Reclaiming Pusey for theology: allegory, communion, and sacrifice

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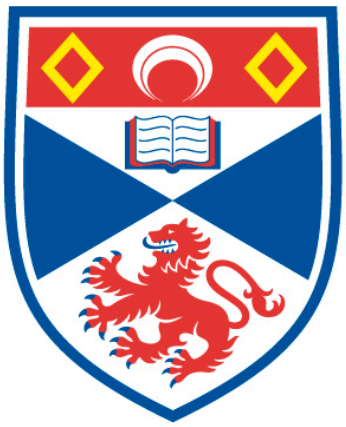

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To Becky

God bless you for all your love. Love is indeed a wonderful thing, and yet it would be more wonderful, if it were not; since love is of God, a spark out of the boundless, shoreless Ocean of His Fire of love.

What you say of this past near half century has been wonderful. It was often on my lips "This is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes." There was a little seed scattered, and what a harvest of souls! But God had prepared the soil, and the fields were white to harvest. There was however a great deal of heart's devotion before, which never talked but acted. I remember it in those before me, of whom I learned.

You, I hope, are ripening continually. God ripen you more and more. Each day is a day of growth. God says to you, "Open thy mouth, and I will fill it." Only long. He does not want our words. The parched soil, by its cracks, opens itself for the rain from Heaven and invites them. The parched soul cries out for the living God.

Oh then long and long and long, and God will fill thee. More love, more love, more love!

—Pusey to Sr Clara, 22 August 1882

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Part III. Sacrifice

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provided valuable guidance on Austin Farrer. Financial support was provided, in part, by the Mary E. Davis Trust, under the direction of the Rt Revd Keith Ackerman. And I would be remiss if I did not thank the Revd Dr Thomas Holtzen and the Revd Dr Charles Henery for spurring my interest in Dr Pusey during my time as a student at Nashotah House.

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have interfered with everyday life, but offered constant support and a willingness to share in my long hours of editing. And so, above all, she has my thanks for her many sacrifices, and for the love and care which she has given me throughout this adventure.

Notes on Citation

I. Pusey—Works
Shortened forms of citation for works that are either extensively used, or in which the shortened form is not taken from the first words of the title.

Baptism 1	*Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism* [1st edition]
Baptism 2	*Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism* [2nd and subsequent editions]
Eirenicon I	*The Church of England a Portion of Christ's … Catholic Church*
Eirenicon II	*First Letter to the Very Rev. J.H. Newman, D.D.*
Eirenicon III	*Is Healthful Reunion Impossible? A Second Letter to … Newman*
English Church	*The Real Presence … the Doctrine of the English Church*
Enquiry I	*An Historical Enquiry into … the Theology of Germany*
Enquiry II	*An Historical Enquiry into … the Theology of Germany, Part II*
Fathers	*The Doctrine of the Real Presence, as Contained in the Fathers*
'Types'	'Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament'
'Comfort'	'The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent'

With the exception of the *Eirenicon*, Pusey's public 'letters' are cited by their addressee: bishops are referred to by their episcopal see, others by their surname.

II. Pusey—Sermon Collections
These titles are used throughout; full citations are given only for material specific to the volume that is not related to a sermon, e.g. a preface.

Lenten Sermons	*Lenten Sermons, Preached Chiefly to Young Men at the Universities*
Parochial and Cathedral Sermons	[same]
Parochial Sermons I	*Parochial Sermons, Vol. I: … Advent to Whitsuntide*
Parochial Sermons II	*Parochial Sermons, Vol. II*
Plain Sermons	*Plain Sermons, by Contributors to the 'Tract for the Times'*
Sermons on Repentance	*A Course of Sermons on Solemn Subjects Chiefly Bearing on Repentance*
*University Sermons I**	*Nine Sermons, Preached before the University of Oxford … between 1843-1855*
University Sermons II	*Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford between A.D. 1859 and 1872*
*University Sermons III**	*Ten Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford between 1864-1879*

* In the editions used, these volumes are bound collections of individually published sermons. Therefore, for clarity in citing page references, volume information for these sermons is given only in the Bibliography.

III. Abbreviations

DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/index.html
LBV	Liddon Bound Volumes, Pusey House
TFT	Tracts for the Times by Members of the University of Oxford

V. Additional Notes

Many works are available in electronic or reprint editions; this information is given in the bibliography but not in the notes.

The majority of correspondence cited is from the Liddon Bound Volumes. While the format for giving dates varies within these volumes, 'month-date-year' is dominant, and that format has therefore been used throughout.

Many longer titles have been shortened, though given in fuller form in the initial citation. Full titles are given in the Bibliography.

All biblical quotations are from the Authorised Version.

Abstract

Edward Bouverie Pusey once towered over nineteenth-century British theology, but he has now fallen into almost entire insignificance. However, analysis of this decline (Chapter 1) leads to a reassessment. His development—especially his complicated relationship with pre-Tractarian High Church Anglicanism—shows a deep criticism of post-Enlightenment intellectual trends, from his early years through his association with the Oxford Movement and the Tracts for the Times, to the end of his life (Chapter 2). This criticism led him to the patristic use of allegory, both as a biblical hermeneutic and as a creative, complex, image-based approach to theology (Chapter 3). His development of High Church theology (seen especially through comparison with Waterland) and his use of allegory can be traced throughout his theology. His understanding of union with Christ and *theosis* reveals both: the sacraments have a strong symbolic dimension, while his positions on baptismal regeneration and the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist show a development rather than a rejection of earlier High Church theology (Chapters 4 and 5). His understanding of the atonement blends High Church reliance on sacrificial types with his unitive theology to reconfigure traditional satisfaction theory as restoration of love for God, rather than redemption from punishment—a position which marks Pusey as an important transitional figure in 19th c. theology (Chapter 6). The flexibility of Pusey's allegorical approach also allows him to blend a High Church tradition of spiritual sacrifice with sacramental participation in Christ's self-offering, so that sacrifice becomes an aspect of union with Christ (Chapter 7). Pusey's use of allegory shows similarities to postmodern theology, while his development of High Church theology shows his originality (Chapter 8).

Chapter 1

Introduction: Perspectives on Pusey

Edward Bouverie Pusey lived from 1800 to 1882; during his lifetime, his name became synonymous with a widespread theological movement which changed significant portions not only of the Church of England, but of global Anglicanism. Indeed 'Puseyism' was the popular name of the Oxford Movement not only in England, but across Europe. Within England, he became the central figure of the Movement, for both its admirers and its detractors. He was, by any measure, a major figure; and not because of his office, nor because of his role as a party leader (which he steadfastly refused to countenance)—but because of his theological writing. In England, he was recognised as a formidable scholar, even by his opponents; in America, the library of the Anglo-Catholic seminary at Nashotah House, built in 1910, inscribed his name on its facade together with other great doctors of the Church such as Athanasius, Augustine, and Hooker. Today, however, his standing among theologians is somewhere between dismissed and ignored. The reasons for this fall from prominence will be discussed; but first there is the question, why bring him forward once more? There is, of course, ample justification on the grounds of scholarly inquiry; but that, taken alone, would have the effect of making Pusey merely an academic curiosity, of some historical interest, perhaps, but of no particular relevance beyond a small niche in the academy. That would itself be an improvement compared to contemporary neglect, and a better understanding of the nineteenth century's theological changes would indeed gain from more attention on Pusey; but I wish to make a stronger claim: Pusey is a theologian with whom both the Anglican Churches and the wider Church can engage fruitfully today.

One aspect of Pusey's contemporary interest lies in his anticipation of the current state of the Church. A.M. Allchin has emphasised the 'prophetic' nature of Pusey's perspective on Newman's conversion, in particular in light of the changes which Pusey foresaw to the Roman Catholic Church which were fulfilled in Vatican II.[1] Similarly, Pusey's three-part *Eirenicon* was one of the earlier proposals for Anglican-Roman Catholic ecumenism, and one of the few before Vatican II to gain serious attention from parties in both churches, though it ultimately foundered on the rocks of Vatican I. Indeed, a central feature of his theological approach was the reconciliation of differing perspectives. For these reasons, his work may be of interest to ecumenical theologians today. On the other hand, however, Pusey also anticipated some of the challenges faced by Christianity today. The rising popularity of eastern religions, though it had begun in his day, is even more pronounced in our own; and it is a topic which Pusey addressed specifically in his later years.[2] Moreover, the assumption of 'progress' and the epistemological principle of scientific 'objectivism,' both deriving from the Enlightenment, are now questioned, raising the challenges of relativism and cynicism. While he avoided these pitfalls, Pusey's rejection of both principles forms the central feature of his theological method. And whereas traditional Western theories of the atonement face increasing criticism for their punitive aspect, Pusey's emphasis on communion with God and use of Old Testament types led him to a subtle redefinition of the traditional model, in which the cross is no longer primarily a redemption from debt or punishment, but a restoration of love.

The primary aim of this thesis is to highlight Pusey's theological interest, but it may also serve, though indirectly, a historical purpose. Certainly, for students of the

[1] A.M. Allchin, *Participation in God* (Wilton, CT: Morehouse-Barlow, 1988), 48-49.

[2] See below, 109-110.

Oxford Movement, more on Pusey is needed, as Pusey has fallen into a curious gap in scholarship. On the one hand, as Owen Chadwick noted, 'Newman scholarship is an industry.'[3] On the other, there has been a move away from study of the Movement's leading figures, to emphasise the broader spread and effect of Tractarianism.[4] In between the incredible amount of attention given to Newman, and the tendency to move away from the Movement's leaders into the parishes, the other leaders of the Movement—including Pusey—have been nearly overlooked. Works on Pusey in recent years have been few, and are almost entirely concerned with historical issues, leaving a very slender amount of material indeed on Pusey's theology. With this shortage of material, another scholarly study can only broaden our view of Pusey's role in, and relation to, the Oxford Movement. Greater attention to Pusey can also help with understanding the broader shifts in nineteenth century theology, such as the movement from atonement theories emphasising punishment ('penal' and 'rectoral' theories), to those which emphasise the moral effect of the atonement, whether through the example of Christ, or through union with him. Not much attention has been given, however, to the role the Oxford Movement played in these changes; but union with Christ and its resulting moral transformation was certainly one of its themes, shown above all in the work of Pusey.[5]

In addition to these more general reasons for reviving interest in Pusey, there are also reasons particular to Anglicanism. First, various controversies have seen the revival of the old Anglo-Catholic—Evangelical political alliance; and although the roots of that coalition predate even the Oxford Movement, so too do the hostilities and distrust each

[3] Owen Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 319.

[4] George Herring, *What was the Oxford Movement?* (London: Continuum, 2002), 2-4.

[5] See below, 198-200.

side often feels for the other. Pusey, whose sympathy for Evangelicalism has been noted for some time, becomes an interesting figure in this situation. As early as 1933, the Swedish scholar Yngve Brilioth could ask, 'Is Pusey, then, one of the great Anglican Evangelicals?'[6] More recently, John Calhoun has concluded that Pusey's insistence that he believed everything the Evangelicals did (differing from them only in what they denied) was in fact true.[7] Pusey's theology, despite his role as a controversial protagonist for the Anglo-Catholics, is 'too profound and comprehensive to be adequately expressed by one category' and transcends the party divisions between Anglo-Catholicism and Evangelicalism.[8] This makes him a figure who might well cause discomfort to the partisans of both sides; but he may also offer a path to mutual understanding. Second, it was noted at the sesquicentennial of the Oxford Movement that Anglo-Catholicism is experiencing something of an identity crisis; and if anything, the years since then have only increased this.[9] Pusey represents an older form of Anglicanism, which may well sit uncomfortably with—and may indeed produce criticisms of—contemporary practice; but he may also offer a clearer vision of what it means to be 'Catholic' in a distinctly Anglican way.

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[6] Yngve Brilioth, *Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), 32-36; *The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement* (London: Longmans, Green, 1933), 125, 242-243; cf. Henry Parry Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, Doctor of Divinity, Canon of Christ Church; Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford,* 3rd ed., ed. J.O. Johnston and Robert J. Wilson (London: Longmans, Green, 1893), 1: 255, 2: 400-401.

[7] John Clay Calhoun, 'Edward Bouverie Pusey's Theology of Conversion' (PhD diss., Drew University, 1993), 300-301.

[8] Ibid., 90.

[9] Louis Weil, 'The Tractarian Liturgical Inheritance Re-assessed,' in *Tradition Renewed: The Oxford Movement Conference Papers*, ed. Geoffrey Rowell (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1986), 110; W.S.F. Pickering, 'Anglo-Catholicism: Some Sociological Observations,' in Rowell, *Tradition*, 153-172; Rowell, *The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), v.

Despite Pusey's potential interest, however, there remains the question of Pusey's reputation, and why it has fallen over the years. Ian McCormack has done Pusey scholarship a useful service in digging through scholarly mentions of Pusey over the past half-century, and tracing their references. His discovery: a cycle of citations culminating in a single source, David Forrester's doctoral thesis (published in revised form as *Young Dr. Pusey*).[10] Forrester portrays Pusey as a bright young German-trained intellectual, who, driven by the psychological traumas of his personal life, develops a morbid obsession with his own sinfulness, abandoning his youthful creativity for a harsh, negative dogmatism, and a joyless asceticism. That the scholarship of several decades would be entirely dependent on one perspective is itself troubling; that the single perspective being repeated is as negative as Forrester's assessment of Pusey only adds to the discomfort. But the question here is why it has gotten that way. McCormack faults the sources he surveys for academic laziness; and this is doubtless partially true.[11] However, more careful attention to the scholarly process suggests that the problem he identifies is more of a symptom than a cause. Deep research is given to topics thought to merit the energy that requires; peripheral topics are covered by quick reference to whatever secondary sources are available. Unless someone is researching Pusey *specifically*, one is not likely to sort through the archival material (or, for that matter, a four-volume *Life*) to form an independent perspective. While Forrester's prevalence has certainly reinforced the prejudice against Pusey, the lack of independent research indicates primarily a deeper disinterest.

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[10] Ian McCormack, 'The History of the History of Pusey,' in *Edward Bouverie Pusey and the Oxford Movement*, ed. Rowan Strong and Carol Engelhardt Herringer (London: Anthem, 2012), 13-15.

[11] Ibid., 15.

There are three contributing factors that can be identified as contributing to Pusey's lack of popularity: he is inaccessible, unappealing, and uninteresting. The most obvious of these, though also the least important, is Pusey's relative inaccessibility both as a person and as a theologian. The vast majority of Pusey's personal papers remain unpublished; while an ample survey is provided in the lengthy *Life* written by Pusey's disciple Henry Parry Liddon, even Liddon (or rather, his editors) were compelled to omit a substantial amount of material, and Liddon's work is daunting enough on its own to deter all but the most determined of researchers. Owen Chadwick described it 'unreadable;' whether or not that is fair, it certainly has been *unread*.[12] Counterexamples to the 'doom and gloom' parody of Pusey, retrieved from the *Life* by his protagonists, highlight the degree of neglect Liddon's biography has received.[13] Forrester has suggested that Liddon paints a very 'heavy' portrait of Pusey, though a careful reading of the *Life* reveals frequent mention of Pusey's humour.[14] Forrester's impression is likely due to the nature of the work itself: a barrage of detail, in a narrative structure that serves more to conceal its subject than to reveal it. But the *Life* has deeper problems: Liddon's editors appear to have been more concerned with a particular (Anglo-Catholic) portrayal of Pusey, than with the man himself, and omitted many interesting details of his earlier thought.[15] A similar suppression of the 'Lectures on Types and Prophecies'—a central document in understanding Pusey—raises the

[12] Owen Chadwick, *Spirit*, 38, 171.

[13] McCormack, 26-27; Allchin, *Participation*, 59-60; cf. Liddon, 4: 331-332, 376.

[14] David Forrester, 'Dr Pusey's Marriage,' in *Pusey Rediscovered*, ed. Perry Butler (London: SPCK, 1983), 120.

[15] K. E. Macnab, 'Editing Liddon: From Biography to Hagiography?' in Strong and Herringer, 31-48.

possibility that the received image of Pusey may be more a product of Anglo-Catholic revisionism than a representation of the man himself.[16]

If Pusey's life is inaccessible, so too is his thought. His prose is often convoluted; Newman wrote of his first work, in 1828, 'It is *very* difficult, even for his friends and the clearest heads, to enter into his originality, full formed accuracy, and unsystematic impartiality … he is like some definitely marked curve, meandering through all sorts and collections of opinions boldly, yet as it seems irregularly.'[17] While his style did improve as he matured, it remains difficult, and often requires either careful attention or a deep familiarity with Pusey's peculiarities of syntax and terminology in order to understand him correctly. Moreover, Pusey never produced a single comprehensive presentation of his thought, but instead wrote an enormous variety of occasional works. As a result, the majority of his larger works were controversial in nature, and have not aged well, being tied to particular debates in his own time. Additionally, these works are consciously framed as reassertions of core dogma which Pusey thought was being threatened—not the best venue for showcasing originality of thought (something that was anathema to the Tractarian *ethos* in any case). A better source for his thought is therefore in his preaching, which, even when controversial or defensive, always aims at a positive presentation of doctrine. Consequently, although the themes identified in this thesis can be found in all of Pusey's published works over 100 pages, greater weight will be given (with a few exceptions) to sermon material. This priority of sermons over book-length publications, however, is an inversion of contemporary academic assumptions: books are 'academic' (therefore interesting),

[16] George Westhaver, 'The Living Body of the Lord: E. B. Pusey's "Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament"' (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2012), 280-281.

[17] Liddon, 1: 164.

while sermons are 'practical' (and intellectually uninteresting). Tractarian studies are giving increasing weight to sermon material; but it is hard not to think that Pusey's reputation has suffered in part from a lingering tendency to regard preaching as material of secondary importance.

These are minor difficulties, however. At least, difficulties of style have proven no obstacle to interest in any number of other thinkers; and other issues of accessibility are overcome easily enough. The deeper problems with Pusey's reputation are his lack of appeal and interest. Pusey appears unappealing, because of the dark portrait of him that has been handed down. Forrester, for instance, paints the grim picture of a man driven by his inner demons into a destructive and joyless obsession with religion, abusing his children and crushing the spirit of his wife Maria in a frenzy of co-dependent religiosity. Such a person is not likely to attract much interest, even if his ideas have merit. This portrait is not new: it likely owes much to polemical attacks made in his own day (some Methodists, for instance, apparently made him a bogeyman to scare children into good behaviour); early in the twentieth century, G.W.E. Russell felt the need to dismiss such impressions as no more accurate than the rumours that Pusey sacrificed a lamb each year on Good Friday.[18] But this portrayal need not be taken seriously. Forrester's slim basis for Pusey's abusive treatment of his children has been called into question, and his statements are directly contradicted by the testimony of Pusey's children themselves and their friends, who recall him as the most lenient and indulgent of parents.[19] Strangely, Forrester never links the onset of Maria's tuberculosis

[18] George W. E. Russell, *Dr. Pusey* (London: A.R. Mowbray), 46; Gordon S. Wakefield, 'A Mystical Substitute for the Glorious Gospel?' in Rowell, *Tradition*, 185-198.

[19] Russell, 45-48, Maria Trench, *The Story of Dr. Pusey's Life* (London: Longmans, Green, 1900), 381-385, McCormack, 23-27.

to her flagging spirits except indirectly as contributing to Pusey's 'oppression.'[20] Sufficient evidence of Pusey's humour is given in numerous places for his 'gloom' to be discounted.[21] Moreover, Pusey's most shocking statements of apparent self-loathing are better understood in dialogue with a broad ascetical tradition, than as the expression of personal depression.[22]

Finally, there is the question of Pusey's interest. This can be divided into two parts. The first is a matter of accurate historical placement and assessment. Pusey is often seen as a mere 'conservative,' simply defending an established theology; or as adopting an essentially Roman Catholic position. In either instance, Pusey is not interesting in himself, because his positions were formulated by others; at best, he becomes a minor historical case study. Or, in a related phenomenon, he falls into the 'gap' of being merely 'Tractarian.' That is, Pusey features most frequently in studies of the Oxford Movement as a whole, either under Newman's shadow (Härdelin's study of Tractarian eucharistic theology, valuable though it is, falls into this category), or as merely one point of evidence for the broader tendencies of the Movement (thus Nockles, Herring, and other more recent writers). Both versions of this treatment, however, have a flattening effect. As Owen Chadwick notes, 'In trying to represent the mind of a movement, we are faced with the difficulty that movements have no mind. … Even the closest of associates may sometimes contradict each other, and on matters

[20] Forrester, *Young Dr. Pusey: A Study in Development* (London: Mowbray, 1989), 65-67.

[21] Sr. Clara, Reminiscences, in LBV 78; McCormack, 23-27. Although they are easily overlooked among the mass of material provided, Liddon's *Life* contains too many instances to cite.

[22] Pusey to Keble, September 26, 1844, in LBV 101; Liddon, 97. Benedicta Ward has noted that Pusey's language is a close paraphrase of Anselm. Benedicta Ward, 'A Tractarian Inheritance: the Religious Life in a Patristic Perspective,' in Rowell, *Tradition*, 220-221. Pusey always uses language of 'chastisement' with regard to his personal misfortunes, which carries connotations of God's loving correction, rather than of punishment (Heb. 12: 6); cf. Pusey, 'The Value and Sacredness of Suffering,' *Plain Sermons by Contributors to the Tracts for the Times*, (London: J. G. F. And J. Rivington, 1841), 3: 291-309. See also John Saward, *Perfect Fools: Folly for Christ's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 204-207.

which are not unimportant.'[23] In reality, Pusey held a mixture of appreciation and criticism for both the 'old' High Churchmen, and for Roman Catholicism. Similarly, although he was clearly a 'Tractarian,' the members of the Oxford Movement did not always hold a unified position, and Pusey in particular differed from many of his colleagues within the Movement—even, occasionally, from his dear friend John Keble. It would be an even greater mistake to identify Pusey with the younger generation of Ritualists—of whom he was highly critical—or later Anglo-Catholicism. Albrecht Geck has rightly complained that Pusey's early Protestantism has too often been overshadowed by his later (supposed) Anglo-Catholicism, but the solution is not merely to emphasise his early years while allowing this period to remain disconnected from his later development.[24] Rather, we should ask how his later Tractarianism was shaped by his earlier adherence to, and critique of, High Church Protestantism. Such an historical assessment highlights Pusey's independence in driving an evolution of Anglican theology, which contrasts sharply with elements of later Anglo-Catholicism which *are* mere imports from other traditions.

Second, there is the closely related question of Pusey's originality. As early as Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua*, Pusey has been characterised as contributing 'scholarship' to the Oxford Movement, rather than original thought—as better at reproducing the ideas of others, than at thinking for himself.[25] Despite Newman's later negative portrayal of Pusey, he earlier noted the 'largeness, profundity, and novelty' of

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[23] Owen Chadwick, *Spirit*, 21.

[24] Albrecht Geck, 'The Concept of History in E. B. Pusey's First Enquiry into German Theology and its German Background,' *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 38 (1987): 388.

[25] John Henry Newman, *Apologia pro vita sua and Six Sermons*, ed. Frank M. Turner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 185; Henry Chadwick, 'The History of the Oxford Movement,' in *Lift High the Cross: The Oxford Movement Sesquicentennial*, ed. J. Robert Wright, (New York: 1983), 72-73. See below, 16-17.

Pusey's thought, and we should expect to be able to trace this throughout his work.[26] David Brown has identified points of continuity between Pusey's earlier and later thought, in his emphasis on human fallibility, a rough, crisis-driven view of history, and his pattern of appealing to underlying principles, as characteristics which make him both more original than Newman, and more relevant to the present day, suggesting that, 'However apparently remote, Pusey's stern face and asceticism actually better anticipated the complexities of our current dilemmas.'[27] Pusey is, perhaps, less exciting initially than Newman, because he is more careful; but this same care led him to a very deep critique of assumptions that Newman left unexamined, and this critique is still capable of raising questions for us today. This thesis pursues another deep continuity which contributes to Pusey's originality, in his critique of Enlightenment epistemology and his attempt to provide an alternative, more complex theory of meaning, tracing its effects through the main features of his soteriology, and concluding with some observations of its relevance to contemporary theology.

While it is hoped that presenting a work on the main themes of Pusey's theology will in itself make him more accessible, the matters of his appeal and especially his interest provide the substance of this thesis. It was noted that the power of Pusey's preaching came not from any rhetorical skill, but from its 'single-minded force of love;' and the love of God for sinners was, indeed, his central theme.[28] While more personal dimensions fall outside the scope of this project, Pusey's emphasis on divine love dramatically shapes the structural features of his soteriology—God's love in giving

[26] Quoted in Liddon, 1: 164. See below, 16-17.

[27] David Brown, 'Pusey as Consistent and Wise: Some Comparisons with Newman,' in *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 71 (2002): 348.

[28] J.B. Mozley, *Essays Historical and Theological* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1879) 2: 155; cf. Liddon, 1: 2, 3: 60-61, 4: 377-382.

himself to us (communion—part two of this thesis) and our responding love for God (sacrifice—part three). A proper appreciation of Pusey's preoccupation with love will do much to alleviate the oppressive portrayal of Pusey. The study of his soteriology, however, also provides the context for analysing both his historical position and his methodology (introduced in part one). While it is not possible to consider Pusey in relation to every aspect of his historical context, it will be argued that Pusey's thought is best understood as an evolution of older High Church positions, going well beyond the old High Churchmen themselves and even beyond the more conservative Tractarians, but nonetheless retaining much stronger connections to the Reformed heritage of Anglicanism than the distorting lens of later Anglo-Catholicism might suggest. On the other hand, Pusey's critical exploration of theological decay led to a methodological question, answered by Patristic 'allegorical' exegesis. This provided not only a hermeneutical method, but deeper theological principles which can be traced throughout Pusey's work.

