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 0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,  
 1760-1857  
 Peter Benedict Nockles  
 Excerpt  
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## *Historiographical introduction*

### HISTORICAL AND FAMILY CONTEXT

This study will involve a historical re-evaluation of the Oxford Movement from the 1830s to 1850s in the context of a rich and varied 'High Church' tradition within the Church of England. As an episode in the cultural, intellectual and ecclesiastical history of the nineteenth century, the Oxford Movement has never lacked historians. However, much of the historiography of the Movement until recently has been shaped by either Anglo-Catholic partisans or Protestant detractors.

Apart from the contemporaneous accounts by A. P. Perceval and William Palmer of Worcester College,<sup>1</sup> the first accounts of Tractarian Oxford were given not by its heirs but by critics or renegades such as J. A. Froude and Mark Pattison.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Mozley's *Reminiscences* (1882) was the work of a sympathetic one-time disciple but it was whimsical and eccentric as well as indiscreet enough to be regarded as a degradation by the surviving leaders of the

<sup>1</sup> A. P. Perceval, *A Collection of Papers Connected with the Theological Movement of 1833* (London, 1842); W. Palmer [of Worcester], *A Narrative of Events Connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times; with Reflections on Existing Tendencies to Romanism, and on the Present Duties and Prospects of the Church* (Oxford, 1843).

William John Copeland (1804–85), scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, Fellow from 1832 to 1849, and curate of Farnham, Essex, 1849–85, collected materials over many years for what would have been a highly sympathetic insider's history of the Oxford Movement. Although always retaining connections with the old High Church party, Copeland became a close ally of the Anglican Newman and remained a lifelong friend, editing Newman's eight-volume *Parochial and Plain Sermons* (1868). Partly owing to ill-health, Copeland's history of the Oxford Movement remained uncompleted and was never published. The manuscript of Copeland's sketch account, dated 1881 and edited by his nephew W. C. Borlase, remains in the archives of Pusey House Library, Oxford. A scholarly edition would enhance Oxford Movement studies enormously. For Copeland, see *DNB*; H. Broxap, *The Later Nonjurors* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 393–5.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Froude, 'The Oxford Counter-Reformation', *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 4 vols. (new edn London, 1893), vol. iv, pp. 231–360; M. Pattison, *Memoirs* (London, 1885).

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Movement.<sup>3</sup> Yet though notably hostile sketches of John Henry Newman's leadership of the Movement by his brother Francis and by Edwin Abbott and Walter Walsh<sup>4</sup> followed in the 1890s, much of the subsequent historiography bordered on Anglo-Catholic hagiography.

The primary focus of Tractarian historiography has been on the Movement's leaders: Newman, Froude, Keble and Pusey. This historiography presupposed that the 'Tractarians' represented the dominant group within Anglicanism after the rise of the Movement from 1833 onwards. Although historical attention has also been given to the Evangelicals and 'Broad Churchmen',<sup>5</sup> 'the old High Church party', as distinct from the Tractarians, has been comparatively neglected. There has been no serious historical evaluation of a distinctively High Church response to the Oxford Movement, partly because traditional High Churchmanship and Tractarianism have often been treated as synonymous. These lines of continuity between Georgian and Victorian High Churchmanship will be fully explored. The often-overlooked discontinuities will also be given attention.

To a great, if often unconscious extent our historical understanding of the Oxford Movement has been coloured by the personal drama of the peculiar religious odyssey of Newman as so movingly unfolded in his masterpiece of spiritual autobiography, the *Apologia pro vita sua*. Yet, as Newman himself admitted, he had a much better memory for what he called 'anxieties and deliverances' than outer facts and circumstances.<sup>6</sup> Thus, while it is certainly a dramatic account of spiritual heroism and imbued with moral truths, Newman's *Apologia* is not accurate or balanced history. On the contrary, it is best regarded as an example of that 'rhetoricisation of history' of which Newman's Protestant critics have complained.

<sup>3</sup> O. Chadwick, 'The Oxford Movement and Its Reminiscencers', *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian Essays* (Cambridge, 1990), ch. 7.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. Newman, *Contributions Chiefly to the Early History of the Late Cardinal Newman* (London, 1891); E. A. Abbott, *The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman*, 2 vols. (London, 1892); W. Walsh, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1897).

