

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

This study breaks new ground in setting the Oxford Movement in its historical and theological context. Peter Nockles conducts a rigorous examination of the nineteenth-century Catholic revival in the Church of England associated with the *Tracts for the Times* in 1833, and shows that in many respects this revival had been anticipated by a renewal of the Anglican High Church tradition in the preceding seventy years. Having established this element of continuity, Dr Nockles is able to identify the distinctive features of Tractarianism in a manner which challenges many long-established views of the movement. He demonstrates the extent of the divergence of Tractarianism from the older High Churchmanship and reveals the human drama and trauma between erstwhile allies which this ideological breach engendered. The book draws on a wide range of little-known printed and manuscript sources, and provides an indispensable basis for a radical reassessment of the Anglo-Catholic tradition.

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN CONTEXT

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN CONTEXT

Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857

PETER BENEDICT NOCKLES

Assistant Librarian, The John Rylands University Library of Manchester



**CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Cambridge University Press
 0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
 1760-1857
 Peter Benedict Nockles
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
 The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, United Kingdom
 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1994

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
 of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may
 take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1994
 Reprinted 1995, 1996
 First paperback edition 1997

Typeset in 11/13 Monotype Baskerville

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Nockles, Peter Benedict
 The Oxford Movement in context: Anglican high churchmanship,
 1760-1857/Peter B. Nockles.
 p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 38162 2 (hardback)

1. High Church movement – England – History -- 18th century.
2. High Church movement – England – History – 19th century.
3. Oxford movement – England – History. 4. Anglo-Catholicism –
 England – History – 19th century. 5. England – Church history – 18th century.
6. England – Church history – 19th century. I. Title.

BX5121.N63 1994

283'.42'09033 – dc20 93-4799 CIP

ISBN 0 521 38162 2 hardback

ISBN 0 521 58719 0 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2004

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

In constructing his *Catena Patrum* he [the Tractarian] closes his list with Waterland and Brett, and leaps at once to 1833 ... The history of a party may be written on the theory of periodical occultation; but he who wishes to trace the descent of religious thought, and the practical working of religious ideas, must follow these through all the phases they have actually assumed.

Mark Pattison, 1860

It is easy to talk of the persecutions of ultra-protestants, but those who shall examine the history of this [Tractarian] movement when the present heats have subsided will find, that ... [a] spirit of puritanical mar-prelacy has had more to do with drawing Mr Newman and his party into formal schism than has been suspected; – and will find reason to doubt, whether any violence or extravagance of ultra-protestants has been, or could have been, more detrimental to the church.

John Crosthwaite, 1846

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To my parents

Cambridge University Press
 0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
 1760-1857
 Peter Benedict Nockles
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page xi</i>
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	<i>xvii</i>
Historiographical introduction	
Historical and family context	1
The nomenclature of church parties: problems of definition and identity	25
1 Church and state: the politics of High Churchmanship	44
2 Antiquity and the rule of faith	104
3 Ecclesiology: the apostolic paradigm	146
4 Spirituality, liturgy and worship	184
5 The economy of salvation: sacraments and Justification	228
6 The old High Churchmen and Tractarians in historical relation	270
Conclusion	307
<i>Select bibliography</i>	328
<i>Index</i>	333

Cambridge University Press
0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857
Peter Benedict Nockles
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Preface

The research for this study commenced in the autumn of 1976 when I was a postgraduate student at Worcester College, and subsequently St Cross College, Oxford. The present work derives from part of a thesis entitled 'Continuity and Change in Anglican High Churchmanship in Britain, 1792-1850' for which the Theology Faculty of the University of Oxford awarded me the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1982.

The extensive use made of the thesis by scholars, particularly students of the Oxford Modern History School Special Subject 'Church, State and Society, 1829-54', along with the repeated encouragement of one of my examiners Dr John Walsh, led me to undertake a thorough revision and recasting of the work for publication. My contribution to volume vi of the *History of the University of Oxford*, focusing on the Oxford Movement in its academic context, delayed the process of revision, but proved an invaluable prelude to that task, deepening and broadening my ideas and arguments. Much fresh research has also been conducted on the more theological aspects of the subject, with greater attention accorded to the later Hanoverian period. There is also an additional chapter on the sacraments incorporating discussion on the baptismal and eucharistic controversies of the 1850s and a radically revised and largely new chapter on spirituality.

In writing this book I have incurred innumerable debts of gratitude to various individuals. Thanks must go to my long-suffering editor, Alex Wright of Cambridge University Press. It was his initiative, foresight and enthusiasm back in 1988 that set in progress plans for the publication of a revised version of my dissertation. Without his wise counsel, this work would be longer and less focused than it now is. Particular thanks must also go to my undergraduate tutor at Worcester College in the mid-1970s, Harry Pitt. In suggesting

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii

Preface

that I write an essay on the Oxford Movement, he helped prepare the ground of which this work is the fruit. Moreover, it was David Newsome's incomparable and moving *Parting of Friends*, to which Harry Pitt introduced me, that first fired my historical imagination and set me on the course of Oxford Movement studies. In recent years, it has become my great privilege to meet and get to know Dr Newsome. His kindly interest in my research and helpful advice regarding the progress of this work is much appreciated.