Before proceeding with the main body of this thesis, three points are in order. First, on a more procedural note, it should be noted that whereas Pusey's manuscripts make frequent use of abbreviations ('Xt' for 'Christ,' 'wd' for 'would,' etc.), these have been expanded when given in quotations, for the sake of clarity. Second, as a point of clarification, it should be noted that this is a theological study, not a biography. Therefore, while Pusey's development is addressed as a matter of necessity, it does not receive a complete examination, and the proposed theory for understanding it is, accordingly, partial and provisional. A full study is beyond the scope of this thesis: surveys of his personal life (more careful and more comprehensive than Forrester's), his interactions with High Churchmen and Evangelicals, and his attitudes towards both

Roman Catholicism and other Protestant churches would each require extensive research before more definite conclusions might be offered. Finally, as a second clarification, this thesis studies the underlying structures, and the logical connections and continuities within his thought. It is not claimed that the causes and developments identified represent a *conscious* process of development in Pusey, nor are the historical stimuli for this development identified in any conclusive way. Likewise, while Pusey's use of his sources, especially from the Fathers, is a point of considerable interest, it lies beyond the scope of this work. What this thesis offers, however, is a comprehensive view of Pusey's main themes in their relationship to one another, and a measure of insight into his underlying methodology and development of earlier Anglican tradition. This is intended to provide a wholesale reassessment of Pusey as a theologian. Material on Pusey is limited, and largely historical rather than theological in nature. More importantly, no one has yet attempted such an overarching assessment of his thought. Consequently, direct criticism of other sources is largely confined to the earliest (historical) portion of the thesis. That argumentation, however, points towards a new understanding of Pusey. The later parts support that insight by demonstrating his engagement with the High Church tradition, and his interest in allegory, through the core of his theology: while his development of earlier Anglican theology shows his originality, the complexity of his imaginative approach to theology may well be fruitful for us today.

Part I

Pusey Reinterpreted

Chapter 2

Pusey's Development: Revolution or Evolution?

The first topic in attempting to understand Pusey's theology is the question of his development. Two views have been proposed, which put forward either one or two dramatic revolutions in Pusey's thinking, from an early liberalism to a later conservatism. Either approach produces two difficulties. First, it is often assumed that Pusey's conservatism was firmly anti-intellectual; second, the presence of these disjunctions makes it impossible to deal with his theology as a whole, or to trace a consistent train of thought on a particular topic. This second point is particularly concerning, because of the occasional, and therefore less comprehensive nature of Pusey's works. The task of assessing his theology is one of tracing threads of thought on a topic through smaller references, or disparate works, and drawing out their implications—precisely the kind of work these 'revolutions' call into question.

However, these theories have deep flaws; and upon reassessing the movement of Pusey's thought the picture that emerges is one of consistency balanced by evolution—a picture that may be less dramatic, but one which does better justice to the depth and subtlety of Pusey's thought. Among the threads of consistency that we can find, there are two that are particularly notable. First is the underlying concern for a certain *kind* of theology, uniting heart and mind. This appears as his primary concern in the *Enquiry*, is a significant factor in his association with the Oxford Movement, and (as the next chapter will show) continued to shape his own mature theology. The second point of continuity in Pusey's thought is his connection with the 'old' or pre-Tractarian High Churchmen—a broad group defined by high estimate of apostolic succession, a value for the early fathers and for set forms of doctrine, a belief in sacramental grace, and

support for the establishment of the English Church—which, in the decades following the French Revolution, entailed an alliance with political Toryism.[1] While this is less important for the immediate discussions of these two chapters, it is a theme of this thesis in its own right, because it provides the proper context for understanding his theology.

Some more on this point may be said here. While recent theorizing has classed Pusey as a liberal-turned-Tractarian, the identification of Pusey with the High Churchmen can be traced back as far as Newman's belittling portrait in the *Apologia*. Newman clearly respects novelty of thought: Whately and Froude brought him to oppose establishment, while Keble taught him sacramentality and refashioned Butler's doctrine of probability. Newman himself is a bold explorer into new territories: his *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church* are 'directly tentative' because his aim of establishing an Anglican theology was too large to be 'the work of one man.'[2] This contrasts with his assessment of the old High Churchmen. Hugh James Rose is well-connected, with a prominent reputation, a conservative predisposition, and an admirable spirituality. William Palmer (of Worcester College) is immensely learned and 'decided in his religious views,' though spiritually shallow; his *Treatise on the Church of Christ* is recognised as a major piece of theology, but 'authoritative' and 'in no sense, if I recollect aright, a tentative work.'[3] Similarly, Pusey is called '*ὁ μέγας*' on account of his scholarship, but 'was haunted by no intellectual perplexities,' and was 'possessed pre-eminently' of 'confidence in his position.' As Henry Chadwick notes, Newman attributes to Pusey no new intellectual insight but a greater sense of gravity, deeper

[1] Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship 1760-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 25-26.

[2] Newman, *Apologia*, 141-143, 148-149,187-188.

[3] Ibid.,163-168, 187-188.

scholarship, and public respectability.[4] But beneath Newman's scorn is truth. Pusey's respect for the High Churchmen contrasts with Newman's dismissive attitude. While Newman increasingly distanced himself from the High Churchmen, Pusey was reconciled with his old antagonist Rose; and despite the discomfort felt by many High Churchmen, Pusey was always eager to align himself with the tradition of the Hackney Phalanx.[5] At the end of his life, reflecting on the Oxford Movement, he offered affectionate tribute to the older Churchmen: 'It was often on my lips "This is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes." There was a little seed scattered, and what a harvest of souls! But God had prepared the soil, and the fields were white to harvest. *There was however a great deal of heart's devotion before, which never talked but acted. I remember it in those before me, of whom I learned*.'[6]

Two Theories of Pusey's 'Revolutions'

The theories of Pusey's revolutions are to be found in David Forrester's *Young Doctor Pusey*, and in Colin Matthew's article, 'Edward Bouverie Pusey: From Scholar to Tractarian.' Forrester argues that Pusey went through two major revolutions in his thinking. The first, completed in 1835, marked a shift from the earlier liberalism of the *Enquiry* period to political and theological conservatism, from a more generous spirituality to moral rigorism, and from an orientation towards new ideas coming out of Germany to an engagement with the early Christian Fathers.[7] The second revolution was completed in 1845, and although he does not state it explicitly, Forrester strongly

[4] Henry Chadwick, 72-73. Newman, *Apologia*, 183-185.

[5] The 'Phalanx' was a loose quasi-political and theological network of High Churchmen, centred on the homes of Joshua Watson and Henry Handley Norris in Hackney. Nockles, *Context*, 280, 302-306; *DNB.*

[6] Pusey to Sister Clara, August 22, 1882, LBV 77; emphasis mine. Quoted in Liddon, 4: 376.

[7] Forrester, *Pusey*, 63-65.

implies that this was a rejection of Protestantism and an embrace of Roman Catholic doctrine: he highlights Pusey's increasing emphasis on the Eucharist, his shifting attitudes towards the Reformation and Rome, and juxtaposes Pusey's endorsement of private confession in his two sermons on the *Entire Absolution of the Penitent* (1846) with the moral rigorism and the rejection of easy penitence found in his works of the later 1830s.[8] The views Pusey held by late 1845, Forrester concludes, were 'the ones he was to retain for the remainder of his life.'[9] Matthew's perspective is similar in putting forward a radical discontinuity in Pusey's thought. However, it is a simpler two-part distinction, contrasting the (supposed) liberalism of Pusey's German *Enquiry* with his (supposed) defensive anti-intellectualism of *Daniel the Prophet*. Matthew's link between the two is Pusey's Tractarianism: his retreat from creative thinking was driven by his association with the Oxford Movement, which gradually involved him more and more in theological controversy, hardening him into a statesman and a polemicist, at the expense of his intellectual freedom.[10]

Matthew's thesis at least has some superficial appeal. Certainly, Pusey's major works after the second edition of Tract 67 increasingly take on the nature of historical studies, or even compilations of authorities, in defence either of his own controversial positions, or of some threatened, though previously uncontroversial, orthodoxy. But to stop there ignores Pusey's substantial collection of published sermons and addresses (a total of ten volumes), and betrays the absence of any effort to identify the key principles of Pusey's 'creative' theology, and determine whether or not they appear in his later work. Beyond this, there is a pair of assumptions about theology which, when

[8] Forrester, *Pusey*, 206-210.

[9] Ibid., 210.

[10] H.C.G. Matthew, 'Edward Bouverie Pusey: From Scholar to Tractarian,' *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 32 (1981): 101-124.

identified, raise further questions about this analysis. First, in framing Pusey's development as a shift from 'scholarship' to 'statesmanship,' it is implied that theology is properly the province of isolated academics thinking in detachment from the life of the Church. Clearly, if controversialism is inimical to theology, the theological *corpus* would be much more slender than it is. Second, if Pusey's transition from liberal to conservative is one from originality to uncreativity, a further element of prejudice is added: it must at least be *possible* to have uncreative liberals, and creative conservatives. Finally, there is a question of accuracy in Matthew's treatment of the two key works he contrasts with one another. Robert Crouse observes that 'the hypothesis of Pusey as a young liberal seems far-fetched, and the evidence of his early associations with German scholarship seems, in fact, to point in the opposite direction.'[11] Meanwhile, Timothy Larsen finds Matthew's treatment of *Daniel* so problematic as to question if Matthew even read the work.[12] Both works, however, will be considered in due course.

Forrester's work, by contrast, relies heavily on a psychoanalytic approach emphasising the growing gloom of Pusey's outlook as the motivating factor in Pusey's intellectual shifts. As indicated in the previous chapter, there is no need to take this seriously. There is a theological aspect which Forrester traces as evidence for his theory, however, which relies heavily on Pusey's attitudes about sin and forgiveness. From 1828, Forrester quotes:

> 'Sorrow must indeed accompany us until we are finally freed from its parent, sin; yet the "godly sorrow" which a Christian must daily feel, if he thinks daily upon himself need be no harrassing [sic] feeling … his sorrow … quickens

[11] Robert D. Crouse, '"Deepened by the Study of the Fathers": The Oxford Movement, Dr. Pusey, and Patristic Scholarship,' *Dionysius*, 7 (1983): 141.

[12] See below, 42-44.

> his diligence, his anxiety, and petitions for assistance, but does not make him despond.'[13]

And:

> [T]he past must be to every Christian a source of sorrow; yet one knows that on repentance the past is forgiven us, that our sins are blotted out in the blood of Christ, that in the sight of God they are pardoned, as though they had never been … the sting of sorrow is removed, its fruits are not or need not be "uneasiness."[14]

These passages are contrasted with Pusey's language of the 'hard and toilsome way of Repentance' in the 1835 tracts on Baptism, and, as further evidence that Pusey 'began to regret his former attitudes on the subject of sin and repentance,' Forrester provides a letter in which Pusey rejects the justification of past sin by reference to some enjoyment or strong emotion mingled with the sin, referring to the ten years before his marriage as an example:

> had they been years in which I had waited patiently on God's will, then I might have had a right to refer to them with joy: as it is, shame ought to mix itself with the joy and thankfulness that God did, notwithstanding, bestowe you on me; and so though one may refer to it with gratitude … yet I could not, without doing harm to myself, refer to it without the solemn memory of past sinfulness.[15]

This contrast between 1828 and 1835 forms Forrester's first 'revolution' in Pusey's theology. Whereas this shift is concerned with Pusey's attitude towards sin—more lenient in earlier years, later more rigorous, in Forrester's analysis—the second 'revolution' involves means of addressing sin: Pusey's increasing emphasis on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and his endorsement of private Confession, both of which are tied to his attitudes towards the Reformation and Roman Catholicism. With regard to Confession, Forrester contrasts Pusey's statements from 1835 to 1839 with his

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[13] Pusey to Maria, April 6, 1828, LBV 23; quoted in Forrester, *Pusey*, 61.

[14] Pusey to Maria, May 16, 1828, LBV 23; quoted in Forrester, *Pusey*, 61.

[15] Pusey to Maria, November 6, 1835, LBV 24; quoted in Forrester, *Pusey* 67-68.

statements in the 1846 sermons on Absolution.[16] In 1835, Pusey held that the Roman practice of confession amounted in practice, if not in words, to a second Baptism restoring man to a perfect state of grace, with little effort or cost to the sinner. These views continue as late as 1839 with Pusey's protest against any system—Protestant or Roman—which is more concerned with easing the conscience than with teaching the gravity of sin. In 1846, however, Pusey wrote: 'Consciences *are* burdened. … They wish to be, and to know that they are in a state of grace. God has provided a means, however deeply any have fallen, to replace them in it.'

The most critical flaw in Forrester's analysis is that his second 'revolution' in Pusey's thought relies on a chronological error: by Pusey's own account, he was hearing confessions a year before his protest against facile forgiveness in 1839—and he could hardly be arguing against his own practice.[17] And indeed, the 'contrasts' Forrester brings forward are not as dramatic as he would have us believe. In 1828, Pusey maintained that ongoing sorrow for past sin is necessary, although its 'sting' is eased by the assurance of God's mercy; in 1835, he protested against the tendency to self-justify in lieu of that sorrow, and observed that a decade of his life would have been happier had he trusted in God rather than obsessing over his 'Byronic' emotions.[18] In 1839, Pusey's objection to shallow notions of repentance is softened by rejecting the notion that to 'revert to past sin, is to doubt of Christ's mercy;'[19] and while he insists that '[t]here are but two periods of *absolute* cleansing, Baptism and the day of judgment,' he

[16] The other points will be discussed later, as they *are* significant areas for Pusey's development, although not in the way that Forrester describes.

[17] Pusey, *A Letter to the Right Hon. and Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of London*, 7th ed. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1851), 3; *The Church of England Leaves Her Children Free to Whom to Open Their Griefs*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1850), 134.

[18] Forrester, *Pusey*, 61-68, 186-202; Liddon, 1: 41-44.

[19] Pusey, *A Letter to the Right Rev. Father in God, Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford* (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1839), 83-84.

is equally clear that the emphasis on continual penitence and sorrow for sin in the liturgies of the Church of England are the means by which 'our Church sets [a penitent sinner] in the way in which God's peace may descend upon him.'[20]

What Forrester sets before us, then, is not in fact a pair of dramatic shifts in Pusey's theology, as he would have us believe, but the evolution of an uninterrupted line of thought. This culminates in 1846:

> In Baptism, sins are suddenly and painlessly blotted out through grace; deep sins after Baptism are forgiven, but upon deep contrition which God giveth: and deep contrition is, for the most part, slowly and gradually worked into the soul, deepening with deepening grace, sorrowing still more, as, by God's grace, it more deeply loves; grieved the more, the more it knows Him Whom it once grieved, and through that grief and love inwrought in it by God, the more forgiven. So then, by the very order of God with the soul, (except when He leads it in some special way, and by the Cross and His own overflowing love blots out the very traces of past sin and its very memory,) continued sorrow is not only the condition of continued pardon, but the very channel of new graces, and of the renewed life of the soul. Sorrow, as it flows on, is more refined, yet deeper. To part with sorrow and self-displeasure would be to part with love; for it grieveth, and is displeased because it loves.[21]

In this sermon, Pusey repeatedly emphasises that the condition of forgiveness is ongoing sorrow for sin; and as absolution is ultimately dependent upon Christ's judgement of the penitent's sincerity, 'continued sorrow' even *after* absolution, is a necessary aspect of true penitence.[22] Even late in his life, the concerns of 1839 find a voice in Pusey's advice that confession should be regular, but not too frequent—leaving room for real penitence, rather than bolstering self-confidence by superficial reliance on sacramental grace.[23] Pusey's position here is not too far removed from his position in

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[20] Pusey, *Oxford*, 92-93.

[21] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent' (Oxford: James Parker, 1866), 23-24. Given that Pusey is arguing for Confession as the *ordinary* means established by God for the comfort of penitents within the Church—even if it had been neglected—the exception Pusey mentions appears to reflect appreciation for the Evangelical 'conversion experience.'

[22] Ibid., 24.

[23] See below, 129-134.

1828, that 'the past must be to every Christian a source of sorrow; yet one knows that on repentance the past is forgiven us, … the sting of sorrow is removed.'[24] If there is a difference, it is that his tone is deeper, his eloquence higher, and his theology more explicitly grounded in love. As Geoffrey Rowell notes: 'Penitence is not punishment, it is at its heart an expression of love, a response to the greatness of the love of God, in creation, redemption, and sanctification. The reality of that grace, the reality of the penitence which it calls forth, and the reality of the salvation God offers are the true themes of Pusey's teaching.'[25]

These points of continuity, however, also provide the first topics for considering Pusey's relationship with the old High Churchmen. Forrester suggests that (according to his theory) Pusey's newfound rigour with regard to post-baptismal sin was a product of his recently initiated acquaintance with the Fathers, begun under Newman's influence in the early 1830s. It is however likely that Pusey's knowledge of the Fathers began somewhat earlier: upon finishing his undergraduate, Pusey had received a folio collection of John Chrysostom and other fathers; his mentor Charles Lloyd placed considerable emphasis on the importance of reading primary sources which Pusey clearly acquired; and Pusey is known to have attended the Patristics lectures of August Neander during his visits to Germany.[26] In any case, Pusey's opinions on Baptism probably come from another source. As early as 1823, he had defended baptismal regeneration in friendly debates with Newman—a characteristic doctrine of the High

[24] Calhoun also notes the structural continuity of Pusey's thought on Baptism and repentance, noting that the difference between 1835 and 1846 is rather in the balance of optimism assigned respectively to the possibility of maintaining baptismal grace versus that of restoring it. Calhoun, 172. J.B. Mozley thought Pusey's development on this point displayed 'a regular, continuous, and successive progress.' J.B. Mozley, 2: 157-158.

[25] Rowell, *Vision*, 79-80.

[26] E.S. Ffoulkes, *A History of the Church of S. Mary the Virgin* (London: Longmans, Green, 1892), 401; Liddon, 1: 85-87.

Churchmen.[27] It is true that the strength of Pusey's language on post-baptismal sin shocked even High Churchmen—Rose thought his language far too strong, and another friend Walter Farquhar Hook suggested deeper consideration of the doctrine of absolution for the same reason.[28] But other High Churchmen (e.g. Henry Phillpotts) were appreciative of his work, and with good reason.[29] A part of the perspective which Pusey inherited from the High Churchmen was a realism about dying to sin in Baptism. This can be seen in Pusey's mentor, Charles Lloyd. Pusey's notes from Lloyd's lectures on Romans make this realism clear, and do not mince words about the gravity of post-baptismal sin.

> [U]nless the Divine nature be itself changed, sin must remain equally odious in the sight of God, and Christians who relapse into sin after being called to Christianity must still remain liable to the divine wrath. The first principle indeed of the Christian Faith is surely this: that the Lord hateth iniquity with a perfect hatred, and, he who in consequence of his adoption of this principle, and the conviction of his own sin has taken refuge in the remedy, which Christianity has provided for him, will surely be acting against the first principle of his Faith, if he falls back into those sins, which made him first embrace the Christian faith.

This conclusion is stated to be 'beyond all controversy.' The consequence of this, the continuing discussion makes clear, is that, while forgiveness is possible upon repentance, any post-Baptismal sin amounts to a voluntary renunciation of Baptism.[30]

Confession and absolution form a second link back to the High Churchmen. Forrester holds that this is a later development in Pusey's thought, influenced by patristic teaching and by John Keble, who had begun hearing confessions as early as

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[27] Newman, *Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1957), 203. See below, 105-108.

[28] Liddon, 351-352.

[29] Phillpotts to Pusey, November 10, 1849, LBV 59.

[30] Charles Lloyd, Lectures on Romans, in Pusey Papers—Notebooks, 6:1, 4, 12-13. The notes are undated, but in a notebook with an 1823 watermark; although clearly written in Pusey's hand, Liddon remarks that 'In many cases the strong, clear sentences are evidently Dr. Lloyd's.' Liddon, 1: 62-63. This document will be cited by reference to chapter and verse in Romans.

1826.[31] There are, however, indications that although Pusey himself only began hearing confessions in 1838, and only made his first confession (to Keble) in 1846, the idea was not a new one. Keble's practice is the first indication that this was not solely a Tractarian novelty, as it predated the Oxford Movement itself by seven years, and the impetus towards confession within the Movement (driven by Pusey's works on Baptism) by more than a decade.[32] Nor was Keble idiosyncratic except in *doing* what others only talked about. Forrester also acknowledges the encouragement given by Hook—a conservative High Churchman, though often sympathetic to the Tractarians—to Pusey's interest in absolution in the controversy over his views on post-baptismal sin.[33] To this can be added several others. In 1832, William Palmer of Worcester College, a High Churchman, had emphasised the continuity of the provisions for confession in the Prayer Book office for the visitation of the sick with the wider Western tradition dating back to at least 494.[34] In the same year, Pusey's former undergraduate tutor, the Evangelical Thomas Vowler Short, wrote, 'Confession to a priest is no where [sic] mentioned [in Scripture] as absolutely necessary; but reason, as well as the word of God, strongly points out, that to acknowledge our faults, especially to one vested with spiritual authority over us, must be a most effectual means of restraining us from the commission of sin,' and names the neglect of confession 'a misfortune to our church.'[35] Later High Church objections were not focused on

[31] Forrester, *Pusey*, 200.

[32] J.B. Mozley, 2: 157-158.

[33] Forrester, *Pusey*, 200, 205.

[34] William Palmer, *Origines Liturgicae, or Antiquities of the English Ritual, and a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies* (Oxford: University Press, 1832), 2: 228. This provision in the office for the visitation of the sick was the foundation of later Anglo-Catholic arguments for the legitimacy of private confession within the Church of England. (This work is drawn partially from Lloyd's notes on the same subject).

[35] Thomas Vowler Short, *A Sketch of the History of the Church of England to the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford: S. Collingwood, Printer to the University, 1832), 254-255.

theology, but on more practical matters. Bishops C.J. Blomfield of London and Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford worried that Pusey's ministry as a travelling confessor violated diocesan and parochial jurisdiction; Phillpotts of Exeter maintained that private confession should be occasional—either in extreme cases of conscience, or on the death-bed—rather than regular. This pre-Tractarian interest in private confession and absolution, and acceptance among an older generation of Pusey's theology (if not his practice), suggests that these ideas were not unknown even before the Oxford Movement; Pusey's own investigation of the topic, beginning in the late 1830s, is most likely a theological deepening, rather than a new discovery or a departure from inherited High Churchmanship.

Pusey the Progressive?

Forrester's theory then appears not to do justice to Pusey's development; specifically, the topics of post-baptismal sin and private confession have suggested both that his development should be considered more as a gradual process of deepening than as one or more 'revolutions,' and that his intellectual roots are firmly in the old High Church tradition. This suggestion, however, needs further examination; and the fundamental question on this point is, how 'liberal' was Pusey in his early years, how 'conservative' in his later years, and how do we connect the two periods? This question has both political and theological dimensions, because at least in Pusey's early life (before 1829 and the Catholic Relief bill) it is possible to draw connections between the High Churchmen and the Tories as 'conservatives,' and the Latitudinarians and the Whigs as 'liberals.' After 1829, the political landscape changed, and there was much less of an identification between political and theological parties, but the contrasts of

this later period with Pusey's early years in both respects will nonetheless prove informative.

On the political side of Pusey's thought, both Forrester and Matthew have identified an early liberal streak which Forrester attributes to a reaction against his father's extreme conservatism. Pusey supported Queen Caroline during her 'trial,' for instance, and was recorded as supporting Catholic Emancipation—the removal of political disabilities for Roman Catholics—as early as 1825.[36] Support for the Queen, however, was widespread; and despite the use of her cause by radicals, the accusations of infidelity hurled at both parties were rather more verifiable on the part of the king.[37] Pusey's support may well have been a reflection of the broader public sympathy for the Queen, rather than an indication of radicalism.

Emancipation is also less of a political index than might be thought. It proves certainly that Pusey was not an ultra-Tory, and that he was not of the most rigid High Churchmanship. Beyond eliminating that extreme position, however, it proves little. While the cause had been raised repeatedly by reforming politicians since at least the end of the eighteenth century, the facts leading up to its approval in 1829 show that by the 1820s, conservatives had reconciled themselves to the idea. The legislation was proposed by a Tory government, admittedly in reaction to the election in 1828 of the Roman Catholic political activist Daniel O'Connell as MP for County Clare, Ireland. But before that, Phillpotts—'most militant of Tory clergymen'—had privately suggested conditions under which Emancipation might be acceptable to High Church

[36] Forrester, *Pusey*, 14.

[37] Caroline had married the future George IV in 1795 to effect an alliance between the United Kingdom and Brunswick for the Napoleonic Wars. The marriage was unhappy from the beginning, and upon George's accession he attempted to divorce her by Act of Parliament; these proceedings (which ultimately failed) came to be referred to as her 'trial.' *DNB*.

principles.[38] And, as it happened, the leading ecclesiastical contenders both for and against the bill were High Churchmen: Pusey's own mentor Charles Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, and the formidable William Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham. Van Mildert had previously committed himself to oppose any form of emancipation as a matter of principle. Lloyd, however, had been the tutor of Sir Robert Peel, one of the government ministers supporting the bill (and a future Prime Minister); both this personal loyalty, and his more pragmatic temperament, led him to support the bill. Their arguments for and against the bill will prove to be instructive for understanding the attitudes of Pusey and his colleagues at Oxford.

Lloyd rose to support the bill on 2 April 1829. He argued that emancipation was both necessary and inevitable; necessary, to prevent a civil war, and inevitable, due to the 'progress of public opinion' throughout the United Kingdom, especially as reflected in 'the course which has of late years been taken by the talent and education of the country. [39] He was clear in expressing his regret at this progress, and his affection for the existing form of the Establishment, but

> [t]he stream has passed into a different channel, and is, in my judgment, uncontrollable by any human power; and it remains only for those who, like myself, behold these things with fear, and agony, and sorrow, to rely upon that wise and bounteous Providence, who can turn all things unto good, can bring light out of darkness, and order out of anarchy.[40]

Nonetheless, the tensions of the time raised the spectre of war; and as the changing public mood made emancipation inevitable, war to prevent it could not be *just*, as defined by Christian moral theology. Moreover delaying the passage of emancipation

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[38] E.A. Varley, *The Last of the Prince Bishops: William Van Mildert and the High Church Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 129; Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2nd ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970), 1: 10.

[39] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, (London: C.C. Hansard, 1829), n.s. 21: 76.