<sup>5</sup> Examples of notable recent studies of Anglican Evangelicalism in the period include: P. Toon, *Evangelical Theology, 1833-1856: a Response to Tractarianism* (London, 1979); D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London, 1989); K. Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England, 1734-1984* (London, 1988).

The most notable recent study of Broad Churchmanship is: I. Ellis, *Seven against Christ: a Study of 'Essays and Reviews'* (Leiden, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> W. E. Houghton, *The Art of Newman's 'Apologia'* (London, 1945), p. 22.

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Nevertheless, with a few notable recent exceptions, most historians have tended to accept uncritically Newman's personal interpretation of events. Of course, there are dangers in interpreting Newman's religious writings in terms of devious strategies or as a mere 'rhetorical device'.<sup>7</sup> Yet while Newman should be judged on his own religious terms, and loaded terminology avoided, the Anglican Newman was not above party tactics and special pleading. A degree of reappraisal of his role as leader of the Oxford Movement is called for. Such a reappraisal cannot detract from his overall religious greatness. He himself could be candid about his own limitations as Tractarian leader. He never pretended that the *Apologia* was intended to be the objective account which some later partisan writers assumed. He told his friend William Copeland that the *Apologia* was not 'a history of the movement but of me – it is an egotistical matter from beginning to end'.<sup>8</sup>

A serious misconception implicit in Tractarian historiography is the assumption that the followers of the Oxford Movement alone were the true heirs of the High Church tradition in the Church of England, and that it was only because the episcopal and academic authorities in opposing the Movement repudiated that tradition, that the secessions to the Roman Catholic Church ensued.

Tractarian historiography has been characterised by selectivity. For the Tractarians found the history of the Church of England to be something of a Noah's Ark, full of beasts clean and unclean. They tended to associate the High Church tradition almost exclusively with a portion of the seventeenth century and in their doctrine of Justification were forced to limit their appeal to a mere thirty-year period following the Restoration in 1660.<sup>9</sup> Thereafter, the Tractarians maintained, there was a 'tunnel period' in the history of the tradition from about 1689 until the apparent dawn of the Oxford Movement in 1833. Hurrell Froude dated the rise and fall of what he called the Church of England's 'genus of Apostolical divines' from the beginning of the reign of King James I till the Revolution of 1688–9 and the separation of the first

<sup>7</sup> See review of Stephen Thomas's *Newman and Heresy: the Anglican Years* (Cambridge, 1992) by E. Griffiths, 'Doing Service in the Church', *TLS*, No. 4639 (28 February 1992), 12.

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Newman to W. J. Copeland, 19 April 1864, in C. S. Dessain and E. Kelly, eds., *Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol. XXI (London, 1971), p. 97.

<sup>9</sup> A. McGrath, 'The Emergence of the Anglican Tradition on Justification, 1600–1700', *Churchman*, 98 (1984), 40.

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Nonjurors.<sup>10</sup> Froude's notorious repudiation of the English Reformers obviously removed them as potential Apostolical witnesses, though others pushed an Anglo-Catholic line back as far as the Elizabethan divine, Bishop Cheney.<sup>11</sup>

Tractarian historiography assumed that the Revolution of 1688–9 marked the collapse of what Newman called 'the experiment' of operating the High Church theory in the Church of England. With the decline of the Nonjurors, the theory was all but deemed to have 'sunk once and for all'.<sup>12</sup> By 1841, Newman's never-very-generous estimate of the eighteenth-century Church of England had so far hardened that he could complain of 'the last miserable century which has given us to start from a much lower level and with much less to spare than a churchman in the 17th century'.<sup>13</sup> Pusey took a similarly severe view of the negative impact of the Revolution, likening it to 'some dreadful taint taken into one's system, poisoning all our strength, and working decay and all but death'.<sup>14</sup> Henry Manning likewise shared the Tractarian assumption of a century and a half of decay following a Caroline 'golden age'; a decay which only the Oxford Movement helped to reverse.<sup>15</sup> It was because the eighteenth century was deemed such a sterile period that, apart from the Nonjurors and a few figures within the establishment such as Daniel Waterland, Jones of Nayland and George Horne, the laboriously constructed Tractarian *catenae patrum* overwhelmingly relied on a narrow span of the seventeenth century. As the, by then, liberal critic of the Movement, Mark Pattison complained of the Tractarian polemicist in 1860, 'in constructing his "Catenae Patrum" he closes his list with Waterland and Brett, and leaps at once to 1833'.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> [J. H. Newman and J. Keble, eds.] *Remains of the Late Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College Oxford*, 4 vols. (vols. I–II, London, 1838; vols. III–IV, Derby, 1839), vol. II, p. 381. See also Froude's comment (vol. I, p. 327): 'It seems to me that Saravia and Bancroft [late Elizabethan divines] are the revivers of orthodoxy in England.' Many modern historians likewise date the true beginning of Anglicanism to Richard Hooker and the first five books of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594–7). Peter Lake even claims that Hooker 'invented' Anglicanism. P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Non-conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988), pp. 227, 230.