Although always personally a committed Roman Catholic who could identify wholeheartedly with the positions outlined in John Henry Newman's *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties* as well as in his *Apologia pro vita sua*, I was drawn by a combination of factors into studying a religious tradition different from my own. The *genius loci* of Oxford exerted its magic spell so that 'the very stones did speak'. It took no great leap of the historical imagination to be carried back to the stirring days when the Tractarian Newman held sway from St Mary's pulpit. But it was not so much the intellectual reasons for Newman's conversion that engaged my interest but the interplay of rival personalities as well as religious ideas among the Movement's followers and their opponents. I began to feel that, while the Tractarian triumvirate of Newman, Keble and Pusey loomed large in historical consciousness, the lesser-known figures, sometimes disparaged by those leaders, had become forgotten. It was my own Worcester College connection that helped foster my initial interest in the grossly neglected and shadowy figure of William Palmer who had attached himself to Worcester College on the eve of the rise of the Oxford Movement. Palmer had become obscured in Newman's shadow. College pride and the encouragement of my other main undergraduate tutor James Campbell, along with that of the then Provost of Worcester Asa Briggs, led me to attempt to rehabilitate Palmer. As a consequence, my historical attention turned back towards a broader exploration of the whole, multi-faceted High Church tradition within Anglicanism, from the Irish branch of which Palmer sprang. It took me on to the central theme of this study – the relationship between that older historical tradition and the Oxford Movement itself. The evidence gleaned revealed deep discontinuities as well as obvious continuities, and caused that questioning of some of the assumptions of the received Anglo-Catholic historiography which characterises the following pages. Moreover, the events of 1845–51 may find an echo in the minds of

Cambridge University Press
0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857
Peter Benedict Nockles
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Preface

xiii

those troubled by the modern crisis in Anglicanism created by the recent decisions of the General Synod of the Church of England. Considering that some commentators interpret this current crisis as signalling the final end of the Oxford Movement, the present study perhaps has a contemporary resonance and timely quality. Church history can be put to the service of offering insights in the current debate, as Fr Aidan Nicholls has admirably demonstrated in his book *The Panther and the Hind*. The following work, however, does not attempt such an ambitious approach. It is necessarily historical and not polemical. It is for the reader to judge, but I hope that my own personal religious distance from the High Anglican tradition does not detract from the strict historical objectivity of the following pages.

Particular thanks must also be accorded to The Rev Dr Geoffrey Rowell of Keble College, Oxford, who supervised my doctoral thesis and from whose profound and sympathetic knowledge of the subject I much profited. As for Dr John Walsh of Jesus College, Oxford, mentioned above, no words can do justice to the degree of my debt to his academic inspiration, unstinting kindness and moral support over many years. Without his unflagging interest, guidance and advice, this book would never have appeared. In this respect, I am but one of a whole generation of scholars who could say the same.

One of the great delights of protracted academic study in a specialised field is the opportunity for friendship and contacts with other scholars. In this I have been especially fortunate. Pride of place here must go to Dr Sheridan Gilley whom I have had the privilege of knowing since 1989. In a short period he has become a real academic mentor and friend, whose tireless encouragement and helpful advice have been a source of inspiration. Another great scholar whom I got to know and who helped me in so many ways was the late Emeritus Professor F. C. Mather. In several discussions with him at Southampton University in the mid-1980s, he kindly shared with me that profound knowledge of Georgian Anglicanism of which his posthumous biography of Samuel Horsley is fitting testimony. Professor Mather is greatly missed. Dr Walsh's series of church history seminars in the Trinity Term at Oxford over which he and Dr Rowell together presided from 1981–92, has also proved an invaluable boon to my scholarly progress. The friendly atmosphere of the seminars, thanks to the tone set by the organisers, was

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv

Preface

almost unique in its relaxed informality. Eschewing the worst forms of academic competitiveness, the contributors came together to exchange ideas, and numerous friendships were forged. The conference at Winchester in July 1990 on the eighteenth-century Church of England was an offshoot of the Oxford seminars and proved an invaluable forum for the airing and refining of my ideas on the increasingly important pre-Tractarian period of my study.