[40] Ibid., 77.

would, by reaction, lead to worse consequences for the Church of England.[41] Considered in such a light, passage of the bill became a moral duty. The next day Van Mildert rose to oppose the bill. He had been absent the day before, and had only been informed by hearsay of Lloyd's speech. Consequently, he mistook several of Lloyd's arguments in his rebuttal.[42] But, a recurring theme of his speech was the warning that although some—including Lloyd—were supporting the bill as a means to defend the Church's Establishment, it was highly unlikely that the Church's political opponents would respect that intent once given political power.[43] 'It was proposed to put a powerful lever in their hands, and it was expected that they would not make use of it.'[44] In this regard that he draws attention to the unlikely coalition of 'the Catholics and the Liberals, as they were called, of every description, down to the lowest grade of Socinians.'[45]

These arguments provide a background for understanding Pusey's positions on this question, and similar reforms. His support for Emancipation, though it predated Lloyd's, was founded on similar grounds. Pusey thought the political disabilities of Roman Catholics were a cause of grievance against the Church of England, and their removal would remove the grievance, thereby benefitting the established Church.[46] This is a more optimistic outlook than Lloyd's, but still similar in principle to the argument that maintaining the *status quo* would in the long run be detrimental to the Church. In

[41] *Hansard's*, n.s. 21: 76-80.

[42] Ibid., 156-157.

[43] Ibid., 146-156.

[44] Ibid., 150.

[45] Ibid., 149.

[46] Forrester, *Pusey*, 15; Pusey also, like many High Churchmen, opposed sacramental 'tests' of Church membership for political purposes (repealed the year before emancipation), as an affront to the nature of the sacraments; he repeated this view in 1835. Liddon, 1: 132-133; Pusey, *Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles* (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1835), 11-12.

contrast, however, although Pusey was less moved by Keble's Assize Sermon than Newman, by 1833 he nonetheless had come to oppose the government's reforms of the Irish Church. By then, Van Mildert's warnings had come true: the political opponents of the Church had *not* been content with the removal of political disabilities, but *had* continued to make increasingly intrusive reforms to the Church's structure. This does not mean that Pusey was opposed to reform, however. The same year saw his publication of *The Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions*, addressed to proposed (and much needed) restructuring within the Church of England, and putting forth more moderate proposals for repurposing Cathedrals as centres for training and mission, instead of either leaving them as collections of sinecures, or abolishing them completely.[47] In contrast to Newman's hostility towards Blomfield, who was from the mid-1830s the leading member of the commission charged with church reforms, Pusey donated £5,000 (more than either the King or the Archbishop of Canterbury) to Blomfield's fund for the building of London churches, and remained on amicable terms with him until the controversies of the 1850s.[48]

Later in life, Pusey's attitude toward reform was often pragmatic. For instance, he opposed secularizing the Universities; and while he preferred to preserve their ecclesiastical character as training centres for the established Church, he thought multi-denominationalism within the Universities, each denomination retaining its internal vitality, an acceptable alternative to the tepidity of making theology merely academic.[49] And he was highly adaptable, even in defeat: after opposing the expansion of

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[47] Pusey, *Remarks on the Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions, in the Promotion of Sound Religious Knowledge and of Clerical Education*, 2nd ed. (London: Roake and Varty, 1833).

[48] Newman, *Apologia*, 157; Liddon, 1: 330; S. A. Skinner, *Tractarians and the 'Condition of England': The Social and Political Thought of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 243.

[49] Liddon, 4: 200-201.

professorial roles in the University, he nonetheless became one of the new professorial members of the Hebdomadal Board, and carried out his duties with considerable skill and zeal.[50] Regarding party affiliation, Pusey commented in his later years, 'I could have been a Tory; but 1830 ended Toryism. I could not be a mere Conservative, i.e. I could not bind myself, or risk the future of the Church on the fidelity or wisdom of persons whose principle it is to keep what they think they can, and part with the rest.'[51] Rather, he chose to support those whom he trusted to have the best interest of the Church at heart. So, despite numerous practical differences, he was an ardent supporter of Gladstone, even after his change to liberalism; and though their friendship chilled somewhat on Gladstone's appointment of Frederick Temple, as Bishop of Exeter in 1869 (Pusey thought Temple tainted by his contribution to *Essays and Reviews*, though it was in itself inoffensive), Gladstone nevertheless served as a pall-bearer at Pusey's funeral.[52] The well-being of the Church also guided his views on Establishment—in 1842, and again in 1850-51, he would express a classic High Church belief in the benefits of Establishment for the nation, and its proper structure; but unlike more conservative Churchmen, he was also willing to raise the possibility that disestablishment might be necessary to the preservation of the Church.[53]

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[50] Pusey's business acumen surprised many of his colleagues. Ieuan Ellis, 'Pusey and University Reform,' in Perry Butler, 315-319.

[51] Liddon, 4: 199. Although it continued to exist for some time afterwards, the Tory party's influence collapsed in 1830, amid the upheaval following Catholic Emancipation.

[52] Ibid., 4: 196-197.

[53] Pusey, *A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Some Circumstances connected with the Present Crisis in the English Church*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1842), 13-14; *The Royal Supremacy not an Arbitrary Authority* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1850), 208-215; *London*, 193-194; Pusey to Liddon, April 6, 1871, LBV 68; cf. Palmer, *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, 3rd ed. (London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1842.), 1: 372-376; 2: 233-278; Nockles, 'Pusey and the Question of Church and State,' in Perry Butler, 275-276.

Aside from the strictly political, it should also be noted that (contrary to widespread belief) the Tractarians had deep social concerns which were rooted in their sacramental theology. These more theological aspects of Pusey's social concerns will be treated in chapter four; for the moment it might be worthwhile to consider Pusey's attitudes towards women. This could, in fact, overlap with social critique: a caustic treatment of the gender difference in standards of sexual morality provided the rebuttal to the supposed moral superiority of the upper classes.[54] More positively, his wife Maria, while impatient of social frivolities, was a competent Latinist who was able to assist with his textual criticism of Augustine for the Library of the Fathers, and it is doubtless that her ability to keep pace with his own intellect was a large part of his attraction to her.[55] Later in life, one of the more prominent aspects of Pusey's work was his support for the renaissance of Anglican religious orders, especially among women. While he was concerned not with feminism but the evangelisation of the cities, this activity repeatedly brought him into conflict with fathers whose only vision for their daughters was for them to marry well, and it was founded on the conviction that women could have a vocation to God's service, which paralleled male vocations to the ordained ministry.[56] At least in this case, Pusey's concerns for the Church entailed the rejection of established social norms.

Politically and socially, then, it appears that the distinctions between Pusey's earlier and later views cannot be drawn so sharply as has been suggested. In his early years, Pusey indeed saw the need for reform. But this was hardly unique to 'liberals,' though he was perhaps more optimistic about such changes than others who supported

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[54] Pusey, *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Prohibited by Holy Scripture* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1849), x-xii.

[55] Maria to Pusey, February 9, 1828, LBV 21; Owen Chadwick, *Spirit*, 214.

[56] E.g., Pusey to Sr. Clara Maria, April 19, 1875.

reform, such as Lloyd. And this attitude towards reform is not inconsistent with his later years. The most prominent change in him is the loss of his earlier optimism; though with the increasing secularization of the government, he also found himself increasingly thrown politically on the defensive. Nonetheless, as his attitude towards women in the religious life demonstrates, he continued to be willing to break with the *status quo* where he believed it necessary for the good of the Church and the salvation of souls.

Whereas Forrester emphasizes the political dimension of Pusey's early years, Matthew relies more on Pusey's early theology, reflected in Pusey's *Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalism Lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany*. This was a response to Hugh James Rose, who had in 1825 delivered a series of lectures at the University of Cambridge, published as *The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany*. The lectures were addressed to ordinands, encouraging them to lives of practical devotion, rather than idle speculation, and warning them away from the errors of private judgment and scepticism, and the reading of pernicious German rationalist theology.[57] By his own admission, Rose lacked an adequate knowledge of the historical causes that had produced German rationalism, but this had not kept him from discussing its formative ideas. The work was ill-received in Germany. Pusey's German friends thought that Rose had painted with too broad a brush; many feared that an apparently ignorant and antagonistic work from a prominent English theologian was certain to harm the cause of Christianity in Germany. Pusey noted in early 1827 that Schleiermacher was the only theologian in Germany known to have a good opinion of

[57] Hugh James Rose, *The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany; in a Series of Discourses Preached before the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: J Smith, Printer to the University, 1825), v-viii, 20-24, 110-12.

Rose's book, and that of its critics, '[t]he strongest against it are the most Christian.' He himself thought the negative reaction was excessive, but an inevitable consequence of Rose's historical errors.[58]

Despite urgings from his German friends Pusey was reluctant to respond; by 1827, he had finally decided to write a brief introduction for a response to be produced by Professor Karl Heinrich Sack; in the end, Sack's letter became the introduction to Pusey's historical study. The *Enquiry* was published in May 1828, a week before Pusey's diaconal ordination. Whereas Rose had attributed the corruption of German theology to the lack of adequate formularies—the absence of a uniform liturgy and the neglect of too-detailed confessional documents—and the lack of episcopal 'controul' to enforce doctrinal compliance, Pusey argued that Christianity had failed in Germany, not from lack of defences, but through the subversion of its defenders.[59] As he would describe his view decades later, 'Rationalism was the product, not of the attacks on the Gospel but of its weak defenders.'[60] In Pusey's theory, the narrow, polemical scholasticism or 'orthodoxism' of the post-Reformation era produced a two-fold reaction. Intellectually, the narrowness and rigidity of confessional Lutheranism drove away those who could not easily fit within it; emotionally, the emphasis on polemical controversialism reduced the faith to an intellectual exercise disconnected from practical Christianity.[61] And so, on the one hand, those who were intellectually repelled by orthodoxism rejected not only its excesses, but any certainty in the faith at all; on the

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[58] Liddon, 1: 150-151.

[59] Rose, *Protestant Religion*, 14-20.

[60] Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet: Nine Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford, with Copious Notes*, 3rd ed. (London: James Parker, 1869), xxv-xxvi. 'The rationalists … were the lineal descendants not of the assailants of Christianity, but of its defenders.' *Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1854), 53.

[61] This concern with 'orthodoxism' was an ongoing theme of Pusey's. See *Cathedral Institutions*, 37-40; 'Introductory Essay,' *Essays on Re-union* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1867), 11, 20-22.

other, the reforming movement of Arndt and Spener attempted to restore balance between practice and doctrine, but in the end the Pietists also slipped away, emphasising morality at the expense of doctrine. Ultimately, the effect of these two tendencies was that Christianity could only be defended as a rational system of morality, on principles adopted from its critics, and so lay helpless before the assault of secular philosophy. However, Pusey closed on a hopeful note: his friends in Germany were engaged in an attempt to rescue the practical orientation of Pietism and the intellectual openness of rationalism from their respective errors to the service of orthodoxy, and although it was too soon to judge, he was optimistic about the future.

Albrecht Geck has noted that Pusey's position, and that of his friends, is not so much liberal Protestantism, but a 'modern orthodoxy' aimed at 'a synthesis of "faith" and "understanding"'—a position represented, for instance, by Pusey's language about 'animated science.'[62] The modern orthodox position was a dialectical one: whereas orthodoxism and rationalism had their respective errors, modern orthodoxy aimed to use the best of 'science' to recover a vigorous orthodoxy.[63] This dialecticism does have 'progressive' overtones, since the rise of rationalism, though bad in itself, nevertheless provided the means ('science') to correct orthodoxism. But this should be moderated by the fact that Pusey's *Enquiry* narrates the *decay* of systems rather than their progress; and he specifically rejects the 'progress of humanity,' criticising the notion that Christian morality could be established by mature reason as much as by revelation.[64] In

[62] Albrecht Geck, 'From Modern-Orthodox Protestantism to Anglo-Catholicism,' in Strong and Herringer, 54.

[63] Ibid., 56-57; Geck, ed., *Autorität und Glaube: Edward Bouverie Pusey und Friedrich August Gotttreu Tholuck im Briefwechsel (1825-1865)*. (Göttingen: V und R Unipress, 2009), 48-52; cf. Leighton Frappell, '"Science" in the Service of Orthodoxy: The Early Intellectual Development of E.B. Pusey,' in Perry Butler, 1-33.

[64] Pusey, *An Historical Enquiry into the Probably Causes of the Rationalist Character Lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1828), 133-147, 162-163.

his hands, at least, 'science' is a good which God brings out of the evil of rationalism, not the engine of inevitable progress.

The *Enquiry*'s German roots, however, contributed to misunderstanding. Phrases such as the 'freedom of the gospel,' and a 'new era in theology,' though popular among his German friends, were easily misunderstood in England. There are also stylistic flaws. In many places Pusey's syntax seems more German than English, hampering the clarity of his language; and his coining of new words, most notably the pejorative 'orthodoxism,' led to further confusion. Newman observed that it was 'sadly deformed with Germanisms,' adding, 'It is a very valuable sketch, and will do good, but will be sadly misunderstood both from his difficulty of expressing himself, the largeness, profundity, and novelty of his views, and the independence of his radicalism.'[65] Pusey was well aware of the work's flaws; not long after the book was published, he observed, 'I have, in fact, been unlike other people in my language as in everything else. … I do not expect a very merciful handling from reviews. The sentiments scattered up and down [the book] will fare still worse than the style; and I expect to be thought one-third mystic, one-third sceptic, and one-third (which will be thought the worst imputation of all) a Methodist, though I am none of the three.'[66]

Misunderstanding, combined with cynicism about the future of German theology, stirred a High Church reaction against Pusey. Although Rose extensively revised and enlarged his work in line with Pusey's criticisms, he also issued a rebuttal.[67] Rose dismisses Pusey's work as 'only a sort of excrescence from Professor Sack's

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[65] Liddon, 1: 164.

[66] Liddon, 1: 152-153.

[67] Rose, *The State of Protestantism in Germany, Described: Being the Substance of Four Discourses Preached before the University of Cambridge in 1825*, 2nd ed., enlarged, with appendix (London: C.J. G. & F. Rivington, 1829).

Letter, a child which has outgrown its parents, and unintentionally thrown them into the shade,' accusing Pusey of wilfully misunderstanding his earlier work (though his revisions would suggest a tacit acknowledgement that it was not so clear as he maintained), and raising doubts as to Pusey's orthodoxy.[68] Moreover, although Pusey quite openly acknowledged the influence of both Neander and August Tholuck on his thinking, the latter had asked not to be named; yet notes from Tholuck's own lectures on the same subject surfaced not long after Pusey's work was published. Despite private correspondence in which Pusey clarified that Tholuck was the anonymous friend he had cited, Rose nonetheless seized the opportunity to raise the spectre of plagiarism.[69]

Pusey had not intended to write on Germany beyond the original volume of the *Enquiry*, but his own misgivings about the work were confirmed with the publication of Rose's response, and he set about to defend his reputation. The second part of the *Enquiry* appeared in 1830; in it, Pusey clarified his arguments, defended certain other remarks he had made (most notably on inspiration) which Rose had attacked, and added several substantial chapters of historical material which are perhaps most notable as an expression of his deep admiration for Spener.[70] Helpfully, he imposes a unifying lens on his earlier argument: the common cause for the collapse of orthodoxy, as of Pietism, was the tendency of partisan division to reduce a renewal movement to 'formularism,' either of doctrine or practice, whereby beliefs or practices originally meant for the revitalisation of the whole Church are reduced to mere badges of party membership.[71]

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[68] Rose, *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, in Reply to Mr. Pusey's Work* (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1829), 7-8.

[69] Ibid., 105-106. Rose printed Pusey's explanatory letter (see Liddon, *Life*, 1: 161-163), ostensibly to let the reader draw their own conclusions.

[70] Pusey, *An Historical Enquiry into the Causes of the Rationalist Character Lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany, Part II*, (London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1830), 314-361.

[71] Ibid., 392-397.

Even on a superficial reading, it is clear that Pusey's sympathy for rationalism only extends as far as a certain optimism about modern orthodoxy's salvage effort, and, perhaps, an excessive need to point out the good intentions of the figures he studies, whatever effects they may have had.[72] He and Rose are agreed that rationalism is a bad thing; their differences are primarily as to its cause. Pusey's positions on Episcopacy and Articles—the lack of which Rose saw as the cause—will be discussed later. For the purpose here of contrasting Pusey's modern orthodoxy with his later Tractarianism, however, it will be most beneficial to subject his theory of the 'probable causes' of German rationalism to a closer analysis. Pusey's account is a history of attempts to hold together the intellectual and practical (including both emotional and moral) aspects of faith, within an orthodox framework. The heroes of his story are Luther and Spener, with their respective attempts to unite this triad. The tragedy of his narrative is the decay of each system due to 'formularism.' After Luther, confessionalism lapsed into orthodox formularism, clinging to orthodoxy with only narrow allowance for the intellect, while practical Christianity slipped away. After Spener, Pietism lapsed into practical formularism, in which a rigid emphasis on personal morality was accompanied by an ever more tenuous grasp of orthodoxy, and a disregard for intellectual inquiry. Naturally, the third erroneous approach to Christianity is rationalism, focused on the activity of the intellect, capable of addressing practical morality, but at odds with Christian orthodoxy. Pusey's Modern Orthodox friends had seized upon its ability to connect intellect and Christian practice, and hoped on these grounds that 'science' could be rescued from rationalist influence as a unifying element.

[72] Pusey had, in fact, travelled to Germany to learn the best way of combating rationalism. Liddon, 1: 44-49, 77, 88-89.

This conceptual analysis can provide a tool for understanding Pusey's evolution. Pusey's later pessimism about the German churches was grounded primarily in disillusionment: 'science,' unsurprisingly, had proven unreliable as a mediating principle, as his German friends slipped either towards rationalism or towards orthodoxism; only Tholuck appeared to remain stable.[73] But even before these shifts began to appear, it is likely that the mediating role of science had received a fatal blow. 'Scientific' inquiry relies heavily on academic dispute to contest findings and test positions. Accordingly, Pusey had written that 'The enquiries in Germany, though occasionally carried on wrong principles, seem generally to have had truth for their object, have contributed to the firmer and better-grounded establishment of several books, and to the better classification of all,' adding, 'where doubts have acquired a general prevalence, it is an unquestionable service to collect those doubts as strongly as they are capable of being put; the only result of the desultory answers with which, till this is done, vindicators often content themselves, is to produce an unjustified and unconvinced conviction.'[74] When Pusey, in the process of preparing the second part of the *Enquiry*, asked Keble for his input, Keble insisted that no practical good could come of raising doubts about the faith, in any context. Error was to be put down as soon as it raised its head, rather than debated.[75] Keble's sentiment apparently took hold of Pusey, as his attitudes from the 1830s onwards indicate—for instance, in his support for the campaign against Hampden's appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity.[76] This did not end Pusey's appreciation of dialogue, however: he supported mutual explanation

[73] Pusey to Tholuck, March 24, 1865, in Geck, *Autorität*, 180; cf. Frappell, 22-23.

[74] Pusey, *Enquiry I*, 153-155.

[75] Keble to Pusey, April 19, 1829, LBV 50; Pusey to Keble, May 13, 1829, LBV 101.

[76] Pusey to Tholuck, July 30, 1836 and March 6, 1837, in Geck, *Autorität*, 162-169.

between High Church and Evangelicals, and between Anglicans and Roman Catholics, over the course of his life. It was only dialogue with those who compromised the faith which was excluded.

Despite the collapse of 'science' as a mediating principle, however, there are signs that Pusey's concern for the union of faith, thought, and practice continued to influence his thought. As we shall see in the next chapter, Pusey's study of allegorical exegesis can be seen as a step towards proposing a symbolic and sacramental principle for the role of unifying the triad. Even if that is discounted, it is certainly true that Pusey's theological writing is concerned primarily with preserving the union of orthodox doctrine and faithful practice, while his understanding of dogma is negative or apophatic so as to allow a certain intellectual freedom, within boundaries. But beyond that, Pusey's concern in writing the *Enquiry* was not just with an accurate assessment of German theology, but with the future of the Church of England: the 'orthodoxist' and 'pietist' corresponded respectively to trends he saw in the High Church and Evangelical movements; and he was quite blunt about the English origins of rationalism. And, turning to his own lifelong engagement with the English Church, we see that the Oxford Movement itself can be characterised as a movement of intellectual creativity and scholarship, in the service of orthodoxy and faithful practice. Its various members doubtless came to this position for different reasons: in Pusey, it was the addition of Evangelical feeling and piety to High Church orthodoxy; in Keble and Froude, it was the addition of Romantic emotion to the High Church tradition of both piety and asceticism; for Newman and the Wilberforces (Robert and Henry), it was the fusion of High Church principles with Evangelical character. Despite their different approaches, their common position in uniting these principles was doubtless part of Pusey's

attraction to the Movement, even if unspoken. More negatively, there is also a correspondence between Pusey's two-way critique and the tensions of the Movement with both High Churchmen and Evangelicals. Coupled with Newman's positive assessment of the work, this raises the possibility that the *Enquiry* may, in fact, have contributed at least indirectly to the formation of the Tractarian position.[77]

Pusey's theory of the decay of principles through partisan formularism also appears to have continued to influence him. His hesitation about fully committing to the Movement can be seen (in part) as caution with regard to its potentially partisan nature. In fact, despite the accusations of William Palmer and others, and despite the widespread perception (indeed, the reality) of his leadership in the Movement, Pusey always insisted that he was never a party leader.[78] In keeping with that principle he resisted joining the English Church Union until 1866, when he took the position of vice-president—which had been Keble's—in memory of his departed friend. In that role, however, he was frequently in conflict with more audacious Ritualists than himself, and used the threat of resignation as an effective bludgeon to enforce moderation on their proceedings. In these disputes he insisted, for instance, that private confession was beneficial but ought not be mandatory, and that liturgical innovations were secondary to theology and the needs of the congregation.[79] In light of the *Enquiry*, we might

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[77] Hurrell Froude's distinction between two opposed classes of rationalist—intellectualist and supernaturalist—also correlate loosely to a collapsed orthodoxism and a decayed pietism in Pusey's model, and bear even more directly on the allegorical concerns discussed in the next chapter. R.H. Froude, 'Essay on Rationalism, as Shown in the Interpretation of Scripture,' in *Remains of the Late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A.: Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford*, Part 2, ed. J. Keble and J.H. Newman (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1839), 1: 2.

[78] William Palmer, *A Narrative of Events Connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times* (London: Rivingtons, 1883), 240. Owen Chadwick notes, 'If [Pusey] had thought a party to be following him, he would have shut himself in his house, said his prayers, and continued with his studies.' *Spirit*, 37.

[79] Peter G. Cobb, 'Leader of the Anglo-Catholics?' in Perry Butler, 353-361; Robert Mackley, 'Dr Pusey and the SSC,' in *In This Sign Conquer: A History of the Society of the Holy Cross 1855-2005*, ed. William Davage (London: Continuum, 2006), 54-62; cf. Liddon, 4: 271-291.

understand this as his resistance to the descent of Tractarian sacramentalism into Ritualist formularism.

Matthew opposes the *Enquiry* to Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel the Prophet*.[80] But here again, more careful reading offers a different perspective. An early date of the book of Daniel which Pusey defended is no longer widely accepted. But to emphasise the current rejection of Pusey's position risks overlooking the fact that it was only decades later, after Pusey's death, that his position was definitively defeated; at the time it was a massive contribution to an ongoing scholarly debate. [81] Larsen finds Pusey's philological scholarship 'brilliant' and 'persuasive,' concluding that 'Matthew never bothered to read this volume before denouncing and dismissing it,' and that 'it is Matthew who did not face the scholarship in Pusey's *Daniel the Prophet* but rather evaded it; and Matthew who attempted to answer Pusey's learned efforts by ignoring them.'[82] In Pusey's day, his argument was seen as unanswerable; it was only with the publication of S.R. Driver's commentary on Daniel in 1900 that 'Daniel scholarship slipped out of Pusey's range of fire'—showing remarkable longevity in a hotly contested field.[83] Driver himself, though disagreeing with Pusey, singles out Pusey's lectures as 'extremely learned and thorough' among other works on Daniel.[84]

To compare *Daniel* to the *Enquiry*, however, more specific points are needed. Christopher Seitz identifies four aspects of Pusey's argument in *Daniel*, which can be

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[80] Matthew, 115-116.

[81] Timothy Larsen, E.B. Pusey and Holy Scripture,' in *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 60 (2009): 507.

[82] Ibid., 504-506.

[83] Christopher Seitz, *Figured Out: Typology and Providence in Christian Scripture* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 30.

[84] S.R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel* (Cambridge: University Press, 1900), ciii-civ. Driver retained this assessment of Pusey's work in the 1912 edition, despite making editorial changes to the passages immediately surrounding it. Larsen, 518.

used for a deeper analysis: piety as the guarantor of orthodoxy, a miraculous understanding of prophecy, the interpretation of the Old Testament by the New, and the doctrine of Christ as an infallible teacher who interprets the Old Testament.[85] The key to understanding Pusey's position on these topics lies in the second point, prophecy as a miracle. Pusey concedes that belief in the supernatural is something that follows from faith, so he is not concerned to preserve a definition of prophecy as supernatural prediction which thereby provides 'proof' of Christianity.[86] Rather, given that prophecy *is* supernatural prediction—both for Pusey and for those he critiques—the fundamental reason for denying the prophetic nature of the book of Daniel is the tacit assertion that there is no supernatural, and therefore no prophecy.[87]

> Those who use the argument [against the prophetic understanding of Daniel] call themselves 'unprejudiced,' simply because they are free from what they call *our* prejudices. But of course one who lays down, that such a book cannot have been written at a given time, *because*, in that case, it would contain definite predictions of the future, as much prejudges the question on the ground of his antecedent anti-doctrinal prejudices, as he can allege of us, that we decide it on our doctrinal prejudices, i.e. on our previous belief.[88]

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[85] Seitz, 17.

[86] In a University Sermon of this decade, he concedes that while some miracles might be seen as essential to the Gospel, many miracles in Scripture are not so closely tied to the fundamental tenets of Christianity, and '[f]or the most part … we believe those other miracles, because we believe the Gospel,' rather than the reverse. Prophecy, like other miracles, may prepare someone for faith, but it cannot produce faith—faith is entirely the gift of God. The distinguishing feature of prophecy is that whereas other miracles happen, and then might be recorded, prophecy's miracle is in its recording, and so it provides an enduring testimony to which any reader might be a witness, not just those present for a particular event. Pusey, 'Prophecy, a Series of Miracles which we can Examine for ourselves,' in *University Sermons II*, 53-77.

