of 13 February 1838, emphasized Christ's priestly presence in His Church.[99] His presence, not any intrinsic value in the Christian ministry itself, influences, sanctifies, empowers "all acts of grace done in His Church".[100] It is His suffering, compassionate, presence, too, which gives to the Church's ministry as a whole its "essentially self-denying" character, and

creates the true bond of Catholic Unity.[101] It is a failure of attachment to Christ alone, which, Hampden claims, has opened the way for Roman Catholic denigration of Christ's satisfaction on the Cross, by super-adding doctrines of saint-mediation.[102] In keeping with other Noetics, though perhaps more sympathetically, Hampden speaks of the unintentional, but inevitable, invasion of Christ's unique priestly mediation by some Roman Catholic devotional practices.[103] This is the case however much they claim to uphold "the Everlasting Priesthood of our Lord", he writes, "and believe that He is ever interceding for us with the Father in Heaven, pleading the merits of His death and passion in our behalf, and sending down the gracious gifts of the Holy Spirit to strengthen and assist us".[104] His sermon of 1841 'The One Sacrifice for Sin', in response to Tract XC, utterly repudiates Socinian resolution of Christ's sacrifice into the language of metaphor and accommodation,[105] and maintains that Article XXXI, "asserting the exclusive and undivided Sacrifice of the Cross", did intentionally counter the effective admission by session 22 of the Council of Trent of other sacrifices albeit in a different method.[106] Having quoted the Anglican Anaphora, he states - "So simply does our Church cleave to the truth of the One Oblation of the Cross, and teach its members to hope for redemption, and pardon and sanctification, by immediate derivation from the Everlasting Priesthood of the Saviour Himself".[107]

Hampden's dependence upon Christ's unique priesthood, then, derives from the Epistle to the Hebrews: he interprets it as a warning "against all encroachment on the doctrine of the One Christian Sacrifice of Atonement".[108] It also depends on the Book of Common Prayer - its Eucharistic Liturgy, Ordinal, Collects and even Communion Service, all of which are adduced in support of Christ's unique priestly mediation, and once for all sacrifice.[109] Christ's priesthood is a thought which evokes uncharacteristic ebullience in this devout Anglican. Reflecting his concern to put 'feeling' into religion, he wrote:

> "What a joyous thought it is, that Atonement has been made for sin, once for all, that the Great High Priest has entered into the Holy of Holies with His own blood, and by His One Offering perfected for ever them that are sanctified! It is a joy with which no stranger can intermeddle, - of which no hand of

> man can deprive us, - of which nothing but our own apostasy and unfaithfulness can incur the forfeiture... It is enough, that with truly penitent hearts and lively faith, we supplicantly look to Him as our merciful High Priest, now seated at the right hand of God. For our condition here is not one of full assurance. It is one of hope, and patient endurance."[110]

Hampden's attitude towards Christ's priesthood epitomises the Professor's consistent defence of a 'simple faith'. As he stated in his sermon of 30 October 1842: "Let us then, Christian Brethren, be most religiously careful to preserve the simplicity of our faith in Christ. Let us not imagine ourselves secure from any violation of that simplicity, because we hold the doctrine of Christ in its essential truth, believing in his Divinity and Atonement and Intercession and abiding Presence with his Church".[111]

In his sermon of 21 January 1833, 'Christ sanctifying the Church' (John xvii:17-21), Hampden again upholds Christ as the only Priest. Quoting the Homily on the Lord's Supper, he echoes the warning-"that thou acknowledge no other Saviour, Redeemer, Advocate and Intercessor, but Christ only..."[112] For Hampden and the Noetics, Christ's priesthood informed their Anglican understanding of the character of Christ and their presentation of His past and present work in and over His Church. In a classic statement of their views Hampden stated in this sermon:

> "Our Church accordingly recognizes no sacrificial character in any minister of the Church; since He, the great High-Priest of our profession, has passed with the Blood of the Atonement into the Heavens. It looks up to Him, indeed, as still carrying on his work of mediation and intercession there; obtaining and granting the Holy Spirit to the prayers of his faithful disciples; and sending down strength and help and comfort to them in all their acts of devotion, and all their temptations and struggles in the world. It regards Him, too, as blessing with his perpetual Presence the faithful labours and acts of his appointed ministers, and all faithful attendants on their ministry; so that, though absent in the body, He is still entirely and constantly with his Church by his Spirit."[113]

Finally, in two sermons preached at the end of 1846, following the publication of Newman's Development of Doctrine, entitled 'The work of Christ and the work of the Spirit', Hampden clarifies his understanding of Christ's priesthood in a number of respects. Firstly, he makes clear that he identifies Christ's everlasting priesthood as one of "the great immovable saving truths...

which together make up the Doctrine and Discipline of Christ".[114] What is more, echoing the Bampton Lectures, he categorically declares against Romanists like Newman, who advanced the theory of the gradual unfolding of Christian doctrine. Scripture alone, he maintains, and not the Church's teachers, can define whether Christian truths were present from the beginning.[115] Of the doctrine and discipline of Christ, borne witness to in scripture, and including Christ's priesthood, he wrote: "Depart once from this solid ground, and attribute the Christian doctrine to the revealing Power of the Spirit dwelling in the hearts of its human teachers, and you destroy the vital objective character of that doctrine".[116] Hampden did, however, speak of an organic development of doctrine. His objections to Romish devotional accretions are not because these doctrines were later developments but because they ill-accord with scriptural teaching.[117]

Secondly, Hampden emphasises the work of the Spirit alongside that of Christ. He presents Christ's 'bodily' exercise of His priesthood in heaven and the 'spiritual' exercise of His priesthood by His Spirit in the Church.[118] Thirdly, he repudiates the Roman Catholic claim that "the Church is endued, in the persons of its ministers, with the Priesthood of Christ, and the power of communicating his virtue, so as to convey by the act of grace to the receiver - grace as from the touch of Christ Himself".[119] In rejecting a "direct identification"[120] of Christ's priesthood with that of His ministers at the same time as emphasising the exercise of Christ's priesthood through His earthly ministers, Hampden drew an important distinction between two different Catholic views of priesthood: the neo-Thomist view which had become identified with a 'vicarial' priesthood of Christ's ministry and a neo-Scotist presentation of a 'representative' priestly ministry of Christ in, and later of, His Church, favoured by many Anglican High Churchmen committed to emphazing Christ's unique priesthood.[121] Herein lay a further mark of Hampden's theological prescience above his many critics. As a faithful and creative transmitter of Anglican veneration for Christ's priesthood, Hampden's approach binds the lex credendi to the lex orandi. Christ's priesthood is both in theory and reality determinative of his doctrine of the ministry. It is

out of the latter realm that the shape, enthusiasm, and protectiveness, of his interpretation ultimately arose.

7. Thomas Arnold

A greater Oriel Liberal than any studied hitherto was Thomas Arnold. After Winchester and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he gained a 'first' in 1814, he was elected a College Fellow in 1815. Made deacon in 1818 to serve at Laleham, Berkshire, where he remained for eight years, he was at the age of thirty-three appointed Headmaster of the much-decayed Public School at Rugby; a post he held, in conjunction with the Regius Professorship of Modern History from 1841, until his early death at forty-seven in 1842, mourned as "a great and good spirit" by Liberal friend and Tractarian foe alike. In comparison with his reforming exploits at Rugby, or radical Principles of Church Reform (1833),[122] or biting denunciation of Tractarianism in his philippic in the Edinburgh Review 'The Oxford Malignants' (1836),[123] or even his Coleridgean approach to scripture, set forth in his Essay on the Right Interpretation and Understanding of the Scriptures (1831),[124] Arnold's attitude towards Christ's priesthood might appear insignificant. On the contrary, it was for Arnold, and for our understanding of him, a vital key to the heart of his view of Christian faith and life. Though sharing the enthusiasm of his Oriel colleagues for this doctrine, his interpretation and application of it is different. In a peculiarly individualistic manner he made the doctrine his own.

The essence of Thomas Arnold's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is to be found in two consecutive sermons published in his Third Series which were preached in the College Chapel at Rugby. The two sermons were entitled 'Christ our Priest', a Good Friday Sermon, and 'Christ our only Priest', preached on Easter Day.[125]

Arnold had tangled with Hebrews long before he preached these sermons. J. T. Coleridge ascribes Arnold's reluctance to be ordained priest in 1819 and 1820 to its requiring a second subscription to the Articles, a not implausible explanation for one with avowedly Liberal views. Other scholars ascribe this

hesitation to his difficulty over the Athanasian Creed. It is Stanley, however, editor of both volumes of The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, who presents the following highly implausible, but for that reason most likely, explanation:

> "The particular subject of his scruples arose from his doubt, founded chiefly on internal evidence, whether the Epistle to the Hebrews did not belong to a period subsequent to the Apostolical age. It may be worth while to mention, that this doubt was eventually removed by an increased study of the Scriptures, and of the early Christian writers. In the last ten years of his life he never hesitated to use and apply it as one of the most valuable parts of the New Testament: and his latest opinion was inclining to be the belief that it might have been written, not merely under the guidance of St. Paul, but by the Apostle himself".[126]

The sermons on Christ's priesthood confirm how important Hebrews was to Arnold. It informed his religious and ecclesiastical outlook. It participated in his general concern to protect faith from the incursions of biblical criticism, however much Neander had persuaded him of its importance.[127] It was a firm rock to build on, but, as before, Arnold, too, seems ultimately guided more by evaluation of its content than critical issues in estimating its importance.

It is with an account of the "peculiar character" of Hebrews that Arnold begins his first sermon.[128] Its peculiarity, he states, lies in its Judaeo-Christian readership and distinctive preoccupation with "Hebrew feelings and institutions".[129] Its Christian explanation of the new standing of the much-loved national institution of priesthood, "furnishes us, and all Christians," Arnold states, "with one most valuable view of Christ's person and office".[130] The Epistle and sermon focus on the heart of Arnold's faith: not an omnipotent or mysterious father, but in Tuckwell's words, "Christ, at once divinely excellent and humanly affectionate".[131] In his interpretation of Christ, in these sermons, we feel his dependence upon the christology of the Antiochene Greek Fathers. In the spirit of the Lutheran reformers he upholds the uniqueness of Christ's priesthood. Mere declaration is insufficient he writes - "For the merely saying that there is no other priest than Christ, may be no better than profaneness, unless we know and feel that Christ is our true priest. Nor is there anything gained in getting rid of superstition, unless we have first established piety and holiness".[132] In this is

expressed Arnold's essential view of religion found throughout his Rugby sermons and in his religious writing at large: that is, that religion is of value only in so far as it impinges upon Christian life, truth, and morality.[133] In his sermons on Christ's priesthood we see a further facet of that "evangelicalism" he mediated to English Public Schools.[134] In this first sermon, expounding primarily Christ's priestly sacrifice, simple faith in the atoning efficacy of this once-for-all sacrifice, "His one offering", is enjoined. As he writes: "Undoubtedly these few words are the very sum and substance of the gospel."[135] So too, though, is there a moral obligation, implicit in the words of the text - "Christ by one offering, has perfected us for ever". Awareness of His perfect sacrifice confronts man with his own sin. By faith in His atonement man is led to a responsive spirit "of humility, of gratitude, of thankfulness, of joy".[136] Arnold describes the consequences of evil, unbelief, and idolatry, thus:

> "... the invisible and incomprehensible, comes not within the range of our senses or of our minds; over both the condition of our nature has drawn too thick a veil. Therefore we do need a high priest, who may be to us in the place of God, and lead us to God when perfected. Therefore Christ crucified, when we take the words in all their fullness, is all that we need; and without him we are nothing. He is the one whom we can understand and love; we can conceive of him in his life; we can conceive of him as crucified: and still, because he is still the Son of man, we can also conceive of him as risen and ascended into heaven. With him we may commune , for his words are before us; and not only the words but even he who spoke them: he, through the descriptions of his disciples, is, in a manner before us too. And when he tells us that he has died for us through the love of God, what does it not say, both of our own evil and of God's goodness! ... He has perfected us; that is, the work is complete, if we would but believe it; but till we do believe it, it is in us not completed.... But when we shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away; when we believe in Christ, we shall also believe in God; when we believe in God, the Father of Christ, we shall know and feel what is meant by infinite holiness and infinite love; and by the one offering of our high priest once offered, we shall feel that we who were dead and are made alive - that we are now for ever perfected".[137]

With shades of an Abelardian soteriology, and the Coleridgean metaphysic of a feeling after Noumenal truth, Arnold's sermon glows with his characteristically English christocentric moralism.[138]

In both the first and second sermon, 'Christ the Only Priest' on Hebrews vii:25, we can see how crucial Christ's priesthood was to Arnold's desire to restore

the Church of Christ. As he wrote in the Introduction to Volume IV of the Sermons: "To restore Christ's Church ... is to expel the antichrist of priesthood"[139] and to restore the whole body of Christians, clergy and laity - for Arnold like Coleridge preferred not to distinguish[140] -to the discharge of their proper duties. The theme of the second sermon is both the priestly intercession of Christ, which he interprets in the broadest sense of all Christ's past and present acts of mediation for the faithful,[141] and the freedom of access available to all believers, to enter God's presence purified by His Spirit in prayer, worship, and service.[142] He echoes a theme seen in Simeon, that the eternal life of Christ as priest "is sometimes spoken of as being the direct cause of our salvation, even more than his death".[143] He states:

> "By his death we were made God's people; by his life we are continued so, even to the end. And the meaning of this is, that through Him we may at all times offer our prayers to God with confidence, and that through Him also we receive that Holy Spirit which alone makes us abide in Him,and in his likeness for ever. For this, I think, is the great act of Christ's intercession, that through Him, and as his redeemed, we receive the gift of his Holy Spirit. And thus he does most fully introduce us into the presence of God...".[144]

For Arnold, the Latitudinarian, all, save Unitarians, who worship Christ, are Christians and have this access.

For Arnold, Christ's priesthood was foundational for the Christian Church in the new dispensation,and the reaffirmation of this principle was part of his reforming zeal. So, he wrote:

> "... in all our relations with God, Christ, our High Priest, should ever be present with our minds, as alone giving us access to God, and alone purifying our hearts by his Spirit. In him we have all that we need; and as he is our Priest, without whom we have no boldness to come before the throne of grace, so he is our only Priest, and all others who do in any way pretend to be priests like him, are thieves and robbers, from hearing whom, may he, by his Spirit of truth, save his true sheep for evermore!"[145]

Applying this to contemporary movements of thought, - he doubtless had Tractarianism in mind - he repudiated notions of a priestly caste and human mediators between men and God.[146] The sermons reveal the christological foundation of Arnold's bitter denunciations of the Romanist 'sacerdotalizing', or 'Judaizing', of Tractarianism.[147] He contrasts elsewhere the Evangelical

Movement where,"The subject of preaching was Christ crucified", and that of "the Oxford men" who, he claims, "preach the Church, that is the clergy, that is they preach themselves... The Church is not to be identified with clergy. It is the people..."[148] Any clergyman who places undue weight upon Apostolical succession is, he held, "substituting unrealities for realities". Unable to perceive any good in Tractarian ecclesiology he dismissed it harshly as "idolatrous".[149] Priestcraft usurps the rights and priesthood of Christ and His whole Church. "It makes the Church and not Christ the mediator between God and man," he declared: "The whole system is in complete opposition to the Christianity of the New Testament".[150] As his second sermon reaffirmed, there is no true distinction 'priest' and 'people'. All believers "communicate with Christ without any mediator; with God through the mediation of Christ".[151] "But remember," he nevertheless consoled his hearers, "that wherever Christian ministers may be you are never without God, and never without your great High Priest, through whom, every day, and every hour, you may have access to God."[152]

From what we have seen of the Noetics view of Christ's priesthood, Thomas Arnold was not far from expressing their corporate attitude, however much they otherwise differed, when he stated in his sermon 'Christ the only Priest':"... there is no truth more important and more deeply practical, than that of Christ being our only priest".[153] Here was a treasured devotional truth and a favoured doctrinal principle. Through it a traditional Anglican faith was upheld, and at points a fresh perception of that faith articulated. That it was an important article of Latitudinarian religion is clear.

II

Christ, 'The High Priest of Humanity', in Maurician theology and devotion

We have examined the place and significance of Christ's priesthood in the Aristotelian Latitudinarianism of the Oriel Noetics of Oxford. How did the doctrine fare in the Coleridgean Platonism of Cambridge scholars bound by ties of intellectual and fraternal loyalty to that powerfully original Anglican thinker, Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872)? Was it as prominent an article of belief

in Maurician doctrine and devotion? What light does it shed upon the minds and hearts of those neither Evangelical nor Tractarian 'Broad Churchmen',[154] who, unlike Maurice, did not spurn a party label, and contributed to this second major element in Latitudinarianism in the Church of England in the first half of the Victorian era? For, in the aftermath of the Oxford Movement, a "sceptical languor" insinuated its way into a punch-drunk Oxford;[155] whilst a thoughtful, inquisitive, still largely conservative[156] Latitudinarianism was at work in other quarters of the Church. We shall examine the more Liberal, Oxford, Broad Churchmen in Chapter VI. Here we are concerned with the influence the image of Christ as priest exerted in a sphere philosophically alert, open to critical study of the scriptures, devoted to the Church of England, passionate in its quest for spiritual experience, religious truth, and Christian living.

1. S.T. Coleridge

Samuel Taylor Coleridge died in 1834. To the philosopher John Stuart Mill, he was one of "the two great seminal minds of England of their age":[157] the other being the Utilitarian Jeremy Bentham, whose philosophy dominated the otherwise depressed state of English philosophical enquiry in the first half of the nineteenth century.[158] Coleridge's spirit lived on in his leading disciples Thomas Arnold and F. D. Maurice, and in his posthumously published works. His Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit (1840), set forth, in the spirit of the German biblical critics Eichhorn and Lessing,[159] an advanced historical approach to scriptural enquiry, calling on Christians to read the Bible as any other ancient book and to find its inspiration by being found by its truth. Though its publication was anticipated by Arnold's Essays on the Right Understanding and Interpretation of the Scriptures (1832), Coleridge's approach to scripture, enunciated in his Confessions, contributed significantly to the advance of Anglican biblical criticism.[160] His Notes, Theological, Political and Miscellaneous edited by Rev. D. Coleridge and published in 1853, on the other hand, served to perpetuate knowledge of his profound and lastingly conservative commitment to the unique mediation of Christ, for in many respects his inference fostered a reinvigoration and

reformulation of traditional creedal beliefs.[161] Commenting, for example, on Chillingworth's Answer to the Preface 'Charity Maintained by Catholics' Coleridge wrote: "... if asserting the merits of creatures so as, though not avowedly, to deny, yet, effectively to make vain the sole redemption by, and mediation of Christ... If these be not fundamental errors, what can be?"[162] But if he inspired in his followers anti-Romanism, he also engendered anti-Unitarianism. In his Notes on Robert Robinson, against the Unitarians, he enquired pertinently - "Are we not commanded to pray to God through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Mediator?",[163] - and thereby endorsed Christ's divinity. The ex-Unitarian Maurice, who came to share Coleridge's conviction of Christ's unique priestly mediation, in his own original way, paid homage to his mentor in the Introduction to the Kingdom of Christ, published in 1842. From him, Maurice wrote, he had learned how "the highest truths are those which are beyond the limits of Experience" and that "the essential principles of the Reason are those which cannot be proved by syllogisms". "The power of perceiving", he added, "that by the very law of the Reason the knowledge of God must be given to it; that the moment it attempts to create its Maker, it denies itself... I must acknowledge, that I received from him".[164] Coleridge, a "true representative of Romanticism",[165] conservative in heart, and to a lesser extent in mind, but liberal in expression, profoundly influenced later streams of religious thought in England.[166] His spirit continued to inspire Maurician theology and devotion. Julius Hare, a representative of the 'Maurician school', dedicated his own The Mission of the Comforter (1846) -"To the honoured memory of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the Christian Philosopher".

2. Thirlwall

Bishop Connop Thirlwall (1797-1874) of St. David's, one of the most gifted Churchmen of his day,[167] is, both on account of his 'Broad Church' outlook, his Cambridge background, and sympathetic support of Maurice on a number of occasions, appropriately identified with this second element in Anglican Latitudinarianism. His Episcopal Charges, delivered during a thirty-four year

episcopate, influenced Liberal opinion in the Church of England, probably more than his translation of Schleiermacher's Essays on St. Luke, (1825).[168] Thirlwall's "masterly" Charges, affording a balanced critique of men, events, and Movements during the mid-nineteenth century, are an invaluable source for Victorian ecclesiastical studies. Those of 1842, 1863 and 1869, are particularly useful as illuminating his views on Tractarianism, Essays and Reviews, and the Ritualist and Eucharistic controversies. They illustrate his theological and ecclesiastical balance, and allude to his attitude towards the christological office of Christ as priest, for we find but few direct references to Christ's priesthood in Thirlwall's published works. In spirit, if not in detail, his 'comprehensive' explicit Latitudinarianism echoed Hooker in its approach to Christ's priesthood.

Thirlwall's response to Tractarianism, in the Charge of 1842, is restrained, but he admits the Oxford Movement "can scarcely be said to have found its way into this Diocese".[169] Interestingly he also says of Newman's interpretation of Article XXII ,in Tract XC, that a distinction between the doctrine of Trent and Romish practice is "quite untenable",[170] and clearly objects to popular Roman Catholic devotional practices. He is as clear, however, that the extreme language of the Reformers was because they were "occupied with one aspect or portion of the truth, and may seem to forget that there is any other".[171] Thirlwall reacted against the extremes of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Hence, his theological stance itself to some extent militated against enthusiastic advocacy of Christ's office as priest. He was no friend of Tractarian sacerdotalism, nor the practice of popular devotion, nor the Protestantism of the Reformers. His mind was adept at seeing both sides of a case. He never employed Christ's priesthood as a Protestant foil to Tractarian Romanising. The contrast with Noeticism is clear.

In his critique of Essays and Reviews, we again find no explicit reference to Christ's priesthood. And yet, for all his knowledge of German theology, Thirlwall's objection to its christology is expressed the Anglican spirit in which commitment to Christ's priesthood flourished. "In a word," he wrote, "their christology is one which, to borrow a significant phrase of one of our authors, 'will

not be prayed'."[172] Furthermore, his criticism of the Ritualist Declaration to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1867) confirms the more fundamental philosophical questions he was asking about confident discourse on Christ's heavenly ministry.[173] He objected to their notion of the eucharist as the earthly counterpart to what "in heaven Christ our great High Priest ever offers (Himself) before the Eternal Father, pleading by His presence His sacrifice of Himself once offered on the cross".[174] This, he claims, is trying to establish what is obscure first by what is 'unclear' and then by what is 'clear', instead of vice versa.[175] Thirlwall baulked at presumptuous acquaintance with the intimacies of Christ's heavenly priestly ministry:

> "The nature of the heavenly intercession is," he wrote, "a mystery transcending all our powers of thought and imagination, and which human speech is utterly incompetent to express. How then can it shed any light, if that were needed, on the work of the priest in the celebration of the Eucharist? And if it was intended as an argument to the effect that, because Christ offers Himself in heaven, therefore it is the object of the Eucharist to make the same offering on earth, the argument would be as illogical as the comparison is misapplied... It is not to any transaction which is taking place in the heavenly sanctuary that the Church turns our thoughts in the Prayer of Consecration, but to that which took place in the guest-chamber at Jerusalem at the institution of the Lord's Supper".[176]

From this penetrating challenge to undue dogmatism in heavenly matters, we might justly assume Thirlwall was one of an early Liberal group who began to undermine historic Anglican commitment to Christ's office as priest. An 'Ordination Sermon' of 1851, entitled 'The Apostolical Commission', indicates, rather, the basis of his response: namely, his profound defensiveness towards incursion upon divine prerogatives. "That we may not," he wrote, "in any degree derogate from our blessed Lord's supreme and unapproachable dignity, by confounding those things which He was pleased to communicate, with those which were necessarily reserved and peculiar to Himself".[177]

Thirlwall did, however, apply the doctrine of Christ's priesthood to the Church's ministry. He describes Christ's three-fold office as having been ever exercised in the Church "under the commission received from Him."[178]

> "And yet it is no less certain", he wrote, "that,... He is the only Prophet, as the Author of that revelation which was afterwards

> propagated by His witnesses and messengers, who could only deliver to others that which they had received of Him, without any power to alter or add to its contents. He is the only High Priest, who once for all offered one sacrifice for sin, even the body which was prepared Him by the Father, and then for ever sat down on the right hand of God; and that which remained to be done by His ministers upon earth, was not to repeat or renew this sacrifice, but only to show it forth, to commemorate it, to plead its merits, to dispense its fruits, and 'by Him to offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually.' And once more, He is the only King, the sovereign Lord and chief Shepherd of His Church, and those who fill the highest stations in it bear only a delegated rule, to be exercised within the limits, and in conformity to the laws, which He established for them. All are but His vicegerents, and no one of them is more so than the rest".[179]

Thirlwall was not unprepared, then, to defend the uniqueness of Christ's priesthood in and over His Church, but it was not a theme to which he, with the explicit enthusiasm of an Evangelical, early Tractarian or Noetic, reverted. His was that implicit Anglican commitment epitomised in Hooker.[180] In this he was followed by his Broad Church friends Julius Hare (1795-1855) and Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), in neither of whose writings do we find the doctrine achieving any kind of noteworthy prominence.[181] Their reticence contrasts vividly with the abundance of references found in the writings of F. D. Maurice, and the youthful F. W. Robertson, to whom we now turn.

3. F.D. Maurice

In life and death F. D. Maurice (1805-1872) is a controversial, enigmatic, and strangely brilliant Anglican figure. Born in 1805 Maurice grew up scarred by familial and theological tensions. As a Unitarian he refused subscription at Cambridge and went down without a degree. His religious opinions were transformed primarily through the dying witness of his Evangelical sister. He became an Anglican and, almost as a "penance", entered Exeter College, Oxford, in 1830 to prepare for ordination. After two years in charge of Bubbenhall, Warks., where much of The Kingdom of Christ was prepared, he moved in 1836 to be Chaplain of Guy's Hospital, London, where his concern for man's social well-

being flourished. In 1837 he was appointed Professor of English Literature at King's College, London, and in 1846 became its Professor of Divinity. Dismissed in 1853, charged with an heretical denial of "everlasting" damnation of the reprobate, he ended his days as they had begun, in theological controversy and abiding confidence in paternal love.[182]

To his friend J. C. Hare, Maurice's was "the greatest mind since Plato".[183] John Sterling, a fellow leader of the London Debating Society, more wistfully reflected: "I spent my time picking up pebbles beside the ocean of Maurice's genius".[184] Gladstone admired him as "a spiritual splendour", but declared Maurice, as many have felt, "a good deal of an enigma".[185] Carlyle dismissed his thoughts as "mainly moonshine and Spitzfindigkeit",[186] and J. B. Mozley held he hadn't "a clear idea in his head".[187] Benjamin Jowett, likewise, dismissed his writings as "misty and confused".[188] Phases in subsequent opinion have variously declared him "one of the most important English theologians of this century",[189] "arguably the most original thinker that the nineteenth century produced in this country",[190] and as Owen Chadwick writes of his lectures : "He exalted his hearers, but could not make them understand what he said".[191] Few, though, doubt the worth of studying him. His own standing adds to the significance of examining his attitude towards Christ's priesthood. As a final evaluation of the man, though, we quote A. M. Ramsey's balanced estimation, as also providing a useful introduction to his thought:

> "Maurice was one of those rare teachers who do not fit into the categories of any party. Tractarians and Evangelicals bitterly opposed him; and in the popular mind he was an advanced and heretical thinker, notorious through his deprivation from office at King's College, London, for alleged disbelief in hell, and through his habitual championing of critical thought and natural science. Yet he had little in common with the Broad Church party of his day. His liberalism was not born of any indifference to dogma; rather was it the freedom of mind which can come close to those, whom genuine orthodoxy lifts above the partial conceptions of a particular age and above the partisanship into which the orthodox so often fall... The theology of Maurice had its roots in St. John and in the Greek Fathers. 'He was in the world, and the world was made by Him' pervades Maurice's thinking".[192]

What, then, did this devout, Anglican theologian - for a Christian, an Anglican, and a theologian he was through and through, - make of Christ's office as priest?

The importance of Christ's priesthood for F. D. Maurice has been largely ignored. Yet Christ's sacerdotal office is a prominent and recurring motif throughout his writings, which have a dogmatic strain which sets him apart from other Broad Churchmen.[193]. Neglect of his view of Christ's priesthood is again largely due to lack of contextualisation. His views must be set against the general background of Anglican veneration for the image of Christ as priest prior to and during the nineteenth century and his own basic theological presuppositions. In this context Maurice's interpretation becomes more explicable, intelligible and significant.

Maurice's theology is shot through with Platonic and Johannine insights, and, as we have noted already, he was an important force in the revival of Greek Theology.[194] It is also profoundly influenced by the theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This is a characteristic of his Anglicanism. It is also fundamentally Coleridgean, and subsequently articulated in Maurice's theological progeny, B. F. Westcott and Christian Socialism.[195] On 30 September 1845, Maurice wrote to his sister Priscilla, having been recently appointed Warburton Lecturer by the Archbishop of Canterbury:

> "...I think I have determined to make the subject of my Warburton lectures the Epistle to the Hebrews. I have long taken more interest in it than I think in any book of the Bible, and my thoughts were especially drawn to it last spring. Practically it comes out to me in connection with all my thoughts about the sins of Christian priests; it seems wonderfully to unfold the relations between the old and new dispensations, and to explain the method of dealing with prophecy; it touches all the cardinal questions in the Romish controversy. I am therefore occupying myself in it with much interest and satisfaction..."[196]

The lectures were delivered and published, with a disproportionately long introductory critique of Newman's Essay on the Development of Doctrine, in 1846.[197] In them he presents Hebrews as affording scriptural justification both for his fundamentally christocentric approach to theology - "in these last days He has spoken to us by a Son" being a key text for him[198] - and for his belief in the progressive revelation of God through the Jewish nation to "bring out the Divine,

Personal Centre of the universe," namely, Jesus Christ.[199] Both the method and thought of Hebrews were, he maintains,

> "...pointing at every step to this end, the discovery or Revelation of a Lord who must be perfectly one with men and one with God; in whom there must be two natures; in whom there could not be a double personality; whose manifestation must destroy the cultus or homage of inferior creatures, at the same time must exalt the creation as it had never been exalted before".[200]

Hebrews was for Maurice both a theological inspiration and an invaluable guide, through which "to discern a clear line between that which is the work of God, and that, however intimately blended with it, which has proceeded from an evil, counterfeit, destructive principle".[201] It embodied his convictions of the unity of the Old and New Testaments and of the need to view scripture as a whole.[202] So, though no New Testament scholar, he could write also in his earlier major work The Kingdom of Christ (1838):

> "We shall not need any evidence of the Apostolical derivation of the epistle to the Hebrews, to convince us, that it unfolds the relations between the national and the universal dispensation, between that which was the shadow and that which was the substance of a Divine humanity; between that which enabled the worshipper to expect a perfect admission into the Divine presence, and that which admitted him to it; between that which revealed God to him as the enemy of evil, and that which revealed Him as the conqueror of it".[203]

Of the fact that Maurice's theology and devotion, like that of so many of his Anglican forebears and contemporaries, drew profound inspiration from the Epistle to the Hebrews, there can be little doubt. This is borne out in his dependence upon and utilisation of the image of Christ's person and work as a priest.

The lynch-pin of Maurice's christology, and thus of his incarnational theology as a whole,[204] is traditionally identified as the Universal Headship and Kingship of Christ: that is, that God has created and redeemed mankind in Christ, that "Mankind stands not in Adam but in Christ", that "the proper constitution of man is his constitution in Christ".[205] As Vidler summarises a passage in Maurice's response to H. L. Mansel's What is Revelation? - "God's union with our race in the Person of a Mediator is to be received as the interpretation of all other facts, as the kernel mystery of the universe".[206] Christ was, to use another

characteristic phrase of Maurice, "the High Priest of the Universe".[207] Christ's divine sonship and priesthood were inseparable. As he wrote in his sermon 'Christ the High Priest', in The Doctrine of Sacrifice (1854): "The Sonship of Christ is the basis of all intercourse between God and Man. The possibility of a priesthood -the fact of a priesthood - rests upon that relation, and not upon any law spoken on Sinai, or at the door of the Tabernacle".[208] The doctrine of Christ's High Priesthood illuminated for Maurice the basis of man's relation to God, and the character of the person in whom that relationship was grounded. It taught him not only that Christ was "the High Priest of Mankind", bringing humanity in Himself to the Father, but also that Christ, as the High Priest, was a man. Ezekiel, he writes in Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament (1894), knew that to fulfil his sacerdotal and kingly function he had to be inspired by a spirit "higher than his own. That spirit must come from a Man, that man must be the Priest of priests, the King of kings."[209] Again, in What is Revelation? (1859), John, the beloved disciple, is presented as discovering that the love of Christ was more awful than His power. "The beloved Disciple," Maurice writes, "who spoke most of knowing God and dwelling in God - when the High Priest of the Universe was actually revealed before Him, fell at His feet as one dead".[210] This pivotal idea of Christ as the High Priestly Head of Humanity influenced Maurice's thought in three major directions.

Firstly, it influenced his understanding of God Himself and man's approach to God. For, though in later years acknowledging a Trinitarian Baptismal formula and proclaiming strongly the Fatherhood of God over the family of the Church,[211] Maurice did not lose his Platonic and Coleridgean sense of the Absoluteness, essential Infiniteness, and quintessential awesomeness of the Holy One, the Eternal Being. However, Maurice approached Him with "a confident, if humble familiarity" because of his belief in, as David Edwards correctly notes, "the eternally sympathetic high priest of men".[212] As Maurice wrote, in a sermon 'The Faith of the Liturgy', in 1860:

> "If you would look upon the human race reverently, cling to the faith that Christ has borne the nature of man, and died the death of man, and exalted manhood to God's right hand. If you

> would actually draw nigh to the majesty of Heaven with godly fear, shaking off that terror which our weakness conceives of an Omnipotent Being, which our sense of evil conceives of a perfectly righteous Being, believe that the High Priest of the universe has entered for us within the veil, and for ever lives to make intercession for us."[213]

For Maurice, as for many Victorian Christians, the thought of Christ as priest rendered the terrors of Divinity both approachable devotionally and accessible intellectually. Because Christ was a priest, God was "near".[214] In Christ as a priest Maurice discovered another fundamental conviction. In this priesthood is expressed the heart of God, love and self-sacrifice: a love which is for the whole world,[215] a "self-sacrifice expressed supremely in the cross of Christ".[216] As Maurice wrote in his Commentary on the Epistles of St. John: "The mind of the Ruler of Heaven and Earth is a mind of self-sacrifice; it is revealed in the cross of Christ".[217] As McClain has commented on The Doctrine of Sacrifice, "The quality of sacrifice which is the ethos of God was manifested in the whole incarnate life of Christ, the total event of his life, death and resurrection".[218] Sacrifice, Maurice wrote, "proceeds from God... accomplishes the purposes of God... enables those creatures to become like their Father in heaven by offering up themselves".[219] Christ's priesthood informed Maurice's understanding of the character of the God Christians worship. Though he does not make the connection, it is not difficult to see how the doctrine, therefore, also informed his sense of God's ultimately loving judgement of mankind. As he wrote, knowing that his views on hell, in the Theological Essays, were the death-knell of his Professorship at King's, London: "I am obliged to believe in an abyss of love which is deeper than the abyss of death; I dare not lose faith in that love. I sink into death, eternal death, if I do".[220]

The second major influence of the pivotal doctrine of Christ's High Priesthood on Maurice's doctrine and devotion, deriving directly from the first, pertains to man's life through Christ's atoning priestly sacrifice. Though we may, with some justice, see Maurice's early Evangelicalism reflected in his devotion to Christ as priest, in two crucial respects his doctrine of Christ as the High Priestly Head of Humanity militated against traditional Evangelical soteriology, as we

began to see in Chapter III.[221]. His fundamental theological premise was not the sinful depravity of man, but man "in Christ",[222] and he spoke of the Atonement as expressing God's love.[223] He spoke of Christ's priestly sacrifice, as the act not of man's substitute but his representative, as the offering of man's 'Elder Brother' as Priest.[224] Mankind's High Priest offers Himself for and with humanity.[225] Maurice's failure to stress the penal motive caused considerable disquiet among Evangelicals. He appeared to them to devalue sin, by presenting it as 'separation', 'distortion', 'violation', and denial of a given relationship with God 'in Christ', or simply as a 'failure to trust'.[226] But Maurice was, in reality, no less conscious of the heinousness of sin than his Calvinist mother. The difference was he trusted in God's Fatherly, self-sacrificing love.[227] "The God of all grace", and not sinful humanity was to Maurice, the foundation of Christian theology.[228]

The soteriological terminology of Hebrews inspired Maurice's presentation of Christ's atoning work in The Kingdom of Christ.

> "Without a sacrifice for sins", he wrote, "there could be no communion between God and his creatures. His sacrifice removes those impediments to the communion, which the blood of bulls and goats, sacrifices of mere arbitrary appointment, though most precious as instruments of moral and spiritual education, could not possibly have removed. Until One appeared who said, 'Lo! I come, in the volume of the book it is written, to do thy will, O God,'- until He offered up himself as a perfect and well-pleasing sacrifice to God, how could there be perfect contentment in the mind of a holy and loving Being, how could a perfect communion exist between Him and man?"[229]

In the Theological Essays, as here, Maurice articulates his belief in the "real and scriptural sacrifice" offered by Christ as the sympathising priest, and God's wrath against sin:

> "The endurance of that wrath," he stated, "was the proof that He bore in the strictest sense the sins of the world, feeling them with that anguish with which only a perfectly pure and holy Being, who is also a perfectly sympathising and gracious Being, can feel the sins of others".[230]

In the Doctrine of Sacrifice, the sacrifices of Abel, Noah, Abraham and Moses are presented as illustrative of the divine and not human origin of sacrifice.[231] Sacrifice, Maurice also held, is no mere expedient for dealing with sin, but is "implied in the very original of the universe".[232] Christ's High Priestly self-

sacrificing identification with man in humanity's anguish, and death,[233] and His casting of Himself on His Father to be delivered from His own and Humanity's death,[234] is presented as the means whereby At-one-ment between God and man is effected.[235] As he wrote: "What sacrifice could be like this? what could a High-priest of the universe offer that was so absolutely His own; so much His very self? And yet, what sacrifice could a high-priest of the universe offer, that was so entirely for the sins of the world?"[236] So, of the "eternal salvation" wrought by Christ the High Priest, Maurice concluded:

> "In His own person He has vindicated for them the right of Sonship; the privilege of fellowship; the salvation from that death which consists in separation from God; the eternal life which consists in union with Him. The Priest has asserted His name, has made the Sacrifice, has established His office. That office is to last for ever; founded upon His filial relation; embodied in His self-oblation; holding mankind now and always to Him who created us in His image, who has delivered us from the foes *which* assailed His only-begotten Son, who in Him has adopted us to be sons. Oh, never for a moment let us think of the Sacrifice apart from the Priest; or the Priest as separate from those for whom he prayed, that they might be one with Him! Never let us think of the Priest as another than the Son who was before the worlds were; or of the Son as doing any work but that to which the love of the Father called Him, and His own obedience fulfilled!"[237]

Maurice's own obedient life of self-sacrifice for others amply illustrates the direct moral application he derived from this understanding of Christ's loving priestly self-sacrifice for mankind.[238] The Divine and human self-sacrifice in the Father and Son was for Maurice a Universal and personal foundation-principle of his Christian Ethics.

The third major influence of this pivotal doctrine of Christ as the High Priest of the Universe can be seen in Maurice's understanding of the corporate life and worship of the redeemed Christian family, the Church.[239] Maurice's ecclesiology arose from both theological and historical convictions: in and through both Christ is consistently presented as the one, eternal, High Priestly Head of the Church. He presents the Church, on the one hand, as that 'normal' gathering of witnesses to Christ as the Head and Redeemer of mankind, united in worship and service of Him, and manifesting the outward 'signs and ordinances' of the new covenant society.[240] He upholds, on the other hand, the direct historical

continuity between the Jewish covenant people, and 'Church' of the Old Testament and the Church of the new Universal Society.[241] Maurice presents Christ as the Incarnate Priest and Head of this Church,[242] upon whom the very being of society at large, and the Church, as integral to that society, depend.[243] At the same time, he presents Christ's Headship, Kingship and Priesthood as the ideal reality from which the Jewish institutions derived their life and authority,[244] and to which the prophets looked in hope.[245] Both the Church and Jewish society were created, he claims, "before all worlds" in Christ Jesus, the eternal Head and Priest of mankind.[246] In The Kingdom of Christ, the covenant of the Jews "with an invisible Being" is understood as the basis both of regal authority, and that of "all other officers, the priestly, the prophetical, the judicial"... "in like manner directly receiving their appointments and commission from Him".[247] For Maurice, too the Church is a divine society.[248] In this he was at one with Tractarianism. He later wrote, though, as Thirlwall did, "If the Incarnation mean anything, if the Church be not a dream all offices exercised by her on behalf of humanity must be offices first exercised by Christ".[249] As God's appointed deliverers, he writes in The Prayer Book and Lord's Prayer, looked to the restoration of mankind by one in God's image, a Son of man and a Son of God, "so did the Priest still more especially and remarkably declare that only such a one could carry out the meaning of their mission, and show that they had not been sent into the world to deceive it".[250] Christ the High Priest of the Universe was, for Maurice, from eternity the only true priest upon whose being and authority depend that of the Old Testament priesthood and the Christian ministry in the new dispensation.[251] Through Him alone the Church alone is made a holy community.[252] On the words 'Jesus Christ is an Advocate and High Priest' he commented: "This language especially reminds us that there is One in whom the whole Church is presented as a chaste bride to the Father, in whom it is holy, in spite of all the corruptions and abominations which its members commit when they forget their calling and live as if they were separate creatures".[253] Christ's priesthood is the foundation of the Church's purity and power.

Christ's High Priesthood also informed Maurice's understanding of the church polity, its functionaries and worship. From the Jewish analogy of a priestly succession, he upheld Apostolical Succession and venerated episcopacy as "the main constituent" of the Church polity.[254] But, as he wrote in his Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer:

> "...the existence of the Church depends upon the acknowledgement of the Son of God as the Universal Bishop...; every step of the Jewish economy was leading to the revelation of Him as the substitute for the earthly High Priest;... in Him all orders are constituted;... the Succession and Consecration of Bishops are the witnesses of His permanent and present Government;..."[255]

There is a priesthood in the Christian Church for Maurice. It is characterized by bearing witness to "the reconciliation of God with men in Christ", by celebrating the eucharist and by absolving.[256] Significantly, though, Maurice too perceived it as a representative and not 'vicarial' priesthood, for it should obscure neither the High Priesthood of Christ nor the 'priestly' character of the whole Church.[257] "If it (priesthood) were limited to Him who has fully realized, and can alone fully realize it", he wrote,"the belief of his union with the creatures whom he has called his brethren, would grow feeble".[258] Maurice objected to the Romanism which substitutes the Pope as the Universal Head and High Priest of the Church in place of Christ,[259] and teaches a vicarial priesthood, with delegated powers, separate from Christ, as derogating from His authority.[260] Maurice reverted to this latter theme on a number of occasions. In The Kingdom of Christ he presents the fundamental difference between Catholics and Protestants, thus:

> "In this all-important point, ... we look upon the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Lord, as declaring Him to be really and actually, not nominally or fantastically, head of the universal kingdom as the mortal High Priest had been of the peculiar kingdom, all the Jewish history being a preparation for the substitution of the one for the other. They believe that this High Priest has been succeeded in the new dispensation by one mortal and sinful as himself".[261]

In his sermon 'The doctrine of the Thirty Nine Articles' (1860) he also wrote, that if earthly priests persist in regarding themselves "not as one of an order... but one of a caste... so long will there be a perpetual renewal of priestly impostures, and of intrusions by the priests on earth into the office of the ascended High

Priest".[262] Maurice epitomises a characteristically Anglican defensiveness towards Christ's office as priest.

In the same sermon Maurice relates the doctrine of Christ's unique High Priestly mediation to the Romish errors repudiated in Article XXII. These, he maintains,

> "...could not have arisen if men had clung firmly to the faith in an actual Mediator between God and men, in One who had gone within the veil having obtained eternal Redemption for us. The full Purification in His Blood would have made the notion of any other purification here or hereafter impossible; His union with the Father and men would have shown that He was the one all-sufficient Intercessor; all prayers must rest on His; His triumph over death and the grave would have prevented the adoration of dead things. This Article is then a protest against superstition because it is a protest against unbelief. Nor will ministers ever deliver their hearers from relapse into any superstition, except by strengthening them in the faith of which it is a perversion".[263]

Christ's High Priestly prayer and presentation of His sacrifice in heaven are the only sure basis of our worship king accepted, according to Maurice.[264] The Church's Articles and Liturgy communicated to him the message of the self-sacrificing love of the Father supremely embodied in the one mediator Jesus Christ, the High Priest of the Universe.[265] This doctrine informed Maurice's understanding of the essential being, marks, and worship of the Church, the Christian kingdom, which proclaims "the great absolution of the race".[266]

> "That kingdom stands in the name of the Father," he wrote, "from whom the absolution proceeds, who is its author and ground; of the Son, the High Priest of the race, in whom it is accomplished, and who ever lives to claim it for men; of the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, who endows the Christian family with the life and sense and fruits of it."[267]

In its eucharist and prayer the Church recalls the fact of Christ's once for all atoning self-sacrifice on the cross and His continued, ascended, priestly ministry of intercession.[268] The Church is drawn to participate in both, in its life of service, self-sacrifice, and prayerful devotion to God, on earth and in heaven.[269] The eucharist, for Maurice, supremely signified the communion reestablished between God and man.[270] It was for him a 'feast' celebrating Christ's completed sacrifice,[271] and the means whereby man is led to participate in the humanity

Christ the priest has taken within the veil.[272] So Christians purified through faith in Christ's sacrifice

> "draw nigh unto God with pure hearts and faith unfeigned, through Him who is the Priest, as well as the sacrifice, the ever living Mediator of a covenant which is established, not in the law of a carnal commandment, but in the power of an endless life".[273]

As we read Maurice's works we are left in no doubt that he was a faithful perpetuator of that distinctively Anglican doctrinal and devotional commitment to the language and theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, embodied supremely in the image of Christ as priest. His approach to Christ's priesthood is both conservative in its scripturalism and creative in its integration of this treasured image into a doctrinal structure which Evangelicals and Tractarians alike opposed. The very strength of Anglican adherence to Christ's priesthood is reflected in this variety in interpretation, and unity in commitment to the image of Christ as priest.

4. F.W. Robertson

F. W. Robertson (1816-1853), whose tragically brief incumbency of Trinity Chapel, Brighton (1847-1853), produced sermons of "rare excellence"[274] and great posthumous popularity,of all the Broad Churchmen shared Maurice's commitment to the image of Christ as priest. It was integral to his distinctive stress upon the perfection of Christ's humanity, and was again, perhaps, fruit of an Evangelical education. A sermon on Hebrews iv:15,16, entitled 'The sympathy of Christ', contains the essence of his view of Christ's priesthood.[275] It begins:

> "According to these verses, the Priesthood of Jesus Christ is based upon the perfection of His humanity. Because tempted in all points like as we are, therefore He can show mercy, and grant help. Whatever destroys the conception of His humanity, does in that same degree overthrow the notion of His priesthood".[276]

For Robertson, Christ's office as priest was an invaluable way of understanding His person. Devotion to Christ was at the centre of all his theology.[277] It was set forth in his sermons in a profound, theological, yet simple, undogmatic

manner, readily intelligible to educated and uneducated alike. Herein lay a secret of his popularity.

Christ's humanity as a perfect priest meant for Robertson that he had a human soul and body.[278] Christ's priesthood was integrated in his quest for a recovery of belief in the Son of God.[279] For, he held, this begins with proclamation of the true Son of Man, and not some heavenly semi-human Christ.[280] From the doctrine of Christ's priesthood Robertson also adduced the comforting truth, relevant to man in any age and society, that the priestly Redeemer not only was but is man.[281] As he declared: "The present manhood of Christ conveys this deeply important truth, that the Divine Heart is human in its sympathies".[282] His thought is almost patripassian when he speaks of "the human heart of God", as evidenced in the fact that Christ can even now be "touched with the feeling of our infirmities".[283] His human experiences have, he maintains, been imprinted upon Him "like nail marks", "... enduing Him with a certain susceptibility, for He can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities: with certain qualifications, for He is now able to show mercy, and impart grace to help in time of need."[284] In Robertson, preeminently, Christ's priesthood was synonymous with nineteenth century humanitarianism.

Robertson was concerned to present the Redeemer's preparation for His priesthood on earth, as well as the pastoral and moral implications of it. Of Christ's preparation for priesthood, Robertson stresses His real temptation to sin. His excellence was tested and He was painfully tried: for Robertson interprets "temptation" in this double sense.[285] Defining 'sin' as "not the possession of desires: but the having them in uncontrolled ascendancy over the higher nature",[286] he presents Christ truly suffering in temptation from the force of desire — "Though there was no hesitation whether to obey or not, no strife in the will, in the act of mastery there was pain".[287] So Robertson, too, introduces Christ's priesthood into discussion of Christ's sinlessness with this particular emphasis. "For the way in which some speak of the sinlessness of Jesus," he wrote, "reduces all His suffering to physical pain, destroys the reality of temptation, reduces that glorious heart to a pretence, and converts the whole of His history into a mere

fictitious drama, in which scenes of drama were represented,not felt."[288] In this, though, as in all his sermons, Robertson is at pains to stress Christ's identification with man -that is, the Maurician theme of God's "nearness" embodied in the human priest,who is near to man and brings man near to God.

A basis, then, of Robertson's morality and teaching is this priestly mediator: Christ - the source and model of Christian "sympathy". "Priesthood," he writes, "is that office by which He is the medium of union between man and God".[289] His priestly sympathy brings man and his needs to God for salvation and blessing.[290] Echoing Maurice's soteriology of Christ's self-sacrifice, identification, and sympathy, and anticipating a feature of later Liberal Catholicism, Robertson rejects cold, penal-substitutionary atonement theories. "There is a vague way of speaking of the atonement", he declares, "which does not realize the tender, affectionate, personal love,by which that daily, hourly reconciliation is effected. The sympathy of Christ was not merely love of men in masses: He loved the masses, but He loved them because made up of individuals".[291] This same sympathy affords Christ two priestly powers: the power of mercy and the power of help.[292] On the basis of the latter, Christ's human feelings of our infirmities which "thrill at once with more than electric speed up to the mighty Heart of God",[293] are the basis and inspiration for mankind in society to show sympathy and support to one another.[294] On the basis of the latter, Robertson argues that Christ's knowledge of sin makes His sympathy a qualification to be judge. He is Priest and Judge.[295] So, "The sympathy of Christ is ",he observes, "a comforting subject. It is, besides, a tremendous subject: for on sympathy the awards of heaven and hell are built."[296] Robertson held Christ's role as Priest and Judge in tension, declaring both to be true and not seeking to reconcile them. Herein lay the implicit moral urgency, for Robertson, consequent upon knowing Christ as priest.

Christ was, for Robertson, the Son of God and Son of Man. He was also anticipated by the prophets, and priests of the Old Testament. He was called by God to the office of priest, and ordained to that office for man's sake. He entirely surrendered Himself in sacrifice to the Divine Will, declaring "Lo, I come

to do Thy will, O God".[297] Robertson concluded a sermon 'Christ the Son', on 25th December 1851, with words which expressed the depth and form of his understanding-"He is the only High Priest of the Universe".[298] Here was a clear proclamation of a profound and pivotal doctrinal image in Maurician theology and devotion.

We have considered Noetic and Maurician interpretations of Christ's priesthood. For all the Latitudinarianism of the individuals considered, we have discovered a further example of a general unity in enthusiasm and diversity in interpretation. We have seen conservatism and creativity, construction and controversy, in Latitudinarian responses to this doctrine. We have discovered a body of material which further confirms that the image of Christ as priest was in the forefront of Anglican doctrinal and devotional thinking in the first half of the Victorian era. But, there were other Broad Churchmen who responded more critically. In Chapter VI we shall consider the form this criticism took in the context of examining the development of Anglican biblical studies in the second half of the Victorian era.

PART II

CREATIVITY AND CRITICISM

CHAPTER V

Christ, 'The Liturgical Priest', in the Doctrine and Devotion of The Early Ritualists

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church defines 'Ritual' thus:

> "Strictly, the prescribed form of words of a liturgical function. By common usage the word is employed, in a derogatory sense, of the accompanying ceremonial. In the nineteenth century the term 'Ritualist' was commonly used of those who introduced or reintroduced Mediaeval or modern Roman Catholic ceremonial practices in the Church of England."[1]

This chapter is concerned with the role, content, and significance of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood in this so-called 'Ritualist' phase of the Anglo-Catholic revival in the Victorian Church of England, associated with a younger generation of High Churchmen in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. R.F. Littledale (1833-1890), one of the leaders of the Movement, described Ritualism as "the solemn, beautiful, and reverent performance of religious rites. It is the way that God has taught man to celebrate public worship."[2] Furthermore, in answering the question 'What is Ritualism?', he listed as its distinctive doctrinal outlook:

> "That Religion is a beautiful and happy thing, not sour and repulsive.
> That GOD is not as man, that He should repent, but unchangeable.
> That CHRIST died for all men, and not for a few.
> That CHRIST is a Priest for ever, and that the Atonement still goes on, and is not over.
> That GOD ought to be worshipped on earth as He is in heaven.
> That He ought to be publicly worshipped every day, and not on Sundays only."[3]

Ritualism was a recovery of the Laudian sense of "the beauty of holiness" reflected in gorgeous ceremonial.[4] It was also, as Littledale suggests, a doctrinal movement in which the doctrine of Christ's priesthood was central. For all its renowned continental 'Catholic' traits, Ritualism arose initially as an 'Anglican' revival of English ceremonial. The Ritualists' attitude towards Christ's priesthood, particularly in the Movement's early stages (with which we are here concerned), is a reflection of their Anglicanism.

This chapter asks, therefore, what place did the doctrine have in the experimental scholarly labours of J.M. Neale, R.F. Littledale and other protagonists of the revival of ceremonial which, though originally independent of it, has become synonymous with Tractarianism? How did it shape the thought and clerical idealism of T.T. Carter and those who inspired the self-sacrificing labours of saintly, city missionary priests, who in their romantic ritual aroused bitter opprobrium, but in their selfless service stifled their opponents' cries? Did it have a place in the Ritualistic legal controversies asociated with the names of Robert Liddell, A.H. Mackonochie, Charles Lowder, and others, and did it influence their self-understanding and theological outlook? Finally, how did it inspire the spiritual ideals of R.M. Benson and others directly involved in the spiritual renewal accompanying the Ritualist Movement? In the light of their seeming pre-occupation with the externals of religion, and in lieu of a scholarly attachment to the public and political squabbles surrounding the Ritualist phase of the Anglo-Catholic revival, examination of Christ's priesthood may appear of peripheral significance. Close attention to the image's usage in Ritualist writing, preaching, and devotional literature, indicates, however, that it was an important, nay pivotal, feature of their theology of worship, and their clerical, pastoral, and spiritual idealism. The prominence and persistence of this image in Ritualist doctrine and devotion suggests again that Christ's priesthood was a beloved doctrinal image in the lex orandi of historic Anglicanism.

1. Christ's priesthood and the foundation of the Ritualist Movement

To understand the place Christ's priesthood occupied in the doctrine and devotion of Ritualism, we must examine first historical, personal, and theological influences which shaped the Movement's origins. A complex combination of factors contributed to Ritualist commitment to the image of Christ as priest. In the image of Christ as priest was encapsulated much of the essential spirit of Ritualist Anglicanism.

Ritualism was product of historical factors, which variously informed their understanding of Christ's priesthood. The revived interest in ceremonial was part

of a 'vast aesthetic movement', which influenced European thought in the mid-nineteenth century. Antithetical to rationalism, it was inspired by the romanticism which idealised the splendours of the Middle Ages and gloried in the vast beauty of creation. It was fostered by a belief in the 'sacramentality of externals' - that created life and forms are the stuff of spiritual revelation and communication. Worship is of the essence of man's existence, as a response to Transcendence. In the Gothic revival of Church Architecture this worship found an appropriate context, historical predilections found expression, and evaluation of architectural symbolism reached a peak. Anglican Ritualism was an expression of this wider movement: its view of Christ's priesthood was influenced by, though independent, of it.

More directly, the Ritualist Movement arose from revived interest in ceremonial at Cambridge in the 1840's, with which John Mason Neale (1818-1866) was associated. The 'Cambridge Movement' helped to integrate England into a wider European ceremonial revival.[5] Ritualist interpretation of Christ's priesthood owes much to the place, content, and significance accorded the doctrine by Cambridge scholars like Neale and Benjamin Webb (1819-85), co-founders of the Cambridge Camden Society (May 1839), and its successor, the Ecclesiological Society (1846). Like its Oxford counterpart, the Cambridge Movement originally involved scholars and archaeologists, who approached Christ's priesthood from an academic background. The C.C.S.'s avowed theologcal aim was - "recognition and extension of sound principles of Church membership".[6] Practically, it was motivated by ceremonial decay and abuse in many Anglican churches. "Our services," Gladstone claimed in 1875, "were probably without parallel for their debasement".[7] The C.C.S. sought "to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains".[8] With missionary zeal Neale and his associates restored, refurbished and rebuilt churches around Cambridge and then further afield. Their architectural and ceremonial endeavours were explicitly adduced from the pre-Reformation Catholic practices which, they claimed, existed in England in the second year of Edward VI's reign, and were still enjoined in

punctilious observance of Prayer Book Rubric. They sought restoration not revolution in Church ceremonial. In 1867 R.F. Littledale claimed that, "the Ritual or Ceremonial Use of the Church of England is to be ascertained by adding together:

> "a. The Rubric of the Book of Common Prayer of 1662.
> b. Those unrepealed pre-Reformation Canons and Constitutions which deal with public worship.
> c. The practice of that Church Universal, of which the English Church is only a small part.
> d. Ancient local tradition and custom."[9]

Since an almost puritanical disregard for religious 'externals' prevailed in the early nineteenth century such forensic appeals smacked of Popery, and were condemned as such. Their belief in the symbolic power of ritual, their love of fussy, ornate styles in Church Architecture,[10] their 'counter-Reformation' spirit", which inspired their avowal of Roman Catholic ceremonial models expounded in detailed 'Manuals', and their dissemination, at times, of post-Tridentine liturgical devotions, did little to silence such criticisms.[12] They saw Church architecture, "the eldest daughter of Ritual",[13] however, as a spiritual question,[14] and ritual an aid to spiritual devotion, a tool of doctrinal communication. As P.G. Medd, the Ritualist Anglo-Catholic scholar, declared, in the highly controversial volume The Church and the World (1866): "Ritual is valuable only as the expression of doctrine, and is a most important means of teaching it, especially to the uneducated and poor."[15] Ritualism was doctrinally based. It was motivated as much by the 'holiness of beauty' as the 'beauty of holiness'. At the heart of their spiritual, doctrinal and ritual ideals, was the figure of Christ as priest.

The rise of the Ritualist Movement was also influenced historically by Tractarianism, though the Cambridge revival was an independent movement. Ritualist clergy were often inspired by both movements. However, as S.L. Ollard observed: "The revival of ceremonial, though it was a direct result of the Oxford Movement was not a result at which its original leaders aimed. It was a very natural, though undesigned, consequence of the revived teaching".[16] There was more awareness of ritual in Oxford than supporters of the Cambridge

ceremonialists sometimes acknowledged. The Oxford Architectural Society, founded in 1838, and John Bloxham (1807-1891), Newman's curate at Littlemore, both instituted architectural changes which earned the latter the title "father or grandfather of all Ritualists".[17] Newman showed probably more interest in ceremonial than Pusey, though he too was *affected* by vilification of Ritualist clergy. Ritualism seemed to Pusey - "like gathering flowers and putting them in the ground to grow".[18] He believed, "the Ritualists and old Tractarians differ both in principle and in object."[19] When named on the lips of anti-Ritualist East-End rioters in the 1850's, he sighed - "My name is made a byeword for that with which I never had any sympathy".[20] The distance between the two Movements prompted Neale to condemn Tractarian laxity in regard to externals, claiming they "failed to realise the impressiveness of aestheticism".[21] Ritualism did not habitually share Tractarian veneration of episcopacy and apostolic succession. To Ritualists the priesthood was central, and of the <u>esse</u> of the Church. Keble and Pusey's later eucharistic works were quarried by Ritualist clergy, who derived their emphasis upon Christ's heavenly priesthood primarily from them.[22] The younger generation of Ritualist parochial clergy, as Chadwick observes, busied themselves "translating... high sacramental language into external symbol and ritual".[23] However, neither the early Cambridge scholars nor later Ritualist clergy slavishly copied Tractarian interpretation of Christ's priesthood. There is a difference both in kind and degree in their enthusiasm for the image of Christ as priest.

Ritualist interpretation of Christ's priesthood also reflects the parochial progress of the Anglo-Catholic revival. Ritualist ceremonial was condemned when scholarly interest was practically applied at a parochial level. Likewise, interpretation of Christ's priesthood was moulded by encounter with popular hostility to 'Romanism', and commitment to Christ's office as priest. The process of accommodation and application at a parochial level, the fusion of a cardinal principle of Ritualist thought with popular devotion to Christ's priesthood, and the Anglican roots early Ritualism boasted, contributed towards the remarkable prominence it assumed in their thought, writing, praying and preaching.