<sup>11</sup> *Puseyism; or the New Apostolicals* (London, 1838), pp. 4–5, 142–4.

<sup>12</sup> [J. H. Newman], 'Home Thoughts from Abroad', *British Magazine*, 9 (March, 1836), 247.

<sup>13</sup> PH, Ollard Papers, J. H. Newman to R. W. Church, 25 December 1841 (copy).

<sup>14</sup> PH, Pusey Papers, LBV [Transcripts], E. B. Pusey to H. E. Manning, 9 August 1844.

<sup>15</sup> WSCRO, Wilberforce Papers, Ms 98 No. 66, H. E. Manning to S. Wilberforce, 24 April 1849.

<sup>16</sup> M. Pattison, 'Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750', *Essays and Reviews* (London, 1860), p. 255.

Daniel Waterland (1683–1740), Archdeacon of Middlesex, was a leading theologian

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Why were the Tractarians so selective in their historiography? Why were they so dismissive of the eighteenth-century Church of England and its High Church tradition? J. A. Froude felt that it was partly because they underestimated the strength which existing institutions and customs possess as long as they are left undisturbed.<sup>17</sup> It can also be maintained, however, that the Tractarians deliberately exaggerated the supposed evils of the Hanoverian church in order to add lustre to their own religious endeavours. Moreover, Tractarian historiography was shaped by the extent to which the Movement's leaders identified with the later Nonjurors. The latter had castigated the post-1689 Church of England for compromises and creeping secularity, and the Tractarians readily imbibed this critique.<sup>18</sup>

Another factor suggested by J. Wickham Legg was an ubiquitous feature of nineteenth-century Whig historiography with which in all other circumstances the Tractarians had no sympathy. Wickham Legg argued that 'there was a leaning on the part of the writers of the nineteenth century and of the Victorian epoch to plume themselves on the supposed excellency of their own age, as an age of "progress", "enlightenment", etc. The lustre of the age in which they wrote would be heightened by darkening the age which went immediately before.'<sup>19</sup> When usually applied by Whig theorists to support the inevitability of the 'progress' of principles of civil and constitutional liberty or material advancement, the Tractarians disdainfully repudiated such apparent historical determinism. However, as a rationale for the 'progress' of 'catholic' opinions and moral and spiritual values, such an historicism was at least in tune with Tractarian assumptions.

The assumption of a moral and spiritual superiority of the present over the immediately preceding age was no less a feature of Evangelical writings. The difference was that for the Tractarians both ages were decadent in comparison with the age of Christian antiquity. The Tractarians also put a different gloss from that of the

within the moderate High Church tradition in the earlier Hanoverian era. *DNB*; T. Holtby, *Daniel Waterland, 1683-1740: a Study in Eighteenth-Century Orthodoxy* (Carlisle, 1966). See ch. 2, n. 54.

<sup>17</sup> Froude, 'Oxford Counter-Reformation', pp. 245-6.

<sup>18</sup> On the link between the Tractarians and Nonjurors, see chapters 1 and 2, and Broxap, *Later Nonjurors*, ch. 9.

<sup>19</sup> J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (London, 1914), p. viii.

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Evangelicals on their denigration of the previous century. For Evangelicals, the eighteenth century was to be faulted for not sufficiently 'preaching the Gospel'; for Tractarians, for losing sight of 'catholic' principle and practice.

The Tractarians were fascinated by and made much use of history. Yet theirs was an essentially romantic reading of church history. For all Newman's debt to Gibbon for style, it was the writings of Walter Scott which fired his historical imagination. The imaginative influence of the Evangelical, Joseph Milner, on Newman's patristic historiography was also crucial. Ultimately, the discernment of *ethos*<sup>20</sup> mattered more than the probing of evidence in the modern, technical sense.