[87] *Daniel*'s emphasis on prophetic prediction should not be taken to exclude Pusey's interest in allegory discussed in the next chapter. The essay to which Pusey was responding not only criticized traditional views of the book of Daniel, but also displayed negative attitudes towards both allegory and sacramentalism; his emphasis in *Daniel* on miraculous prophetic prediction is merely the vehicle for critiquing a set of principles which also had consequences for these other emphases in his theology. Rowland Williams, 'Bunsen's Biblical Researches,' *Essays and Reviews*, 2nd ed. (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1860), 64-65, 86-87.

[88] Pusey, *Daniel*, 7; emphasis Pusey's. Pusey's defense of his theological positions to Bp. Lloyd demonstrates that this belief in the miraculous nature of prophecy dates at least as early as the *Enquiry*: after detailing his understanding of inspiration (see below, 60), he then excludes prophecy from the previous discussion: 'Prophecy of course stands by itself.' Pusey to Lloyd, October 6, 1828, LBV 108.

That is, there is no progressive ability to transcend past prejudices and obtain 'objective' scholarship; there is only scholarship that proceeds from prior principles, which either include or exclude faith. Accordingly, Pusey states his own bias, and sets about the task of revealing his opponents' by dismantling the arguments with which they would conceal it. Despite aiming to address every argument raised on Daniel's date, he admits, 'my own conviction is, that the point really at issue remains, when they are answered.'[89] His aim is less to prove his position, than to expose the 'point really at issue'—the clash in opposing systems. The other points Seitz mentions are properly understood in light of this. The interpretation of the Old Testament by the New, centring on Christ, *is* a principle outside the text—but so too, ironically, is the refusal of such principles. Piety, meanwhile, relates to formation in the tradition which bears those principles.[90] Pusey was intimately familiar with the good intentions of many critics. His concern, however, was not with their intent, but with the effects of their principles, both in the *Enquiry* and in *Daniel*. Here, the difference between the two lies in his effort to distinguish intent from principle in the *Enquiry*, absent in *Daniel*. But Pusey had withdrawn the *Enquiry* because such niceties had obscured his argument. He was not likely to repeat the same mistake.

Daniel shows that the undergirding concerns and concepts of the *Enquiry* can be traced through Pusey's entire life. He agreed with Rose in his opposition of rationalism; where they differed was that Pusey saw a deeper need for reform in the Church of England in order to safeguard it—reliance on formularies and episcopacy would not be enough. Although his initial optimism about German 'modern orthodoxy' faded quickly, the concerns that drove it remained; and his involvement in the Oxford

[89] Pusey, *Daniel*, xiii-xiv.

[90] Piety is intimately connected with the Tractarian concern for *phronesis*, see below, 69-70.

Movement can be seen as a continuation of that reforming impulse. There are parallels here with his political development. Both politically and theologically, it is highly doubtful that Pusey was ever a 'progressive' or a liberal. However, he did see the need for reform. Where he changed was in his optimism about reform, which shifted under the course of events and the stern counsel of Keble towards a more critical and cautious attitude. Indeed, with the political changes of his lifetime, this caution very nearly became resistance to many of the changes proposed by the increasingly secular government, though Pusey remained adaptive. Theologically, however, this caution enabled him to criticize and in some measure restrain the excesses of his own party. Despite the deep differences in approach and the political distrust between them during Pusey's lifetime, after his death William Palmer credited Pusey with having successfully guided the children of the Oxford Movement to the kind of revitalized churchmanship he and other High Churchmen had hoped for.[91]

Continuity and Evolution I: Authority and the Church

There remain, however, two topics which bear strongly on Pusey's development: his understanding of ecclesial authority and his attitudes on Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. So far, this investigation has suggested that Pusey's development is best characterised by continuity of thought and purpose, accompanied however by increased caution and a more critical attitude, which replaced an earlier and less guarded optimism. In questions of authority, as well, Pusey shows a strong strand of continuity, which is increasingly shaped by deepening scholarship, criticism, and understanding.

[91] Palmer, *Narrative*, 240-241.

In his first work on Germany, Rose had emphasised the importance of articles and episcopacy. Pusey's refusal to acknowledge that these were effective defences of the Church have been used to suggest that he was not High Church in his attitudes, but more Latitudinarian or 'Low Church' in sentiment, so that his adherence to the Oxford Movement, with its dogmatism and strong emphasis on apostolic succession, was yet another reversal in his thought. As with the 'revolutions' considered above, Pusey's development is less dramatic that often supposed; but the question of authority in the Church can nonetheless help clarify Pusey's relationship with the High Churchmen, while elucidating his stance on a key tenet of Tractarianism.

Pusey's early views on episcopacy should be stated precisely. He did not de-value the bishops; but rather he maintained that their existence was not sufficient to preserve the church from error: episcopal churches in Scandinavia had become as rationalist as non-episcopal churches in Germany; but the presbyterian Church of Scotland had remained as orthodox as the episcopal Church of England.[92] When challenged by Bishop Blomfield, he professed his own deep appreciation of episcopacy, but was unwilling to relinquish his conviction that episcopacy had nothing to do with the growth of rationalism in Germany.[93] This rather weak statement has been contrasted with Rose's stronger position to conclude that Pusey held a 'low church' *bene esse* view of the episcopate, versus Rose's High Church *esse* position and thus that Pusey was not a High Churchman.[94] This contrast, however, reads pre-Tractarian High Churchmanship through the lens of the Oxford Movement. In reality, the High Churchmen held the *bene esse* position, and were unwilling to un-Church foreign protestants who lacked bishops

[92] Pusey, *Enquiry II*, 15-21.

[93] Pusey to Blomfield, n.d., LBV 40.

[94] This distortion, in fact, appears to derive from Liddon. Liddon, 1: 171.

(local non-episcopal bodies were thought schismatic, not because they lacked bishops, but because the established Church was understood as the Catholic Church in England).[95] In fact, Rose holds that bishops make a very specific contribution to the well-being of the Church. Pusey at this time also held that bishops were for the well-being of the Church, but he rejects this specific benefit and is vague as to what benefits he affirms.

After his adherence to the Oxford Movement, Pusey clearly adopted the Tractarian belief that bishops were essential to the Church. Rune Imberg has traced how, in Pusey's Tracts, the continental protestants referred to as 'churches' in earlier editions become 'bodies' in later versions, and Pusey is known to have occasioned some consternation by refusing communion to a Lutheran colleague visiting at Oxford (confirmation was at the time required for communion; because German Lutheranism is non-episcopal, and confirmation in the Church of England is performed by a bishop, Pusey would have considered his confirmation invalid).[96] A late work considering the role of the episcopate makes it *the* sole ruling organ of the Church.[97] And, in an oft-quoted statement, Pusey named a '[h]igh estimate of Episcopacy, as God's ordinance' as a main feature of 'Puseyism.'[98] While this certainly represents a much stronger position than that shown in his early years, there is also continuity. Even as a Tractarian, Pusey thought the doctrine of apostolic succession dull and uninteresting. And while defending the doctrine in 1839, he nonetheless refused to un-Church continental

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[95] Nockles, *Context*, 146-152.

[96] Rune Imberg, *In Quest of Authority: The 'Tracts for the Times' and the Development of the Tractarian Leaders, 1833-41* (Lund UP: 1987), 172-176; Geck, 'Modern-Orthodox,' 61-63; *Autorität*, 86, 93-94.

[97] Pusey, *The Councils of the Church from the Council of Jerusalem A.D. 51, to the Council of Constantinople A.D. 381* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1857). In Pusey's vision, other members of the clergy are admitted to synods only as theological advisors to the bishops, and laity are excluded.

[98] Liddon, 2: 140-141.

Protestants, insisting that the questions the Tractarians raised regarding non-episcopal ordinations were meant to emphasise the blessings of the Church of England, not to deny God's grace to other bodies.[99] As late as 1870, he wrote to Liddon, about the days leading up to Newman's secession, 'Dear J.H.N[ewman]. said to me one day at Littlemore, "Pusey, we have leant on the Bishops, and they have given way under us." Dear J.K[eble]. and I never did lean on the Bishops, but on the Church. We, or rather the whole Church, have had plenty of scandals as to Bishops, and always shall have them.'[100] Clearly, he had not lost his earlier views on the episcopate as a defence of the Church. In fact, there appears to be a certain ironic logic when these various statements are taken together: bishops, if they are important to the Church, must constitute an essential organ of it, since it is not clear that they necessarily contribute to its well-being.

The other topic raised by Pusey's dispute with Rose is his attitude towards articles of faith. Rose had maintained that the rise of rationalism had been allowed in part by the neglect of the Lutheran confessional statements; Pusey maintained that over-adherence to them had narrowed the vision of German theology and provoked an anti-dogmatic reaction. This has been coupled with some statements in Pusey's letters to Maria during their engagement, which Forrester paraphrases as stating that 'differences of outlook among the principal bodies of dissenters were akin simply to the varying degrees of emphasis placed on certain doctrines by the high church and evangelical parties, in the Church of England; and as such, were neither of vital importance nor to

[99] '[W]hile maintaining that they only are *commissioned* to administer the Sacraments, who have received that commission from those appointed in succession to bestow it, we have never denied that God *may* make His own Sacraments efficacious, even when irregularly administered; we should trust it might be so: some of us are bound up by ties of affection to those very Protestant bodies, which it is supposed we should so harshly and wantonly cut off from the Church of Christ'—a clear reference to his German friendships. Pusey, *Oxford*, 146-182 (quotation 152).

[100] Liddon, 4: 231.

be confused with the truth itself.'[101] Taken together, these have been used to suggest that Pusey had a latitudinarian disregard for doctrinal differences.

It is important, however, to acknowledge the context for Pusey's statements. In the latter case, he was answering Maria's question, why differing beliefs between denominations were not cause to disbelieve Christianity.[102] He was not setting out his general views on doctrine or the Church, but was explaining that the diverse positions held within Christianity did not disprove the claims of Christianity to be a revealed religion; so for instance, Anglicans and Baptists might disagree as to their doctrine of Baptism, but 'the main principle that persons should be baptised is admitted by both.'[103] That is, certain things (e.g. the principle of baptising) have been revealed, and those are held in common; the precise explanations for them might still be disagreed upon. In context, this statement need not entail indifference to doctrine.

So too, the *Enquiry's* protest that overly detailed formularies provoke an anti-dogmatic reaction, suggests a desire to preserve dogma, rather than indifference to it. As with his position on episcopacy, when pressed, Pusey reaffirmed his appreciation of the English Articles of Religion. The difference between the Articles and, for instance, the Formula of Concord, was that the Articles were brief and allowed for some breadth of interpretation, while the Formula is detailed, requiring assent to each particular.[104] Or, to put it slightly differently, but in a way that makes the idea easier to trace in Pusey's later thought, the Articles set boundaries for belief, while the Formula states beliefs that

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[101] Forrester, *Pusey*, 19-20.

[102] M. R. Barker to Pusey, October 3, 1827, LBV 21.

[103] Pusey to M. R. Barker, October 4, 1827, LBV 23.

[104] Pusey, *Enquiry I*, 19-25, *Enquiry II*, 30-34, 45-47. Pusey's dislike for the Formula of Concord is repeated in 1857, using the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity as a specific instance of the general process outlined in the *Enquiry*. Pusey, *The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ the Doctrine of the English Church*. (Oxford: James Parker, 1869), 119-125; cf. Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic*, Trans. A.G. Hebert (London: SPCK, 1930), 110.

must be assented to. In the period of the Tracts, this can be seen in Pusey's allowance for differing interpretations of the Articles. Unlike Newman's position in Tract 90, Pusey never argues that his beliefs are merely permissible; he insists rather that his position is the correct interpretation of the Articles, when read precisely and in the context of both their history and the Prayer Book, Catechism, and Homilies.[105] But despite this insistence, he always allowed his opponents a place in the Church.[106] Again, although he served as a theological advisor to Phillpotts during the Gorham case, he regretted the prosecution, believing that the cause of truth was better served by persuasion and mutual explanation than coercion.[107] An evolution of the *Enquiry*'s understanding of the Articles as boundaries shapes the ecumenical proposals of his *Eirenicon*. Here, he suggests that the Articles and the Council of Trent both set boundaries—but different ones, with room between them. The Tridentine decrees state the minimum for belief, while the Articles set a maximum. So, for instance, Trent insists that Christ is present in the Eucharist, but the Articles state that this is 'only after an heavenly and spiritual manner,' not by a physical change in the elements. Or again, the Eucharist is a sacrifice, but may not in any way interfere with the one sacrifice of Christ.[108]

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[105] Pusey, *English Church*, 161-239.

[106] Pusey, *Oxford*, 122-123. Both Pusey and Newman allow that a range of positions is allowed by the Articles, but for Newman it is because they are vague, whereas for Pusey it is because they are precise; Newman thought their original intent anti-Catholic, but Pusey took a longer view, emphasising the various revisions of the Articles and the necessity of taking them in the larger context of other Anglican formularies, regardless of the views of any individuals involved along the way; cf. Newman, *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles*, TFT 90, 4th ed. (London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1841), 4, 80-82; Roderick Strange, 'Reflections on a Controversy: Newman and Pusey's "Eirenicon,"' in Perry Butler, 336-337.

[107] See below, 108.

[108] Pusey, *The Church of England a Portion of Christ's One Holy Catholic Church, and a Means of Restoring Visible Unity* (Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, 1865), 23-31. *Is Healthful Reunion Impossible? A Second Letter to the Very Rev. J.H. Newman, D.D*. (Oxford: James Parker, 1870), 75-90.

So, in Pusey's understanding of ecclesial authority, what we have found is that his understanding of episcopacy started at a position similar to the High Churchmen, though less defined than the position held by Rose. His association with the Oxford Movement produced a shift towards a stronger understanding of the episcopate; but this stronger view of the role of bishops was, ironically, consistent with the doubts which he had put forward in his early career, and which he continued to hold. On the other hand, he developed early on an understanding of ecclesiastical articles as boundaries for faith, rather than as propositions to be adhered to, which clearly continued throughout his life. The role this played in his ecumenism, however, has brought us to the final topic of this chapter.

Continuity and Evolution II: The Reformation and Rome

The last broad theme in Pusey's development is his attitude towards the Reformation, on the one hand, and towards Roman Catholicism on the other. It is implied in Forrester's work, and in many others, that Pusey began his life a firm Protestant, and ended it as a Roman Catholic in all but name.[109] However, it is my view that these shifts in Pusey's thinking are best understood in the same way that has been argued with regard to the aspects of his thought already discussed in this chapter, as a deepening criticism of the Reformers on the one hand, and of the anti-Roman polemic on the other; but without abandoning his own position which is, from very early on, best described as a form of 'Reformed Catholicism'—a theology grounded on Reformed (though High Church, not strictly Calvinist) principles, while Catholic (in the broadest sense) in outlook and orientation. Pusey's theology is addressed in the remainder of this

[109] Forrester, *Pusey*, 206-210; Matthew, 118. See below, 143.

thesis; what can be examined here is the way in which his theological continuity is expressed in an ongoing appreciation for the Reformation, and reticence towards Rome beneath his increasing critical nuance.

Pusey's shifting attitudes on the Reformation can be studied in part, through his appreciation for Luther. In the *Enquiry*, Luther is a hero, someone who restored the spirit of true religion, only to have his renewal of the faith thrown off course by later systematisers and polemicists.[110] This is often contrasted with his 'un-churching' of Lutheranism and his increasing pessimism about the German church, especially after 1840—but those points are connected to his shifting position on episcopacy and his increasing doubts about modern orthodoxy, discussed above.[111] There are, however, many references which show a continuing appreciation for Luther that lasts late into his life. In his work on Baptism, foreshadowing the interpretations of the 'Finnish school,' he cited Luther's commentary on Galatians as containing the very doctrine of union with Christ that he himself taught; in the second edition this is slightly strengthened, apparently as a quiet defence of the reformer from the assault of Newman's *Lectures on Justification*.[112] However, by the mid-1850s, Pusey had begun to admit Luther's fallibility. In *The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ the Doctrine of the English Church*, he admits that the source of Lutheran 'errors' regarding the Eucharist is in Luther himself.[113] But, while denouncing the ubiquity of Christ's

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[110] Pusey, *Enquiry I*, 19-20; *Enquiry II*, 367-370.

[111] As seen, for instance, in his response to the Jerusalem Bishopric: Liddon, 2: 248-260.

[112] Pusey, *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*, TFT 67-69 (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1836), 28-30; *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, as Established by the consent of the Ancient Church, and Contrasted with the Systems of Modern Schools*, TFT 67, 4th ed. (London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1840-42), 120-124; Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, eds., *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). Newman notices at least one similar passage, perhaps influenced by Pusey's work, but counts it as an exception in Luther's thought. Newman, *Lectures on Justification*, 2nd ed. (London: J.G.F. and J Rivington, 1840).

[113] See below, 147 n. 40, 152.

body as heretical, Pusey also defends Luther as holding a correct understanding of the *communicatio idiomatum*, being guilty only of exaggeration in his controversy with Zwingli. Likewise, Luther's emphasis on the sacrament as kindling faith is not wrong, only incomplete. On both points, blame falls more heavily on followers who systematised Luther's partial or exaggerated statements, making them dogmatic pillars of Lutheranism. It was only late in life that Pusey shifted to a preference for Calvin's eucharistic theology over Luther's.[114] What these comments show is an increasing admission of Luther's fallibility as an individual teacher, within the consistent framework of his earlier critique—if systems built on Luther were flawed, he must himself have been imperfect. Still, Pusey shows a lingering personal regard for Luther which is only fully eroded in the 1870s.

While Pusey's lasting affection for Luther suggests that he had not entirely rejected the Reformation by the early 1840s, his attitudes towards one man offer only a narrow perspective. A broader view might be gained from surveying his appreciation for the English Reformation. There is little mention of the English reformers in his earliest writings, although we might assume that he gave them a standing similar to that of the continental reformers. By 1837, however, a note of criticism is introduced: Cranmer is seen as weak-minded and too easily influenced by the continental refugees to whom he extended hospitality. Pusey, however, retains a high estimate of Ridley, and he makes the claim that Anglicanism had retained its catholicity because (unlike Lutheranism and Calvinism) it did not follow the teachings of any one man—a view which is clearly complementary to his critique of Lutheranism as a systematisation of

[114] *English Church*, 96-109, 112-125; and see below, 149.

Luther.[115] Pusey, alone among the Oxford Movement, initially thought the proposal to memorialise the martyrs of the English Reformation unobjectionable, despite its links to anti-Tractarian sentiment. His eventual objection was to glorifying *individual* reformers, and he offered a counter-proposal (which, however, received little support from any quarter) to build a church in thanksgiving for the benefits of the English Reformation as a whole. In 1842 he insisted that the Church of England would remain Catholic so long as it retained the Prayer Book and the Articles, and as late as 1865 he would refer to Anglicans as 'English Catholics' without distinguishing between parties.[116] While this approach demonstrates Pusey's tendency to take a 'long view' of the Church, emphasising its official core doctrine, apart from any temporary phases, controversies, or personalities, it also demonstrates an appreciation for the Church of England that lasted throughout his life. Pusey could be increasingly critical of elements in the Anglican past, as he was indeed of much in its present, without rejecting Anglicanism itself.

On the other hand lies the question of Pusey's attitudes towards Roman Catholicism. The supposition that Pusey turned his back on the Reformation has shown to be more a matter of increasing criticism *together with* longstanding appreciation, and so the simplistic assumption that he abandoned Protestantism for an essentially Roman Catholic theology is also in need of significant reappraisal. It has been more accurately stated that his position after Newman's secession in 1845, like Keble's, was one of neutrality towards Rome; but this was not merely institutional neutrality from a position

[115] Pusey, *Testimony of Writers of the Later English Church to the Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, with an Historical Account of the Changes Made in the Liturgy as to the Expression of that Doctrine*, TFT 81, (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1838), 15-17, 24-27.

[116] Pusey, *Eirenicon I*, 275. 'English Catholics' is used parallel to 'Roman Catholics,' and allows for broad distinctions to be made between different kinds of churchmen, suggesting it is not merely a party label.

of theological agreement.[117] Rather, as the ecumenical overtures of the *Eirenicon* show, it was a neutrality that balanced increasing institutional engagement with theological criticism. This criticism has its roots in the 1830s: in 1837, Pusey cites the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory as the primary contributors to the medieval corruption of the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice; in 1839, he not only repeats these claims, but also faults Rome for substituting confession for repentance, for lowering its estimate of Baptism and for withholding the eucharistic cup from the laity; even in 1843, his sermon on the Eucharist specifically rejects theorising as to the nature of Christ's sacramental presence—a subtle jab at transubstantiation, spelled out more fully in 1853.[118]

But the roots of his engagement with Rome also run deep. The distinction of Newman's Tract 90 between the official theology of Rome and its popular theology—the 'received system,' in Tractarian parlance—goes back at least to the 1820s. Lloyd had distinguished between official Roman teaching and popular idolatry in his defence of Catholic Emancipation; Pusey utilised a similar distinction between the 'system of' and the 'system in' a church in 1830, and again appealed to this distinction in 1839 as the basis for his criticisms of Roman teaching on Baptism and absolution.[119] In the 1860s, however, he employed the same distinction as a basis of engagement with Rome: the challenge of the *Eirenicon* was to separate official teaching from what was not.[120] Regarding the Eucharist, Pusey concluded that the doctrine of transubstantiation which

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[117] Imberg, 173-176; Nockles, *Context*, 178-180.

[118] Pusey, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 7-10; *Oxford*, 86-88, 114-117, 135-139; 'The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent' (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1843), 3; 'The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist,' (Oxford: James Parker, 1871), 33-36.

[119] *Hansard's*, n.s. 21: 80-85; Pusey, *Enquiry II*, 41-45; *Oxford*, 86-88, 114-117.

[120] Pusey, *Eirenicon I*, 98-99.

he (and the other Tractarians) had criticised as excessively physical in its conception was not so: rather, Anglicans had a more physical understanding of 'substance' than many Roman Catholic theologians, but when that was understood, he concluded, 'I know not what could be included in our term "substance," which the English Church affirms to remain, which is not included in the Roman term "accidents," which they also affirm to remain.'[121] Pusey still disliked the theory—in 1867 he made it clear to Newman that his inquiries about transubstantiation were in order to explain it properly, not as a matter of his own belief—but the two positions could be explained to one another.[122] In order for 'explanation' to proceed between the two sides, however, certain objectionable beliefs had to be cleared away. This took the form of putting the objections to Roman Catholic doctrine as strongly as possible.[123] This confrontational approach to ecumenism was successful in drawing the desired response. Newman quipped, 'you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult;' but he also clarified that many of Pusey's quotations on devotion to the Virgin Mary were outside mainstream Roman theology.[124] But, besides the timely topics of the Immaculate Conception and Papal authority, several of the issues raised show a continuity with his criticisms of the 1830s.[125] So, for instance, while Pusey can reconcile himself with an intermediate state in which the deceased Christian grows in love for God through a period of longing before entering heaven, he still objects to a more penal version of

[121] Ibid., 24; see *Eirenicon III*, 75-90.

[122] Pusey, *Eirenicon I*, 228-229; cf. *On the Clause 'And the Son'* (Oxford: James Parker, 1876), 2.

[123] This is ironic, given Pusey's acceptance of Keble's cautions about such endeavours following the *Enquiry*; but his challenges were not directed against anything *he* saw as core matters of dogma, and this approach shows that Pusey's appreciation for academic debate continued nearly four decades later: it had not been extinguished, only muted on certain matters due to pastoral concerns.

[124] Pusey, *Eirenicon I*, 257-258; *First Letter to the Very Rev. J.H. Newman, D.D*. (Oxford: James Parker, 1869); Newman, *A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. on his Recent Eirenicon* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 9; Rowell, *Vision*, 196.

[125] The Immaculate Conception was defined as dogma in 1854; Papal infallibility in 1870.

purgatory; and when contemplating the possibility of reunion between the English and Roman Churches, he insists that Anglicans should keep their own practices, including the administration of the cup to the laity.[126] In the end, however, criticism won out over engagement: the decision of Vatican I in favour of Papal infallibility (though it was foreseen), and the subsequent excommunication of Ignaz von Döllinger, 'Germany's ablest theologian,' produced in him a furious disappointment, after which he abandoned any thoughts of reunion.[127]

Once again, the pattern that has emerged in other aspects of Pusey's development holds true: his shifts of opinion are more subtle, and contain a higher degree of continuity, than the theories of Pusey's 'revolutions'. It is true, that after 1835 Pusey would not have thought of himself as a 'Protestant'—in part because the theological responsibility he felt was wider and older than merely the sixteenth century, but also because, having already identified polemicism as a distorting influence on theology, mere 'protest' was not sufficient for him. With regard to both the Reformation and Roman Catholicism, his subsequent development can be regarded as the gradual realisation of this shift; a move from polemical support and opposition towards critical engagement with both. His lingering affections and criticisms, however, suggest, what the following study of his theology will show, that as he built towards this position of critical engagement, his foundations nonetheless remained securely in High Church Protestantism. While he thought of himself, after 1835, as an 'English Catholic' rather than as a Protestant, his English Catholicism was not an Anglicised Roman Catholicism, but in fact owed much to the Reformation, while also critical of it.

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[126] Pusey, *Eirenicon III*, 96-122, 328-331. See below, 139-140.

[127] Pusey, 'This is my Body' (Oxford: James Parker, 1871), 7.