The prominence of Christ's priesthood in Ritualist thought was, however, also the result of the personal influence of J. M. Neale, and other early advocates of a revival of ceremonial, for whom the image was crucial. It inhered directly in their understanding of 'the sacramentality of externals', and was a cardinal principle of their theology of worship.

Neale developed his fascination for ecclesiastical history and poetry whilst an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, leaving an inherited Evangelicalism for the new Tractarianism. With Benjamin Webb he founded the C.C.S., supported by senior figures such as Archdeacon Thorp and Professor W.H. Mill. Interest in the society's affairs blossomed, aided by its periodical organ The Ecclesiologist.[24] Deaconed in 1841, Neale's priesting was delayed: his advanced Ritualist views had already aroused episcopal opposition. Dogged by ill-health Neale began his life-long ministry to the elderly inmates of Sackville College in 1846.

As Warden of the College and, from 1854, overseer of the sisterhood of St. Margaret's, East Grinstead, Neale sought to conform the communities' ceremonial and liturgical character to the lost spirit and forms of English Catholicism. His literary output was prolific, ranging from simple yet profound Sackville College Sermons, to major works and editions on the Eastern Church, patristic liturgies, manuals of prayer, and hymns. The personal influence of this intense, devout, sensitive, family man, on Victorian Anglo-Catholicism was considerable, as A.G. Lough's monograph, The Influence of John Mason Neale (1962), reveals.

The image of Christ as priest is a recurring motif in Neale's writing and preaching. One of his earliest works contains a clue to the prominence Christ's priesthood assumed in Ritualist thought. Neale's The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments (1843) was a translation, with lengthy introduction, of the first book of William Durandus' (c.1230-96) Rationale Divinorum Officiorum. "The sacramentality of externals" is lengthily expounded, and applied Church architecture. "Sacramentality" is, Neale explains,"...the idea that, by the outward and visible form, is signified something inward and spiritual: that the material fabrick symbolises, embodies, figures, represents, expresses, answers to, some

abstract meaning".[25] In this context, it is "that characteristick which so strikingly distinguishes ancient ecclesiastical architecture from our own".[26] Hence, "a Catholick architect must be a Catholick in heart".[27] His design projects his beliefs. Church architecture is integral to Catholic ritual, as the context and expression of Catholic worship.[28] Catholic ritual and architecture are, he writes, "symbolical from first to last".[29] A priori and analogical arguments underlie Neale's presentation of the ancient and Pauline grounds for a symbolic, figurative, or allegorical interpretation of the whole Jewish Temple, and thence Christian Church.

> "In short", he writes, "the whole Church system is figurative from first to last: not indeed therefore the less real, actual, visible, and practical; but rather the more real and practical, because its teaching and discipline are not merely material and temporary, but anticipative of the heavenly and eternal. This quality...cannot be denied to one, and a most important expression of the teaching of the Church, namely its architecture".[30]

In this advanced form of architectural symbolism regeneration is symbolized in octagonal fonts, the atonement in cruciform churches, the "straitness of the entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven" in "the excessive narrowness of Norman Chancel Arches," the veil on the Holy of Holies in the Rood Screen .[31] The centre-piece of this sacramental structure, is the human priest, the symbol of Christ, the great High Priest, ever ministering in the heaven of heavens. Christ's priesthood was integral to the 'sacramentality of externals' which undergirded Ritualist doctrine and devotion.

Ritualist attempts to conform Catholic ritual forms to the spirit of Catholic worship, in an appropriate architectural context, were motivated by the primacy they ascribed to worship. As Edward King, the saintly Bishop of Lincoln, arraigned for Ritualist excesses, observed, worship is "the grand service",[32] embracing "the spirit of self-devotion and self-sacrifice".[33] It was also, in Ritualist thought, to reflect the worship of heaven. For it was natural, as Sparrow-Simpson observed, "that lovers of Ritual should remind themselves and others of the wonderful pictures in the Revelation of St. John of the worship in heaven".[34] Thus, the Directorium Anglicanum (1858), a popular Ritualists' manual

on "the ancient use of the Church of England", considers "the theory of Christian Worship"[35] in which the heavenly ritual of Revelation is to be determinative. "That Ritual is," it states, "the normal form of the worship of the Christian Church".[36] However, from Hebrews' statement that "the law was a shadow of good things to come", it presents Jewish ritual as "a type or shadow of the Ritual of Heaven",[37] and this shadow, "cast upon earth from the throne of God", revealed the worship which was to be "in heaven after the Incarnation and Ascension of the GOD-Man, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, who pleads before the throne His Sacrifice, at once the Victim, the 'Lamb as it had been slain', and High Priest".[38] This worship, it was argued, is to be reflected in the Church's life and worship. "As the Jewish law was but the type and shadow of Christianity," Littledale wrote, "so Christianity itself upon earth is but the type and shadow of the service and worship of Heaven."[39] Church services are,T.T. Carter of Clewer claimed, "images of the worship of heaven";[40] it is, Littledale claimed, "in the outer court" of the heavenly Temple.[41] Through earthly worship the heavenly veil is lifted[42] and worshippers stand before the very throne of God.[43] Ritualist thought went beyond the merely heavenly perspective of later Tractarianism. Both in theory and practice, the Church should present the unity of heavenly and earthly worship. The ritual of the earthly sanctuary sacramentally and symbolically portrayed this unity.

Christ's High Priesthood was central to this understanding of worship. He is the principle of its unity, or, as Neale declared, "the ladder set up on earth according to His Humanity, but reaching to Heaven according to His Divinity".[44] He is the priestly 'pontifex'. He is the heavenly liturgist, too, and Christian worship is, as P.G. Medd observed: "really the earthly exhibition of Christ's perpetual intercession as the sole High Priest of the Church, the sole acceptable Presenter of the one worship of this Body in Heaven and in Earth".[45] Christ's priesthood was, as this chapter shows, pivotal to Ritualist theology of worship. For not only is this action the ground of Christian worship, but also His whole heavenly ministry, interpreted through Ritualist sacramentalism, becomes, as we shall see, the model and inspiration of the life, actions, rituals and vestments of

His earthly ministerial priests. Through their understanding of the sacramentality of externals the earthly priest is a sacramental figure, indicating the true and real presence of Christ as High Priest. His vestments represent Christ's heavenly attire. His position and actions symbolise the actions of Christ as priest in heaven. The minutest detail of ritual in the earthly sanctuary reflects love for Christ[46] and reminds the priest he is representing Christ.[47] The earthly priest censes the altar whilst the heavenly priest intercedes. He turns to the east as representing Christ's heavenly sacrifical offering, and representative ministry for His people.[48] Clearly Christ's priesthood is crucial: on its interpretation depend central features of the controversy Ritualism provoked. Most importantly, for Ritualists, was Christ's High Priestly ministry in relation to the eucharistic sacrifice, the zenith of Christian worship, uniquely binding earth and heaven. The Directorium Anglicanum summarises early Ritualist understanding of Christ's priestly, liturgical agency hereon earth.

> "The Ritual of Heaven is objective," it states, "and the principal worship of the Church on earth is equally so by reason of its being identical with the Normal and Apocalyptical ritual, and thus containing a great action, even the perpetuation of the Sacrifice made on the Cross, in an unbloody manner on the altar... The Church in Heaven and on earth is indeed one, and the Holy Eucharist as a Sacrifice is all one with the Memorial made by our High Priest Himself in the very Sanctuary of Heaven, where He is both Priest, after the order of Melchisedec, and Offering, by the perpetual presentation of His Body and Blood; therefore the Ritual of Heaven and earth must be one,- one, that is, in intention and signification, though under different conditions as to its expression".[49]

We shall return to the cruciality of Christ's priesthood in these various areas. The doctrine was foundational for Ritualism, its sacramentalism and theology of worship. As priest, Christ was for them, though, not only the Head of the Church's worship, but His ministration was also the basis of the Church's life of service. His priestly life is incarnated in the life of His Body and people, the Church. But if it inspired the incarnational motivation of Ritualist priests and people, it also galvanized the 'Sursum Corda' gospel they proclaimed in gorgeous ritual and beautiful churches. "Withdraw your hearts entirely from the earth and raise them to heaven", T.T. Carter declared, "and join with the Angels in

heaven".[50] In the ministry and character of the heavenly priest was a message of comfort and hope to the poor, the troubled, the needy. For J.M. Neale and other early protagonists of the revival of ceremonial, as we have begun to see, "The science of Ritual and Ceremonial has a theological and/[a]sacramental function".[51] These, together with an inherited Anglican veneration for Christ's priesthood, led Ritualist writers to expound the image repeatedly and enthusiastically.

2. The 'great High Priest' and human priesthood in Ritualist doctrine and devotion

An issue of prime importance, touched on already, is Ritualist understanding of the relation between Christ's priesthood and human priesthood in His Church. It was extensively treated of in Ritualist writing, and is worthy of close examination. Study reveals some interpretative variants, but a constant conviction that priesthood per se is only intelligible and defensible through prior acknowledgement of the uniqueness of Christ's High Priesthood. Ritualist interpretation raises a number of important issues, for it reflects not only a departure from early Tractarian legitimation of priesthood primarily through an Apostolic Succession, but also, except among the most extreme 'Romanising' Ritualists, perpetuation of an Anglican proclivity, both to interpret priesthood through Christ's and to emphasize His continued priestly ministry in, through, and over His Church, in a neo-Scotist manner.

One of the most significant contributors to Ritualist understanding of priesthood was Thomas Thelusson Carter (1808-1901). An ex-Etonian, Oxford classicist, Carter served as H.H. Milman's curate at Reading (1832), and, after a brief curacy at Burnham, Bucks. (1833), undertook the parochial social work at Clewer, near Windsor, for which he is best remembered. His Ritualist reforming zeal and social concern rejuvenated the Church's ceremonial and established (from 1849) a House of Mercy "for the rescue of fallen women", staffed (from 1852) by members of the sisterhood he founded - 'The Community of St John the Baptist'.[52] As a leading Ritualist High Churchman, and Founder vice-President of the English Church Union,[53] Carter was never far from controversy. Ritualistic charges

finally led to his resignation(1880) from Clewer, but his spiritual and theological influence continued to shape the progress of Anglo-Catholicism. Christ's priesthood is prominent throughout Carter's prolific writing, though his explication of the relation between Christ's and human priesthood is preeminently contained in his monograph The Doctrine of the Priesthood in the Church of England (1857), and in a sermon 'The Priesthood', preached at Clewer on the third Sunday in Advent in 1878.

Carter's unambiguous presentation of Christ as the one true Priest, "the only High Priest by nature", is noteworthy.[54] His theology consistently expounds the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, - "the only portion of the New Testament in which the question of the priesthood is treated of"[55] - that, "there is One only true Priest adequate to the wants of humanity, to Whom there can be no successor".[56] His defence of Christ's office is also found in a sermon, 'The Apostolic Ministry', of 1870. "He is really the only true Priest," he wrote. "He is alone the Life. He worketh all our work in us. He is the real Celebrant, ... the real Absolver ... He is really the one who blesses ... If we would ever seem to magnify our office, it is really only because we would make much of the grace which we minister".[57]

Christ's priesthood was part of Carter's understanding of the great law of sacramental 'intervention', or 'mediation', whereby God has limited His own actions to make them "dependent on the presence and actings of His own creatures".[58] Hence, God deals with mankind through Christ's human nature. Priesthood, per se, is part of a religion of mediation. In contrast to human priesthood, Carter maintains, "in CHRIST the principle of priesthood exists as a self-originated attribute, inherent and independent of all others. And therefore the Fathers distinguished Him among all His brethren as ὁ μόνος φύσει ἀρχιερεύς, 'the only High Priest by nature'."[59] Affirmation of Christ's unique priesthood also features in Carter's devotional writing. In his Treasury of Devotion (1869), his most popular devotional manual for general and daily use, seven prayers attributed to St. Ambrose are incorporated in the 'Devotions for Holy Communion', each beginning - "O Great High Priest, the true High

Priest...".[60] In A Book of Private Prayers (1861), the 'Litany of Holy Communion' likewise speaks of, "Jesu, our adorable High Priest, who ever liveth to make intercession for us".[61] Carter's exposition of priesthood, and clerical ideals in the Church of England, was grounded in a profound doctrinal and devotional commitment to Christ, the only true priest.

But we find that Carter's commitment was not unique. Even J.M. Neale, one of the most extreme Anglo-Catholic Ritualists, reflecting a more reserved treatment of the doctrine, and appearing more preoccupied with a vicarial sacerdotium of the ministry, - through which he approaches Christ's priesthood, - nevertheless derives much of his clerical idealism from the image of Christ as a priestly shepherd[62] and pastor,[63] whose faithfulness and sympathy will continue even when earthly priests fail.[64] No such hesitations are found in the writing and preaching of Robert Liddell, Vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and the subject of much litigation.[65] Priesthood was, for him, prominent in the three-fold order of ministry, and integral to Christ's office as the mediator between God and Man, the "eternal Priest", the true Melchizedek.[66] Hebrews, he maintained, "strongly insists upon the perpetuity and unchangeableness of His Priesthood". "He is a priest for ever", he continued, "now, as well as during the days of His earthly ministry - to the Christian as well as to the Jew - in His glory, as well as in His humiliation. His efficiency, as our One Mediator, depends on His functions as our High Priest".[67] R.F. Littledale, too, in his Tract, 'The Christian Priesthood' (1867), affirms as a basic truth that the New Testament "knows nothing of any Priest save Christ".[68]

R.M. Benson (1824-1915) founder of the 'Society of St.John the Evangelist', also reflects a clear doctrinal and devotional commitment to Christ's unique priesthood, and speaks of Him as "the fountain of all priestly authority".[69] "The Son of Man is the true Priest," he writes, "because He is the Son of God".[70] Ritualist ecclesiology and doctrines of the ministry fundamentally adduced the unique ontological and functional character of Christ's one true priesthood, which accusations of "sacerdotalism" tended to overlook. Yet, Ritualist writing was a product as much of the historic Church of England, and of the fundamentally

biblicist, Prayer-Book, devotion of the Victorian Church, as of the revival of interest in ceremonial. Its doctrine and devotion are shot through with sincere, unequivocal affirmations of the honour and glory, and dynamic activity, of Christ as priest. This is a hallmark of the Anglicanism which characterised the early stages of the Movement.

However, we see demonstrated in Carter's writing the three-fold way in which Ritualist writing also related Christ's priesthood to human priesthood in the Church: viz. to the Church as a priestly body, to all believers as 'kings and priests', and to a particular order of ministerial priesthood. It was for their application of the doctrine in the latter context that Ritualists were accused of 'Sacerdotalism'. Again Carter was not unique. His thought introduces the varied character of Ritualist exposition of Christ's priesthood in relation to these three manifestations of what was, to the majority of Ritualists, His priesthood in the Church.

For Carter no incompatibility existed between acknowledgement of Christ's one true priesthood and recognition of priesthood, of whatever form or order, in the Christian Church. Such was his commitment to the first that the latter was seen as merely enhancing the glory of the former. "The strength of a priesthood," he declared, "lies in the closeness of its relation to the One Mediator".[71] Of the priesthood of the individual Christian and of the Christian minister, he therefore wrote: "Both Priesthoods flow directly from Christ... in Himself He laid the groundwork of a twofold Priesthood".[72] The relation between Christ's priesthood and the Church as a priestly body is not clearly articulated in Carter's thought. However, arguing analogically that the priestly nation of Israel did not preclude a priestly caste and thence neither does the priestly people of God in the Christian Church, Carter enunciated the traditional High Church position, from which greater emphasis upon the Church as a priestly body later emerged. A volume of sermons by Anglo-Catholic clergy, including T.T. Carter, preached at St. Barnabas, Oxford in 1874, included one by William Bright (1824-1901), later Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in which the position Carter held is clearly enunciated. Bright maintained that, as in Exodus xix:6,"a

kingdom of priests and a holy nation' did not exclude "the house of Aaron as a priestly order", so, "neither is the collective priestliness of the Church of God any bar of itself to the existence of a priestly ministry".[73] Ritualist thought contributed directly to the advance in Anglican understanding of the relation between Christ's priesthood and the Church as a priestly body, which found fullest expression at the end of the century in R.C. Moberly's Ministerial Priesthood.[74] It did so primarily, however, by the emphasis and over-arching influence it ascribed to the doctrine of Christ as priest, in and of His Church: His priestly life of worship and service, being understood as the indwelling life of His earthly body.

Of the relation between Christ's priesthood and that of individual believers Carter wrote, in his Doctrine of Priesthood: "The baptized man is consecrated for ever to the Divine worship and service, by participating, in his measure, in the Priesthood of Christ".[75] Carter ascribed a real, though 'measured', participatory priesthood to all baptized Christians. In common with most other Ritualist writers, Carter had a high view of the Christian 'laity'. Anglican Ritualism is wrongly portrayed as a sacerdotalist Movement which undervalued the priesthood of all Christians. J.M. Neale presented the 'kingship and priesthood' of all believers as the heavenly reward or fulfilment of following the great High Priest on earth.[76] Edward King's Primary Charge (1886) to the Diocese of Lincoln stressed that, "a definite Christian priesthood" is not prevented by the kingship and priesthood of individual Christians.[77] Robert Liddell, more positively, declared the priesthood of Christ "involves" the priesthood of all;[78] and, in a sermon 'The High Priest after the order of Melchizedek', R.M. Benson preached at St. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford, on Easter Day 1860, we find it stated: "Upon the truth of our Lord's abiding self-oblation as the Lamb of God, and His personal participation in the offices of His Church as the Great High Priest, depends the priestly character of all Christian people".[79] As a spiritual Movement concerned to enrich the worship, service, and devotion of the whole Body of Christ, His Church, Ritualist writers and preachers elevated the priestly life of the laity. B.M. Cowie, a noted Ritualist scholar, appears to have been exceptional, though,

in suggesting in his first paper to the Diocesan Conference as Dean of Manchester in 1875, that "all the offices of the Church not specifically restricted to the Priesthood (viz. Administration of the Blessed Sacrament, Absolution, Marriage, Burial of the Dead and Blessing) might be occasionally at first, and then permanently, entrusted to laymen who are authorized by the Bishop".[80] Cowie was censured by other High Churchmen, but his suggestion reflects the 'lay' slant behind Ritualist stress upon Christ's priesthood, and was part of a wider move which located authority within the whole people of God.

To Ritualist High Churchmen, however, the relation between the priesthood of individual baptized Christians and the priesthood of Christ was itself ultimately dependent upon that of Christ and His ministerial priests. These two priesthoods, of individuals and ministerial priests, were seen by Carter to "mutually cooperate".[81] They are said to be necessary to one another. "For as the Priesthood of the baptized Christian is bestowed through sacraments," he wrote, "so the ministration of sacraments involves the necessity of the ministerial Priesthood. And, on the other hand, without this priestly character in the baptized, the acts of the ministerial Priesthood would be devoid of theirintended efficacy".[82] The life of the people of God depends upon the sacramental ministry and mediation of the ministerial priesthood. As William Bright made clear, Christian people "do exercise their 'priestliness,' their right of solemn access to God, but by an appointed organ who represents them, and in whom they draw near to the Most Holy in public prayer, and pre-eminently in the offering of the holy Eucharist".[83] The priesthood is "not a bar between Christ and His people, but... the avenue, the channel, the organ, the instrument, the appointed means of intercommunication in the solemn acts of church life".[84] That Ritualist writers saw no incompatibility, and indeed a dependent relation, between the common priesthood of all baptized Christians and a priestly order in the Church was in turn the result of their understanding of the relation between Christ and His human priests.

The relation between Christ's priesthood and ministerial priesthood, in the Church of Christ, is the most crucial, complex, and controversial, relationship to

be considered. Upon it depended, according to many Ritualists, the healthful life of the Church, legitimation of an earthly order of priests, and the character of Christ's present ministry in His Church. Ritualist doctrines of the ministry proceeded from belief, not only in the uniqueness of Christ's priesthood, but also in the dynamic active presence of Christ as priest in the Church and in Heaven, and especially, in and through His ministerial priests. Carter wrote, in his Spiritual Instructions on the Holy Eucharist (1870): "On earth under the shadow of the earthly priest Christ Himself is the true celebrant, the true consecrator... The earthly instruments are but shadowy forms. Christ is the one Priest...".[85] As in the oblation of Christ in the Upper Room, and on the Cross, so in the eucharist, "it is the same Christ secretly present and secretly acting, the same true 'Priest after the order of Melchizedek', through the hands and lips of His human instruments".[86] Likewise, Carter stated, in his sermon 'The Apostolic Ministry', of Christ's relation to His ministerial priests: "...you see through us the living Christ, see Him at the heavenly Altar, see His uplifted hands, hear His voice of blessing".[87] "A human ministry is ordained," he claimed, "because an Incarnation is to be represented".[88]

For Carter, and Ritualist thought in general, as we began to see in the previous section, human priesthood has a 'sacramental' character, viz-à-viz Christ's priesthood. That is, as Carter makes clear in his Doctrine of Priesthood, ministerial priesthood is but one facet of the Church's "vast sacramental system".[89] Christ is the "essential life" of priesthood in the Christian Church as in the Jewish, so that there is an "identity of ministration" established between the visible sign (the human priest) and the invisible thereby signified (Christ as priest).[90] "Their acts", he writes, "if done under the prescribed conditions, are His acts; their sacrifice, His sacrifice of Himself; their distribution, His communion of His Flesh and Blood; their absolutions and benedictions, His voices of pardon and peace".[91] "Holy Orders are", he writes later, "sacramental, certain powers derived from the Priesthood of CHRIST are communicated unto baptised men for the good of their brethren, together with grace for the due exercise of the powers thus conveyed".[92] This "sacramental" interpretation

was how the Fathers understood priesthood, since they "habitually realized the Invisible Presence in visible forms".[93] It has been lost, he claims, except in the Catholic Communion, and needs to be reaffirmed. On this basis 'priest', applied to a human minister, is a legitimate appellation, and appropriately retained in the Church of England, since her ministers are, in and by Christ, truly priests.[94] Indeed, at one point he contrasts England with Continental Protestantism at the Reformation, in that, - "we retained, and they lost, the sacramental system". Retention of the word 'priest' "is the token and seal of that system, and so of our distinctiveness".[95] Against this 'sacramental' understanding of human ministerial priesthood, we see, not only the centrality and significance of the figure of the human priest, ministering in the sanctuary, but also the importance of Christ's priestly ministry for the priestly liturgical functions performed there. So it was that William Bright, echoing Newman and John Keble, described the human Priest as:

> "...he by whom the ever-present, ever-acting Saviour, presiding and (so to speak) officiating in His Church, conveys to His assembled people the gifts and blessings which He has won by His atoning sacrifice. Thus it is that in a most true sense Christ is the minister in every ministration of His Church, - Christ is the true baptizer, the true absolver, the true celebrant, the Fountain of all benediction".[96]

But what of the source, character, and consequences of this understanding of the relation between the ministerial priest and the dynamic ever-present heavenly priest, Christ? In Ritualist thought in general the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is overshadowed by the significance ascribed to Christ's priestly Apostolic Commission, communicated by the mouth of the Bishop in ordination. Carter expressed their view well when he declared: "every fresh ordination is an ever-renewed act of CHRIST Himself".[97] Christ Himself speaks the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost", else were they blasphemy. As He must call a person to the priesthood, so must He ordain them, and to them as successors of the Apostles alone He gives His promise - "Lo, I am with you alway".[98] He promises His 'real presence', in Ritualist thought: a presence effected by the Holy Spirit, reflected in the priest's life, ministry and liturgical actions, and perceived by those who penetrate through this sacramental figure to the reality signified.

Ordination and the perpetual presence of Christ are, then, the essential source of the relation between Christ's priesthood and ministerial priesthood.

For Carter the relation between Christ's priesthood and ministerial priesthood directly determined the character of the office to be discharged after ordination. As a priestly ministry it reflects what Carter understood as the primary "principle of priesthood"; namely, not slaughter, or bloody sacrificing,[99] but, as in Christ the priest, the incarnate Son of God Himself, "mediation, or ministerial intervention between God and man".[100] This "principle of interposition", he maintains, "characterises priestly attributes in created natures".[101] Again, as we began to see above, for Carter the Apostolic Ministry is "co-extensive" with that of our Lord Himself.[102] This he sees confirmed by the Apostolic Commission of John xx:22.

> "These words," he claims, "can admit no reservation of any characteristic part of our LORD'S ministry. His mission was to be Prophet, Priest, and King. The kingly office is discharged by the exercise of ecclesiastical judgment and discipline; the prophetic by teaching. The priestly office must, in like manner, be dispensed by a subordinate human agency, or one essential part of the mission fails in its fulfilment".[103]

Having examined the Apostolic Commission, he concludes that:

> "... ministers who inherit this grace are endued, not merely with functions of spiritual rule and authority to teach, but are also, in Jeremy Taylor's words, 'ministers of CHRIST'S Priesthood', and thus themselves, in Him, true Priests".[104]

Carter here articulates what opponents dubbed a 'sacerdotalist' understanding of priesthood in the Church: namely, that a true human 'priesthood' had specific powers communicated by Christ, over and above its fellow believers, for the exercise of a 'priestly' ministry in the Church. However, Carter does not here make clear whether he understood this priestly ministry as 'representative' or 'vicarial'. It was to be a divisive issue in Ritualist ranks.

T.T. Carter employed a variety of terminology to articulate his understanding of the nature of the relation between Christ's unique priesthood and that of human ministers, as "true Priests".[105] His desire to secure Christ's one true priesthood lead him most often to describe earthly priests as "instruments"[106] of His, or "representatives".[107] They are "His

Ambassadors".[108] They continue His ministry.[109] Strictly speaking, he declares at one point, there is an "improper" priesthood since Christ is the one true, or "proper" Priest.[110] Theirs is a "spiritual" priesthood, a sacramental sign of Christ's 'real presence' as priest. But Carter was not content simply to elevate Christ's priesthood and seemingly portray His ministers as passive channels of His active grace and ministry. Though speaking at times of "an identity of ministration", he also describes a priest's acts "as though Christ did them",[111] which is clearly less christocentric. The idea of a"personal power in a priest over the destinies of his fellow-men," he also writes, "is altogether alien to the teaching of the Church".[112] Yet Carter, the leading High Churchman, also stressed the need to recover a sense of the clergy's power and the necessity of a saintly life.[113] He speaks of priests as "instruments" in Christ's service, but also ascribes to them "the fulness of a delegated charge"[114] from Him. There is a fluidity in his thought: sometimes the neo-Scotist emphasis is strong, sometimes the neo-Thomist. In the midst of his struggling his commitment to Christ's unique priesthood is constant; for, as we saw earlier, he held that - "if we would seem ever to magnify our office, it is really because we would make much of the grace which we minister".

Other Ritualists resolved this tension differently. J.M. Neale, as noted above, for all his utilization of the image of Christ as priest, represented the more extreme wing of the party which ascribed the Sacerdotium and a more absolute delegation of Christ's priestly power to His earthly ministers, at the expense of a sustained presentation of Christ's dynamic activity through them for His Church. The active personal ministry of the human priest is to the fore in Neale's thought.

> "Who are they by whose means it is the will of the LORD that all His best gifts should be given to His people?", he enquired in a Sackville College Sermon "His Priests. They give you what they have received from Him: they feed you with His Body and Blood; they can give you, in His Name, forgiveness of sins; they give you their time, their labour, their study; very often their health and strength."[115]

But Neale intended no derogation from Christ's glory through this view of priesthood. A later sermon thus declared:

> "We, His Priests, seek no honour for ourselves. 'Of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things.' If our words may be of Him, and we be made a blessing to you through Him, and you brought in to Him, it be enough."[116]

Even in its most extreme form, Anglican Ritualist thought is characterised by its persistent elevation of Christ's office as priest.

In R.F. Littledale we discover a priesthood in the Church justified as subordinate to, and dependent on the person and work of the great High Priest. So, whilst maintaining the Christian Church knows nothing of any priest save Christ, he also adds: "This is true in one sense; but, so put, it is only half the truth. The New Testament never speaks of Christ merely as our Priest, but always as our High Priest" ..."the words of scripture prove a priesthood under Christ, deriving, indeed, all its power from Him, and merely joining in His act as assistants, but still really appointed by His will."[117]

In William Bright's sermon of 1874 it is urged that priests are not "substitutes" for Christ, but "instruments" of His.[118] Nevertheless, they participate in His kingship and in His priesthood and have, therefore, authority.[119] Benson, too, maintains human priests are Christ's "representatives", but this does not prevent him from also believing in "a complete transmission" of Christ's priestly authority to His earthly ministers.[120] A more aggressive declaration of priestly authority is found later in W.J. Butler's (1818-94) paper Sacerdotalism, read before the Clifton Branch of the E.C.U. in 1889, where human priesthood is presented as setting the priest above his fellows, and as curbing the sin of human pride.[121] For Robert Liddell a balance is struck between stress on Christ's priesthood and a ministerial priesthood, by speaking of the latter as "co-workers".[122]

As we look more closely, then, at Ritualist interpretation of the nature of the relation between Christ's and a ministerial priesthood, we discover a significant degree of not only terminological, but also theological, variation. Adherence to the unique priesthood of Christ per se, however, despite the charge made by Evangelical opponents of vitiating His uniqueness, remained uncompromised in reality.[123] For His priesthood, and not a particular functional

understanding of a 'priest', as in Roman Catholicism, appears to have dominated their approach to a doctrine of the ministry. Claiming not to be Roman Catholics, we find here a further expression of their Anglicanism.

However, the character of the relation Ritualist writers understood Christ's priesthood to have to a human priesthood inevitably shaped their view of the human priest's ministry. In the following section we shall consider in detail their eucharistic theology and stress upon Confession and Absolution, issues which came to the fore as, particularly after 1859, Ritualism assumed a more coherent and articulate form, and the tide of secessions being checked by their endeavours, the Movement took greater hold on parishes.

This section ends by indicating some consequences of Ritualist perceptions of the relation between Christ's and human priesthood for the latter's own self-understanding and clerical ideals. One fruit of Tractarianism was a revival of clerical idealism. Ritualism perpetuated this revival. The Movement is appropriately recalled through the lives of self-sacrificing Ritualist priests, employed for little earthly reward in sometimes abominable surroundings. The figure of Christ as priest was central to Ritualist clericalism. His priestly life, ministry, and 'real presence' exerted a powerful influence on Ritualist self-understanding. A.H. Mackonochie (1825-87), who suffered persecution more than most, knew of sharing "the trial of the Priest of Priests".[124] The sense of "representation" was allied to a strong Imitatio Christi tradition. T.T. Carter's urgency to recover priestly sanctity inhered in his sense that a "spiritual" or "sacramental" priesthood should signify the reality it embodied (viz. Christ), and conform to the message it proclaimed.[125] R.M. Benson, too, stressed the need for priestly watchfulness on account of Christ's priestly presence.[126] J.M. Neale, that most diligent of priests, spoke of the priest's need for responsibility and shame for sin, but also of the refreshing presence of Christ as priest, His comforting priestly words, His perfecting of human priesthood.[127] Robert Liddell, like so many Ritualists, likened the priesthood to Christ's as Physician, Spiritual Father, Theologian, Judge, and Saint.[128] "How needful it is," Benson declared, "that the heart of the Priest should be really thus united to the High

Priest in His glory by the true wedlock of the indissoluble Spirit of holy love!"[129] Christ was, for Ritualist clergy, a model of sympathetic love. His incarnate self-giving as priest exerted a potent influence upon their priestly self-understanding, and led them to comparable, imitative, self-less identification with those in need. The sense of Christ's priestly immanence is the point at which clerical idealism and the Movement's advance at a parochial level united. To consideration of this impact of Christ's priesthood on the Movement's dissemination we now turn.

3. The priesthood of Christ in the 'Parochial Mission' of the Ritualists

The characteristic dynamism and ultimate motivation behind the Ritualist phase of the Anglo-Catholic revival has been frequently and appropriately identified as a spiritual 'mission', to revive the Church, as Littledale claimed, "in every form of spiritual and practical activity".[130] Essential to and at times determinative of that missionary spirit was the image of Christ as priest. There were many sides to Ritualist missionary zeal, but the spiritual motivation of the Movement ultimately rendered legal proceedings to suppress it ineffective. Christ was reckoned Head and High Priest of their parochial mission. He is central to preached and practised Ritualist ecclesiology, and their liturgical, sacramental and pastoral theology. The doctrine of Christ's priesthood determined and was itself determined by the underlying principles and external form, of the Ritualist parochial mission. If Christ's priesthood directly informed Ritualist clerical idealism, then it also inspired their pastoral and parochial ideals.

Inspired and guided by the scholarly archaeological and historical labours of the C.C.S., the parochial mission of the Ritualist Movement is abidingly significant for the physical and structural impact it has had on Anglican churches and services. For this the Movement acquired its pejorative title, and aroused bitter opposition. Anglo-Catholicism did not remain in the sphere of "abstract speculation" with which it began; had it done so, Leslie Stephen claims, "the early excitement over it would soon have passed away".[131]

As it was, Ritualist clergy, with an excess of enthusiasm and a shortage of tact, promulgated their principles amid obloquy and violence. W.J.E. Bennett

(1804-1886), for example, Vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, before Liddell, introduced candles, the intoning of services, and a surpliced choir, as early as 1840.[132] He preached in a surplice and adopted an eastward position at the altar. Both these acts made him appear more like a Roman Catholic priest offering the sacrifice of the mass as the people's mediator.[133] The uninitiated did not perceive in this act a representation of "Christ standing within the Heavenly veil before the throne of the Father, pleading His death on behalf of sinners, in exact accordance with the ceremonies of the Great Day of Atonement".[134] This, to many, appeared 'Popery', not the symbolical representation of the great High Priest and Head of the Church's worship. Bp. Blomfield of London's famous Charge of 1842 gave the Ritualists hope, despite its Protestant affirmation of Christ's sole priesthood, declaring it only as bad to light candles as to neglect the daily office.[135] His Charge of 1850 was less accommodating. He dubbed Ritualist services "histrionic".[136] Episcopal anxiety had been aroused by the riots, disrupted services and public outcry which accompanied the more extreme ritual incorporated by Bennett in his newly opened Church of St. Barnabas, in the slums of Pimlico. So, "No Popery" was the cry of 1850, as passions were further enflamed by the establishment of Roman Catholic sees and the so-called Durham Letter of Lord John Russell (1792-1878), which castigated those "unworthy sons of the Church of England" ... "leading their flocks, step by step, to the very edge of the precipice" by "the mummeries of superstition".[137]

The spirit which motivated Bennett in Pimlico inspired 'Father Dolling' (1851-1902) in Portsmouth. "If there is one place which needs a magnificent and impressive Church," Dolling wrote, "it is a slum".[138] In the dreariness of slum life Ritualist clergy built gorgeous churches, colourful gateways to a heavenly world, lifting the spirit of the poor worshipper to the majesty 'within the veil'. The converse was also true. The transcendent deity, revealed through the ritual, was the immanent Christ, sacramentally, yet really, present in His alter Christus, the parochial priest. "How could Christ be really present in bare Churches?" Thureau-Dangin pertinently enquired. "How could the eucharistic sacrifice, one with Christ's heavenly offering as priest, be offered in unbeautified

sanctuaries?"[139] His presence was, as Newman believed, to be 'evoked' not 'invoked' in worship. In high-vaulting Gothic arches was symbolized "the lamb slain from before the foundation of the world".[140] In the Ritualists sanctuary,- with candles and crucifix, credence table and censer, a Priest in vestments and a surpliced choir nearby, -there was visually portrayed Christ's priestly ministration in heaven amidst the angelic host.[141] Christ's priesthood was enacted in the drama of the Ritualist eucharist in the Churches these missionary figures constructed or adapted. The heavenly priest devout Anglicans had grown up in devotion to could be seen in His heavenly liturgy through the Rood Screen, the veil breached by faith and His sacrifice.[142] Ritual communicated doctrine. In 1872, Edward King stated, the one aim of ritual to be - "to bring the truth to the poor and simple-minded, to those who are not attracted by simply carefully-balanced doctrines".[143] Communicating the doctrine of Christ's High Priesthood was a primary aim of Anglican Ritualism, even if their actions were not perceived as such.

For reintroducing neglected ceremonial Ritualist priests were persecuted, and brought to court. Robert Liddell claimed the Ornaments' rubric determined Anglican vestments as prescribed by the first Prayer Book of Edward VI and Acts 2 and 3 Edw.VI.c.1., and appealed, when arraigned by first Westerton, and then Beal, to the Consistory Court (1855), and finally to the Privy Council (1857).[144] That body, on examining the law, determined nothing might be added or subtracted from the Prayer Book, excepting articles used in Church, such as organs, pews, pulpit cloth and hassocks. Legality did not pac ify, nor did claims to be Catholic, but not Roman Catholic.[145] Charles Lowder and A.H. Mackonochie, Ritualist mission priests to the poor and sick, encountered violent hooligan opposition first at St. George's in the East in London (1855) and then at St. Alban's, Holborn.[146] Mackonochie was not free of persecution from 1867-1882, but a christocentric clerical idealism produced saintly, if as Punch was quick to note, over self-conscious priests.[147] A.C. Tait, who as Archbishop of Canterbury brought in the Public Worship Regulation Bill in 1874, with the Queen's fervent Protestant backing, to control Ritualist excesses nevertheless had to

admit, when Bishop of London, "I have not a better man in my diocese than Mr. Mackonochie".[148]

In suffering and martyrdom Ritualist missionary priests identified with their great High Priest. They esteemed Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises and the asceticism of mediaeval and Counter-Reformation saints. But, as we shall see, it was still, except in extreme Ritualists, consciously Anglicized, and perpetuated devotion to Christ as priest. A strong sense of fellowship in suffering existed among men like Purchas, West, Sharp, Wagner, T.T. Carter, R. Liddell, P.H. Stanton, and most notoriously, as prime sufferer at the hands of the Protestant 'Church Association's' persecuting policy, S.F. Green of Miles Platting, Manchester.[149] Persecution served to stimulate more than silence; Ritualist excesses to enhance more than quench a passionate sense of the suffering body of Christ as priest. Legal proceedings were initiated by the E.C.U. against defaulters in minutiae of Prayer Book ceremonial, and yet amidst preoccupation with forms, voices were heard recalling their meaning. "Without faith in the doctrine to be expressed", Liddell warned, "ritual degenerates into mere formalism".[150] "We must be careful not to let ourselves be carried away by the desire of ritual," Benson cautioned in 1879.[151] Christ's priesthood, too, was recalled. "If extravagances from time to time occur among you", Edward King wrote in 1872, "if some are attracted into error one way or the other, show that you are not attached to the individual man, but the continuing Priesthood of Christ Himself".[152] Christ's priesthood both inspired and restrained Ritualist clericalism.

But in what particular ways did Christ's priesthood impinge upon the parochial and pastoral ideals of the Ritualist Movement? As we have seen, it influenced certain 'structural' features of their architectural and ceremonial understanding. It also shaped their understanding of the nature and function of the Church. Ritualists, as part-heirs of Tractarianism, were inheritors of their forebears' ecclesiology. They saw the Church as the Body of Christ, or, as Benson held, an "extension" of His Body;[153] "a living organism instinct with His Life."[154] "The Church is mystically a reproduction of Himself," Carter wrote. "It is still

Himself manifested through a derived life by grace in those who are regenerate and made one in Him".[155] The Ritualist Movement was a Church Movement. Edward King in his Primary Charge expressed his hope "to bring home to the hearts of the people, and especially of the poor, the blessings of the Church".[156] "There is no union between God and Man", he wrote, "except through Him who is both Man and God; that in the Church, and by the sacraments, we are made partakers of Him; that the Church is His Body, that as members of His Church we are reconciled back again to God".[157] Christ indwelling and overruling His Church is its life. As A.H. Mackonochie asked rhetorically in one of his six sermons, First principles versus Erastianism (1876), "What is the Church's Life? Her life is Christ... in every part... She is simply her Lord manifested in the weakness of our flesh...[158] She is the Body of 'the Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world', the Body of the Eternal Son, the Second Adam...".[159] The Church is a vulnerable suffering Body with a priestly Head. His priestly life is the dynamic principle not only in the ordained priesthood but in the Church as a whole. As R.M. Benson wrote in Redemption: some of the aspects of the work of Christ (1861): "Christ ministers in His Church to sanctify, to gladden, to transform. His unction is not a dead and outward unction, but a living inherent principle of quickening power".[160] "Oh! May He be with us, dear brethren now!" Liddell declared, "May He help my feeble yet honest endeavour to witness to His Truth, His Presence, His Priesthood, His Kingship!"[161] Ritualist writing and preaching is shot through with a sense of what Benson calls the "vital Headship" of Christ as the High Priest of the Church.[162] It was from this, as we began to see earlier, Ritualist writing contributed to Anglican understanding of the priestliness of the Church, since the life of the Body is the priestly life of its Head.

From this understanding of Christ as the priestly Head of the Body, Ritualists in their parochial ministry understood the Church as a community undertaking 'priestly' work: that is, as a community not only of suffering but of worship, prayer, and service. Christ's present priestly activity determined their understanding of these ministries.

Ritualism has been described as a Movement tackling the question of how to worship God in a rationalistic age.[163] Christ's priesthood was pivotal for their theology of worship. Indeed, worship was for them the fundamental action of a priest, and thence of the Church as a priestly community. Parochial worship was, therefore, of cardinal importance and Christ's priesthood shaped their ideals and teaching here too. They stressed that Christ is the High Priest of the Church's worship. It is offered by, in, and with His heavenly worship, His self-oblation and intercession in heaven. This fact was particularly stressed in relation to the eucharist, as we shall see. But, just as Christ's priestly presence was believed to place an onus upon the minister to exercise a devout, faithful, liturgical ministry, so Ritualist clergy exhorted the laity to attend worship worthily, reverently, and regularly. Lay contributions to Church beautification were not discouraged. At times Ritualist priests remonstrated with their opponents that vestments were gifts from parishioners, and, as the Church Times claimed in 1876, - "the so-called Ritualist's phase of the Catholic revival is due to the laity far more than to the clergy".[164] "Mark this", J.M. Neale warned his devoted hearers, "unless you yourselves are living sacrifices to that spotless lamb, every increase of ritual so far as you are concerned is an increase of shame".[165] Christ's priesthood was to inspire a 'holy priesthood': His presence an indictment of 'lay' as of 'clerical' laxity. His Headship of the Church's worship led Benson to apply His priesthood to the activities of Church choirs, a normative parochial ideal as the Ritualist Movement progressed. His popular Manual of Intercessory Prayer (1872) contains an intercession that choirs be made aware of "their nearness to Thee, the great High Priest, by whom alone our prayers are acceptably offered to the Father...".[166] Regular attendance at worship, the daily office and mid-week eucharists were popularly adduced as expressive of a desire for an earthly representation of Christ's perpetual 'liturgy of liturgies' in the heavenly sanctuary.

The central act of the Church's worshipping life, for which the Anglo-Catholic congregation was supremely dependent upon their parish priest, is the eucharist. Charles Lowder, in his Life, the Ritualists's biographical Apologia, called the eucharist - "the great central act of worship", because "it is the one

great source ordained by Jesus Christ Himself".[167] Ritualist eucharistic theology essentially echoed late Tractarianism, though for reasons suggested above, Christ's priesthood was even more central to their eucharistic thought. J.M. Neale speaks of Christ as Priest and Victim in the commemorative sacrifice of the eucharist, but at times the commemorative element appears almost overshadowed by his stress upon Christ's present priestly sacrifice in heaven and on the Church's altar. One of his Sermons on the Blessed Sacrament (1870), alluding to the practice of daily eucharists introduced in the Oratory of St. Margaret's in 1856, contains the following statement:

> "The God of Gods, Begotten of the Father before all worlds, becomes in a certain sense incarnate in the hands of His priests. He Who once poured forth His Blood on the Cross, pours it forth daily on our Altars. It is the Sacrifice of Calvary over again: the same Priest, the same Victim: only the method of the offering different. On Calvary He offered Himself in His Blood by a natural death, which was the separation of the Soul from the Body: on the Altar, He, now impassible and glorious, offers Himself by an unbloody and mystical death. On the Cross He offered His death then present: on the Altar He offers His death accomplished and consummated. He offered Himself on the Cross as a Sacrifice of Redemption, by which He merited for man all the graces that He shall ever bestow on His elect, or ever would bestow on them that shall be lost: He offers Himself in our churches as a Sacrifice of Application, by which He bestows those merits on the soul".[168]

Neale's eucharistic theology is remarkable for his almost Tridentine understanding of the eucharistic sacrifice. It is also noteworthy for his allegorical reinterpretation of the last hours of Jesus' life as paralleling the priestly ritual of a Catholic eucharist. For example, parallels are drawn from Mark xiv:41 between the amice and Christ's "helmet" to fight the dragon, between the mitre and the crown of thorns, the alb and Christ's white robe, the maniple with the cords with which Christ was bound, the chasuble with Christ's carrying of the cross, the chalice with the cross, etc.[169] The devotional potency of the image of Christ as priest in Ritualist eucharistic theology, is here clearly more creatively directed than in that of older Tractarians.

In a less extreme form clerical manuals enjoined caution and respect because of Christ's priestly presence at the eucharist. The Directorium Anglicanum stated:

> "... the Catholic Priest, who knows that this action is done in the Person of CHRIST, who knows his office to be to perpetuate on the altars of the Church Militant on earth the same Sacrifice which the Great High Priest consummated once on the Cross and perpetuates, not repeats, before the Mercy-seat in Heaven, will reverently handle such tremendous mysteries, will be greatly careful that no dishonour be thoughtlessly done unto His LORD, WHO vouchsafes to be present on our altars".[170]

The Manuale Clericorum (1874) likewise observed:

> "The celebration of the Holy Eucharist is the principal act of Christian Worship, inasmuch as it calls directly into action the office of our great High Priest, not only to present our prayers to the FATHER, but to plead anew the merits of His Own adorable Sacrifice. It should therefore have all possible dignity imparted to it by a carefully-observed Ritual".[171]

Vestments were a symbolic representation, or rather declaration, of Christ's presence and activity as priest at the eucharist. Opposition to them, Liddell complained, was because people "do not believe in the full eucharistic doctrine of the Church regarding the Presence and Priesthood of our Blessed Lord, in that sacred mystery."[172] The eucharist is, Littledale stressed, the Church in the outer court doing on earth what Christ is doing in heaven within the veil, as the great High Priest.[173] There He offers His blood, here we "shew His death until He come , 1 Cor.xi:26."[174] Such mysteries were not to be undertaken lightly nor enacted irreverently. Christ's priesthood was crucial for the centrality, ceremonial, and conduct of parish eucharists.

A sermon of Alexander Mackonochie's of 1867 admirably expresses Ritualist eucharistic theology viz-à-viz Christ's priesthood.

> "I believe," he declared, "that our LORD JESUS CHRIST, 'abiding a Priest for ever' in heaven, offers there continually HIS Sacrifice of HIMSELF -both Priest and Victim in HIS own Person - the 'one Full, Perfect, and Sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation,and Satisfaction for the sins of the whole world,' 'once offered' in blood upon the Cross, now perpetually Presented as our Propitiation in Heaven." ... "I believe that HE sent HIS Priests, and HIS FATHER had sent HIM , to be Priests in earth. I believe that by the power of this consecration, and by the continual presence which HE has promised with HIS Priests, HE does now, as in Heaven, so in earth,(here as there, although under earthly veils, Himself both Priest and Victim) offer in each Eucharist the same One All-Sufficient Sacrifice. I believe that our Eucharists are true Sacrifices, ... because they are the continual presentation and pleading with the FATHER, here on earth, of the same One Sacrifice, once finished upon the Cross and now presented and pleaded continually by HIM in HIS Own Person in Heaven - by HIM too in a Mystery on earth".[175]

T.T. Carter enunciates a similar doctrine. He also describes Christ's first eucharist as the beginning of His Melchizedekian priesthood, and enjoins Christ-like self-oblation as consonant with the spirit of the eucharist as a means of grace,[176] thwarted in irreligious neglect.[177] The eucharist is, in Ritualist Anglo-Catholic devotion here, both a channel and yardstick of the believer's life of priestly self-sacrifice.

In Littledale, too, Christ's priesthood is the foundation of a eucharistic sacrifice. "We are representing and applying here on earth", he writes, "what He offers in Heaven as our High Priest. And we are assured that this is so, because His High Priesthood is after the order of Melchizedek, Ps.cx:4: Heb.v:6,10: vi:20 etc.) and His Melchizedekian offering was bread and wine (Gen.xiv:18). So His offering on the cross must be mysteriously the same as His offering of bread and wine before His death, which offering we continue to make."[178]

Littledale's emphasis upon the "same" offering of the cross and in the eucharist was a popular counter to those who charged Anglo-Catholics with teaching a derogatory repetition of Christ's once-for-all sacrifice. Liddell, too, speaks of Christ's priestly sacrifice as not merely a continuation of His earthly sacrifice, but as the "same sacrifice"; thereby removing all possibility of the Cross being devalued, but opening the way to its being potentially subsumed beneath eucharistic worship.[179] Benson speaks of Christ's priestly sacrifice and suffering "living on" in heaven and, sacramentally, in the eucharist.[180]

So communicants were drawn to focus upon Christ as priest ministering in heaven, and in the figure of His human priest ministering in the earthly sanctuary. In a more vivid form than in Tractarianism Christ's priestly ministry in heaven and on earth is the inspiration behind Ritualist eucharistic theology. Communicants were exhorted to have regular recourse to the eucharistic feast at which Christ presided and to offer themselves sacrificially in response to His self-giving. In the words of a Communion Hymn in Edward King's The Communicant's Manual (1871):

"Far from Priest and Altar,
CHRIST, to THEE I cry;
Come to me in spirit,
Let me feel THEE Nigh.
In my silent worship
Let me share the Feast;
Be THY love the Altar,
Be THYSELF the Priest."[181]

Christ's priesthood was also central to the Ritualist attempts to develop a regulated daily prayer life for parishioners. The third quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a bevy of popular devotional manuals for individual private use. T.T. Carter alone edited or produced many: notably, his six volume Spiritual Instructions (1870-1891), A Book of Private Prayers "for those who would live to God amid the business of daily life" (1861), Family Prayers (1867), Spiritual Instructions on the Holy Eucharist (1870), The Path of Holiness (1871), Devotions for Holy Communion (1875).[182] Apart from the spiritual ideals of 'the religious life', the second, Ritualist, phase of the Anglo-Catholic revival set forth a remarkable spiritual ideal for parish life, involving regular eucharists and extensive private devotions. Horologies flourished, as the external liturgy of heaven inspired regularity and spirituality in devotions. These were often expressly anticipated in dependence upon Christ's High Priesthood and perpetual intercession.

For J.M Neale, Christ's perpetual loving intercession is like Jacob's seven years of service for Rachel.[183] It is also the direct consequence of His Resurrection. As he declared one Easter Eve: "Intercession, for He carried our sorrows. Intercession, for He endured our death. Intercession, for He has the power, for He has the will, for He is on the throne of the FATHER, for He is our High Priest, our elder brother, Bone of our bone, Flesh of our flesh, He is the Head, and we the members".[184] His intercession is essentially pleading His wounds, and is barely separable from the Church's eucharistic life. For T.T. Carter Christ's continuous High Priestly prayer in heaven is the basis of the Church's prayer. It is, he wrote:

> "the life of the prayers of the whole Communion of His Body the Church, and of each separate spirit pleading its wants before God,.../ and everyone who prays in dependence on the power of the One Intercessor, longing to be perfected in the mind and utterance of the SPIRIT, partakes of the efficacy of the one universal prayer, with its infinite individual petitions".[185]

As in Neale, it is the prayer of the compassionate human priest in heaven, whose "Heart of love" pours out supplication to God for His people.[186] His prayer comforts the sorrowing, encourages the distracted.[187] All devotion and prayer are, for Carter, to and through the Great High Priest.[188] Charles Lowder assured his listeners Christ in heaven hears our prayers,[189] and in William Butler's translation of Elffen's Light in the Heart, Christ's prayer is presented as an incentive to live well, so that His intercession is not in vain.[190] In entering freely into God's presence through Christ the Christian fulfils his priestly rights of access.

In Ritualist teaching on prayer, then, the traditional biblical and characteristically Anglican devotional image of Christ as the heavenly priestly Intercessor, the sympathising human heavenly Mediator, recurs. But in the parishes the mutuality of priest and people extended to the priest's mediatory intercession for them. This ministry, too, was understood as dependent on, expressive of, and motivated by the picture of the perpetual heavenly intercession of the Great High Priest. This conviction undergirded romantic representations we sometimes discover, in Ritualist writing, of the priest as parochial intercessor.

In parochial ideals of Ritualists, for the 'internal' life of the local Christian community, the priestly Christus Consolator, sacramentally present in the earthly priest, variously informed the pastoral care and mutual relations between priest and people. A self-conscious sense of being alter Christus informed the priest's self-understanding of His ministry and the respect dutiful parishioners extended to him. In figures like Lowder, Mackonochie, Carter, and Bennett, as in Keble and Anglican pastoral saints before him, a pastoral mutuality was realized in an organic sacramental relationship of priest to people, father to child, physician to sick, teacher to pupil. Parishioners were encouraged to think of their relation to the parish priest as expressing dependence on Christ, as priest. Accused of

artificially imposing the thraldom of 'priestcraft', Ritualist clergy claimed the relationship was a lay prerogative, urgently sought. "What the world calls 'priestcraft'"Liddell once wrote, "this portion of the laity claim as their privilege, and they do not intend to be deprived of it".[191] This relationship ideally communicated Christ's priestly 'comfort' to His followers. J.M. Neale, once reminded his charges that their help came from "neither Angel nor Priest, ... saving only He who is the Angel of the Great Counsel - the High Priest who is to reign upon the earth".[192] Elsewhere he speaks of "the great succour... bestowed on the human race" through Christ's priestly sacrifice on Calvary and on the altars of Christian Churches.[193] In Ritualist preaching Christ's priestly sympathy was a recurrent message of comfort. As Edward King later declared in one of his popular Easter Evening sermons in Lincoln Cathedral: "He is there as the Priest upon His Throne. He is there praying for us... As often as Christ's help is needed He is there ready to give it."[194] Such 'comfort' was, in Ritualist thought, primarily mediated through the sacraments, not only of baptism and the eucharist,[195] but also, most controversially, sacramental confession in which the mutuality of priest and people was most vividly expressed.

Later Tractarians, such as Pusey and Keble, were at one with Ritualist advocacy of the pastoral benefits of sacramental confession as an aid to close spiritual supervision and healthy spiritual development, though perhaps more cautious in their practice of it.[196] In a letter of 1842, Newman, too, bemoaned his inability to advance the practice in his parish, declaring: "Confession is the life of the Parochial Charge; without it, all is hollow...".[197] Despite Pusey's article 'Sacramental Confession' in the British Critic (April 1843), his sermon after suspension 'The Entire Absolution of the Penitent', his tract The Church of England leaves her children free to whom to open their griefs (1850), his publication in 1877 of Abbé Gaume's Manual for Confessors, and his open admission, in the Times in 1866 that he had received confession "from persons of every rank, of every age",[198] his own advocacy of this practice, which he dubbed "so impregnable, according to the Prayer Book",[199] sealed in his painstaking drafting of a Petition (1873) which called for the preparation of trained

Confessors,[200] aroused less opposition than did the less tactful and at times artless activities of younger Ritualist clergy. Hence the case, in 1858, of A.L. Poole, Liddell's curate, caused a popular outcry, considerable misrepresentation of seducing or misleading malleable females, and fierce episcopal condemnation.[201]

The practice of sacramental confession and priestly absolution were characteristic features of the Ritualist Movement embodied in their clerical and parochial ideals. Notable publications in support were William Gresley's The Ordinance of Confession (1851), J.H. Blunt's Directorium Pastorale (1864) and, most notoriously a pamphlet designed for private circulation but catastrophically falling into Protestant hands - 'The Priest in Absolution' (1877). Neale lectured on 'Confession and Absolution' in 1854, T.T. Carter published a monograph The Doctrine of Confession in the Church of England 1869², and Charles Lowder wrote an open letter to the Bishop of London, Sacramental Confession explained by Pastoral Experience (1874). The practice received, in varying degrees, some episcopal backing. Bishop George Moberly of Salisbury (1803-1885) had commended Absolution for the sick and dying in his Bampton Lectures of 1868,[202] and Bp. John Jackson (1811-1885) of London's Charge of 1879 likewise admitted confession in extreme circumstances.[203] The advocates of the doctrine received a tremendous fillip from Bp. G.H. Wilkinson's (1833-1907) Two Sermons of 1877 which admitted its legitimacy:[204] a position A.C. Tait stoutly refused to countenance. Edward King's Reply to C.J. Elliott (1879) simply stated: "The Church of Rome compels her children to make confessions: the Church of England compels her priests to hear them".[205]

The practice of sacramental confession was consistently condemned as a form of sacerdotalist 'Romanizing'. In addition to a spate of abusive articles in relation to the Poole affair, the Edinburgh Review of 1861 carried a denunciation of the practice which, it was claimed, arrogated to the Church a dominical prerogative, viz. absolution.[206] Edmund Clay appealed to the Lord Chancellor, in 1863, to affirm the optative and not donative character of Christ's words "whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven".[207] The issue was implicated in calls for liturgical revision, popular at the end of the century among supporters

and opponents alike. In 1858 an article by J.C. Fisher claimed that as long as absolution be retained in the liturgy "it is the height of infatuation to suppose that we can either weaken or destroy Tractarianism". "The principle of a mediatorial priesthood, which is the essential element," he declared, "must be eradicated from the Book of Common Prayer".[208] A central issue in the advocacy and repudiation of sacramental confession was the priesthood of Christ.

Just as Ritualist writers variously interpreted priesthood as a 'representative' or 'vicarial' ministry viz-à-viz Christ's priesthood, so they articulated various interpretations of sacramental confession and priestly absolution. For J.M. Neale confession was "that blessed means by which God brings back His banished ones",[209] and priestly absolution not merely declaratory but real, sacramental or instrumental absolution, because Christ has given over 'the power of the keys' to His Priests.[210] "Can a Bishop stop that channel of grace which the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls left as an everlasting heritage to His Church?"[211] he enquired. He extrapolates from Paul's words in 2 Cor.ii.10 ("for your sakes forgave I it in the Person of Christ"), "I, acting as His vicegerent, I, taking His place, I, invested with His power, forgave that sin. This is how the Apostle understood His Commission - this is how the Church of England confers her commission - this is how I received and have my commission".[212] Neale understood confession as Christ's "coming", "not indeed in His own Person, but in that of those whom He has called to be His Priests".[213] "Think", he says, in one of his Sackville College Sermons, "of the multitudes of poor sinners who, confessing their sins, receive from the mouth of His Priests that absolution which He has given power and commandment to His ministers to bestow!"[214] Indicating again the weighting of his interpretation upon human priests, and urging belief in the words of absolution committed to His priests at ordination, he writes,

> "Do you think that the Church would repeat these words to every priest whom she ordains, if they were only words and nothing more? No. Doubtless, GOD is not tied to means. The man who repents and confesses his sins to GOD alone may hope to be forgiven; but he who confesses them to the priests of GOD, and receives absolution from them is sure of it."[215]

T.T. Carter adopted the practice more cautiously. His Visitation Sermon of 1846, admits neglect of the practice and is politic in stating: "Whatever may be thought of the practice; however we must all reprobate the fatal and gross abuses which have been connected with it; one consequence undeniably results from its disuse - that pastoral guidance becomes more difficult".[216] The Doctrine of Confession (1869) locates the practice among non-High Churchmen such as Hall, Chillingworth and Barrow, in the Prayer Book form of Absolution and the 'Office for the Visitation of the Sick'.[217] He makes much of the Savoy Conference's retention of "I absolve thee", instead of the declaratory "I pronounce thee absolved".[218] He commends its retention by Cosin, Sparrow and Comber and regrets its demise in men like Nichols, Wheatly, Warner, Shepherd, and Mant.[219] The Anglican rule is, he maintains, that "sacramental Confession is affirmed, while at the same time we assert the freedom of the soul's own secret communion with God alone".[220] Carter binds absolution to Christ's human nature in the title 'Son of Man', and sees His priestly power to forgive sins communicated to the ministry. It is exercised now on earth, "still indeed His own inalienable prerogative, but exercised mediately through others... deriving from Himself in an unbroken continuity of living grace".[221] Carter, like Neale, speaks of a 'delegated' power of forgiveness but does so in a more Ambrosian spirit of Christ's continued priestly ministry through His sacerdotal instruments.[222]

The tract The Priest in Absolution, - subtitled "A manual for such as are called unto the higher ministries in the English Church", - significantly, does not adduce references to Christ's priesthood when legitimating a priestly power to forgive or retain sins. Rather, it encourages a priest when required to hear confession, to "magnify his office by considering the importance of this ministry to individual souls, whereby such as have been guilty of heinous offences against God, are, if contrite, cleansed from the guilt of sin, and delivered from due punishment".[223] This kind of absolute delegation of sacerdotal power tended to appear to overshadow commitment to Christ's priesthood per se. Any such apparent derogation was unconsidered and unintentional, given the strength of commitment to Christ's priesthood identified elsewhere. By contrast, however,

Bp. Wilkinson interpreted sacramental absolution as dependent on repentance, and administered by priests who, he describes as "only organs of the Body: the hands as it were, by which Christ the Head employs the entire force of the Body in lifting off a weight from a laden soul".[224] The power to forgive still belongs absolutely to Christ alone, he maintains, but He has delegated it to "weak human beings".[225]

In conclusion, the role Christ's priesthood played in Ritualist inculcation of sacramental confession is no more clearly articulated than in Robert Liddell's defence of his curate, entitled A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London on Confession and Absolution, with special reference to the case of the Rev. Alfred Poole. (1858)

> "What I claim at the present crisis," he concluded, "for myself and my brother Priests of the Church of England, is the liberty to exercise our office in our people's behalf, according to the full terms of our commission, without being restricted by limitations, upon which the Church in her authorized documents is entirely silent".[226]

Anglican priests have, he maintains, a 'delegated' but no less 'real' power from God to convey "what it announces, viz. God's gracious forgiveness to the penitent sinner".[227] His conclusion to the "theological rationale of the doctrine" of Confession, he begins by outlining nine propositions, including:

> "1. Our Blessed LORD JESUS CHRIST, in His humanity, is the One true Priest of the new dispensation...
> 3. As CHRIST'S Priesthood is an unchangeable priesthood, He being a 'Priest for ever,' the exercise of His office is continually going on now. All worship of the Church in heaven and in earth is acceptable worship, only as it is united to the worship He is ever offering - presenting Himself, in His glorified body, as 'the Lamb slain,' before the throne of grace, and by that act 'ever making intercession for us'. All absolution is remission, only inasmuch as it is 'the power of the SON of MAN on earth to forgive sins.' All blessing in the Church is but the virtue going out from Him; whether it emanate, as now, through a living ministry, or, as of old, through the mere hem of His garment".[228]

He goes on to speak of Christ's sacrifice being applied by earthly ministrants, recipients of power from the Lord through the successors of the Apostles, as "authorized channels for conveying absolution".[229] The primacy of Christ's priesthood is self-evident. It is not a politic sop to a Protestant Bishop. What

Liddell says about Christ's priestly role viz-à-viz Confession is explicitly dependent on adherence to the over-arching principle of Christ's perpetual present exercise of His unchangeable priesthood, which we have come to see to have been a cardinal principle in the Ritualist Movement.