The myth of the collapse of High Churchmanship in the eighteenth-century Church of England gained ground in later Tractarian polemic. According to William Bennett, 'a deep ignorance of catholicity' developed among both clergy and laity. Bennett insisted that it was only the Oxford Movement that restored the heritage of the Caroline Divines which had been previously lost.<sup>21</sup> However, it was in R. W. Church's *Oxford Movement: Twelve Years* (1891) and H. P. Liddon's four-volume biography of Pusey (1893-4) that the Tractarian historiography became enshrined in its most appealing as well as most comprehensive form. These works, while outstanding monuments of historical biography and scholarship, had limitations. The close relations that Dean Church and Liddon had with Newman and Pusey respectively, ensured that they wrote as partisans. Both magnified the Tractarians at the expense of the older tradition.<sup>22</sup> They looked back on the 1830s and 1840s in a spirit of hagiographic devotion, in which their respective heroes were cast as innocent victims of intolerance and misunderstanding on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities. Facts which did not fit the picture were subtly downplayed or omitted. Liddon chose not to dwell on or explain the extent of Pusey's early theological liberalism, while

<sup>20</sup> 'What Froude and others discovered continually was *ethos*, the predominant moral habit or proclivity.' T. Mozley, *Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, 2 vols. (London, 1882), vol. 1, pp. 211-12.

<sup>21</sup> W. J. E. Bennett, 'Some Results of the Tractarian Movement of 1833', in O. Shipley, ed., *The Church and the World: Essays and Questions of the Day in 1867* (London, 1867), pp. 3-6; R. I. Wilberforce, *The Evangelical and Tractarian Movements: a Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of the East Riding* (London, 1851), p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> For example, see R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years, 1833-1845* (London, 1891), pp. 8-9; H. P. Liddon, *The Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 4 vols. (London, 1893-4), vol. 1, pp. 256-60.

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Church did not highlight the many provocations which Newman presented to the episcopal and academic authorities in the early 1840s. Subtle and appealing as Church's pleading of Newman's case was, he was much less candid than in his masterly dissection of Hurrell Froude's character.

In less able and eloquent hands the essentially one-sided perspective of Church and Liddon was restated in cruder form by subsequent generations of Anglo-Catholic writers. Of these, the works of S. L. Ollard and especially F. L. Cross are the most impressive.<sup>23</sup> The period around the centenary of the Oxford Movement in 1933 witnessed a burgeoning of Anglo-Catholic historiography, some of it of inferior quality.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, Yngve Brilioth's *Anglican Revival* (1925), injected an original note into Tractarian studies, with much fresh and perceptive insight. Yet in all these works, Brilioth's included, the old High Church party remained a background or foil for the fuller treatment accorded to the Oxford Movement.<sup>25</sup>

The magisterial scholarship of Norman Sykes corrected the grosser charges against the Augustan Church of England made by Victorian historiography. Sykes, however, chose to highlight the more latitudinarian characteristics of the Anglicanism of the age somewhat to the neglect of its residual High Church features.<sup>26</sup> More recent scholarship has been less inclined to regard such figures as Hoadly and Richard Watson, on whom Sykes focused, as representative figures of that age.

Two recent studies by John Spurr and Paul Avis have shed much light on links between the seventeenth-century divines and the Tractarians. Some of the historiographical conclusions of John Spurr's challenging study of Restoration Anglicanism support the present author's contention that the Tractarians distorted the Caro-

<sup>23</sup> S. L. Ollard, *The Anglo-Catholic Revival* (London, 1925); F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Movement and the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1933).

<sup>24</sup> Examples include: H. L. Stewart, *A Century of Anglo-Catholicism* (London, 1929); C. B. Moss, *The Orthodox Revival. 1833-1933* (London, 1933); D. Morse-Boycott, *The Secret Story of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1933); T. H. Whitton, *The Necessity of Catholic Reunion* (London, 1933); N. P. Williams and C. Harris, eds., *Northern Catholicism: Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements* (London, 1933).

<sup>25</sup> Y. Brilioth, *The Anglican Revival. Studies in the Oxford Movement* (London, 1925), ch. 2; F. W. Cornish, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1910), pp. 62-76; G. Wakeling, *The Oxford Church Movement. Sketches and Recollections* (London, 1895); J. R. H. Moorman, 'Forerunners of the Oxford Movement', *Theology*, 25 (June, 1933), 6-11.