In contrast to the received views of Pusey's 'revolutions,' Pusey's development shows much more subtlety than simplistic contrasts between his earlier and later attitudes have suggested. There is change—if there were not, he could truly be charged with intellectual stagnation—but underneath the change is a strong element of continuity. The change itself is best characterised, in light of this continuity, as a deepening of his views, rather than as a reversal. Practically, this often showed itself as a form of pessimism (especially about the trustworthiness of government in effecting reform); but beneath the surface the shifts in his thought were produced by the consistent application of deeply held principles. He had criticised Luther's followers in 1828; it was only natural, later in life, to criticise in Luther the seeds of the theology which they developed. In 1828, Luther had been exempted from Pusey's critique because of his heroic status; but the logic of the critique already implicated him. German modern orthodoxy was an attempt at renewal; but in an analysis where the principle of every renewal degenerates into a lifeless form, what chance does a renewal have, which is based on salvaging a principle already adverse to living faith? Such logical implications are at the roots of Pusey's evolution. This deepening can be traced—as in this chapter—through various aspects of Pusey's thought: political and ecclesiastical reform, the nature of authority in the Church, his attitudes on the Reformation. But these are peripheral to Pusey's central goal of framing a theology to serve a holistic vision of the Christian life. The modern orthodox attempt to use science as a mediating principle did not survive long in Pusey's thought. What then fills the gap? That Pusey's solution slipped towards its own formularism even during his lifetime suggests that there is no answer which will survive without vigilance, but it may nonetheless offer much fruit to theology today.

Chapter 3

The Allegorical Hermeneutic and Principles for Theology

In the previous chapter, considerable attention was given to Pusey's analysis of the collapse of various approaches to theology into a barren 'formularism,' developed in the *Enquiry* but carried throughout his life even into the *Lectures on Daniel*. While this continuity is in itself important, there is another element of his theology derived from it, which is equally vital to a proper understanding of his work. Identifying the failures of orthodoxism, pietism, and rationalism—especially as he came to reject the 'modern orthodox' use of 'science' as a mediating principle—implies the need for an alternative. This chapter will argue that Pusey found such an alternative in a system based on the allegorical hermeneutic. Allegory was, indeed, an interest for all the leading Tractarians; but against the backdrop of the *Enquiry*'s critique, it acquires a particular importance in Pusey, which is corroborated by his extensive use of both direct allegory, and the principles he derived from it.

Allegory and Scripture

Pusey's solution to the implicit problem posed by the *Enquiry* has its foundation in the Patristic reading of Scripture.[1] The roots of this engagement predate the *Enquiry*. Pusey had an early interest in the Fathers, which continued to grow throughout his life; the Oxford Movement from very early on was engaged with Patristic study, and one of its major contributions to historical theology was publication of the *Library of the Fathers*, of which Pusey was the general editor. On the other hand, Pusey's apologetic

[1] 'Pusey repaired to the Fathers originally in search of a method rather than an authority.' Frappell, 22-23; cf. Matthew, 114.

concerns had directed him to the study of the Old Testament, which, after his German studies, culminated in his position as Regius Professor of Hebrew. In the *Enquiry* itself, Pusey's allowance of historical inconsistencies in Scripture had necessitated a clarification of his understanding of inspiration—he held a common High Church theory, that Scripture was inspired, because its authors were themselves inspired teachers of religious truth (e.g., Paul's letters are not an exception, but reflect his general oral teaching as an apostle); inspiration as to religious matters, however, need not translate into a divine superintendence over the transmission of superficial historical details.[2] More importantly, Pusey had criticised 'orthodoxism' for a deadening approach to Scripture, in which the 'plain meaning' of the text, according to a given author's reading, became a polemical weapon against competing interpretations.[3] This set the stage for later investigations: if such narrow and wooden interpretations were so detrimental, what hermeneutic might be used as an alternative?

Pusey's reappropriation of biblical allegory unfolds over the second half of the 1830s. The central works are primarily the two editions of *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism* and, most prominently, his unpublished 'Lectures on Types and Prophecies.' These lectures were written in the summer of 1836 as Pusey's part in a collaboration with Keble aimed at understanding patristic exegetical methods, and were delivered, beginning in the following Michaelmas term, to the newly formed Tractarian theological society.[4] Despite Keble's praise, and numerous revisions continuing into the

[2] Pusey, *Enquiry II*, 54-87; On Inspiration, EBP Biblical MSS; cf. Palmer, *Treatise*, 2: 5. Pusey cites Blomfield in defense of his position; this citation was suggested by Blomfield himself: Blomfield to Pusey, January 16, 1830, LBV 40.

[3] Pusey, *Enquiry I*, 26-35.

[4] Westhaver, 12; Keble to Pusey, January 18 and March 28, 1837, October 6-December 10, 1840 in LBV 50. Keble's contribution was eventually published in 1840-41 as TFT no. 89, *On the Mysticism Attributed to the Fathers*, discussed below.

1840s, the work was never published; but despite long neglect, since being rediscovered by Alf Härdelin in the 1960s, it has received increasing attention as a key Tractarian document.[5]

The *Enquiry*'s critique continues to provide Pusey's foundation. He is concerned with the rise of rationalism, and with the way unbelief is fostered by a compromised orthodoxy. But here his topic is narrower: the New Testament interpretation of Old Testament prophecy, which was increasingly becoming an intellectual difficulty with regard to the faith. The problem, he thinks, is with the apologetic use of prophecy: that miraculous predictions are 'evidences' or proofs of Christianity. This requires that prophecy *clearly* foretell the future—specifically with regard to Christ—but Old Testament prophecies are *not* clear, with dire consequences for a faith based on such 'proof.' As a side-effect of such 'evidences,' however, the definition of prophecy was narrowed. All that did not *clearly* predict the New Testament, or at least have New Testament authorization, was not prophetic; and the meaning of prophecies was narrowed to their 'direct' predictive value. The elimination of a class of prophecies, and the narrowing of those that remained, led to an impoverished theology—theologians 'were content with nothing but the mid-day sun, and so lost all sympathy for the refreshing hues of its rising and setting light, and those glimpses into a far distant land, which, indistinct though they may be, open a wide range of vision.'[6] This clearly provides an instance of the larger phenomenon detailed in the *Enquiry*: a too-detailed, argumentative, proof-oriented approach to theology narrows and deadens Christianity.[7]

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[5] Westhaver 280-281; Andrew Louth, 'The Oxford Movement, the Fathers, and the Bible,' *Sobornost*, 6 (1984): 31. Allchin, 'The Theological Vision of the Oxford Movement,' in *The Rediscovery of Newman*, ed. John Coulson and A.M. Allchin (Sheed and Ward: London, 1967), 51.

[6] Pusey, 'Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament,' 2.

[7] Allchin explicitly connects this to his critique of 'orthodoxism.' Allchin, 'Theological Vision,' 56-57.

By contrast, the New Testament writers use prophecy to direct faith, rather than to create or support it. Pusey argues, therefore, that we need to adopt their approach—'a system wholly different from our own,' and he warns that those who are too casually critical of the Apostles' method will find themselves criticizing the Apostles themselves, a pattern found in the previous century of German theology.[8] The approach he sketches allows for an infinite interplay of resemblances, imagery, and ideas, based not on historical contextualization, but larger patterns seen across Scripture; which, however, in any given instance, might rely on details that are incidental to the immediate passage's 'direct' meaning. This often results in vague, indefinite, or highly personal interpretations of Scripture, but it is not theologically inappropriate, because 'God and his ways and his nature we can of course know but in part, and our highest knowledge must be our indistinctest.'[9] Pusey does not allow for mere fancy however. In the first edition of *Baptism*, he had employed a similar critique of the rationalists' tendency to reduce ideas or objects to their scientifically observable 'essentials,' and as a remedy, insisted on a reading of Scripture which was both *literal* and *comprehensive*.[10] The latter, in addition to reflecting the influence of Article 20 (that the Church may not 'so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another'), balances the distortions introduced by personal emphases with a broader perspective founded on Pusey's belief that whatever is given by God must, in virtue of that fact, be significant, even if we cannot discern how.[11] This corresponds to the emphasis in the 'Types' on the harmony between Scripture's larger patterns and its minute details; but

[8] Pusey, 'Types,' 9-11.

[9] Ibid., 2.

[10] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, ix, 37, 78, 148-153.

[11] Ibid., 1-6.

the important constraint is in the requirement for literalism. Literalism here means that passages which speak of spiritual operations (as such, baptismal regeneration) or which recount miracles, are not to be explained away by elaborate reinterpretations, but are to be taken as stating the real events or effects.[12] Similarly, in the 'Types,' Pusey criticises a passage of Augustine (which the latter had, later in life, retracted on the same basis) as mere fancy, not grounded in the literal meaning of the text.[13]

In the later version of *Baptism*, these themes are expanded in a lengthy investigation of baptismal types. Of particular interest, however, is how Pusey elaborates his conceptual framework for understanding types in a way which highlights the implications for his theology. First, he expands on his earlier insistence on the harmony of Scripture, and the importance of each detail, no matter how small. All events in Scripture

> have bearings every way, all belong to a vast system of which we have some glimpses, which we cannot construct as a whole, nor, consequently tell *all* the bearings of the several parts: yet, by reason of this oneness of the whole system, all of its parts, as being parts of one, have some relation to the other, and we… have principles enough given to us, to enable us to understand and interpret some of those relations.[14]

Moreover, even the smallest details in Scripture are deeply meaningful and can be more meaningful than larger events.

> Thus, His earthly sun, as it draws and disposes our clouds around himself, and gives to each their due form, and a portion of his own brightness, imparts to each tiny speck the richness of his glory, and most often bathes and envelops those with his lustre, while those earthborn masses, which would claim to themselves more of solidity, and a more distinct existence, can receive but a slighter tinge,

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[12] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 16-17. So Christ's Baptism 'with the Holy Spirit and with fire' was followed by a *literal* descent of the Holy Spirit with fire on Pentecost; in light of Jewish baptisms and John the Baptist's ministry, Jesus' teaching on regeneration by 'water and the Spirit' (John 3:5-6) is meant literally.

[13] Westhaver, 195. The importance of literalism was also emphasized by Keble: John Keble, *On the Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church*, TFT no. 89 (London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1841), 38-52.

[14] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 272.

> and in their outskirts only, testify his presence. In like way, it may be, that those human things, which have a more substantial existence, are less fitted to be symbolical of Him, while the mean things of the world, and things despised in man's eyes, may be made the vehicles of His mysteries, or point to them.[15]

Pusey roots this in the inspiration of Scripture by God, and his presence in 'every jot and tittle.'[16] The language that Pusey uses, however, of 'things despised in man's eyes' becoming the vehicles of God's glory, also points strongly towards the Incarnation. He acknowledges that such attention to detail may produce readings that seem 'fanciful' to modern readers, but he notes with an almost post-modern self-awareness that this could be as much a fault on our part, as on the part of the Fathers: 'Either we must see too little, or they too much; and we have taken upon ourselves to decide in our own favour.'[17]

Pusey is not technically precise in this discussion—Keble's work fits that description better—but he does give an accurate assessment of patristic exegesis. In Henri de Lubac's analysis, the fundamental Pre-Reformation distinction in exegesis is between the literal and the 'allegorical' sense of Scripture.[18] Allegory must be grounded in the literal sense of the text; that is, in an accurate understanding of the biblical history as it is presented to us, because salvation and God's revelation were worked out *in history* as *historical facts*. Allegory, applied to the Old Testament, is not a fanciful play on words, but an understanding of the theological significance of *what was done*—it is

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[15] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 273-274.

[16] Ibid., 274-275. This is much stronger than Pusey's earlier views, but the change should not be overstated: his earlier belief that Scripture reflected a broader inspiration of the apostolic witness as religious teachers was regarding *facts*, i.e. that their teaching was guaranteed in its religious, not historical, content. This statement pertains to the verbal symbolism of Scripture, and the two positions are not necessarily mutually exclusive, although the later statement marks a dramatic change of interest in Pusey's thought.

[17] Ibid., 273.

[18] De Lubac's work explicates the 'four senses of Scripture': literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical. The moral and anagogical senses however are expansions or applications of the allegorical sense. Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, tr. Mark Sebanc and E. M. Macierowski (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998-2009), 1: 144-145, 225-226, 266.

allegoria facti. This is precisely Pusey's reasoning for emphasising the literal meaning of the text. The meaning of the Old Testament, however, is found in the New, which means that the two testaments share an organic unity.[19] And in keeping with the infinity of the One who is the one subject and author of Scripture, the interpretation of Scripture is 'indefinite' and 'inexhaustible.'[20] On these points, again, Pusey's presentation represents the older tradition accurately. There is, however, a question of terminology which might be addressed. Pusey refers to his topic as 'types' (or with the adjective 'typical' which corresponds roughly to the modern 'typological'). In contemporary scholarship, there is a debate over whether to distinguish between more direct 'types' and more obscure 'allegories.' But, as George Westhaver has noted, such a distinction is opposed to the idea Pusey is formulating—Pusey admits different degrees of strength and clarity between types, but to his mind they are all different degrees of the same phenomenon. If he avoids the older term 'allegory,' it is not to distinguish 'allegories' from 'types,' but because 'allegory' for him carried negative associations with merely fanciful interpretation. Accordingly, it is proper to understand his project as 'allegory' in the sense de Lubac describes.[21]

Pusey's use of allegorical exegesis immediately provides another connection with the old High Churchmen. As discussed below, the High Churchmen exercised 'reserve' in avoiding over-defining certain theological topics, such as the atonement. Discussions of Old Testament types provided a means of entering into such subjects, while evading the hazards that otherwise might occur—concerns at least partially shared

[19] De Lubac, 1: 25-26, 144-145, 225-247, 266; 2: 59-63, 88-89 (*allegoria facti*), 107-117.

[20] Ibid., 1: 77; c.f. also 1: 80-81, 214, 258-259.

[21] Westhaver, 200-202. In this thesis, 'allegory' and 'allegorical' will be used to describe the general process or its principles; 'type' will be used for specific institutions, events, or images which fit this scheme.

by Pusey. Allegory was particularly favoured by High Churchmen of the 'Hutchinsonian' school, such as William Jones of Nayland.[22] But reserve could also restrain over-exuberant spiritualizing of the biblical text—Daniel Waterland, for instance, limited the category of types to what was clearly used as such in Scripture; a position rejected by Pusey.[23] Even Waterland, however, could take the time to write several lengthy essays on the proper relation of the Old Testament's sacrificial rites to Christianity.[24]

Allegory and Theology

The focus for the remainder of this study, however, is the relation of allegory to Pusey's theological method. More specifically, how does it relate to his desire to integrate orthodox theology with practical devotion and intellectual breadth? History suggests that allegory is a prime candidate for such a reunion—de Lubac traces the decline of allegory to the growing separation of theology and spirituality, in a process reaching back to the Carolingian period.[25] Pusey's theological use of allegory, however, is best understood by considering his assessment of the relation of faith and affect to

[22] Westhaver, 270-273; William Jones, *Course of Lectures on the Figurative Language of the Holy Scriptures* (London, J.F. and C. Rivington, 1787). John Hutchinson (1674-1737) was an anti-Newtonian natural philosopher, who sought to provide a biblically grounded and theologically oriented account of physics. His work inspired a group of eighteenth-century conservative churchmen, including Jones, who protested vigorously against the Latitudinarian theology often associated with Newtonian philosophy; elements of this 'Hutchinsonian' school were influential on the later High Church 'Hackney Phalanx,' with which Van Mildert and Lloyd were associated. Hutchinson's connection between the natural world and theology, coupled with his speculations about the Hebrew language, provided a natural ground for interest in allegory. *DNB.*

[23] Westhaver, 146-147.

[24] Waterland, 'The Christian Sacrifice Explained,' in *The Works of the Rev. Daniel Waterland, D.D.*, 3rd ed., ed. William Van Mildert (Oxford: The University Press, 1856), 5: 121-184; 'Distinctions of Sacrifice,' in *Works*, 5: 231-296; 'Christ's Sacrifice of Himself Explained; and Man's Duty to Offer Spiritual Sacrifice Inferred and Recommended,' in *Works*, 5: 737-746.

[25] De Lubac, 1: 48-73, 2: 194-197.

theological understanding, and the way in which an allegorical framework for theology can allow intellectual flexibility within the context of orthodox belief.

By this time, the central pillar of Pusey's theology was union with Christ. And this is also the foremost feature of his approach to the moral side of understanding allegory. As discussed below, Pusey allowed for the allegorical relationship of image and spiritual meaning to extend beyond Scripture into the natural world; it was with regard to this 'book of creation' that Pusey wrote, 'its book is best read by the purest & most divine. … To the worldly or sensual it is a sealed book. What is Divine in it can be read only by what is Divine in man. To those of the earth, it is earthly; the spirit in man decyphers to man what is spiritual in nature.'[26] This understanding of union with God as the source of allegorical discernment and theological understanding, however, closely involves the moral condition of the person: union is not something static, but a process of growth and movement, moving into nearer union with God through holiness.

This connection between sanctification and understanding was a shared theme of the Oxford Movement, stated most clearly in Isaac Williams' two tracts on reserve. Williams notes, for instance—once, with direct reference to allegory—that although the most faithful Christians are not necessarily those with the best grasp of theology, their faithfulness enables them to see God's work around them, giving them a support for their faith to which someone more learned but less faithful would be oblivious.[27] Likewise, there are two kinds of knowledge indicated by Scripture, one which is public, the other secret; 'a knowledge which without charity puffeth up' and 'that which is truly Divine and inseparable from charity; where to know and to love God, is one and the

[26] Pusey, 'Types,' additional fragments.

[27] Isaac Williams, *On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge*, TFT no. 80 (London: J.G. and F. Rivington, 1838), 29-32, 78. Hereafter *Reserve I*.

same thing, and both of them eternal life.'[28] It is this knowledge, the knowledge of faith which sees God at work in Scripture, history, and the world around us, in which we ought to grow. [29]

If such discernment is a fruit of Christ's presence, however, then to the degree that Christ is *absent,* Scripture would become correspondingly opaque. In allegory, the revelation of the New Testament is *hidden* in the Old; Williams notes that whereas books are generally intended to convey their meaning as clearly as possible, 'We cannot say this of God's written word. It may have other objects quite of another kind, which its very obscurity serves, better than its distinct meaning would do.'[30] So too, Jesus' parables have an element of 'darkness' which repels the understanding; his most important teachings were given, and many of his miracles performed, in secrecy; God in the Old Testament veils himself from sight; Jesus never calls himself the 'Christ'—this is left to those who, like Peter, are guided by the Holy Spirit, or who, like Mary, 'ponder in their hearts' the manifestations of his divinity.[31] Within the Church, God approaches hidden in the sacraments, which are not outwardly divine; and by the same token, the Kingdom of God is hidden within the Church.[32]

This obscurity serves a dual purpose. It may challenge an inquisitive mind to a deeper engagement with holy things.[33] But it also protects those who are morally unfit from the dangers of God's revelation. Therefore, religious teaching should be geared to

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[28] Williams, *On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge* [Conclusion], TFT no. 87, 2nd ed. (J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1840), 85. Hereafter *Reserve II*.

[29] Keble notes, similarly, that as natural philosophy cannot lead us to God, or explain God's actions, the Fathers accordingly considered it a distraction from the work of growing in love and knowledge of God. Keble, *Mysticism*, 137-143.

[30] Williams, *Reserve I*, 4-8.

[31] Ibid., 11, 13-20, 21-25.

[32] Ibid., 33, 65-68; *Reserve II*, 86-98.

[33] Williams, *Reserve I*, 8-11; *Reserve II*, 45-47.

the Christian maturity of the recipients, and Christian conduct should be characterised by self-effacing humility.[34] Neglect of such reserve, however, has led to the decline of Christianity (Williams argues) publicly through fostering irreverence; and privately, by sowing an individualism which recreates the biblical God according to subjective imagination; a 'puffing up,' which deceives itself by substituting feeling and persuasion for 'any really deep and true sense, of religion;' obedience without humility follows, seeking attention as a prop to this self-deception.[35]

Undergirding this principle of reserve is the Aristotelian concept of *phronesis*: action both shapes and flows from character, which determines understanding. Joseph Butler had applied this to the reception of Christian doctrine—a moral character would be receptive to Christian revelation, an immoral character averse to it.[36] Beginning in 1814, and developing through sermons in the early 1820s, Keble adapted Butler's theory to the divide between orthodoxy and heresy. This produced 'an ascending spiral movement' between morality and truth: truth, especially Christian truth, shapes action; repeated faithful acts make one more receptive to a deeper understanding of the truth, and so forth. Higher truths, however, can be misunderstood and misused by those not ready for them—hence the principle of reserve. In Keble's formulation, *phronesis* became a central idea for the Tractarians. In the formative years before the Tracts, it led Newman and others to change their tutorial practice, causing considerable controversy.

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[34] Williams, *Reserve I*, 34-54.

[35] Ibid., 55-58.

[36] James Pereiro, *'Ethos' and the Oxford Movement: At the Heart of Tractarianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 91-93. Butler was popular during the Tractarians' formative years at Oriel, and had been introduced to the Oxford curriculum in 1832. Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1785-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 172.

In later years, the connection between morality and orthodoxy became a staple of Tractarian polemics.[37]

Accordingly, Williams insists on a stern moralism. '[G]ood works, being nothing else but the exercise of a good principle, will make a good man (as far as, humanly speaking, a man can be called good), and those are not good works which will not make a man good; and he is not a good man, who does not love God with all his heart, and depend on the aid of the blessed Spirit, and trust in Christ.'[38] He insists (not without merit) that when Paul speaks of preaching 'Christ crucified,' he is more often speaking of being crucified with Christ than of the atonement; concluding (less convincingly) that although the cross necessarily involves the atonement, it is better to preach dying with Christ, leaving the atonement implicit, than to preach the atonement itself.[39] 'So far therefore as we keep the commandments we shall embrace the atonement, and so far only, whether we speak of it or not.'[40] It is better to preach God's judgment, drawing men to repentance, but, 'To suppose, therefore, that a doctrine so unspeakable and mysterious as that of the atonement, is to be held out to the impenitent sinner, to be embraced in some manner to move the affections, is so unlike our Lord's conduct, that it makes one fear for the ultimate consequences of such a system.'[41]

Although Pusey thought Williams' tracts the most valuable contribution to the series, they also point to his divergence from the Tractarian norm.[42] He was 'not a

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[37] Pereiro, 93-99.

[38] Williams, *Reserve II*, 62.

[39] Williams, *Reserve I*, 74-77.

[40] Williams, *Reserve II*, 72. The surrounding context makes it clear that he is emphasizing the two great commandments, to love God and neighbour.

[41] Ibid., 61, 65.

[42] Westhaver, 266.

Butlerian.'[43] He knew Butler from Oriel, and recommended the *Analogy of Religion* to Maria during their engagement.[44] However, he was in Germany during the formative time when Keble's ideas spread to the other central figures of the Movement, and unlike them, never had the opportunity to test Keble's theories as a tutor. His understanding of Christian holiness incorporates elements of *phronesis*, especially regarding the role of good works in Christian growth; but he places a much stronger priority on the action of Christ within the Christian, than on individual moral effort.[45] He would likely agree with Williams' suggestion that the difficulty of Jesus' parables (for instance) was intended at least in part to challenge the understanding of those who were seeking God, and thence to draw them nearer; and the principle of adapting one's teaching to the maturity of the audience is also perfectly compatible with his thought. Likewise, the interior disciplines of his rule of life suggest agreement with the statement that proper personal reserve is best shown not in outward reverence, but by the principles 'not to seek to remedy by external effects, that which can only come from within; to think less of appearance, more of the reality; to be natural, serious, forbearing, as considering what, and where we are, and what we are coming to.'[46]

However, Pusey's concern to reunite feeling and theology makes him less hostile to the role of emotion in the Christian life. Williams is apparently uncomfortable with Pusey's contribution to the Oxford Movement. Pusey's tracts on Baptism, and on the eucharistic sacrifice, are singled out as apparent violations of reserve; they are explained (rather weakly) as necessary reminders of forgotten doctrine, which are

[43] Pereiro, 127-128.

[44] Maria Barker to Pusey, October 18, 1827, LBV 21.

[45] See below, 122-128.

[46] Pusey to Keble, December 7, 1846, LBV 102; Williams, *Reserve II*, 102-103.

'reserved' because they were designated *ad clerum*.[47] Williams cautions that renewed studies of allegory—Pusey again the instigator, with support from Keble—should not be undertaken from mere curiosity, but with humility and devotion; and he emphasises the necessity of exercising reserve in the renewal of ascetic practices, particularly fasting—the topic of Pusey's first two Tracts.[48] That Pusey is the only person singled out in such a way, and that the majority of his tracts—including all of his most notable contributions—appear suspect, suggests a deep divergence between Pusey and the other Tractarians.

This difference is particularly notable in the later version of *Baptism*, in which Pusey has clearly moved away from any sort of argumentative demonstration of his subject. He laments the loss of allegorical thinking within the Church, and the resulting loss of appreciation for the theological value of types:

> 'We are obliged to detect, by analysis, what was to them transparent; and such "demonstrations," as compared with their perception, are much what the operation of the anatomist, in detaching the several sinews and muscles, is to their action in life. … Still even under these disadvantages, it will probably be *felt*, that this system of the Ancient Church does perceive a harmony in Holy Scripture, to which we are strangers.'[49]

Pusey not only laments the loss of a practical appreciation of allegory but the loss of an entire way of thinking. He disparages analytic 'demonstrations' in favour of a 'perception' of the harmony of Scripture. Pusey has himself adopted a similar approach: he does not argue in favour of allegory, but describes it and hopes its value will be 'felt.' While the importance given to the details of Scripture in this system can produce interpretations bewildering to the modern reader, 'to judge from experience, they will,

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[47] Williams, *Reserve II*, 98-99.

[48] Ibid., 103-112.; Pusey, 'Thought on the Benefits of the System of Fasting, Enjoined by Our Church,' TFT 18, 3rd ed. (London: J.G. and F. Rivington, 1838); 'Supplement to Tract XVIII. On the Benefits …' TFT 66, new ed. (London: J.G. and F. Rivington, 1838).

[49] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 389; emphasis mine.

to anyone who does not rudely reject them, gradually recommend themselves more and more.'[50] Pusey, from his own statements, simply aims to unfold his vision of theology, so that it might attract adherents by its own beauty, comprehensiveness, and what we might call 'fittingness.' This puts him in direct contrast with Williams. People *do* come to a deeper understanding of theological truth through spiritual growth. But that truth, as the revelation of God's love, also has attractive power to draw people to faith. While reminders of the Last Judgment may, on occasion, be useful, they are not the primary means of drawing people to obedience. The greater revelations of God's mercy may precede, and not just follow, greater sanctification.[51] There is no hint in Pusey's work of Newman's decree, that '*we require the Law* not the Gospel.'[52]

Just as the topic of reserve shows Pusey's similarities and differences from the rest of the Oxford Movement, so too it shows his continuity with, and departure from, the old High Churchmen. Williams' idea of 'reserve' is based on the observation of those whom he admired most; while it is true that this principle is not articulated as such in the older generations, his observations did, indeed, identify a characteristic trait of High Church character and theology. Van Mildert, for instance, had preached a series of sermons on 'Cautions respecting subjects of theological discussion,' which outlined several areas of theological inquiry which could not be narrowly defined, without risk either of heresy, or at least, unnecessary division within the Church—one of the dangers

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[50] Ibid., 366.