Finally, though, the parochial mission of the Ritualist Movement is also remembered for the Evangelistic labours of diocesan missionary priests, who brought the gospel to cities with zealous preaching and selfless, Christ-like, sacrifice. Theirs was a remarkable blend of Evangelical fervour and Ritualist ceremonial.[230] Arguably the best-known of these Catholic-Evangelicals was Rev. Canon George Body D.D. (1840-1911), for many years missioner in Durham diocese (1883-1911).[231] A much sought-after preacher, Christ's priesthood was a prominent theme in Body's writing and preaching. A sermon 'The Doctrine of the Church of England on Confession and Absolution', of November 1873, for example, declared: "Yes, brethren, Absolution in the mind of the Church, is a real act; it 'hath the promise of the forgiveness of sins'. In it the pardon won upon the Cross, and pleaded ever by our Great High Priest in heaven, is offered to the penitent. There is as it were a Real Presence of Pardon".[232] An Evangelical christocentricity of expression emerges too: "In every single doctrine of the truth I find the Person of Jesus", he declared in another place. "As I kneel at His feet in confession, it is not the voice of the servant I hear, but the Master... Yes! I find a personal Jesus, it is in this personal Jesus, in the knowledge of Him and through Him, and through the knowledge of God that man alone finds his satisfaction".[233] At the end of his ministry, too, Body reverted to the image of Christ as priest in his The Atonement and the Living Christ (1912), which contained three meditations - "the Great High Priest" as "Intercessor", "Absolver", and "Pastor"[234].

In a prestigious volume of forty sermons, "intended to furnish a fair reflex of the preaching of the Church of England at the present time", entitled The Anglican Pulpit Today (1886), amidst sermons by Archbishops, Bishops, Professors and Deans, is one by George Body - 'The Priest upon His Throne', on Zech.vi:12,13.[235] It represents the place Christ's priesthood had in the missionary

preaching of the Ritualists, and the degree to which the doctrine had become as much an article of Anglo-Catholic devotion as it had ever been in early Evangelicalism.

> "Oh, precious revelation! Oh, glorious call!" Body proclaimed, "Who does not rejoice in this vision of Jesus as the Priest upon His throne as that of the one he needs? Who does not feel the attraction of His invitation as He calls us to His throne? Whose heart does not overflow with joy in this revelation of our Lord as the mediatorial King of the new covenant?"[236]

From Zechariah's vision Body expounds Christ as the priest and king in heaven. The ascended humanity of the priest reigning sovereign is the source of "pardoning mercy and aiding grace in every time of need".[237] He believes this kingly aspect of Christ's heavenly priesthood as insufficiently acknowledged as His incarnate humanity is "the great Sacrament of sacraments".[238] Here is Christ's priestly mediation preached evangelistically to evoke from listeners the response of faith. Christ is the sympathising heavenly priest to and through whom the sinner can confidently approach for forgiveness and timely help.[239] He calls for a response to this vision to receive from this priest cleansing.[240] Here is forgiveness from the past and power to live for the future, from this priest.[241] "Does not this revelation attract you, brothers,to respond to this call?"[242]

Here is Christ's priesthood unselfconsciously proclaimed in a classic sermon of a Ritualist missionary priest. The enthusiasm for this image, which was a cardinal principle of their theology of worship, foundational for their clerical idealism, and integral to their parochial and pastoral ideals, in their mission to reform and revive the ritual of the Church of England, found a happy match in the marriage of Catholic ritual and Evangelical preaching. In this union, as we see in George Body, Christ's priesthood inevitably came to the fore.

But if Christ's priesthood was central to the parochial mission of the Ritualists it was also, finally, crucial for their teaching on spirituality, and to this we therefore turn in the final section of this chapter.

4. Devotion to Jesus as 'priest' in the spiritual ideals of R.M. Benson and the Ritualist Movement

As we have begun to see already, "devotion to Jesus as priest" was a characteristic feature of Ritualist spirituality: it inspired both their devotional heart-response to Christ and the forms that response took. In order to examine Christ's priesthood in Ritualist devotion more closely we shall consider their interpretation largely through the writings of one of the foremost spiritual figures in the late-Victorian Church: Richard Meux Benson.

The appellation 'Ritualist Movement' is a misnomer for, it was concerned as much with the 'inner life' as with external ceremonial. Were Ritualist strictly adhered to Benson would possibly not qualify. His preoccupation was worship and the 'spiritual life'. He once declared slightly piously, though sincerely: "Others study so as to cavil. We study so as to worship".[243] Benson admired the reserve some of his more extreme ceremonialist contemporaries eschewed. As M.V. Woodgate wrote: "Fr. Benson, like Butler of Wantage, valued reserve in emotion and ceremonial, and devotion to the Prayer Book tradition".[244] In Benson's Letters we find the following, commending the plainness of St. Bernard:

> "But even he allows that ritual beauty may be necessary - a necessary evil -for secular-minded people. The Religious ought to rise above it. So of course ought the religious-minded.// We should always remember that ritual is not for the purpose of pleasing ourselves. It is the offering of wealth, in form, art, and substance to GOD for His glory, since all creation belongs to Him... Outward beauty should not be despised, but our LORD'S words call us to regard it as of very little practical concern... although it is a duty to make GOD'S temporal house glorious for His honour, yet our hearts must be elsewhere, even with Himself in heaven. We must feel the nothingness of that which is so soon to pass away."[245]

Benson upheld the priority of spiritual vision, espoused the glory of sheer worship, and counterbalanced a fussy Continental spirituality with a simple use of the Prayer Book and Day Hours of the Church of England. It was in this spirit of restrained austerity that Benson, whilst Vicar of Cowley, sought a licence to found the 'Society of Saint John the Evangelist' in 1865. He wrote a 'rule' for the Society in 1890, and followed it by the Three Instructions in the Spiritual Life (1927, 1935, 1951) and The Religious Vocation (1939). Whilst others revived ritual,

Benson was part of a revival of 'religious Communities'.[246] The Communities' lives were liturgically focussed. The eucharist was central. They contributed directly to a revived interest in retreats, meditation, prayer, and to the 'religious life', with the high spiritual ideal this enjoined both for inmates and observers. But what prominence was afforded to devotion to Jesus as priest in this revival of the 'religious life', and the spiritual ideals therein espoused?

The 'sacramentality of externals', clerical idealism, Ritualist eucharistic theology and sacramental confession, and the role the image of Christ as priest occupied in relation to each of these, all pertain to this question. But the prominence Christ's priesthood assumed in these spheres arose from a deeper devotional commitment to the image of Christ as priest, from which its application to sacramental, liturgical, and ecclesiological theology ultimately derived. The character of this devotional commitment, as an article of Ritualist spirituality is clearly, though not exclusively revealed in R.M. Benson's writing.

Benson wrote in Redemption of the centrality of worship, as follows:

> "How would our worship thrill with joy if we could realize our LORD in His High Priesthood personally conducting all the services of His sanctuary! This doctrine is no mere expression of theory; it is a great truth of our religion which will kindle with a Divine glow all the offices of the House of GOD. JESUS is our Great High Priest. JESUS is our heavenly Victim. We must behold Him in the joy of His abiding sacrifice while we wait around His Altar with our thanksgivings".[247]

Neither the manner nor content of this statement suggest Christ's priesthood was for Benson a subject of cold, detached, academic reflection. As he states later: "No calls of the world would suffice to draw us away; when absent on some necessary duty, our heart would make us still participate in the oblations of the sanctuary; - if we could but for a moment catch a glimpse of Jesus, the Great High Priest".[248] The warmth of Benson's response is mirrored in Liddell's application of the doctrine in repudiation of rationalist neglect of worship per se:

> "The more we believe in it (Christ's priesthood)," he wrote, "the deeper will be our reverence, the more humble our devotion, the more entire the dedication of ourselves to His service. But if we allow this truth to be wrested from us, or to be so pared down as to lose its force; if the present functions of His sacerdotal office be denied, or our share in them repudiated, we lose the very essence of Christian worship, and sink back into a cold,dreary rationalism."[249]

At the heart of the spirituality of Benson and the Ritualist Movement was devotion to Jesus as priest;, to the vision of Him in heaven. For this reason, the image recurs prominently in Benson's writings and sermons; most notably, his Redemption (1861), The Manual of Intercessory Prayer (1872), Benedictus Dominus (1879), The Final Passover: A series of meditations upon the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ (1884, 1895, 1893), The Life beyond the Grave: A series of Meditations upon the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ (1885), and The War-Songs of the Prince of Peace: A Devotional Commentary on the Psalter (1901).

From these and other works it is clear, firstly, that Benson's christocentric spirituality was shot through with devotional adherence to Christ's character, or person, as a priest. From this image he constantly derives the subject-matter of spiritual insights, meditations, and prayers. On his understanding of Christ's person as priest depends his presentation and application of Christ's work. In Benson's devotion to the priestly Christus Consolator we see again the doctrine's role in the emergence of Anglican incarnationism. "My dear brethren," he wrote in Redemption, "it is in contemplating the triumphant Priesthood of CHRIST that we learn the purpose of the bleeding Sacrifice of Calvary".[250] Benson makes much of Christ's Melchizedekian king-priesthood. It is inseparable from His divinity. A meditation in The Life Beyond the Grave, entitled 'The Great High Priest', begins by affirming "His divine character" as priest, and, by primogeniture, His kingship and priesthood.[251] "The son of man is the true Priest", he writes, "because He is the Son of God".[252] Melchizedek is, he declares, "the type and assurance of that priesthood with which that humanity is to be glorified, the Divine nature which is to consecrate the Seed of Abraham as a royal priest".[253] Abraham's blessing by Melchizedek speaks of Christ as Divine king and priest, who acts "on man's behalf towards God as the High Priest of the race by reason of the fellowship of the Eternal Spirit, as the Son of God with power".[254] Benson sees this priest-kingship typically represented in earthly kings and priests and promised in Old Testament passages such as Pss.lxxii, cxxii:18, cx; Zech.vi:12,13, but sees it ultimately "founded upon a divine oath, for it has its very essence from the Incarnation of

the Divine Word".[255] So the section concludes: "O Blessed Jesu, truly the acts of Thy priesthood cannot be performed in any other power than that whereby Thou Thyself performest them, even the power of the Holy Ghost".[256] This theme of Christ's triumphant kingly-priesthood recurs in The War Songs of the Prince of Peace. In Benson's mystical, sometimes allegorical, sometimes strained, biblical exegesis, Psalms 107-111 are all considered under the title 'The Priest upon God's Right Hand'.[257] As we began to see in George Body, in later Ritualist thought Christ's priesthood was as much an aspect of Christus Victor as of Christus Consolator.

Benson retains and perpetuates, however, the Anglican tradition of devotion to Christ as the sympathising human priest.[258] Christ's priesthood is an adjunct of His Incarnation. "Jesus is our priest, for He is the Son of Man ", Redemption stated. "He is our King for He is the Son of God."[259] His Easter Day Sermon (1860), however, entitled 'The High Priest after the order of Melchizedek', begins: "Jesus is declared today to be the Son of God, with power, by the resurrection from the dead: and the declaration of His Sonship is the acknowledgement of His Royal Priesthood."[260] In The Final Passover, part III, 'The Divine Exodus', we find a particularly powerful meditation on Christ's trial, entitled 'The Great High Priest before the False High Priest'.[261] The Aaronic priesthood comes to a miserable end as "the false High Priest sits to determine the reality of the true High Priest. The empty representation of the past sits to determine the reality of the eternal Mediator, of one substance with the Father".[262] And, as he continues, binding Christ's Incarnation to the exercise of His Priestly ministry: "The High Priest has to pass sentence upon the Lamb which God Himself, Incarnate for the accomplishing of the work of the Priesthood, has provided".[263] Except he become 'Son of man' he cannot suffer and die, Benson points out, He cannot intercede with perfect sympathy. However, as Benson stated in an earlier meditation: "He is the son of man, and lives in the perfect sympathy of all the race whose nature He has taken on Himself".[264] In his series of meditations Benedictus Dominus it is the human nature which "ever speaks in prayer to the Father".[265]

That the image of Christ as priest, in Ritualist Anglo-Catholicism, bespoke His sympathising humanity is also evident throughout T.T. Carter's writings.[266] The connection between Christ's priesthood and the Incarnation is, however, also the subject of a sermon by George Williams (1814-1878) of Cambridge, a continuator of Neale's History of the Eastern Church, and an important early devotee of Anglo-Orthodox dialogue. The sermon, preached in King's College, Cambridge, on Founder's Day, 1856, is entitled 'The Priestly Office of Christ', on Hebrews ii:17. Acknowledging dependence on Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, it sets out "to trace the connexion between the Human Nature and Priestly Office of our Lord".[267] His priesthood, he argues, throws over the Apollinarian, Monothelite, Arian, Nestorian, and Monophysite heresies. "To the integrity of the two natures in the One Person of our great High Priest," he writes, "the human will was indispensable; without which He could not have offered a perfect sacrifice".[268] Now He intercedes with true sympathy and, Williams claims, we "know that He is affected with a most tender compassion of our afflictions".[269] It was from the context of devotion to Christ as the sympathising human priest that Williams' defence of Christ's Incarnation arose. It was because the doctrine was a popular devotional motif that it came to exert such an influence on the development of Anglican incarnationism, as we saw in Chapter III.

Devotion to Christ's person or character as priest was a characteristic feature of Ritualist spirituality. Benson also reveals a potent devotional attachment to His priestly work. Its intensity is remarkable. Acknowledgement of Jesus as 'Lamb of God' is not enough, Benson observed in Redemption: "We must worship Him also as our High Priest pleading for us perpetually with GOD, and as our King bestowing upon us the spiritual gifts of the kingdom of heaven. In the performance of these two acts consists the mediatorial kingdom of CHRIST".[270] Christ's mediation - "a law upon which the kingdom of heaven is based"[271] - is foundational for Ritualist spirituality. Benson stresses His present priestly mediation. He speaks of Christ's redemption as central and His sufferings as living on.[272] His merits have undying freshness.[273] Christ's eternal priestly sacrifice is not unjust;[274] it is expressive of the mystery of the Divine Love in "a

heavenly sacrifice";[275] it is the source of all sacrifices and "an eternal act";[276] and, for Benson, "our justification... is not made complete by the death of CHRIST upon the Cross", but rather it is through the outpouring and application of His Blood, through "the glory of His risen life that our freedom from sin, our justification, our spiritual life,proceeds".[277] Hence he declared:

> "Realize, therefore, to yourselves the sacrifice of CHRIST and His abiding Priesthood, not as if separated from you by the lapse of time, for He is ministering now at the right hand of GOD, nor yet as if separated from you by the sublimity of their spiritual nature, for He calls you by the priestly offices of His Church to 'enter into the very holiest' by the power of 'His own Blood'."[278]

This intense devotional commitment to the present priestly activity of Christ created the immediacy of the doctrine to Ritualist spirituality. Benson stresses Christ's eternal priestly sacrifice, as did other Ritualists. This is inseparable, however, from a traditional spirituality which centred on devotion to Christ's cross. There on the cross, for Benson, Christ as priest on earth suffers as the Passover Lamb and intercedes for the penitent thief.[279] In Ritualist meditations on the Cross the words of Christ - "Father forgive them" - are traditionally priestly words. Stress on Christ present priestly mediation is also part of a specific devotional commitment to Christ's High Priestly intercession both on earth and in heaven. John xvii was as fruitful a meditative text for Benson as Hebrews iv:15,16. His High Priestly intercession is the ground upon which our prayers are efficacious and are answered.[280] This is the thrust of his sermon, 'The Efficacy of Prayer', too, (1866) in which Benson interpreted Ps.cix:4 as Christ saying, "I am prayer".[281] Christ's High Priestly prayer reveals His inmost thoughts as He approaches the Passion. "It shows how really the sacrifice of Christ was a priestly ministration," Benson writes: "It was no empty drama. It was no cosmical development. It was a real, personal self-oblation, made with a definite consciousness of the human will in obedience to the personal charge of a divinely accredited ministry".[282] It reveals the essence of Christ's priestly sacrifice as loving filial obedience.[283] In meditation upon Christ's priestly ministry, Ritualist thought responded to the heart of the Christian Gospel.

Christ's High Priesthood was a dynamic principle in Benson's spirituality. It is crucial for his understanding of living the Christian life from beginning to end. In Ritualist thought, according to the law of sacramental mediation, grounded in Christ's incarnation, the Christian 'participates' in Christ's priestly life. His priesthood is a dynamic principle of spiritual transformation through sacramental media. So, in a University Sermon in Oxford in 1865, entitled 'The Name of Jesus', Benson declared:

> "Jesus dwells on high, our great High-Priest and King... with what marvellous condescension He make us sinners partakers in His ministration. Measure not this priesthood by our earthliness which you see, but by His divinity in whom you trust. What can the world offer you so noble, as thus to be associated with Him?"[284]

Again, his meditation 'The Great High Priest', in The Life Beyond the Grave, ends: "In the life-giving priesthood of the Messiah the desolation of earth shall become beautiful as the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven".[285] And he prays: "O Jesu, Thou great High Priest, who makest the new heavens and the new earth to remain eternally, as Thou raisest me up by the power of Thy resurrection, stablish me in faithfulness by the fellowship of Thy Holy Spirit".[286]

Identification with Christ as priest by His indwelling Spirit was a prevalent spiritual ideal in Benson's devotional writing. His life of sacrifice, His priestly obedience are characteristic features of the Imitatio Christ tradition in Benson's works.[287] In a meditation 'Life of Self-Oblation', in his series The Followers of the Lamb (1900), sacrifice is called "the act whereby we approach and dwell in communion with God".[288] Through sacramental grace "we are called to live in the power of that heavenly act of self-oblation which Christ is carrying on for Himself and for us who live with Him in the Unity of the Holy Ghost".[289] Elsewhere he speaks of Christians drawing near to God not because Jesus died but because He lives.[290] The efficacy of His death for us depends on our identification with Him in His heavenly self-oblation.[291] He is the life-giving Head of the Church.[292] His priesthood is "regenerative".[293] But, significantly, to be "in Christ" is, for Benson, to be in His priestly prayer.[294] Prayer in its highest form is sacrifice.[295] As one in Christ's heavenly self-oblation we are one

with His prayer. Hence we pray in Christ as High Priest. We participate in His heavenly intercession.[296] Indeed, rightly understood, all the acts of the Church are part of Christ's prayer.[297] Prayer is the great work of life.[298] In the revival of spiritual and religious life which accompanied the Ritualist Movement, Benson was articulating, in this spiritual ideal of identification with Christ in His priestly character and intercession, a foundational article of Anglo-Catholic spirituality in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Against this background of prevalent devotion to Christ as priest in Ritualist thought, prayer and devotion to that other heavenly sympathising figure, Mary, and the invocation of saints, were perhaps not as prominent an article of Anglo-Catholic devotion as either contemporary Evangelicals or twentieth century Anglo-Catholics may have believed. R.F. Littledale, for example, wrote of Liguori's Glories of Mary, in 1880: "If this be not blasphemy against the Lord Jesus Christ, and a formal denial of His power to save and His being the way to heaven, there are no such sins possible".[299] Carter's devotional manuals do contain devotions to the Blessed Virgin, but he also calls Catholic devotion to the B.V.M. "entirely repugnant to the word of God"[300] and, as late as 1888, in The Roman Question, he rejects the notion of Mary as co-mediatrix with Christ the One Mediator.[301] In a sermon 'Fellowship with the saints' preached at All Saints', Margaret Street in 1868, he made clear his view on the 'Invocation of Saints'.

> "I am no advocate for the invocation of Saints", he wrote, "in the ordinary and popular sense of the term, I cannot reconcile it with the essential relations of the creatures among themselves. I cannot divest my mind of the idea, that the popular system of invocation is the introduction of an unauthorized, though subordinate, kind of worship... They (the saints) are surely now in those higher regions speaking for us, longing for us, pressing our cause on the Heart of GOD, and winning for us by their urgent love and closer union with GOD a greater grace, as their voices swell the tides of intercession which meet in our great High Priest, the Angel of the Covenant, where He stands, with His censer filled with the prayers of saints, pleading His own meritorious Sacrifice through which alone they avail."[302]

Among many of these early Ritualists Christ's priesthood was both a prominent and exclusive devotional image. George Williams in his sermon on Christ's priestly office employs it to repudiate the invocation of saints; since He is "our

Sole Advocate and Intercessor at the mercy-seat of God".[303] Those who advocate it, he claims, promulgate "one of the most subtle snares of modern superstition", viz. to rob Christians of Christ's priestly compassion.[304] Regarding saint-mediation he concluded:

> "Independently altogether of the acknowledged fact that there is no Scripture warrant for such a practice, the very desire for it, and much more the supposition of its necessity, argues a want of appreciation of the mystery of the Incarnation, and proves that the perfection of the human nature in our glorified High Priest is not fully realized".[305]

Even among many advocates of Anglo-Catholic principles and devotions this characteristically Anglican devotion to Christ as High Priest remained. To those, like Benson, committed to the Book of Common Prayer, which, of course, was the majority of Ritualists, however much they supplemented this by use of the Breviary and Sarum Use, in every "through Jesus Christ our Lord" they declared their adherence to the unique priestly mediation of Christ. Thus there are many examples of Ritualist prayers offered to, or through, Christ as High Priest. As J.M. Neale, for example, ended a Sackville College Sermon:" ...And now to Jesus Christ, our great High Priest, be ascribed with the Father and the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory for ever. Amen."[306] Likewise, Benson, the priest, prayed: "O Lord, grant that in the exercise of Thy Priesthood I may ever abide in the living fellowship of Thy grace...".[307] And, again: "Lord, Thou art the true High Priest, under whom I have to minister... Help me to bring them (the church) near to Thee."[308] For priest and people alike here was a beloved feature of Ritualist spirituality. In recognizing the progress of Roman Catholic devotion among Anglican High Churchmen, as many scholars have done, it is well to recall, through study of Christ's priesthood, the conservatism of the Anglican lex orandi with its central image of Christ as priest.

In this chapter we have sought, then, to indicate prominent features of Ritualist interpretation of the doctrine of Christ's priesthood. We have recognized the popularity and prevalence of this image among Ritualist writers as integral to their system of the 'sacramentality of externals', their theology of

worship, their ecclesiology and sacramental theology, and latterly as a crucial feature of their christocentric spirituality. This is a rich field for further historical investigation. Its study continues to confirm the inadequacy of Victorian studies which fail to recognize the prominence of commitment to Christ's priesthood found in Anglicans of all shades of churchmanship.

CHAPTER VI

The Priesthood of Christ and the Development of Anglican Biblical Criticism

As threatening to the fabric of the Church in the latter half of the Victorian era as Ritualism, was, to many churchmen, nascent Anglican 'Biblical Criticism'. Scholars, such as Herbert Marsh, Connop Thirlwall, Hugh James Rose, S.T. Coleridge, H.H. Milman, Francis Newman, and Thomas Arnold, had been sensitive to the progress of Continental 'Higher Criticism' and some were sympathetic to its historico-critical, textual, reexamination of the Bible.[1] But forces for change had made little headway against the conservative tide of Anglican biblicism.[2] After a set-back in 1860, caused by the publication of Essays and Reviews, a highly controversial Oxford compilation embodying the views of liberal clerics on various subjects including the Bible,[3] biblical study became increasingly a central issue in Anglican theology and controversy. This chapter examines the interaction between the development of Anglican biblical criticism and Christ's priesthood in the second half of the nineteenth century. Considerable attention has been directed to Victorian biblical studies but without acknowledging the importance of Hebrews. Attitudes towards Hebrews inevitably influence interpretation and evaluation of Christ's priesthood. The historic place Christ's priesthood occupied in Anglican doctrine and devotion, as a cardinal article of its historic lex orandi, directly influenced Anglican attitudes towards Hebrews in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The chapter considers the contrasting responses to Hebrews articulated firstly by Benjamin Jowett and Oxford Liberalism in the 1850's and 60's, and secondly by the 'Cambridge School' of B.F. Westcott (1825-1901), J.B. Lightfoot (1829-1889), F.J.A. Hort (1828-1892), and others implicated in the 'Golden Age' of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews, in the 1870's and 1880's. Christ's priesthood was central to these different contributions to the development of Anglican biblical criticism.

I

Christ's priesthood and criticism:

Hebrews and Oxford Liberalism in the 1850's and 1860's

In the aftermath of Tractarianism Oxford spawned the "deliberately liberal"[4] Broad Church school of Benjamin Jowett, A.P. Stanley, Baden Powell, H.G. Ward, H.B. Wilson Jnr., A.H. Clough, Rowland Williams, J.A. Froude, and Mark Pattison. Pattison wrote of this movement,

> "If any Oxford man had gone to sleep in 1846 and woke up in 1850 he would have found himself in a totally new world... Theology was totally banished from the Common Room, and even from private conversation. Very free opinions on all subjects were rife."[5]

The movement was not untheological but undogmatic: its Latitudinarianism more extreme than that of F.D. Maurice and his associates. It lacked their persistently reverential conservatism[6] and, as C.C.J. Webb observed, was "of a kind calculated profoundly to disturb and unsettle religious convictions."[7] The Oxford Liberals' manifesto was Essays and Reviews, which nurtured the "warring tendencies in theological and religious thought",[8] and the fracturing of traditional party loyalties, characteristic of this period. It was a paradoxical age, and, as Dowden observed: "produced the sermons of Spurgeon, the Apologia pro Vita sua of Newman, and the Literature and Dogma of Matthew Arnold."[9] Our study has hitherto catalogued mostly positive responses to Christ's priesthood. Oxford Liberalism affords us examples of novel degrees and forms of criticism and, the roots of a tradition of negativity towards Hebrews. But it also signalled the beginnings of a movement which fructified in the late-Victorian Golden Age of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews. This section examines the impact of progressive attitudes towards scriptural interpretation and inspiration upon their response to Hebrews' teaching on Christ's person and work as priest. A complex, composite, and yet crucial picture must be drawn of the spectrum of Anglican attitudes towards Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900, to grasp the remarkable potency of Christ's priesthood behind Anglican attitudes towards Hebrews.

1. Mid-Victorian Oxford Liberalism

Mid-Victorian Oxford Liberalism was product of a number of factors, shaping their varied response to Christ's priesthood, and determining the depth of antagonism and suspicion which it aroused. In a letter to Stanley, prior to Essays and Reviews, Jowett identified their concern to redraw the boundaries of Anglican orthodoxy to accommodate a greater degree of free thought and theological enquiry.

> "(Our) object is," wrote Jowett, "to say what we think freely within the limits of the Church of England... We do not wish to do anything rash or irritating to the public or the University, but we are determined not to submit to this abominable system of terrorism, which prevents the statement of the plainest facts, and makes true theology or theological education impossible."[10]

Their quest for freedom was part reaction against the dogmatic restriction they perceived imposed upon interpretations of the Articles in the wake of Tract XC and earlier in Tractarian attacks upon Hampden, and part reaction to the progressive advance of an atheistic, utilitarian, rationalism in Oxford, schooled and inspired by John Stuart Mill. An altruistic streak also pervades this Oxford Liberalism, but it was unperceived by contemporaries blinded by the liberalism which enshrined it. Here was an attempt then to accredit Christian faith amid a scornful scepticism. Hand-in-hand with their quest for freedom went a preparedness to sit light to time-honoured traditions, of which veneration for Hebrews and Christ's priesthood was one.

Central to their claim to free interpretation and use of the Church's historic formularies, whilst remaining in the Church of England, was their application of principles of scriptural interpretation espoused by Arnold and the Coleridgean school, and more popularly advanced on the Continent. In this, they appeared to their contemporaries to undermine the very foundations of popular Anglican faith and life. But, as H.B. Wilson wrote in Essays and Reviews, they were persuaded that "many evils have flowed to the people of England, otherwise free enough, from an extreme and too exclusive scripturalism".[11] The inspiration of the scriptures, Jowett claimed in undogmatic vein, was, as Coleridge held, to be established by their study, not by an a priori dogma. The Bible was also the

product of the Church and not vice versa. It was, Jowett claimed, inappropriately viewed as a mine for doctrinal proof-texts.[12] The application of critical methods to scriptural study, as to any ancient text, both challenged its uniqueness and threatened the dogmatic foundation of biblical faith and doctrines. The character and unity of the Bible were challenged. Of Article VI H.B. Wilson claimed: "This declaration declares that nothing is to be required to be believed on peril of salvation, unless it be scriptural; but it does not lay down that everything which is contained in scripture must be believed on the same peril".[13] For all the opposition it aroused, as embodying the views of Anglican churchmen,[14] Essays and Reviews occupies a significant place in the advance of Anglican biblical criticism, though its initial effect was to provoke a revival of a reactionary bibliolatry.[15] In their critical responses to Hebrews representatives of this Oxford Liberalism reflect a preparedness to question the biblical foundation of popularly held doctrinal convictions, of which Christ's priesthood and sacrifice were one, and a variety of opinions compatible with true freedom of enquiry.

As G.W.H. Lampe observed, they sought "the emancipation of the Word of God from the grave-clothes wound around it by a priori dogmatism and by the superstition and immorality of much popular theology."[16] Biblical criticism advanced by Oxford Liberalism was theologically motivated, and philosophically inspired. Behind their varied response to Hebrews and Christ's priesthood are to be seen the historicism of Hegel and the moralism of Kant. Their response reflects the spirit of the age, not the outlook of the Church. Behind the progress of biblical criticism was the historical spirit of the age and the quest for sources and origins. Behind Stanley's avowal of 'progressive revelation' lay the same Hegelian sense of the organic evolution of history which exudes Darwin's Origin of Species (1856). Behind Liberal repudiation of the irascible, whimsical, destructive God of the Old Testament, lay the Kantian moralism embraced by those antithetical to the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill. Behind their criticism and evaluation of Christ's priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews was awareness of German criticism of Hebrews' canonicity and inspiration (pace Michaelis),[17] of its intermediary eirenical spirit (pace Baur),[18] and of its

typological exegesis.[19] The doctrine of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice in Hebrews were brought under the keen rational, historical, critical eye of mid-Victorian Oxford Liberalism and, by many, found wanting as articles of popular Anglican doctrine and devotion. Their Christ was more the prophetic teacher and powerful king of liberal christologies, than the sympathetic saviour and priestly intercessor.

Oxford Liberalism was prepared, if not eager, to reject the dominant outlook of its Anglican contemporaries, and ask questions few had considered. We do not find a common interpretation, or response, to Christ's priesthood in Hebrews among them but a fragmented picture as old certainties crack. Before examining the reactions of individual writers to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice as presented in Hebrews, three important characteristics of Anglican interpretation of the Epistle must be reemphasized as embodying the substance against which the Oxford writers reacted and the secret to the Epistle's later significance.

2. Anglican exegesis of Hebrews and conservative scripturalism: 1827-1859

In the first place, the incursion of a progressive biblical criticism into Anglican interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and its pivotal doctrine of Christ as priest, encountered the full weight of the Church's historic veneration of the Epistle (noted in the Introduction) and, more recently, perpetuation of that enthusiasm in conservative expositions. Even between 1827 and 1856, when Benjamin Jowett published his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans - the focus of odium theologicum and of renascent Anglican biblical criticism,[20] - in addition to favourable responses to Hebrews already cited,[21] a host of commentaries and contributions to larger expositions appeared, the most noteworthy of which deserve brief mention.

In 1828 G.V. Sampson published his Literal Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews - attacked as much for daring to retranslate the text, in an age besotted with the divine inspiration of the Authorized Version, as for the quality of the work itself.[22] The following year the Oxford individualist P.N.

Shuttleworth, later Bishop of Chichester, defended specifically Christ's divinity from Hebrews, against the neo-Socinians, in his Paraphrastic Translation of the Apostolical Epistles, indicating both the conservative methodology and dogmatic outlook of one reckoned by many as broad-minded.[23] An equally conservative approach is found in George Holden's The Christian Expositor: A Practical Guide to the Study of the New Testament (1830), wherein the pragmatism of conservative scripturalism is hamessed to exposition of Hebrews, reckoned a "highly important portion of the inspired volume" and proof of its Pauline authorship "so ample and decisive, that it can leave little doubt in any impartial mind".[24] Thomas Parry's The Apostleship and Priesthood of Christ: A Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews (1934) was the first of a number of works relating Hebrews to Tractarianism. He rejects a 'vicarial', as against 'ministerial', character in Christian priesthood,[25] and stresses the glory of Christ's priesthood, so that -"Those who reject the priesthood of our Lord, His sacrifice and intercession, virtually reject His salvation".[26] George Montagu, Viscount Mandeville's, Horae Hebraicae (1835) was a devout and diligent, popular study of the first four chapters and asked the crucial question - "What did it mean to its hearers?"[27] The work confirms the centrality of Christ's priesthood to nineteenth century humanitarianism, as the sympathy, sinlessness, and suffering of the incarnate priest are stressed.[28] In 1838 a sympathiser of Oxford Tractarianism, Charles Forster, editor of the correspondence of Alexander Knox and John Jebb, published his protracted defense of the Pauline authorship of Hebrews against its critics from Origen to Michaelis, entitled The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[29] Of a comparable standing was William Tait's two volume Meditationes Hebraicae (1845), in which the Epistle's dogmatic function is explicitly employed to counter the contemporary forms of the heresies of Unitarianism, Popery, Sabellianism, Tritheism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Apollinarianism, Antinomianism, Arminianism, and Calvinism![30] In spite of its apparent negativity, which extended to Tractarianism, Tait's work positively expressed Anglican veneration for "this precious scripture", "this heavenly light".[31] John Kitto's early Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature (1845)[32] was

conservative in its conclusion of Pauline authorship, but aware that there is no subject on which "in the department of the higher criticism of the N.T. ... opinions (have) been more divided and more keenly discussed." The possible advance in criticism seen here is entirely absent from the Anglican layman John Stow's spiritualized Reflections on the Epistles of St. Paul and on that to the Hebrews (1847), but it does express the devout veneration in which Hebrews was popularly held.[33] Christopher Wordsworth's Hulsean Lectures, (1807-1885) On the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (1847), reflect a progressive concern, in the face of Continental criticism to defend the Epistle's Apostolicity and Canonicity, and he does this by establishing Pauline authorship through 1 Pet.ii:15, at the same time as side-swiping Roman Catholic presumptuous claims to authority evident in its dilatoriness in accepting the Epistle into the Canon.[34] Samuel Davidson's (1806-1878) three volume Introduction to the New Testament (1848-1851), esteemed by many Anglicans - for all its non-conformist, liberal, outlook - again only defended Anglican esteem for Hebrews by expatiating upon its "high theological importance" and its "preciousness" in expounding "Christ's person and official character".[35] Ultimate conviction of its Pauline authorship and unquestionable inspiration also informs Conybeare and Howson's The Life and Epistles of St. Paul (1852), who, like Alford later in his The Greek Testament (1859), reflect what had become a characteristic Anglican response to its authorship - stressing its undoubted inspiration ab intra and sitting light to challenges to its Apostolicity ab extra.[36] Oxford Liberalism encounterd a weight of enthusiasm for Hebrews, which, as this last point indicates, was not particularly alarmed by rejection of the Epistle's Pauline authorship in Essays and Reviews,[37] having already been convinced of the inspiration of its teaching on Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

In other respects, however, more was at stake for conservative scripturalism, when aspersions were cast on the Apostolicity or Canonicity of the Epistle to the Hebrews, than simply degradation of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice, for the Epistle was integral to the very substructure of that conservative scripturalism itself. Hebrews was prized by conservative Anglican

scholars as the dogmatic source, as we have seen, for their defence of christological orthodoxy and clear exposition of a sacrificial soteriology. It was valued as a handbook to faith, a challenge to perseverence, a counter to Romanism. It was beloved as embodying comfort to the afflicted, support to the weak, forgiveness to the sinful, hope to the hopeless, in the image of the sympathising heavenly priest. In addition to these, however, Hebrews was traditionally presented as the 'key' to the Old Testament, as, in a particular manner, endorsing the doctrine of the fundamental unity of the Bible per se, and as undergirding the finely-woven, conservative system, of scriptural typology - the Old Testament being antitypically fulfilled in New Testament anti-types.[38] Even Davidson, whilst commending Christ's priesthood as "the great doctrine which pervades the epistle, and... gives it its chief value in the eyes of the christian", also stresses, in it "the connexion between the Old Testament and the New Testament is explicitly taught".[39] Hebrews i:1,2 were popularly interpreted as explicating the inspiration of the whole Bible: Hebrews iv:14-x:20, the inner meaning of the ancient Levitical economy perfectly fulfilled in the person and work of Jesus Christ, priest and sacrifice. To question the inspiration of Hebrews, or its apostolicity or canonicity, was to threaten the whole volume in conservative eyes.

Hebrews had been also traditionally integral to, if not at times the inspiration for, the interest in scriptural typology in England, which persisted into the mid-nineteenth century, despite its discredit in German rationalism at the end of the eighteenth century.[40] 'Typology' was, as Estlin Carpenter points out, "more than a pious past time; it was regarded as a serious contribution to religious truth".[41] Hence, though a favourite seventeenth century subject, its study flourished in the conservatism of Victorian England. Guild's Moses Unveiled (1620) was republished in 1839, Worden's The Types Unveiled (1664) in 1840, and Prideaux's Connection between the Old and New Testament (1717) in 1845, and these, together with Fairbairn's Typology of Scripture (1870) were integral to a conservative scripturalism in which to varying degrees some (pace Marsh)[42] or all, (pace Pusey),[43] of the Old Testament typically prefigured the New Testament, as parts of God's one revelation. Typology fed on the sense of 'mystery' which Pusey

believed Jowett lacked,[44] and thrust into the centre of Anglican reflection on the nature of the Bible, the Epistle to the Hebrews. Hebrews encouraged literalists convinced that every detail of the scriptures was written by a divine hand. It enlightened those mystified by the nuances of Leviticus. It encouraged those doubting the united witness of scripture to the eternal and historical prefiguration of Christ's person and work.

Hebrews was, then, necessarily implicated when biblical inspiration was discussed. To challenge it was to undermine a whole view of the Bible: to defend it was to uphold that view. The Epistle to the Hebrews was thus integral to the development of Anglican biblical criticism in the Victorian era.

Thirdly, though, another crucial characteristic of Anglican interpretation of Hebrews was, as we have argued throughout hitherto, that its leading doctrinal motif, Christ's priesthood, was deeply embedded in the Church's lex orandi. Indeed, the importance of Hebrews' doctrine of Christ's priesthood for Anglican liturgical theology is explicitly acknowledged by Forster, who stated:

> "The clearness with which the framers of our Liturgy saw, and entered into, this grand doctrine (Christ's priesthood and heavenly session), as the consummation of the whole Gospel scheme, is shown, with true sublimity of thought and expression, in the closing address of the eucharistic Doxology: 'O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: Thou... receive our prayer: Thou that sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us.' Here, as in Hebrews, this doctrine is the close and climax of the whole. If the Liturgy of the Church of England were examined more by comparison with Scripture, both the excellence of its use of Scripture language would be more fully appreciated, and our views of Scripture would become more just and enlarged."[45]

Forster was not unique: the influence of Hebrews upon the Anglican liturgy was generally acknowledged by his contemporaries. To challenge Hebrews was effectively to storm the bastion of Anglican religion, the Book of Common Prayer. The strength and fate of Anglican veneration for Hebrews and the liturgy were intertwined. Conversely, veneration for Christ's priesthood as a cardinal article of the Church's historic lex orandi, made the issue of criticism of Hebrews a matter of devotion as much as of theology. The connection was crucial. The history of the development of Anglican biblical criticism is, through the Epistle to

the Hebrews, a further expression of the impact of the lex orandi upon the lex credendi in the Victorian Church. The remarkable resilience of Hebrews in England to the attacks of Continental 'higher criticism' is to be understood in this light. Devotion is notoriously conservative and resistant to change. It was this which, through its relation to the Book of Common Prayer, anchored Hebrews against the tide which on the Continent was running fast against the Epistle.

3. Benjamin Jowett and Christ's priestly 'sacrifice'

It is against this background that the response of mid-Victorian Oxford Liberalism to Hebrews' presentation of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice is to be understood. It is in this context that we are to understand, first, Benjamin Jowett's (1817-1893) severe criticism of the sacrificial language of Hebrews in his essay 'On the Atonement and Satisfaction' appended to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (1856).[46] It is in this light that the "storm of acrimonious controversy" which broke around the essay is readily explicable.[47]

Despite his undergraduate nickname 'Melchizedek',[48] Benjamin Jowett had little love of the Epistle in which the glories of that personage are unravelled. He could not identify with popular veneration of its doctrinal and devotional significance. He reacted against the *implicit* conservatism of devotion. As C.C.J. Webb wrote: "He came very early to recognize, if less vividly than in later life, that what mattered to himself in religion, while it could often be expressed in the familiar language of the scriptures, or of the Prayer Book, or of popular devotion, could be expressed also, and perhaps more naturally to modern ears, in quite other language."[49] His antipathy to Hebrews was expressive of his intellectual restlessness and quest for novelty. He was drawn to Continental criticism and applied its findings to study of the Bible in general, and Hebrews in particular. Faber tells us that between 1846-8 Jowett studied Baur and "found in the critical and sceptical mind of the Tübingen theologian an independent texture not unlike that of his own mind".[50] "Baur appears to me," Jowett wrote at the time, "the ablest book I have ever read on St. Paul's Epistle: a remarkable contribution of philological and metaphysical power, without the intrusion of

modern philosophy".[51] From Baur he learned that Hebrews was not by Paul but was the first of a group of eirenical writings attempting to assimilate Pauline and Petrine theology. From Baur, too, he inherited a pre-occupation with textual and hermeneutical questions which bore fruit in his later work on Plato. His critical studies set him apart from the majority of his contemporaries.[52] He eschewed scriptural typology and allegorisation.[53] He did not share with them, either, a love of the Church of England. In early life he eschewed internecine quarrels, throughout his life he remained indifferent to confessional distinctions. Only in later life did a softening in his attitude appear. Here was no mentality sympathetic to popular veneration of Hebrews through its relation to the Anglican liturgy, no mind prepared to accept uncritically ambiguities and obfuscations of popular religious language. Here was an immensely able, critical thinker, "the only man in Oxford who has exercised a moral and spiritual influence at all comparable to that which was once yielded by John Henry Newman", claimed Stanley: "He stands confessedly master of the situation in the eyes of the rising generation of English students and theologians".[54] But Jowett's influence, like his theological career and interests, was short-lived, his criticism of Hebrews strangely isolated.

Jowett's essay attempted "to place religion on a moral and historical basis", W.G. Ward rightly claimed.[55] It was far in advance of other Broad Church or Liberal thinking.[56] It reflects his own outlook and the spirit of the 'party', if such it were, he led. The essay, revised and extended in the second edition,[57] contained a sustained attack on popular interpretation of the sacrificial language and soteriology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he adjudged incompatible with the holiness and love of God. His denunciations of the immorality of popular soteriology were, as Abbott and Campbell record, "stated with a passionate vehemence, that broke through the habitual severity of the style."[58] His passion was unchecked by veneration of, or sensitivity to, popular devotional sensibilities, by belief in the intratestamental legitimation of sacrificial terminology consequent upon the fundamental unity of scripture, and by the popular allegorical and typological interpretative methods espoused by contemporary Evangelicalism

and the patristic exegesis of the Tractarians. Jowett's response was detachedly critical and markedly analytical, philological and moral.

Jowett examined popular use of sacrificial terminology in contemporary soteriology, and enquired - What does it mean? Whence does it come? How should it be understood in relation to Christ's death? Of the word 'sacrifice', he wrote: "We repeat it as a sacred word, hallowed by the usage of Scripture, and ennobled by its metaphorical application".[59] But, he observed: "The death of Christ is not a sacrifice in the Levitical sense; but what we mean by the word sacrifice,is the death of Christ".[60] Jowett saw in the passage of time and process of cultural re-interpretation a softening and popularization of the language of sacrifice which, when critically examined, shrouded an unacceptably immoral deity.[61] As he wrote: "Whether, then, we employ the term 'sacrifice', or 'satisfaction', or 'exhibition of Divine justice', the moment we pierce beneath the meaning of the words, theological criticism seems to detect something which is irreconcilable with the truth and holiness of God."[62] For Jowett, Hebrews was the source of this popular misapprehension and misrepresentation of God.

> "It is in the Epistle to the Hebrews", he wrote, "that this reflection of the New Testament in the Old is most distinctly brought before us. There the temple, the priest, the sacrifice, the altar, the persons of Jewish history are the figures of Christ and the Church. In the Epistles of St. Paul it is the rarity rather than the frequency of such images which is striking. It is the opposition and not the identification of the law and the Gospel which is the leading thought of his mind. But in the Epistle to the Hebrews they are fused in one; the New Testament is hidden in the Old, the Old revealed in the New. And from this source,and not from the Epistles of St. Paul, the language of which we are speaking has passed into the theology of modern times. While few people, comparatively speaking,have ever understood the relation of the law and faith in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews is familiar to all".[63]

Jowett endorses the 'popular' character of contemporary veneration of Hebrews. He both acknowledges and rejects this characteristic of popular devotion, consciously repudiating an article of his contemporaries' misapprehended faith, mediated through Hebrews. He rejects the Epistle and this popular interpretation, remarking:

> "We can live and die in the language of St. Paul and St. John, without fear for ourselves or dishonour to the name of Christ. We need not change a word that they use, or add a single consequence to their statement of the truth. There is nothing there repugnant to our moral sense. There are others to whom tradition and devotional use may have made another kind of language familiar, who employ it by a sort of happy inconsistency, without perceiving the contradiction which it involves to the attributes of God. Neither let them condemn us,... It is a natural, though hardly excusable weakness, to clothe with peculiar awe and sacredness that which is really of human invention; to be zealous in defence of those points which we instinctively know to be least capable of standing the test of theological criticism."[64]

Jowett challenged the immorality of popular, sacrificial, Anselmian atonement theologies.[65] His unpopularity was assured. His career as a theologian effectively terminated.[66] In the spirit of Abelard, Kant, Coleridge and F.D. Maurice, Jowett urged:

> "the only sacrifice, atonement, or satisfaction with which Christ has to do, is a moral and spiritual one; not the pouring out of blood upon the earth but the living sacrifice 'to do Thy will, O God'; in which the believer has part as well as his Lord; and about the meaning of which there can be no more question in our day, than there was in the first ages."[67]

Here was Jowett's response to the application of biblical criticism to the Epistle to the Hebrews' doctrine of Christ's priestly sacrifice, and with biting rhetoric he enquired: "If our Saviour is to come again on earth, which of all the theories of Atonement and Sacrifice would He sanction with His authority?"[68]

In reactions to Jowett's essay criticism by opponents was, at times, qualified by commendation, and commendation by friends tempered by criticism. Alongside those who roundly condemned the Commentary, J.B. Lightfoot remarked: "the reconstructive process bears no proportion to the destructive... after every abatement which has to be made on this score, these volumes will still hold their position in the foremost ranks of recent literature for depth and range of thought."[69] The questions Jowett asked were unappreciated and did not go away.[70] Lightfoot's prescience outshone that of the reviewer who dismissed the essay as "taken almost verbatim et literatim out of the Aids to Reflection of Coleridge".[71] Frederick Temple, "the least notorious liberal" to whom the Commentary was dedicated,[72] expressed the views of other Liberal colleagues who did not identify with Jowett's deliberately controversial style. "I miss in you

something of that 'economy' whereby Maurice manages to express his doctrine in the phraseology of the Articles". Temple commented, "You run to the opposite extreme and insist upon expressing all that you have to say in words as unlike those of your opponents as you can find."[73] Temple objected to Jowett's over-harsh condemnation of Hebrews, observing: "It is always worthwhile if you are teaching men to give up a common interpretation, to tell them what they must put in the place of it. This you have not done."[74] Defending the popular language of sacrifice too, Temple wrote: "it expresses to most people not merely the idea of satisfaction to Divine justice but that of absolute surrender of self to love and duty."[75] Temple reckoned rightly the richness and tenacity of popular interpretation of the language of Hebrews, which Jowett's critical, academic treatise acknowledged in theory, but failed to consider in practical application of his views. In the realm of 'devotion', doctrines assume an independence both of scriptural and, at times, of liturgical verification, and become sceptical of, or regardless to, theoretical criticism. Jowett's own independence of mind and judgement led him to take on the full weight of popular Anglican veneration for Hebrews and Christ's priesthood and sacrifice therein. It was a bold stroke. It served only to stoke the fire of Anglican commitment, which engulfed many in the forth-coming 'Golden Age' in Anglican exegesis of Hebrews.

4. Christ's priesthood and other contributors to 'Essays and Reviews'

Perhaps not altogether surprisingly, in the light of the furore accompanying Jowett's Commentary and appended essay, the Epistle to the Hebrews is not treated extensively in that "quite unplanned",[76] "reckless"[77] volume Essays and Reviews. As noted above, Pauline authorship was denied. This was neither surprising nor new. Denial of the divine, plenary, verbal inspiration of the Bible as a whole, however, by implication, challenged the scriptural unity and typological harmony of the Testaments, upon which conservative exegesis depended. By challenging typological and allegorical interpretation, Jowett necessarily challenged traditional exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the doctrine of Christ's priesthood. But there was no uniformity of opinion, and H.B.

Wilson alludes to Christ's priestood.[78] In order to understand the views of other Liberal Churchmen of the period we must, therefore, examine their writing. When this is done we can see the light Christ's priesthood sheds upon their attitudes towards biblical study, or reasons for neglecting the doctrine.

Among those who reflect Jowett's negativity, H.B. Wilson (1803-1888), Rowland Williams (1817-1870), and A.H. Clough (1819-1861), deserve mention. Wilson was, like his father, an Anglican universalist, but his liberal outlook did not embrace the image of Christ as priest readily. Its general absence from his writing is noteworthy. In contrast to Jowett, Wilson objects to the Pauline doctrines of human depravity, imputation of sin, and divine 'wrath' in a literal sense.[79] This is the focus of his liberal criticism and Hebrews is but indirectly mentioned. Rowland Williams' response also reflects other doctrinal preoccupations. Arraigned for heresy in the 1860's, Williams' liberalism was not devoid of devotion: indeed, prayer was for him "the ultimate test of theology" and the critical question, "How will this bear being prayed out?"[80] But Christ's priesthood had no place in his liberal Unitarian devotion embodied in his Psalms, Collects, and Liturgies, (1872). Far from illuminating the two natures of Christ, Williams held that "the mediatorial standing" of Christ only seemed "to imply rather a participation of Deity".[81] So Williams, like Wilson, has little place for Hebrews in his doctrinal and devotional writing. A.H. Clough, too, omits mention of Christ's priesthood in his intense, devotional poems. However, unlike Jowett, as A.O.J. Cockshut has pointed out:

> "Clough realized what most of his contemporaries forgot, that a doctrine was more than a historical or philosophical or legal statement (though it may be any or all of these). It was also an outward expression of the corporate experience of a given religious tradition. He realized too that liturgy and traditions of public worship could be as influential as doctrines."[82]

Clough's insight is the secret to understanding the persistent potency of the image of Christ as priest in and through Anglican biblical studies in the late-Victorian era. Though he did not apply it to the doctrine, it might be truly stated that Christ's priesthood was "an outward expression of the corporate experience of a given religious tradition." In these writers there is an ominous silence respecting

Hebrews and Christ's priesthood, which sets them apart from their Evangelical and later Tractarian contemporaries.

H.H. Milman (1791-1868), Baden Powell (1796-1860), and A.P. Stanley (1815-1881), stand out progressively in contrast to Jowett's criticism. Milman was Dean of St. Paul's and an Old Testament scholar. He could never share Jowett's ambiguous Anglicanism and aggressive attitude towards Hebrews. Milman did, however, embrace the historical spirit of the age in his controversial History of the Jews (1829). Stephen Neill described Milman as "one of the first scholars in England to apply a reverent historical common-sense to the narratives of the Old Testament",[83] but against his early work, as Stanley pointed out in his obituary, opposition was incomparably passionate.[84] Whilst, for example, Evangelical or orthodox contemporaries spiritualized the historical figure of Melchizedek, at times interpreting him as a christophany, Milman simply likened him to "the monarchs of the heroic ages in Greece and Rome, and indeed of most among the early oriental tribes", who united "the office of king and priest".[85] This rejection of a directly christological or typological application reflected on Milman's attitudes towards scriptural unity and towards Hebrews, which was thereby severed from its typological origins. A more conservative side to Milman is found in his later History of Christianity (1845), where Pauline authorship is ascribed to Hebrews.[86] His sermon 'Hebrews Prophecy' (1865), despite questioning the revelation of a divine-human Mediator in the Old Testament, nevertheless declares that in the future "the advancing knowledge of man will confine his hope and trust to the sole Mediator", and "the intercession that he will continue to implore will be that of the one Intercessor".[87] Clearly Milman's doubts respecting the historical origin of the idea do not extend to impair his conviction of the spiritual fact of there being one God-Man Mediator, and Intercessor.

Whereas Milman approached the question of the Mediator through the Old Testament, Baden Powell, the noted Liberal and Savilian Professor of Geometry, approached the Old Testament through the New. In contrast to Jowett's philological, textual criticism, Powell self-confessedly prefers figurative, patristic interpretation of the Old Testament to that of a literalist Puritanism.[88]

He admits in his Christianity without Judaism (1857) that the relation between the two Testaments is often confused, but stresses that Judaism is ultimately founded on Christianity, as a type of it.[89] Echoing the distinctions of Baur, Powell holds that "the Hebraisms of Christianity form an important point in the elucidation of its doctrines".[90] The two Testaments are mutually illuminating and, from his 'typological' presuppositions, he declares:

> "Christ's death was a sacrifice, that there might be an end of all sacrifice. He was himself the priest that there might be an end of all priesthood. He was prophet as well as priest, to fulfil the ends and mission of both those instituted orders, to supersede the covenant and fulfil the promise; a spiritual king, to put an end to all idea of a temporal kingdom..."[91]

Proceeding from the New Testament to the Old, Powell presents Christ as the fulfilment of the old dispensation, the Christus Consummator.

5. A.P. Stanley and a Liberal's love of Hebrews

A.P. Stanley's interpretation of Christ's priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews is the consummation of a more positive line of Liberal thought, in direct contrast to Jowett. Liberal all his days, Stanley had feared a lessening of latitude consequent upon Tract XC;[92] he edited Thomas Arnold's Life and Letters and championed his cause. He was nevertheless also an Anglican Churchman, more conservative in spirit than Jowett, as his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians (1855) suggests.[93] He ended his days not as a professor of divinity (as was once rumoured), but beloved by royalty as Dean of Westminster (1864-1881). His interpretation reflects the liberalism and conservatism of this complex Maurician figure who initially led the mid-Victorian renascence of Oxford Liberalism. In Stanley we see the institutionalising and mellowing of the 'Broad Church' movement which by the end of the 60's had run its course.[94]

Stanley treats of our theme at length in three works. They all confirm a love for Hebrews, a fertile veneration for its leading doctrinal themes, and a strong sense of the unitive witness of scripture to a 'progressive revelation'. His earliest work on Hebrews, a supplementary study in his Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Age, presents an Epistle for an age of 'transition' invaluably

illuminating the Alexandrian phase of the early Church's development.[95] It is for him "the true link between St. Paul and St. John, the true preparation for the end of the old and the rise of the new dispensation,"[96] containing "the first and only Apostolical model of a systematic study and Christian application of the older Scriptures."[97] It was supremely "The Epistle for sufferers";[98] its comforting message a hope to the forelorn. Stanley follows the popular Anglican response to its authorship - distinguishing between canonicity, inspiration, and direct Pauline apostolicity, which he doubted. "No one need regard the canonicity of a book as dependent on its authorship;" he wrote, "if once we recognise its place in the circle of Apostolical teaching, it has an authority over us which no criticism respecting its origin can disturb."[99] Of its usefulness for Christians, he wrote:

> "It is not, nor could we have expected it to be, a necessary part of the continuous progress of the new revelation; it fills up an interstice between the successive stages of the ascent; it does not in itself command on every side the approaches to the heavenly summit. But in saying even thus much, it is obvious that there have been, and will be, to the end of the world, peculiar times and occasions, when this Epistle furnishes us not merely with a true representation of Christianity, but with the very representation of it which is of all others most needed, - when the loss of it from the Sacred Canon could for the time be hardly compensated by the possession of all the rest."[100]

Its particular value is here declared to be its christology.[101] Christocentric in outlook, Stanley embraced its presentation of Christus Consummator, - "as the consummation (if I may so speak) of the historical course of human events, as the satisfaction of the yearnings, the realization of the institutions, of the Jewish nation".[102] In a Maurician manner he upheld the similarity and compatibility of the Johannine Logos-christology with the priest-christology of Hebrews.[103] The Epistle articulated Christ's priestly Headship of humanity, Stanley argued and His re-interpretation to a higher meaning of the Old Testament institutions of law, priesthood, and sacrifice.[104] However, his historical relativity, applied to the Epistle's teaching, necessarily removed Christ's priesthood from the position of an unchanging, useful, doctrinal conviction, and, though he did not personally devalue it, opened the way to its evaluation being a matter of personal preference, a matter as much of devotion as of doctrine.

But Jowett was not only convinced of the canonicity and occasional usefulness of Hebrews, he was also persuaded of its unique value for his own times.

That Stanley embraced it, both doctrinally and devotionally, is apparent in his Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church (1862) and his sermons The Bible: Its form and substance, (1862). In Lecture xxxvi, 'The Jewish Priesthood', describing the ruin of the Jewish Church at the close of the Jewish era, Stanley claims, "the Priesthood was the one fragment of the ancient system standing out in unbroken strength, on which to hang the new truths which the Jewish Apostles had to present to their countrymen ".[105] Hence, the early Christians used the language of 'priesthood' of Christ, and of the believer's nearness to God through Christ and His Spirit.[106] Christ is 'the anointed one', or Messiah, with the office of anointed Priest.

> "The stream of precious oil which enveloped the High Priest had invested him, in a prominent degree, with the name of 'the Messiah'." Stanley wrote, "'The Anointed Priest,' 'the Messiah Priest,' was one of the titles of his office... And when the name of 'the CHRIST was added to JESUS the son of Mary, the chief thought conveyed was the grand idea of his consecration for his special nearness to God by that anointing of moral and spiritual fragrance, which breathed, as it were, myrrh, aloes, and cassia from all his garments."[107]

This priest alone has offered "the only true sacrifice in the blood shed on Calvary".[108] It is recalled in Christian sacrifices, in "common acts of life, and of the will and spirit of Him who, by one decisive sacrificial act, destroyed the value of all Jewish and heathen sacrifices".[109] Christ's priesthood informed Stanley's understanding of christology, soteriology, and Christian morality in these Lectures. His Maurician spirit and enthusiasm are clear.