<sup>26</sup> N. Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century* (Cambridge, 1924).

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line heritage of the Church of England.<sup>27</sup> Spurr rightly insists that Anglicanism would be subject to what he calls 'recreations' and be defined in different ways; it was never the monolithic theological system which the Tractarian 'recreation', with its careful selectivity, sought to make out. Nevertheless, we shall point to the continued vitality of a religious tradition which not only survived 1689 but flourished in the Georgian era, being less dependent on political or historical circumstances than is sometimes assumed.

Along with Stephen Sykes and others, Paul Avis recently has explored the historical roots of the identity of Anglicanism in its various manifestations.<sup>28</sup> Avis's conclusions support some of those advanced in this study.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, albeit for reasons which he explains, he passes straight from Waterland to the Tractarians. Other historians, however, have demonstrated that Hanoverian Anglicanism represented more than an ideal of comprehensiveness, and that 'latitude' and 'moderation' were not its only defining characteristics.

Historians of Georgian Anglicanism are particularly indebted to J. C. D. Clark's ground-breaking, revisionist study, *English Society*. Clark has clothed the political debate of the period in a theological context which for too long had been denied it. His penetrating, if sometimes provocative, elucidation of the long neglected tradition of what he aptly describes as 'orthodox political theology' in eighteenth-century Anglicanism,<sup>30</sup> forms a point of reference in our own study. Nonetheless, a feature of Clark's revisionism – a reassertion of the centrality of Anglicanism in eighteenth-century English religious history – had already been reasserted by the American

<sup>27</sup> J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (London, 1991), especially ch. 8.

<sup>28</sup> P. Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church: Theological Resources in Historical Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1989), especially pp. 1-18; P. Avis, 'What Is Anglicanism?', in S. Sykes and J. Booty, eds., *The Study of Anglicanism* (London, 1988), especially pp. 413-16. See also, P. E. More and F. L. Cross, eds., *Anglicanism: the Thought and Practice of the Church of England, Illustrated from the Popular Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (Milwaukee, 1935); H. R. McAdoo, *The Spirit of Anglicanism* (London, 1965); S. Sykes, *The Integrity of Anglicanism* (London, 1978). For a penetrating Roman Catholic appraisal of the self-contradictions of historic Anglicanism in the context of the current crisis of Anglican identity, see A. Nicholls, *The Panther and the Hind: A Theological History of Anglicanism* (Edinburgh, 1993), especially pp. xiv-xx.

<sup>29</sup> P. Avis, 'The Tractarian Challenge to Consensus and the Identity of Anglicanism', *King's Theological Review*, 9.1 (1986), 14-17.

<sup>30</sup> J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, 1985), especially pp. 216-34. See also J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty: Political discourse and social dynamics in the Anglo-American world* (Cambridge, 1994).



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literary historian Donald Greene in a series of articles in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>31</sup>

Other current scholars such as Stephen Taylor, Paul Monod, Robert Hole, John Gascoigne, James Bradley and James Sack have all recently extended our understanding of eighteenth-century Anglican religion and politics.<sup>32</sup> Some take issue with Clark on particular points but give additional credence to his view of the paramountcy of religious concerns in political life and of the continued importance in contemporary debate of the 'Orthodox' tradition in Anglicanism. To other aspects of this tradition, notably ecclesiology, sacraments and worship, Clark gives less emphasis. However, much of this gap has recently been filled by the late F. C. Mather who has revealed the depth of the sacramental and spiritual dimension of the pre-Tractarian High Church tradition.<sup>33</sup>

The early nineteenth-century component of the pre-Tractarian era has also been the subject of some recent reappraisal along the lines pursued by Clark for the eighteenth century. One of the most original studies of the High Churchmanship of this period has been by the Italian scholar, Pietro Corsi. Corsi's fresh insights into the pre-Tractarian High Churchmen of the 1820s and early 1830s has been matched by a complementary study by Richard Brent of the

<sup>31</sup> For example, see D. Greene, 'The Via Media in an Age of Revolution: Anglicanism in the 18th Century', in P. Hughes and D. Williams, eds., *The Varied Pattern: Studies in the 18th Century* (Toronto, 1971) pp. 297-320. See also J. A. W. Gunn, *Beyond Liberty and Property* (Kingston, 1983).