[51] Similarly, Pusey saw the doctrine of eternal punishment primarily as a stumbling block on the road to perdition. Pusey, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* 3rd ed. (Oxford: James Parker, 1880).

[52] Newman to Samuel Wilberforce, February 4, 1835; quoted in David Newsome, 'Justification and Sanctification: Newman and the Evangelicals,' in *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 15 (1964): 43. This attitude of Pusey's can be seen in his later allowance of divergent doctrinal views within the Church. Undoubtedly, this is in part political tact. Yet his belief, that the true doctrines of the Church will prove attractive in their own right, provides the ground on which he could argue only for permission, without giving way to doctrinal relativism. See above, 49-50.

Williams attaches to lack of reserve.[53] Pusey's emphasis on the eucharistic presence of Christ and on Christ's indwelling of the Christian clearly exceeds what would have been comfortable for the older school, although, as I shall note, his High Church lineage is still clear in both of those doctrines. However, on other doctrines, such as the atonement and the eucharistic sacrifice, it is notable (as we shall see in the later chapters of this thesis) that the High Church method of teaching central doctrines without undue theorising, was to resort to the Old Testament types.

The aesthetic or affective side of Pusey's thought, however, points us towards his psychology of faith. In the 'Types,' he wrote,

> A man's simple belief, as it does not appeal to the understanding, so it cannot be rejected by the understanding: it lies altogether in a different province. Belief also (not *conviction* produced by argument whereby a man is as the word expresses 'convicted' rather than led to believe—but) [sic] unreasoning belief is, as well as unbelief, deeply rooted in the human mind; and whenever witnessed it appeals to an original principle of our nature, which, because pure and from God, and a relic of our uncorrupted nature, and a consequence of our original derivation from the breath of God, that we recognize our Father's and Maker's voice—has a mysterious, talismanic control over our souls; while, therefore, they who are yet blessed with it, should not go about to seek for any other argument, but rest content with or rather cherish this; lest in the multitude of words or of proofs they lose it; yet others, who may have, in any degree lost it, must beware how they take it up in their mouth, simply because they are convinced that it ought to be in the heart. For this forced reassumption of it, will be unreal and hollow and is but self-deceit; but it will be answered as a reward to the return by God's blessing to that simplicity.[54]

This is not, as a superficial reading might suggest, mere anti-intellectualism. Rather, Pusey observes that the predisposition to belief or unbelief is psychologically prior to intellectual inquiry; winning an argument will not necessarily lead to either faith or doubt. But this pre-intellectual disposition is not a static quality. In adopting a critical

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[53] William Van Mildert, *Sermons Preached before the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, from the Year 1812 to the Year 1819* (Oxford: S. Collingwood, Printer to the University, 1831), esp. 1: 94-114; cf. Williams, *Reserve I*, 45-50.

[54] Pusey, 'Types,' 42.

quest for proof, a believer is opening the door to doubts, although they might not necessarily follow; conviction does not necessarily lead to faith, but it *can* if it produces not just a change in position (e.g., from atheism to theism), but humility before God.[55] In addressing this pre-intellectual aspect of our minds, then, the affective power of imagery becomes pivotal. The ubiquity of imagery in poetic and religious language testifies to its importance in this respect; even the sacramental nature of words as material objects, marks on a surface, vibrations in the air, which somehow bear meaning, underscores the fundamentally concrete, rather than abstract, nature of communication.[56] Because we think, at the most basic level, in terms of concrete objects, images and objects become powerfully significant, not just intellectually, but on an emotional or inarticulable level. Accordingly, an abstract, critical, or argumentative approach to matters of faith is a methodological error, an application to theology of means not suited for it. Faith bears with it a sense of wonder, purity, and infinity.[57] This is foreign to the dryness of abstract argumentation. '[C]larity and intelligibility are of course in themselves good,' but the wrong approach risks 'seeking to grasp divine truths from the outside, when in fact they are realities which can only be understood in so far as we are entering into them and being grasped by them.'[58] Pusey's allegorical approach provides intelligibility—although of a non-analytic sort—which both addresses the deeper needs of human psychology, and carries with it an air of mystery, and an inexhaustible depth of meaning.

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[55] Pusey, 'Types,' 4-6; cf. *Everlasting Punishment*, 45.

[56] Pusey, 'Types,' additional fragments.

[57] Ibid., p. 6.

[58] Allchin, 'Theological Vision,' 58.

But what are the elements of an allegorical hermeneutic that offer a different perspective on theology? Here Pusey begins to formulate an epistemology. Material or visible things are more readily apprehended by humans, and more immediate and concrete in the impressions they make, than abstract reasoning. Such things can thus provide an image of God, although we should be careful not to mistake the image for the God who is imaged.[59] These images or surface meanings point deeper to veiled meanings; although the surface meanings are intended, the veiled ones are primary.[60] The relation between type and archetype, the surface and the veiled meanings, is not arbitrary, but is based on natural relations or qualities of the images or objects involved; the way in which this is expressed is a natural use of language. As the basis of allegory is not abstract or merely symbolic, but based in the significance of the type *in se*, it provides for a richer theological understanding.[61]

As this engagement with the way in which imagery conveys meaning might suggest, Pusey is interested in the nature of figurative language and its role in theology. This is an interest shared with Keble, who defines poetry as 'the expression of an overflowing mind, relieving itself' of its over-full thoughts and emotions, 'more or less indirectly and reservedly' by the use of a symbolic system of associations. Biblical allegory is the poetry of the church; creation itself is a kind of divine poetry.[62] Indeed, '*poetical* forms of thought and language' are 'the channel of supernatural knowledge to mankind. Poetry … may almost seem to be God's gift from the beginning … the

[59] Pusey, 'Types,' 16.

[60] Ibid., 19.

[61] Ibid., 21.

[62] Keble, *Mysticism*, 144, 148.

ordained vehicle of revelation, until God Himself was made manifest in the flesh.'[63] Pusey includes several pages of discussion on the use of figurative language for God's attributes and the relations within the Trinity, and in several instances notes that the use of types is itself figurative language.[64] There is even a providential aspect in the Old Testament's use of Hebrew—which by its structure is highly susceptible to figurative use—and the way in which these Hebrew metaphors are taken up into the Greek of the New Testament.[65]

Pusey's understanding of figurative language can be clarified by comparison with more recent linguistic theories.[66] Janet Martin Soskice has argued for an understanding of figurative language analogous to scientific 'models,' which allow something more elusive or less understood to be spoken of in terms of something that is more concrete, and better understood.[67] However, because the image being used as a model is complex, having 'a duality, or indeed a plurality, of associative networks,' it suggests extensions in the understanding of whatever is being modelled, which is precisely its importance for science—for instance, if the brain is modelled as a

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[63] Keble, *Mysticism*, 185-186. Geoffrey Rowell has argued that the Tractarians, especially Pusey, were particularly influenced by Ephraim Syrus, precisely because of this poetic approach to theology. Rowell, '"Making [the] Church of England Poetical": Ephraim and the Oxford Movement,' *Hugoye* (1999), 2: 111-129.

[64] Pusey, 'Types,' 17, 21, 24; and various additional fragments.

[65] 'The peculiarities of the Hebrew language are its picture-character and its undefinedness. Thus, even where metaphor is not prominent, it's [sic] language not being bound to one meaning, is applicable, with different degrees of precision, to different though allied subjects. This admission of degrees furnishes the very character of a type. It gives, as it were, a nearer and a background; a nearer to which the words might superficially appear to bear the closer resemblance, and a further and deeper to which, on account of their indefiniteness they would correspond, and which in that it is deeper, does in fact more fully correspond with them.' Ibid., additional fragments.

[66] Although Keble is sympathetic to Pusey's critique of rationalism and is favourable toward Patristic exegesis, he lays greater emphasis on preserving an attitude of reverence towards Scripture and Christian antiquity than on recovering their theological method; several portions of his tract are apologies for Patristic methodology, admitting the difficulty of this approach for modern minds. Keble, *Mysticism*, 8-14, 70-105, 160-162.

[67] Janet Martin Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 50-51.

computer, there is not only that basic image, but also experiences become 'data input,' and various aspects of our psychology are 'wiring' or 'programming.' This not only gives us a language for various aspects of the mind's workings, but suggests the ways in which those parts might interact.[68] As the scientific use of models would indicate, however, they are not always perfect, and might need to be revised, or even discarded, as our understanding grows, and *this is an indispensable quality of the model*. Models do not have to be 'perfect' to do their job, because they are aimed at advancing our understanding, not at producing absolute knowledge of a thing in itself.[69] Similarly, Robert Lakoff and Mark Johnson develop the idea of a 'metaphorical concept,' roughly equivalent to Soskice's 'model.' Through an extensive investigation of how overarching 'metaphorical concepts' shape our everyday thought and language, they show that root metaphors generate further metaphors, in a process that pervades our everyday speech. Different metaphors can interact with each other in a systematic fashion, through their shared structural elements. For instance, both quantity and quality are associated with metaphors of vertical orientation (e.g. 'rising numbers,' 'higher quality'), and can combine using this shared 'vertical' orientation to produce the maxim, 'bigger is better.'[70]

There are several aspects of these theories which recommend them as tools for analysing Pusey's thought. Soskice is explicitly concerned with the infinity and unknowability of God—concerns which Pusey shares—and argues that the effectiveness of models, despite a lack of perfect correspondence to their subjects, suggests the particular propriety of figurative language for talking about God. Lakoff

[68] Soskice, 51, 99-101.

[69] Ibid., 130-141.

[70] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003), 14-24.

and Johnson's demonstration of how deeply ingrained metaphors are in our speech supports Pusey's supposition that imagery has a deeper psychological impact than abstract but 'direct' discourse. Both theories also emphasise the way images network and interact with one another for their significance, and so elucidate why Pusey thought that the system of types might allow for deeper theological understanding than 'clearer' language does. Beyond this, in Pusey's theory, 'types' function much like 'models' or root-level 'metaphorical concepts,' as flexible means of understanding one thing in terms of another, and allowing that structural relationships between types can allow those images to build on one another and enrich each other, perhaps even to point beyond themselves together in a way in which they would not individually. Two adaptations, however, need to be introduced from the principles of the allegorical tradition. First, in accordance with the concreteness of the *allegoria facti*, it is not only imagery, word-play, and conceptualisations that can function in this way, but objects, institutions, and events as well (especially those in Scripture). Second, each of these things is to be given a Christological orientation in its significance. This produces a dramatic shift, reversing the directionality between the signifier and the signified, not in terms of epistemological access, but in terms of the way in which the two, between themselves, are related.[71] We still grow in our understanding of Christ by means of the 'type,' but the type is not merely something lying around that *we* use to explain some aspect of Christ's person or ministry, due to some resemblance (as in the historicist account). Rather, Christ is the origin of all that points to him; the types are, as Pusey said, '*logoi* proceeding from and setting forth the *logos*.'[72]

[71] Cf. Alan J. Torrance, *Persons in Communion* (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1996), 176. Gottlob Frege had theorized, that the 'sense' of a word determines what it refers to; Torrance suggests a theological reversal in which language referring to God in turn has its sense conditioned by its 'reference.'

[72] Pusey, 'Types,' 24.

As these contemporary perspectives help to elucidate the implications of the 'Types' for Pusey's theological method, they can also help to clarify his epistemological critique. These works both criticise the obsession with a caricatured 'scientific method' and 'objective' means of demonstrating proof that has come to dominate our cultural values since the Enlightenment. It has, for instance, been assumed that, as figurative language cannot clearly be verified, it cannot share the claims to truth and meaning of 'direct speech'; but in these critiques, a recurring theme is the heavy reliance of science itself on figurative language and models.[73] Beyond purely linguistic concerns, de Lubac has noted the contrast between the earlier reliance on the rule of faith to convey truth which is an 'assimilating force that transforms the very intelligence,' and the modern obsession with an 'impartial' methodology which provides abstract knowledge of brute facts; and it has been argued that the sciences do not rely exclusively on 'objective' methodology, but depend on learning a tradition, just as much as more 'subjective' disciplines.[74] Clearly, Pusey rejects the claims of 'direct speech,' and he is better understood as relying on an authoritative, truth-forming tradition, rather than on an infallible fact-finding process.[75] Indeed, his change in orientation from a 'science' of biblical criticism to a more tradition-oriented approach foreshadows, in its way, the evolution of a more complex understanding of science itself. Pusey's rejection of 'progress' is expressed here in a scepticism about the present's privileged perspective on the past—we are bound to our own historical context.[76] This rejection is only reinforced by de Lubac's observation that the resulting tendency to judge all periods by

[73] Soskice, 99-136; Lakoff and Johnson, 110-114, 159-188, 210-222.

[74] De Lubac, 1: xv-xvi, 3: 96; Louth, *Discerning the Mystery: An Essay on the Nature of Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 59-64.

[75] See below, 85-86.

[76] Pusey, 'Types,' 91; Louth, 'Oxford Movement,' 40.

the present is fundamentally at odds with the allegorical principle—which Pusey adopted—that all of history is oriented towards the New Testament, and in particular the life and self-oblation of Jesus Christ.[77]

The degree to which Pusey's work can be discussed in terms of more recent theorising, in itself, shows the creativity and penetrating power of his mind—it is even tempting to suggest that the lack of appreciation he received, and the suppression of the 'Types,' are both because he was too *avant garde* for his own day (something supported by the easy comparison with Austin Farrer, below). But this discussion helps us to identify underlying principles that continue throughout his work, and to highlight the independence of Pusey's outlook from that of Newman, the most prominent personality of the Oxford Movement. In the previous chapter Pusey's concept of confessional statements as 'boundaries' for theology was described; it is now possible to add to that the various types as foundational images in theological thought. The task of theology then becomes one of indwelling the tradition, working with the imagery provided by God, which has then been re-worked by the Church as a whole, and by individuals within it, and through participation in this imaginative, (humanly) creative self-expression, deepening our understanding and perception of God and his works.[78] So, over time, the theology of the Church might grow, without necessarily changing. In Pusey's case, it is unfortunate that controversy too often forced him to spend his time beating the bounds, though his sermons still exemplify this creativity. But Pusey's view of theology contrasts sharply with Newman, who clearly holds an 'objective'

[77] De Lubac, 1: xiv-xviii, 2: 69-76.

[78] The Tractarian emphasis on tradition as a communal element balances the potentially egocentric tendencies of creative imagination, which they rejected in the Romantics. Louth, 'Oxford Movement,' 34-36. Allchin distinguishes Pusey's understanding of imagination as 'a capacity for recognition' from the (quasi-divine) 'creative power' given to the faculty in Romanticism. Allchin, 'Theological Vision,' 64; cf. David Jasper, 'Pusey's "Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament,"' *Rediscovered*, 56.

understanding of doctrine—his *Essay on the Development of Doctrine* is littered with objective language. This, combined with his optimism about doctrinal 'progress,' suggests that Newman was deeply influenced by precisely that Enlightenment epistemology, which Pusey rejects.[79] Pusey, however, generally avoids objective language. His only prominent use of it is with regard to the 'real objective presence' of Christ in the Eucharist, which is carefully qualified: 'not as wishing to obtrude on others a term of modern philosophy, but to express that the Life-giving Body … is, by virtue of the consecration, present without us, to be received by us.'[80] Elsewhere, he prefers to speak of 'definite' rather than 'objective' truth.[81]

The question of imagery and the nature of theology also invites comparison, in the twentieth century, with Austin Farrer's *Glass of Vision*. Farrer's approach is very similar to Pusey's. He rejects the ideas of biblical revelation as either mere dictation, or mere historical event, proposing instead that revelation consists in the events of the Incarnation being framed in images, which were then 'unfolded' in apostolic thought by the mind of Christ in the Church, his body: 'The great images interpreted the events of Christ's ministry, death, and resurrection, and the events interpreted the images; the interplay of the two is revelation.'[82] Unlike the theologian, who analyses and risks confusing the images, 'the Bible-reader will immerse himself in the single image on the

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[79] Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, 11th impression (London: Longmans, Green, 1900), 34, 55; Newman does distinguish between the methodology of the sciences and the humanities (110-111), but this does not necessarily reflect an epistemological distinction. David Brown notes that Newman displays 'too much of Victorian over-confidence in the inevitability of progress,' in contrast to Pusey's emphasis on human fallibility and sinfulness. Brown, 'Pusey,' 334-335; Cf. Palmer, *Narrative*, 91, 150-151.

[80] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' vi-vii; 'This is My Body,' 40. This phrase first appears in R.I. Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church* (London: John Murray, 1848), 433-435.

[81] Pusey, *Daniel*, xxvii.

[82] Austin Farrer, *The Glass of Vision* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1948), 36-43.

page before him, and find life giving power in it.'[83] So far, Farrer and Pusey are much alike. But there are also differences, where Farrer appears more limited. Some of these are due to the constraints of his topic (specifically *biblical* revelation) and the boundaries of his project (to approach revelation through 'the natural knowledge of God,' rather than 'by the direct road of revealed truth').[84] But, although he acknowledges the growth of images beyond the New Testament, there is no discussion of the mind of Christ in the post-apostolic Church, and consequently the role of tradition (the ongoing reflection of the Church) in understanding Scripture appears much weaker.[85] Moreover, the absence of the Tractarian interest in *divine* poetry weakens his view of prophecy and of creation. Similarities between prophecy and poetry are noted, but poetry is confined to being merely human making.[86] Likewise, created objects *may* speak of God, but this is not inherent to creatureliness; creation is not God's speech.[87] For Pusey, the material world is much more vibrant—if only we have the spiritual eyes to see.

Second, it is possible to trace a thematic similarity through Pusey's various statements and concerns about theology. The idea of mutually informing images in networks of meaning, as it involves *different* images and significances interacting with one another, appears to be a natural growth of the *Enquiry*'s concern for intellectual breadth. But it is also possible to connect it with later statements. His belief that Catholic truth required holding together apparent opposites (for instance, regarding the coexistent realities of bread and wine with the real presence of Christ) shows a similar

[83] Farrer, 51.

[84] Ibid., 96.

[85] Ibid., 49-50.

[86] Ibid., 113-131.

[87] Ibid., 85.

character; and his formula for 'explaining' the Articles and the Tridentine decrees to each other as minimum and maximum boundaries on doctrine can easily be understood as a particular instance of this union of opposites.[88] Accordingly, similar structures should be expected in his thought, even when they are not explicitly identified.

Finally, it is possible to extrapolate from this discussion to add somewhat to Pusey's concept of doctrinal authority. His conception of the episcopate, collectively, as an organ of the Church, is analogous to this emphasis on interactive networks of ideas, and sharpens the contrast with Newman, who emphasised the role of individual bishops.[89] But there are other elements which relate this complex idea of doctrine. Pusey's attitudes towards the Reformers differed from some of his more conservative High Church friends—as emerged, for instance, in his controversy with Hook over the practices at St Saviour's, Leeds. But these differences do not imply that the Reformers held no authority for Pusey. Rather, the distinction was that they held a different kind of authority. Whereas Hook insisted that loyalty to the Reformation required loyalty to the doctrines of the Reformers, Pusey emphasised instead the degree to which the Reformers themselves turned to the Fathers—a significant portion of his discussion with Keble regarding communion of the wicked, for example, related Archbishop Matthew Parker's reading of Augustine to his role in shaping the final version of the Articles.[90] This suggests that, for Pusey, loyalty to the Reformation meant an attempt to do what they did, rather than merely to think what they thought. Indeed, such a loyalty might entail differences of opinion, given the emergence of new sources, improved textual

[88] Pusey, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence, as contained in the Fathers* (Oxford: John Henry Parker), 1855, 75-119; *Eirenicon I*, 266-267. See above, 55-57.

[89] See above, 48.

[90] Liddon, 3: 120; Pusey to Keble, August 19-October 10, 1856, LBV 104; Keble to Pusey, August 20-October 8, 1856, LBV 99; given in Liddon, 3: 460-469.

criticism since the sixteenth century, and (not least) a different historical context with a different set of theological challenges. It is also possible, however, to see this refusal to privilege the doctrines of the Reformation over earlier centuries as a refusal to de-contextualise the Reformers, or to separate their teaching from wider 'networks' of theology.

If there was a historical period which Pusey privileged, it was the patristic era. As this chapter has suggested, this was in part because he believed that the Patristic reading of Scripture was closer to the hermeneutic exemplified in the New Testament itself, which serves to emphasise that, for all the stress Pusey placed on tradition, it was never more than a secondary, interpretive authority compared to the primary authority of Scripture.[91] But the Fathers were the most reliable interpreters, as they shared the world-view which made allegory possible; in addition to their closer historical proximity to Jesus and their contribution to the creedal definitions of the faith.[92]

This, however, raises the problem of what Pusey and the other Tractarians referred to as the 'patristic consensus.' The idea of patristic unanimity has been criticised, although Westhaver notes that not only the Tractarians but also their opponents (e.g. R.D. Hampden) treated the Fathers monolithically.[93] But this notion of a network of mutually informing ideas suggests that we should be more cautious about dismissing the idea, at least in Pusey. If patristic consensus is anything similar, we should expect great variety within it; a broad spectrum of *different* opinions, which

[91] Pusey, 'Types,' 38-39; *Deceased Wife's Sister*, 6.

[92] This entails the rejection of any supposition that Moderns, Reformers, or Roman Catholics have made theological 'progress' over earlier centuries; though the rejection of 'progress' does not rule out growth or development. See above, 181-182.

[93] Brilioth, *Three Lectures*, 60-61; Carol Engelhardt Herringer, 'Pusey's Eucharistic Doctrine,' in Strong and Herringer, 91-113; Westhaver, 139-140.

nonetheless *together* point toward an ineffable, mysterious reality.[94] It is worth observing that in contrasting the 'consent of the ancient Church' with 'the systems of modern schools,' the subtitle of *Baptism*'s later editions not only opposes antiquity to modernity, but 'consent' to 'systems;' and if (as the work's allegorical emphasis would suggest) 'systems' are characterised by excessive clarifying and definition, 'consent' might be expected to be less defined, less precise, but richer and more various.[95]

Allegory and Sacramentality

In this discussion, there have been several elements which point beyond themselves to a further category. In the duality of biblical types as historical events or institutions, but also foreshadowings of deeper realities, and in the importance of symbolism in Pusey's theology, we find ourselves pointed to the idea of a sacrament—an 'outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace' in the Prayer Book definition—which captures both the duality and the symbolism involved. The two dominical sacraments are discussed in the next part of this thesis, but there are also broader principles of sacramentality, which are shaped by the allegorical considerations just discussed, in particular his doctrine of creation and the intimacy of God's involvement in the world which results from it.

Keble's suggestion that creation was a kind of divine poetry, '*verba visibilia*' revealing God to those who sought him, highlights the sacramentality of creation in

[94] Although dealing with English divines rather than the early Fathers, and compiled by Harrison rather than by Pusey, who only supplied the introduction, one such case may be seen in Tract 81, where the sources provided in the *catena patrum* come from what Daniel Waterland had identified as being three different schools of thought. The point is not that there is a common theology of the eucharistic sacrifice; rather, the *catena* portrays *different* ways of understanding the reality of that sacrifice. Imberg, 37-38; Waterland, 'Christian Sacrifice,' 5: 134-135.

[95] Cf. Pusey to Tholuck, November 19, 1839, in Geck, *Autorität*, 176-177. This more complex notion of 'consent' also connects, through the Ecumenical Councils, to Pusey's understanding of the creeds as setting boundaries for belief, rather than stating precise theories that must be held; see above, 49-50.

Tractarian thought.[96] This is another shared element between Pusey and Keble, which plays an important role, not only in Pusey's understanding of allegory, but in his wider theology as well. For Keble, this is implicit in Scripture's use of natural imagery—the New Testament makes as much use of natural imagery as it does of Old Testament types, and often in similar ways: Heaven is the 'true sanctuary,' but Christ is the 'true vine.' This suggests as much revelatory divine intent in creation as in Hebrew Scripture.[97] Moreover, nature has webs of significance, similar to those of institutions or events: reference to a field opens up the whole realm of agriculture, even aspects not explicitly mentioned; and the combined regularity of many images, together with the complexity of their use (as e.g. the Holy Spirit being described variously in terms of fire, water, and breath), adds further support to this parallel.[98]

The same themes emerge in Pusey. 'The world then is our word of God; by His speech was it made;' 'To speak was to create; and so creation was his speech, as re-creation shall be another word.' And again,

> that which is of God, and wherein, according to their measures, God is, must in some finite way, express the character of God, which is in them, and must bear some relation to the other offspring of God. What God hath created; must, one may boldly say, express God; since God has no copy external to Himself, … human making must be after a pattern without him, although received in his mind, because he is finite and being created, createth not; Divine Creation must be the expression of something within God, because he is infinite.

The one qualification to this analogy between human and divine making is that, because of sin, the reflection of divinity in human making 'is, in a measure, *de*faced' though 'not *e*ffaced; as far as it has life and remains good, it retains the impress of God.' In creation,

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[96] Keble, *Mysticism*, 148. This perspective is at least indirectly attributable to Butler, who cites Origen's allegory as providing the principle for his own 'analogy.' Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, in *The Works of Bishop Butler*, ed. David E. White (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester P, 2006), 153.

[97] Keble, *Mysticism*, 162-168.