> "The 'Priesthood,' with its princely magnificence and venerable usages", he wrote, "became, as it were, a halo of glory for One who both in life and death dealt against it the heaviest blow that any earthly Priesthood ever sustained... No new sense was ever won for old words, at once more alien to their outward sound, than that which saw in the decaying Priesthood of the Jewish race, the anticipation of the universal consecration of the whole world by Christ and His Apostles."[110]

The three Oxford sermons, The Bible: Its form and Substance, expound the 'progressive revelation' of God from Hebrews i:1,2.[111] They attack the

traditional theory of "a uniform and equal Inspiration of every word and letter of the Bible" as "a modern hypothesis"[112] refuted by Hebrews - from which, ironically, just such a view of the unitive inspiration of the Bible was defended! This text affords "the best definition which the Bible contains of its own structure and contents", Stanley maintains, and gives "the best reply to many of the difficulties which have of late years beset the path of the theological student".[113] The doctrine of the Bible's literal, verbal, infallible inspiration, is not, he declares, taught in the Church's Liturgy or Articles.[114] Hebrew's informed Stanley's understanding of the Bible and shaped his doctrinal convictions in three ways. Firstly, Stanley employs Hebrews i:1,2 to justify a fundamentally christocentric view of the Old Testament.[115] Christ's priesthood is integral to Stanley's development of an historico-critical approach to scripture. The prominence he attaches to Hebrews in this development anticipated directly its subsequent exegetical importance for Anglican doctrine and biblical studies. Like Maurice, Stanley took the words, "He hath in these last days spoken to us by His Son", as revealing "the centre of the New Testament",[116] and indicating "the end to which the graduated, multiform, complex revelation of the Old Testament had been tending and wherein it closed... at once the sanction and the correction of the whole system of types and antitypes, prophecies and fulfilments of prophecy".[117] In the typical background stood the figure of Christ as priest. "Take away that Figure, take away that Cross", he wrote, "and the background of the Old Testament as well as the foreground of the New Testament become dull and colourless, as when the sun has gone down".[118]

Secondly, his Sermons also illustrate the role Hebrews played in the development of his Anglican christological incarnationism. Sermons I and III are a sustained declaration of the Incarnation as the primary Christian doctrine, witnessed to, he claims, by scripture, the first four General Councils, and "the whole genius of the Catholic Faith and the Catholic Church".[119] In the declaration of "the Son" in the New Testament, lies its superiority over the Old.[120]

Thirdly, Stanley held that in Christ's life and death, interpreted by Hebrews, is found the true meaning of Old Testament sacrifice, as lying not in the blood, but in "the perfect surrender of a perfect Will and Life to the perfect Will of an All Just and All Merciful God".[121] Like Maurice, Christ's priestly self-surrender to the Father's will, is for Stanley epitomised in the text from Hebrews, "Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God".[122] It was in this sense Stanley understood of Christ's priestly sacrifice. His life of priestly self-sacrifice to the Father illuminated Stanley's understanding of the Father and the Son.[123] His language is again Maurician. "In the Sacrifice of Christ we see," he wrote, "if one may so say, the Sacrifice of God Himself. In the Love of Christ we see the Love of God; the Truth of God is shewn to us in the Truth of Christ."[124] The prime and beloved biblical source for the doctrine of Christ's priestly penal and substitutionary atonement became the inspiration of a soteriology hinging on Christ's priestly self-sacrifice.

> "Take away what we know of the character and life of Christ," he wrote, "and His crucifixion would become a mere exhibition of pain and suffering... an execution but not a Sacrifice, because it would be without that Sacrifice of heart and will in which alone the God of Revelation has declared Himself to be well pleased...It is from the life which culminated in the death that the Death derives its virtue. It is from the long Sacrifice of Nazareth and Capernaum that the one supreme Sacrifice on Calvary receives its living savour ... It is not from the side of the Atonement that we should approach the Incarnation, but from the side of the Incarnation that we should approach the Atonement."[125]

Christ's priesthood was caught up in the fundamental shift from Atonement to Incarnation at the centre of much Victorian Anglican theology. It fostered the movement from Christus Redemptor to Christus Consummator.

Stanley's response to Christ's priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews contrasts with Jowett's. Whilst from Jowett a negative attitude was mediated to the Church, in Stanley's positive response and integration of both the doctrine and the Epistle in an historical Hegelian understanding of 'progressive revelation' and a 'moral', 'volitional', reinterpretation of Christ's priestly sacrifice, we see anticipated characteristics of a line of approach which was to inspire much, later, veneration of the Epistle and reinterpretation of soteriology. But, in

the development of Anglican biblical criticism, Christ's priesthood in Hebrews was implicitly and explicitly challenged by two writers not immediately part of the Oxford, Liberal school - the Maurician biblical scholar, Bishop J.W. Colenso (1814-1883) of Natal, and Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), radical heir to Rugbeian Latitudinarianism.

6. Colenso and Matthew Arnold: other challenges to Christ's priesthood

The details of the Colenso affair do not concern us here.[126] It is significant for us, not for the light the legal squabbles shed on the beliefs admissable for an Anglican bishop,[127] nor for the alienation the affair reveals between faith and reason in the 1860's, but for the impact Colenso's Pentateuch (1862) had directly or indirectly on the finely balanced system of scriptural typology. Colenso's arithmetical mind, lacking a sense of history, of criticism, of a wider understanding of the implications of his thought, produced an extraordinary statistical analysis. But the fact of the study is itself significant, since, as Estlin Carpenter points out:

> "The system of Scriptural Typology was founded on the assumption that the first five books of the Bible were composed by Moses. The details of the religious institutions which he established were directly communicated to him by the Most High, and bore secret reference to the truths afterwards embodied in the person of Christ and the rites of the Church."[128]

Colenso's study, like Francis Newman's earlier History of the Hebrew Monarchy (1847), which sought to integrate the Pentateuchal historico-critical studies of the Germany scholar, Ewald (1803-1875), and De Wette (1780-1849) into England applying "frank and fearless judgements to the biblical characters"[129] and like the later studies of the 'Grafians',[130] disturbed the substructure of scriptural typology, and coming in Colenso's case from an Anglican Bishop, horrified conservative sensibilities.[131] Christ's priesthood was necessarily affected by critical analysis of the Melchizedek passage in Genesis xiv, or the Levitical ordinances of Leviticus xvi and xvii. Without dilating further on this issue, since it is a departure from our preoccupation here with the impact of biblical criticism on Hebrews, it is clear that the hot-bed of Old Testament debate necessarily

contributed to undermining confident articulation of Christ's priestly office: or, rather, could and indeed did for some, undermine confidence. As the following section and chapters will reveal, however, that this was not predominantly the case testifies not only to the persistent conservatism of Anglican biblical studies but also to the potency of the image of Christ as priest to create a devotional motive for persistent dependence on Hebrews and the scriptural typology it enjoined.

If Colenso's challenge was indirect, Matthew Arnold's was characteristically direct.[132] It echoes Jowett's condemnation of Hebrews' sacrificial soteriology, but is largely free of his vilification of the Epistle itself. In Literature and Dogma (1873), God and the Bible (1875), and St Paul and Protestantism, (1870) Arnold presents himself, as R.M. Grant observes, as "the cultivated layman's exegete".[133] He is alert to the progress of biblical critical studies, sensitive to their significance, critical in their acceptance. In St Paul and Protestantism the balance is finely struck in evaluation of Hebrews.

> "The Epistle to the Hebrews is", he writes, "full of beauty and power; and what may be called the exterior conduct of its argument is as able and satisfying as Paul's exterior conduct of his argument is generally embarrassed. Its details are full of what is edifying; but its apparent central conception of Christ's death, as a perfect sacrifice which consummated the imperfect sacrifices of the Jewish law, is a mere notion of the understanding, and is not a religious idea."[134]

From this we can see the distinction Arnold drew between the theology of St. Paul and of the writer to the Hebrews. Ascribing the Epistle's authorship to Apollos he described him as "an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures" but, in whom, "the intelligence, and the powers of combining, type-finding, and expounding, somewhat dominated the religious perceptions".[135] He was not the modern churchman's paragon of reasonable Christianity. By contrast, Paul is endowed with a "profound religious sense"... "the incomparable power and energy of religious perception informing his intellectual perception".[136] Whereas, according to Arnold, Apollos was overpowered by the prevenient notion of an offended God appeased by vicarious sacrifice - a view, which, he claims, has

driven subsequent theologians before like sheep! - St Paul's religious sensibilities were more critical.[137]

> "The notion of God as a magnified and non-natural man," he writes, "appeased by a sacrifice and remitting in consideration of it his wrath against those who had offended him,- this notion of God, which science repels, was equally repelled, in spite of all that his nation, time, and training had in them to favour it, by the profound religious sense of Paul. In none of his epistles is the reconciling work of Christ really presented under this aspect. One great epistle there is, however, which does apparently present it under this aspect,- the Epistle to the Hebrews."[138]

Despite his earlier praise of Hebrews, he takes severe exception as a critical layman to this aspect of its thought.

> "Turn it which way you will," he writes, "the notion of an appeasement of offended God by vicarious sacrifice, which the Epistle to the Hebrews apparently sanctions, will never truly speak to the religious sense, or bear fruit for true religion."[139]

In Literature and Dogma the attack is more particularly directed.

> "The seventh chapter of Hebrews..." he declared, "is one tissue of clever, learned trifling... all based on the false assumption that 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek!' was really said to Jesus, whereas it was not."[140]

Christ's priesthood was integral to Arnold's attack on the central teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In this eloquent Liberal, contemporaries troubled by the popular soteriological application of the sacrifical language of Hebrews found a forceful champion. Illustrating the 'popular' character of Hebrews' teaching in the mid-Victorian era, against which, like Jowett, he reacted, Arnold inveighs at length against "the common doctrine of Puritanism" regarding Christ's sacrificial, propitiatory, penal atonement.

> "... it is our honest opinion", he writes, "that the popular doctrine of 'the sacrifical Atonement of the Divine Son of God' derives, if not real, yet at any rate a strong apparent sanction from the Epistle to the Hebrews. Even supposing, what is probably true, that the popular doctrine is really the doctrine neither of the one Epistle nor of the other, yet it must be confessed that while it is the reader's fault,- a fault due to his fixed prepossessions, and to his own want of penetration,- if he gets the popular doctrine out of the Epistle to the Romans, it

> is on the other hand the writer's fault and no longer the reader's, if out of the Epistle to the Hebrews he gets the popular doctrine. For the author of that Epistle is, if not subjugated, yet at least preponderantly occupied by the idea of the Jewish system of sacrifices, and of the analogies to Christ's sacrifice which are furnished by that system."[141]

Matthew Arnold, like Jowett, was prepared to take on the full weight of traditional, popular Anglican veneration of Christ's priesthood and priestly sacrifice in the Epistle to the Hebrews. That Hebrews does not itself contain a theory of the Atonement has in time become a popular line of interpretation. To many of their contemporaries the attacks appeared heretical.

We have illustrated in this section the variety of responses to Christ's priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews consequent upon the advance of Anglican biblical criticism seen among Oxford Liberals of the 1850's and 60's, and their sympathetic supporters. That Hebrews was a crucial issue has become apparent. That Christ's priesthood and priestly sacrifice were also critically examined is also clear. In the following section we must consider further how, and why it was, that despite the negative criticism levelled against the Epistle by men like Jowett and Arnold and those who followed their lead, the last quarter of the nineteenth century is aptly designated the 'Golden Age' of Anglican exegesis of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

II

B.F. Westcott,

Christ's priesthood and the 'Golden Age' of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews

The Epistle to the Hebrews is not only central to the history of the development of Anglican 'biblical criticism' in the Oxford Liberalism of the 1850's and 1860's, it was also a cardinal feature of the critical studies associated with Cambridge in the 1870's and 1880's. 'The Cambridge School', dominated by the 'trio' of J.B. Lightfoot, B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, was in the forefront of preparation of the Revised Version (1881), and consciously sought to defend the scriptures from an irreverent form of negative, Continental, 'Higher Criticism', through its own blend of sound scholarship and deep devotion.[142] Close ties of

personal and scholarly loyalty legitimate the ascription of a thoroughly English 'school' of biblical criticism, centring on, though not confined to, Cambridge.[143] They raised the level of English New Testament scholarship in a conservative way[144] to match the best of German criticism, and delayed the impact of more radical higher critical studies in Anglican biblical scholarship.[145] The aim of this section is to examine the role, content, and significance of Christ's priesthood in the doctrine and devotion of the leaders of this 'school', and to locate their attitude towards the Epistle to the Hebrews within the development of late-Victorian Anglican biblical criticism. Study of this theme reveals a remarkable burgeoning of Anglican interest in the Epistle in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and suggests that this was due not only to the Epistle's relevant doctrinal content but more specifically to the beloved devotional image of Christ as priest which it embodied.

1. The Epistle to the Hebrews as 'a landmark' in Anglican exegesis

Retrospectively Anglican exegesis of Hebrews in the nineteenth century appears dominated by B.F. Westcott's magisterial Commentary published in 1889. Insufficient attention has been directed to the context of Westcott's labours, thus obscuring an important feature of late-Victorian Anglican religion. Stephen Neill's The Interpretation of the New Testament: 1861-1961 deals exclusively with Westcott without intimating either the historical antecedents of his labours within the historic Church of England, or the vital context of interest in the Epistle in which Westcott wrote.[146] Elliott-Binns, in English Thought 1860-1900, treats Westcott's Hebrews cursorily, appending to extended treatment of other New Testament books including the traditional acknowledged "storm-centres" of New Testament study, John and Mark, this brief observation:

> "Of the remaining books of the New Testament not much calls for notice. Westcott brought out a commentary on Hebrews in 1889. Hebrews had originally been assigned to Hort, and had he undertaken it his commentary would probably have been very different from that of Westcott, whose knowledge of the Old Testament and Judaism in the Christian era was not so profound."[147]

In 1860, at least, Lightfoot, not Hort,[148] was the suggested author of the Hebrews' Commentary, in a projected series by the 'Cambridge Trio'. Elliott-Binns' remark is as misleading as it is bland. Westcott and his late-Victorian contemporaries were caught up in a revival of Anglican enthusiasm for the Epistle to the Hebrews, part reaction to the incursions of Continental criticism upon this sanctum of popular Anglican religion, part expression of their belief that in a particular manner this was the Epistle for their day. This section examines this context of enthusiasm surrounding Westcott's Commentary as not only illuminating his study, but also affording a crucial background study for analysis of Christ's priesthood in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism (Chapter VII) and Evangelicalism (Chapter VIII).

Westcott's work is to be located, then, within progressive interest in Hebrews in the late-Victorian era. William Sanday (1843-1920), Dean Ireland professor of exegesis at Oxford, wrote in 1883 of the value of Hebrews as illuminating the structure and composition of books written in dependence on it. "The Epistle to the Hebrews, while it is a problem in itself," he wrote, "also seems to me, in some respects, to supply the key to other problems."[149] In his review of Westcott's work, Sanday alluded to a contemporary growth of interest in Hebrews:

> "The Epistle to the Hebrews furnishes a good landmark for the progress of New Testament exegesis in England during the last few years," he stated. "At the beginning of the decade just completed the only books available for ordinary students were the two general commentaries of Alford and Wordsworth, with Dr. Moulton's careful edition in Bishop Ellicott's series, and the translations of Delitzsch and Tholuck. To these were soon added Dr. Kay in the Speaker's Commentary (1881), whose results, though obtained at first hand, represent rather an extreme of conservatism. Next came in 1883 two smaller editions by Archdeacon Farrar and Mr. F. Rendall. Both were scholarly pieces of work: the former might be said to express intelligently the average current views of the Epistle; the latter took a line which was independent and original, but not free from crotchets, and it covered the ground less completely. More recently there has appeared another popular commentary by A.B. Davidson, for its size and price one of the very best theological handbooks with which I am acquainted -a close grappling with the thought of the Epistle by a singularly strong and candid mind. Now the series is fitly crowned by this full and elaborate edition of Dr. Westcott's, which will, no doubt, take its place along with his previous editions of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, among the classics of every theological library."[150]

Though incomplete as a review of Anglican works, Sanday's comments, given weight by his own standing in contemporary biblical studies, aptly introduce the revival of interest with which we are here concerned. Significantly, too, though here preoccupied with Anglican writings, Sanday is a reminder of the impact, not only of the German studies of Delitzsch (1857) and Tholuck (1836-50), and also Bleek (1828-40), Kurtz (1869), Ewald (1870), Moll (1877^3), Hofmann (1873), Lunemann (1878^4), Riehm (1858, 67), and Keil (1885) on Anglican thinking,[151] but also that of Scottish writers of whom we might also mention A.B. Bruce (1899), and later William and George Milligan.[152] Anglican thought had begun to lose something of its isolationism by the end of the Victorian era; it had not lost any of the ecclesial context, conflict, and controversy from which it emerged. This inevitably influenced Anglican reflection on the relevance of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and justifies concentration on Anglican views.

Sanday was not unique in identifying a succession of studies on Hebrews, of which Westcott's was in many respects the culmination. Westcott's reviewer in the Church Quarterly Review speaks of "a great interest... recently... awakened in the Epistle to the Hebrews", in addition to "the finished and elaborate work of one of our greatest scholars, the Bishop of Durham."[153] He cites "the careful performance of the Dean of Llandaff", C.J. Vaughan (1890), and "the more popular and eminently useful work of Prebendary (M.F.) Sadler" (1890).[154] Westcott himself, in an article on Hebrews in William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (1893), also observes that "In England many separate commentaries have been published in late years in addition to those contained in commentaries on the whole New Testament".[155] He lists those of A.B. Davidson (1879), T.C. Edwards (1888), F.W. Farrar (1883), F. Rendall (1883), C.J. Vaughan (1890) and his own work. Behind all this labour lay the conviction that Hebrews was of particular relevance to the late-Victorian Church. As C.J. Vaughan wrote:

> "Epistle, treatise, and homily in one: no generation needed it more than our own, and the growing attention paid to it shows that the need is felt... the Epistle has a direct bearing upon many burning questions of our own day; involving as it does the fulfilment of all earlier Dispensations in the Faith of Jesus Christ, and the supersession of all precedents of Priesthood and Ritual."[156]

As Vaughan's remark intimates, to those convinced of the Protestant or Reformed character of the Church of England, Hebrews continued to afford a biblical weapon to attack a presumptuous, priestly caste. For others, upon its interpretation depended legitimation of a Ritualist 'Church' or 'sacramental' system. For others, again, it embodied the doctrinal and devotional heart of the Gospel. For Westcott, the mystical Anglican Christian socialist, it captured the spirit of his own perception of the age in which he lived.

> "Every student of the Epistle to the Hebrews must feel", he wrote, "that it deals in a particular degree with the thoughts and trials of our own time... The difficulties which come to us through physical facts and theories, through criticism, through wider views of human history, correspond with those which came to Jewish Christians at the close of the Apostolic age, and they will find their solution also in fuller views of the Person and Work of Christ."[157]

In an additional 'Prefactory Note' to the 1892 edition of the Commentary, he further confessed:

> "The more I study the tendencies of the time in some of the busiest centres of English life, the more deeply I feel that the Spirit of GOD warns us of our most urgent civil and spiritual dangers through the prophecies of Jeremiah and the Epistle to the Hebrews."[158]

In an age of conflict and tension Westcott, and many of his contemporaries, turned to the comforting truths of Hebrews, a beloved manual in Anglican religion. Westcott further expressed his sense of the Epistle's relevance in the following passage, exuding the spirit of one theologically and socially committed to the principle of 'progress':

> "The broad principles of Interpretation", he wrote, "and the view of the gradual unfolding of the Counsel of God through the education of the nations and of the people, which are contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews, are of present importance to ourselves. The lessons of the Old Testament to the Church - the lessons of the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms - have not as yet been completely learned. Each age must find in the divine record new teaching. Our fathers were not in a position to learn the social lessons which the Old Testament may gain for us... Fresh materials, fresh methods of enquiry, bring fresh problems and fresh trials. Difficulties of criticism press upon us now. It is well then to be reminded

> that there have been times of trial at least as sharp as our own. When the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, it might have seemed there was nothing for the Christian to do but either to cling to the letter of the Jewish Bible or reject it altogether. But the Church was more truly instructed by the voice of the Spirit; and the answer to the anxious questionings of the first age which the Epistle contains has become part of our inheritance."[159]

Westcott and those who laboured to expound the Epistle to the Hebrews shared a common sense that Hebrews was, for a variety of reasons, the book for their day, relevant, practical, applicable, enlightening. Evangelical enthusiasm received fresh inspiration under pressure from 'sacerdotalism'. Their antidote, as we shall see in Chapter VIII, was Hebrews. Handley Moule, Bishop of Durham encapsulates their verdict:

> "All Christians, in these days of stress and controversy in the Church, should read the Epistle to the Hebrews over and over again; read it as if they had never read it before, and as if it meant exactly what it said".[160]

Hebrews was a treasured 'inheritance' of Christian and Anglican faith. In a time of turmoil and crisis it was through returning to this "rock whence they were hewn" that Anglican churchmen sought to recover their bearings, their values, their doctrine, their faith. That Hebrews afforded such a rich source of inspiration and instruction may appear incredible to a contemporary reader; to the majority of Victorian churchmen it was a most natural, historically-determined, devotionally-inspired, assumption.

Before examining Westcott's interpretation of Christ's priesthood in the context of his scholarly and critical studies, it is necessary to contextualise his thought within the development of later Victorian exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This will enable us to identify the prominent characteristics and content of Anglican exposition prior to and following 1889. It will also enable us to grasp more fully the spiritual and practical motivation behind the 'Golden Age' of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews, and to see the impact exerted upon that motivation by devotional adherence to the image of Christ as priest.

2. Anglican Exegesis of Hebrews : 1859-1878

The history of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews from the publication of Henry Alford's four volume Greek Testament in 1859 to the end of the century is itself a remarkable commentary upon the persistent conservatism of Anglican biblical studies and the variety achievable within conservative parameters. The 'Golden Age' in Anglican exegesis of the Epistle testifies to the resilience of conservative proclivities to the incursions of Liberal protagonists. To the modern eye Westcott's commentary reflects his conservatism in its devout reverence for the inspired details of the scriptural text. Not all his contemporaries shared his penchant for the mystical allegorisation of Greek exegesis and high regard for the plenary inspiration of the words of the Bible. Their varied attitudes towards Christ's priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews afford a valuable commentary on the development of Anglican understanding of the nature and inspiration of scripture. Their prior interpretation of Christ's person and work as priest, as a feature of Anglican devotion, can also be seen to have shaped their exegesis. For, as ever, the process of exegesis involved the interaction of belief, or devotion, and textual interpretation. The conservatism of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews from 1859-1900 vividly illustrates the dominant influence 'belief' or 'devotion', viz-à-viz Christ's priesthood, exerted upon the interpretative exegetical process. Anglican exegesis was infiltrated by a pragmatic and kerygmatic concern to apply scriptural truth, born of the basal conviction that Scripture should and could be lived.

Behind Westcott's work were, firstly, as Sanday indicated the two 'general commentaries' of Henry Alford (1810-1871), Dean of Canterbury and Christopher Wordsworth, then a Canon of Westminster. Both popular commentaries on the Greek text, Alford's unlike Wordsworth's contains an extended treatment of 'introductory' material.[161] Avowedly open to the advance of critical study of the Bible, claiming that Englishmen have begun to learn "that Holy Scripture shrinks not from any tests however severe, and requires not any artificial defences, however apparently expedient",[162] and explicitly employing Bleek and other conservative Continental scholars.[163] Alford admits an English proclivity not to

"disturb settled opinion",[164] but ultimately rejects Pauline authorship.[165] The D.N.B. rightly observes that Alford's "theological standpoint" was more that of "a liberal belief in inspiration", interpreted as the mean between a "mechanical and verbal" theory, and that of Jowett.[166] F.C. Conybeare later, however, attacked Alford's harmonistic tendencies and the inconsistency between his theory of inspiration and unscientific textual work.[167] From his approach to the Melchizedek passage in Hebrews vii:1-10, Demarest deduces that Alford favoured a strictly 'literal' interpretation of the text, in contrast to Continental scholars who applied rationalistic, or religionsgeschichtliche, principles to its exposition.[168] The reverence with which Alford treats of the 'mysterious' figure of Melchizedek - "it is one of those things in which we must not be wise above that which is written..."[169] - is further reflected both in his enthusiasm for the Epistle, and his anti-Socinian veneration of its teaching on the "great subject" of Christ's priesthood.[170] Hebrews was, for Alford, of "the first rank of primitive Christian writings". "Nowhere," he claimed, "are the main doctrines of the faith more purely or majestically set forth".[171] Christ's High Priesthood began, "strictly speaking," on the Cross (contra Socinus)[172] and is continually exercised in heaven, by one whose "wonderful" priestly attributes,[173] of mercy and sympathy, as God and man, inspire his motive and manner of assisting his people,[174] and whose sacrifice consummates propitiation for the sinner and expiation through his sin, through His once-for-all sacrifice on the cross and sprinkling of His blood on His entrance into heaven.[175]

In contrast to Alford, Wordsworth's interpretation is shorter and more conservative, lacking Alford's detailed exegetical analyses. Its explicit, spiritual application of Christ's priesthood is significantly clearer; so, for example, he follows a tradition of interpretation traceable to Clement of Rome and comments on Hebrews iv:14:

> "Christ is our High Priest, and offers us. But, as our Priest, He also examines us, He anatomizes us as Victims, He probes our hearts and reins, He scrutinizes our inward parts, our very joints and marrow, our thoughts, affections, motives, and designs. He thus tests us, whether we are fit victims for the altar of God."[176]

If in Alford the history of historic Anglican exegesis is strong, Wordsworth's task is undertaken conscious of patristic thought, as here. These are hallmarks of late-Victorian exegesis. Their inevitable effect is to bind exegesis to the conservatism of tradition. It was partly from this source that the character and content of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood, inherited by Westcott, derived.

In the period from 1859 to 1878, when Bp. C.J. Ellicott's (1819-1905) New Testament Commentary for English Readers, was published, and inaugurated the twelve year 'Golden Age' of Hebrews' exegesis, a diverse collection of studies appeared in England. For example W.H. Fowle, Curate of Almondsbury, Bristol, published his unsophisticated defence of the Epistle's Pauline authorship, The Epistle to the Hebrews : The Epistle of St Paul (1860),[177] perhaps in response to Essays and Reviews, and in the following year E.H. Knowles, of Oxford, published his Notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews, a sustained textual critique of Socinianism, employing a wide range of English, patristic, and Continental sources and an elaborate system of typological exegesis in interpreting Christ's relation to the Old Testament law.[178] Frederick Sargent's A Compendium of Biblical criticism on the Canonical Books (1871) reflects the preoccupation with "ascertaining the genuineness of the inspired text"[179] which motivated revision of the Greek Text, and enervated Westcott's critical exegesis. The text of passages treating of Christ's priesthood was remarkably well attested, though individual words and phrases, such as ἀπο της εὐλαβείας (v:7), and ἀγενεαλόγητος (vii:7), and διαθήκης (ix:15), continued to defy clear exposition.

One of the most interesting and scholarly works of this period was Joseph McCaul's The Epistle to the Hebrews: in a Paraphrastic Commentary (1871). McCaul was sometime lecturer at King's College, London, and his work is the fruit of his teaching there. It is a belligerent, self-confident, and scholarly treatise attacking "the modern figment of 'high criticism'."[180] McCaul's is a highly motivated conservatism designed here to show (contra the critics) that "our faith, as we profess it, is as ancient as the patriarchs; that it is the 'one faith' of which the Apostle speaks; that our Lord Jesus Christ propounded no new religion."[181] Christ's priesthood is, thus, presented as the fulfilment of the Levitical

priesthood, indeed, whilst establishing this fact in exposition of χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας (iv:15), McCaul, like so many of his contemporaries, convinced of the devotional significance of the Epistle's teaching urges, "He can always obtain timely succour for us, and by Him, we can always approach the throne of grace".[182] McCaul is one example of the thoughtfulness of Anglican critical conservatism. The fundamentally conservative character of late-Victorian Anglican biblical studies was at times the product both of conscious decision and of thoughtful enquiry, and not simply, as is sometimes assumed, merely of insularity and ignorance. It was an expression of what many believed to be an Anglican response to the sacred text.

W.A. Connor's The Epistle to the Hebrews: with Analytical Introduction and Notes (1872), admirably exemplifies a calm spirit of Anglican sobriety.[183] Explicitly conscious of the "alien spirit" challenging Christianity,[184] O'Connor is convinced that dispassionate examination of the Gospel's fundamental verities, to which scripture uniformly testifies,[185] even without ascription of its plenary inspiration, will confirm its ageless application to the progress of man in every age,[186] and commend to man the 'substantiation' of priesthood in Christ's heavenly ministry,[187] and His perfect compassion as the sinless, incarnate, intercessor before God.[188] It is noteworthy that O'Connor harnessed his invitation to spirits "alien" to Christianity to examine "its hidden resources" to a Commentary on Hebrews. He, like the majority of his contemporaries, continued to view the Epistle as essential to clear exposition of the Christian faith, and its relation to the Jewish dispensation.

3. 'The 'Golden Age': 1878-1890

B.F. Westcott's Commentary was one of at least nine other significant contributions to Anglican interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews between 1878 and 1890. This was the 'Golden Age' of Anglican exegesis of the Epistle. The studies varied in style, format, spirit and purpose, but shared a common sense of the Epistle's relevance to the Church situation of the day. Westcott's was neither the first nor the last in this succession of Anglican exegesis, but it was incontestably the greatest. His work did not initiate the 'Golden Age', indeed if

we accept Vaughan's complaint that "when he reaps his field, he leaves no corner of it for the gleaner",[189] Westcott may inadvertently have caused the succession to end. Six of the studies preceded him, only C.J. Vaughan and M.F. Sadler in the Church of England attempted seriously to follow, - though Vaughan professed "... commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews ought to stop with his, at least until a new generation shall have added something to the theological learning, and something to the spiritual insight, of that to which he has ministered."[190] In this remark Vaughan captured the spirit which inspired this 'Golden Age', for Anglican exegesis of this period was motivated by 'theological learning' and 'spiritual insight'; mind and heart responded to the truths enshrined in the Epistle. The 'Golden Age' of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews was the negative, and creative, response of Anglican scholars to the progress of an unspiritual theologising of 'Higher' critical studies. As critical studies advanced, Anglican scholars recovered a cardinal conviction of their Anglican faith, namely, veneration for Hebrews and its doctrine of Christ as priest. In the process of "the recovery of the Bible in the Church", which Michael Ramsey sees in the late-Victorian era,[191] Victorian churchmen recovered the importance of Hebrews for their Anglican faith.

The 'Golden Age' begins, ironically perhaps, with Bishop Ellicott's New Testament Commentary (1878-9), in which the only non-Anglican contribution was by W.F. Moulton, Principal of the Wesleyan College, Cambridge, on the Epistle to the Hebrews! As integral to an Anglican work it is appropriately included here. It stands as a single reminder, however, that exposition of Hebrews was by no means an Anglican preserve, (as intimated above) however much - when located historically, liturgically, devotionally, and contemporaneously within the particular context of 'Reformed' and 'Catholic' Anglican interest in Christ's priesthood - the spate of Anglican commentaries assumes a new and fresh significance. No Anglican would have questioned Moulton's observation: "The value which the Epistle has for us and the extent of its influence on our theology would be hard to overestimate".[192] Indeed, in a particular sense, an Anglican reader sensitive to historical resonances could make this remark his own. Moulton's treatment is thoughtful and scholarly. He sees in the Epistle's

anonymity, peculiarity, and specific address "to a special and limited circle of readers,"[193] sound grounds for early questioning of its importance when compared with "the undoubted writings of St Paul".[194] He rejects Biesenthal's suggestion of its being a translation,[195] and tends towards Apollos' authorship.[196] His exposition of Christ's priesthood reflects his convictions that it is a sustained "word of exhortation",[197] designed to show the superiority of Christianity to Judaism. In Moulton we see expressed the cruciality of Hebrews, and Christ's priesthood within it, to conservative conviction of the typological unity of the scriptures.[198]

> "Its peculiar importance," Moulton wrote, "lies in the exposition which it gives of the earlier revelation, showing the meaning of the types and arrangements of the former dispensation, and their perfect fulfilment in our Lord, and in its witness to the power and abiding significance of the divine word."[199]

Through its relation to Hebrews Christ's priesthood is undetachable from conservative understanding of the Bible as a whole. The doctrine's interpretation was influenced by, and itself influenced, the development of Anglican biblical criticism.

William Kay's 'Introduction and Commentary on Hebrews' in the sometimes harshly treated Speaker's Commentary (1881), further illuminates this remark.[200] For Kay cites authors from Origen, to Erasmus, to Calvin, to Alford, who "had doubts regarding the authorship of this Epistle" and yet have "confessed its worthiness of standing in the Canon".[201] Kay, as many Anglicans had done before and did in his own day, side-stepped the dominant historico-critical issue for Continental scholars, claiming from the internal evidence of the Epistle's teaching, that it had a right to stand in the Canon.[202] Having freed himself from the encumbrance of the authorship debate, however, Kay reenters it, endorsing a traditional Pauline position.[203] He cites Riehm's influential Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes (1858) in support of the claim that the christology of Paul and Hebrews are "on all essential points in agreement",[204] and interprets this careful composition of the Apostle to the Gentiles, in vindication of himself to Jewish Christians, as not derogatory to the old dispensation, but as "filling its histories

and types, its psalms and prophecies, with a mysterious and wide-ranging significancy, which conferred on them an unimagined worth and dignity".[205] Kay expatiates upon this 'Apology for the Gospel' further as providing "a store of most precious theological truth for the Catholic church of all ages", and particularly as an 'Organon' for interpreting the Old Testament "and showing how firmly its foundations had been laid in the Divine purpose, which had worked onward in gradual self-revelation from the beginning of human history."[206] Here was that characteristic enthusiasm for the Epistle as compatible with 'progressive revelation', formerly adduced by Stanley and later, as we have seen, avowed by Westcott. In this context Christ's priesthood adopted again that characteristic Maurician emblem Christus Consummator.

The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews (1882) by the Ritualist liturgiologist J.E. Field, Vicar of Benson, Oxon., is of purely historical interest. Explicitly "a commentary on the Epistle in its relation to the Holy Eucharist",[207] Field's work enables us to integrate directly the 'Golden Age' of Hebrews' exposition in a positive defence of the liturgiological interests of contemporary Anglican Ritualism. It is a detailed elaboration of an article by J.M. Neale on Paul's use of liturgical material in his epistles. Holding that Paul, to conceal the eucharistic mystery from the uninitiate, alludes to it in references to 'blood', 'testament', etc., Field traces "an unbroken thread of allusion to it" in Hebrews.[208] His work is significant for the uniqueness of its direct devotional, liturgical, and sacramental interpretation, and for its binding Hebrews closely to the contemporary state of the Anglican Church. Christ's priesthood is integral to his exposition of Chapters v-vii, propounding 'The Efficacy of the Christian Priesthood'. Unintentionally an advanced form of 'Redaction' criticism, Field's work contributed little to the advance of Anglican biblical criticism, though in its day, as capturing the spirit of the period, it was not without significance.

To Sanday, as noted above, F.W. Farrar's (1831-1903) two Commentaries on Hebrews, on the English (1883) and Greek text (1888),[209] "express intelligently the average current views of the Epistle". This may reflect as much on Sanday as on Farrar, but certainly the Archdeacon's approach is critical in method and

constructive in spirit. Farrar stresses the Epistle's Alexandrian character - depending on Philo; portraying Christianity as "simply a perfected Judaism";[210] employing tell-tale expressions (such as 'effluence' (i:2) and 'hypostasis' (i:3)), a sonorous tone, accumulative epithets, and rare phrases; interpreting allegorically two passing Old Testament references to Melchizedek; and understanding cosmology in a platonic sense as a world of fleeting phenomena, copies, shadows, and material things, and a heavenly realm of Eternal Realities, Ideas, and 'Praeexistent Archetypes'.[211] When considering the Epistle's authorship he sees Apollos as most probably the source of this 'Alexandrian' treatise with Judaeo-Christian roots, and comments: "In modern times, in spite of the intensely conservative character of Anglican theology, there are very few critics of any name even in the English Church, and still fewer among German theologians, who any longer maintain, even in a modified sense, that it was written by St. Paul".[212] Farrar mediated to Westcott stress upon the Alexandrian and Philonic character of the Epistle, and, whilst rejecting Pauline authorship, continued to expound confidently the truth that in Hebrews "we recognize the Lord Jesus Christ far above all Mediators and all Priests, and the sole means of perfect, confident admission into the inmost sanctuary of God's Presence!"[213] This is "most prominent" in the writer's thoughts, Farrar urges, that "Christ is our High Priest, and that His High Priesthood, as an Eternal Priesthod after the order of Melchizedek, is superior to that of the Aaronic High Priests".[214] Priesthood denominates, for Farrar, 'access' and an ethical characteristic of 'sympathy' or 'compassion', not the mere fulfilment of an external ceremonial.[215] Farrar's commentary is a clear contemporary affirmation that the significance of Hebrews lies in its exposition of Christ as priest. In his stress on the fact and character of this office, Farrar contributed to contemporary ecclesiological debate, for all discussion of 'priesthood' in the Church must be in the light of his, and Farrar's work taught both the ethical and the ceremonial character of a 'priest'.[216]

Frederick Rendall's The Epistle to the Hebrews (1888), and lengthy appendix 'Theology of Hebrew Christians', yet more clearly illustrate the particular attraction of Christ's priesthood in late-Victorian Anglican exegesis of

Hebrews, and suggest that it was this image, espoused warmly in the Church's lex orandi, which fuelled interest in the Epistle at this time. To Rendall, "The Epistle to the Hebrews surpasses all other epistles of the New Testament in the grandeur of its conception: for it deliberately proposes as the subject of its argument the whole history of God's eternal purpose for mankind... These lofty sentiments are rendered more impressive by the eloquent language in which they are conveyed."[217] Then Rendall significantly continues:

> "The value of the epistle is further enhanced by the light it sheds upon the person, atonement, and priestly office of Christ; the last of which is indeed nowhere else developed. The large share which it has had in shaping our creeds and liturgies adds a special interest to its pages."[218]

Rendall's exposition of this work, which he describes as unique in its linguistic style, philosophical expression, obscure typical allusions and figurative meanings,[219] serves to illuminate existent convictions respecting Christ's priesthood per se, woven into the fabric of Anglican liturgical worship. It was reflection on the Church's liturgical worship, provoked by Tractarianism and Ritualism, as much as the incursions of biblical criticism, which contributed to Anglican interest in Hebrews in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But Rendall's Commentary is noteworthy, too, for (i) its use of patristic sources, as against the cramping influence of more recent exegetical debate; (ii) its strong incarnationist christology, presenting the total, life-long sacrifice of Christ, - His brotherly love, fellowship with flesh and blood, human sympathy, filial obedience and human weakness, sinlessness and suffering;[220] (iii) his sense of the ever-active presence of Christ, continuing His work in heaven in intercession,[221] and in His 'glorified humanity' in His church on earth;[222] (iv) its presentation of Christ's sacrifice, - language claimed to be hard to understand - as the Son's planned offering of Himself for mankind, the holy one inspiring the unclean to return to God.[223] In Rendall's Commentary we see in a clear light the 'theological understanding' and 'spiritual insight' of this 'Golden Age', harmonised in a worthy, precursory study to Westcott's.

The Commentary on Hebrews in The Expositor's Bible series, by T.C. Edwards (1888) is Evangelical in outlook and essentially conservative in spirit. It

is not a 'critical' commentary. He omits discussion of the Epistle's authorship, claiming he has no fresh light to shed on this enigma, but holds St Paul to be "neither the actual author nor the originator of the treatise".[224] His avowed purpose is "to trace the unity of thought in one of the greatest and most difficult books of the New Testament", for thoughtful Christian laymen .[225] For Edwards, too, claiming that the whole point of the Epistle lies in viii:1, states that the Apostle had there "brought forth the headstone of the corner, the keystone of the arch. It is, in short, that we have such a High Priest."[226] As we shall see in Chapter VIII, the Epistle to the Hebrews and Christ's priesthood occupied a foundational place in late-Victorian Evangelicalism. Defence and love of His sacerdotal office drove them to Hebrews.

Westcott's Commentary appeared in 1889. It forms a watershed in Anglican exegesis of Hebrews, as Lux Mundi did in Anglican theology. Its influence was considerable. Contemporaries reckoned it "a truly monumental work", "an expository and theological masterpiece", "the greatest of his expository works", "the greatest of many gifts which Dr. Westcott has offered to the Church".[227] Sanday's weighty judgement was more critical, but still largely unreserved, calling it:"A classic... alike in scale, thoroughness, and accomplished scholarship... The application of highly trained scholarship to the Epistle will probably never go further than Dr. Westcott has carried it."[228] His work has stood the test of time remarkably well: though criticized for its mystical, over-interpretative tendency, its detailed use of patristic and mediaeval sources and especially its blend of theology and spirituality, have given it a timeless quality. Vaughan's hesitancy to follow it is entirely understandable. But his work, like Westcott's was the fruit of a lifetime of reflection, of a life lived in the spirit of the Epistle. Like Westcott, too, Vaughan's exegesis was rooted in the conviction that "the application of the microscope to one phrase or one word of holy scripture" would "discover something not only interesting to the expositor, but profitable also spiritually to the student".[229] In addition to their blending of theology and spirituality in exegesis, Westcott and Vaughan both reveal the Epistle's christocentric attraction for them. Westcott believed there to be in

Hebrews "what is found in no other book of the New Testament... a philosophy of religion, of worship, of priesthood, centred in the Person of Christ;"[230] whilst to Vaughan "the supremacy of Christ is the key-note... Christ embodying all that the old Dispensation could but pre-figure and foretell... To have Him is to have all, to lose Him is to lose all."[231] In Hebrews, late-Victorian Churchmen saw that blending of christocentrism and worship, of a progressive unfolding of God's truth and a clear affirmation of Christ's humanity - themes which captured the spirit of the age in theology and in the Church.

Concluding our overview of the 'Golden Age' of Anglican exposition of Hebrews, before considering the particular details of Westcott's legacy to Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood: in the same year Vaughan's ΠΡΟΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ appeared, the Anglo-Catholic scholar M.F. Sadler published his The Epistles of St. Paul to Titus, Philemon, and the Hebrews (1890). Like Westcott and Vaughan, Sadler's work reflects his sense of the Epistle's relevance to his day, and belief that, as Vaughan wrote, ultimately "the question of authorship is secondary to that of authority,"[232] though Sadler attends carefully to the issue of authorship, distinguishing between the theology of Paul and the writer to the Hebrews, particularly on the character of Christ's mediation, and opting for Luke as the most probable author.[233] Sadler's work is noteworthy for is excursus 'On the Epistle to the Hebrews and eucharistic worship'.[234] From this, Anglo-Catholic Ritualism derived exegetical support for its identification of the Church's 'eucharistic sacrifice' with the perpetual ministry of Christ 'the great High Priest of humanity' at a heavenly altar within the heavenly tabernacle, setting forth there His all-atoning death - "the same atonement, only as accomplished and perfected".[235] As in J.E. Field, the influence of the Ritualist Movement in the Victorian Church can here again be seen in Sadler's preoccupation with the adjuncts and implications of a heavenly ritual, from his legitimation of the eucharistic representation of Christ's heavenly ministry from ancient liturgies and from Hebrews, and in his stress that "Jesus is the actual High Priest in each and every celebration... so that the celebrating minister is but the mere instrument in the hands of the One Great Consecrating Priest".[236] The

popularity of Hebrews in the late-Victorian era is explicable also, then, for the light it was felt to shed on the pressing issues of priesthod, ritual, and the eucharist, by contending Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical writers. In Chapters VII and VIII we will examine in more detail some of the exegetical arguments which centred on Hebrews.

After 1890, interest in Hebrews persisted but without producing Anglican commentaries on a par with those appearing in the preceding twelve-year period. To the end of the century Anglican thought predominantly illustrates A.B. Bruce's conviction that Hebrews is "one of the most important writings in the New Testament".[237] The period confirms the observation of W. Robertson Smith and H. Von Soden in their article on 'Hebrews' in the Encyclopaedia Biblica (1901) - "As criticism strengthened its arguments, theologians began to learn that the denial of tradition involves no danger to faith".[238] Or, perhaps, more precisely, devotion to the priesthood of Christ and the image's significance in the Church's liturgical life and contemporary debates, could remain untrammelled by the incursions of 'criticism', and, indeed, could motivate resistance to that criticism.

4. The Priesthood of Christ and the 'Cambridge Trio'

Westcott's Commentary has been located in the progressive burgeoning of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews between 1878-1890. It also had a place in the Biblical studies of the 'Cambridge School', as noted previously. The aim of this final section is closer examination of Westcott's interpretation, exposition and application of Christ's priesthood, and location of his views within those of J.B. Lightfoot and F.J.A. Hort. The 'Cambridge Trio's' varied response to Christ's priesthood reflects their general, common, concern, as we have seen, for "a wide, deep, and exact scholarship, which refused to take short cuts or to cut corners", and their "English spirit of sobriety, caution, reverence, and deep devotion".[239] They are united in their integration of the theological and exegetical task within a devout, reverential response to God in lives of labour, service, prayer, and worship. However, their interpretation and application of Christ's priesthood highlights the differences between them. As it has been observed, "though all

shared many gifts in common, Lightfoot was primarily the historian, Hort the philosopher, and Westcott the exegete".[240] In this varied response we see reflected crucial differences, writ large in the theological and ecclesial controversies which beset the late-Victorian Church. We see confirmed the potency of Anglican commitment to the image of Christ as priest in decisive interaction with the development of Anglican biblical criticism.

B.F. Westcott

Westcott's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is primary and primarily, though not exclusively, embodied in his Hebrews Commentary published shortly before his enthronement as Bishop of Durham.[241] The work was preceded, however, by a sermon series in Westminster Abbey on the Epistle, published under the title Christus Consummator (1886). The sermons also illuminate Westcott's thought, and illustrate the general thrust and character of his interpretation of the doctrine of Christ as the priestly consummation of mankind in His incarnate life of sacrifice, sympathy, and service.[242] To understand the detailed exegetical and doctrinal reasoning behind this presentation of Christ's priestly office we need to understand certain basic characteristics of Westcott's religious and theological outlook. When this is done, we shall see how appropriate it was that he of the 'Cambridge Trio' should expound Hebrews, in their projected series of Commentaries to counterbalance those of F.C. Baur.[243] Westcott's Commentary and sermons express the final consummation, and not the initial stages, of his reflection on the image of Christ as priest. Christ's priesthood was foundational for Westcott's doctrine and devotion. This found public expression in his doctrine of Christus Consummator.

Westcott's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is expressive of the Anglican spirituality which undergirded his doctrinal and exegetical labours. Suspicious of the Oxford Movement, antithetical to Jowett's breed of Oxford Liberalism, Westcott sought to preserve the historic character and integrity of the Church of England both by 'Anglicizing' the best features of Continental 'Higher Criticism' and by reinvigorating the social involvement of the Church

through the Christian Socialist Union.[244] Despite his other-worldly mysticism and political or social idealism, Westcott, of all the 'Cambridge Trio', was most in touch with public life, with popular religion, with the practical service of the Christian community.[245] His interpretation of Christ's priesthood is a reflection not of some obscurantist ecclesiasticism but of his concern to apply biblical truth to the issues of his day in terms readily accessible to his contemporaries. As scriptural interpreter his task was perceived as one of prayerful reinterpretation of scriptural truth to the issues of his day. As noted above, he believed Hebrews relevant to late-Victorian society. He was drawn to it for its exposition of Christ's office as priest, and for its pragmatic illumination of that society.

> "The Epistle to the Hebrews brings before us a forgotten aspect of the divine working", he wrote. "It marks... the office of the Messianic nation no less than the office of a personal Messiah. By doing so its teaching falls within the tendency of modern thought. Once again the social, the corporate view of life is gaining power if not predominance. By the help of this Book we can see how the view was recognized in the apostolic outline of the Faith and gain encouragement for studying it with confidence and hope."[246]

Westcott's Anglican spirituality was both prayerful and pragmatic. Both characteristics were satisfied in Hebrews' general character and particular presentation of Christ as priest.

His interpretation also reveals the philosophical and theological foundation of his thought in a Platonism characteristic of many men of letters in England in the nineteenth century,[247] and a patristic penchant, like Maurice, for the theology of the East. From the English Platonic tradition, as David Newsome points out, Westcott inherited that persistent sense of Christ's questioning - "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"[248] Here was a tradition which stimulated sober reflection and moral action. Here, too, was a philosophical thought-structure directly compatible with the language of 'types' and 'antitypes', 'images' and 'realities', 'shadows' and 'substance', found in Hebrews. In Westcott, too, the impact of Victorian patristic scholarship contributed directly to the form and character of his interpretation of Christ's priesthood. Sanday commends especially the Commentary's "judicious selection of quotations from patristic and mediaeval commentaries."[249] "In his theological sympathies",

however, as Reardon remarks, "Westcott, like Maurice... was much more a Greek than a Latin, as is clearly brought out in the essays on Origen and Dionysius the Areopagite."[250] From Greek patristic exegesis he derived his sympathy for a mystical and allegorical interpretation of the scriptures, and preparedness to uphold their typological unity, when, in the advance of Old Testament study, as G.W.H. Lampe points out, narrow conceptions of scriptural prophecy and fulfilment were challenged, as study presented the Old Testament for its own sake "not simply as a series of disguised previews of the New Testament."[251] From his patristic studies Westcott derived much of his spiritualized perception of exegesis, and, as it appears to us today, his respectful conservatism towards exegesis of Christ's priesthood.

From Eastern patristic thought, too, Westcott inherited his characteristic incarnationism. His interpretation of Christ's priesthood is located in his belief that the incarnation is the centre of theology.[252] Christ's priesthood illuminates his understanding of it. For Westcott the incarnation is alone "able to give reality to human knowledge".[253] It is the central fact of history and of faith.[254] In a Maurician manner, in The Gospel of Life, Westcott explicates the Incarnation as signifying not the potential but the actual union of Godhead and humanity in Christ, of solidarity between individuals in a humanity consummated in the Headship of the incarnate Christ.[255] Christ's priesthood is integral to this understanding of Christus Consummator; for, he observes, "This thought of 'Christ the Fulfiller' is, as it seems to me, the characteristic teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews".[256] As we shall see, in Hebrews' teaching on Christ's life and death as the priestly consummation of humanity, Westcott saw the fulfilment of man's eternal destiny and created potential.[257] The incarnation illuminates man's relation to God and his life in society. "The Incarnation binds all action, all experience, all creation to God;" he wrote, "and supplies at once the motive and the power of service".[258] The incarnation was the motivating principle behind Westcott's pragmatic Christian socialiam: it illuminates "the problems which meet us in our daily work and in our boldest speculations", he wrote.[259] The pattern of Christ's incarnate life of priestly self-sacrifice, service, and suffering,

was integral to Westcott's presentation of an essentially 'ethical' socialism.[260] His priesthood designates qualities of character and characteristics of ministry, reflected from the Head, in the Body. But, in addition to these ecclesiological implications of Westcott's thought, for him the Incarnation establishes the historical character of Christianity.[261] Prepared for in Judaism and apprehended in Christ's earthly life, the Incarnation betokens the 'progress' of faith in the history of men, and the lasting union of God and man worked out in Christ's historical, earthly, life.[262] For Westcott, as we have seen, the Epistle to the Hebrews supremely articulates a 'progressive' revelation', in which Christ is both the consummation of humanity and of priesthood.

Lastly, then, Westcott's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is fundamentally influenced by his perception of the Bible and of the exegete's task. The Bible was for Westcott a living book, enshrining God's 'progressive revelation'; His unfolding revelation of there being "one purpose moving onward with a continuous growth".[263] The Bible unfolds the mystery of Christ's Incarnation. The Incarnate Christ is central to Westcott's understanding of the Bible. He is its message and interpreter. "Christ draws near to us when humbly and honestly we ponder His word",[264] he wrote. In Hebrews Westcott encountered Christ as priest, for the whole book "itself forces us to go beyond the Book to a Person."[265] Indeed, he held, "The words fail in their function if they do not lead us to the Word."[266] Westcott's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is not the exposition of a doctrine so much as the record of an encounter. There is a spiritual immediacy about Westcott's exegesis. Christ Himself, he believed, "encourages us to search for a deep and spiritual meaning under the ordinary words of scripture".[267] "No one indeed can make another feel what the Bible is", he wrote, "that assurance must come to each soul from the Spirit of God speaking to the single soul through the Word of God."[268] Westcott's view of scripture and biblical inspiration, even to the extent of valuing 'particles', as if the whole had fallen from heaven, is in stark contrast to Jowett's who reckoned such textual exactitude, trifling with "an excrescence of style".[269] But Westcott believed a commentary must be "based on a critically edited Greek Text, to be philological, historical, exegetical, and

doctrinal, and so to present the whole panorama of Christian truth against the setting of its historical origins."[270] To Westcott's theological, spiritual mind, as Stephen Neill observed, "behind the particularities of text and particles and grammar lies a revelation of the living God."[271] As Westcott's own work reveals, he believed biblical study involved a labour which promised rich fruit, or treasures new and old to men and to Churches.[272] Westcott's interpretation of Christ's priesthood reflects the immediacy, detail, and devout industry enjoined by his understanding of his exegetical task.

Turning to the details of his interpretation it is impossible and unnecessary to indicate every detail of his exegetical interpretation which is already available in his Commentary. A number of features of his exposition of Christ's person and work as priest, and application of doctrine to ecclesiology and sacramental theology, deserve mention for their subsequent popularity, or notoriety, their prescient novelty, or their pertinent relevance to exegetical or doctrinal controversies of his day. When this is done we can appreciate how the 'Golden Age' of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews was suitably crowned by Westcott's work.

An 'Additional Note' to Hebrews ii:17, entitled 'Passages on the High-priesthood of Christ', affords a useful structure for analysis of Westcott's interpretation of Christ's sacerdotal office.[273] It is, he maintains, "the ruling thought of the Epistle",[274] and the 'Additional Note' is intended to assist the reader trace through the instructive development of the writer's thought in Hebrews. The theme is established at the outset, and the crowning trait of the Son, as priest and king, is established in i:3 - "'when He had made purification of sins', He 'sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high'".[275] In his comments on i:3, Westcott identifies the Epistle declaration regarding Christ in His absolute Nature (ὤν), in His general relation to finite being (φέρων), and His entry into the conditions of life "in a world disordered by sin" to make atonement.[276] Westcott's interpretation is noteworthy for the inseparable connection it establishes from the outset between Christ's priesthood and kingship, and His Incarnation and Atonement. Against the tendency to isolate the sacerdotal office

in soteriology, Westcott's incarnationism contributed directly to recovery of the sovereignty of the saviour, which 'gentlest saviour' christologies, for all their nurturing of Anglican emphasis on the Incarnation, had a tendency to overshadow. This characteristic of Westcott's interpretation will become clearer as we examine the four stages he identifies in the writer's unconscious unfolding of his special idea: that is (i) Preparatory; (ii) The characteristics of Christ's High Priesthood; (iii) The Work of Christ as High Priest; (iv) Application of the fruits of Christ's High Priesthood to believers.[277]

In the 'Preparatory' passages Westcott lists ii:17,18; iii:1,2; iv:14-16. In relation to thee we should first note Westcott's stress on the fact that ii:17,18 teaches the Incarnation is the foundation of Christ's High Priesthood. In the comments on these verses we see how integral Hebrews' teaching on Christ's priesthood was to Westcott's Alexandrian presentation of the redemptive power of Christ's Incarnation.[278] From these verses Westcott extrapolates his characteristic emphasis upon the redemption of man, the fulfilment of his destiny, as wrought "by a union of humanity with God extending to the whole of man's nature and maintained through death".[279] It was because as priest He "was in all things made like to His brethren" (ii:17), that His work extends "to the totality of human powers and existence, and brings all into fellowship with the divine".[280] This establishment of 'fellowship' is, for Westcott, both the purpose behind the Incarnation and the provision for which priesthood was instituted - "for a fellowship between God and man, for bringing God to man and man to God."[281] To that end, Christ must have perfect 'sympathy' with man. "The whole work of our High-Priest", he writes, "depends for its efficacy (γάρ) on the perfect sympathy of Christ with humanity and His perfect human experience."[282] Westcott interpreted the power of sympathy as lying "not in the mere capacity for feeling, but in the lessons of experience".[283] In Christ's resistance to sin in temptation, Westcott saw an intensification of his experience of suffering, an increase in his capacity to sympathize, and his 'perfecting' to be a perfect High Priest. This became a popular line of interpretation.[284] Christ's sympathy was endorsed in Westcott's Manward interpretation of the priestly attributes of

ἐλεήμων ... καὶ πιστός , and was foundational for his exposition of propitiation (ii:17), which he interpreted both as the 'propitiation' which acts on "that which alienates God" (viz. sin not God), and as the application to men of Christ's efficacious High Priestly work.[285] Hebrews ii:17,18, traditionally popular in Anglican exegesis of Christ's priestly sympathy, are pivotal for Westcott's incarnationism, a declaration of the foundation and character of Christ's High Priesthood. It is this Christ who, in iii:1, He presents as fulfilling "in an infinitely loftier form" the function of Moses (legislator) and Aaron (priest).[286] It is this High Priest who, in iv:14, is declared to be μεγας - great in 'dignity'[287] - who has entered into "the rest which he foreshewed, so that He can also bring His people into it".[288] He is, as Son of God, Westcott stresses in iv:14 and 16, both High Priest and King. He has not only entered into the heavens[289] to open the way for all His Christian people, as priests too,[290] to enter in before "the throne of grace",[291] but has experienced the trials and temptations of human nature, and known the weaknesses of humanity that lead to sin but without, in Him, "sinful promptings from within".[292] In these passages, then, Westcott, sees the preparation of Christ for His High Priesthood. It establishes the foundation of his ethical and ontological interpretation of priesthood and sacrifice, which, together with his incarnationism, were among the most signficant and popular characteristics of his contribution to late-Victorian thought.

Secondly, 'The Characteristics of Christ's High Priesthood': Westcott sees these expounded in Christ's realisation of the Levitical High Priesthood (v:1-10), in His being a priest "after the order of Melchizedek" (vi:20; vii:14-19), and in His own absolute and eternal High Priesthood (vii:26-28). In Westcott's exposition of the fundamental correspondence between Christ's nature and the High Priesthood in Chapter V,[293] whereby, through His divine appointment and human sympathy, He perfectly fulfilled as a Melchizedekian priest the Old Testament Levitical priesthood, emphasis can again be seen to be placed on the priest-kingship of the Son,[294] and on His perfected humanity.[295] In elaboration of the Son's natural fulfilment of His promised Melchizedekian priesthood, Westcott cites Primasius' three-fold enumeration of the nature of that priesthood in contrast to Aaron's,

illustrating the commentator's real and not apparent dependence on earlier views.[296] The Melchizedekian priesthood was, first, not for offering animal sacrifices, these had ceased, but, in Christ's Body and Blood, for again offering the patriarch's gifts of bread and wine. Second, it was a combination of priesthood and kingship, effected by an anointing of the spirit not of oil. Thirdly, as Melchizedek appeared once, so Christ offered Himself once. Ὃν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα Westcott therefore remarks, affirming the eternity and uniqueness of Christ's priesthood:

> "Christ is a Priest for ever, because He has no successor, nor any need of a successor. His High-priestly Sacrifice, His High-priestly Entrance 'with His own blood' into heaven, to the presence of God, are 'eternal' acts, raised beyond all limits of time... All is 'one act at once,' while for men the virtue of Christ's sacrifice is applied in time".[297]

As we shall see, this perception of the 'eternal' nature of Christ's sacrifice 'applied in time', was to become crucial in Westcott's influential perception of the character of Christ's priestly ministry.

Westcott also stresses, from Chapter V, that in His humanity Christ fulfilled the other condition of the High Priesthood by "having learnt through actual experience the uttermost needs of human weakness".[298] His spiritual insight is applied to the character of Christ's priestly prayer "with strong crying and tears", in which he sees Christ learning obedience and recognition of the divine will, and so "He was most perfectly 'heard'".[299] Through this obedience of Christ as priest "fellowship is made complete" between God and man.[300] In Christ's obedience Westcott sees self-surrender and that absolute self-sacrifice through which man's destiny in Christ is completely fulfilled.[301] In Westcott's priestly incarnationism self-sacrifice was at the centre of all Christ's earthly life and death. It was a perception he shared with that other leading Christian Socialist Henry Scott Holland.[302]

Christ's Melchizedekian priesthood in vi:20 and vii:14-19, and His absolute and eternal High Priesthood in vii:26-28, are interpreted, then, against the background of Chapter V in Westcott's progressive exposition. In particular, in the latter passages Westcott attempts to resolve the problem of the time when

Christ's priesthood began by identifying His entry on His eternal High Priesthood, after the order of Melchizedek, with His exaltation to the throne of God without excluding "the recognition of the Lord's Death as a priestly act whereby He once for all offered Himself (vii:27)".[303] Furthermore, from its 'typical' treatment in Chapter vii, Westcott interprets Melchizedek as an Amorite king, a type of Christ in character, in office, and in person,[304] and presents the contrast between the Levitical priesthood and Christ's as being because the latter is "briefly... i) new, ii) effective, iii) sure, iv) one."[305] This new priesthood brings the 'perfection' unachievable under the Levitical law. It is a spiritual, royal, and eternal priesthood, Westcott stresses, effective to fulfil the divine purpose.[306] It is 'sure' for Westcott, as grounded in Christ's "indissoluble life": indeed, he maintains, "He was made priest in virtue of His inherent nature. He could be, as none other, victim at once and priest."[307] His priesthood, is "internal", founded on His nature and God's covenant oath.[308] Westcott sees, in Christ's own person "the fact of the establishment of a New Covenant between God and man"; in His priesthood is "the consummation of the Incarnation"; in His Ascension and Session as king and priest is the assurance "that God has potentially accomplished the purpose of Creation, and will accomplish it"; in His Nature is the assurance "that He will fulfil His priestly office for ever".[309]

Westcott concludes his comments on Christ's characteristics of His High Priesthood with a firm declaration from Hebrews vii:23-25, 26-28, that "because His priesthood is absolute and final He is able to fulfil completely the ideal office of the priest".[310] His salvation reaches "to the last element of man's nature and man's life". His priestly work is complete.[311] On the cross as victim, He performed a High Priestly act, now 'daily' by His presence in His ascended humanity He 'intercedes' for the Church and for individual believers.[312] This latter patristic understanding of His intercession became influential in Anglican thinking, and, in its association with the perfecting of humanity, it expressed Westcott's understanding of the ultimate end of Christ's work as the incarnate priestly redeemer. In His life and death and eternal work Christ as priest has

perfectly fulfilled the Levitical High Priesthood as a priest after a new 'eternal' order, a king-priest in heaven after the order of Melchizedek.[313]

Thirdly, 'The work of Christ as High-Priest': Westcott identifies Christ's High Priestly work as unfolded in viii:1-6, where the heavenly sanctuary is portrayed as the scene of it; in ix:11-28, where the Atonement of Christ is contrasted with the Levitical High Priest's ministry on the Day of Atonement; and x:1-18, where the abiding efficacy of Christ's one sacrifice is established. Westcott's exposition is noteworthy here for its movement towards his understanding of Christ's priestly sacrifice whereby the Levitical sacrificial system was abrogated.