<sup>32</sup> S. Taylor, 'Church and State in England in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: the Newcastle Years, 1742-1763', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge, 1987; P. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989); R. Hole, *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England, 1760-1832* (Cambridge, 1989); J. Gascoigne, *Cambridge and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1989); J. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in English Politics and Society* (Cambridge, 1990); J. J. Sack, *From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain, c. 1760-1832* (Cambridge, 1993).

See also J. Walsh, C. Haydon and S. Taylor, *The Church of England, c. 1689-c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the 'long' eighteenth century'. See also, F. Knight, 'The Hanoverian Church in transition: some recent perspectives', *HJ*, 36, 3 (September, 1993), 745-52; N. Aston, 'Horne and Heterodoxy: The Defence of Anglican Beliefs in the Late Enlightenment', *EHR*, 108 (October, 1993), 895-919.

<sup>33</sup> F. C. Mather, *High Church Prophet: Bishop Samuel Horsley (1733-1806) and the Caroline Tradition in the Later Georgian Church* (Oxford, 1992); F. C. Mather, 'Georgian Churchmanship Reconsidered: Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship, 1714-1830', *JEH*, 36, (1985), 255-83; R. Sharp, 'New perspectives on the High Church tradition: historical background 1730-1780', in G. Rowell, ed., *Tradition Renewed: the Oxford Movement Conference Papers* (London, 1986), pp. 4-23. For the philosophical dimension of later Georgian High Churchmanship, see N. Aston, 'Horne and Heterodoxy: The Defence of Anglican Beliefs in the Late Enlightenment', *EHR*, 108 (October, 1993), 895-919.

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religious concerns of Whig churchmen or 'liberal Anglicans' of the same period.<sup>34</sup> Both works reveal the primacy of religious concerns in contemporary political, social and educational debate. A. M. C. Waterman's study of Christian political economy for the first third of the nineteenth century has extended the evidence for such a primacy, even in matters of economic debate.<sup>35</sup> Further noteworthy recent scholarship elucidating aspects of the role and principles of the 'Orthodox' party in the Church of England includes the work of Clive Dewey, Elizabeth Varley, Nancy Murray, Mark Evershed, R. Braine, Arthur Burns, Brian Young and Frances Knight.<sup>36</sup>

Yet while scholars are indebted to the work of Mather and the broad survey by Hylson-Smith, the need for a comprehensive, integrated account drawing together the many strands of pre-Tractarian High Churchmanship has not been superseded. The High Church tradition still awaits fuller consideration in relation to the Oxford Movement that followed.

Our own study aims to set the Oxford Movement more firmly than hitherto within the historical context of a long and continuous as well as rich and varied High Church tradition in the Church of England. Our *terminus a quo* has been fixed at approximately the year 1760 as this marked the dawn of something of a High Church revival in the wake of the accession of King George III and the ending of the long era of so-called 'Whig ascendancy' when High Churchmen were out of political favour. Our *terminus ad quem* has been set at approximately 1857 so as to encompass not only the strictly Oxford

<sup>34</sup> See P. Corsi, *Science and Religion: Baden Powell and the Anglican Debate, 1800-1860* (Cambridge, 1988); R. Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion and Reform, 1830-1841* (Oxford, 1987).

<sup>35</sup> A. M. C. Waterman, *Revolution, Economics and Religion: Christian Political Economy, 1798-1833* (Cambridge, 1991).

<sup>36</sup> C. Dewey, *The Passing of Barchester: a Real Life Version of Trollope* (London, 1991); E. A. Varley, *The Last of the Prince Bishops: William Van Mildert and the High Church Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1992); N. Murray, 'The Influence of the French Revolution on the Church of England and Its Rivals', unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1975; M. Evershed, 'Party and Patronage in the Church of England, 1800-1945', unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1985; R. Braine, 'The Life and Writings of Herbert Marsh (1757-1839)', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge, 1989; A. Burns, 'The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1825-1865', unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1990; B. W. Young, "'Orthodoxy Assailed': an historical examination of some metaphysical and theological debates in England from Locke to Burke', unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1990; F. Knight, 'John Kaye, and the Diocese of Lincoln, 1827-53', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991. For a general historical survey of the High Church tradition, see K. Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England: from the Sixteenth Century to the late Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 1993).