[98] Ibid., 168-171, 179-185.

however, as far as all things continue to be upheld by God's spirit, they therefore 'breathe something divine.'[99]

The significance of nature is so pervasive that the same meanings of various images will be found universally: 'Thus a broken flower, as designating one untimely cut off; mown corn as manhood cut down; the course of a river as cleansing … ; a bubble, as vanity; spring, as youth, winter as old age; and the like, will be found in every language, i.e. by every nation these analogies have been perceived and held to be true.'[100] This universality, however, points to another aspect of Pusey's thought, God's revelation through heathen cultures. Secular or pagan histories or philosophies can outline certain characteristics of human nature, or of morality and the consequences of good or evil, and thus to a certain extent provide patterns of history which we can learn from. However, this has two important qualifications that distinguish such revelation from that contained in Scripture. First, they are imperfect, though even that imperfection points by its lack to the perfection of God. And second, 'what is typical in the world's history' is not in the details or particular persons (as Pusey has insisted regarding Scripture), but in the broad outlines of events; similar to the tendency in the Old Testament histories to strip away 'all peculiarity of character … from those whom the world counts great,' so that they appear 'in the one single character of haughty and unconscious instruments of God's will.'[101] This is easily connected with the references Pusey makes elsewhere to God's revelatory action—not only through the faithful, but also through the ungodly characters in Scripture (e.g., Pilate in writing the inscription on the cross)—'guiding, empowering, and acting in the free-will of His servants,

[99] Pusey, 'Types,' additional fragments.

[100] Ibid., additional fragments.

[101] Ibid., additional fragments.

overruling the enslaved minds of His enemies, so that the one acted and spoke by His Spirit, the other, acting and speaking by the evil spirit which possessed them, yet both in words and actions, portrayed an ideal more finished than themselves.'[102] This understanding of God's involvement in creation and in the whole course of history may provide an explanatory hint regarding Pusey's unreserved affective appeal, discussed above—his vision is a powerful one of a God who is very near to us.

Implicit in this vision of creation, however, is an analogy between types—of all kinds—and the sacraments. The outward type relates to its allegorical meaning in a manner analogous to the relation of the outward and inward parts of the sacrament. Pusey suggests that this is a structural principle in creation. The outward-inward relation can be seen in the natural world, as in Scripture; it is also reflected in the 'compound nature' of humanity—body and soul—and in language: 'our very words are two-fold; they are taken from material things, have a material substance, yet act invisibly, bear an un-material meaning, as they are received by the eyes and ears but act on the soul, so that we may in some states of mind, lose all consciousness of seeing or hearing them.' The pinnacle of this, of course, is in the Incarnation: God revealed in a material human body.[103]

This high regard for the significance of the material creation leads to another contrast with Newman. Pusey expresses his sympathy for philosophical material realism, which he believes to be inherent both in the beliefs of the early Church, and in the theology of the Prayer Book.

> [I]t may be remarked (and misapprehension may thereby be saved, and our own Liturgy illustrated) that in this history, and elsewhere, there is in the Ancient

[102] Pusey, 'Types,' additional fragments.

[103] Ibid., additional fragments. These sacramental 'parallels' are described in their patristic origin by de Lubac, 1: 150; 2: 4-27, 59-63, 83-85,107-117.

> Church what by moderns would be condemned as Realism, or Materialism, or Mysticism. Their view seems to have been of this sort; that, since God had appointed the use of water for Baptism, there must have been an appropriateness in it, which there was in no other element; that there was an analogy between His physical and moral Creation, and that not only imaginative but real; that in forming the Physical, He had respect also to the purposes which He designed in His Moral creation, and imparted to the physical agent properties corresponding to its moral uses; that in His own earlier dispensations He had regard to the latter, and not only taught man beforehand what should be, but, in a manner, by employing His creature in the subordinate offices of the former, imparted to it a fitness to serve in the latter and greater.[104]

Pusey clearly favours this mystical 'materialism;' the reality of the material object or substance is given deeper significance by its higher meaning, much like the 'literal' sense of the biblical types. This realism is closely linked to a Platonic metaphysic, at least partially inherited from Richard Hooker.[105] He prefers to speak of types not as foreshadowing an 'antitype,' but as reflecting an 'archetype.'[106] '[T]hings, words and persons' all have 'inherent' hierarchical relations to each other; and according to their various qualities 'stand in different degrees of nearness' not only to each other, but to their archetype. A prophecy (or a symbol) may have 'a manifold sense and fulfilment,' the highest being the most real.[107] Newman, by contrast, identified the 'sacramental principle' with his belief in the 'unreality of material phenomena,' which ultimately stems from the empiricist philosophy of John Locke.[108] The spiritual aspect of a type or a sacrament, on this view, is its true reality; the 'outward sign,' so far as it is perceptible, is illusory.

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[104] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 361.

[105] Brian Douglas, 'Pusey's "Lectures on Types and Prophecies of the Old Testament': Implications for Eucharistic theology,' *International Journal of Systematic Theology* (2012) 14: 196; Westhaver, 216-217.

[106] Westhaver, 170.

[107] Pusey, 'Types,' additional fragments; cf. *The Minor Prophets* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1888-1889), 1: 159-192, 2: 47-51, 64, 236.

[108] Newman, *Apologia*, 140-141. J.M. Cameron, 'Newman and the Empiricist Tradition,' in Coulson and Allchin, 77. Newman like Pusey acquired Platonism from reading the Fathers, but his intellectual predisposition rendered his Platonism very different from Pusey's. Alf Härdelin, *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells, 1965), 70.

From Pusey's material realism, it follows that sacramentalism is a necessary feature of human life. For Newman, spiritual ascent can be characterised by the loss of 'material phenomena'—that is, in fact, his description of Jesus' post-resurrection appearances.[109] For Pusey, it is just as idolatrous to dispense with the sign, as it is to stop at the outward sign without proceeding to the inward reality. Thus:

> It has been well said that God has appointed, as it were, a sort of sacramental union between the type and the archetype, so that as the type were nothing, except in as far as it represents, and is the medium of conveying the archetype to the mind, so neither can the archetype be conveyed except through the type. Though the consecrated element be not the sacrament, yet neither can the soul of the Sacrament be attained without it. God has joined them together, and men may not and cannot put them asunder.[110]

Both the 'carnal' idolater and the 'pseudo-spiritualist' see the type and the sacramental elements as bare, and thereby lose their spiritual benefit: 'the carnal would live on bread alone, the pseudospiritualist [sic] without it; the carnal man mistakes the clouds of darkness for Him who is enshrouded within it, the pseudo-spiritualist would behold Him, Whom "man cannot see and live," the "light inapproachable, Whom no man hath seen or can see;" the carnal neglects the revelation, the pseudo-spiritual would know the unveiled God.'[111]

In contrast, the essence of revealed religion, especially the religion of the Incarnation, is that God makes himself known to us, not that we comprehend God. Thus the life of the Church, the life of the sacraments, and the expressions of Scripture—the concrete, tangible aspects of religion—cannot be dispensed with:

> Neither the letter without the Spirit, nor the Spirit without the letter—prayers, which God giveth into the midst of us to hear; earthly Sacraments yet full of

[109] Newman, *Justification*, 235-236.

[110] Pusey, 'Types,' 23-24.

[111] Ibid., 23-24. Careful reading of the correspondence between Pusey and Newman on transubstantiation suggests that these philosophical differences may have been close beneath the surface, contributing to the two friends' difficulty in communicating with each other. Liddon, *Life*, 4: 166-172.

> Heaven, earthly words, yet full of the Word, *logoi* proceeding from and setting forth the *logos*. And we, as we walk still by faith and not by sight, must be constant to see still the reflected light, 'as in a glass darkly,' not 'face to face,' that we be not guilty of the folly which the Heathen fable was intended to reprove, when she (the soul) who would see the Father of all, unveiled, had her request and perished.[112]

This emphasis on the sacramental and other aspects of outward religion is also implicit in a note to this discussion, on translations that 'substitute abstract, and as they would fain have it, clearer terms for the types or typical language of the Old Testament,' but 'uniformly by this transmutation evaporate much of their meaning. … Men think that we gain in clearness, but they lose in depth; nay, we employ definite terms, in order to comprehend that which is infinite!' The particular examples he has in mind are quite specific:

> We have not, it is true, visible propitiatory sacrifice or a visible theocracy, a visible temple, but it is still through the medium of these figures that we understand, (as far as we do understand,) the reality: we have no better way of understanding the main truths of the Gospel than through these very figures, 'the sacrifice of Christ' 'the kingdom of God' 'the temple of the Holy Ghost;' and he who would lay aside these types and typical language, and understand the mysteries of God without them, would be acting contrary to the teaching of Scripture and so very wrongly and foolishly.[113]

Given that the text above this note explicitly refers to the Eucharist and the liturgies of the Church, it is clear that Pusey is thinking not only of the biblical images of sacrifice, the kingdom of God, and the temple, but the sacramental manifestations of those images within the Church.

A deeper understanding of Pusey's sacramentalism can be gained from two of what he called 'sacramentals' or 'mysteries,' absolution and marriage. These rites—an open-ended collection not limited to the five 'sacraments of the Church'—are placed distinctly below Baptism and the Eucharist. Nonetheless, they convey more than just

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[112] Pusey, 'Types,' 23-24.

[113] Ibid., 24.

gifts to the understanding: they do not directly communicate union with Christ, but they can convey real, practical grace to assist in faithful Christian living and in spiritual growth.[114] Absolution has some resemblance to Baptism, 'restoring the returning penitent to the state of grace from which he had fallen, cleansing anew the white robes which he had defiled, remitting the guilt, and opening the avenues to the full inflow of grace which sin had choked.'[115] It is restoration, however, not a second beginning; it is not a new life in Christ, but the removal of the cancerous growth of sin. 'In Baptism, a man becomes a new self, and being another man, has no more to do with his former sins, than if they had been committed by another, except to love and thank God who had freed him from them; by Absolution, pardon is given, life is renewed, but the penitent is the same as the sinner.'[116] Marriage, on the other hand, is an exercise in love in preparation for heaven—its vocation, for both husband and wife, is to imitate the love of Christ for his Church, despite its faults. Christ loves with the power to remove those faults, and though 'we cannot imitate the power, we can, through His grace imitate the love.'[117]

In one aspect, these 'mysteries' are closer to types than to Baptism and the Eucharist, because while the dominical sacraments convey what they signify, these lesser rites point beyond themselves to greater gifts, as 'shadows of things unseen, the

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[114] Pusey, *The Articles Treated on in Tract 90 Reconsidered, and Their Interpretation Vindicated in a Letter to the Rev. R. W. Jelf, D. D.* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1841), 39-42. Pusey accepts a general use of the term 'sacraments,' but preferred to reserve it specifically for the dominical sacraments—'mystery' in patristic usage included the dominical sacraments, but Pusey felt it useful for making this distinction. Preaching, fasting, the Creed, prayer—especially the Lord's Prayer—Scripture, and martyrdom are all elements of Christian practice which ought to be seen as 'mysteries.' Pusey sees his position as moderating between rejection of any sacramentality in these things (which he thinks stems from too low a conception of the grace given in Baptism and the Eucharist), and the Roman Catholic system, which by emphasizing confession and transubstantiation *practically* risked throwing Baptism into the shade. See *Baptism 2*, 190; *Oxford*, 114-117; cf. Palmer, *Treatise*, 1: 173-174.

[115] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 30.

[116] Ibid., 22-23; see below, 129-132.

[117] Pusey, 'The Sacredness of Marriage,' in *Parochial Sermons II*, 391-393.

foretaste, in some measure, of things eternal.'[118] So, the Old Testament observances of the Day of Atonement 'did cleanse from sins,' but only in a legal and therefore 'outward and inadequate and transitory' way, while foreshadowing the greater reality of redemption in Christ.[119] Absolution not only forgives sins in the present life, but foreshadows Christ's declaration of forgiveness of the penitent at the last judgment: 'the judgment, … is an earnest of the judgment of Christ, and is confirmed by Him.'[120] Thus the image of the Last Judgment is not one of fear, but of hope: our judge is our redeemer. Marriage, meanwhile, signifies 'the mystery of holy union.'[121] It reflects the Trinity, through the union of man with woman who 'was formed not apart … but of the very substance … of the man.'[122] And it reflects the 'three-fold union of God with man' in the Incarnation, in Christ's union with the Church as his 'one mystical body,' and in his union with each Christian, 'since what Christ does for the whole Church, He, through His indivisible love, does for every soul which He makes His, … He … espoused [sic] to himself each single soul which, by His love, He should draw unto Himself.'[123] As an image of divine unity-in-love, marriage is therefore a foretaste of heaven.

> This love shall not decay, much less dies [sic], even after the body's death. For souls which are united in Christ, shall not be separated from Christ; they shall live on still, one in the one love of Christ. In heaven there shall be 'neither marrying nor giving in marriage,' but there shall be love; love, pure, holy, happy, like that

[118] Pusey, 'Marriage,' 387.

[119] Pusey, 'Types,' 97-98; cf. Daniel Waterland, 'The Christian Sacrifice Explained,' 5: 148.

[120] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 24. The same imagery of the Last Judgment appears in 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent, Sermon II' (Oxford: John Henry Parker), 37-39, in connection with the season of Advent.

[121] Pusey, 'Marriage,' 387. The language of 'mystery' is drawn from the sermon text; but it is no accident that the term which Pusey connects in *Baptism* with these sacramental rites becomes a recurring theme in the sermon.

[122] Ibid., 387-388.

[123] Ibid., 389-390.

> of the angels of God in heaven, who are ever filled with the love of God, ever behold the Face of God, are ever over-streamed with the radiancy of that love, which issues forth from the eternal Fountain of love.[124]

A final distinction lies in a certain degree of uncertainty as to whether the grace signified in them is conveyed: they '*may be*'—not *are*—'and *some* certainly are, … means of grace.'[125] It is not that Pusey doubts God's willingness to give grace by any means available, but whereas Christ himself had promised his presence in the dominical sacraments, there is no such guarantee in these other mysteries. Unlike Baptism and the Eucharist, the grace of such rites depends at least in part on the participants. Absolution only remits sin 'if the penitent be sincere,' and the reality of its grace is therefore in some degree contingent on the minister's judgment: 'the same penitent has yet to appear before the Judgment-seat of Christ, that, according to his sincerity, the Lord may ratify *or annul* the judgment of His servants.'[126] Likewise in marriage, the unspoken qualification is that its grace depends, to some degree, on the human will to grow in it: we *can* imitate Christ's love, by his help; doing so, and the transformation that comes from such imitation, is possible, but not automatic. This qualified nature of the grace given in these 'mysteries' again places them between the earlier types and the dominical sacraments: it is a higher grace than that of the Law, and directly connected to the Christian life, but more contingent than the realities contained in Baptism and the Eucharist. What this intermediate status shows, however, is the strength of his sacramental vision of creation: all things are instruments of God; nothing (save sin) is apart from him.

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[124] Pusey, 'Marriage,' 393-394.

[125] Pusey, *Jelf*, 35; emphasis mine.

[126] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 24; emphasis mine.

Understood through the lens of the earlier *Enquiry* into German theology, Pusey's interest in allegory is not just a historicist preoccupation, but the answer to a problem buried at the roots of theological methodology. In expanding an approach used (though in a limited way) by the older High Churchmen, Pusey was able to find principles which allow an imaginatively rich and engaging approach to theology, while providing for considerable complexity when the relation and interaction of images and types is translated into theological method. The centre of this system, however, is Pusey's belief in God's involvement with creation, with history, and especially with Scripture and the Church, which leads to the topic of sacramentality. Together with the evolution of Pusey's High Church heritage emphasised in chapter two, the influence of allegory, both directly and as providing structural principles, can be traced throughout Pusey's subsequent thought. Both can be seen in the central topics of Pusey's soteriology, union with Christ and sacrifice.

Part II

Communion and the Sacraments

Chapter 4

Baptism and Union with Christ

The previous chapter showed how the driving concerns of Pusey's theology and his epistemological critique led him to embrace the patristic 'allegorical' hermeneutic, and with it, a theological approach which stressed the importance of symbolism and the intimacy of God's involvement with the world. The pinnacle of these two emphases is found, naturally, in the sacramental life of the Church; and above all, in the two sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. The sacraments also provide a fruitful opportunity for examining Pusey's relation to the old High Churchmen: allegory and sacramentalism only reinforced a perspective inherited from the earlier tradition. Both of these themes can be followed through Pusey's writings on the sacraments. But while allegory and historical background shed light on Pusey's creativity and originality, consideration of the sacraments also leads us to a deeper understanding of his spirituality. Far from being grim, the centre of Pusey's spirituality is the love of God. The heart of the sacraments, and indeed the very core of Christianity as he understands it, is God's gift of himself to humanity in Jesus Christ: to study the sacraments is to study the love of God. This love, as conveyed in the sacraments, has two aspects: union with Christ, and sacrifice. Though sacrifice is no less important in Pusey's thought—and, as will be shown, provides a central set of images which recur throughout Pusey's theology—his greatest emphasis falls on the doctrine of union with Christ; and this in turn shapes his understanding of sacrifice. So Pusey's understanding of communion will be considered first, beginning with the sacrament of Baptism.

Baptism and Regeneration

Both versions of Tract 67 give consideration to biblical types of Baptism; in the later version, this occupies the majority of the work. The Flood receives differing interpretations in the two editions: in the first, the ark (as the Church) is the vessel which saves from destruction, while the waters (foreshadowing Baptism) are the occasion for entering it; in the second, the waters themselves are the focus, destroying the old world that it may be renewed, just as in Baptism the 'old Adam' is destroyed and replaced by the new.[1] The crossing of the Red Sea is, likewise, a deliverance from evil and destruction into a new life. It is followed by the desert, foreshadowing the difficulties of the Christian life, and the danger of falling away; though the heavenly manna (foreshadowing the Eucharist) is given for sustenance.[2] Circumcision serves as a symbol of 'spiritual mercies' and 'spiritual duties,' though as being merely symbolic (and not, as the Flood and the Red Sea a real event of redemption) it is of weaker force in its application to the reality of Baptism.[3] The Levitical washings before worship, or to cleanse leprosy, symbolise Baptism as the means of entering the Church, and as our cleansing from sin.[4] Following these types which are specifically mentioned in the New Testament, Pusey also discusses several identified by the early Fathers, although he argues not so much for the reception of every one, as for the value of being alive to the spiritual meanings of Scripture: 'it is a cold, stiff, and lifeless system, so to bind ourselves to take the letter of Holy Scripture, as to refuse to stir hand or foot, even when

[1] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 44-45; *Baptism 2*, 303-305.

[2] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 312-320.

[3] Ibid., 320-323.

[4] Ibid., 340-341.

that Scripture seems to beckon and invite us, and point the way.'[5] Similarly, he argues that baptismal meanings can be drawn from many of Christ's miracles—such as the pool of Siloam—which, though occurring in the New Testament, are open to allegorical interpretation as acts of physical, rather than spiritual, deliverance.[6]

Natural types are also important. The image of the seed, discussed below, is one such. Regeneration itself—rebirth—is another:

> This is our new birth, an actual birth of God, of water, and the Spirit, as we were actually born of our natural parents; herein then are we also justified, or both accounted and made righteous, since we are made members of Him who is Alone Righteous; freed from past sin, whether original or actual; have a new principle of life imparted to us, since having been made members of Christ, we have a portion of His life, or of Him who is our Life; herein we also have the hope of the resurrection and of immortality, because we have been made partakers of his resurrection, have risen again with Him.[7]

Birth as a natural type of Baptism also connects past gift with present reality: 'Birth is one gift, though it would not profit us to have been born, unless the being, thus bestowed, were afterwards upheld by His Fatherly care.'[8] Yet like natural birth, spiritual rebirth is mysterious. '[H]ow the Sacraments effect this we know not: we understand not the mysteries of our first, how should we then of our second, birth? Of both rather we confess, that we are fearfully and wonderfully made, but how we were fashioned, we know not.'[9] Finally, there is the marital language of becoming 'one flesh,' which though strictly applying to union with Christ and more frequently used with reference to the

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[5] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 344.

[6] Ibid., 344-367.

[7] Ibid., 23-24.

[8] Ibid., 155.

[9] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 113-114.

Eucharist, is occasionally applied to Baptism as the beginning and source of that union.[10]

However, despite the importance of types in Pusey's understanding of the sacraments, and indeed the deep significance of the material elements in them, the sacraments are more than just types. There is a correlation between the symbolic and spiritual aspects of the types, and the outward and inward parts of the sacraments. However, they are differentiated by the foundational distinction within the allegorical hermeneutic, between type and reality. The Old Testament types foreshadow the future realities of the New Testament; the sacraments participate in the realities of Christ's death and resurrection, and are themselves realities prefigured in the old covenant. They are symbolic, indeed, but they are also much more.

> [T]hey are mystical representations to the soul: they are props of faith: they are visible seals of God's promises: they are images of things invisible: they are instruments to lift up our hearts to communion with God in Christ: but they are more; … They are channels of Divine grace to the soul, which are closed up indeed by unfaithfulness, yet are efficacious, not simply by animating our faith; but the one, by actually incorporating us into Christ, and creating in our souls a new principle of life, and making us 'partakers of the Divine nature;' the other, imparting to us increased union with Christ.[11]

Because they are *realities*, and not mere figures, Pusey insists on the reality of the grace given in the sacraments, and the reality of the change that grace can bring. The sacraments are 'full of life and honour and immortality, for that they are full of Christ.'[12]

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[10] See below, 120, 122, 139-140.

[11] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 113-114. On 1 John 5:6-8: 'they are the visible tokens of His invisible Presence; the means of our adoption; the 'pledges of His love;' the witnesses that He 'is come in the flesh.' Pusey, *Baptism*, 2nd ed., 299-300.

[12] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 128.

In Baptism, the reality of sacramental grace entails that our baptismal dying and rising with Christ (Rom. 6:3-6) is not merely a moral teaching, that we ought to die to sin and live in Christ. Though this is certainly implied, the point of the passage is that this death and resurrection has been given to us already:

> 'We have been all baptized into Christ,' i.e. into a participation of Christ, and His most precious death, and union with Him, we, i.e. our old man, our corrupted selves, *have been* buried with Him, by Baptism, into that death, *that we may* walk in newness of life. Again, we *have been* planted in the likeness of His death *that we may* be of His resurrection. Again, our old man *has been* crucified—that the whole body of sin *may be* destroyed. And so, throughout, there are two deaths, in one of which we were passive only; we were baptized, buried, planted, crucified; the very language marks that this was all God's doing, in us, and for us: there remains the other death, which we must continually die. Sin has once been remitted, slain, crucified; we must, [sic] henceforth watch that it live not again in us, that we extirpate all the roots thereof, that we serve it not again, that we live through its death.[13]

Paul's language is both past and passive—what God *has done* to us, in Baptism. Our union with Christ's death and life, the guarantee of our own resurrection, is entirely God's work through the sacrament.[14] This point is important enough to Pusey to be substantially expanded in the later edition: we *were* circumcised without hands, and buried and raised with Christ (Col. 2:10-13, 3:1); we *were* sealed or anointed; the Church *was* cleansed (Eph. 5:26)—all *past* actions of God, which produce the *present* reality of life in Christ.[15] In the Christian life, Pusey argues, the past event is Baptism, its present consequence is union with Christ.

So, in Galatians 3:27 ('For as many of you as have been baptized unto Christ, have put on Christ'):

> [W]hoever of us has been baptized, was thereby incorporated into Christ, and so being made a portion and member of the Son of God, partakes of that sonship, and

[13] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 22-23; emphasis Pusey's. C.f. also 31-34.

[14] Ibid., 26-28.

[15] Pusey, *Baptism 2*: on Romans, 93-109; Colossians, 124-133 and 175-187; on 'sealing' 155-175; and on Ephesians 190-191.

> is himself a child of God: so that henceforth the Father looks upon him, not as what he is in himself, but as in, and a part of, His Well-beloved Son, and loves him with a portion of that ineffable love with which He loves His Son. St. Paul speaks then not of duties, (though every privilege involves a duty corresponding,) but of privileges, inestimable, inconceivable, which no thought can reach unto, but which all thought should aim at embracing,—our union with God in Christ, wherein we were joined in the Holy Baptism.[16]

These 'privileges' of Baptism and God's inestimable love for all who, through it, are in Christ, are the major theme of the work in both its earlier and its later form. In this we can see the *Enquiry*'s concerns lurking in the background—Pusey stresses the *privileges* of Baptism, against the rationalist who would sever the grace from the sacrament as impossible or unbelievable, against an over-emphasis on the personal and affective, and against an 'orthodoxist' High Churchmanship which held the truth of the doctrine, but 'coldly,' setting forth the duties rather than the gifts that regeneration implies. Pusey's emphasis is rather that in Baptism, everything signified by the baptismal types, or by the rite itself, has been given to us by God.

However, just as prophetic types might have differing degrees of fulfilment, the gifts of Baptism are fulfilled in different degrees of perfection. First is the 'perfection in our home … whereby they who shall attain, shall be perfected in Him Who Alone is Perfect, our Father Who is in Heaven.' Then comes the perfection of Baptism: 'Perfect must be the gift of The Perfect,' although we receive it imperfectly; 'Perfect is the principle of life imparted to us, but we receive it in "a body of death."' But last, there is the perfection of this life, which consists in yielding completely to God's will: 'And as we are thus perfect in the purpose of God, so have we a sort of relative, an imperfect perfecting, in faith, in will, in temper, in love, if we give up ourselves without reserve to

[16] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 28; cf. *Baptism* 2, 109-124.

receive that perfect gift of God. It is a sort of perfection, to hold nothing back from the perfecting grace of God.'[17]

The latter two of these 'perfections,' however, are mixed. Our imperfect receiving of God's perfect gift, and the 'imperfect perfection' of Christian growth, both reflect the reality of sin. Natural types prove their usefulness in grappling with this tension. Pusey was well aware of the ambiguities surrounding the word 'regeneration,' but his own understanding of the term is literal—*re-birth*, a new beginning. Regeneration is therefore the gift of grace in a 'seminal' form, which grows when nourished. Pusey does not make a sharp distinction between planting the seed and its later growth, however: 'in Scripture, and by the ancient Church, the latter is regarded as included in the former.'[18] Christian holiness, then, is the growth and realisation of Baptism's gifts. But this imagery helps to account for post-baptismal sin. Christians are not born full-grown. And for some the 'gift' may be 'rendered useless for want of cultivation'—either through removal from the Church, or through the Church's neglect—though God, in his faithfulness, may yet provide means of growth and restoration that are beyond our understanding.[19] The image of the seed also proves useful in distinguishing infant and adult Baptisms. Regeneration is a gift that needs to be received, a seed that needs to be planted and nourished, and so there is a measure of human passivity in receiving sacramental grace: a sacrament conveys the grace associated with it, so long as 'no obstacle is placed in its way by the unworthiness of the

[17] Pusey, 'Progress our Perfection,' in *Sermons on Repentance*, 315-316. Similarly, Pusey interprets 1 John 3:9 as saying that we do not sin, 'in whatever degree we are realizing the life, which was in Baptism conferred upon us … our sins are a portion of our old man, our corruption, our death ; and so far, we are not living.' Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 166-170.