> "The sacrifice of loyal service is that which God requires of men", he writes. "This has been rendered perfectly by the Incarnate Son of God; whose sacrifice of Himself in Life and Death avails for ever for that humanity which He has taken to Himself. Through His Work the Covenant of grace finds accomplishment (c.x:1-18)".[314]

In the course of his lengthy exposition a number of crucial and influential points emerged. Firstly, in viii:1,2, Westcott points again to Christ as seated king and priest in heaven, and observes, "... it is the main point in the whole discussion on Christ's High Priestly work, from which the conviction of the efficacy of His One sacrifice follows".[315] As Priest-king in heaven, in "His Divine Majesty and His infinite love", Westcott stresses, "Christ serves though He reigns and reigns in serving".[316] On the crux interpretum, viii:3, Westcott presents Christ's one sufficient offering on the cross as the ground of His entry into heaven and basis of His efficacious intercession, and has no truck with those who in a eucharistic context, inserted ἐστιν and taught a heavenly 'offering' of Christ's sacrifice.[317] Rather, ἔχειν τι is 'Himself' - not even His Blood, as others held -the Mediator of the New Covenant.[318] So, he states in a famous passage:

> "The modern conception of Christ pleading in heaven His Passion, 'offering His Blood,' on behalf of men, has no foundation in the Epistle. His glorified humanity is the eternal pledge of the absolute efficacy of His accomplished work. He pleads, as older writers truly expressed the thought, by His Presence on the Father's Throne."[319]

Westcott explicates the present work of Christ, therefore, as (i) interceding for men as their present representative before God (vii:25,27; ix:24); (ii) bringing their praises and prayers to God, "embodying their true spiritual desires, so that at each moment they become articulate through His Spirit and are brought through Him to the Throne"[320] (xiii:15); (iii) securing "access for His people in the present state to 'the holy place', where He Himself is, 'in His Blood' - the virtue of His earthly life lived and offered (iv:16; x:19-22).[321] Christ's High Priesthood is a cardinal feature of Westcott's biblical and Anglican theology of prayer and worship. The liturgical ministry and agency of Christ in heaven is the basis of His own life of prayer.

Perhaps most memorably, Westcott's interpretation of Christ's abidingly efficacious sacrifice of atonement and purification hinged upon his understanding of Christ's life and death as parts of that sacrifice "offered ... through the Eternal Spirit" (ix:14), wherein the life lived in loving obedience and the 'blood' shed on the cross, are parts of the same 'surrender' of the whole representative, perfect, divine life in which Westcott saw the essence of the Levitical system fulfilled in Christ. His thought is summarised in Additional Notes on 'The prae-Christian idea of Sacrifice' (ix:9);[322] 'On the use of the term 'Blood' in the Epistle (ix:12)';[323] and on 'Aspects of Christ's Sacrifice' (ix:14).[324] Westcott's detailed exposition of Levitical sacrifices initially declares (<u>contra</u> earlier typological exegesis) that sacrifice <u>per se</u> is not to be thought "instituted in obedience to direct revelation".[325] Christ's perfect, once for all sacrifice - and Westcott stresses its glorious finality, incomparable blessings, and eternal efficacy - is a 'blood' sacrifice as signifying His 'life' given for others: i) in His incarnate, obedient, humanity; ii) in His death willingly borne 'through' which He enters the heavenly Tabernacle; iii) in its purifying power applied to believers whereby they have access to God; iv) and, in which the 'eternal covenant' is ratified and a new redeemed race of humanity is restored in Christ, and enters into fellowship with God.[326] Westcott's critical biblical exposition of Christ's priestly sacrifice, in an incarnationist, Alexandrian, moral representation of His eternal work, not only reflects clearly Westcott's own theological presuppositions, but also came to

shape Anglican theological reflection in a number of crucial aspects, as we shall see in the following chapters.

Against this background, Westcott finally examines 'The Application of the fruits of Christ's High-priesthood to believers', both for 'personal use' (x:19-25), and for the 'Privileges and Duties of the Christian Society' (xiii:10-16). In Westcott's exposition Christ's priestly life and work are presented as the foundation of the Christian's individual and corporate life of worship, understood as the life lived through access to God in self-sacrifice, service, and prayer. He extols the privileges and duties of this life.[327] The individual Christian has not only the comfort, assurance, and hope of having Christ a High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary, through 'the veil' of whose 'flesh' He entered there (and the Christian now has access) but also the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, through which the believer is originally (baptism) and continually (eucharist) joined to Christ and supported by Him.[328] But these passages also illuminate Westcott's understanding of the Church as having "a true existence", living "by its embodiment of the heavenly idea",[329] and reflecting a corporate existence and concern in Christ's earthly 'body'.[330] Westcott's ecclesiology stresses both the Church's heavenly 'invisibility' in the ascended Head and High Priest of Christ, and its earthly 'visibility' in a practical, social, manifestation of a Christ-like life of service and enjoyment of the fruit of His sacrifice.[331] Hence, in his comments on xiii:10ff, the altar and sacrifice of Christ as priest are interpreted as representing the cross, by which sin offering the Christian is perfected, and the continuously supportive life of Christ through death now in heaven, which point forward to the representation of that atoning death and supportive life in the eucharistic feast upon Christ's sacrifice, as the basis of the Christian's sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.[332] Westcott also sees in the image of the scape-goat, fulfilled in Christ's suffering "outside the camp" - "the symbolical dwelling-place of the chosen people", and their erroneous perception of the permanence of a transitory law - the Christian's call to a sacrifice consequent upon shameful yet glorious identification with Christ as leader and priest "outside" the world of men, in which their spiritual heritage is fulfilled.[333] In this participation in or

identification with Christ as priest and consequent fellowship with other believers in Him, Westcott sees the consummation of humanity redeemed and serving Christ, and their compensation for being outside the 'Judaism' of the system of men.[334]

The High Priesthood of Christ in Hebrews was, then, for Westcott a dynamic, practical, spiritual principle, encroaching upon every facet of the Christian gospel, manifest in the believer's original consummation into Christ's redemptive humanity and sacrifice of life and death, and in his continual participation in the eternal life and spiritual blessings of the great High Priest in heaven, who will one day return from the sanctuary to consummate the blessings of His eternal work. For its richness of detailed critical comments, its extensive use of patristic and mediaeval commentaries, its Maurician integration of the image of Christ as priest into an Anglican, social, moral, practical theology, and Christian view of the present life and ultimate destiny of man in society, and for its sheer spiritual insight, Westcott's exposition is unparalleled during our period. His Commentary was an effective Anglican retort to 'Higher' critical relegation of Hebrews from the centre of Christian theology. It was the pinnacle of nineteenth century Anglican exegesis of the Epistle and is most appropriately viewed within the 'Golden Age' of Anglican exegesis of Hebrews. But, as we have argued hitherto, it is also to be seen within that aspect of Anglican doctrine and devotion which esteemed Christ's priesthood, and which, in the late-nineteenth century, in the midst of crisis and controversy, enunciated and protected this feature of its historic faith, in Westcott's work.

J.B. Lightfoot and F.J.A. Hort

It was originally planned that J.B. Lightfoot would undertake the Commentary on Hebrews with the Pauline Epistles.[335] Hebrews would then have stood alongside Lightfoot's other classic expositions of Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, rather than with Westcott's works on the Johannine literature. As we have seen it was singularly appropriate that Westcott undertake the commentary. Lightfoot's approach would have doubtless borne some

similarities, though probably also a number of significant differences. Christ's priesthood is directly mentioned on only a few occasions in Lightfoot's writing and yet its direct and indirect influence is clear.

Lightfoot preceded Westcott as Bishop of Durham, and though not sharing the latter's surprising 'common touch', shared his incarnationist outlook. As Churchmen, and as Anglicans, he declared "... there is one fixed centre from which all our thoughts must radiate, and to which all our hopes must converge - 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today and for ever'."[336] Christ incarnate was the centre of his thoughts. It is, he declared at his enthronement "the mirror of the Father's love".[337] In one of his Cuddesdon Addresses he expounded the paradox of the Incarnation which, he maintains,

> "... removes God very far from us, while at the same time it brings Him very near to us. It realises for us at once the infinite distance, and the infinitesimal proximity between God and the servant of God... Our God is unapproachable; and yet He is near; He is with us, and He is in us."[338]

To the ordinands he continued: "The paradox of the Incarnation pervades all our relations with God... He is our absolute and supreme Lord, while yet He consents to be our friend and our companion; that we work under Him, while yet we work with Him."[339] There is a 'sacerdotal', moral character to Lightfoot's christology, as in Hebrews.[340] There is sacrifice in the Incarnation and in the cross, Lightfoot claims: "for could any sacrifice, any condescension, any self-abasement be conceived greater than that the Eternal Son of God should deign to be born as a man, to live as a man."[341] Lightfoot objects to the preaching of the cross "as a narrow technicality which shocks the conscience and freezes the heart", instead of tracing Christ's sacrifice from the Incarnation to the Ascension.[342] Christ's incarnate life is a pattern, too, of priestly service and sympathy. To deacons he declared: "Christ came as a deacon... 'not to receive service, but to render service'."[343] This was to be their pattern. In the heart of Lightfoot's incarnationism, too, is the 'sympathy' of Christ; "with the humblest member of His body He suffers", he wrote, "with the humblest member also He rejoices."[344] "This entire sympathy of Christ" was, he declared, "no after-thought of the

Apostle, no idle fancy of an over-wrought imagination, or outgrowth of unrestrained metaphor."[345] It was integral to his understanding of Christ. So Lightfoot stressed: "We want sympathy here, sympathy first and sympathy last - sympathy reflecting, however faintly, Christ's own boundless compassion and love."[346] Lightfoot's christology exudes late-Victorian humanitarianism rooted in the sacerdotal theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

As the above suggests Lightfoot's christology and ecclesiology were closely intertwined. Lightfoot's interpretation of Christ's priesthood is contrasted with Westcott's in the degree of emphasis placed upon its ecclesiological and historical significance. The Church is, for Lightfoot, built up as the sequel to the Incarnation.[347] The Church is, "startlingly" the "Body of Christ, nothing less than Christ Himself... He in us and we in Him."[348] The Head of the Church is Christ. Lightfoot praised the 'comprehensiveness' of the Church of England,[349] and Anglican saints like Hooker, Butler, Pearson, and Waterland, or "in the quiet, decorous, homely devotion of a Herbert, and a Ken, and a Wilson".[350] We have already seen Lightfoot's exemplarist application of Christ's priestly qualities of sympathy, self-sacrifice and service to the ministry of the whole Church and to that of the diaconate. Lightfoot's 'sacerdotal' incarnationism inspired his ecclesiology. The whole Church of Christ lives out His priestly life. Lightfoot's famous historical study of the origins of 'The Christian Ministry', first published in his Commentary on Philippians in 1868, is constructed in the light of his belief not only that "As individuals, all Christians are priests alike",[351] but also that just as in the Old Testament a priestly tribe represented the whole nation as delegates of the people, and are "so to speak ordained by the whole congregation",[352] so in the Christian Church all are priests and an ordained ministry commissioned by the whole priestly body and one of its episcopal organs represents the whole.[353] Christ's priesthood undergirded Lightfoot's historical response to the advance of 'sacerdotalism' in the Church of England.

To Lightfoot the Christian religion is "in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal".[354] For him, "through the Lord Jesus Christ", expressed the triumph of the Christian Gospel.[355] So he stressed:

> "Above all it has no sacerdotal system. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man forgiven. Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him immediately he is responsible, and from Him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength."[356]

In a sermon of 1883 Lightfoot defends this conception of Christ's priestly people, as never having had its "fair chance", being eclipsed by "exaggerated sacerdotalism before the Reformation"[357] and since "marred and discredited by being made a plea for individualism and self-assertion and lawlessness."[358] The whole Church of God under its priestly Head is to reflect His priestly attributes of sympathy, sacrifice, and love. "Realize your consecration" and baptism, Lightfoot declares.[359] It is, he proclaims, "yours to enter with your great High Priest in the inmost sanctuary, and there to plead the blood of the atonement before the Eternal Throne; yours... to ascend in heart and mind into the heavenly places and there continually to dwell."[360] Christ's priesthood is both the foundation, model and inspiration of the life of His priestly body, the Church.

An Apostolic ministry in the Church is, for Lightfoot the 'concentration' of its priesthood.[361] As we have begun to see, in the spirit of the Anglican saints he esteemed, Lightfoot stressed the christological model and inspiration of ministerial service, sacrifice, and parochial pastoring. "Humanly speaking", he declared in a Cuddesdon Address, "the destiny of the Church will be decided by the character of the clergy."[362] Hebrews, he argues in his essay, militates against a close identification of offering sacrifice with priesthood in the Church of Christ: Christ as priest and sacrifice having fulfilled these in Himself.[363] Rather, from Hebrews, he commends the spiritual, moral categories for priesthood, and portrays priesthood elsewhere in a broader light as not only representing God to man and man to God in the Christian congregation,[364] but as being internal and external, spiritual and temporal, heavenly and earthly.[365] In his historical review, therefore, Lightfoot rejects the progressive identification of a priestly caste, from a legitimate, expedient, and essentially diaconal ministry, to the episcopocentric hierarchism of Ignatius, and the essential episcopacy of Cyprian, in which - "The Bishop is the indispensable channel of divine grace, the

indispensable bond of Christian brotherhood."[366] This, he maintains, is manifestly "subversive of the true spirit of Christianity" in its "crushing despotism" and negation of "individual responsibility" and "direct responsibility to God in Christ".[367] So, upholding the character, uniqueness, and continuing fact of Christ's High Priesthood, Lightfoot exhorted ordination candidates to pursue Christ-like obedience, and sympathy, "with the grace of self-sacrifice", and Christ-like service, confident of His continual intercession, His pleading of His atoning blood before the Eternal Throne of God.[368] Lightfoot not only nurtured a mid-Victorian christocentric clerical idealism, but inspired a debate about Anglican ministry which we shall consider further in Chapter VII.

F.J.A. Hort often felt distanced from the ideals of Westcott and Lightfoot. His very unproductiveness set him apart from their prolific labours, although the distillation of his brilliance in his Hulsean Lectures, The Way, The Truth, The Life (1871), confirms his comparable academic virtues. Hort early on felt his more liberal approach to the problems of New Testament criticism might disqualify him from contributing to the projected commentary series.[369] Sanday was not alone in wishing Hort's biblical work had appeared.[370] Historically Hort felt Lightfoot's essay 'The Christian Ministry' gave a substantially true account, but, Hort wrote, "I wish we were more agreed on the doctrinal point; you know I am a staunch sacerdotalist, and there is not much point in arguing about first principles".[371] He confessed to being in "a deeply rooted agreement with High Churchmen as to the Church, ministry, and sacraments".[372] But Hort's writings tell us very little about his attitude towards Christ's priesthood, although a sermon of 1868 contains this brief comment on Hebrews. The Epistle, he wrote, is

> "... not actually written by St. Paul himself, but the work of some disciple of his who was filled with his spirit. It is addressed to Christians who were tempted by persecution to give up their faith. Its great subject is the manner in which the Old Testament prepares for the New, and then makes way for it, pointing out how Christ Himself is the truth of which all earlier forms of religion had only been the shadow. It shows how faith had been the one prayer which made the weak strong in every age, and how much greater might it should have now for those who believe in the Son of God."[373]

Hort's work is also notable for the recurrent emphasis upon Christ's obedience discovered in his soteriology. The "doing of God's will" echoing Hebrews citation of Psalm xl:8, "Lo, I come to Thy will, O God" (Heb.x:7,9), became a characteristic feature of a late-Victorian recovery of an Abelardian understanding of Christ's sacrifice. So, contrasting the Levitical offering of "bulls and goats" with Christ's priestly sacrifice, Hort declared: "That order of sacrifice had now passed away, since one had come who had borne our sins in His own body to the fatal tree; and in His doing of the will of God we had been hallowed by the offering of His body once for all."[374] Again, citing this verse from Psalm xl, he spoke elsewhere of God being "perfectly well pleased when His dearly beloved Son", who "having been made man, came as man to do His will even unto death".[375] Hort's soteriology is dependent, then, upon the theology of Hebrews, as his Hulsean Lectures also suggest: "Perfect love," he wrote, "the surest characteristic of perfect life, was brought and shewn in the sacrifice of the Cross. Nothing less than that consummation at once of love and of obedience could heal the inveterate breach which sin had made in the life of man."[376] In Hort we see that popular reinterpretation of Christ's priestly sacrifice which accompanied criticism of the sacrificial language of Hebrews of men like Jowett and Arnold. Whilst we may expect Hort embraced Christ's priesthood in exposition of priesthood in the Church as other sacerdotalists did, this is not a prominent feature in his published work. From Hort, too, however, derives an important contemporaneous insight into the implicit parallelism, noted above, between 'Jesus worship' and devotion to Mary, which we saw as a basis for rejection of Marian devotion through commitment to Christ, the sympathising heavenly priest.[377] As Hort wrote to Westcott:

> "I have been persuaded for many years that Mary-worship and 'Jesus worship have very much in common in their causes and results. In Protestant countries the fearful notion 'Christ the believer's God' is the result. In Romish countries the Virgin is a nearer and more attractive object, not rejected by the dominant creed;..."[378]

Hort distanced himself from both 'Jesus worship' and popular Marian devotion. But he identified the comparable stress they both placed on an accessible human

figure. In popular teaching on Hebrews devotion to a sympathising priest amply filled the felt need for such a figure. It was this deep Anglican veneration for Christ as priest, which continued to move interest in and defensiveness towards the enigmatic Epistle to the Hebrews.

Christ's priesthood is, then, variously treated in the doctrine and devotion of the Cambridge Trio. Westcott, the exegete, created one of the most significant Anglican expositions in the nineteenth century, stimulated to do so, by a profound, historically-determined, commitment to the image of Christ as priest in historic Anglicanism and by the pressing social and theological problems of the day which he perceived. Lightfoot, the Anglican historian, defended it in his ecclesiological and historical repudiation of the false, sacerdotalist, perceptions of the origin and foundation of 'The Christian Ministry'. It is Hort, the philosopher, perhaps asking fundamental questions about the cosmological platonism of Westcott, and embracing Apostolical Succession (contra Lightfoot), who appears less ready to have perpetuated adherence to this doctrine. However, despite the progress of negative criticism in the second half of the Victorian era, this was overshadowed by the centrality Christ's priesthood came to assume in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism and Evangelicalism, to be considered in the following chapters. Indeed, the history of Anglican exegesis of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the latter half of the nineteenth century confirms the importance of its theology for late-Victorian religion, and its absorption of criticism within Anglican devotion to its teaching on the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ.

CHAPTER VII

Christ the Priest in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic Doctrine and Devotion

This chapter focusses on the image of Christ as priest in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism. It was an age of paradoxes. In the Church, as in society, conservatism and 'Progress' vied for dominance. In theology, it was a period of contradictions: historic 'faith' wrestled with progressive 'doubt'. Philosophic rationalism gave place to the progressive idealism of Hegel mediated through T.H. Green (1836-1882) at Balliol, Oxford.[1] Creedal dogmatism was challenged by a prevalent, undogmatic spirit. Faith waned: Church attendances declined. Some embraced the spirit of change: others withdrew into time-honoured ghettoes. Writing in 1898, Archbishop Randall Davidson (1848-1930) described the Church as in danger from "a weak and sentimental return to emotional rather than intellectual beliefs and forms of devotion".[2] Paradoxically, in the same year, Bernard Shaw proclaimed - "Religion was alive again, coming back upon man - even clergymen - with such power that not the Church of England itself could keep it out".[3] Study of Christ's priesthood in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism exposes the ambiguities of both the party and the period. The centrality of this image for the doctrine and devotion of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism is, however, all too clear.

1. Introduction

Tractarianism had established a dynamic, theologically-aware, spiritual, self-consciously 'Catholic', or 'Anglo-Catholic' wing of the Victorian Church, composed of second generation Tractarians, like H.P. Liddon (1829-1890) and R.W. Church (1815-1890), progressive Ritualistic High-Churchmen, like P.G. Medd (1829 -1908), or William Bright (1824-1901), and 'Liberal Catholics' lead by Charles Gore (1853 - 1932). But it was a hard fought battle to 1889, and Bishop Herbert Hensley Henson (1863-1947) caricatured contemporary 'Anglo-Catholics' as in "an exasperated and exasperating mood".[4] Anglo-Catholicism, too, went against the fundamentally 'Protestant' tide of Victorian religion. Their approach to Christ's

priesthood was born of struggle. Yet the impact of their theological and spiritual commitment to Christ as 'priest' was felt by the early twentieth-century Church.

However, it is with the impact of the image of Christ as priest upon four characteristic features of Anglo-Catholic thought and life that this chapter is largely preoccupied: namely, with their christology, soteriology, ecclesiology and spirituality.

Christology was of critical importance for late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism. The volume of essays published in 1889 under Charles Gore's editorship Lux Mundi: a series of studies in the religion of the Incarnation became synonymous with the spirit and ideals of Liberal Catholicism. It forms a watershed in Anglican theology.[5] It signalled the prominence of an Anglican incarnationism characteristic of the next half-century.[6] What place did the image of Christ as priest occupy in the development of Anglo-Catholic christology? Far from being a peripheral question, it leads to a distinctively 'sacerdotal' strand in late-Victorian christology. But Liberal Catholicism attempted to restate traditional formulae. It embraced warmly the advance of biblical criticism. It was, as the authors of Lux Mundi claimed, an "attempt to put the Catholic faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems",[7] for it urgently required "disencumbering, reinterpreting, explaining".[8] As the preface also stated, however, "The real development of theology is (rather) the process in which the Church, standing firm in her old truths, enters into the apprehension of the new social and intellectual movements of each age".[9] How were the conservative and progressive ideals of Liberal Catholicism accommodated in their interpretation of Christ's priestly sacrifice? In answering this we must consider the prevalent spirit of 'sacrifice' enjoined in the ideals of Christian Socialism, and its relation to a more conservative soteriology. Thirdly, though, we must trace the continuing impact of Christ's priesthood on debates surrounding 'priesthood' in the Church of Christ. This will enable us to contextualise the doctrine's place in R.C. Moberly's (1845-1903) classic Anglican exposition of the ministry of the Church, Ministerial Priesthood (1897). Finally, our examination would be deficient were there no recognition of the place Christ's

priesthood occupied in Anglo-Catholic spirituality. Anglo-Catholics were as preoccupied with service of God in prayer, worship, adoration and communion, as they were with service through study, or service in society. Lux Mundi was product of a 'Holy Club' redivivus. Theology was brought to the anvil of the Church's prayer. The Taylorian principle Legem credendi lex statuit supplicandi was widely acclaimed. In hymns and prayers, in sacramental and liturgical theology - that is, in the heart of Anglo-Catholic devotion, - was the ever-present, ever-active figure of Christ, the heavenly priest. Examination of these four strands will enable us to see the culmination of Tractarian recovery of 'Catholic' Anglican veneration for the image of Christ as priest, and quite how potent an image Christ's priesthood was in late-Victorian Anglicanism.

2. Christus Consummator: Christus Consolator - Christ's priesthood and the foundation of Anglo-Catholic Christology

What, then, was the place, content, and significance of the image of Christ as priest in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic christological reflection? This crucial question takes us to the heart of Anglo-Catholic theology and illuminates a distinctive Anglican response to the question of the day - 'Who is this Jesus?'[10]

Historical criticism had led liberal scholars to present Christ as primarily the anointed 'prophetic' teacher, through reliance upon the priority of the gospel of Mark.[11] This was the 'Jesus of History'. Preoccupation with the humanity of the incarnate Jesus was also a reflection of the pervasive immanentism of Hegel, Strauss, and Baur. Neither solution adequately portrayed the 'Christ of faith', in older christologies preeminently identified as the exalted Lord and sovereign king. The pressing question for late-nineteenth-century theology was the relationship between the 'Jesus of history' and the 'Christ of faith'. One way Anglo-Catholic christology resolved this issue was by dependence upon an image, ready to hand through its place as an article of the historic Anglican lex orandi, and central to the later Tractarianism to which they were heir, - namely, the image of Christ as priest. Late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic christology was explicitly and implicitly 'sacerdotal'.

In their doctrinal and devotional reflection upon Jesus, Anglo-Catholic writers drew heavily on the sacerdotal, christological, language of Hebrews. Their writings are shot through with 'direct' references to Christ as priest, or with 'indirect' use of cognate scriptural terminology, directly associated with a priestly function or character. This fact has not received sufficient recognition. Neglect of wider usage of the image has again contributed to this: but, it is as true of the Lux Mundi contributors as it is of other Anglo-Catholic writers.

H.P. Liddon, the revered preacher and Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral treated of Christ's priesthood in his oft-republished "Classical... Tractarian"[12] Bampton Lectures, The Divinity of Christ (1866). Expressly a defence of Christ's divinity against the liberalising, romantic christologies of J.E. Renan (1824-1892), Strauss, and J.R. Seeley (1834-1895), Liddon's lectures treat Christ's priesthood in a traditional manner.[13] They present the superior dignity of Christ as priest over Aaron, Moses, and the angelic host, being in Himself Son of God, 'effulgence' of the Father's essential glory, and 'impressed' with "a superhuman personality".[14] He is antitype of Melchizedek - "'made like unto the Son of God' with His eternal Pre-existence and His endless ways".[15] "This Eternal Christ", he writes, "can save to the uttermost, because He has a Priesthood that is unchangeable, since it is based on His own everlasting Being".[16] Christ's priesthood is integrated in Liddon's defence of Christ's Divinity, "not in the moral sense of Socinianism", he states "nor in the ditheistic sense... of Arianism, but in the literal, metaphysical and absolute sense of the Catholic Church".[17]

Liddon professes a deep commitment to Hebrews. "Most of those," he writes, "who earnestly reject the Pauline authorship of that Epistle admit that it is of primary canonical authority, and assign to its author the highest place of honour in the school of St. Paul".[18] In particular, he observes that while Hebrews lays "a stronger emphasis than any other book of the New Testament upon Christ's true humanity, no other book more explicitly asserts the reality of His Divine prerogatives".[19] Hebrews afforded Liddon and his Anglo-Catholic contemporaries an invaluable source for unitive emphasis upon the incarnate humanity and cosmic eternal glory of Christ, in the image of Christ as priest.

Christ's priesthood is a recurrent motif in Liddon and Church's homiletic teaching. The emergent 'Godward' thrust of Liddon's later interpretation forces qualification of the 'Apollinarian' charge levelled against The Divinity of Christ. His Lent lectures of 1870, Some Elements of Religion, do speak of Christ's Divinity as "the safeguard and justification" of His Humanity's "moral perfectness",[20] but in his biblical treatment of Christ's priesthood we see unequivocally affirmed Christ's true humanity. Liddon and Church designate Christ incarnate "High Priest of the Human Race",[21] and the divine, cosmic Christ "the Eternal Priest of the New Order".[22] In this Priesthood are subsumed His Divinity and His Humanity. In Liddon's University Sermons Some Words for God (1863-5), "our Lord's manhood" is explicitly presented as being "the ground of His Priesthood".[23] In his second series of Sermons (1868-1882), one, calling Christ "the great High Priest of Christendom", presents the "perfection" of His Melchizedekian priesthood as the model to which believers should aspire.[24] Another, entitled 'Sacerdotalism' of 1875, states that Christ's priestly mediation between God and man lies in His being truly God and truly Man, with a human nature.[25]

The features of Christ's sacerdotal perfection, rendering His mediation efficacious as mankind's Head and Representative, which Liddon and Church stress consistently are: (i) self-sacrificing condescension:[26] this, they held, is the essence of Christ's incarnate life, His suffering and obedience. It began, Church states, "when in the secret of His Divine Will He chose to give Himself for man's redemption";[27] (ii) more prominently, sympathy: Church calls Christ's compassion for multitudes a striking characteristic" of our Lord's earthly life.[28] Liddon, defines it, in his sermon 'The secret of clerical power' of 1865, as "the power of entering with intelligence and tenderness into the inner life and circumstances of others".[29] This is a characteristic attribute of 'priesthood', manifest in perfection in Christ's earthly life;[30] (iii) sinlessness in the face of temptation: Liddon and Church expatiate upon the Christ who is 'holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners' (Heb.vii:26).[31] These priestly characteristics at

once express and ensure His perfect 'sympathy'.[32] They are the ground of His exemplary character and virtue.

These three 'sacerdotal' characteristics, then, repeatedly and traditionally associated with the christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, achieve a remarkable prominence in Anglo-Catholic christology, as we shall see subsequently. They are hallmarks of the impress left by the image of Christ as priest upon the development of Anglican christology in the late-Victorian era.

Two other scholars making significant, though very different, contributions to 'christological' exposition and application of Christ's priesthood were P.G. Medd, Ritualist, Fellow of University College, Oxford, and William Bright, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford.

Medd delivered the Bampton Lectures in 1882 entitled The One Mediator: The Operation of the Son of God in Nature and in Grace. Their express purpose is "to exhibit, in outline, the two-fold Mediatorial Character which belongs to the Eternal Son of God, as the sole Means wherethrough the ad extra action of the Godhead has ever proceeded".[33] They are the longest Anglo-Catholic treatment of the eternal, cosmic significance of Christ's mediatorial priesthood, containing a number of noteworthy characteristics of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic christology. Their significance again only emerges in a contextualised understanding of the significance of Christ's priesthood in late-Victorian Anglicanism.

Christ, Medd maintains, is the One Mediator, both the active mediatorial agent before His incarnation in Creation, and eternally active thereafter as the sole mediatorial principle between God and Man. As Mediator, Christ is Priest: His priesthood is coterminous with His eternal mediation. So Medd observes: "His Priestly relation to Creation at large and to Man as part of it does not depend on, though it is consummated and perfectly manifested in, His actual Incarnation".[34] Christ's priesthood is not a function for Reconciliation; it is an adjunct of His Eternal Sonship. Medd considers Christ's priesthood sub specie aeternitatis. As priest, the Eternal Son is "the one acceptable presenter of the worship of all that lives, through whom alone, it does, or could, pass upward with acceptance to the

Father".[35] By primogeniture, as in the Old Testament,[36] Christ is Priest and Mediator of God's Fatherly blessings to man and man's self-sacrifical worship to the Father.[37] Christ is the priestly Head of Creation, and, through the Incarnation, of mankind - "the High Priest of their Worship, the Presenter of their homage, the Offerer of their sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving...".[38] Medd's thought is Augustinian, as he speaks of Christ, the High Priest, gathering up man's inadequate love and worship and offering it perfect in His own to the Father.[39] It is also Scotist, like that of many of his contemporaries, as he interprets the incarnation, not as a direct cause of man's sin and need of redemption, but as the fulfilment of an ideal in which Christ the High Priest leads again the liturgy of creation restored in its homage to God. Upon this basis Medd constructed his ecclesiology and sacramental theology: to be considered in due course.

In contrast to Medd, William Bright's sermon series The Incarnation as Motive Power present Christ's priesthood as dependent upon, integral to, and expressive of, the reality of His incarnate humanity. Bright's sermons too depend heavily on Hebrews. They are characterised by (i) a concern to avoid Apollinarianism, explicitly emphasising the Creator's immanent and transcendent relation to the universe;[40] (ii) by an acknowledgement of the theological determinacy and focal unitive centrality of christology;[41] and, (iii) by an eagerness to retain a 'moral' purview in doctrinal thinking, as derived from the figure of Christ.[42] "But it has often been said", Bright writes in the Preface, "and cannot be said too often, that Christianity is concentrated in Christ. All doctrines point to His Person, and cannot be duly estimated except in the spirit of loyalty to Himself...", so "'the Incarnation' will mean the Incarnate".[43] To Bright, and the party to which he belonged, Christ's priesthood did not betoken a mythical, theological abstraction, but a vital moral principle illuminative of the character and spirit of the Divine-human Mediator, and His relation to His creation and people. Bright, therefore, states in Sermon vi. 'Moral Supports of Faith' (on John vi:67-69): "The 'one Person in two natures' is He who, being 'the effulgence of the Father's glory,' became a 'merciful and faithful High Priest, able to sympathise with our infirmities,' and fitted by sufferings to be the 'Leader' of

the saved".[44] Christ's priesthood and the sacerdotal christology of Hebrews are presented as integral to both Christ's divinity and His humanity. In Sermon ix, 'The Incarnation and the Atonement' (on Ex.iii:3,14; Jn.viii:58), Bright states:

> "It is because Jesus Christ is Divine that His Manhood has acquired this vast extension of power. In this way the Incarnation acts on His human nature in reference to mankind, whom He can represent effectively, as having 'recapitulated' them *in* Himself; and again, in reference to God, by investing the human acts and sufferings with an infinite value and preciousness; so that His Deity renders Him, on the one hand, a completely qualified Priest, on the other, a completely availing Sacrifice".[45]

Leaving for the time being the implicit soteriology here, we also discover Bright's application of Christ's priesthood to the humanity of Christ, in a sermon 'The Temptation of our Lord', on Hebrews ii:18.[46] His position is clear. Christ was tempted, not by desires addressed to a man's corrupt propensities, stimulating existent self-will and disobedience (of which He was exempt), but by those addressed to mankind's natural instincts and feelings, with a view to their corruption.[47] To this Christ was indeed susceptible, Bright argues, else would He not be our example and, by His victory over sin, the sinless yet sympathising saviour.[48] The teaching of Hebrews on Christ, the sinless High Priest, was a cardinal principle in Bright's theological, ethical and pastoral teaching. In this he was at one with late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism in general. Look away from temptation, he declares, "to that all-merciful Redeemer, who having Himself 'suffered, being tempted,' although 'without sin,' is able to succour the tempted and to wash the sinners white".[49] Of the ethical imperative implicit in Christ's priestly passion, Bright writes,

> "If we have Christian belief as a vital thing in our minds, they speak to us in accents of commanding urgency; they say to us, 'You must attend now; you must think where you are, how you personally stand in regard to Christ, what interest you take in His work as High Priest and Sacrifice and Mediator, whether you are nearer to Him in heart and spirit..."[50]

In Bright, Christus Consummator was indeed Christus Consolator, and both characteristics are directly envisioned in a fundamentally 'sacerdotal' christology.

Liberal Catholic sympathy towards biblical criticism did not vitiate dogmatic dependence upon the christology of Hebrews. The christology of

Charles Gore and the Lux Mundi School was thoroughly 'Anglican' in its affinity with the theology of Hebrews, either through direct exegesis, or its indirect influence through the liturgy and lectionary of the Book of Common Prayer. It was for them, as R.C. Ottley (1856-1933) once wrote that "great Epistle", and he commended "the breadth and comprehensiveness of its christology".[51] Gore expatiates upon "the Eternal Sole High Priest".[52] His Bampton Lectures The Incarnation of the Son of God, (1891) exude the spirit of Hebrews.[53] In Lux Mundi itself, J.R. Illingworth (1848-1915) follows Stanley and Westcott in employing the Epistle to legitimate a doctrine of 'progressive revelation',[54] and Arthur Lyttelton expounds the sinless perfection of Christ as Priest.[55] The Liberal Catholicism of the Lux Mundi School was not only Pauline, and to a degree Johannine, it was also, in keeping with the Greek Fathers they venerated, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The sacerdotal christology of Hebrews is seen, again, in Liberal Catholic Christology to have contributed those three characteristics noted in Liddon and Church -'self-sacrifice', 'sympathy', 'sinlessness'. They were central features of the way Liberal Catholicism interpreted the person of Jesus Christ.

The theme of 'self-sacrifice' finds expression in Henry Scott Holland's (1847-1918) Four Addresses on the Sacrifice of the Cross, (1879). They are a profound and moving Easter meditation on the centrality of 'sacrifice' to the eternal event of Christ, consummated in 'The Sacrifice of the Man',[56] participated in in 'The Sacrifice of the Redeemed'.[57] As Ramsey points out, Scott Holland uses 'sacrifice' in its ideal Augustinian and Maurician sense though he quotes neither, "of man's happy relation of dependence, homage, self-donation, towards His Creator".[58] Christ's priesthood is integral to this view of 'sacrifice'.

Scott Holland once said of T.H. Green, - that "prophet of reason and the spirit" and philosophical mentor of Anglican Liberal Catholicism, - "He gave us back the language of self-sacrifice", meaning "(he) taught us how we belonged to one another in the one life of high idealism".[59] As Scott Holland's Addresses make clear, Christian Socialism saw this self-sacrifice supremely enshrined in Jesus Christ, the divine-human priest. As in Medd, 'sacrifice', 'homage', 'worship',

are, for Scott Holland, the essence of man's religious self-offering to God.[60] Such the Son of God as Priest offered to the Father from eternity, and such man, made in "the image of God", should, apart from sin, be offering still.[61] 'Priest', he observes, designates one who offers himself in worship of the Father.[62] Christ is still the perfect 'priest', regardless of man's sin.[63]

> "Even if no dividing sin had ever severed man and God," he declares, "still religion would consist in the joy of homage, the joy of an offering, the joy of a sacrifice. There would still be the altar, and still the priest; an altar of joy, and gladness, and thanksgiving, and praise; a High Priest, royal, enthroned, wonderful in blessing, after the order of Melchizedec, ever living and supreme".[64]

But, man has sinned, robbed "the one and only Priest" of His opportunity of coming to a sinless world, leading man's worship, and making in it "the pure sacrifice of unalloyed, unchecked, untainted praise".[65] Christ, the self-sacrificing priest, as we shall see further later, gives Himself for man. The category 'priest' is, in Scott Holland's Addresses, inseparable both from the theme of 'self-sacrifice' and from his understanding of whom Jesus Christ is.

'Self-sacrifice', applied to Christ's person, became increasingly prominent in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic christology. Its ethical connotations were preferred to the metaphysical language of divine condescension. There was 'self-sacrifice', as Church held, in the act of becoming man.[66] To P.G. Medd, Christ taught His disciples that "the inner secret of priesthood is the very lowliest self-abandonment and self-sacrifice".[67] For Scott Holland, priestly "self-sacrifice" was essential to the Eternal Son's life in glory and humility.[68] George Congreve (1818 - 1899), a popular author of scholarly devotional literature, likewise wrote in his The Sacrifice of Christ (1890):

> "In the life of Christ sacrifice is found to be such an essential principle that we may take it as an expression of the true end of all human life... Here is the true Man, whose very being is sacrifice, whose whole life from His infancy has been an oblation, at the last moment of His liberty rising to a supreme act of self-consecration to the Father, and, in the love of the Father for His fellowmen".[69]

R. C. Moberly, too, stressed the theme in his three short addresses Sorrow, Sin, and Beauty (1889). "The perfect human life is the life of Christ," he wrote. "And what is the Christ-life but sacrifice - sacrifice as the supreme expression and

ardour of self-subjecting love?"[70] The image of Christ as priest has influenced this ethical language of self-sacrifice. One of the most popular texts quoted in support of this christological theme was Hebrews x:7-9 - "Then I said, Lo I have come to do Thy will, O God..." 'Self-sacrifice' as a cognate of the Biblical imagery of priesthood, identified in Hebrews with the sacrifice of Christ's will to the Father, contributed directly to the 'sacerdotal' character of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic christology.

The prominence of the imagery of 'priesthood' applied to Christ in other areas of Anglo Catholic doctrinal reflection suggests, that Christ's priesthood also influenced the theme of 'self-sacrifice' in Charles Gore's kenotic christology.[71] We find no direct association between Christ's priesthood and the 'real-but-relative' depotentiation of Christ's divine powers, or his 'self-emptying', which Gore ascribed to His earthly life -except, of course, that it was Ps.110 around which controversy over Christ's ascription of Davidic authorship turned! But, in 'kenotic' attempts to do justice both to the divinity and to the humanity of Christ, Christ's 'self-emptying' is presented as a continuous process of 'self-sacrifice'.[72] Christ's Divine self-sacrifice and true humanity are central to kenotic christology.[73] Regarding the relation between Divine omniscience and Christ's human ignorance, Gore observes: "This involves no change in God, because it was simply an external exhibition of an eternal capacity for self-sacrifice in the being of God".[74] The continuity seen between Gore and Tractarian christology, both in the centrality ascribed to the Incarnation, and, here, to the Incarnation as the 'self-sacrificing' of the Divine Son,[75] makes it not impossible that the potency of Christ's priesthood in later Tractarian christology is here reflected in late-Victorian Liberal Catholicism.

In Gore, too, clear evidence of the theme of 'sympathy' in Liberal Catholic christology is found. It is a note repeatedly struck in his influential christological writing of the 1890's. His Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation (1895) state: "Sympathy, love, - this is the keynote of the Incarnation".[76] He interprets 'sympathy' as the act of putting oneself in another's place.[77] Hence, "Redemptive sympathy is the act of the greater and better

putting himself at the point of view of the lower and the worse"..."it is the Divine putting Himself at the point of view of the human".[78] Relating this to his kenotic christology, he also observes "All real sympathy of the unconditioned for the conditioned demands, as far as we can see, real self-limitation".[79] Gore was not unique in elevating 'sympathy' as essential to the Incarnation.[80] It was a prominent theme in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic christology. It is a further expression of the potency of the sacerdotal christology of Hebrews.

Lecture VI of Gore's Bampton Lectures, 'Man revealed in Christ', has for its text Hebrews ii:17,18, the classic passage for exposition of Christ's priestly sympathy.[81] Human sympathy in the brotherhood of Human Society was an ideal of late-Victorian Christian socialism. Christus Consummator was, indeed, Christus Consolator. Liddon saw in Christ's earthly life, in His tenderness, compassion, and sympathy for sinners, the idealisation or perfection of this trait.[82] It was a glorious gift, a crucial power in the Apostles.[83] R. W. Church described it as the most striking characteristic of Christ's earthly life, perpetuated in heaven.[84] Scott Holland praised the sympathy of Christ as a friend.[85] It was sympathy, he maintained, which built the Church.[86] For R. L. Ottley, too, sympathy, Christ's priestly fellow-feeling as man, was of the essence of His incarnation.[87] As he wrote, in kenotic vein: "The incarnation is a further self-limitation, conditioned by a purpose of love, the desire to aid mankind by sympathy from within rather than by power from without, or, more strictly, by a blending of pity and power in one supreme act of condescension".[88] The theme of 'sympathy', in an environment charged with the spirit of Hebrews, was a priestly quality. It was 'sympathy' which inspired both the fact and character of Christ's earthly life. It is significant, therefore, that in Gore's Hints for the Study of Theology with a view to Holy Orders, he explicitly states:

> "The conception of the Incarnation will further be deepened by the consideration of CHRIST under the various Titles which belong to Him in Scripture, and specially under the threefold Office of (1) Prophet -to teach man about God. (2)Priest - to unite man with God. (3) King - to subdue man to God".[89]

Late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism valued the image of Christ's priesthood as illuminative of the Incarnation. In the language of priestly 'sympathy' they

articulated their belief both in the true humanity of Christ, and, as we shall see in the following section, in His representative agency on their behalf.

Whilst stressing Christ's priestly 'self-sacrifice' and 'sympathy', as motive and manner of His incarnate life, Gore and late-Victorian Liberal Catholics were at pains also to defend Christ's 'sinlessness', lest in their emphasis upon His humanity they appear to vitiate His perfection. This 'sinlessness' is again expressive of the 'sacerdotal' character of their christology. Hebrews iv:15 is as popular a test as Hebrews ii:17;18. Christ was truly tempted and thus can succour us, but, He was 'in all points tempted like as we are, apart from sin' (Heb.iv:15). Hence, in Lyttelton's essay 'The Atonement' in Lux Mundi we read:

> "The sinless perfection of Christ, far from removing Him out of the sphere of our sinful lives, made Him perfectly representative; for He not only possessed in their greatest perfection all the powers and capacities which are the instruments of sin, but in the strength of His sinlessness and of His love He could feel for all men and accept them as His brethren, though they were sinners. Our High Priest 'hath been (tempted) in all points like as we are, yet without sin'."[90]

"The justification of His Priesthood," Lyttelton also wrote, "is the complete reality of His humanity ", and His representative priestly character is "unweakened and unmarred in any point by sin".[91] Upon Christ's priestly sinlessness in His incarnate life depended His representative Headship of Humanity.[92] Emphasis upon Christ's 'sinlessness' was a further expression of the ethical character of Liberal Catholic christology: it was both christological fact and exemplary incentive. Ottley's view of Christ's temptation and sinlessness illuminates this, relating them directly to Christ's 'sympathy':

> "Temptation", he writes, "was a part of that average human experience by which our Lord was prepared for the effective fulfilment of His High-priestly work. It was a training in the power of sympathy; and of equitable judgement in regard to human sin, which befitted one who reveals Himself as Saviour and Judge of mankind. The capacity for feeling sympathy depends, not on such intuition as a Divine being might have of the force of temptation, but on the actual experience of its pressure... the manhood of Jesus was exempt from any inward propensity to sin, any capacity of sinful assertion. He was sinless because He could not will to sin".[93]

'Sinlessness' is a moral prerequisite here of the perfect fulfilment of Christ's priestly work, as much as the ground of His perfect identity with manhood.

In Gore, too, this theme of 'sinlessness' is clear and Hebrews iv:15 is quoted.[94] Gore repudiates an Apollinarianism which "curtails our Lord's complete humanity" or secures "His sinlessness by denying to Him the reality of human spirit".[95] Christ's humanity, Gore holds, is both perfect and thence unlike ours in its sinlessness, and exemplary for sinners.[96]

> "In every form temptation was rejected," he writes "not because He had not real human faculties to feel its force, but because His faculties acted simply under the control of a will, which following unhesitatingly the movement of the Holy Spirit, in other words, which existed only to do the Father's will... He was in all points tempted as we are, apart from sin; that is, so far as a sinless nature can be tempted, so far as one can be effectively assailed who has not, as we have, the traitor within the camp".[97]

To be sinless was to be free.[98] His human will allowed no disordered sinful movement in His nature. He was not in His human nature in rebellion against God: thus was He truly human.[99] But, he enquires later: "Does not Christ then by His very sinlessness, still more by His impeccability, fail in the conditions of a profitable example?"[100] He answers in the negative: for, he holds, this same Christ is no external ideal outwardly set before our eyes, but an indwelling principle of life within the believer:[101] "We look at Him in history to know what we must become: we draw upon His present Spirit in order to its realization".[102] Christ was for Gore, the sinless Jesus of History, and the immanent, though now exalted, sinless Christ of faith and morality. But, we contend, emphasis upon His sinlessness is appropriately identified as a further expression, with 'self-sacrifice', and 'sympathy', of the potency of the sacerdotal christology of Hebrews, in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism.

We have considered, then, ways in which the image of Christ as priest was adduced in the various strands of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic christology. But as we have intimated on occasions it is necessarily inseparable from consideration of His work, and to this we now turn.

3. Christus Redemptor: Christus Consummator - Christ's priestly atonement in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism

How, then, did the image of Christ as priest impinge upon Anglo-Catholic soteriological reflection? Their doctrine of the atonement was often subsumed in their progressive Incarnationism. The paucity of independent studies of Anglo-Catholic soteriology would appear to endorse the claim that the Incarnation 'outshone' the Atonement. Eager to avoid presenting Christ's incarnation as an afterthought, or caused by man's sin their own thought has often appeared Scotist.[103] Aubrey Moore affords a balanced presentation of what many incarnationist Anglo-Catholics believed.

> "We preach the Atonement", he wrote, "in the light of the Incarnation, not the Incarnation as a step to the Atonement. People who read neither S. Thomas nor Duns Scotus will say this is a revival of Scotism. Others will say it is a substitution of theological for an evangelical preaching. Others, with more truth, will point to it as an appeal from Augustinian to Athanasian theology. But none of these is exactly true. We preach Christ crucified. If the centre of gravity seems to have shifted from the Atonement to the Incarnation, it is only because the Atonement, amid the false theories of a degenerate age, had lost its true meaning, and had come to be set over against the Incarnation".[104]

Study of Christ's priesthood reflects this preaching of the Cross in the light of the Incarnation. In the image of Christ as priest, Christus Consummator is Christus Redemptor. Their christology directly shaped their soteriology. Through the doctrine of Christ as priest Incarnation and Atonement were closely identified, but not united. Continued use of the imagery of 'priesthood' and 'sacrifice' in a soteriological context, by Liberal Catholics sympathetic to biblical criticism and sensitive to the critique of Jowett and Arnold, bespeaks a high regard for such categories - a regard consistent, though, with their historic place in Anglican doctrine and devotion.[105]

But, which 'false theories' of the atonement did late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism reject? How were Christ's priesthood and priestly sacrifice employed in redefinition of His salvation?

Criticism appears to have been levelled against four traditional ways of presenting the Atonement. a) the traditional penal substitutionary theory, in

which Christ, the innocent sufferer on the cross, dies in man's place. This was accused of arbitrariness, and injustice: Christ being 'the whipping boy' vicariously; b) the doctrine of the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ on the cross; His death drawing the sting out of God's wrath against sin. This, it was claimed, set the Father and Son at odds, when they are eternally bound in a unity of love; c) the doctrine of Christ's saving atonement for each individual, either as one of the elect or as one responding to God's gracious offer of salvation to all men. This, critics claimed, ignored the cosmic scope of Christ's redemptive works. d) The doctrine that Christ's saving work ended on the cross. Without wanting to compromise the completeness or perfection of that sacrifice, critics, as in relation to c) urged the cosmic, eternal, nature of Christ's saving work.

In response Anglo-Catholic soteriology was markedly moralising in its approach to Christ's person and work. It favoured Bushnell's Aberlardian reinterpretation The Vicarious Sacrifice (1886). Christ's priesthood also lent itself to this presentation of His atonement. His whole life was interpreted as priestly. The moral overtones of this 'self-sacrifice', 'sympathy' and 'sinlessness', were the basis of a soteriology which focussed on the offering of Christ's whole life as a Priest for mankind, rather than specifically on His self-offering in a priestly sacrifice on the Cross. This is the general thrust of Anglo-Catholic application of Christ's priesthood to the issue of man's redemption. Pursuit of this theme reveals the creative importance of Christ's priesthood for Anglo-Catholic soteriological redefinition.

H. P. Liddon represents, however, a more traditional Tractarian position. Christ was, for Liddon, both priest and victim,[106] who offered Himself freely once for all.[107] His death is described as: "Propitiation, Redemption, Reconciliation".[108] He stresses the power of the atoning blood of Christ the priest,[109] which continues to flow.[110] That blood means the life of Christ; its efficacy is derived from the dignity of the life it represents.[111] The cross is appropriately viewed, according to Hebrews, as "the last and consummate expression of a perfectly obedient will",[112] - "not merely the instrument of His punishment, but the symbol and the throne of His conquering love".[113] Christ's

priesthood is a recurring soteriological motif in Liddon's sermons. In one of his Passiontide Sermons (1891) Hebrews ix:11-15 is said to teach us:

> "...how to think about Him (Christ) in the whole course of these His sufferings. He is not only a good man weighed down by so much pain of body and mind; He is the High Priest of the human race,Who is offering a victim in expiation of human sin, and that victim is Himself; He is the one real Sacrificer, of whom all the Jewish priests had, for long centuries, been only shadows; and His sacrifice is the One Offering which throughout all ages has power in heaven".[114]

Here is a classic exposition of Christ's priesthood in unitive relation to the Christus Redemptor: Christus Consummator principle characteristic of Anglo-Catholic soteriology. In another, on Hebrews x:5,7, Liddon likewise speaks of Jesus Christ, "the High Priest of Humanity, 'taking upon Him to deliver man' by His Incarnation and Death", and offering "Atoning Blood, the Blood of one who is both Priest and Victim, in contrast with the impotent and fruitless blood-shedding of bulls and goats slain at the altar of the Jewish temple".[115] His thought is explicitly Scotist.[116] Christ, the priestly head and consummation of humanity, as Divine, "offers Himself", "the omnipotent Priest and Victim" in a life and death of self-sacrifice, and as sinless Victim dies for others.[117] His redemptive sacrifice as Priest does not lose its virtue, its physical, moral, and spiritual efficacy are eternal.

R. F. Littledale's contribution to a clerical symposium in 1883, 'What is the Scripture doctrine of the Atonement?', is also worthy of brief mention. Christ's priesthood is prominent. Littledale finds in the Levitical priest's sprinkling of blood for the purpose of 'at-one-ment' a dim prefiguration of the Incarnation as a bridge between man and God.[118] Union with God is the primary intention of the Incarnation, he argues, in a Scotist vein - "ransom and redemption" from sin are an "afterthought" consequent upon man's Fall.[119] Christ's life has effected the former "atonement in the highest sense",[120] whilst His death "essential as the seal and crown of the self-dedication of that life and as completing its sacrificial character, has to do mainly with the secondary and lesser sense of Atonement".[121] The latter event, Christ's priestly propitiation does not change God's mind, but does remove the barrier of sin. It is for Littledale only "a single

incident, of transcendent importance and value indeed, but still only a single incident, in the great chain of events from the Incarnation to the Ascension".[122] Viewing Christ's priestly ministry sub specie aeternitatis, Littledale maintains that this "sacerdotal part of the Atonement did not end on the Cross".[123] Rather, it began there. Critical of 'popular theology' which sees the Priesthood die with the Victim, Littledale (aware of its eucharistic connotations) expatiates upon Christ's priestly 'sprinkling of the blood' and continuous self oblation in heaven. The atonement, in relation to Christ's priesthood, is a continuum from the Incarnation throughout eternity.[124] Its abiding efficacy is rooted in Christ's continuous presentation of His sacrifice in heaven.

A. J. Mason's (1851-1928) treatment of the Atonement, in The Faith of the Gospel (1888), is likewise Scotist in spirit: the Incarnation being termed the "unconditional" and the Atonement the "conditional" purpose of God.[125] Christ's priesthood is adduced in Mason's presentation of Christ as the "eternal Mediator",[126] and in his Abelardian exemplarist view of the redemptive power of Christ's moral perfection. The incarnation, the climax of man's evolution, expresses the 'infinite' love of God and the gathering up of mankind into Christ as the representative Head of Humanity.[127] Mason, like many of his contemporaries, spoke of the 'moral fitness' of the Incarnation, implied in the, "it became Him", of Hebrews ii:10, and vii:26.[128] Having established this view of the Incarnation Mason writes: "the main object of the Atonement is a moral not a legal one. It is not satisfaction for past offences but the removal of sin for the future. And sin for the future can only be precluded by fully persuading the wills of men to give it up".[129] Man, not God, needs to be reconciled. "The Cross reconciles men to God" Mason writes "by making them abhor and adjure sin", when confronted by the exemplary 'sinlessness' of Christ, the representative man.[130] From Heb.iv:15 and v:8, Mason argues that Christ's "impeccable" priestly life of obedience is crowned in the obedience of death. He is a "faithful High Priest" (Heb.ii:17; iii:2) as fully concurring with the Father's wrathful abhorrence against sin.[131] On the cross this "faithful High Priest", representative of God and Man, gives and takes "revenge for the outrage done by sin".[132] So, His death is

sacrificial - penal but not substitutionary:[133] it has exemplary and representative value.[134]

In Mason's exposition, then, Christ's priesthood and the theology of Hebrews explicate the character and purpose of Christ's sinless life and afford a focus of unity between the purpose of God and the will of the Son.[135] Christ's priestly obedience is, as in McLeod Campbell's The Nature of the Atonement (1856), an essential, moral and redemptive quality. His priestly atonement expresses His own desire and willing self-giving for man's reconciliation.

In Darwell Stone's Outline of Christian Dogma (1900) we see Christ's priestly atonement is directly informed by Westcott's stress upon "the shedding of blood" in sacrifice as signifying the total offering of the life of the victim. "In all the (O.T.) sacrifices," he writes, "that which was offered was given to God as a symbol of the personal and moral surrender of self on the part of him who offered it. The presenting of blood signified the dedication of life".[136] This is for Stone "a type of the offering of Christ".[137] His priesthood is identified with His total life-offering to God. Stone was not unique in embracing Westcott's view. It became a prominent theme in Anglo-Catholic thinking, right through to F.C.N.Hicks The Fullness of Sacrifice (1930). To many this view of sacrifice was seen as an effective counter to excessively materialistic and legalistic atonement theologies. Yet, as Stone stresses, it does not fully circumvent the mystery or method of sacrificial atonement.[138] As Stone makes clear, this view of Christ's priestly sacrifice enables one to see it not as that of an unwilling victim, but as a voluntary act of self-surrender.[139]

Stone also stresses that as priest, Christ is man's representative, and His sacrifice, therefore, "does not stand outside the human race".[140] "The victim who suffered takes us into His own life." he writes "He suffered as the Head of the Body, and we being of the body are partakers in His sacrifice".[141] Adhering closely to the typical pattern of the High Priest's ministration on the Day of Atonement, Stone, again in keeping with a popular theme in Anglo-Catholic writing, interprets Christ's death on the cross as but the first part, the mactation of the victim, in the ritual of atonement. Christ's Ascension, Heavenly

Presentation, and sprinkling of His Blood, are typically represented in the Levitical High Priest's entry and ministry "within the veil".[142] Hebrews viii:3 is still popularly adduced in support of this interpretation: the "somewhat to offer" being Christ's unbloody, "continual pleading of an abiding sacrifice" in heaven as the foundation of His intercession.[143] Binding, then, his understanding of sacrifice to this view of this priestly ministry, Stone writes: "The culminating point in the sacrifice of Christ is the offering of His manhood to the Father in heaven after being slain and restored to life. Our Lord's present work of intercession consists of His presentation to the Father of His living and glorified manhood after having passed through death".[144] To avoid the change that this view of Christ's heavenly self-offering, particularly as identified with the eucharistic sacrifice, vitiated the uniqueness of Christ's once-for-all sacrifice on the Cross, Mason stressed they were "the same sacrifice".

> "The unbloody sacrifice",he wrote,"is the offering of the now glorified humanity without pain or death on the altar. The sacrifice is the same sacrifice, because in each case that which is offered is the body and blood of Christ, and because the priest is the same, that is, our Lord acting by Himself on the cross, acting through His ministers at the altar."[145]

Christ's priesthood was, for Stone, both interpreter and agent of this sacramental mediation of redemptive life. To late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism in general, Christ's priestly office became increasingly, as we shall see later, the source of a dynamic, unitive commentary upon the essential facts of Christ's eternal redeeming work, perpetuated in the sacramental life of the Church.

Christ's priesthood was no less significant an interpretative motif in the soteriology of Liberal Catholicism. The third of Scott Holland's Addresses on the Sacrifice of the Cross, 'The Sacrifice of the Man' (on Heb.x:5,10), develops the theme of Christ the perfect priestly offerer of worship, relating it directly to His priestly sacrifice on the Cross. In this act man's 'sacrifice' of life and worship is recovered.[146] Of Christ's heart-rending cry of dereliction Scott Holland declares:

> "In that bitter cry, the sacrifice that man has to offer, is once more renewed. That Cross has become his altar. The communion of the creature with the Creator is once again recovered; ... Worship has begun anew: the victim is there to

> make victorious appeal; the priest is there, lifting once more holy hands. The incense of praise and thanksgiving once again ascends as of old".[147]

Christ is 'a spiritual priest' offering freely for Himself and all creation.[148] Through this, His worship, He recovers His own and mankind's life. The body is the instrument of this His priestly sacrifice: its shed blood ministers sanctification and remission.[149] It is also the instrument of punishment, the scourge of sin.[150] His death-pangs are the material for man's renewed sacrifice and symbols of praise.[151] Scott Holland embraces the language of 'vicarious sacrifice', but as the basis of a moralistic, exemplary doctrine of atonement into which suffering man is drawn, and in which he is transformed.[152] Atonement is man united to Christ's eternal priesthood in self offering of body and will. Hence, drawn into

> "the circle in which Christ's eternal energies work... we are uplifted by the power of His passion, we, too, recover our priesthood; we may lift the offering of this our flesh to God, since that day when Christ died in the likeness of our flesh, and sanctified it to become an offering to God".[153]

The heavenly, eternal perspective characteristic of Anglo-Catholic soteriology of this period is strong. Yet, in the present, the believer, separated in time from Calvary, can be united with Christ:

> "...for still, today, Christ, the ever-living Priest, pleads within that Holy Place, into which He has passed before us, that holy Blood, once poured out in love for us, which makes Him still bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh; and still, today, as the Father looks upon that Blood, there breaks from His eyes, ever and again, the splendour of an unappeasable and exhaustless love..."[154]

The theme of Christ, our faithful High Priest, "the Captain of our Salvation", is iterated in Logic and Life (1882).[155] This ardent Christian Socialist saw Christ as the priestly brother, ever drawing man to God and to his fellows.[156] In Creed and Character (1887) Scott Holland states that Christ's priesthood, "hid within the womb of Judaism", burst forth in His death;[157] His full signification, and royal power being manifest only "after He has been perfected through suffering... after He has carried the blood as our Great High Priest within the Holy of Holies and won our remission of sins".[158] His present scars, he writes in Good Friday (1884), are "instruments of triumphant intercession at the right hand of God".[159] Scott

Holland's soteriology has throughout a distinctly 'liturgical' character: the Augustinian language of man as "Nature's High Priest" echoing Herbert. Christ's priesthood undergirds an atonement by 'liturgical' incorporation. In keeping with the true spirit of Hebrews, Scott Holland dwells more on the purpose and less on the manner of man's salvation.