In the process of converting my thesis to a book, it has been the help and insights of some of the many contributors to the Oxford church history seminars that I wish, above all, to acknowledge. I want to single out Dr David Maskell of Oriel College, Oxford, for his tireless efforts in reading, commenting on, and discussing the text with me. I have been saved from more than one slip by his friendly and constructive advice, and have particularly benefited from his profound knowledge of his forebear, William Maskell. I am also particularly indebted for the exchange of ideas and arguments, and for the reading of portions of various drafts of my manuscript, to the following: Dr Arthur Burns of King's College, London, Christopher Zealley of Wolfson College, Oxford, Dr Grayson Carter of Brasenose College, Oxford, Michael Millard and Richard Sharp. My ideas on historiography have been sharpened by discussion with Arthur Burns, and on spirituality I have been helped by Christopher Zealley. On the subject of baptism, the eucharist and Justification I profited especially from discussion with Michael Millard and Grayson Carter. Others who have helped me in various ways, sometimes generously providing me with useful comments or references, include The Rev Dr Perry Butler, Dr George Herring, The Rev Peter Cobb, Dr John Findon, Dr David Bebbington, Dr Mark Curthoys, Richard Sharp, Dr Stephen Taylor, Dr Brian Young, Dr James Garrard, Dr Mark Smith, Dr Jeremy Morris, Dr Frances Knight, Dr Clive Dewey, Dr Richard Brent, Dr James Bradley, Dr Jeremy Gregory, Kenneth Hylson-Smith, Fr Ian Ker, The Rev Professor Donal Ker, The Rev Professor John McManners (who supervised me for a term), Canon Peter Hinchliff, Jerry Jones, Laurence Crumb, Mrs E. Thomas, Dr Nigel Aston, The Rev Henry Rack, Dr Stephen Conway, Michael Perrott, Stephen Hancock, Dom Alberic Stacpoole, Simon Skinner, Dr Peter Erb, Fr James Pereiro, Roger Turner and James Docherty. The latter two have shared with me a common interest in William Palmer involving considerable historical detective work.

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

xv

Alan Rose also deserves special thanks for kindly compiling the index.

Mention should also be made of Dr Jonathan Clark whose ground-breaking book *English Society* when it appeared in 1985 was a source of intellectual inspiration and stimulation to me. I much appreciate Dr Clark's subsequent advice and moral support. I would also like to thank some professional colleagues at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. In particular, I wish to record my thanks to Dr Peter McNiven and Dr Dorothy Clayton for their support and friendship. Thanks are also owing to Dr David Brady for discussion on one or two finer points of the history of the prophetic interpretation of scripture. I also acknowledge the generous financial assistance of the British Academy which has helped me to conduct further research in recent years.

I am grateful to my friends in Walton Well Road whose house has been a favoured Oxford 'bolt-hole' in recent years. Their genial good-humour in putting up with me on my frequent visits is appreciated. Moral support and a sympathetic ear in Oxford were also provided by Mrs Margaret Wheeler. Mention should also be made of 'The Royal Oak Society' genially presided over by Richard Sharp, for helping to keep alive my historical enthusiasm for a particular side of the tradition examined in this study. Above all, thanks must go to my parents for their constant encouragement and for providing me with the physical and mental space for working retreats in their large Surrey family home over innumerable weekends and vacations for many years. The bulk of the writing and real mental graft of this study was conducted here and it is fitting that this work should be dedicated to them.

This study also owes a great deal to the patience and understanding of the staff of the Bodleian Library, Pusey House Library, the libraries of Oriel College, Keble College, Pembroke College, Wadham College, Lincoln College and Christ Church, Oxford; the Cambridge University Library and Trinity College, Cambridge; the British Library, Lambeth Palace Library and Sion College Library in London; the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and the Record Offices in Gloucester, Chichester, Lewes and Lincoln; the cathedral libraries at Durham, Exeter and Canterbury. My debt is also due to the following custodians of private or family papers: (Churton) Victor Churton of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire; (Hook) Mrs E. Coatalen of Bucklebury, Oxfordshire; (Watson) Canon Reade of

Cambridge University Press

0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
1760-1857

Peter Benedict Nockles

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

Preface

Marychurch, Torquay. The weekend spent at the home of Mr Victor Churton in November 1981 when I was given full access to his outstanding collection of family papers of which great use has been made in this study, remains a memorable experience.

While acknowledging all those who have read and commented on various drafts of this work, I accept its blemishes as entirely my own responsibility. A text, once complete, is launched into the stream and inevitably will be tested and modified by subsequent research and fresh insights. The natural process of historical scholarship will ensure that this work is no exception. It is in this spirit that it is offered to the reader.

Manchester, April 1993

Cambridge University Press
 0521587190 - The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship,
 1760-1857
 Peter Benedict Nockles
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Bodl. Lib	Bodleian Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DCL	Durham Cathedral Library
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
ECA	Exeter Cathedral Archives
<i>ECS</i>	<i>Eighteenth-Century Studies</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ESCRO	East Sussex County Record Office
GCRO	Gloucestershire County Record Office
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
KCA	Keble College Archives
LBV	Liddon Bound Volumes
LCRO	Lincolnshire County Record Office
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
OCA	Oriel College Archives
<i>ODCC</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
PCA	Pembroke College Archives
PH	Pusey House
SC	Sutton Coldfield
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
WCA	Wadham College Archives
WSCRO	West Sussex County Record Office