Arthur Lyttelton's (1852-1903) chapter 'The Atonement', in Lux Mundi, has the reputation for being the least successful in the volume. Yet its scope was vast and it could only sketch a doctrine of Christ as Representative rather than as Propitiation.[160] Together with his Oxford House Paper, The Justice of the Atonement (1887), it further illuminates, however, the popularity and potency of the image of Christ as priest in Liberal Catholic soteriology. In both essays we see a disquiet with the injustice of God apparently punishing His innocent Son and removing from mankind the burden of individual accountability, and an eagerness to portray Christ as willing victim, and representative Head of humanity, whose offering is the ground and incentive of mankind's responsive self-giving. "We have to remember," he writes, "that what God the Father wills the Son wills also, and that the victim who suffered was also the Priest who offered, and the God who accepted the sacrifice".[161] Anglo-Catholicism affirmed the identity of Priest and Victim as this illustrates. Self-sacrifice is involved in Christ, the willing victim, "casting in His lot with us; not a substitute, but a Representative".[162] There is 'sympathy', too, for, rejecting imputed righteousness, Lyttelton holds Christ bore our sins "by the power of perfect sympathy, because our nature is His also".[163] There is a moral imperative in His identification with us. "The more we realise the truth of Christ's Human Nature," Lyttelton writes, "and the completeness of His sympathy with us, the more we see that we cannot be content with merely acquiescing in His sacrifice for sins, but must take up the Cross which He bore, and be crucified with Him".[164] Christ's priestly 'sympathy' with us, and ours with Him and mankind at large, is essential to Lyttelton's soteriology.[165] So, too, is His priestly perfection. Christ the perfect Priest can alone offer the Perfect Sacrifice, he maintains.[166] He is mankind's High Priest. His Godward life is one of perfect obedience.[167] In its Manward significance His

priesthood is born of true humanity. "He is our representative as Priest," he writes,"because He is both man and more than man, and can therefore perform for us what we could not and cannot perform for ourselves, in offering the perfect propitiatory sacrifice".[168] The propitiatory value of the life of Christ lies in His perfect obedience, and "in His willing acceptance of suffering acknowledged...as the due reward of sin".[169] The sacerdotal language and theology of Hebrews are central to Lyttelton's soteriology. His essay reflects Christus Redemptor: Christus Consummator, in the light of Christ's priesthood.

> "From out of the very heart and centre of the human nature", he states,"which was so enslaved and corrupted by sin that no human offering was acceptable to God there is raised the sinless sacrifice of perfect humanity by the God-Man, our great High Priest: human in the completeness of His sympathy, Divine in the unique power of His Priesthood".[170]

His priestly sacrifice is redemptive, eternal, and exemplary; not freeing man from suffering but calling him to follow.[171] The end of Christ's priesthood is the reunion of man and God.[172]

For Charles Gore, too, the work of Christ as Priest is to unite or reconcile man to God.[173] Though he wrote no treatise on the Atonement, the themes of sin, redemption, salvation in Christ, permeate Gore's doctrine of the Incarnation. "Everything in the New Testament", he wrote in The Reconstruction of Belief, "appears to depend on this initial sacrifice of atonement reconciliation and propitiation".[174] Gore did not minimise the gravity of sin: it was both individual guilt and collective taint.[175] Yet behind Christ's self-offering he sees not only the individual and corporate plight of man but also the initiating love of God, and the willing obedience of Christ. Furthermore, for all his incarnationism, Gore's expositions of the cross have a powerful poignancy - the language of 'altar', 'throne' and 'glory' recur - despite his identification of it with 'heavenly sacrifice' and a cosmic reconciliation. For Gore, Christ's "bitter passion and death upon the cross" were, indeed, "the very occasion for expressing the depth of the divine self-sacrifice."[176] In his writing, the sacrificial and sacerdotal language of Hebrews also often recur.

An extended statement of Gore's interpretation of Christ's priestly ministry of reconciliation is found in his The Mission of the Church (1892). There we read:

> "In this capacity (as priest) He first exhibits, in supreme perfection and fullness, that unity with God of which our nature is capable... In His own person He offers, in our name and on our behalf, the sacrifice of perfect homage to the divine righteousness, which our sins had been continuously outraging. All this He does first in His own person independently of us and in our stead; but what He first does for us, He proceeds to do in us. He takes us up into union with Himself. We share His manhood, His communion with God, His self-oblation to the Father. Thus He is our priest."[177]

As here, Christ's priesthood is integral to the fundamentally 'moral' thrust of Gore's approach to theology and religion.[178] A moral necessity is implied in Christ's priestly sacrifice and in its indwelling efficacy in mankind.[179] Gore speaks of 'vicarious sacrifice', though does not mean vicarious punishment.[180] Rather, Christ's priesthood illuminates his understanding of both His life of 'sacrifice' culminating in the Cross, and His work in heaven. The 'eternal', 'eucharistic', and 'volitional' character of Christ's priestly atonement, seen above, are again evident in Gore. Hence, reacting against what he sees as a dangerously narrow, traditional identification of atonement with Christ's death on the cross, and again influenced by Westcott, Gore later wrote - "It is at His entrance into heaven, and not upon the cross, that He accomplishes His atonement for us, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews; and His work as High Priest, which begins with His entrance into heaven, is perpetual".[181]

So Gore presents Christ's priestly redemptive ministry as both implicit in His person, and explicit in His heavenly self-presentation. The image of Christ as priest again acts to unite the Incarnation and Atonement. Christus Consummator, the priestly Head of Humanity, is in Gore too, Christus Redemptor, the priestly saviour of men in His life, death, and life in glory.

These are the main lines of Anglo-Catholic application of the image of Christ as priest to their attempted redefinition of traditional soteriological formulae. The theology and language of Hebrews contribute directly to some of the most distinctive characteristics of that redefinition. We must consider now,

though, the impact Christ's priesthood had on the question of 'priesthood' in the church.

4. R.C. Moberly and Christ's Priesthood in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology

Moberly's Ministerial Priesthood was published in 1897 - part rejoinder to Leo XIII's regrettable Bull Apostolicae Curae (1896), denying validity in Anglican orders; part eirenicon to festering sacerdotalist squabbles. It stands, justifiably republished in recent years, a classic testimony to an Anglican approach to the question of ministry. Christ's priesthood is pivotal, expressive both of its contemporary centrality to Anglo-Catholic doctrine and devotion, reflecting the influence of ontological and ethical redefinition of Christ's priesthood in the realms of christology and soteriology, and also of the doctrine's historic place in a characteristic Anglican, pastoral, christocentric approach to 'ordained ministry', as epitomised in the life and works of Ken, Herbert, Law, Taylor and, most recently, John Keble. In this section our concern is to expound the theological Sitz im Leben of Moberly's work, by examining the different strands in interpretation and application of Christ's priesthood in Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology prior to Moberly, and by considering his use of them.

Ecclesiology was, arguably, of primary significance in late-Victorian Anglican theology. The Church and its ministry were pressing practical and theological issues. Despite its increased activity and bureaucracy the Church of England at the end of the nineteenth century was under pressure. Gore's first episcopal Charge to Worcester diocese makes depressing reading. Episcopal influence increased and the Church's national power declined. Some High Churchmen like Gore responded by hard work and espousal of well-worn theories.[182] The Church was still held by them to be a supernatural society, a self-existent organic body, grounded in a materialistic conception of authority mediated from 'above'; Apostolic Succession being supremely the transmission of rightful power for an office and less spiritual grace for a ministry.[183] Others, influenced by Christian Socialist thinking, or provoked by the increasing need to

justify the Church's existence in an increasingly rationalistic unbelieving age, adopted a more pragmatic and functional view of the Church as school of virtue, guardian of truth, home of worship and sometimes servant of society.[184] Anglo-Catholic clerical zeal was unabated, fuelled by inspirational clerical manuals evocative of Christ-like clerical idealism. Theologically, Edwin Hatch's (1835-89) historical challenge to Anglo-Catholics to justify their beliefs about the origin of a priesthood of the ministry in The Organization of the Early Christian Churches (1881),[185] was as savage a blow as Apostolicae Curae. Battle-worn upholders of 'sacerdotalist' views, concerned for unity, pursued unsuccessfully the path of understanding and conciliation. Together these controversies afforded Christ's priesthood endless opportunities to be exposed and considered. It is thus a constantly recurring theme. It is found informing exposition of both the 'physical form' and 'spiritual content' of Anglo-Catholic interpretations of the Church and its ministry.

In 1875 H.P. Liddon preached a University Sermon 'Sacerdotalism'.[186] It is a Tractarian defence of the priesthood of the ministry, and illustrates how crucial Christ's priesthood was for late-Victorian sacerdotalist controversies. Study of the period discloses a profound common commitment to Christ as 'the one true priest' -about that there is no doubt. The debate surrounds the degree, or manner in which it is appropriate to deduce therefrom 'priesthood' in His Church. Historically, as we have seen, the 'Catholic' wing of the Church of England, with or without direct reference to Christ's priesthood, had consistently upheld the existence of a distinctive, episcopally-ordained, priestly order, in the Church of England. This, evangelicals as consistently denied. So, in first presenting the case against 'Sacerdotalism', Liddon spoke of its vitiation of human equality, of a common priesthood of all, and of Christ's unique priesthood.[187] Significantly, he holds the latter charge to be "too genuinely Christian to be disregarded",[188] and declares his belief in Christ as "Priest, Prophet and King, in an absolute and unique sense".[189] But, he maintains, if pressed, this argument "is fatal to the truth which was the basis of the previous objection" (viz. "a common priesthood").

> " If all Christians are, in some sense, priests," he writes, "Christ does, in some sense, give a share of His priesthood to His brethren. And if He gives a larger share to some, and a less to others, for the good of the whole, the question between the opponents and advocates of a true ministerial commission is, in reality, a question of degree".[190]

He defends a priestly ministry, then, as ordained to bring home Christ's unique mediation and redemptive mediatorial work to the souls of men.[191] They hold only a delegated authority, which neither compromises His unique rights nor obscures His majesty.[192] Liddon charged lay listeners to remember their own priestliness and clerics not to vaunt theirs.[193]

Similar arguments are advanced repeatedly in defence of 'sacerdotalism' and Christ's unique priesthood throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is impossible to accuse Anglo-Catholic professions of belief in Christ's unique priesthood as mere sham. The conflict was born, rather, of a common, deep seated Anglican commitment to the image of Christ as priest, and a common failure to recognise this to be the case.

The depth of Anglo-Catholic commitment to the image and fact of Christ's unique priesthood is found both in the primacy ascribed to it and in the general christocentricity of their doctrines of the ministry throughout this period. A strong imitatio Christi spiritual tradition and an influential, incarnationist theological tradition, contributed to this. In one of many ordination sermons of the period embracing the exemplary image of Christ as priest, R.W. Church wrote: "In Him you see the spirit in which to do it - what manner of men, in feeling, in character, in behaviour, in aim, they ought to be who continue His ministry".[194] Commending Christ's characteristic priestly ministry continued in His priests, Church pointed out - "There is a tenderness and sympathy which none can gauge".[195] 'Sympathy' is, as W.C.E. Newbolt in Speculum Sacerdotum (1894) calls it, "one of the peculiar virtues necessary to priestly life".[196] But Church does not restrict priestly ministry to 'continuing' Christ's. He adopts what we have come to see as a characteristic High Anglican, neo-Scotist, view of priesthood, combining a strong sense of Christ's continued, dynamic activity as sole High Priest with a participatory, priesthood in His earthly representatives.

"You are servants and ministers of the Crucified", he reminds the candidates, "He on high is your Master, and to Him your account has to be made. It is for His purposes that you are chosen: it is His gifts, His word, His sacraments that you have to convey to men".[197]

As the above quotation suggests, the 'priesthood' of the ministry was by Church, and, at this period, by the majority of his Anglo-Catholic contemporaries, both defined and distinguished by fulfilment of certain external, performative ceremonial acts representative of Christ's priesthood. Among these, performance of the eucharistic rite was paramount. Hence, E.F. Willis in his influential, eirenical treatise The Sacrificial Aspect of the Holy Eucharist considered in relation to the one Atoning Sacrifice upon the Cross (1878), states:

> "The Christian priesthood is not a less, but a more real priesthood than that of the Jews; for, instead of mere typical sacrifices, the Christian priest presents and pleads on earth the one true and availing Sacrifice, which the great High Priest has entered into heaven to plead continually 'in the presence of God for us.' The Christian priesthood is a more real priesthood than the Jewish, because it is the very extension of Christ's one true Priesthood, depending wholly upon that; and, of course, no more to be regarded as adding to it, than the pipe which conveys water from the cistern can be thought of as adding anything to the waters of the cistern."[198]

Anglo-Catholic sacramentalism induced many, then, to define priesthood in terms of both the Old Testament, typical, sacrificial system and the eucharistic sacrifice; or, more specifically, Christ's pleading of His earthly sacrifice in heaven. Hebrews viii:3 became a crux interpretum: a priest, it was argued, must have "somewhat to offer". Thence, Christ's heavenly ministry was interpreted as "offering" or presenting His earthly sacrifice.[199] In M.F. Sadler's slight, but significant, volume, The One Offering (1875), Christ's priestly ministry is defined according to Hebrews viii:3 as "not that of one simply interceding, but of One Who commends His Intercession by having somewhat to offer and offering it".[200] This "offering" is "the characteristic work of a priest".[201] Christ's activity and its external ceremonial representation, especially in the earthly eucharistic sacrifice, are decisive in the interpretation of the 'priestly' ministry of the clergy.

> "But if our Eucharist does correspond to the priestly action of Christ," Sadler writes, "and is a representation of it, then Christ is in very deed the One Priest both in heaven and on

> earth; in heaven presenting Himself unveiled, and on earth also presenting Himself, but under the veil, the human priests being but His instruments".[202]

Anglo-Catholic interpretation of priesthood in the Church was heavily dependent upon prior ascription of a sacrificial ceremonial ministry to Christ as priest in heaven and earth.

But, in 1879 the Roman Catholic scholar, A.W. Hutton published a fierce condemnation of priesthood in the Church of England, - The Anglican Ministry: its nature and value in relation to the Catholic priesthood. As the preface by John Henry Newman makes clear, Hutton is "writing against what is called the ritualistic party"[203] - that is, not only advanced ceremonialists but upholders of a true sacerdotium in the Christian ministry, possessing powers to "offer Christ in His Body and Blood for the living and the dead".[204] Whence, Newman enquires, were such powers derived since they are not explicitly communicated in the Ordinal?[205] In presenting the extreme Anglo-Catholic position Hutton comments: "They have urged the force of the word 'altar' used in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and they have dwelt on the doctrine of the Priesthood of Christ, and on the consequently necessary Priesthood of those whom He left in the world to represent Him".[206] This work confirms that extreme ritualistic Anglo-Catholics, much to Gore's annoyance, were tending to adopt not only a 'representative', neo-Scotist view of priesthood but an extreme Thomist view of 'vicarial' priesthood with a true delegation of the sacerdotium from Christ as Priest to His Church.[207] The 'external', functional definition of priesthood was again prominent and, as here, susceptible to extra-ecclesial criticism.

The criticism, however, which Gore sought to counter was that of Hatch. He did so in 1882 in a Review of Hatch's Bampton Lectures, The Church and the Ministry. Gore's critique is primarily historical. He defends the divine foundation, sacramental structure, Apostolic succession, and true priestly ministry of the Christian Church against Hatch's claim that the church grew out of financial expediency, arbitrary agglomeration, an 'evolved' episcopacy from within the Christian congregation, and a common priesthood of all believers.[208] The feature of this sacerdotalist skirmish which is crucial here is that in Gore's

traditional sacramentalism and essentially Tractarian view of Apostolic Succession 'outward' means are crucial.[209] It is through them God works by His Spirit.[210]

> "The essence of the Church's life", he wrote, "is a spiritual fact (pace Hatch too), but it is made dependent in all its stages on outward transactions. This, the sacramental principle, the principle of the Incarnation, - the mediation of the spiritual through the material - is what links the inward essence of the Church to its outward organisation".[211]

Episcopacy is the organ of the Church's priestliness; it is "a divinely commissioned and empowered ministry".[212] For Gore, - and it was in reversal of this emphasis that Moberly later wrote, - the priestly character of the Church, derived from Christ, is product of the exercise of episcopal and priestly power from 'above'. This does not deny altogether either that episcopacy has a delegated representative function from 'below', or that the 'priestly ministry' are representative 'limbs' of the whole priestly Body of the Church;[213] -the corporate Eucharistic oblation, offered in the plural 'we' of the liturgy, being expressive of this corporate priestly act, mediated through its priestly ministerial 'organs'.[214] But it is indicative of the fact that, in Gore's sacerdotalist interpretation here, 'priesthood' in the Church pertained primarily still to the 'external' performance of certain 'sacrificial' or 'sacerdotal' functions, and was ultimately dependent upon power mediated by Christ through His Apostles, and Apostolic delegates, to His Church. Christ's priesthood, admittedly not directly under the purview of Gore's review, is, nevertheless, noticeable by its absence here. Strict adherence to Apostolic Succession, as noted previously,[215] could restrict emphasis upon Christ's present immediate exercise of His priesthood in and through His Church, by imposing a human structure between Christ, - the example, foundation, and inspiration of priesthood - and His priestly ministers on earth: intentionally or unintentionally, this again may be the case in Gore's review.

Signs that a purely 'external' definition of priesthood is beginning to be encroached upon by progressive ontological redefinition of Christ's priesthood in contemporary incarnationism, can be seen in W.E. Heygate's The Good Shepherd: or, meditations for the Clergy upon the example and teaching of Christ (1860,

New ed. 1884[3]). Instead of simply correlating the eucharistic, ceremonial action of the human priest with Christ in heaven, Heygate states:

> "As the sacramental action consists in doing what Thou didst, O Thou one, Thou true, eternal, perfect, High Priest and Intercessor, surely also the mind and spirit in which Thou didst speak and act is an example to Thy priesthood; and how shall we dare to imitate the outward action without seeking to conform ourselves (also) to the inward?"[216]

Heygate's meditations are a sustained declaration of Christ's continuing activity of Intercession, Absolution, Consecration, and Blessing upon which the earthly priest depends and of which he professes himself nothing but the channel, instrument, and mouth-piece.[217] Christ's priesthood and primacy are clear. Again, in P.G. Medd's Bampton Lectures, the impact of reinterpretation of Christ's priesthood as, in essence, 'self-sacrifice', noted above, directly shaped his presentation of human priesthood in the Church. The cessation of Christ's natural presence on earth necessitated that, through a subordinate, 'representative', priesthood on earth, Christ's "supreme sole Priesthood as the only Mediator should, through all generations of the Church below, until He should come again, be, instrumentally but effectually, exercised, and exhibited".[218] They had, he maintains, "already been taught, by word and by example, that the inner secret of priesthood is the very lowliest self-abasement and self-sacrifice, and meant, not lordship over others, but humble service and ministration for the welfare and cleansing of their souls".[219] The 'inward' character of priesthood is becoming more important, as 'sacrifice' is reinterpreted as the obedient self-offering of a life of service and worship.

In Medd, however, Christ's priestly action through the sacramental system is also strongly reaffirmed. As he writes, with Absolution, and the Holy Communion in view: "This subordinate, delegated, ministrative priesthood is simply the visible instrument whereby the one and only High Priest exhibits and exercises on earth His sole inalienable and ever-continuing Priesthood".[220] Even Bishop Woodford, Tractarian founder of Ely Theological College, in The Great Commission (1886), incorporated stress upon Christ's High priestly agency, to explain the words in the Ordinal, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost".

> "They are no mystical form," he writes, "themselves conveying from the ordainer to the ordained the gift of the Holy Ghost; but the ordainer catches as it were the Lord's words to the first Apostles, and turns them into a prayer of ineffable confidence that, at that moment of their setting apart, the Great High Priest, the Supreme Bishop of souls, will deal with these last, even as He has dealt with the first who went forth in His Name."[221]

Apostolic Succession and stress on Christ's High Priesthood are, in Woodford, fused. The authoritative commissioning and empowering is still clearly from 'above'. William Bright's ordination sermon, of July 1887, reflects a similar fusion:

> "This is the thought which you should carry with you through the solemn service now to begin; Christ our Lord, invisibly present in all the ministrations of His Church, the true Baptiser, Celebrant, Confirmer, Absolver, is also the true Ordainer, as of old. Let us look up to Him, who will presently, we believe, employ our Bishop's hands and voice as the instrument of His own personal action".[222]

Emphasis on Christ's immanent activity as priest in His Church is moving towards its climax in Moberly. Apostolic Succession, its historical claims wearing threadbare, is about to be subsumed beneath Christ's present, dynamic, activity as the Great High Priest. In H.M. Luckock's The Divine Liturgy (1889), the liturgical connection is reaffirmed - "Christ is Himself the Priest in every Eucharist. Christ is Himself the Absolver in every ministry of reconciliation".[223] But the sacrificial connotation awaits Westcott's popularised interpretation of 'Blood' (as signifying 'the offering of life'), and of Christ's heavenly ministry (as being a pleading not by 'sacrifice' but by 'presence'), to open the way for a profound shift in interpretation of 'priesthood' per se, towards its full 'inward' signification, upon which Moberly was to build so much. Increased emphasis upon the present activity of Christ as priest, challenging an 'external' view of authority from 'above', is, then, together with an increased tendency to interpret priesthood in 'spiritual' or 'internal' terms, moving rapidly towards Ministerial Priesthood.

Moberly's work was also product, though, of growing Anglo-Catholic emphasis upon lay-participation in the priesthood of Christ: that is, not simply as traditionally expressed in the common priesthood of all, but as integral to their being part of the priestly Body of Christ. Emphasis upon the Church as Christ's

'Mystical Body' fuelled this development. There is a shift towards explicit recognition of Christ's priesthood, -not merely Apostolic Succession or lawfully ordained priests, - as being of the esse of the Church. Bishop A.B. Webb of Grahamstown, in The Priesthood of the Laity in the Body of Christ (1889), declared: "You are priests, because you are of the Body of Christ; in Christ and members of the great High Priest".[224] This Priesthood, he held, was sealed (not, as traditionally, effected by Baptism and Confirmation) by Confirmation.[225] As in Christ, this priesthood is, he states: "developed out of our sonship".[226] Its essence is 'oblation' of self in a life of self-sacrifice.[227] Confirmation, a practice late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism did much to revive, "qualifies and endows the member of Christ for the exercise of his priestly life, and for going on into perfection in his standing as a faithfully communicant".[228]

Increased stress on the priesthood of the laity accompanied conviction of its compatibility with a ministerial priesthood. As Webb, and others following Gore, observed: "The official Ministerial Priesthood is the Ministry of Christ, while, at the same time, it is the organ of His Mystical Body".[229] Ministerial priesthood has, then, a two-fold origin - the one from 'above' (from Christ), the other from 'below' (from His Body). There is a continual movement at this time towards belief in Church authority as ultimately located in Christ's Mystical Body, in which Christ's priesthood is embodied.

In Walter Lock's essay, 'The Church', in Lux Mundi, similar emphases are found. Expounding his third characteristic of the Church, "the organ of the Lord",[230] as continuing Chirst's priestly, mediatorial, representative, intercessory, function viz-à-viz God and the world,[231] he quotes the Scotish High-Church Presbyterian scholar William Milligan: "Sacerdotalism, priestliness is the prime element of her being".[232] "This priesthood is exercised throughout life", Lock continues, "as each Christian gives his life to God's service, and the whole Church devotes itself for the good of the whole world".[233] This service is supremely embodied in its worship, offered for itself and for all creation, united in the eucharistic sacrifice, and expressive of the self-giving of Christ and of believers, in self-sacrifice for the world.[234] Against this christocentric

sacerdotal ecclesiology, bearing the marks of developments noted in the first section, Lock speaks of ministerial priests as "organs" of this priestly body, priests "in a special sense" and likewise living out lives as sympathetic, representatives, and intercessors for the Body on earth.[235] Lock, though, is concerned with the priestliness of the Body as a whole, and of individuals within it, inspired to live out Christ's life by His Spirit within them.[236] The Church is, for Lock, both visible and invisible; its very visibility affording the possibility of its priestly sympathy being expressed.[237]

Moberly's Ministerial Priesthood appeared against the background, of a fundamental shift in some Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology, away from stress upon Apostolic Succession, from an official ministerial priesthood, episcopally-ordained to offer the eucharistic sacrifice, to teach and pastor, and from Christ's priestly power as located in and mediated through the Church's organs from 'above'. Moberly's work was the climax of an Anglo-Catholic tradition by which these traditional emphases were replaced.

Ministerial Priesthood was one of a host of Anglican responses to the Papal Bull Apostolicae Curae.[238] The details of the controversy are significant here in two respects.

Firstly, Leo's pronouncement of the invalidity of Anglican orders was based in part on a defectiveness of 'form' in the Ordinal, effected by a change made in Edward VI's reign which removed the direct association, as in Roman thought, between a priestly ministry and a particular view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice - viz. that of an actual sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord by the priest in the Mass. William Bright made two important comments on this in a letter to B.J. Kidd: first, he agreed with Kidd that it was a mistake, in Roman Catholic theology, to "place the sacrifice of the Mass in a line with that of the Cross, instead of in line with the heavenly self-presentation".[239] So Anglo-Catholic emphasis upon Christ's heavenly priestly ministry bore fruit in their confident stance taken against an essentially eucharistic, Roman Catholic, interpretation of the ministry of an ordained priest. It was a stance the Archbishops' Reply also adopted.[240] Secondly, he professed neither surprise nor regret that Anglican

orders were set-aside, since they consciously fail to fulfil Roman Catholic criteria, which Anglicans do not accept.[241] At root there is a fundamentally different view of priesthood. More extreme Anglo-Catholics would have disagreed with Bright, but it was the position Moberly also adopted. The second thing Apostolicae Curae did was to force Anglo-Catholic writers to consider afresh their adherence to the historicity of Apostolic Succession in the Church of England as a sufficient theological basis for priesthood in the Church. The structural, external, ceremonial views of an episcopally-ordained priesthood were profoundly challenged. How did Moberly respond both to the issues raised by Apostolicae Curae, and to the strands of Anglo-Catholic interpretation he inherited, viz-à-viz the priesthood of Christ and the ministry of the Church?

Moberly's treatment of Christ's priesthood in Ministerial Priesthood is primarily located in the disproportionately long Chapter VII: 'What is priesthood in the Church of Christ?'[242] There are four strands in his exposition. Firstly, his interpretation of priesthood in the Church begins from the premise: "All priesthood, all sacrifice is summed up in the Person of Christ".[243] Priesthood is to be interpreted, explained, and deduced from His priesthood, and not from a sometimes misleading deduction from Old Testament priesthood.[244] The logical, theological, and antitypical priority of Christ's priesthood is clearly affirmed. Crucially, Moberly interprets priesthood and Christ's priestly ministry according to the, by now popular, Anglo-Catholic conception of 'sacrifice' as not so much the shedding of blood but as the presentation of life, not so much the death on Calvary as the eternal self-presentation of the Christ of Calvary in heaven.[245] In a classic passage, Moberly writes:

> "Christ's offering in Heaven is a perpetual ever-present offering of life, whereof 'to have died' is an ever-present and perpetual attribute. If 'Calvary' were the sufficient statement of the nature of the sacrifice of Christ, then that sacrifice would be simply past and done, which is in truth both now and for ever present. He is Priest for ever, not as it were by a perpetual series of acts of memory, not by mutiplied and ever remoter acts of commemoration of a death that is past, but by the eternal presentation of a life which eternally is the 'life that died'."[246]

Redefinition of Christ's 'sacrifice' as self-denying Divine Love, having died and now eternally living,[247] carries a concomitant redefinition of His priesthood entirely consistent with those recognised in the development of Anglican incarnationism. So Moberly describes Christ thus: "Christ is Priest in that He is the eternal offerer of this devotion of love, which, though human, is yet living because it died".[248] Moberly distinguished between, then, the meaning by which 'sacrifice' is generally known, that is the external 'character' of sacrifice, and its 'essential' meaning, which is there even before it is expressed.[249] Likewise of 'priest' and 'priesthood' he observes: "I wish to recognize that since they are titles relative to sacrifice, they too describe an aspect of something which is what it is before it acquires this relative character to which the priestly language properly belongs".[250] Hence he calls Christ's priesthood, "Divine love under conditions of humanity".[251] He contrasts this with the Old Testament "parable of priesthood" which "does not touch the essence of what priesthood means", viz. "willingness, love", which is of the essence of sacrifice.[252] In Moberly we see the climax of Anglo-Catholic emphasis upon the 'inward' character of priesthood, supremely embodied in Christ's self-sacrificial love, as ultimately determinative of the outward signification 'priesthood'. As he states:

> "... true priesthood is an outward that is perfectly expressive of an inward, and is what it is by virtue of that real inward to which the outward does but give utterance... any definition of priesthood which stands only in terms of what is ceremonial and outward and official is inadequate and misconceived".[253]

Beginning from the meaning of priesthood in the person of Christ, Moberly posed a severe challenge to his Anglo-Catholic contemporaries who persisted in an over-materialistic, external, ceremonial view of the priesthood of the ministry.

The second strand in Moberly's interpretation is the culmination of stress upon the Church as Christ's Mystical Body.[254] The Church is priestly because Christ is priest, he maintains. This is first among its manifestations of Christ's triplex munus.[255] Priestliness of character is a consequence which outflows from the Church because it is His Body. Its priesthood is a "substantial reality". "Priesthood is not abolished but consummated in Christ's Church".[256] The priestliness of the Church is reflected by her identification with the priesthood

and sacrifice of Christ: outwardly, being in the eucharistic celebration identified with Christ's priestly self-presentation in heaven; and, inwardly, reproducing by the Spirit's influence at work in her, Christ's priestly character of love, sacrifice, self-devotion, self-expenditure for others.[257] The Church is priestly "because from her proceeds the aroma of perpetual offering towards God".[258] Such themes accorded well with the spirit of Christian Socialism and echoed the Augustinian note of worship as the pinnacle of service. The Church reflects Christ's Godward and Manward priestly mediation, too: "...the Church is God's priest in the world and for the world, alike as presenting to God on the world's behalf that homage which the world has not learned to present for itself, and as spending and suffering for God's sake in service to the world".[259] And, as he stresses: "Truly it is Christians as such, it is members of the Body - the partakers of the Spirit - of Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, who are the real high priestly family on earth".[260]

Upon this consummation of a progressively sacerdotal Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the Church, Moberly built his controversial view of ministerial priesthood, though it was again only the culmination of a progressive line of interpretation. For Moberly the priesthood of the ministry flows from the priesthood of the Church.[261] There is no difference in kind between the priesthood of the ministry and the priesthood of the Church. "The ordained priests are priestly only because it is the Church's prerogative to be priestly".[262] Through ordination they representatively exercise the priestly prerogatives of the whole Body. They are its 'organs'. Only those officially authorised can fulfil this representative, executive function.[263] Their priesthood, too, pertains not only to ceremonial functions, but places upon them the spiritual responsibility of living 'priestly' Christ-like lives. This 'priestly spirit', or 'priestly heart' is, Moberly declares, "more vital to the true reality of priesthood than any mere performance of priestly functions".[264] Ordained priests must be "eminently leaders and representatives of this priestliness of spirit".[265] So, Moberly, from a different basis, attempts to pacify anti-sacerdotalists, concluding: "It is necessary, then, to emphasise unreservedly the truth that the priesthood of ministry and of laity are

not really antithetical or inconsistent, but rather, correlative, complementary, nay, mutually indispensable ideas".[266] So Christ's priesthood shapes Moberly's sacerdotal ecclesiology.

Thirdly, therefore, Moberly rejects any sundering of executive priestly activity from pastoral responsibility. "True priestliness necessarily carries with it the pastoral character: the real pastoral character is but an expression, in outward life, of priestliness."[267] The inseparability of eucharistic ministry and pastoral care *is*, he maintains, implied in the New Testament from the beginning.[268] The language of priesthood is intentionally avoided in the New Testament. The New Testament presbyterate, is, he maintains, associated with the eucharistic offering, but not with that alone. It is also part of a pastoral ministry.[269] So the redefinition of priesthood in relation to Christ's as embracing 'inward' and 'outward', 'spiritual' and 'ceremonial' characteristics, contributes to this 'total' view of the priesthood of the ministry in its practical exercise.

Finally, it is this 'vitally inclusive' view of priesthood which also contributes directly to Moberly's rejection of Apostolicae Curae.[270] For, he maintains, the Edwardine alteration to the Ordinal, by thrusting again to the fore the pastoral character of Christian ministerial priesthood, in repudiation of the contemporary dominance of its narrow, executive, sacramental interpretation in the Roman Ordinal, recovered a New Testament understanding of the true inwardness of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice, to be reflected in the life and ministry of His ordained servants.[271] As he writes: "It is, then, not the sacerdotal idea of language in itself, but this disproportioned emphasis upon the outward aspect of the sacerdotal idea, from which the Anglican Ordinal departs".[272] The "spiritual inwardness of the office of Church leadership as a whole... stands in the forefront of the Anglican ordinal."[273] Again, he defends retention of the word 'priest' as conducive to correct association between Christian ministry and Christ's High Priesthood, both signifying a life of love, self-sacrifice, and service.[274] It is appropriately retained as indicating, too, the specific sphere in which its distinctive ceremonial character is ultimately to be

found; but, in its essence, it communicates a 'spiritual' truth of all 'priesthood' or 'priestliness' in the Mystical Body of Christ's Church.[275] He argues, then, against an over-narrow identification of 'title' and 'office';[276] rather, he lets the titular application of the image of priesthood to Christ transfuse his whole interpretation of priesthood in the Church of Christ. In this, his interpretation was at once a product of some of the strands of Anglo-Catholic interpretation he inherited, and radical consummation of them in the direction of a profoundly 'sacerdotal' interpretation of the Church as the 'Mystical Body' of Christ the priest.

In this section we have continued to see the impact of the image of Christ as priest upon late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic doctrine and devotion. Its remarkable influence derives as much from its appearance in a number of major doctrinal contexts, giving the impression again of its creating a remarkable coherence and interdependence of thought and doctrine, as from the particular details of doctrinal impact it exerted. From its importance for Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology we turn finally to indicate its place in their spirituality.

5. Heavenly liturgist - earthly servant: Christ the Priest in late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic spirituality

In this final section our aim is to indicate the main thematic influences of the image of Christ as priest upon Anglo-Catholic spirituality. One of the most notable and lasting contributions of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism lies in the field of the Christian's devotional life and service of God. In the late-Victorian era Christ's priesthood was central to their understanding of the theology and practice of worship, prayer, and Christian service.

As in Tractarianism and Ritualism worship of God was central to late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism. This meant more than participation in the eucharist. It meant, as we have seen above, they understood the chief end of man to be worship, homage, devotion, self-offering to God. Man is essentially a 'liturgical' being: the eucharist supremely endorses and expresses this belief. Or, as Michael Ramsey has written: "Mankind's deliverance into salvation means the recovery of the creaturely adoration of a Creator. The song of the redeemed is

the recapture of the Song of Creation".[277] At the heart of their spirituality, too, was the classic Anglican maxim lex orandi: lex credendi. Praying and believing were fundamentally inseparable. Doctrine must be brought to the place of prayer, and prayer to the study of doctrine. Michael Ramsey justly claims: "to all of them the Eucharist was a constant interpreter of doctrine."[278] As H.P. Liddon stated: "It is prayer which prevents religion from degenerating into mere religious thought on the one side, or into mere philanthropy on the other".[279] Worship must be grounded in right doctrine. As R.C. Moberly wrote in 1897: "... this maxim lex orandi lex credendi suggests at once a practical standard by which to test the range and scope of my prayers."[280] Similarly Lord Halifax (1839-1934), that paragon of Anglo-Catholic lay spirituality, observed, when writing upon worship: "it was impossible to ignore the foundation of doctrine on which the worship of the Church rests. Doctrine lies at the root of all the Church's practice...".[281] But Halifax's life also epitomises the truth that, in Anglo-Catholic spirituality, worship and prayerfulness, were reckoned essential to the spirit of Christian service. "Prayerfulness, brethren, means much more than prayer," J.R. Illingworth declared, "it means prayer become an abiding principle of the life, a permanent attribute of the character, a perpetual state."[282] Late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism embraced a quiet spirituality, grounded in a foundational commitment to 'worship' as the basis of life, truth and true Christian service.[283] The image of Christ as priest afforded Anglo-Catholics, too, an invaluable unitive principle, binding together lex orandi and lex credendi. Their doctrinal and devotional reflection on this sacerdotal image are parts of their whole response to its truth, and constantly interwoven.

Anglo-Catholic spirituality, like its theology, reflects adherence to the three-fold Anglican 'knot': scripture, tradition, and reason. Whilst disagreeing over its interpretation Anglo-Catholics were, like Gore, Bible men.[284] Their devotional writing is shot through with scriptural references and allusions. Hebrews had a special place in their affections. A "deep spiritual devotion mediated by the Liturgy", and veneration of the Fathers, were hallmarks of Liberal Catholicism.[285] Other members of the party were devoted to the Liturgy

per se, whether out of academic, archaic, or doctrinal convictions. Liturgy was an anchor against change.[286] Some liberally-minded Anglo-Catholics, though, wrestled with the lagging conservatism of the liturgy and the progressive discoverings of an eager liberalism.[287] The seeds of the 1927 Prayer-Book controversy were sown in the last decades of the Victorian era. In patristic study, among others, F.E. Brightman (1856-1932), edited ancient liturgies and William Bright ancient collects.[288] Anglo-Catholic spirituality exudes the spirit of Ambrose and Augustine, Clement and Chrysostom. It is not lacking, though, in contemporary rational and theological reflection. But, in Anglo-Catholic spirituality an holistic approach prevails. Mind and heart, soul and body, are all to be engaged in man's 'reasonable service' of his Creator. This 'rational' element Liberal Catholicism particularly sought to revive. Revelation and discovery are compatible, they held, both illuminate God's mysterious ways.

To scripture, tradition, and reason must be added Anglo-Catholic awareness to the transcendent yet immanent God; to the suffering, sympathising "Jesus of History" and the exalted sovereign Melchizedekan "Christ of faith"; and to the Spirit who indwells the Church and inspires the life, prayer, and faith of the believer. Anglo-Catholic spirituality was markedly Trinitarian. Yet from their 'biblical', 'liturgical', and 'reasonable' preconceptions, the image of Christ as priest assumes a notable prominence. It is a cardinal principle of their lex orandi, crucial for their understanding of the theology and practice of worship, devotion, and Christian service.

J.B. Mozley captures the mood of Anglo-Catholic veneration for Christ's priesthood proclaiming in an Ascensiontide Sermon.

> "Let us worship Him in that seat in heaven; let us worship Him as Judge and Intercessor. As Judge, who sees into all hearts; and as Intercessor, who pleads our cause... Let us worship Him with fear and love, remembering both His insight into us, and His compassion for us. He pleads, as perfect and sinless man, as the Second Adam, for the whole of the fallen race of Adam. He is our merciful and faithful High Priest; knowing our infirmities, inasmuch as He Himself has had experience of them; and knowing the strength of our temptations, inasmuch as He Himself also was tempted".[289]

Aubrey Moore likewise expatiated upon Christ's priesthood in his Holy Week Addresses, at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1888. The second 'The Words from the Cross', ends with the exclamation - "O Love Divine, Jesus, Priest and Victim, who on the altar of the Cross didst give Thyself for us!"[290] Here was no dry, doctrinal christological motif, but a vital principle in the Anglo Catholic Christian's spiritual life and service. Its influence can be seen particularly in five areas: i) in determining the meaning of Christ-like worship or service; ii) in generally informing Anglo-Catholic liturgical theology; iii) in giving a distinctive slant to its eucharistic theology; iv) in undergirding the theology and practice of its prayer; v) and, finally, in inspiring Anglo-Catholic hymnody. These five areas encapsulate the dynamism and enthusiasm in Anglo-Catholic devotional commitment to the image of Christ as priest.

Christ's priesthood directly contributed, firstly, to the fact and implications of Anglo-Catholic perception of 'worship' as the crown of Christian living and the essence of Christian service. We have noticed above how Anglo-Catholic theological reflection echoes the Augustinian theme, popularised by Herbert, that man is Nature's High Priest: a 'High Priesthood' forfeited in sinful man, but epitomised in Christ. The incarnate Christ leads man's recovery of his priestliness. His High Priesthood, in its self-sacrifice, sympathy, and sinlessness, is the model and inspiration of the believer's life. Christ's priesthood contributes directly to this 'sacerdotal' view of Christian living. Self-sacrifice was an esteemed Christian virtue: sympathy, an essential social trait: sinlessness, the aim of Anglo-Catholic saints, who eschewed earthly vice, aspiring to the life 'beyond'. Christ's priesthood was, thereby, caught up in the popular Imitatio Christi revival which accompanied republication of à Kempis' masterpiece. The Christian was called to offer his own life a perfect self-offering to the Father, as Christ the High Priest had done on the Cross, and was now doing eternally in heaven. The Christian lives his life in the light of Christ's eternal High-priestly ministry in heaven. This 'heavenly', sursum corda spirit in Anglo-Catholic devotion, fructifying in Anglo-Catholic reemphasis upon the doctrine of the

Ascension at the end of the nineteenth century, was undergirded by belief in the essential unity, recovered in worship, between earth and heaven.

In liturgical theology, Ritualist concern with the 'principles of Divine Service' increasingly pervaded Anglo-Catholic ranks. The liturgiologists W.H. Frere (1863-1938), F.E. Brightman, P. Freeman (1818-1875) and H.M. Luckock gave academic stimulus to this interest. It is a clear principle of Anglo-Catholic liturgical theology that Christ alone is the High Priest and Mediator of the Church's worship. He alone presents it acceptable before the heavenly throne. As H.P. Liddon once said, "we enter... in spirit, in the train of our Great High Priest, within the veil".[291] He alone is the perfect High Priest offering an acceptable sacrificial worship. He is the Head of His Church's offering. Their worship is in Him alone. W.C.E. Newbolt in The Voice of the Prayer Book (1890) speaks yet more specifically of "... those words of institution which the great High Priest, at the first Eucharist, taught the priesthood which He left behind Him even afterwards to say...".[292] Anglo-Catholic theology of worship began from the premise that Christ alone is High Priest of the Church's worship.[293]

Emphasis upon Christ's priesthood was at times expressly articulated as an expression of 'Anglican' liturgical theology. Here was a belief embedded in and expressive of the spirit and theology of the Prayer Book, and, as their study of ancient liturgical texts confirmed, in accord with the explicit beliefs of the ancient Church. Their theology of worship was inspired by Hebrews, to which the Liturgical Calendar drew them at crucial times of the year. From Hebrews' interpretation of the Old Testament Christian worship was presented as in its essence and form 'sacrificial'. That is, as M.F. Sadler made clear in Our Worship (1892), Hebrews' comparison of two sacrificial acts of worship, means that Christian worship should set forth explicitly both the atoning death of Christ, and the heavenly pleading of it with God. "The ancient worship in its principal, its culminating, act set forth the atoning death of Christ," he writes, "and the action of the great High Priest in heaven in His highest function of Priesthood sets it forth as accomplished and perfected".[294] Both should be reflected in the Church's worship. Anglo-Catholic spirituality was rooted in belief in the

'sacrificial' character of Christian worship, Christ's priesthood, as set forth in Hebrews, directly contributed to this perception. Ancient liturgies, however, also taught that Christ's priesthood and mediatory function in the Church's worship are foundational principles of the Church's worship. In Bright's early work Ancient Collects and other Prayers, (1857), for example, a Gelasian collect is cited, which states:

> "O God, Who hast appointed the Paschal Sacrifice for the world's salvation, be propitious to our supplications, that our supreme High Priest, interceding for us, may reconcile us, in that He is like unto us, absolve us, in that He is equal to Thee, even Jesus Christ our Lord, who with Thee..."[295]

The Syro-Nestorian Ordinal likewise declared. "O Christ, the true High Priest, whose Priesthood never passeth away, let they power come to the aid of Thy servants, and clothe them with glory and beauty, that they may carefully and excellently discharge their priesthood according to Thy pleasure".[296] Most significantly the Mozarabic Liturgy seen by some as spawning an early English liturgy, was also known to pray: "O Jesus, the good High Priest, come, come and be in the midst of us, as Thou wast in the midst of Thy disciples, sanctify this oblation..."[297] Anglo-Catholic spirituality was acutely aware of this liturgical centrality of Christ's priesthood to the ancient worship of the Church.

Explicit declaration of its being a crucial article of 'Anglican liturgical principles' appears most clearly, however, in The Minister of the True Tabernacle, and His Ministry in the Church of England (1888) by Bp. Webb, a devotee of Charles Gore. Defining 'Anglican principles of worship', Webb lists, in addition to i) rejection of devotion to beings other than the Trinity (against Mariology)[298] and, ii) affirmation of belief in Christ's personal presence throughtout the whole Eucharistic service (against veneration of a particular moment of His consecrating presence);[299] iii) thirdly, that the eucharistic service is "on a line with what Christ our Lord is offering in Heaven before the Throne, as the Minister of the Sanctuary and of the true Tabernacle".[300] That is, he stresses "the key-note of the service is, therefore, Sursum corda", its spirit captured in the post-Communion 'Collect of Oblation' - "through Jesus Christ our Lord, by Whom and with Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost...".[301] "Through Jesus Christ our Lord,

is", he writes, "in truth, the one great tone to which even the choir offices are set, which support and draw out the great Eucharistic Liturgy". There is, for Webb, no other 'Anglican' basis of worship than Christ's heavenly priestly mediation. He also holds, fourthly, that the eucharist is "the offering and service of the whole body of the faithful and not only of the priest".[302] Reflecting the growing ecclesial perspective noted in the previous section, he writes:

> "I have dwelt repeatedly... upon the Priest being a representative of the living, active, present High Priest on the one hand, and on the other an organ of the Body. The Body, as well as Christ, act through Him. Exalted ideas of the Ministerial Priesthood depend upon high ideas of the function of the whole body. The priest does not act apart from or without the Body, or between it and the One Great Priest. But the Body acts through him and by him".[303]

The liturgical figure of the human priest was the representative both of Christ as Priest and of the people. Sotto voce liturgical prayers militate against "the great idea of the service", whilst an Eastward position indicates the spiritual reality of earthly altars set round the Heavenly Altar where Christ the priest ever ministers.[304]

Webb was not unique. The vast majority of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholics would have concurred with the centrality he ascribed to the priesthood of Christ as a cardinal principle of Anglican liturgical theology.

As recognised previously, Anglo-Catholic sacramentalism, the climax of earlier Tractarian reflection, was also grounded in belief in the present, active, agency of Christ the ministrant High Priest and Heavenly liturgist. He alone was the true Baptiser, Celebrant, Absolver, and agent of Divine blessing. Christ's priesthood was taken into the inner heart of Anglo-Catholic spirituality, wherein the sacraments of the church were deemed vital organs of spiritual life, of unity with Christ, of unity in His body. No stark, automatic sacramental efficacy was generally propounded. Baptism and Communion were frequently located in a clear, dual stress on divine grace and human faith with morality. Charles Gore, for example, once wrote: "...it is in proportion as we are living the life to which communion admits us that our share in Christ's priesthood becomes an effective force, and our prayers at His altar gain acceptance and power."[305] This clear, moral

thrust to belief in Christ's priestly agency of the Church's sacraments and ceremonies, is endorsed in W.C.E. Newbolt's sermons Counsels of Faith and Practice (1883). He warns against ceremoniously and presumptuously, - "in an age of increased outward reverence, of multiplied services and enlarged devotion," - "offering in error," like Achor, "the incense which was for our High Priest... because we entered before God, untouched by the coal of fire, without repentance and without love"[306]. Christ's priestly agency in the Church's sacramental life contributed to the fundamental, ethical, interpretation of the sacraments which Anglo-Catholic spirituality stressed. Their purpose was to conform the believer's life to that of the eternal Priest from whose hands they received them.

Arguably the major contribution Christ's priesthood made to Anglo-Catholic spirituality, is most often seen in their eucharistic theology. But the prominence it assumed in that context was, as we have begun to see, expressive both of its more general centrality for their doctrinal and devotional reflection as a whole, and of this as the culmination of the progressive recovery by Tractarianism and Ritualism of a cardinal article of the historic Anglican lex orandi.

Christ's priesthood impinged upon Anglo-Catholic eucharistic theology by affording the christological foundation for presentation of the eucharistic sacrifice as the earthly pleading of Christ's sacrifice which He, as High Priest, eternally pleads, or presents, before His Father at the heavenly Altar. Slight variations exist among Anglo-Catholic writers but this heavenly, high-priestly perspective is a characteristic hallmark of their eucharistic theology. F.C. Clark, examining this interpretation, presents it as partly an eirenical attempt to mollify sensitivites aroused by revival of a 'Eucharistic Sacrifice'. For, he observes,

> "If a continued 'pleading' of Christ's past sacrifice at a heavenly altar could be shown from Scripture to be not derogatory to that one oblation, why condemn a similar 'pleading' at an earthly altar".[307]

Yet as Michael Ramsey, and to an extent Clark also, rightly observes stress upon Christ's heavenly priesthood was not simply product of historical or theological expediency. Rather, "The heavenly priesthood of Christ had been a theme for

many Anglican writers going back to Jeremy Taylor".[308] In this interpretation we can also see reflected, though, many characteristic features of Anglo-Catholic spirituality. As the orb to their spiritual world, their eucharistic thought illuminates, and is itself illuminated by, their spirituality as a whole.

In M.F. Sadler's The One Offering (1875) the eucharistic application of Christ's priesthood is clearly enunciated. His incarnationist theology presents Christ as having "so joined heaven and earth, that Christ is here on earth in His Church and in its members, and we, even now, are actually raised up together with Him, and made to sit together with Him in the Heavenly places".[309] Hebrews is crucial to his liturgical theology. Earthly worship is patterned on the heavenly (Heb.viii:5). Hence, Christ's priestly, celestial liturgy is typically represented, or enshadowed, in the terrestrial eucharist.[310] "The best of all possible acts of sacrificial worship is the eucharist", he claims, "because it is the offering of Christ by His Church, so far as we can now be offered; for it is His Church on earth, by a Church act, uniting herself and her worship with what He, as our High Priest, is now doing in heaven".[311] There is one altar in heaven and on earth at which Christ presides and on which He offers Himself. Within the veil Christ is "presenting... the sacrifice which He made on the cross".[312] From Rev.v:6, another crux interpretum, "the Lamb as it had been slain" is taken as indicating Christ's "most energetic representation conceivable of His Sacrificial Death".[313] Christ is the Eternal Priest, as Hebrews teacher. For Sadler, He must, therefore, fulfil eternally a priestly ministry. This he does by having that "somewhat to offer" in heaven necessary for all priests.[314] An "anti-Catholic view", he maintains, confining Christ's sacrifice to His Death, renders Him now a Priest "only in name".[315] To Sadler, before His Incarnation Christ as Priest offered His Death only in Will and Intention, "now He offers it as accomplished".[316] "That is, He mediates through a Death which once for all, took place, but bearing the marks of it in His glorified human Nature He makes that which is past present and presents it".[317] Influenced by the view that Christs's sacrifice is essentially the obedient offering of His will,[318] Sadler from the 'typical' sacrificial system, sees Christ's heavenly presentation of His all-atoning death in the 'sprinkling' of Blood

within the veil.[319] The Eucharist anamneticlly represents this heavenly presentation.[320] As the 'counterpart' to this, it, too, is aptly called a 'sacrifice' in the Church.[321]

E.F. Willis's The Sacrificial Aspect of the Eucharist (1878) also examines the meaning of Christ's priestly sacrifice and the nature of His priestly ministry in heaven. It embodies the eirenical purpose stressed by Clark and the identification of Christ's heavenly intercession with His pleading of His sacrifice, which shaped Anglo-Catholic interpretation of prayer. Of Christ's 'unbloody' heavenly sacrifice, adduced from the two-fold character of the Levitical sin-offering, he writes:

> "... this once entering into the holy place, which is heaven itself, with His own Blood, there to exercise the functions of His eternal High Priesthood, there to plead for ever His one Sacrifice before the Father, there ever to make intercession for us, does not in any way mar the unity, or impair the perfection, of His Sacrifice upon the Cross: on the contrary, it is part of that one sacrifice, it is the continuation of that sacrifice, it is one and the same with it. And as our Lord's perpetual presentation of Himself as our sacrifice in heaven does not mar the unity, or impair the perfection, of His Sacrifice upon the Cross, so neither does the perpetual presentation of that same sacrifice at the Church's altars upon earth".[322]

Anglo-Catholic spirituality, as this indicates, was, in its eucharistic life, as eager to uphold devotion to Christ's unique priesthood as it was to preserve, contrary to its opponents' suggestions, the uniqueness of His Cross.

In Gore's statement - "It is at His entrance into heaven, and not upon the cross, that He (Christ) accomplishes His atonement for us",[323] - opponents probably had the clearest grounds for condemning compromise of 'the cruciality of the cross'. In this Gore's approach was not representative. It reflects the vivid interaction between his soteriology and eucharistic theology. Christ's heavenly, priestly ministry was vital for his understanding of the eucharistic sacrifice. His thought is marked by the belief that in Christ's sacrifice "when propitiation ceases sacrifice remains".[324] Christ's eternal priestly sacrifice does not derogate, therefore, from the glory of the Cross. 'Sacrifice' is, also, for Gore expressive of the priestliness of the Church and coextensive with its entire life, focussed in the eucharist.[325] In that act supremely, the Church is united with Christ's priestly life of self-offering. His eternal, priestly, self-presentation is the ground and

ethical prerequisite of the Church's entire sacrificial life. Ramsey points to Gore's sense of the complimentariness between two dominant views of eucharistic sacrifice in Christian tradition: viz. between one, in which the bread and wine are accepted at the heavenly altar and are united to Christ's heavenly offering and thence given back as Christ's body and blood to be the food of the people; and the other, in which, since by consecration the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ, Christ's sacrifice is present in our midst and is presented by us before the Father.[326] For Gore 'communion' in this sacrifice is crucial.[327] Through it the believer is united with Christ's priestly oblation in heaven.[328] Gore also recaptured the Augustinian sense of corpus Christi, in which the whole Church is both priest and sacrifice as offered in and with Christ on the altar.[329] The eucharistic sacrifice is not, for Gore, on a line with the Cross - not 'destruction', - but on a line with the offering of the glorified Christ and high priest in heaven, and with His presence through consecration in the Bread and Wine.[330] "In virtue of the consecration Christ is made present", he stated in 1889, "and wherever He is present, He is present as what He is, the great High Priest, the sacrifice, the eternal Intercessor. Thus we approach the Father in the power of His presence..."[331] In the commemorative sacrifice of the Eucharist the Church, under the shelter of the eternal efficacy of Christ's sacrifice, approaches the throne of God with its imperfect intercessions, having free access as the priestly Body of Christ.[332] As he later summarised the cruciality of Christ's priesthood for his eucharistic theology:

> "The sacrifice of the Son of Man once offered in death has been accepted in glory. In the power of that sacrifice Christ ever lives, our high priest and perpetual intercessor, the continually accepted propitiation for our sins unto the end of time. All that we need to do or can do is to make thankful commemoration, in His way or by His Spirit, of His redemptive sufferings, and to unite ourselves to His perpetual intercession, where He presents Himself for us in the heavenly places, or as He makes Himself present among us in our eucharistic worship... Meanwhile, if the Church has been offering many sacrifices at many altars, whatever value they have or have had must be because the church which offers is a priestly body by union with Christ's unique high priesthood, and what she offers obtains its ratification through union with His sacrifice."[333]

Gore's eucharistic spirituality was shot through, then, by a sacerdotal christology and ecclesiology. In its turn the eucharist illuminated Gore's understanding of the nature of Christ's heavenly priestly ministry and its relation to the life of the Church.

H.M. Luckock's The Divine Liturgy: Being the Order for Holy Communion Historically, Doctrinally, and Devotionally set forth (1889) adopts the same interpretation as do writers like Darwell Stone (1859-1941), E.M. Goulburn (1818-1897), and T.A. Lacey (1853-1931). "Christ is Himself the priest in every Eucharist", Luckock wrote, "Christ is the Absolver in every ministry of reconciliation."[334] This is the premise from which he begins. Applied to the eucharist, this means:

> "The Eucharist is the counterpart in earthly form, the representative under a veil of Christ's sacrificial pleading in heaven; in the one case He acts by Himself, in the other through human instruments; but whatever the earthly delegate says, whatever he does, the words and acts are Christ's: he takes His very utterance on his lips,'This is My Body,' and repeats His action, breaking the bread and blessing the cup."[335]

The dynamic activity of Christ the heavenly priest has come to be seen as a distinctively 'Anglican' interpretation. So, A.G. Mortimer termed it in his response to F.E. Brightman's paper 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice' (1890) and the Fulham Palace Eucharistic Conference of 1901.[336] Brightman's paper is interesting as defending the historical antiquity of eucharistic application of Christ's eternal, priestly, presentation of His sacrifice in heaven. Patristic, liturgical and Anglican evidence supports his claim that the Church has ever identified Christ's 'sacrifice' in the eucharist with His whole self-offering in death and eternal, 'perfected' life. The eucharist is related to the Cross "as the eternal act of our High Priest in heaven", as "an action parallel to our Lord's present work in heaven" at "the heavenly altar".[337] In Brightman, emphasis is laid on the Church's "cooperation" or "absorption of our action into His" as "the High priest of our offerings",[338] which, he claims, he does not find in recognised Roman writers like Bellarmine, Suarez, Vasquez and De Lugo.[339] It is, he maintains, an

'Anglican' interpretation.[340] In the late-Victorian era it had certainly become a characteristic feature of Anglo-Catholic eucharistic thought.

Prayer was also central to their spirituality. Exposition of Christ's 'High Priestly Prayer (Jn.xvii)' and heavenly intercession are frequent themes. Anglo-Catholic writers relate prayer to the very essence of the priestly life of the Church and of individuals. It is called "the characteristic act of religion",[341] the "very breath and instinctive movement" of the Christian's life,[342] and expressive of the Christian's humble dependence on God.[343] Through it the Christian communicates with God, or, rather, through Christ's prayer, through prayer 'in His Name', through His heavenly intercession, the way is opened to the Eternal throne.[344] Anglo-Catholic interpretation of Christ's heavenly intercession appears to have retained the sense of it being His heavenly pleading of His sacrifice, in spite of Westcott's later stress on the efficacy of His intercessory 'presence'.[345] Christ's humanity in heaven is repeatedly affirmed as the basis of His prayer, with 'sympathy'. Christ's prayer is the basis and power of ours;[346] its source and pattern.[347] As E.M. Goulburn observed: "Let us never forget that, independently of, and apart from, the prayer of the great High Priest for us all, no prayer of man can have any efficacy whatsoever."[348] His prayer is, in reality, the one prayer, since ours are all caught up in His.[349] As George Congreve in Christian Life (1889) observed,

> "Our prayer in Christ's Name, offered, that is, in His person, by men who are His members, is the prayer of Christ going on still upon earth; it is when you are praying as a member of Christ that His mind quickens in your mind, and His thoughts rise up in you and lift you to the Father."[350]

This sense of the unity of prayer in Christ also influenced Congreve's understanding of the prayers of the saints. "The souls of the faithful in Paradise", he wrote, "share that life of perpetual Intercession with our High Priest, and pray with Him for us".[351] "In Christ all prayers meet," he continued. "As the sea draws all the rivers of the world to its heart, so the prayer of Christ draws all Christian prayers into itself, and lifts them all, united with the majestic tide of His own prevailing intercession, to the Eternal Father".[352] Congreve was not unique. Anglo-Catholic spirituality focussed primarily on Christ's unique prayer.

Many of those who spoke of 'the invocation of saints', did so in the light of Christ's Heavenly Intercession; it being through Him that the saints were implored to pray, and to Him their prayers ascend. Darwell Stone, for example, wrote in his article 'The Invocation of Saints', quoting Alexander Forbes who was in turn helped by E.B. Pusey, nothing is to be obtained for man "no grace, no aid, no gifts for body, soul, or spirit, except through and from the one Mediator between God and Man, our adorable Lord, Jesus Christ. Prayer to the saints is explained again and again, to be in kind as the prayers to the saints on earth".[353] Direct invocation was roundly condemned by Gore,[354] and many others, as directly contrary to Christ's unique priestly mediation, widely recognised in the exclusive liturgical formula "through Jesus Christ our Lord". Devotions to Mary were denounced likewise by Gore and many who followed his lead; there being recognised in the human figure of Christ, the sympathising High Priest, all mankind needs for a Mediator. Hence H.M. Luckock could write in 1899, concerning devotions to Mary: "There is little need to dwell upon these; they involve practices and doctrines repugnant to the fundamental principles of the Reformation, and have no vestige of recognition in our present Prayer Book".[355] Likewise Gore, in Roman Catholic Claims (1899), wrote: "I have not been confronted in an Anglican book of devotion with any prayer more impossible to pray than: 'Soul of the Virgin, illuminate me:/ Body of the Virgin, Guard me;/Milk of the Virgin, feed me;/... O Mary Mother of grace intercede for me'."[356]

Some Anglo-Catholic writers did, of course, seek to recover Anglican devotion to Mary, yet it is impossible not to read late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic 'spiritual' writings, and come away struck by the overwhelming emphasis placed upon devotion to Christ as priest and to His heavenly intercession, over against either the 'invocation of Saints', or Marian devotion. Christ's unique priestly mediation was a traditional, and widely upheld, 'Anglican' principle of liturgical theology and of Anglo-Catholic interpretations of prayer. To the end of our period, at least, this remained the case. One of the most effective preservatives of this situation was the close affinity, if not identity, which came to be

established between the eucharist and Christ's heavenly Intercession: the former being grounded in the latter.

Perhaps no clearer confirmation of the potency of the image of Christ as priest in Anglo-Catholic doctrine and devotion is to be found, however, than its poetic articulation in the hymns of William Bright. Of Christ's priestly humanity and sympathy now in heaven, he wrote,

> "And therefore, O most merciful High Priest!
> Thy human Heart is strong to sympathize
> At once with all Thy chiefest and Thy least;
> All meet those pitying eyes."[357]

Expression is given to Christ's heavenly sacrifice though, as he also stresses "Once, only once, and once for all,/ His precious Life He gave".[358] So in a Hymn 'We have an altar' he wrote:

> "... But what He never can repeat,
> He shows forth day by day.
>
> Our Priest and Victim, adding nought
> To His Atonement's power,
> Presents Himself for those He bought
> In that dark noontide hour.
>
> So pleads the Flesh that died and lives,
> On Heaven's eternal throne,
> And where in mystic rite He gives
> Its Presence to His own.
>
> And so we show Thy death, O Lord,
> Till Thou again appear;
> And feel,when we approach Thy board,
> We have an Altar here."[359]

Bright's eucharistic hymns are best remembered; not least the one containing this beautiful stanza:

> "Wherefore we sinners, mindful of the love
> That bought us, once for all, on Calvary's Tree,
> And having with us Him that pleads above,
> Do here present, do here spread forth to Thee
> That only offering perfect in Thine eyes,
> The one true, pure, immortal Sacrifice."[360]

The primacy of Christ's priesthood is throughout strongly reaffirmed, as in the Hymn 'Priesthood':

> "Their sacred acts, O Christ, are Thine;
> Unseen, yet understood,
> 'Tis Thou that mak'st the bread and wine
> Thy Body and Thy Blood.

These acts are all one stream of power
That from Thy Manhood flows,
And still in every place and hour
Thy Passion's fruit bestows.

Lord,grant us in Thy Priests to see
The boon Thy love hath sent;
No barrier 'tween ourselves and Thee,
But Thine own instrument."[361]

Or, again, in the Hymn 'The Evening Absolution':

"Ah! rather say, He puts it forth, who lives
A Priest for evermore;
His organs they; by them He still forgives,
Who gave the Keys of yore."[362]

And, as a fitting testimony to the centrality of Christ's priesthood to late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic spirituality:

"Therefore to Thee our prayer goes up,
There to Thee our heart is given;
For Thou alone didst drink the cup,
And Thou art man's High Priest in heaven:"[363]

In late-Victorian Anglo-Catholic christology, soteriology, ecclesiology and spirituality, the image of Christ as priest exerted a potent and at times determinative influence. In this chapter we have sought to indicate the unitive, creative, and distinctive character that influence gave to the doctrine and devotion of this increasingly dominant group in the Church of England of the late-nineteenth century. During this period we witness the full-flowering of High Church recovery of 'Catholic' veneration of Christ's priesthood in the historic Church of England. It was a doctrinal and devotional principle repeatedly enunciated by representatives of the different strands of late-Victorian Anglo-Catholicism. Yet their interpretation was widely challenged and censured by evangelical scholars and to this we turn in the final chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

'Our One Priest on High' - in Evangelical Doctrine and Devotion c.1860-1900

Evangelical interpretation after 1860 is essentially a set of variations upon a theme, which Nathaniel Dimock, stated in his book-title - 'Our One Priest on High'.[1] Retrospectively, Dimock's writing appears dominant. In reality it was the climax of controversial, scholarly, Evangelical studies. This chapter considers the centrality of Christ's priesthood both to Evangelical denunciations of Ritualism during the frenzied period of litigation to 1882, and to the sophisticated studies of Dimock and other Evangelical scholars thereafter. Examination of these phases of interpretation -distinguished more by 'mood' than 'content' - discloses the pivotal place Christ's priesthood occupied in late-Victorian Anglican Evangelicalism.

The subject has been largely ignored hitherto. It concerns a crucial aspect of late-Victorian controversy. Neglect reflects the general paucity of studies in late-Victorian Evangelicalism. Misconception and distortion abound: notably, a) that the period after 1860 was, by comparison, less important than before; b) that Evangelical theology contained little of significance; c) that Evangelical influence was negligible. None are true.

Later Evangelicals reckoned Ritualism a greater threat to the Church of England than Tractarianism. To J.C. Ryle (1816-1900), archetypal muscular, belligerent, Evangelical saint, "No man is worthy of the name Evangelical who does not deeply dislike Ritualism, who does not regard it as the greatest evil which has arisen in our Church since the days of Laud".[2] After 1860, many believed the Reformation battle in the Church of England must be refought. As before, Christ's unique priesthood was central.

"Anglican Evangelicals," J.K. Mozley observed, "have had a far more distinguished record in theology than is apt to be recognized".[3] He cited the late-Victorian scholars Handley Moule, Nathaniel Dimock, T.W. Drury, R.B. Girdlestone and Henry Wace -theologians "faithful to a tradition which they expounded with ample learning and ability."[4] Motivated more by defence of 'old

paths' in Reformed Anglican Protestantism than pursuit of new horizons in biblical criticism, philosophic idealism, or humanist immanentism, Evangelicals accomplished their theological task with thoroughness, passion, and integrity. As J.I. Packer's study of Oxford Evangelical theology of the period states:

> "...Evangelical conservatism was essentially a matter not of timidity or dullness of mind, nor of natural temperament or cultural conditioning, but of conscience. It was a stance reflecting the way Evangelicals understood their calling in the nineteenth-century national Church".[5]

Their calling involved vigorous defence of Christ's priesthood - articuli stantisque cadentis of the Reformed Church of England.

Finally, Evangelical influence extended beyond Lord Shaftesbury (1801-85), "the bishop-maker".[6] The Church Association, vilified from its formation in 1865, effectively coordinated Evangelical opposition to Ritualism, and clarified deep theological divisions in the Church. In the higher echelons of University life at Oxford evangelical influence waned, but nationally its parochial impact intensified.[7] Here, not national Congresses, was the focus of Evangelical initiative. Overseas mission led to "the age of the C.M.S." at the century's close.[8] Where intended, Evangelicals were actively influential; where overshadowed, however culpable, it was often deliberate policy. Late-Victorian Evangelicalism was a devout, virile, spiritual movement, which accounts for their fury against the progress of Ritualism. Study of Christ's priesthood illuminates their character, theological sophistication and dynamic zeal. It confirms the centrality of Christ's priesthood to Victorian religion.

I

Christ's priesthood and Evangelical opposition to 'Romanizing Ritualism': 1860-1882

1. Evangelicals and the Ritualist threat to the Protestant Church of England.

J.C. Ryle, prolific, popular tract-writer and reforming Protestant Bishop of Liverpool, once declared: "Of all the offices that Christ exercises on behalf of His people, none will repay thought and study so richly as that of Christ's priesthood."[9] Foremost among His 'offices'[10] Ryle, following Owen, declared it the one Satan did most to obscure and overthrow.[11] Neglectful forgetfulness, he

claimed, signalled speedy departure Romeward.[12] Its retention produced incomparable joy, comfort, perseverance and life.[13] Quite simply, for Ryle and the cause he championed, it was "the crown and glory of Christian theology".[14] Examination begins here. In multifarious ways primary allegiance to Christ's priesthood determined Evangelical denunciation of Ritualism. Their interpretation and application of the doctrine created a substructure to their faith, which Ritualists appeared to them to challenge directly or comprise dangerously. Evangelical resistance was fierce.

To Evangelicals the second phase of Tractarianism appeared to wrest the initiative from the Reformers. The Reformed Church of England must be defended. Francis Close (1797-1882), self-confessed controversialist 'Pope' of Cheltenham and Dean of Carlisle, believed Reformation principles, in 1866, "never more imperilled than at the present moment".[15] Charles Heurtley, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in Oxford from 1853-1895, saw in the troubles of 1871, the century after the Reformation redivivus.[16] The Church establishment was threatened. In 1868 men spoke of "the perilous position of the Church of England at this time".[17] If Victorian Evangelicalism ever lost its resolve, then it did during the 1860's and 70's. 1866 to 1868 particularly stand out. Uncharacteristically paranoid, J.C. Ryle stated impassionedly in 1866,

> "I will not conceal ... my impression that the position of the Evangelical body at this time, is a very critical one. Whether we like it or not, I believe that as a body we are rapidly losing ground... We may make more show, but we are not more strong. We may appear more numerous, but we have not more power. Partly from the increased zeal of High Churchmen on the one side, partly from the popularity of the Broad Church school with the liberal and so-called Intellectual Party on the other, partly from a dry-rot of indolence, softness, and timidity in our own ranks, partly from a want of cohesion and union among ourselves, we are no longer where we were twenty-five years ago. Our locks seem shorn. Our strength seems turned to feebleness. On all sides there are symptoms of decay".[18]

Under pressure from within and without, Evangelical writers reverted enthusiastically to Christ's priesthood to comfort flagging spirits, to counter fear some adversaries.

In 1866, Francis Close described the "vast progress" of Ritualism in the preceding eighteen months:[19] a progress fostered by the E.C.U., fuelled by Orby Shipley's volume, The Church and the World,[20] and challenged by Evangelical cooperation in the Church Association started in 1865. Evangelical polemic thereafter abounded. Close perfected acerbity and polished invective. He concluded a lecture on 'Ritualism', to the Church Association in the spring of 1867:

> "Let us then offer it every opposition in our power... My advice is, attack them at all points and by all means... Brother members of 'that pure and reformed part of the holy Catholic Church established in this land', let us adopt any and all measures which are legitimate, honest, open, courageous, for the supression of this gaudy Ritualism, this meretricious Romanism!"[21]

Ritualist ceremonial was reckoned "histrionic", a veiled Romanizing beneath "a gorgeous ceremonial".[22] "The whole paraphernalia of modern Ritualism is," he declared in 1864, "... a flimsy and transparent veil imperfectly concealing the deadly worship of the mystic idol beneath - the Sacramental Deity - the forbidden Sacrificial System, whether Patriarchal, Mosaic, Pagan or Popish - it is this and none other!"[23] But Close combined prescience with belligerence recognizing Ritualists too appealed to Christ's heavenly priesthood, and, as their 'strong hold', claimed human priests merely 'copied' Christ's work as High Priest in heaven.[24] Close was unconvinced. Like other Evangelicals he appealed to a pure, unadulterated, doctrine of Christ's unique priesthood.

With Close in their ranks, Evangelical writing was neither 'defensive' nor 'responsive'. Christ's priesthood was a primary weapon in his anti-Ritualist armoury, repeatedly drawn upon in virulent anti-Ritualist tracts. As Joseph Bardsley made clear at the time, Christ's priesthood was reckoned a principle antidote to Romanist Ritualism.[25] But Peter Maurice continued to incite opposition to this off-spring of Tractarianism.[26] His polemical tracts were collected in the volume The Ritualists or Non-Natural Catholics (1870). He spoke of "this Ritual pest", as "a highly contagious disease", "altogether a device of man",[27] and as mere "human sophisms" not grounded in the Word of God.[28] Newman is predictably vilified as its originator;[29] the biretta and chasuble are

denounced as popish baubles of a sacrificing priesthood;[30] curates of St Thomas', Oxford, are castigated for their "greater facility for histrionic action and testamentary display".[31] John Campbell Colquhoun in some Church Association lectures described Ritualists' tactics as "mystification" and "verbal quizzling".[32] C.H.H. Wright (1836-1909), author of Introduction to the Old Testament (1891), accused them of Judaizing, but, like Close, saw that human priests were supposed to bring to mind the Heavenly priest.[33] He, too, was unconvinced. Christ's priesthood encapsulated Evangelical antipathy to the Ritualists' ideology.

Upon what principles, then, was Evangelicalism based to respond in this way? How did Evangelicals interpret and apply the doctrine in repudiation of Ritualist doctrine and devotion?

2. The Restatement of Evangelical 'Principles'

Evangelical 'principles' were repeatedly stated in the later Victorian era. The situation required it. Fundamental convictions were at stake. The doctrinal and devotional character of the Church of England was threatened. Christ's priesthood was deemed a treasure of the Protestant English Reformation heritage, not to be surrendered. Evangelicals believed in 'comprehension', as long as 'High' and 'Low' still reflected the Reformed parameters of the historic Church, which they believed Evangelicalism most truly did. "Nothing gives the Church of England such power and influence," J.C. Ryle confidently declared, "as genuine, well-worked, well-administered Evangelical Religion."[34] Later Evangelicals were avowedly anti-Romanist. They abhorred the Romish doctrine behind Ritualist ceremonial: many priests offering many sacrifices were to them, obviously derogatory of Christ's unique person and work as priest. This could never be accommodated in the Anglican Church. Litigation against ritual was motivated by antagonism to doctrine. The doctrine of Christ as priest was central to the debacle, as Evangelical good intentions sometimes blinded sound judgement. The doctrinal character of Evangelical antagonism is crucial. Close and Ryle, for example, acknowledging piety and spirituality in their opponents, denounced their doctrinal error.[35] It was deemed a Romanising 'conspiracy'.[36] Ritualism must

not be allowed to undo what the Protestant Reformers had died for, and reestablish "priestly tyranny and priestly imposition"[37] in a medieval sacerdotalism, which was fundamentally un-Anglican.[38] "Ritualism," Ryle pronounced, "is the high road to Rome, and the triumph of Ritualism will be the restoration of Popery... His (Christ's) priestly and mediatorial offices are injured and dishonoured by Ritualism. They are offices He has never deputed to any order of ordained men".[39] His priesthood is a treasured feature of Protestant Anglicanism to be defended along with the historic character of the Church.

In 1875 the Evangelical scholar Edward Garbett (1817-1887), listed his party's three leading doctrinal principles as: i) The personal contact of the soul with God - a mediated 'Church' Christianity being no substitute for individual conversion and sanctification of the soul by the direct and immediate operation of God the Holy Spirit; ii) The free sovereignty of God the Holy Ghost, rather than the limit of His ordinary working to human agency, ordinances and sacramental mediation, iii) "The third principle," he wrote, "is the sole High Priesthood of the Lord Jesus Christ, in contrast with the sacerdotal view of the Christian ministry which, maintaining the singleness of the meritorious sacrifice, yet maintains also its re-presentation before God by the hands of the earthly priest"[40] - anything vitiating the uniqueness of His office is to be rejected. The Church has no altar, sacrifice or priest. These principles are not explicitly enunciated in the Church's Articles, he maintains, simply "because the doctrinal tendencies of that date did not call for it". "In maintaining these principles," he declared, "we believe ourselves to follow the true teaching of the Church of England, as the Church in her turn follows the teaching of the Word of God."[41] These three are "the cardinal principles of the Evangelical creed, its distinctive characteristics. So far as theology is impregnated with them, it becomes an Evangelical theology".[42] "They are not," he declares, "abstract propositions, but great operative principles", pertaining to justification and access to God. Christ's priesthood is, to Garbett, "the very centre and pivot of the present agitation in the Church"[43]:

> "May we hope", he concludes, "that, from amid the throes of the present emergency, the doctrine of the sole and unchangeable (untransferable, ἀπαράβατον) Priesthood of the Lord Jesus Christ will rise into undisputed prominence, the central hope and living spring of the Church's life".[44]

Garbett's identification of Christ's priesthood as foundational for Anglican Evangelicalism, and pivotal to denunciation of Ritualism, articulated what the party as a whole believed.

J.C. Ryle shared Garbett's high regard for dogmatic statements of Evangelical faith.[45] After 1882 this tendency fructified in the party as a whole. Christ's priesthood was integral to recovery of Evangelical dogmatism. Faith, for Close, meant doctrinal 'certainty'.[46] Evangelicalism, Ryle maintained, was antithetical to disorderly statements of the Christian faith, to Ritualist mysticism, to subtle reinterpretation of familiar words and ideas.[47] They saw clarity in Protestant interpretation of Christ's unique priesthood from Hebrews subtly invaded by a mischievous and depotentiating verbal obfuscation.[48] The Prayer Book and Articles afforded a clear, uniform, Protestant, scriptural declaration of the faith of the Church,[49] they maintained, which protagonists of reform rejected as rigidity.[50] Infallibility, Papal Supremacy, purgatory, devotion to Mary, were seen as explicity rejected by the Articles.[51] The absolute supremacy of Holy Scripture as the Church's regula fidei, the doctrine of human sin and depravity, the paramountcy attached to the work and office of Jesus Christ, and an experiential knowledge of His saving death and intercession, the high place assigned to the inward and outward work and witness of the Holy Spirit in the heart and life of man.[52] These are the principles prominently endorsed by Evangelicalism, to which Christ's priesthood was also attached. As J.C. Ryle pointed out, Evangelicalism did not undervalue learning, the Church, the Christian Ministry, Sacraments, Episcopacy, handsome Churches, self-denial, but it did reject any substitute for, addition to, interposition between, Christ's direct relationship to the believer, and condemn the disproportion, confusion, and contradiction characteristic of contemporary Ritualism.[53] Evangelical interpretation and utilisation of Christ's priesthood reflected application of its

foundational principles and was for this reason central to its opposition to 'Romanising' Ritualism.

3. Christ's priesthood and defence of the heart of Protestant Anglicanism

Christ's priesthood informed the character of Evangelical opposition to Ritualism in six crucial ways.

i) Firstly, Christ's priesthood was integral to Evangelical devotion to Jesus. This, Ritualism, it was claimed, fatally compromised and dishonoured. From Chapter III we see this devotion preexisted Ritualism, and was at the heart of Evangelical religion.

"There is one subject in religion about which you can never know too much," J.C. Ryle proclaimed in 1859, - "that subject is Jesus Christ the Lord."[54] His sermon in Dublin, 'The True Priest' on Heb.vii:25, described its subject as "of deep importance to our peace and to the establishment of our souls in the Christian faith".[55] His Tract 'Have you a Priest: a subject for 1872', similarly linked Evangelical 'Jesus-worship' to Christ's priesthood. "Reader," he writes, "let us thank God daily that Christ is doing the work of a Priest for us in heaven".[56] It is "the grand secret of daily comfort in Christianity", "of a saint's perseverance to the end".[57] "What greater folly can be conceived", he wrote, with Ritualists in view, "than to flee to the Virgin Mary or the saints, or to put our souls in the hands of clergymen and ministers, when we have such a Priest as Jesus Christ in heaven?"[58] His Knots Untied (1874) similarly stated: "He that wishes to have any comfort in religion must have a priest. A religion without a priest is a poor, unhappy, useless,thing"... "Christ is the priest of our souls".[59] "Christ is a great High Priest," he continued, "Let that truth sink down into our hearts,and never be forgotten. He is sealed and appointed by God the Father for that very purpose, to be the Priest of Christians".[60] So, he warns, "If we love our souls, let us beware of giving to ministers the honour that belongs to Christ alone".[61]

Ryle's writing exudes an inherited devotion to Jesus the priest, contrary in spirit to the delegation or representation of His office. For Ryle, the excellence of Christ's office meant it could not be shared as Ritualists appeared to him to

teach. It was ἀπαράβατον (untransferable, or uncommunicable). As he stated in 'Confession', Christ is a High Priest of Almighty power, able to forgive as God; of infinite willingness, accessible to all; of perfect knowledge, discerning man's spirit; of matchless tenderness, delicate in sympathy; of human sympathy, being 'touched with the feeling of our infirmities'.[62] As a human priest in heaven He is not, Ryle declared, "an austere man",[63] but a friend whom we freely approach with confidence, being of "matchless tenderness".[64] In Ryle the characteristic tone and manner of Evangelical devotion to Jesus are classically expressed. Ritualism was devotionally, as well as doctrinally, offensive.

The centrality of Christ's priesthood to Ryle's Evangelical 'Jesus-worship' was not unique. It overflowed in E.H. Bickersteth's (1825-1906) Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer (1870 and 1880 rev. enl.). Apart from Calvinist emphasis on the triplex munus Christi (eg. in Nos.254 'Father of Heaven' (Cooper), 273 'I Know that my Redeemer lives' (Medley)), we discover that in regard to His office as priest, 'Jesus-worship', far from being Nestorian stressed Jesus Christ's human feelings and shared sympathy. Watts' hymn (No. 293), on Hebrews iv:15, classically expresses this:

"With joy we meditate the grace
Of our High Priest above;
His heart is made of tenderness,
And yearns with faithful love.

Touch'd with a sympathy within,
He knows our feeble frame:
He knows what sore temptations mean,
For He has felt the same."

No.223, by Bruce, similarly states:

"Where high the heavenly temple stands,
The house of God not made with hands,
A great High Priest our nature wears
The guardian of mankind appears,".

Bickersteth's own hymn for the Ascension, 'O Christ, Thou hast ascended' (No.220), and Hart's, for the Passion, 'Great High Priest we see Thee stooping' (No.165), confirm an Evangelical proclivity for the language and imagery of Hebrews to articulate a devotional response to the character and work of Christ.[65]

Significantly, Ritualists recognised the difficulty of weaning Evangelicals away from exclusive adherence to Christ's priestly mediation on account of its place in their popular devotion. Evangelical hearts were so full of devotion to Jesus as priest, there was no place for Mary or the saints.[66] The two devotional traditions were still consciously perceived as having a contradictory parallelism. "All adoration and prayers addressed to the Virgin Mary, the saints and angels is," Ryle stated, "utterly useless, and unwarranted by Scripture. It is worship that is mere waste of time".[67]

> "Can I believe in many mediators without dishonouring the Great Mediator?" Close enquired. "Can I believe that the heart of Mary is more tender than the heart of her Son, without impugning the love of Him 'who is touched with the feeling of my infirmities'?... Shall I ask Peter, or John, or the Virgin Mary to pray for me, when I have already 'an advocate with the Father, Christ the righteous?' Shall I go to the servant, when I have the ear of the Son? Away with such useless friends, such inferior mediators and deities - 'miserable comforters are ye all!'"[68]

The 'cult of the sympathising heavenly priest' continued to be an Evangelical stronghold, which none could breach with impunity.[69]

ii) Secondly, evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood reflects their protestant scripturalism. Truth for them lay in conformity to biblical teaching. In Ritualistic controversy scriptural interpretation was crucial. The sacerdotalist errors of Ritualist exegesis must be exposed. Sacerdotalism was simply unscriptural.[70] The Evangelical biblical scholarship of men like R.B. Girdlestone (1836-1923) and R. Payne Smith (1819-1895), was of a high calibre, within its conservative scriptural parameters and constant suspicion of 'Higher Criticism'.[71] Evangelical scripturalism was intertwined with its christology. Christ was to be apprehended through the scriptures and the scriptures through Christ. When Christ's ascription of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was impugned, Edward Garbett responded in a University Sermon of 1862:

> "Where, then, is the Christ of the Scriptures - where the Christ of the Church - the infallible Teacher, God and man - the all-prevailing Mediator, in whose name the saints have ever breathed their supplications; the ever-present Friend, who, while He intercedes in heaven, yet never leaves nor forsakes His suffering people upon earth...".[72]

Christ and the Bible cannot be separated in Evangelical thought. To know Him as priest we come not to human 'representatives' but to scripture, which faithfully and unchangeably testifies to His unique eternal priesthood. Biblical truth, it was held, does not progress; human perception of it does. Evangelicals repudiated an organic growth of Christian truth. T.D. Bernard's (1815-1904) Bampton Lectures, The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament (1864), saw this progress exemplified in Hebrews, but emphasised the progress of man's apprehension and not of God's communication.[73] Likewise, Payne Smith's Bampton Lectures, Prophecy a Preparation for Christ (1869), contained this classic Evangelical statement:

> "... we wait for no new truth: we believe in no development of old truths. The truths of Holy Scripture, by its very faculty of life (Heb.iv:12) adapt themselves to each succeeding age, and portions long neglected, or but partially understood, break forth often with new energy when circumstances call for their application. Of others it is only by careful study and diligent and oft-repeated examination, that the Church at length attains to their full meaning, and due relation to other truths. But a new article of the faith, by its very novelty, stands self-condemned. The Church's duty is, not to invent, but to defend and maintain in its integrity the whole truth entrusted to its charge. Our duty is to study the inspired records,so carefully and with prayer, that by the Holy Spirit's aid we may comprehend, as adequately as our limited powers will permit, the unsearchable riches of the truth as revealed in Jesus Christ our Lord."[74]

Ritualism smacked of novelty. Evangelicals eschewed apparent innovation in Anglican Ritualist interpretation of Christ's priesthood. They preferred the 'old ways' of the Bible and the Reformers, to a man-centred, 'medieval', 'Romanist' interpretation. But the Bible was reckoned the 'living word of God', and the Ritualist controversy reveals the contemporary evangelical application of its teaching on Christ's priesthood.

Regarding Evangelical veneration of Hebrews, Close believed it appropriately excited "the devout admiration of the Church of God in all ages".[75] Its peculiar character lay in interpreting Mosaic ritual, endorsing the Bible's unity, and witnessing to the fact, meaning and manner of the end of the Old Covenant and sealing of the New, fulfilled by Christ as priest and sacrifice.[76] In Evangelical eyes Ritualism reversed His achievements. In Christ's priesthood they

were consciously defending the Christian Gospel - witness of the whole Bible, and Hebrews in particular. It was a Reformation struggle within the Victorian Church, over Christ's finished work, the Christian's free access to God, the efficacy of human faith, the uniqueness of Christ's mediation, and the manner of Christian worship. Again Christ's priesthood and Hebrews were central. As Close stated in 1867: "The Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, as a whole, from the beginning to the end, is one grand testimony to the finished work of Christ, the accomplishment of prophecy, the realization of symbolic worship in Christ, and our entire deliverance from the bondage of minute Ritualistic and legal worship".[77] Ritualism would be thwarted by the Bible. To Joseph Bardsley the answer lay primarily in "clear and distinct Scriptural teaching on the priesthood of our blessed Saviour":[78] ..."the infinite perfection of His one sacrifice; His ability and willingness to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by Him; the fulness of His great salvation; and the power of faith as the only instrument of our justification". Hebrews was clearly crucial.

The importance of Evangelical scripturalism in their refutation of Ritualism is exemplified first in William Fremantle's (1807-1895) lecture of 1864, 'Christ the only Priest, Altar, and Sacrifice' on Heb.xiii:10, part of a distinguished series on the distinctive Protestant principles of the Church of England. Fremantle's theme is that Ritualist ceremonial, "serving the tabernacle", has fatal consequences for a person's true participation in the "altar", "priest", and "sacrifice" of the Gospel dispensation, viz. Jesus Christ.[79] The two systems are directly antithetical: adherence to one means exclusion from the other.[80] Against those attempting to retain the 'tabernacle' system (viz. the Ritualists) he argues, firstly, that the "altar" of Heb.xiii:10 is typical of Christ: for, "There was but one altar, and only one place where God could be worshipped; and it is by Christ alone, the one Mediator between God and man - the man Christ Jesus, we have access unto the Father".[81] Secondly, the priest at this altar is Christ, too, who has "entered into heaven for us, having offered one offering for sin for ever".[82] He is our one priest on high. Rejecting Ritualism's compromised adherence to Christ's priesthood, he writes:

> "The High Priest is the representative of the people,- his intercession and atonement is for them; in like manner Christ is our surety in heaven. If He were on earth, He would not be a Priest, but because He is in heaven, He has gathered up into Himself the whole office and efficacy of the Priesthood: and there is but one Priest in the world,-the great High Priest that is passed into the heavens,- Jesus the Son of God. Let this be duly considered, and it will be seen that they who serve the tabernacle have no right to the Christian Priest".[83]

Thirdly, there is but one unrepeatable sacrifice; its repetition would involve remembrance of sin.[84] The faithful feed directly on Christ, the bread of life. No human priest offers on earth. He warns against the doctrinal error and devotional attractiveness of Judaizing, and of substituting, or reinstating, the tabernacle system for "the simplicity that is in Christ".[85] Fremantle not only confirms the cruciality of Christ's priesthood in Hebrews to Ritualist controversy, but also illustrates Evangelical denunciation of Ritualist doctrine and ceremonial, as contrary to the Christian Gospel and Anglican religion.

R.B. Girdlestone's Synonyms of the Old Testament: their bearing on Christian Faith and Practice (1871) is a more sophisticated, linguistic analysis of leading Old Testament themes in the light of the New. Chapter XX, 'Prophet, Priest, Elder, Minister', draws a radical distinction between 'priesthood' and 'sacrifice', stating that "cohen" did not denote a "sacrificer", but merely an "offerer" of the people's sacrifices.[86] When the priest sprinkled the blood of atonement on the altar and turned the pieces into fragrant smoke he was officially representing God's divine love and mercy "in accordance with the true idea of a priest".[87] This offering was symbolical of Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension.[88] Girdlestone stresses that ἱερεὺς is restricted to Christ's ministry in the New Testament, its attention concentrating "on One who cannot be seen with the outward eye, but is one and only High Priest, acting in our interests 'within the veil'."[89] "His Resurrection was," he writes, "God's call to Him to become a High Priest, an office for which His human sufferings had perfected Him".[90] Refuting sacerdotalist Ritualism in this exclusive ascription of hieratic language to Christ, Girdlestone draws out the parallelism of the non-sacerdotal synonyms Zacén and πρεσβύτερος, as designating the people's

representative head in the administration of the community meal at the Lord's Table.[91]

Girdlestone's study reflects a scholarly, Evangelical concern less with the ontological basis of Christ's priesthood, consistently enunciated in the language of devotion, and more with the functional, ecclesial, exercise of His priestly ministry, occasioned by the rise of sacerdotalism. Girdlestone's exegetical insights faced the crucial question: 'What and where is Christ performing a priestly ministry?' For him, Christ's priesthood is heavenly. Having obediently offered Himself as the sinless victim, and poured out of His life-blood,[92] Girdlestone held, He ascended to make atonement 'within the veil', by sprinkling His blood on the altar and covering man's sin,[93] as an act, not of propitiation of God's wrath, but of God's own pardoning mercy.[94] In this atoning ministry mankind has no part save by faith and participation in the 'memorial feast' of the Holy Communion, the fulfilment of Christ's command - "Do this in remembrance of me".[95] The depth and direction of scholarly Evangelical reflection on the biblical evidence at this time is well illustrated in Girdlestone's Synonyms.

A less sophisticated, popular exposition is found in Henry Linton's (1804-1887) Christ in the Old Testament, (1873). Linton exemplifies the scripturalism, which, holding to the Bible's divine, plenary inspiration, traced Christ's priesthood through the minutiae of the Mosaic system, and popular, Old Testament, christological 'figures'. So, Melchizedek typifies Jesus as king and priest, being like Him "without descent", "who received His priesthood from none, and transmitted it to none, but being the only begotten of the Father, Heb.i.5, abideth a priest for ever (Heb.vii:3, 23-25, 28)".[96] The priesthood, of Aaron, in the Holy of Holies, and his sons, "in the daily, constant, unceasing, application of His blood, Heb.ix:6; 1 Jn.i:7;" and "the daily cleansing of individual sinners, Lev.iv:2; Heb.xii:24; Ex.xxiv:8", typify for Linton, "Jesus 'our one and only Priest', Heb.iv:14; vii:23,25; ix:11-24."[97] "The whole priesthood was...," he wrote, "typical of the one 'Great High Priest', in whose person was concentrated every priestly power, in whose death, the efficacy of every sacrificial act."[98] The High Priest's garments (Ex.xxviii), his offering (Ex.xxix), his censing (Ex.xxx; Num.xvi),

his blessing (Num.vi), his sacrificial offerings all afforded Linton teaching on Christ's office as priest.[99] The concentration of every priestly power in Christ reflects the hard, entweder : oder character which Evangelical interpretation increasingly assumed, against what Evangelicals perceived as the unscripturalism of sacerdotalism.

iii) Thirdly, Christ's priesthood was a central, Evangelical principle of worship opposed to Ritualism. The period witnessed a flurry of Evangelical studies on 'worship', -its foundation, form, and focus. T.D. Barnard's Oxford sermon, 'Worship', of 1863, expounds Christ's High Priestly function in the Church's worship as,

> "... a continuous agency, a now-living agent, mediating, interceding, prevailing for us. I draw near. I find the sacrifice completed, the way open, the blood for sprinkling. Yes, I see the provisions of God: but must I enter alone? No, there stands the great Priest over the house of God, present to receive me, to conduct me, to present me before His Father's face. My heart with all its misgivings can ask no more. I can come boldly to the throne of grace".[100]

Worship must express the Gospel in Evangelical religion. Both tell of man's access to God through Christ alone as priest.

Critics ribbed the contemporary drabness and unoriginality of Evangelical worship. Close admitted Evangelical slovenliness in worship had partly caused Ritualist ceremonialism.[101] The challenge was met and pressing questions became - 'On what principles then should worship be based?' and, 'How could it be more heavenly?' Evangelicals turned to the Prayer Book, still considered a key doctrinal and devotional source.[102] Together the Prayer Book and Evangelical hymns afforded the form; it still did not prevent against dullness. Ritualism was to many attractive as dramatic, and dynamic. Evangelicals countered by iteration of Christ's declaration that true worship must be "in spirit and in truth". This was the ideal Evangelicals espoused. T.R. Birks, in a lecture 'The Essentials of Christian public worship' of 1864, declared that John iv:24 would lead its adherents, "out of mere ceremonial worship, out of mere types and shadows and outward details, into that which is the sum and substance and glory of all worship - the loving communion of ransomed spirits; the service of adopted children,

rendering thanks and praise to their Father who is in heaven".[103] J.C. Ryle integrated his enthusiasm for Christ's priesthood into the following condemnation of Ritualist ceremonialism.

> "No worship is of any use to souls at which Christ is not present. Incense, banners, pictures, flowers, crucifixes, and long processions of richly-dressed ecclesiastics are a poor substitute for the great High Priest Himself... They that worship God in spirit and truth never draw near to Him in vain."[104]

Evangelicals, sometimes out of blind prejudice against Ritualist idolatry, sometimes out of honest protectiveness towards their historic belief that Hebrews taught not only that Christ's priesthood was "untransferable" but also unrepresentable, believed there to be no true substitute agency for the Church's worship than the real, unique, spiritual presence and mediation of the great High Priest. It was believed to be what the Anglican liturgy taught. As. T.R. Birks later wrote:

> "One fact is as clear as daylight,- that our Liturgy in its whole texture, by what it omits and what it retains, is a ceaseless, daily repeated protest against all image-worship, saint-worship, virgin-worship, all worship of crucifixes and crosses and wafers. The one living and true God is here adored, from first to last, through the one Mediator, our Lord Jesus Christ, and through Him alone... God revealed in Christ, God to be worshipped only through the mediation of Christ, is the grand characteristic of our English liturgy, from first to last".[105]

J.C. Ryle's Tract 'How do you worship: a question for 1868' similarly observed, that worship must be not only directed to the right object, scriptural, intelligent, reverent, of the heart, but also "through the mediation of Christ".[106] Evangelicals could not compromise this. It was integral to Christian worship - "in spirit and in truth" (John iv:24).

Christ's priesthood was consequently integral to two hallmarks of Evangelical worship - simplicity and spirituality. "We steadily maintain," Ryle wrote in 1867, "that simplicity should be the grand characteristic of Christian worship".[107] He was no kill-joy, and praised handsome Churches.[108] Francis Close feared an exaggerated dullness in Evangelical worship as counter-reaction to extreme ceremonialism.[109] But there was, as Fremantle observed, a "simplicity" integral to the Gospel,[110] and Charles Sumner deplored "an excessive

ceremonial", which he deemed "inconsistent with the simplicity of the Church of the Reformation".[111] This "simplicity" reflected the Gospel truth of the finished work of Christ the priest, and, as Hebrews taught, His consummation of Levitical ceremonialism and ritual.[112] A ceremonial inspired by the 'ritual of the tabernacle' was, as Fremantle had observed, antithetical to the truth of Christ's 'rending of the veil', His perfect sacrifice, priesthood and 'altar'. "The overweaning indulgence of the love of art in the service of God", he wrote, "has a tendency to bring the mind down to what is earthly - to the tabernacle below not to the altar above".[113] The Old Testament had been the schoolmaster of worship; now, "in spirit and truth", men are led through the great High Priest to God's throne.[114] The very simplicity of Evangelical worship sought to testify to the glory of Christ's priestly ministry.

"The inward and spiritual character of the congregation is of far more importance in His sight than the number of the worshippers, or the outward and visible signs of the devotion which they exhibit", Ryle maintained.[115] Spiritual 'inwardness' was praised, external symbolism eschewed. Externality is for man's eyes; God looks on the heart.[116] If not incompatible with Christianity, as Bp Waldegrave held,[117] symbolic externals must be penetrated through, Fremantle urged, to perceive Christ within them.[118] Christianity was, for Evangelicals confronted by Ritualism, a matter of simple faith, a 'spiritual religion', needing no priestly agency nor other mediators save Christ. As Fremantle wrote, "We have an Altar, a Priest, and a Sacrifice, to which we may come by faith, without the intervention of any human agencies. Here, as a spiritual priesthood, we may offer our spiritual sacrifice of praise continually; and here we may realize the precious effectual intercession of our great High Priest".[119] The believer can come boldly to the throne of grace in faith, trusting in the fact, though not knowing the manner, of Christ's priestly intercession,[120] confident of being heard,[121] and comforted in his soul by the heavenly priest.[122] A fussy ceremonialism was held to intrude upon the believer's sense of free access through Christ's priestly mediation. In this worship, duty, dependence and joyful self-surrender, were the priestly marks of the true believer.

iv) Fourthly, as corollary to this, and nub of Evangelical detestation of sacerdotalism, Christ's priesthood shaped their understanding of the Church's ministry in direct opposition to Ritualism and Later Tractarianism. J.C. Ryle fairly admitted no subject was more misunderstood than the Church,[123] and Edward Garbett spoke of an inadequate view among Evangelicals.[124] Evangelicals disagreed. There was a sense of the subject's determinative importance for Christian doctrine as a whole. Christ's priesthood shaped Evangelical ecclesiology, for they held the Church to be primarily, though to some not exclusively, an invisible society of true believers having free access to offer spiritual sacrifices to God, of which community Christ was reckoned the Head and only priest.[125] This, it was claimed (admitting no Church was perfect), was the scriptural teaching of the Articles, antithetical to the "shocking claims"[126] of 'the curse of priestcraft' and the Church system of the Ritualists.[127] Christ's priesthood must determine the nature of the Church and not the Church the nature of Christ's priesthood. Hence Evangelicals abhorred the idea that human priests were Christ's 'representatives' or 'delegates'; a sacrificing earthly priesthood upon whom, to some it appeared, Christ's exercise of His own priestly ministry depended in the eucharist.[128] "His mediatorial and priestly office He has never deputed to any man or order of men", Ryle declared.[129] Hieratic terminology and the transference of Christ's priestly power in any degree were reckoned not only unscriptural but right against the 'spiritual religion' of Evangelicals, wherein ministers were presbyteral preachers[130] and serving stewards, Evangelists in life and word, pointing to the glorious gospel of the great High Priest.[131] They had His authority, as E.H. Bickersteth reminded some ordination candidates, but they were only "underlabourers".[132] The moment a minister begins to stand between our soul and Christ", Ryle warned, "even in the slightest degree, he becomes an enemy and not a friend to our peace".[133] "The detestable practice" of habitual, auricular, sacramental, confession, was a focus of Evangelical opprobrium.[134]

The reasoning behind this reaction is illustrated in two contrasting publications. Hugh McNeile lectured the Church Association on 'Priesthood' in

February 1867. "Priesthood is a remedial institution,"[135] he declared, performed till Christ's coming by human Levitical priests, teaching, sacrificing, interceding, but now perfected in Him.[136] The 'rent veil' signalled the collapse of the old system; the perfect priest, proleptically prefigured in Melchizedek, had come.[137] In place of a religion without externals man's fallen nature has, he declared, reconstructed in Ritualism a caricature of Judaism dependent again on human priests.[138] This, he proclaimed, "is not Christianity".[139] To controvert their claims, he interprets the Petrine and Apostolic Commission in the light of: i) Lightfoot's evidence that 'binding' and 'loosing' designated authoritative, descriptive teaching regarding the character and condition of those forgiven; ii) Apostolic failure to claim 'priestly' powers; iii) the absolute finality (contra the eucharistic sacrifice) of Christ's atoning sacrifice, sealed by His unrepeatable blood-shedding; iv) New Testament silence viz-à-viz the exercise of priesthood in the Church, because 'untransferable' from Christ; v) The Church of England's teaching in the Daily Service, in the Absolution and 'Invitation' of the Communion Service, and in the 'Order for the Visitation of the Sick', which, he argues, clearly teaches the public and declaratory nature of ministerial absolution.[140] The perfectly sympathetic priest in the heavenly confessional is Christ; and, he writes "this whole earth is but one of the whispering galleries of His great temple in the universe. Whisper and it reaches His ear, it reaches His heart".[141] Christ's priesthood has silenced the clamour for a human priesthood.

Professor T.R. Birks' paper 'The Nature and Office of the Christian Ministry', in Evangelical Principles (1875), is no less clear that Christ's priesthood is pivotal for the Church's ministry and life in the new economy of the Gospel.[142] In a more scholarly manner, he perceives Ritualist claims cannot be met by simply "declaiming vaguely against the errors of *Ritualism* ... that Christianity knows nothing of any priesthood but that of Christ alone".[143] The solution to the problem of Christian ministry lies in full recognition of its Old Testament antecedents, in the light of the Gospel economy. A sacrificing priesthood in the Christian Church is: i) tendentiously justified by reference to Melchizedek, Levi, Aaron, or the Book of Revelation, whereas Christ's priesthood is unequivocally

taught; ii) a reversal of the Gospel message of open access for sinners heeding the message of reconciliation; and iii) not a Melchizedekian priesthood which is heavenly, unchangeable (ἀπαράβατον) , and "after the power of an endless life", according to God's oath not carnal commandment.[144] Birks contrasts the role accorded Christ's High Priesthood in the 'High Presbyterian', 'High Episcopal', and 'Papal' systems in the light of Old Testament priesthood, and indicates a progressive detachment of the Church from Christ's priestly prerogatives,[145] so that in the end the Church is erroneously "severed from the authority and grace of the true High Priest who has passed into the heavens".[146] His priestly sacrifice has, though, effected a complete, "objective" change in man's relation and access to God.[147] All Old Testament orders thereby "melt in one". The silence of the New Testament is not accidental - "it grows directly out of the main and essential features of the new economy".[148] It has two consequences. Firstly, all Christians are priests with free access to God, notwithstanding differences in the amount, as priests, they have to learn, and "whoever interposes a human priest, in the proper sense of the name, between them and the High Priest, defrauds them of their Christian birthright."[149] Secondly, a human ministry is not ordained to usurp blasphemously Christ's prerogative, and repeat Christ's one Atonement; rather, their principle work is 'teaching and preaching'. Their orders are determined by the language of the Apostles and the terms of the New Covenant. "A proper priesthood within the Church can", he concludes, "only be set up by usurping the rights of Christ, or falsifying the Gospel message, and denying the rights of the Christian people".[150] For all their difference McNeile and Birks illustrate Evangelical dependence on Christ's priesthood to reject a Ritualist sacerdotalism.

Variations exist, too, in Evangelical denunciation of confession as derogatory to the Christian's rights and Christ's priestly prerogatives. Linton's condemnation was qualified, seeing confession as more an exceptional than habitual practice.[151] Others inveighed against it as the secret source of Romanist influence, enfeebling human wills, suppressing Christian freedom, denying Gospel grace.[152] Their language was often merciless. The party's

position was clearly stated by Ryle - "... if Christ is the Priest of our souls, let us beware of ever giving His office to another. Let no man delude us into supposing that we need any clergyman, or minister, or priest of any Church on earth, to be our spiritual director and soul's confessor".[153] Ministers have no absolute authority to absolve, that is God's prerogative. Their understanding is necessarily tarnished by humanity, Christ's priestly sympathy is untainted by sin. Why, then, be kowtowed into submission to the former when the latter is ever available, near, and omnipotent to forgive? There is no better priest for 'confessions', and such should be the Christian's daily practice, living out his or her priestly life in open relationship to the great High Priest.[154]

v) Fifthly, Christ's priesthood was integral to an Evangelical soteriology antithetical to Romanist Ritualism. Reformation principles were at stake. Against the tide of Anglican incarnationism, Evangelicalism continued to stand for the centrality of the Atonement to the theological circle. In 1865, Bp. Waldegrave of Carlisle perceived this displacement of its centrality, but rejected incarnationism as ultimately vitiating the heinousness of sin and depravity of man. "The incarnation was but the preparation for the atonement", he maintained.[155] This was sound Evangelicalism. As we have seen nascent incarnationism tended to interpret Christ's priesthood in an ontological, moral way. Evangelicals retained a clear, soteriological, functional interpretation. Man's sin is atoned for by Christ's priestly death and not by His earthly life. He is saved by justifying faith not a Ritualism which smacked of Romanising 'works'. Hebrews afforded an antidote to Ritualist ceremonial and Ritualist soteriology. According to Henry Wace (1836-1924): "The portion of the scriptures in which the doctrine of the Atonement is most fully elucidated is the Epistle to the Hebrews".[156] Its instructions on the earthly and heavenly ministry of Christ the priest were raided to refute Ritualist distortions of the Gospel. Christ's priestly ministry is located in heaven, since He could not be a priest on earth. Following the typical pattern of the Old Testament Day of Atonement, Evangelical writers interpreted the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ's substitutionary death on the altar of the cross, outside the veil, as, however, integral to Christ's atoning work, consummated in His ministry

within the 'Holy of Holies'. His heavenly ministry as priest depended on His earthly sacrifice. His death on the cross signalled the uniqueness and finality of His sacrifice for sin. As Bp. Waldegrave stated in his sermon series Words of Eternal Life (1865): "the sufficiency, the efficacy, the finality of Christ's sacrifice constitute the very marrow and fatness of the Gospel."[157] "If I would preach Christ crucified, I must tell of a finished redemption".[158] Francis Close believed Article 31, and the Anglican Anaphora to be in conformity with the Epistle to the Hebrews -"If it is possible to express in words the idea of unity, oneness, finality, termination, surely it is here clearly uttered!" he declared.[159] "Here is the full, comprehensive testimony of our Church to the sufficiency and finality of Christ's great sacrifice. This is her positive declaration".[160] The Apostle, he maintained, "labours to establish the truth of the completion of the One sacrifice on earth, and His claimed entrance into heaven by virtue of that sacrifice once for all".[161] His sacrifical work "was done, completed, finished on earth; it was humiliation work, when 'He was inferior to the Father as touching His manhood'; He is now no longer so."[162] Evangelical soteriology focussed on Christ's shed blood in death on the Cross, it was the agent of cleansing and the object of faithful devotion. There was no more offering for sin. The New Covenant was sealed with His blood.

To the majority of Evangelicals at this period, Christ's heavenly priesthood was as crucial for their salvation as His earthly death. In heaven, as Ryle's Tract 'Have you a Priest' (1872) made clear, Christ is "ever presenting the merits of His sacrifice for us before God".[163]

> "The atonement made on the cross for us is", he wrote, "continually in remembrance by the appearance of Him who made it... The Priest who offered the sacrifice is always in heaven: the sacrifice is never forgotten in heaven, and so they that trust in it are always acceptable in heaven".[164]

Stress on His heavenly life appears later, too:

> "Reader, let us thank God daily that Christ is doing the work of a Priest for us in heaven. Let us glory in His death, but let us not glory less in His life. Let us praise God that Jesus died for our sins according to the scriptures;' but let us never

> forget to praise Him that He rose again for us, and sat down at the right hand of God. Let us be thankful for the precious blood of Christ; but let us not be less thankful for His precious intercession."[165]

On Christ's heavenly priestly ministry rested the Christian's "assurance" of salvation and His "perseverance", without which he would never 'endure to the end' and be 'saved'. The heavenly 'session' proclaimed the finality of His accomplished atonement. To many Evangelicals Christ's priesthood contained the two-fold message of completion (re. sacrifice) and continuation (re. intercession).

"Unless these scriptural facts can be denied, or these arguments refuted", Close belligerently declared, "the axe is laid to the root of the tree of the whole sacerdotal and sacrifical system".[166] He knew that Ritualists looked to Hebrews' typical representation of Christ's High Priestly work for "support of their theory, that our Lord is continually offering or presenting in heaven His finished work on Calvary", but he counterposed the finality it ascribes to His earthly sacrifice.[167] "A continual session or sitting down at God's right hand is," he held, "wholly incompatible and irreconcilable with the idea of a continual presentation of sacrifice before God".[168] The vision of "the Lamb as it had been slain" declared the eternal efficacy of Christ's death, not the fact of His eternal offering.[169] His efficacious intercession lies in that body, which 'paid for man's sin' with His life-blood, being ever now present before the Father, a continual plea for believers. Christ's pleading for mercy and blessing was popularly understood as the substance of His heavenly intercession.

C.J. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester, astutely noted, however, that Ritualism and popular Evangelical theology both effectively taught "an offering for our sins in heaven":[170] the only signficant difference being whether or not Christ's heavenly ministry legitimated a doctrine of a eucharistic sacrifice on the Church's altars. In 1867 Ellicott enjoined strict adherence to the Apostolic Canon - "where remission is there is no more offering for sins",[171] - as alike condemnatory of the eucharistic sacrifice and "the doctrine of our Lord as continuously offering in heaven, in His work of intercession".[172] Ellicott implicitly condemned a persistent, though fading, Reformed tendency to speak of the "heavenly sacrifice"

of Christ, as inappropriately retained in the midst of a linguistically similar articulation of a feature of an Ambrosian eucharistic theology espoused by contemporary Anglo-Catholics.[173] Ellicott forced reconsideration of scriptural typology and linguistic terminology. He followed Kurtz and Fairbairn in distinguishing between the blood shed and the blood sprinkled, and interpreted the latter as the "transient oblation" made once for all by Christ on first entering heaven, whereafter He is seated and interceding not on the basis of 'law' (offering for sins) but on the basis of 'grace' (dispensing the fruitful blessing of His accomplished work).[174] Later Evangelical writers were, perhaps partly as a consequence of Ellicott's caveat, more cautious in their description of the character and signficance of Christ's priestly ministry in heaven.

vi) Lastly, Christ's priesthood was integral to Evangelical sacramental theology, and of decisive significance for their response to Ritualism. As we have begun to see, Christ's priesthood impinged upon Evangelical reactions to a eucharistic sacrifice, which Ritualists reckoned "the great doctrine ... the groundwork of the whole theory and practice of Church worship".[175] Professor Charles Heurtley, writing in 1871, held that "the real point at issue" in the Ritualist controversy "is the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice".[176] He devoted considerable attention to it. Christ's priesthood shaped Evangelical sacramental theology particularly by conditioning their understanding of man's relationship to God. His priesthood betokened the downfall of a Ritualist 'sacramentalism'. Evangelical religion taught the immediacy and openness of man's relationship to God through Christ the priestly Mediator. All other mediation was excluded. Yet they valued the sacraments, as constituting, according to Garbett "the greatest religious acts of the Christian life", and touching "the very foundation on which it rests".[177] Though not unanimously concurring with this judgement, other Evangelicals would have agreed they were ordained by Christ, essentially commemorative ordinances, and channels of divine grace, though not ex opere operato.[178] Evangelical sacramental theology reflects their prime allegiance to Christ and to the direct activity of the Holy Spirit upon the believer's inner life and outward witness. In so far as Christ's priesthood was central to the

foundational, 'Gospel' principles of Evangelical doctrine and devotion, it shaped their perception of the Church's sacraments. It ensured they were interpreted in a Protestant manner.

Christ's priesthood shaped Evangelical eucharistic theology in four crucial ways. Firstly, it was implicated in debate over the 'Real Presence', with Denison, Pusey and the Ritualists.[179] J.C. Ryle, in a lecture, 'Why were our Reformers burned?', of March 1867, advanced the view that Ritualism was rooted in the doctrine of the 'Real Presence', - by which he meant the Real Objective Presence of Christ under the forms of bread and wine. Of the consequences of this view, he wrote,

> "You spoil the blessed doctrine of Christ's finished work when He died on the cross. A sacrifice that needs to be repeated is not a perfect and complete thing. - You spoil the priestly office of Christ. If there are priests that can offer an acceptable sacrifice to God besides Him, the great High Priest is robbed of His glory. - You spoil the scriptural doctrine of the Christian ministry. You exalt sinful men into the position of mediators between God and man".[180]

As Heurtley's reply to the 'Address' by William Butler and other Anglo-Catholic clergy to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1867, made clear, the Evangelical position was that Christ's real presence at the eucharist was 'spiritual'. Such, he maintained, was the plain teaching of the Church's formularies.[181] Secondly, though, Ryle went so far as to portray vividly this 'spiritual presence' as including Christ's performance of a priestly ministry of feeding and blessing His people. Christ the priest was present at the eucharist. To the eye of faith He truly distributed the bread and wine. Grace was directly imparted by the great High Priest.[182] But, thirdly, a stronger tradition was that Christ was, as priest, bodily, locally and objectively present in heaven. The symbols thence designated His 'real absence' and heavenly ministration on His people's behalf.[183] Had Christ meant "This is My Body" literally, He would not share man's nature and now be a perfectly sympathising priest at the throne of heaven.[184] By His Spirit those who partake of His body and blood are given fresh supplies of grace, and strengthened in their union with the Church's head and members. The sacred elements are not, Heurtley characteristically stressed, "bare signs", but "effectual signs".[185]

Through them the believer is fed spiritually by the great High Priest. Fourthly, as noted before, the finality of Christ's priestly sacrifice was seen to cut right against the doctrine of a eucharistic sacrifice, and in turn to be dishonoured by it. Evangelical writers stressed it was for this the Reformers died. The eucharist was not a sacrifice, except of prayer, thanksgiving, alms and oblations. The words ἀναμνησις, ποιειν, διδοναι were not, as Heurtley noted, inherently 'sacrificial'. There was no altar, sacrifice, or priest of the Christian dispensation, save Christ.[186] The eucharistic sacrifice was 'a dangerous deceit and blasphemous fable' (Art.XXXI). Against the backcloth of his consistent adherence to the doctrine of Christ's priesthood, Ryle concluded:

> "... the Church of England holds that there is no sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, no oblation, no altar, no corporal presence of Christ in the bread and wine, and that the true intention of the Lord's Supper is just what the Catechism states, and neither less nor more. 'It was ordained for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefit, that we receive thereby'."[187]

In Evangelical eyes, Christ's priesthood negated a presumptuous sacramentalism. As informing the perception of true worship as "in spirit and truth", it may be said to have contributed to Evangelical reluctance to ascribe primacy to the Church's eucharistic worship per se.[188] Their sacramental worship reflected the christocentricity of their doctrine and devotion as a whole.

In miriad ways, then, Evangelical commitment to Christ's priesthood shaped their Protestant response to Ritualism. Only in a very limited way did they perceive their opponents' views as also shaped by a prior Anglican commitment to the doctrine. Clearly the doctrine was crucial for both parties. Their united commitment served to intensify debate between 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' wings in the Church. As we have seen, during this period Evangelical writing was sometimes polemical, sometimes perceptive, and sometimes blindly partisan. The fact that the debate frequently centred on Christ's priesthood is as significant as the fact that what was at stake, in Evangelical hearts and minds, was the historic character of the Church of England. Sometimes too hastily shocked into seeing their struggle as a new Reformation, the 'mood' of Evangelical

reactions militated against their success. What, then, of the defence of Christ's priesthood in the century's closing years?

II

Evangelical Defence of Christ's Sacerdotium: 1882-1900

1. Continuity and change in late-Victorian Anglican Evangelicalism.

Litigation and controversy failed. Ritualist martyrs strengthened the cause. Evangelicals were not unique in fearing for the future of the Church Establishment. In the closing years of the nineteenth century the Church seemed to many on the point of self-destruction. J.C. Ryle's anxieties for the future of the Reformed Church of England grew more intense. In his second Visitation Charge as Bishop of Liverpool, in 1884, he spoke of the continued existence of a body of Churchmen "determined... to Romanise the Church of England".[189] He feared that, unless checked, "it will ultimately be the cause of disruption and disestablishment".[190] In Light from Old Times, (1891) he wrote more impassionedly: "Time will show, in a few years, who is right. But if the Established Church of England tolerates and sanctions the Romish Mass and the Confessional among her clergy, it is my firm conviction that the people of this country will not long tolerate the Established Church of England".[191] Within broad parameters the outlook of the nation as a whole was still fundamentally Protestant. Writing in 1901, Handley Moule (1841-1920), Bishop of Durham, likewise spoke of "a crisis in the Church" with particular reference to the preceding three years.[192] He also remarked: "Many symptoms seem to show that the traditional English dread of priestly rule, and mislike of a merely scenic worship, are stronger today than some of us thought a few years ago".[193] The century's close witnessed a sustained attempt by Protestant churchmen to defend the Reformed character of the Church of England. As before, Christ's priesthood was central to their defence. Whereas before a mood of popular controversy permeated Evangelical writing, now it turned to scholarship; hoping to win from the study what they had lost in the courts. In this section our concern is to trace the scholarly defence of Christ's sacerdotium which Evangelicals undertook after

1882, culminating in the magisterial labours of Nathaniel Dimock, among the finest fruit of the Evangelical legacy of the century's closing crises.

In many respect Evangelical arguments against sacerdotalism, and their interpretation of Christ's priesthood within them, remained largely unchanged, though their sophistication increased. Evangelical enthusiasm for the doctrine likewise remained undinted by embroilment in controversy. For after 1882 Evangelicalism was much as it had been before. J.C. Ryle, whose active ministry spans the period covered by this chapter, believed them to be a minority in the Church in 1891.[194] "There is none so thoroughly misunderstood and misrepresented," he claimed.[195] They are castigated and driven from the Church, he claimed, now as ever on the grounds that they are:

> "...unlearned and ignorant men,- that they do not interpret the formularies honestly and naturally, - that they are more like Dissenters than Churchmen, - that they are narrow Calvinists, -that they despise the Sacraments and are Zwinglians (sic),- that they do not understand catholic views and corporate privileges, - that they are not, in a word, true Churchmen, and are out of their proper place!"[196]

It was this latter jibe which stung. Ryle retorted, - "If agreement with the English Reformers is to be the measure of true Churchmanship, there are no truer Churchmen than those who are called Evangelical!"[197] Appeal to Christ's priesthood was still as a cardinal article of Protestant religion, as a traditional feature of historic Anglicanism. Popular enthusiasm remained strong. A lay member of St. Aldate's, Oxford, in the 1890's pressed Canon Christopher, parochial head of Oxford Evangelicalism, for more teaching on it.[198] When William Odom, Vicar of Heely, Sheffield, contributed to a composite Evangelical volume, with essays from, among others Christopher, Moule, and Sinclair, entitled What is the Gospel? (1895) he, in a characteristic manner, wrote:

> "We have in Christ a great High Priest, who on the Cross made 'by His one oblation, once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world'. Now glorified 'a Priest upon his throne,' He ever liveth to make intercession for us. He is our Redeemer, our Advocate, our Master, and our Friend. He loves, guides, provides for, and blesses His own. He still calls to the sons of man, saying, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.'
>
> This is good news! This is the Gospel."[199]

This is a classic, Victorian, popular Evangelical interpretation, with the distinctive Anglican association with the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer. George Everard, expounding 'The Gospel is Christ in His manifold offices', urged: "Think of Him as the Great High Priest, the Advocate, the One Intercessor of His Church, who stands alone as the one Mediator between God and man, to whom alone every eye must turn, and in whose mediation every heart must rest".[200] Scholarly Evangelical defence of Christ's priesthood was borne upon continued popular adherence to the doctrine and to the Protestantism of the Church of England.

But it was also a time of change, of self-examination, of redefinition. The Church and its theology were in a state of flux. Lux Mundi and Ritualism appeared to Evangelicals to undermine its foundations. The latter in particular appeared to reach beyond the acceptable bounds of Anglican 'comprehensiveness'. The volume Church and Faith (1899), a broad-based Anglican response to the Ritualist crisis, spoke warmly of the benefits accrued to the Church from the Oxford Movement, stressing, "they have in no way destroyed, its Reformed Protestant character".[201] By contrast the cleavage between upholders of this position and "this retrogressive party" of Ritualism was believed to be "fundamental".[202] The role Christ's priesthood played in this later period can be anticipated from this portrayal of the persistent Ritualist challenge:

> "What the Reformation really banished from our Church, and the earnest and enthusiastic Neo-Catholic reactionaries seem to insist on bringing back again, is the unscriptural doctrine of a divinely ordered priestly authority over the conscience of believers, carrying with it the confessional, priestly absolution, and priestly direction, the surrender of weak souls to sacerdotal guidance, the suppression of personal freedom and direct responsibility to God, and an elaborate system of sensuous and symbolical worship".[203]

The volume further urged Bishops to ensure that colleges in their dioceses were fostering teaching and practice "in accordance with the spirit of the Prayer-Book", and their "atmosphere corresponds to the open air of our comprehensive Anglican Church".[204] Appeal was made to return to a more faithful interpretation of the New Testament, in the spirit of the Cambridge School,[205] and to relegate from prominence ecclesiastical overgrowths and traditions, believed to be product

of personal idiosyncracies from ignorant times. The crisis prompted Protestant Churchmen to appeal again to reexamination of fundamental principles. Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood during these years confirms that Protestant Churchmen continued to believe the doctrine a fundamental principle of historic Anglicanism.

To preserve the dogmatic and devotional foundation of the Reformed Church of England, Evangelicals appealed to the spirit and content of its historic formularies. English Church teaching on Faith, Life and Order (1897), by the Evangelical scholars R.B. Girdlestone, H.C.G. Moule and T.W. Drury, illustrates this appeal and the diversity of contexts in which Christ's office as priest continued to be enjoined. Girdlestone's essay, 'The Faith of the English Church', pointed to "the enormous doctrinal divergence between our Church and that of Rome", witnessed to by The Prayer Book and Articles.[206] "The Articles are not only controversial and protestant, but also positive and dogmatic",[207] he declared, in the spirit of a revived Evangelical dogmatism. "Next to the study of our Articles", he continued, "there is no better way of testing the doctrinal and practical teaching of the English Church than that which is presented by the historical study of our Book of Common Prayer".[208] A characteristic of this was, he held, that "Regarding the Lord Jesus as our living High Priest, we present our petitions to the Father through Him".[209] In Evangelical minds the truth of Christ's unique priestly mediation was embedded in the lex orandi of the historic Church of England. As corollary, Girdlestone observed,[210] "the exaltation of the Virgin Mary is tacitly ignored and practically protested against", and the idea of a eucharistic sacrifice and sacrificing priesthood are deliberately expunged.[211] Christ's priesthood is a doctrinal yardstick of Anglican Protestantism. Regarding confession and absolution, persistently offensive issues, Girdlestone stated: "The teaching of our Church is that Christ, our High Priest, is the true Absolver. The minister's business is to declare the grounds and conditions on which Christ's absolution may be appropriated".[212] He believed the compilers showed admirable balance.

Moule's essay, 'The Life of the English Church', commends the Prayer Book's fine reflection of the simplicity and spirituality of the worship of the New Covenant people. "Let ceremonial be impressive but simple", he declares.[213] Consciously echoing the teaching of the Catechism and Jewel's Apology, he presents the Holy Communion as sacrament not sacrifice.[214] Christ's priesthood is pivotal to his cautious defence:

> "... the whole reasoning of the Epistle to the Hebrews goes to show that both Sacrifice and also Offering, or presentation of Sacrifice for our salvation, are for ever over. We have a great High Priest, blessed be His Name! He is always doing the priestly work of mediation and benediction. But He has for ever done the priestly work of offering (see esp. Heb. ix:25). He is not now standing at an altar 'to offer'. He now sits enthroned, dispensing His priestly blessings. He has gone to the place typified by the Holiest Chamber within the veil. And in that chamber there was no altar, but only the Mercy-seat. And as He went in to that heavenly 'Holiest', He rent the veil. So now all His true Israel go in with Him. They leave the altar, which has done its work, behind them. They 'come boldly' to the true Mercy-seat, 'the throne of Grace' (Heb.iv:16; comp. ix:7-12; x:10-14, 18-22)."[215]

Moule rejects the foundation upon which Anglo-Catholics and Ritualists constructed their eucharistic theology, with its heavenly, priestly perspective, on the basis of scripture and what Evangelicals saw as the centrality of Christ's priesthood to a distinctive Protestant emphasis in the Church's historic formularies. Christ's heavenly priesthood continued to be pivotal for Anglo-Catholic versus Evangelical conflict. Both parties still assume the doctrine's importance for historic Anglicanism per se.

In many respects Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1882-1900 perpetuates that of the earlier period. It is distinguished in two respects. Firstly, by the scholarly character of Evangelical treatments of the theme, as noted. Secondly, by its concentration upon the nature of Christ's heavenly ministry as priest, from which defence of His unique sacerdotium emerged. The remainder of this chapter traces the development of Evangelical thinking on this theme from Litton's Introduction to Dogmatic Theology (1882), through a spate of Evangelical treatments of the nature of Christ's priestly sacrifice, in part occasioned by Westcott's Hebrews (1889), to Dimock's trilogy

The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium, The Sacerdotium of Christ, Our One Priest on High, published between 1898-1900.

2. Litton and Moule

J.I. Packer has rightly identified the weightiest contribution of late-Victorian Oxford Evangelical theologians to lie in the fields of dogmatic theology, historical theology and aspects of Church history. "One work towers above all the rest", he observes, "Edward Arthur Litton's Introduction to Dogmatic Theology".[216] Litton and Heurtley, both Bampton Lecturers, were sole survivors of the Tractarian controversy. Litton's work bears the marks of an astute controversialist. His opposition to Anglo-Catholicism remained undiminished. The work appeared in two parts: in 1882 and 1892. Litton wrote from within, and consciously in defence of, the dogmatic tradition of the Reformers. Its spirit is Augustinian and Calvinist, though professing dependence on the Lutheran scholars Gerhard, Quenstedt, Chemnitz and Hollaz. The work has been challenged sometimes more for its Evangelical stance than its scholarship.[217] Evangelicals reverenced it as representing the zenith of a revival in Evangelical dogmatic theology. It continued to exert a powerful influence on Evangelical thinking into the twentieth century. Henry Wace, probably the ablest late-Victorian Evangelical scholar, described it as "peculiarly valuable", because "it surveys more comprehensively than any English book on the subject the general course of theology in early, mediaeval, and modern times."[218] A.J. Tait, principal of Ridley Hall, felt its study invaluable preparation for the pastoral office.[219] W.H. Griffith Thomas's posthumous The Principles of Theology (1930) acknowledged he, too, was "deeply indebted to Litton's Introduction... which, for clearness of view, firmness of grasp, balance of statement, and forcefulness of presentation, remains unsurpassed among works of Anglican Dogmatics".[220] This later period opens with a major contribution to Evangelical Anglican theology and an important statement of its interpretation of Christ's priesthood.

Two things immediately strike one about Litton's treatment of the doctrine: its length - in his exposition of Christ's three-fold office the priesthood

takes the lion's share - and its direct association with Christ's mediatorial 'work' of restoring "the normal relations between man and God".[221] Evangelicals had often elevated the sacerdotal office, because of its soteriological significance. In the late-nineteenth century this continued in reaction to the progress of Anglican incarnationism but to the increasing neglect of its christological implications, which had also characterised earlier interpretation. In Litton, the Atonement is subsumed beneath discussion of Christ's priesthood. Sections are devoted to The 'theory of Anselm', 'Active and Passive Obedience', and to 'The extent of the Atonement'. He begins by arguing that, since in scripture Christ's sacrifice is almost exclusively compared to the sin-offering of the High Priest on the great Day of Atonement (Lev.xvi) and the High Priest, on that day only, both slew the victim and carried the blood within the veil to make atonement, so Christ's sacrifice, in His state of Humiliation, is also justly described as a 'sacerdotal' act. "His priesthood is", he wrote, "one and undivided, but partly fulfilled on earth, partly in heaven".[222] Furthermore, from the Levitical pattern, he notes that its two parts are usually identified as sacrifice and intercession.[223] His view, however, whilst admitting intercession to be "formally" part of the sacerdotal office is that, since "it consists in virtually presenting His finished atonement before God, in His glorified state", it is more appropriately connected with His regal office, (pace Schleiermacher!),[224] being "not a mere deprecation on behalf of His people, but an efficacious pleading of His finished and accepted sacrifice".[225] "The Saviour appears perpetually before God for us," he writes, "opposing the virtue of His sacrifice to the accusations of the law and Satan, and claiming the just recompense of what He suffered on our behalf".[226] Litton's treatment of the sacerdotal office is, therefore, essentially confined to Christ's earthly sacrificial atoning work. The rich Reformed tradition of Christ's 'sacrificial' heavenly ministry, to which Ellicott objected,[227] has faded from view. It is replaced by a more Lutheran distinction between the earthly sacrifice and heavenly intercession as two distinguishable parts to Christ's work. Again Litton may have been driven to this narrower interpretation by an unacceptable

eucharistic application of Christ's eternal heavenly ministry as priest by contemporary Anglo-Catholics.

Regarding Christ's earthly atoning sacrifice as priest, Litton (contra Jowett) places considerable stress upon the symbolic and, thence interpretative, prefiguration of the Mosaic ritual as expounded in Hebrews.[228] He begins by reviewing the High Priest's action, as representative of the people, on the Day of Atonement. His ministry culminated in 'sprinkling' the blood of one goat on the mercy-seat "covering, or removing from God's sight, the sins of the people", and sending out of another 'scape' goat alive into the wilderness (Lev.xvi:22), after the imposition of his hands, laden with the people's sins.[229] He deduces four features of Old Testament ritual: i) its power of expiation, contrasting to earlier sacrifices; ii) its divine origin and appointment, not man's fearful desire to propitiate an angry Deity; iii) its atonement through the victim's suffering and death, the life-blood being the means whereby sin was expiated; iv) its substitution of a spotless victim in the sinner's place, and its transference of guilt from one to the other, which betokened a vicariousness.[230] The whole action to remove the barrier of sin is, he maintains, performed by a High Priestly mediator, the people's representative encompassed with their infirmities, and bearing their names on his breast.[231]

Litton then turns to interpretation of Christ's atoning work. He sees features of the Old Testament system germinally embedded in the language of John x:15 (shepherd) and Mt.xx:28 (λύτρον) and particularly in the institution narrative (Mt.xxvi:28).[232] It is from the Epistles, and Hebrews especially, however, that Christ is, he states, presented as a 'sin-offering', or 'propitiation'.[233] Hebrews, "a formal treatise on the subject", teaches that "the type must disappear now that the Antitype has come".[234] Christ has come to put away sin once for all by the sacrifice of Himself (Heb.ix:26). He is a priest for ever after the order of "that mysterious personage" Melchizedek. He has entered within the Holy of Holies having obtained redemption for us (Heb.x:14). His perfect sacrifice cannot be repeated. In a Butlerian manner Litton, too, stresses

that "the work of Christ was the original plan in the Divine mind, and the Jewish ritual was framed as a preparation for it".[235]

On this basis, Litton believes the Anselmian line of interpretation 'scriptural', though, like any atonement theory, necessarily an inadequate explanation of a mystery. In an analogical manner Christ's sacrifice did, he maintains, make 'satisfaction' and 'change God's mind' towards sin and sinners.[236] But he rejects a false distinction between Christ's suffering and righteousness in relation to His Atonement, seeing the whole as "one great act by which sin was expiated". Furthermore, he interprets the extent of Christ's Atonement to mean that - "the death of Christ placed mankind as a whole in a new and favourable position as regards God, though by many this position may never be realised or made their own".[237]

In his interpretation of Christ's sacerdotal office Litton pursues, then, basically an Augustinian line, but claims a middle path between Calvinism and Arminianism on the issue of the 'extent of the atonement'. Packer's estimation of Litton's book is fair, calling it "a pioneer effort, and within its limits a masterly one, despite its compressed and rather colourless style".[238] His interpretation of Christ's priesthood, with its cautious biblical interpretation and reference to later atonement theories, reflects a more informed critical approach than earlier studies. Twentieth century Evangelicalism did not inherit from Litton, for all his other virtues, a broad, Reformed exposition, and application of the doctrine. Significantly and perhaps crucially, too, for the doctrine's later demise in Anglicanism, though ostensibly writing within the theological parameters of the Church's historic formularies, at no point does Litton's dogmatic survey relate Christ's priesthood to the Book of Common Prayer, thus sundering a connection which for centuries Reformed thinkers had stressed.[239]

H.C.G. Moule's Outlines of Christian Doctrine (1889) is a significant, though lesser, dogmatic work. Christ's priesthood is again subsumed beneath consideration of His work, and assumes a remarkable prominence there. Moule, an early principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, and later Bishop of Durham, was a scholarly populariser. His biblical training shaped his dogmatic thinking. We saw

earlier the importance he attached to Hebrews in the crisis at the century's close,[240] and find this reflected in the Outlines, where he calls Hebrews "the great treasury of covenant doctrine".[241] In contrast to Litton, Moule approaches Christ's priesthood after prior discussion of His intercession. Christ sits and intercedes (Rom.viii:34; Heb.i:3; iv:14-16; viii:1; x:11-13), he states. As to its manner we are ignorant, except that he acts "not as a suppliant, but with the majesty of the accepted and glorified Son once slain". "The essence of the matter is," he continued, "His union with His people, and His perpetual presence, in that union, with the Father, as the once slain Lamb".[242] The intercession is restricted to the Church. For Moule, the intercession is less that of a sympathising heavenly priest and more that of a conquering ascended king.

Christ's priesthood is, he declares, "a truth closely kindred" to His intercession.[243] In Hebrews we "see in Jesus Christ, the true God and true Man, and sanctified and glorified, the fulfilment of the types embodied in the royal and unsuccessive priesthood of Melchizedek, and in the atoning work of the Aaronic High Priest on the Atonement Day (Lev.xvi)."[244] Moule retains the doctrine's christological application, but his interpretation is also marked, as in Westcott, by the fusion in Christ of a Melchizedekian and Aaronic priesthood, and its 'regal' tone.[245] Describing Christ's entrance on His heavenly ministry - "bearing and offering the blood as evidence of sacrifice" - Moule writes:

> "The 'great High Priest', in the true sanctuary, mounts the throne (Heb.vii:1; x:11,12; Zech.vi:13). The true Aaron merges into the true Melchizedek. When 'the throne of grace' (iv:16) is approached, upon it the eternal Priest is found seated like the Shechinah above the ark, to dispense the blessings of His once offered and for ever perfect sacrifice, but also the offering, or presentation, of it is over for ever; while the royal, high priestly intercession and benediction, based upon it, are present and continuous."[246]

Moule thus rejects the suggestion that Heb.viii:3 and Rev.vi:9 portray Christ in a "Victim-State" in heaven, or perpetually offering Himself on "a heavenly altar".[247] He objects to the idea too, that to be a priest Christ must be always 'offering' and not just an 'offerer', though, he argues, Hebrews sanctions this in its teaching on Christ's intercession, and in so far as Christ is the offerer of "His unique and ever-efficacious sacrifice once offered".[248]

> "The Lord is a High Priest for ever", he briefly concludes, "a High Priest upon His throne; eternally characterised as an atoning Sacrificer and sacrificed, once for ever; now and always doing the high priestly work no longer of offering but of intercession related to it."[249]

In this way Moule explicated the nature of Christ's heavenly ministry. His approach reflects the progressive decay of 'the cult of the sympathising heavenly priest' in late-Victorian Evangelical doctrine and devotion.[250] In part reaction against the popular prevalence of an immanentist christology, Evangelical presentation of Christ as priest bears in increasingly marked tendency to present Him in His heavenly ministry as the transcendent, cosmic, priest and king.

2. Perowne, Saumarez Smith, Wace and Soames

In contrast to the dogmatic studies of Litton and Moule, a number of Evangelical monographs elucidate debated aspects of Christ's heavenly priestly ministry. The most popular of these was T.T. Perowne's 'unanswered and unanswerable' little treatise Our High Priest in Heaven (1885). Frequently and respectfully cited in later works, Perowne sought to disprove a heavenly "offering" by Christ from the scriptures. Painstakingly and, to the converted, persuasively, he examines, the ritual teaching of the Old Testament typical institution and expounds its antitypical fulfilment in Christ's heavenly ministry. He adds excursi containing detailed exegesis of various crux interpreta. The whole is accomplished in a condensed and sometimes stilted style. For thoroughness it is excelled only by Dimock.

Perowne begins by basic defence of Christ's being a priest, whose purpose is to intercede for His Church.[251] Against denial of His office or His heavenly intercession as sacerdotal, Perowne adduces Ps.cx,Zech.vi:12,13 and Hebrews vii:25 and viii:1, to establish the fact that Christ is, according to scripture, a priest-king, eternally interceding for His Church.[252] Turning to the crucial question of the nature of that heavenly intercession, or work, Chapter III establishes that it is understood by arguing from the earthly 'shadows' of the Old Testament ritual system to the heavenly eternal 'verities' or 'substance', since, as Hebrews states, the law is "a shadow of good things to come".[253]

The body of Perowne's treatise then expounds the meaning and significance of three cardinal features of the typical institution. Firstly, there was no altar for sacrifice within the veil, only an altar of incense.[254] This, he wrote, "silently testified to the Jewish worshipper that only through sacrifice, death undergone, life forfeited, blood shed, could access to God be obtained and acceptable worship rendered".[255] If the type and anti-type correspond there is no altar in heaven. If earthly priests claim to represent Christ's heavenly ministration, they do not serve at earthly altars, there being none in heaven.[256] Rather, Christians do have an altar, as Hebrews xiii:10 teaches, the altar of sin-offering, 'without', to which Calvary is often likened. But Perowne prefers to see the sin-offering for atonement outside the gate, the burnt-offering of self-surrender to God, and the peace-offering for fellowship gathered up in Christ's own Body, in the one Great sacrifice on the cross.[257] So Perowne maintains firstly: "The inspired commentary on the type (viz. Hebrews) emphatically confirms its teaching, that without an altar our High Priest ministers in heaven".[258]

Secondly, Perowne maintains there was no 'victim', or 'victim-state', within the veil.[259] This would have traversed the idea of sacrifice for sin as the means and not the end of worship, access, and communion. If the type and antitype correspond, those who, as in the Ritualist Declaration to the Archbishop of Canterbury, claim to 'offer' Christ on earth, falsely depend on a supposed 'victim-state', or representation of Christ's offering, in heaven.[260] He denies Hebrews viii:3 and Rev.v:6 legitimate a heavenly "offering", and, as Hebrews as a whole unanimously condemns the notion of Christ's suffering often in self-offering, so the vision of Revelation betokens the eternal efficacy of His sacrifice or, in context, His work rather as a 'prophet'.[261]

Thirdly, Perowne argues that the blood shed, or life forfeited by sin, was proof of the penalty paid and, in the smearing on the mercy-seat, of sin 'covered'.[262] From the type, Perowne established - i) the obvious problem of Christ, like the High Priest, entering within the veil with His blood separated from His body, which those who see the action antitypically fulfilled in the two-fold offering of His Body "broken" and Blood "shed" of the eucharist supposedly

hold;[263] and ii) that the two-fold typical offering of blood on one day (Lev.vi-xvii) "was to show, not that it was the single type of a continuous action, but that it was the continued type of a single action".[264] Once-for-all Christ's blood must have been offered in the most Holy place: the type denies a continuous offering. It is the once-for-all offering of His atoning blood which, for Perowne, constitutes the sum of Christ's heavenly offering. Perowne, therefore, rejects that view of Christ's intercession "which regards it as consisting in the continual representation of His most holy Body and Blood as a Priest before God".[265] His Aaronic priesthood is fulfilled: He ever intercedes as the great priest-king after the order of Melchizedek.

In this three-fold exegetical defence of a traditional Protestant interpretation of the uniqueness of Christ's earthly sacrifice and dependent efficacious intercession, Perowne established a popular response to Anglo-Catholic eucharistic theology. But Perowne suffered the fate of much contemporary Evangelical scholarship - it inspired supporters but was ignored by opponents.

Westcott's commentary on Hebrews, admired by many Evangelicals, aroused a number of critical responses. His interpretation of Christ's 'blood', as the offering of life which has passed through death, provoked J. Bennett's Crux Christi being a consideration of some aspects of the Doctrine of the Atonement with especial reference to the recent suggestions of Bishop Westcott (1890). Like many conservative Churchmen Bennett was defensive towards anything which appeared to challenge or sanction denials of the perfection of Christ's once-for-all sacrifice on the cross and the complete atoning efficacy of His shed blood.[266] William Saumarez Smith, Principal of St. Aidan's College, and from 1890 Bishop of Sydney, Australia, similarly published a theological essay The Blood of the New Covenant (1889) in reply to Westcott, having previously published Poena Vicaria or; to what extent was Christ's Death a Suffering for Sin? (1876). Smith's later work characteristically begins: "The Death of Jesus Christ may well be regarded as the central fact of Human History, and as a central Mystery of the Christian Religion".[267] That death is a priestly sacrifice, not merely ethical self-

surrender.[268] From Heb.ix:11-28, he makes clear that that death signifies the shedding of blood with which the New Covenant is sealed:[269] it has, he maintains, "peculiar preciousness and efficacy".[270] Evangelical devotion to the associated symbols of 'blood' and 'death' in relation to Christ's priestly sacrifice, ensured that, in the midst of an ethical incarnationism, the priestly soteriology of Hebrews was straightforwardly adhered to.[271]

Smith's essay 'The One Oblation of Christ', in the Evangelical compendium The Church and her Doctrine (1891), also began: "The Atonement effected by the death of Jesus Christ is the central point in the profound mystery of the Incarnation, and is itself a mystery within a mystery".[272] Aided by the Anglican eucharistic prayer, Smith rejected any notion of a sacrifice, or repeated offering of Christ, in the Holy Communion.[273] The Christian's altar is Christ's cross, he wrote: "... as we contemplate it by faith, we see our great High Priest bringing the appointed victim, offering the propitiatory sacrifice, removing the guilt of sin from the congregation of God, and purifying unto Himself by the blood of the New Covenant a pardoned people, zealous of good works".[274] Christ's priestly 'oblation' is His once offered sacrifice (or προσφόρα) by which "He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified". This is a consummated act.[275] It is the sin-offering whereby the penalty for sin is paid.[276] He rejects the ideas of Milligan and Westcott that the death was an "initial step... going forward everlastingly".[277] He calls the interpretation of Christ's blood "as pointing to mystic life rather than to actual death," a "strained view of New Testament passages", which "needlessly confounds the two distinct thoughts of an offering that has been once for all offered, and of the abiding fruit of the oblation once made".[278] Smith's conservative penal substitutionary view of the Atonement led him to conclude: "The oblation has been effected; and our great High Priest ever liveth to make intercession for us".[279] For all its subsequent popularity, Westcott's interpretation of Christ's priestly sacrifice fell on deaf ears among Evangelicals caught up in a Lutheran counter-reaction to an Anglo-Catholic soteriology shaped by a particular view of the eucharist.

One Evangelical scholar who did much to foster this Lutheranising tradition and to raise the level of Evangelical scholarship in general was Henry Wace, principal of King's College, London (1883-96), and Dean of Canterbury (1903-1924). Wace joint-edited both versions of the Dictionary of Christian Biography, the second series of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, and Luther's Primary Works, - "the pioneer English version of Luther's catechisms and the three reforming treatises of 1520."[280] Wace was an "exact theologian", a widely informed Church historian rooted in the scriptures, and deeply committd to fresh articulation of the first principles of the Reformation.[281] His The Sacrifice of Christ published in 1898 and reprinted as late as 1945, sheds light both on our understanding of his view of Christ's priesthood and on his unrealised potential, deduced from this and a number of other short works, to write a major Protestant dogmatic theology.

Wace's treatise on Christ's sacrifice is unashamedly Evangelical in outlook, and yet, in his concern to counter distorted popular caricatures of Evangelical soteriology, he undertakes his task with circumspection and exactitude. The issue he tackles is how Christ's sacrifice, and its atoning efficacy, arose naturally from the circumstances of His life and ministry, and from His relation to the Jews.[282] There is much difficulty surrounding Christ's sacrifice, he observed, because of the impression often given that His Atonement involved some arbitrary, artificial arrangement, "amounting almost to a legal fiction", contrasting with His otherwise supremely moral and spiritual life.[283] Christ's sacrifice is, he maintains, a deliberate act of self-sacrificing restraint, or surrender, and thence no immoral arbitrary act.[284] Throughout it exhibits divine justice and love; vindicating the moral law in its manifestation of the terrifying consequences of defying God's holy justice,[285] and encompassing in its voluntariness the suffering of God Himself and the sovereign efficacy of His redeeming power.[286] Indicating he does not believe the Atonement to be just a ransom paid or debt discharged, he writes: "He took a human nature into the most intimate and essential union with Himself, and chose to suffer in it, in order to exhibit to men the consequences of

their own evil, to provide an adequate satisfaction to His own righteousness, and to win their hearts by such an exhibition of long-suffering and love".[287]

From Hebrews vii:25, Wace also stressed that Christ, as a priestly advocate or intercessor, is still interposing for sinners. "The virtue of the Atonement thus consists, not merely in the greatness of the sacrifice once offered," he claims, "but in its continual and living application, by the Saviour's own intercession, before His Father's throne".[288] Despite his Lutheran background, Wace emphasises the heavenly ministry of Christ, the living saviour and priest, writing in a crucial passage:

> "The virtue of His sacrifice is potent in proportion to the personal character of the God and Father to whom it is offered, and before whom it is constantly presented by Him, as our High Priest. There is nothing past, and nothing formal,in the operation of that sacrifice. It is a living Saviour, Whose sufferings are still remembered by Himself and by His Father, Who pleads for us as our Advocate, because He is the propitiation for our sins".[289]

Christ's sacrifice is, he observes, "one continuous action in which He, His Father, and ourselves are incessantly concerned".[290] It sums up the whole Jewish system because the High Priest who offers it is perfect.[291] It is "not a passing offering... but by virtue of an eternal will" is of eternal efficacy.[292] In a telling phrase, Christ is presented as the Head of a Humanity - "bleeding on the altar of history".[293] So, Wace's approach guards against the accusation of immorality, of being historically timebound in the action of the cross, of being excessively individualistic. It is a significantly fresh approach to the question of Christ's heavenly priestly ministry, representing the upturn in Evangelical scholarship which accompanied the contemporary 'crisis' in the Church.

This 'up-turn' is also represented in W.H.K. Soame's The Priesthood of the New Covenant (1898). Soames was Vicar of St. George's, Greenwich, and his work is avowedly defensive of Reformed Anglicanism. "The leaven which has produced all this departure from Reformation truth and fidelity is," he claims, "Sacerdotalism, the old Romish error that the Christian ministry is a sacrificing priesthood, with functions similar to those possessed by the Jewish priests of old".[294] His conservative refutation of a 'sacerdotal' ministry in the Church of

England, maintains that sacerdotalists rest their claim on "a question of things and not of words".[295] They argue from the sacraments to priesthood, and fail to take New Testament evidence against priesthood in the Church seriously.[296] Priesthood rightly speaking is, he urges, contained in one Melchizedekian figure fulfilling all criteria for it in Himself.[297] This figure is Christ. In His priesthood, He is "not doing, and never has done, any such thing as to 'offer' or 'present' the 'memorial' of His suffering before God, because no memorial was ever 'offered' or 'presented' in the sanctuary of God".[298] Christ has offered the one sacrifice for sins.[299] The sacrament of the Holy Communion is not offered on an altar nor are deceptive theories of a human, "representative" priesthood anything but derogatory from Christ's one only High Priesthood.

4. Dimock

Unquestionably the greatest Evangelical contribution to apologetic defence of Christ's sacerdotium and to exposition of His heavenly ministry as priest, was made by the octogenarian patristic, liturgical, and Reformation, Anglican scholar, Nathaniel Dimock (1825 - 1909). The D.N.B. carries most of what is known of Dimock's clerical life, lived in the virtual obscurity of parishes in Kent and Surrey. Dimock himself tells us that while at Oxford he attended Pusey's first sermon after his suspension and the condemnation of Ward's Ideal. His life awaits its biographer.[300] Dimock is "a minutely accurate scholar",[301] lacking an attractive literary style, but having "an unrivalled knowledge of liturgiology" among scholars of any party in his own day.[302] Elliott-Binns somewhat harshly dismisses Dimock, with other scholars in the party to which he tenaciously belonged, as being "men of learning rather than discoverers":[303] a judgement to be balanced by that of W.H. Griffith Thomas - "Mr. Dimock's books are among the greatest treasures a clergyman can possess".[304] His works can still be profitably studied, especially if the many footnote-references are followed. J.I. Packer surprisingly only mentions Dimock's "magisterial" work on "the atonements, sacraments, and Church of Rome",[305] when Dimock's most distinctive and memorable contribution lay in the sustained study he directed to

the office of Christ as priest. The dogmatic trilogy The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium (1899), Our One Priest on High (1899), and The Sacerdotium of Christ (1900), were all republished in Handley Moule's 'Memorial Edition' (1910), testimony to their contemporary evaluation and to Dimock's esteem, particularly through the Round Table eucharistic conference of 1901. His trilogy forms a fitting climax to this chapter and prelude to the Conclusion.

Dimock was an Evangelical Anglican of the old-school Calvinist type. He was devoted to the Bible, liturgy, and formularies of the historic Church of England. This outlook directly shaped his approach to Christ's priesthood. He approached it believing in a verbally inspired, Pauline Epistle to the Hebrews, whose theology he saw articulated in the eucharistic liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer, and praising men like Cranmer, Ridley, Hooker, Jackson, Owen, Butler and, more recently, Litton, Perowne, Saumarez Smith, Wace and Soames. Of Hebrews he wrote:

> "We are not only to recognize fully its important position in the Canon of the New Testament Scriptures: we should not fail to estimate its high relation (value in) to the whole volume of inspiration, and to the history of God's dealings with the human race, and to the unfolding of the revelation of his wondrous loving-kindness for the lost. In its teaching concerning sacerdotium, we not only have an idea put before us which may be said to be a uniting centre, binding together into one the doctrines of Divine grace... but, further, we have here shown us how ideas, roughly misshapen in the religions of the heathen, and strangely disfigured by men's carnal thoughts, have been shaped, re-formed, and educated by a preparatory dispensation in the chosen school of God's favour and Divine instruction (educated) by earthly shadows that they might be prepared to fasten on heavenly realities..."[306]

Christ's priesthood, as implicitly acknowledged before, is here explicitly declared to be a unitive doctrine principal. Hebrews' view of the sacerdotium of Christ, according to Dimock, "may be said to concentrate the teaching of the whole Divine Evangel in the fullness of its Divine blessing".[307] Dimock's writing on Christ's priesthood expresses his conviction that the doctrine reflects, if not endorses the fundamental interrelatedness of doctrines. His exposition explicitly relates Christ's priesthood to christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, and sacramental theology. From the New Testament, he argues that Christ's sacerdotium gathers, unifies, develops ideas earlier contained in the elementary

teachings of the Apostles. He does not hesitate to follow a Reformed, biblical tradition which confidently constructed a dogmatic theology on Hebrews and Christ's priesthood.

Dimock is an enthusiast for the doctrine. Like Ryle, he quotes Owen's view, that Satan hates and hopes to overturn the doctrine of Christ's priesthood.[308] It was the lynch-pin of his opposition to sacerdotalism, and, in Dimock's case, to Apostolicae Curae, too. Christ is, he held, the one and only priest, in the true sense of the word, in the Christian Church: all true ideas of priesthood are derived from Him.[309] His trilogy argues that the true sacerdotium pertains to Christ alone. The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium, quotes Bp. Hamilton's Charge (1867): "Dr. Pusey never spoke a truer word than when he expressed his strong conviction that the battle of the faith in England had to be fought on the field of the sacerdotium".[310] In reply Dimock articulates a basal conviction of his Anglicanism:

> "... to know that we have a Divine High Priest sitting on the right hand of God – υἱὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον - is to know that we have that which makes all other sacerdotium (in the strict sense of the word) not superfluous merely, but an anti-Christian impertinence".[311]

He repeatedly cites Cranmer's declaration - "This is the honour and glory of this our High Priest, wherein He admitteth neither partner nor successor" - confident that his stance on the absolute uniqueness of Christ's priesthood, viz-à-viz human ministry in the Church, expresses the theology of the historic Church of England.[312] Claiming against the Church of Rome, that the Church of England upholds the true sacerdotium of Christ alone, he writes:

> "...I am here to vindicate this claim especially on the ground that she has distinctly rejected the claim, and deliberately refused the doctrine of a sacerdotium of men upon earth, which blasphemously dishonours the sacerdotium of our One High Priest in the heavens...The Church of England knows no sacerdotium save that of the Incarnate Son of God. To seek to bring in another sacrificing priesthood, which we have not, would be to dishonour the perfection of that which we have".[313]

Quoting Cranmer again, he maintains: "It is an abominable blasphemy to give that office or dignity to a priest, which pertaineth only to Christ".[314] Against this

background we can consider now the different ways Dimock defends Christ's sacerdotium, and interprets His heavenly priestly ministry.

The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium has a two-fold emphasis: on the one hand, it gladly acknowledges Leo's condemnation of Anglican orders as possessing the sacerdotium, since such, Dimock maintains, the Ordinal had never claimed, and, on the other hand, in a scholarly manner, it attacks what Dimock adjudges "ambiguities" in the Archbishop's reply to Apostolicae Curae.[315]

Dimock denies that, at root, either 'cohen', ἱερεύς or 'sacerdos' necessarily convey the idea of a sacrificing priesthood, though admits sacerdotium has come to mean this (and thus he employs it).[316] Rather, they betoken "drawing near" to God.[317] Applied to a sacrificing priesthood they are not inseparable: a perfect priesthood can mean one which has offered a perfect sacrifice, as much as one which is or will do so.[318] This perfection Dimock sees represented in Christ the 'great High Priest' alone. The Church of England has a true sacerdotium, Dimock argues, because it supremely upholds and proclaims Christ's.[319] It does this, first, by holding to the Epistle to the Hebrews' general teaching on the 'one' and 'once' of Christ's priestly sacrifice on the cross, and by adhering to its particular teaching, in xiii:20, regarding remission of sin through the shedding of Christ's blood - an act unrepeatable and incomparable in efficacy.[320] Dimock consistently stresses that repetition signifies imperfection and dishonouring.[321] Secondly, Dimock illuminates the clear origins of this Anglican tradition in the early history of the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer. He sees a clear intention of removing any possibility of a sacrificial offering apart from praise, prayer, alms and oblations, both in the dislocation of the oblation in 1552,[322] and in removal from the eucharistic liturgy of, "here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make",[323] and insertion of "Who, by the one oblation of Himself once offered, made a full, perfect, and sufficient, sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction of the sins of the whole world".[324] The doctrines of the Real Presence and Mass-sacrifice were rejected as dishonouring the glory of Christ's finished work.[325] The τετέλεσται indicates its completion and perfection.[326]

"'It is finished'," he writes: "Surely this is the most sublime and momentous word that has ever been spoken since the foundation of the world. It tells of the one Grand Divine opus operatum".[327] Thirdly, against those maintaining a sacrificing priesthood, either as 'substitute' for, or 'representative' of, Christ's heavenly priestly ministry, Dimock rejects - on the basis of the Bible, liturgy, and consistent teaching of English writers - any claim to a sacerdotium in the Church other than Christ's. He admits some writers may through careless language have accidentally given a contrary, "erroneous impression",[328] but, he argues, "... there is no point which our English reformers more strongly insisted on than the rejection of the Romish sacerdotium".[329] Furthermore, indicating the impact of Christ's priesthood and His heavenly ministry on his response to Apostolicae Curae, Dimock wrote:

> "The grand reality in heaven leaves no room for feeble representatives upon earth. How, then, saith Pope Leo, we have no sacerdotium? Nay; but we have a great High Priest over the house of God - such a High Priest became us— ... indeed, who is set down on the throne of the Majesty in the heavens - not, indeed, sacrificing now, for priests never sit to sacrifice - not sacrificing now, for to offer sacrifice and make atonement for sins... is the ἀρχή , the starting-point of the Divine sacerdotium above".[330]

All believers are "ambassadors" for Christ in His Church; as priests they represent Him and 'draw near' to Him.[331]

Our One Priest on High, published shortly after, is an elaborated statement of Dimock's views on the nature of Christ's heavenly priestly ministry. It examines Heb.,viii:3 and ix:7: two verses Dimock believes misinterpreted by those teaching a "sacrificing office of Christ in heaven".[332] He sets out to show i) that the perpetual priesthood of Christ does not necessarily imply the perpetual offering of His sacrifice in heaven and "is not warranted by Scripture as fairly interpreted"; ii) that the true view of Christ's sacerdotal function in heaven is too exalted to allow the idea of His ministering as at an altar; iii) that this excludes all conception of "offering" or "sacrificing" for sins in heaven.[333] He approaches the subject stressing the Reformation principle that obscure passages must be interpreted in the light of the whole, as Christ's death must be in the light of the total biblical revelation of God's plan of salvation.[334]

Dimock's interpretation of Hebrews viii:3 hinges on the tense of the verb to be supplied and the context of the verse. He adopts a remarkably conciliatory position: viz. that the verse does not necessitate denial of a propitiatory offering in heaven;[335] that it does not force acceptance of a doctrine, contrary to the general tenor of the Epistle, and Oracles of God in general, which failed to distinguish between the necessity and non-necessity of further offering attaching to the Levitical priesthood and to Christ respectively;[336] but also, that viii:3 must be taken in the light of the whole passage vii:26-viii:3; and, that though ὁ προσενέγκῃ might be adapted to a "once for all" oblation by the Saviour before His ascension, "it can by no means be so easily adapted to any theory of a perpetual, continuous, or repeated offering" ... "of this it can hardly be said to be tolerant".[337] He concludes, therefore, "that the text is 'a bruised reed of Egypt' and "certainly fatal to the theory of a continuous offering of sacrifice in the heavens".[338]

With regard to Hebrews ix:7, Dimock sets out to refute those who, whilst denying a continual sacrifice in heaven, nevertheless, on the basis of type, teach an 'offering' of Christ's atoning sacrifice once, on His entry into heaven, as the paying of the price of atonement acquired on the cross, as he High Priest previously made an 'offering' of the blood of the sin-offering in the Holy of Holies.[339]

Dimock argues, first, that, on this special occasion, we seem required to regard the 'mercy-seat' as taking the place of the 'altar', despite both a lack of typical correspondence between the High Priest's act of "sprinkling the blood" within the veil, and Christ's act on the earthly cross, and, that from the three-fold offering of the typical High Priest,[340] His act in the Holy of Holies was not a sacrificial προσφορά , but only the application of propitiation.[341]

Secondly, Dimock argues for a wider meaning of the word 'offer' as signifying simply 'bringing in', or 'near', and thus in a non-sacrificial sense 'offering'.[342] This concurs with i) the use of προσφερειν in the LXX as only once applied to blood;[343] ii) with Old Testament silence respecting the High Priest being called to offer 'blood', being merely required to approach God on the

basis of the sacrifice offered "with the efficacy of the sacrifice of the sin-offering";[344] and iii) with Hebrews' teaching on the High Priest going into the Holy Place "in the blood" (ix:25) of the sin-offering, that is, in virtue of it.[345]

Thirdly, Dimock admits a sacrificial 'offering' but fixes its timing as prior to, and not consequent upon the entrance into the holy place.[346] This is, he believes, attractively confirmed by the present continuous tense of προσφέρει so that now the High Priest does not "offer for himself" but the blood offered must be of an "offered animal",[347] so that 'sacrifice' and 'offering' are more intimately associated than sometimes thought in relation to the 'altar' of sin-offering.[348]

This rejection of a sacrificial offering in the Holy of Holies and, thus, in heaven is, Dimock maintains, endorsed by the general and particular teaching of Hebrews, which places great stress on the 'application', or sprinkling of the blood on sinners' consciences as distinct from, though dependent on, Christ's propitiatory offering on the cross.[349] Had the continuous sacrifice of Christ in heaven to be believed, Dimock claims, it would be more prominently taught in scripture.[350] As it is, His shed blood is the basis of our bold admission to the presence of God, our sins 'covered' by that redeeming blood.[351] Again, His sacrifice completed, the eternal Christ now ever 'appears' before the face of God for us as a ministering priest,[352] interceding on our behalf, 'offering incense' - the highest priestly act - bearing the people's burden on His shoulders.[353] Thus, Dimock contends, on detailed exegetical grounds, against those who maintained a continuous sacrificial offering of Christ as priest in heaven, applied, as it so often was, to a particular view of the eucharistic sacrifice.

Dimock's The Sacerdotium of Christ: in relation to the Blood of the New Covenant appeared first in the form of articles in The Churchman (1898-99). Dimock's stance is similar to his earlier works, but bears a number of distinctive features. The work is Dimock's longest exposition of the antitypical relation between the priesthood, or sacerdotium, of the Mosaic and earlier dispensation, and its fulfilment in Christ. The Butlerian principle is again applied: "The New Testament is not so much to be interpreted by Old Testament shadows, as those

shadows are to receive interpretation and explanation from the revelation of the Divine originals".[354] His work is again applied to the sacerdotalist controversy. Dimock describes sacerdotalism as a characteristic Church corruption since Cyprian's time, a misapplication of the determinative value of the typical system of Old Testament priesthood, and a product of neglect and misinterpretation of Christ's perfect sacerdotium.[355] Hebrews' doctrine is seen as not only "gathering, unifying, developing" the general witness of the New Testament, but also militating against the notion of Christ's heavenly sacrificial offering or sacerdotium.[356] To Dimock the doctrine of Christ's sacerdotium in general illuminates His present function and position in heaven. It sustains all the other Articles of the Christian faith as - "an aspect which might well be more strongly emphasised in our Christian teaching, and... certainly more fully realised in our Christian living".[357] The Sacerdotium of Christ is then, a sustained scriptural, liturgical, and historical treatise on Christ's past and present work as priest, in the light of the Old Testament.

The Sacerdotium of Christ illuminates the person and work of Christ as priest, and their application to the Church's ministry and worship, in a number of respects. Firstly, having delineated, in Chapter II ('The Typical Shadow in relation to the great reality'), the imperfection of the earthly typical representation of priesthood as 'genealogical' and 'transferable',[358] and the promise in Melchizedek of its transference "to One, and only One - the one who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens",[359] Dimock presents the basis of true sacerdotium in the "Sonship" of the Great High Priest.[360] A true view of the Incarnation, as affording essential qualities for priesthood, is, he stresses, essential for a true view of Christ's sacerdotal office, but in Christ the link between His Divine Sonship and priesthood is (however strange it may sound) consummated in His entry into heaven, though His priesthood, and capacity to come 'near' to God, is inherent in His eternal relation to the Father.[361] Christ's true priesthood began when the old order ended: namely, on the cross.[362] Dimock's work reflects the older Calvinistic emphasis on the christological implications of Christ's office as priest.

Secondly, correlative to this understanding of the true beginning of Christ's priesthood, Dimock develops the view, noted earlier, that His sacrifice on the cross, in contradistinction to the imperfect typical priesthood, was the ἀρχή, upon which perfect sacrifice His subsequent ministry depended, rather than the τελος of His true sacerdotium.[363] His perfect oblation effects the τελείωσις which the old dispensation, in its repetition and passing expiation, failed to achieve.[364] His is εἰς το διηνεκές, its perpetuity based on a past act - ἐφάπαξ .[365] The 'rending of the veil' signifies the sacrificial work perfect and completed; it is the grand opus operatum; the way is now open for all believers to come to God; the old priesthood has given place to the new.[366]

On this basis, thirdly, Dimock jealously guards the complete finality of the earthly sacrifice of Christ by: i) rejecting the neo-Socianism of Moberly's "new theology" of sacrifice as the life which has passed through death, as dangerously vitiating the finality and efficacy of the cross;[367] ii) stressing that Christ entered heaven having obtained eternal redemption for sins in the covenant sealed with His blood;[368] and iii) affirming that, in the identification of the πάθος and προσφορά, the continuous efficacy of Christ's once-for-all sacrifice, and the heavenly session of Christ, - lies refutation of those who want a heavenly sacrificial offering.[369]

Fourthly, against this background, Dimock interprets Christian ministry as rooted in the ἀρχή of Christ's priesthood and as expressed in an ambassadorial ministry of "reconciliation".[370] Here is no sacrificing priesthood but the more glorious "sent" ministry of declaring the finality of Christ's atoning sacrifice and, in a qualified sense, exercising the power of the keys in proclamation of God's forgiveness.[371] Together with the whole people of God, this ministry offers a lower order of sacrifices to God, which are in the eucharist a remembrance before God of Christ's finished work, as sacrificium 'passive pro sacrificato'.[372] Dimock urges a high view of the Christian ministry, concluding: "It is a much higher function to be the ministers of a reconciliation really made by the Son of God on the cross than to be ministers for the purpose of making a typical reconciliation, or propitiation for sin in a shadow".[373] In these ways,

then, Dimock exalts the unique earthly sacerdotium of Christ in this last work of the trilogy.

Dimock's work as a whole forms a fitting climax to Evangelical interpretation of Christ's priesthood. It is a sustained scholarly defence of Christ's sacerdotium. It reflects a remarkable awareness of the history of patristic, Roman Catholic, and Evangelical Anglican interpretation of Christ priesthood, and, in the last work, in particular, acute sensitivity to the cruciality of Christ's priesthood to the crisis of the late-nineteenth century Church of England. It testifies both to the degree to which Evangelical interpretation was motivated by a defensive concern for the historic biblical and liturgical traditions of the Church of England, and to the extent to which they would go to uphold a cardinal feature of their Evangelical Anglican doctrine and devotion. They were, as Dimock believed, "followers of the great High Priest".[374] However, the breadth of Dimock's Reformed exposition contrasts with the shrinking of much Evangelical interpretation, and loss of the strong christological and 'continuous' significance of Christ's High Priesthood characteristic of the early period. This change is as significant for early twentieth century Anglicanism as the incursions made into the doctrine by the subsequent advance of Anglican biblical criticism. Our picture is appropriately concluded by the Oxford Conference 'Priesthood and Sacrifice' of 1900, and to this we finally turn.

CONCLUSION

On December 13th and 14th, 1899, a Conference of Anglican and Non-conformist scholars was held in Christ Church, Oxford, under the chairmanship of William Sanday.[1] It was an attempt to grapple with the pressing issues of the day - the meaning and significance of 'Priesthood and Sacrifice' in the Christian Church. A Report of the Conference was published in 1900, edited by Sanday. It is explicitly an experimental attempt to record discussion among leading scholars from different wings of the Church in Britain on a heated issue,[2] and self-confessedly less than successful in its fragmentariness and condensement of thought.[3] However, it is not this, but the lack of historico-theological contextualisation, which has caused widespread neglect of a Conference which symbolizes the centrality Christ's priesthood had come to occupy in Anglican theological reflection at the end of the Victorian era. The Conference has been unjustly overshadowed by the Round-Table Fulham Palace Conference on the wide ranging subjects of Ritual and Eucharistic Worship.[4] The Oxford Conference forms a fitting terminus ad quem for the present study, mirroring for us the progress of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood from 1827, and stimulating reflection on contemporary Anglican exposition of this office.

The Oxford Conference illustrates, firstly, the prominence Christ's priesthood increasingly came to assume in Anglican religion between 1827 and 1900. A cardinal article of the historic lex orandi prior to 1827, the doctrine nevertheless recovered its historic prominence in a predominantly Reformed popular devotion circa 1827, in the progress of Victorian Tractarianism and Anglo-Catholicism, in the advance of Anglican incarnationism, and in the crises of sacerdotalism and nascent biblical criticism. In these ways the image of Christ's priesthood was thrown to the fore in Anglican reflection. Hence, the issue of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice is foundational both for the questions circulated prior to the Conference and to the discussions which ensued. The participants were asked to consider, for example:

> "3. What was the Teaching of our Lord Himself (a) as to the priestly idea; (b) as to His own Priesthood and Sacrifice; (c) as to any perpetuation and transmission of these in His Church?....4. What is the Apostolic teaching (a) as to the Sacrifice of Christ; (b) as to His Priesthood; (c) as to the Priesthood of His people; (d) as to the relation of this Priesthood, if there be any, to His, and to His Sacrifice?"[5]

It is from these basic questions, together with reflection on the nature of Old Testament and New Testament sacrifice and priesthood per se, that the Conference proceeded to consider the fact, nature, and function of the priesthood of the whole Christian Body and of its delegated ministers. By 1900 there was little doubt in many Anglican minds that the issue of Christ's priesthood was primary in discussion of ecclesiology, as a question foundational for not only the character and function of the Church's ministers, but also for their authority.

Secondly, therefore, the Oxford Conference mirrors the unity in enthusiasm for the image of Christ as priest, which we have recognised as a noteworthy feature of Victorian Anglicanism. Henry Scott Holland commented on this in the Conference's third discussion:

> "We have all agreed that the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ are absolutely unique and alone effectual. There is no other sacrifice; there is no other priesthood. The only question is - how do they reach and touch this or that soul across the centuries? What is their mode of arrival? Canon Bernard says, they arrive at each soul individually, by the direct and hidden action of God upon the soul. We say, they arrive at each soul through its membership in the body, the society, the Church, is the scene of the action,-is the organ of contact. The body mediates the sacrificial life. The contact with the eternal offering of Christ is a social act. It happens to the soul through its place in the fellowship."[6]

Here is that unity in enthusiasm but diversity in interpretation which we have also identified as characteristic of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priestly office between 1827-1900. It is the enthusiasm which had fired Evangelical defensiveness towards His untransferable priesthood and unrepeatable sacrifice. It was the enthusiasm which distinguished, among other things, Tractarians who remained Anglicans from those who seceded to Rome. It was the enthusiasm which inspired the Evangelical 'cult of the sympathising heavenly priest', and curbed the Roman Catholic ecclesiology, and devotion, of many extreme

Ritualists, to a neo-Scotist view of priesthood, and cautious response to Marian devotion.

But the third characteristic of the history of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900, which the Report illuminates, is the changing biblical, critical, philosophical, and hermeneutical context of that interpretation. The Report illustrates the new range of questions being asked of the doctrine of Christ as priest by the end of the period, in contrast to circa 1827. Discussion of 'priesthood' and 'sacrifice' is assisted now, for example, by the historico-critical insights of S.R. Driver on the meaning of Kōhēn, in the light of the Arabic Kāhîn,[7] on his understanding of Old Testament sacrifices, and on his conclusion, that: "The definition of sacrifice is difficult. I doubt if the Hebrews had any term exactly co-extensive with our sacrifice."[8] The system of scriptural typology has waned. The Bible has to many become a book for historico-critical study. It is significant that Evangelical contributors to the Conference, notably J.C. Ryle, Canon Bernard, and the non-conformists Drs. Fairbairn and Davison, are much more inclined to begin discussion of priesthood and sacrifice in the Christian Church through the Old Testament, than even the participating contributors to Lux Mundi (viz. Gore, R.C. Moberly, and Scott Holland) who immediately adduce discussion of Christ's priesthood, to which, in a Butlerian manner, they ascribe the power of interpreting the true meaning of sacrifice and priesthood. As Moberly, for example, observed: "It is only possible to reach real definitions retrospectively: i.e. as the revelation of Christ lights up the earlier inadequate efforts and meanings."[9] Likewise, though, fresh philosophical questions have been asked on the nature of morality in Christian soteriology, and 'sacrifice' acquires broader exemplarist, moral connotations of self-devotion and self-offering. The contributors show a uniform sensitivity towards bald associations of sacrifice with punishment and bargaining, and priesthood with ceremonial and appeasement. In place of the Platonic language of types, antitypes, and ideals, has come that of 'inward' and 'outward', 'internal' and 'external', as a philosophical immanentism has disrupted confident discourse on

heavenly things. Interestingly, though, William Sanday indicates another source of fresh questions of Christ's priesthood, related particularly to its impact on ecclesiology, writing in the Preface to the Report: "There is involved nothing less than one of the most searching questions of modern philosophy - the question as to what constitutes the individual, what constitutes personality."[10] In these varied ways the Report illuminates the fresh questioning of Christ's priesthood at the end of the Victorian era, and proleptically anticipates some of the questioning which has led to greater hesitancy in many circles in articulating Christ's priestly office.

Fourthly, the Report illustrates the progressive shrinking, and growing hesitancy, in some Evangelical exposition of Christ's priesthood in the late-Victorian era. From the broad, confident ascription of Christ's priestly office to christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, and personal or corporate devotion characteristic of the early period J.C. Ryle's contribution to the Oxford Conference is remarkably, if not uncharacteristically, circumspect. As he stated in the second discussion of Christ's sacrifice and priesthood:

> "I think it is essential that our attention should be called to the absence from our Lord's teaching of anything definitely related to His priesthood... True, our Lord ... called Himself a ransoming victim. But this was only metaphorical language that would naturally be employed in addressing Jewish hearers...". "The priesthood and sacrifice of Christ 'in the heavenlies,' in the presence of the Father, seem to me matters quite beyond the range of our conception."[11]

Metaphor! - How would Charles Simeon have reacted? "Beyond the range of our conception!" - Where is the Reformed theme of Christ's 'heavenly sacrifice'? The late-Victorian decay in Anglican Calvinism is evident in this shrinking, if not hardening, in Evangelical Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood. As we have seen earlier, Evangelical Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood is neither straightforward nor static. To be fair, had Nathaniel Dimock been able to attend the Oxford Conference, Evangelical contributions would have been doubtless more sophisticated and significant.

What is evident in Ryle is a reflection of the loss of initiative, in Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood, from Reformed Anglicanism to Anglo-Catholicism. In the contributions of Gore, Moberly, Scott Holland, F.W. Puller,

and to a lesser extent Sanday and Cosmo Lang, is a dynamic, creative articulation of the image of Christ as priest. Sanday records Dr. Salmond's surprise at the "unqualified recognition on the other side of the absolute completeness and uniqueness of Christ's work and our entire dependence upon it".[12] So, for example, when expounding priesthood, Gore exploys Hebrews v:1 and states "In Christ, priest and sacrifice coalesce. The perfect Man, consecrated by God, offers Himself, on behalf of His brethren, to the Father, in order to reconcile the world to the Father".[13] In Moberly's christocentric ecclesiology, the priesthood of Christ is the priesthood of His Body, the Church, and ministers discharge its priestly functions as representative organs of that Body and are inwardly conformed to the pattern and spirit of Christ's priestly sacrifice and service.[14] In Puller, Christ's heavenly priesthood is, as in much Anglo-Catholic eucharistic thought, the foundation of the Church's earthly representation of His heavenly self-offering.[15] In Scott Holland, His priestly sacrifice denotes both an outward ceremonial, and inward spiritual, self-offering.[16] The Report of the Oxford Conference reflects the winning of the initiative in interpretation of Christ's priesthood by the 'Catholic' wing of the Anglican Church, and the culmination of a progressive Victorian recovery of that tradition from Keble's Christian Year in 1827. A movement has come of age. Sanday is right to identify "the most striking feature" of the Report as - "the propounding of a definite, coherent, comprehensive view, embracing the whole subject of the Conference by the three contributors to Lux Mundi."[17] Central to their exposition was Christ's priesthood. This was an important characteristic of Anglican religion in the early twentieth century, and its prominence in Anglo-Catholic writing contrasts strongly with its comparative neglect by Evangelicals.

The Report illuminates important features of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900, which are part of the thesis' contribution to Victorian studies. As an exercise in Anglican historical theology, however, the thesis can be said to have tackled two issues related specifically to Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900; that of the potency and

prevalence of Christ's priesthood per se, and that of Anglican unity in enthusiasm and diversity in interpretation of the image of Christ as priest. Both issues suggest something for contemporary Anglican theological reflection. But if we ask - Why was Christ's priesthood such a prevalent potent motif in Anglican religion during our period?: a number of answers might be given. We might point to scriptural conservatism, or the appropriateness of the doctrine to historico-theological issues raised during the period, such as sacerdotalism, or incarnationism. Neither of these adequately account for the persistent recurrence of the image in a host of different theological contexts. The potency and prevalence of Christ's priesthood is to be accounted for by a related complex of factors. Certainly the Bible, and Victorian attitudes towards it nurtured enthusiastic veneration of Christ's priesthood, but in Chapter VI we saw how Christ's priesthood appeared to have a power of its own, in Anglican consciousness, to stimulate veneration of Hebrews. Again, the Church's liturgical traditions and lex orandi nurtured devotion to Christ as priest, which exerted a conservative, critical influence upon the progress of Anglican religion in the Victorian era. The Church's lex orandi has been seen to interact creatively with Anglican scripturalism and the Church's lex credendi, so that neither are independently adequate accounts of the potency and prevalence of Christ's priesthood. Clearly, though, the doctrine's place in the Church's lex orandi is of decisive importance in shaping and inspiring articulation and defence of Christ's priesthood. But even this power of popular devotion depended in part on the historical spirit of the age, which turned and returned to the sources of Anglican faith, and drew deep upon the roots of a tradition of Anglican veneration for Christ's priesthood, bringing the image again to the fore. The Bible, the Church's lex orandi, an historical awareness, all these do not account fully for the character of late-Victorian Anglican interpretation, when to conservatism is adjoined theological creativity in the minds and writing of a Maurice, and a Westcott, a Gore, and a Scott Holland. Yet why did they creatively articulate and defensively propagate adherence to Christ's priesthood? - because it was a

characteristic feature of their inherited Anglican faith. A composite four-fold account of the origins of Anglican interest in and interpretation of Christ's priesthood is alone adequate to account for the potency and prevalence of Christ's priesthood in Anglican doctrine and devotion between 1827-1900.

But is not this four-fold identification of the Bible, the Church's lex orandi, an historical perspective, and an enquiring theological mind, none other than the effect of a quiet, persistent unconscious application of the traditional Anglican 'three-fold methodological knot' of 'scripture, tradition, and reason', writ large? So it appears to be. The doctrine of Christ's priesthood came to the fore in Anglican religion between 1827-1900, because during these fruitful years, when every aspect of Anglican faith, contemporary and historical, was being drawn upon in theological controversy and construction, the doctrine was a prominent feature of every source relied upon - biblical, patristic, liturgical sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth century - and these varied sources found an unexpected focus in the image of Christ as priest. Viewed from the side of the doctrine, however, it was inevitable, in the historico-doctrinal and devotional context of the Victorian Church that a faithful and full Anglican exposition of Christ's priesthood would draw on evidence from the Bible, the Church's worshipping life, the Church's historic interpretations, and creatively reformulate these in a nineteenth century context. The potency and prevalence of Christ's priesthood between 1827-1900 is to be accounted for as product of a remarkable harmony between the forces which created Victorian Anglicanism per se, and those sources upon which, methodologically, Anglican expositions of Christ's priesthood were ultimately founded. It is in unconscious application of this distinctive methodology, in a new age, that Christ's priesthood will again be recovered as a fruitful and distinctive article of Anglican theology, as to its interpretation, are brought the full range of 'biblical', 'liturgical', 'historical', and 'theological' insights, from the worshipping, serving life of the Anglican church.

Secondly, though, as we have seen, nineteenth century Anglican exposition of Christ's priesthood affords an illuminating commentary upon Anglican

comprehension, in its witness to unity in enthusiasm and variety in interpretation of Christ's priesthood. We have argued that the image of Christ as priest in Anglican religion between 1827-1900 was potent in its malleability and prevalent in its attractiveness to Protestant, Catholic, and Latitudinarian traditions in the historic Church of England. We have accounted for this unity in enthusiasm as expressing a devotional adherence to the 'image' of Christ as priest, as communicating certain basic presuppositions of Anglican doctrine, which could not be compromised: most notably, His unique mediation of the Church's prayer to the Father, and of His heavenly life to His Church. Here was an Anglican doctrinal image, repeatedly articulated in the Church's liturgical "through Jesus Christ our Lord", and 1662 Anaphora. The focus of doctrinal unity may have been slender, but in the debates between Pusey and Newman, for example, we have seen its significance. Nineteenth century evidence suggests that, just as the loose application of Anglican theological methodology may undergird neglected features of Anglican theology, so a theology of 'images', appropriately pursued in a Church which embraces a policy of theological comprehension, both permits an inclusive acceptance of interpretative variety and presents clear doctrinal parameters of that Church's faith. Surely, there are other powerful and popular Christian images unitedly espoused in Anglican religion, drawn from the Bible, the Church's worshipping life, and historic traditions, which can be presented as inclusive and exclusive doctrinal images of Anglican theology? In this way the best features of Anglican comprehensiveness may be retained and a tendency to doctrinal anarchy avoided.

One of the most useful contributions historical study of Anglican interpretation of Christ's priesthood may make to contemporary systematic theology, lies in its sheer exposition of the potential fruitfulness of a widely neglected doctrinal image. Contemporary Roman Catholicism leads the way, at present, in exploration of this doctrine. As we have argued, hitherto, there are direct and indirect reasons for further Anglican reflection on this crucial article

of its historic lex orandi, as contributing, through certain leading figures who seceded to Rome, an important element (it appears) to the development of modern Roman Catholic interpretation, and as testifying to a distinctive late-Victorian Anglican proclivity for a sacerdotal, as against prophetic, or regal, christology. However, if historical theology is here to fulfil its positive function as stimulating reflection on neglected aspects of the Christian faith in succeeding epochs, then Anglican interpretation suggests not only the power of the doctrinal image of Christ as priest, through its relation to a variety of doctrinal issues, but also, thereby, its power as an agent of interrelating doctrines. As we have seen in the nineteenth century, contributors from all parties in the Church, sometimes spurning dogmatism, nevertheless consciously or unconsciously admitted, through varied use of Christ's priesthood, that doctrinal reflection is credible not only as consistent with the worshipping experience of the Church, but as retaining a measure of internal integrity or cohesion. Our study is also a commentary, then, on the corporate nature of Anglican doctrines between 1827-1900. For, as we have seen, Christ's priesthood effected an important internal system of checks and counterbalances on individuals' doctrine and devotion, as their christology informed their soteriology, or ecclesiology their sacramental and liturgical theology. Here was the unofficial dogmatic power of the Church's lex orandi.

In an age when the nature of priesthood, of the Church, of Christ, and the role of the Christian as a social and spiritual being are again under particular scrutiny, it is, perhaps, necessary and appropriate that solutions for these questions be sought for both in the pew and in the study, in prayer and in doctrine, in studied reflection on individual doctrinal questions and careful sensitivity to the historic, conservative witness to the interrelatedness of Christian doctrine, believing in the living Christ, the eternal priest, to bring us in Himself to the Father, and to empower us by His Spirit to continue His work of priestly mediation of Divine grace and life to the world.