[18] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 148-153. Contrast with Waterland, below, 106.

[19] Ibid., 164-166.

recipient.'[20] Infants are passive by definition, and so there is no question of whether they receive grace, only of how it is nurtured.[21] An adult, however, *can* oppose God's gift if they come to Baptism with false motives; Pusey concludes, by analogy to the Eucharist, that this must be spiritually dangerous, although even then, God can work through the sacrament and grant repentance for receiving it unworthily.[22]

The doctrine of baptismal regeneration thus demonstrates how allegory shapes Pusey's theology; but it also shows his close theological ties with the older High Churchmen. Members of the older school in his own day were appreciative; Henry Phillpotts was particularly admiring, though he complained of the small print in the edition Pusey sent him, and as his prosecution of Charles Gorham shows, he was not one to take this doctrine lightly.[23] In his assessment, the Tractarian doctrine of Baptism was the same as that held by the older school; and so, for instance, addressing the clergy of his diocese in the aftermath of the Gorham Judgment, he excused a reluctant quotation from Newman on the basis of the latter's conformity (on the question of Baptism) with the eighteenth-century High Churchman Daniel Waterland.[24] Waterland will serve as a useful point of comparison with Pusey: Phillpotts clearly saw him as a doctrinal authority, and could appeal to him as such without controversy in a predominantly High Church diocese; and with the publication of Van Mildert's edition

[20] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 83.

[21] Ibid., 84.

[22] Pusey, *Baptism* 1, 170-176; *Baptism 2*, 229-237. With regard to receiving unworthily, cf. 1 Cor. 11. Pusey also draws on the traditional story of Simon Magus, derived from Cyril of Jerusalem's Sixth Catechetical Lecture. This appears to have been frequent a test case in such discussions; cf. Daniel Waterland, 'Regeneration Stated and Explained According to Scripture and Antiquity, in a Discourse on Titus III. 4, 5, 6,' in *Works* 4: 442-444.

[23] Phillpotts to Pusey, November 10-December 5, 1849, LBV 59.

[24] Henry Phillpotts, *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter, on the Present State of the Church* (London: John Murray, 1851), 23-26.

of Waterland's *Works* in the 1820s, he was a relatively accessible source. So, although High Churchmanship was far from uniform, comparing Pusey with Waterland, will provide a sense of Pusey's relationship with a significant strand of High Church thought.

Pusey's position bears a strong resemblance to Waterland's understanding of Baptism. Waterland emphasises that God's grace is given apart from 'any righteousness which *we* have done,' and rejects attempts to sever inward regeneration from the outward sacrament, as a 'modern' innovation.[25] Regeneration itself is a change wrought by the Holy Spirit in Baptism, by which a person 'is translated from his *natural* state in *Adam*, to a *spiritual* state in *Christ*.'[26] This change is permanent, and carries with it numerous privileges, which, however, can be summed up in the forgiveness of sins, and a '*covenant claim … to eternal happiness*.'[27] These privileges can be lost through rebellion against God—he rejects the 'modern' position that 'the *regenerate* can never *finally* fall from grace'—but the original gift is not lost; and if the person is moved to repentance, it is on the foundation of the regeneration already received, not by repeating it.[28] This, however, highlights the importance of our role in receiving God's gift, which leads him to the distinction (based on Titus 3:4-6) between regeneration, the spiritual state given by God, and renewal, the disposition of heart and mind formed by cooperation between the human and the Holy Spirit. Like Pusey, he also concludes that the necessity of human receiving of God's grace entails that in adult Baptism (not infant

[25] Waterland, 'Regeneration' in *Works*, 4: 427.

[26] Ibid., 429.

[27] Ibid., 433.

[28] Ibid., 433-437.

Baptism), it is possible for the candidate to be baptised unworthily—to salvation if they repent, but to condemnation if they do not.[29]

Pusey's strong resemblance to Waterland on the doctrine of Baptism shows obvious signs of continuity with the High Church tradition, if not of a direct influence from Waterland himself (whom Pusey thought 'cold.')[30] Indeed, baptismal regeneration provides perhaps the best proof of his High Church roots—as early as 1823, his defence of the doctrine was sufficient to shake Newman's opposition.[31] But comparison with Waterland also shows some differences. Waterland's work is characterised by an admirable doctrinal clarity; Pusey is less clear, but his tone is deeper. Unlike other Tractarians, he resists Waterland's distinction between regeneration and renewal, perhaps because it risks distancing the seed of regeneration from its fruits.[32] Waterland admits the privileges of Baptism; Pusey spends much of his work emphasising their greatness. Waterland, in closing, urges renewal through a 'sedate, regular, and uniform obedience to God's commandments.'[33] Pusey would doubtless advocate a regular and uniform practice of obedience; but he is less sedate—were he to write a similar sentence, he would likely say 'whole-hearted' or 'vigorous' instead. With Waterland, he is sceptical of the attempt to ground God's grace on individual emotions; but Pusey does not shy away from rapturous meditations on God's love. This difference in tone lies beneath the criticisms Pusey received from his High Church contemporaries: when the privileges of Baptism shine with such a brilliant light as Pusey would show, the sin

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[29] Waterland, 'Regeneration,' 442-444.

[30] Liddon, 2: 33.

[31] Newman, *Autobiographical Writings*, 203-204.

[32] Newman, *Justification*, esp. 81, 94-106, 112-115; R.I. Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of Holy Baptism.* 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1849), 10. Hereafter, 'renewal' is used in a general sense, not in the technical sense given by Waterland.

[33] Waterland, 'Regeneration,' 457.

which rejects them must appear the darker. But it was on this point that he was criticised—his language on post-baptismal sin was thought too strong.

This emotional depth in Pusey, however, brings in a subjective element that points to his relationship with Evangelicalism. John Calhoun has noted that Pusey's insistence on the utter depth of sin is one point held in common with Evangelicals; as is his emphasis on the importance of conversion.[34] In fact, during the heat of the Gorham controversy, Pusey argued for a 'way of peace' between High Churchmen and Evangelicals, by emphasising the necessity of *both* conversion and sacraments, and defended the Evangelicals as objecting primarily to a system in which conversion was *replaced* by sacraments, rather than one in which they are complementary; he agreed that holy living (as a result of conversion) was necessary to the fruitfulness of the sacraments.[35] Pusey had stated this position more than a decade before, in the revised version of *Baptism*. He insists that 'our justification is imputed to us, not through the feelings, but *through* Baptism,' against an emphasis on personal commitments of faith to the exclusion of Baptism, but he also insists that the opposite error lacks the 'vivid perception that by abiding faith only can that gift be retained.'[36] 'Thus in the words "justification by faith," all the Christian privileges and gifts are indeed included, since they are all part of the faith, bestowed on one who *embraces* the mercies of God in

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[34] Calhoun, 174-178, 245.

[35] Ibid., 175; cf. Pusey, *Royal Supremacy*, 188, 254-258. Bourchier Wrey Savile, *Dr. Pusey: An Historic Sketch* (London: Longmans, Green, 1883), 37-38; Liddon, 1: 17. Pusey's sympathy for the Evangelical position is likely shaped, at least in part, by his insistence on keeping Christian growth as an element of regeneration (see above, 104). For the same reason, Pusey was appreciative of the ambiguities surrounding the word 'regeneration.' In addition to his general dislike of Phillpotts' prosecution (see above, 50), he also thought it mistaken to have built the case on the less stable ground of regeneration, rather than on the more definite creedal statement, 'one Baptism for the remission of sins.' Pusey to Keble, February 7 1850, LBV 103.

[36] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 20; emphasis Pusey's.

Christ, and is *through the Sacraments* made a member of Him.'[37] In the first edition of this work, Pusey allowed that there was considerable value in a mature 'conversion experience,' as an awakening to God, and a rejection of sin, even allowing that in *strength* the term regeneration would be appropriate, if it did not risk obscuring God's mercies in Baptism.[38]

Union with Christ I: Faith, Justification, Glorification

As this discussion shows, the heart of Pusey's baptismal teaching is regeneration through union with Christ. A full understanding of Baptism, therefore, requires consideration of Pusey's doctrine of union with Christ; his reasons for emphasising it, its structures, and its effects. For Pusey, giving weight to the doctrine of union with Christ is an evangelical and apologetic necessity, because it concerns the deepest longings of humanity. We were made to be united with God, and only God can satisfy our deepest longings. Because of these longings, we have an insatiable desire to be united to *something*.

> 'Union with God.' Yes, this is the almost inextinguishable longing of man, created, as he is, in the image and likeness of God, unless he brutalize himself; … David uses the most fiery longing of our volcanic frame, to express the soul's burning desire for union with its God. And this God must long to give, since He has implanted the desire for it. Only from God could we have this longing for God.[39]

If this desire 'find not its satisfaction in faith,' human nature turns to pantheism, 'glad to merge its own personality in the ocean of the being of an impersonal god, of which it thought itself a part, sooner than be for ever an isolated existence, separate from its god.' This is the true alternative to Christianity; deism, atheism and all other forms of

[37] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 20; emphasis mine.

[38] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 71-72.

[39] Pusey, 'This is My Body,' 42.

unbelief inevitably slide towards that end. 'Many clouds have rolled away, many more are rolling away; half-faith and half-unbelief are disappearing; and the deadly antagonism is unveiling itself: "Is Jesus God, or is man a part of God?" "Has he no God but himself, but humanity?"" … There remains only one consistent choice, the Catholic Faith … or Pantheism.'[40]

Although these passages are taken from Pusey's later sermons, there is early evidence that for this concern. In the 'Types,' he was careful to contrast his sacramental perspective, in which 'Divine Creation must be the expression of something within God, because he is infinite,' and which allows that, as all things are upheld by God's spirit, they therefore 'breathe something divine,' with pantheism, which 'confines the Infinite within the finite, the spiritual within the natural, and made [sic] the Creator coexistent with the created.'[41] As Pusey's allegorical principles would suggest, the sacraments are important in differentiating Christianity and pantheism. Whereas pantheism erases the distinction between creator and created by merging the world with an abstract deity, the sacraments involve us in an intensely personal union of love with the Incarnate Lord.[42] The centrality of the Incarnation to Pusey's allegorical system assures this. If types (in Scripture or in nature) reveal something of God, if the sacraments communicate grace, it is only because these are, as it were, the concentric circles by which God draws us nearer to Jesus Christ, the revelation of God not in words or abstract thoughts, but tangibly, in the flesh—the greatest revelation of God's love, uniting humanity to himself.

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[40] Pusey, 'Will Ye Also Go Away?' (Oxford: James Parker, 1880), 15.

[41] Pusey, 'Types,' additional fragments.

[42] Contrast Brilioth, *Anglican Revival*, 298-305.

The centrality of the Incarnation, however, highlights another aspect of Pusey's thought. His contrast between the 'old man' and Christ is the classic language of recapitulation: Christ by the Incarnation recreates humanity, replacing the humanity of Adam which is corrupted by sin.[43] However, Christ's recreation of humanity *in general* needs to be translated to the renewal of *each person*. Christ's acts in the Incarnation, cross, resurrection, and ascension all transform humanity—man was united to God, died to sin, received new life, and was taken into heaven. 'Yet it was our nature still, not ourselves;' all of these things were done 'out of us,' to our nature generally, not to each of us in particular.[44] The particular renewal of each Christian comes in the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. 'Whit-Sunday is the filling up of the Ascension. The wondrous exchange was half made on the Ascension, when Man in God was taken up into Heaven, and sat on His Father's Throne; the day of Pentecost fulfilled the promise of the Father, and as man now dwelt in God, so God, in a New and Ineffable Way, dwelt thenceforth in man.'[45] This gift, however, is specifically communicated in Baptism. '[O]ur nature had been raised from the dead, had been sanctified, but not we ourselves; for us then it was further necessary that we should be individually made partakers of that cleansing, and this St. Paul says had been done for them; their hearts *had been* cleansed from an evil conscience, as their bodies cleansed by pure water.'[46] It is because the sacraments form the link between the general gifts of the Incarnation and each

[43] See above, 102.

[44] Pusey, 'The Christian the Temple of God,' in *Parochial Sermons I*, 345-346.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 186; emphasis Pusey's.

Christian that Pusey connects them to *theosis*; they impart, as he puts it, 'a deifying influence, … to "be as Gods," being partakers of the Son of God.'[47]

This distinction between the renewal of humanity generally and the salvation of each person provides the framework for a distinction in his soteriology between, as he puts it, Christ's work *for us*, and *in us*.[48] So, for instance, interpreting Romans 4:25, Pusey writes, 'The sacrifice on the Cross perfected our redemption to Godward, but there was a further act to complete it toward, and in, us. "He was delivered for our offenses," and so completed the atonement; but "He was raised for our justification," to communicate its fruits to us.'[49] This death-resurrection pairing occurs frequently in Pusey's thought. The *for us—in us* duality in fact characterises *each* of Christ's acts, using his death *for us* and his resurrected life *in us* as an abbreviation of the larger pattern. 'The Birth was for Suffering, Atonement, and Death,' but also 'imparted Divinity to humanity;' 'on the Cross He bore our sins,' to make atonement 'and by Death destroyed death' in humanity. '[I]n the Resurrection He imparted life to our whole nature,' but through it 'He giveth Himself to us;' 'in the Ascension He placed it'—our nature—'in Himself, at God's Right Hand,' fulfilling the union of God and man, 'there to intercede for us,' as our priest. '[A]t Pentecost He imparted to the Church, and to us individually in our measure, that Life and those Graces, which He, in His Human Nature, had "received for man," and which as yet dwelt in Him, our Head, only.'[50]

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[47] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 113-114.

[48] Pusey, 'The Cross Borne for Us and in Us,' *Plain Sermons*, 3: 1-18.

[49] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 100.

[50] Pusey, 'Christ Risen Our Justification,' in *Parochial Sermons I*, 217, 221-226; cf. 'The Resurrection of Christ, the Source, Earnest, Pattern of Ours,' in *Parochial and Cathedral Sermons*, 453-454.

Likewise, in Ephesians 5:25-27, Pusey draws a parallel between the statements (as he paraphrases them) that Christ 'gave Himself for' the Church and that 'He cleansed her, that he might sanctify her,' in order to link the Passion with Baptism, respectively the external winning of benefits for us, and the internal application of them.[51] Pusey warns that '[w]hoever would meditate, speak, preach, on the Passion of our Lord, thinking that It alone could touch men's consciences, would act, as if man could give himself love, or that unloving hearts must melt at once at the hearing of so great love.'[52] 'Yet not the doctrine of the Cross alone' externally 'but He Himself Who for us hung thereon must impart its virtue to us' internally; 'Himself, who bore the Cross to atone for us, applying its saving efficacy to our souls; Himself, our living Pattern, tracing His own Divine Image on all who "look to" Him.'[53] Pusey could elaborate on this distinction with considerable detail and eloquence:

> Great need have we, indeed, to look to Jesus! As Man, our Way and Pattern and Guide; as God, our Home, to Whom we are going; without, the Image Which, day by day, we should seek to have traced upon ourselves; within, the Giver of that Holy Spirit Who traces it; without, in His Life, Death, and Passion, the Object of our Love; within, He poureth in that love wherewith we love Him, through the Holy Spirit which He hath given us: His Passion melteth into love those whose thoughts dwell upon It. And He by His Fire first melteth our stony hearts within, and upholdeth our heavy thoughts that they may rest on Him. He is our Teacher, without, by His gracious and Divine Acts; within, by pouring into us His Light and Love: our Redemption by His Death, our Righteousness by His indwelling; Himself in Himself the Eternal Righteousness and Wisdom, for Which we thirst; our Righteousness here in the way, in that we thirst for Him; hereafter in His Fulness, when they who thirst for Him, shall be filled.[54]

It is notable, however, that Pusey not only connects the Incarnation and resurrection to Christ's work 'for us,' as expected in a traditional theory of recapitulation, but also

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[51] Pusey, *Baptism 2*,196-197.

[52] Pusey, 'Looking unto Jesus, the Groundwork of Penitence,' in *Sermons on Repentance*, 180.

[53] Pusey, 'Looking unto Jesus,' 181.

[54] Ibid., 173.

incorporates Christ's Passion and death, not merely as aspects of the Incarnation (Christ redeeming the wholeness of the human experience, *including* death), but specifically as an atoning sacrifice. This synthesis of Patristic theology with later Western thought again points towards Pusey's originality; and, as discussed in chapter six, has historical significance in the developments of nineteenth-century theology. The remainder of *this* chapter, however, will consider his understanding of Christ's work *in* us, with relation to faith, justification, repentance, and the glorification of the human body.

Faith, in Pusey's thought, unlike justification and repentance, is not itself an aspect of Christ's indwelling. Nonetheless, it is closely related: first, because he connects it to Baptism; and second, because it is closely connected with the love that flows from union with Christ. As with the graces given in Baptism, faith is a gift of God, not something we have in ourselves. This gift of faith is given (primarily) in Baptism, 'the depository, as it were, and guardian and perpetuator of sound faith in the Church.'[55] For this reason, the faith *of the Church* is important in infant Baptism, rather than that of the child.[56] Insofar as faith is necessary in the Baptism of an adult, we might draw an analogy from Pusey's contrast between Christian and non-Christian holiness: as a good, faith before Baptism comes from God, but the faith given *in* Baptism is so much greater that *in comparison*, it seems to be no faith at all.[57]

Pusey's understanding of faith as the relationship between faith and works is determined by a divinely-given *faculty*: faith is prior to works, because works come from love; love is directed, ultimately, to God; and without faith, we do not know God

[55] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 200-205.

[56] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 153-164.

[57] See below, 124-125.

so as to love him. 'Faith, in one sense, goes before love, because, unless we believed, we should have none to love. Faith is Divine knowledge. As in human love we cannot love unless we have seen, heard, or in some way known, so, without Faith, we cannot know aught of God, or know that there is a God Whom to love.'[58] 'Faith … goes before love, in thought; for we love, because we believe, not believe, because we love.'[59] At the same time, however, faith is a gift from God, which *accompanies* our own renewal by Christ's indwelling; and being thus renewed, knowing God by faith *in* our renewal, love is in fact inseparable from faith.[60] 'Faith goes even before love, in thought, but not in deed.'[61] Indeed, faith without love is no faith at all: 'Faith which loves not, is not faith; it is dead. And what is dead, hath ceased to be.' This is, in fact, rooted in the very nature of faith as a divine gift. 'Where love is not, there is not the Holy Spirit, Who is Love, and Who "shed abroad love in our hearts." And without the Holy Spirit there cannot be faith, since faith is the gift of the Spirit. A dead body is a body without a soul; a dead soul is a soul without God. A "dead faith" is a "faith without love."' So devils are without faith. They may know *that* God exists, but '[n]either devils nor bad men can "believe *in* God." For "to believe in God," says a holy man, "is by believing to love, by believing to go into Him, by believing to cleave unto Him and be incorporated among His Members."'[62] This relationship between faith and love can be seen again in their relation to knowledge of God. 'Faith is instead of eyes. By Faith we see Him who to our eyes of sense is unseen. We behold both backwards and forwards, and round about us,

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[58] Pusey, 'Faith,' in *Parochial Sermons II*, 4.

[59] Ibid., 1.

[60] Ibid., 5.

[61] Ibid., 1.

[62] Pusey, 'Faith,' 12-13; quoting S. Laurence Justinian, de Fide, c. 3. Newman, by contrast, holds that devils *can* have faith: faith is mere belief, and is not saving without other graces to condition it. *Justification*, 287-292.

and every way we behold the love of God.'[63] But at the same time, the way to understanding is through the submission of human reason to divine love. 'The key to the supernatural system is love, as that of the natural is intellect, One, All-wise and All-loving, guiding us in both. Love, and thou wilt find nothing hard. Love God, and thou wilt understand of Him all which can be understood in the flesh.'[64]

But, although faith is prior 'in thought,' our own emphasis must be on works of love. First, faith makes love possible, but growing love produces growing faith, and love grows through works. 'Acts of love do not prove only that we have a living faith, they increase it. For to do good is to use the grace of God; and on the faithful use of grace, more grace is given.'[65] 'Faith and deeds of faith are, both of them, graces of this passing world. Yet God hath appointed that not only shall they be inseparable, but that they shall strengthen one another.'[66] (This is the idea of *phronesis* discussed in the previous chapter). Second, faith is elusive, and easily confused with emotion; while emotions, in turn, are unreliable. Thus,

> God assigns to us works as the test of our faith, not faith as the test of our works. And this, because it is easy to deceive ourselves as to our faith or our feelings; it is not so easy to deceive ourselves as to our deeds, if we will but look into our consciences by the light of the law of God. It is easy to say, 'Lord, Lord;' it is *not* easy, but of the power of the grace of God, to 'deny ourselves and take up our cross and follow Him.' … It is an easy, costless confession, to own ourselves what we are, 'unprofitable servants;' it is hard, first to labour with our whole strength, through the grace of God, to 'do all things whatsoever He hath commanded,' and then, and then only, it will be the fruit of God's grace to own it.[67]

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[63] Pusey, 'Faith,' 1.

[64] Pusey, 'Will Ye?' 18-19.

[65] Pusey, 'Faith' 14.

[66] Pusey, 'Justification' (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853), 29-30.

[67] Ibid., 44-45.

This passage suggests that works have an inverted sacramentality about them. Whereas a sacrament is a visible sign that conveys an invisible grace, works of love are the signs which flow from the unseen faith we have received.

The question of faith and works, however, brings us to the topic of justification. In the sermon just cited, Pusey compares the theology of the Jacobean Calvinist divine and English bishop, John Davenant with the decrees of the Council of Trent, demonstrating (in a manner which foreshadows the *Eirenicon*) that the difference is one of emphasis: Protestantism and Romanism aim their arguments, respectively, against Pelagianism and Antinomianism, but actually teach the same necessity of a faith characterised by works.[68] Beyond the question of faith and works, however, there is the question of what justification itself *is*. Pusey offers a definition, in two parts, of the word 'justify': '1, to declare the soul righteous or acquit it, and 2, to make it what He declares it. To "justify" is, in what is called a "forensic" sense, to pronounce just, or to acquit. But'—the important qualification follows—'the word of God is power.' Thus, in creation, or in Christ's pronouncement that the leper be clean, what God declares, *is*. So, too, with our justification.[69] In Baptism, God imputes Christ's righteousness to us, but it is what might be called an *effective imputation*, that imparts what it declares.

This imputation takes place in Baptism. Justification is one aspect of regeneration: 'This is our new birth; herein then are we also justified, or both accounted and made righteous, since we are made members of Him who is Alone Righteous.'[70] Consequently, much of Pusey's argument parallels his discussion of baptismal regeneration. Rather than making justification 'consequent' upon Christians'

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[68] Pusey, 'Justification,' 11-16, 34-35.

[69] Ibid., 18-19.

[70] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 23-24. See above, 100.

'continually and simply' 'present act of casting themselves on the Redeemer's merits,' Pusey notes that Scripture speaks of justification as *past* when discussing individuals, and present only when discussing God's agency, or the justification considered abstractly, just as in Baptism.[71] Just as he emphasises the reality of grace in Baptism, the real effect of this imputation, actually making us members of Christ, and righteous in him, is crucially important. As we are in Adam by nature, and not just by imputation, 'so, on the other hand, are we *in* Christ, not merely by the imputation of His righteousness, but by an actual, real, spiritual origin from Him.'[72] 'It is … no outward imputation of righteousness; no mere ascription of His perfect obedience in our stead; … none of these things come up to the reality of being "*in* Him."'[73]

However, Pusey's two-fold definition of justification gives it a dual nature. Not only at Baptism, but throughout our lives, and even at the Last Judgment, we have both an external and an internal righteousness, both of which derive from our union with Christ.

> As the first act of God's love in justifying us is two-fold: 1. forgiving, 2. hallowing; so, 'since in many things we all offend,' we have need of both to the end. To the end, our Lord has taught us to pray always for daily bread of life, and daily forgiveness; to the end, and in the end, our Father to Whom we pray, continually pardons, continually pours in His grace into our souls, and in both ways upholds us in that state of justification, in which He placed us.[74]

The differing perfections of Baptism pertain here: a perfect righteousness in the end, the perfect gift of Christ who is righteous within us, and an 'imperfect perfection' in righteousness as we continually grow in him. Yet, as we receive Christ imperfectly, and are not yet full grown, we still need God's forgiveness and his *external* declaration of

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[71] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 156-159.

[72] Ibid., 116-117; emphasis Pusey's.

[73] Ibid., emphasis Pusey's; commenting on Gal. 3: 27-28.

[74] Pusey, 'Justification,' 26-27.

our righteousness as we return to him in penitence, making us to be more and more what he has called us. Although the holiness of the saints has a 'likeness' to Christ's holiness, 'it could not stand before the Holiness of God,' and their obedience is 'acceptable only through the Obedience of Him Who had no sin.'[75] Consequently, Pusey is critical of any approach which overemphasises either the external or internal aspect of justification, to the neglect of the other. So, for instance, he faults Alexander Knox—who was much admired by Newman—for emphasising imparted grace, but neglecting judicial absolution such that 'what Christ worketh *in* us' could 'cast a shade over what He did and suffered *for* us.'[76]

Pusey's distinction between Christ's work *for us* and *in us* thus reappears as a structural element in his soteriology. Both must be held together, rather than set in competition with one another. Yet in justification, what connects them is a progression through the various aspects of Christ's righteousness. Pusey notes the different dimensions of Jesus' explanation that his own Baptism was necessary 'to fulfil all righteousness.' First, as John the Baptist was sent by God to the Jews, it is an act of submission by Christ, as a Jew, to an ordinance of God. Second, in that Christ identifies himself with sinners who are in need of Baptism, we can see in Christ's Baptism God's love as the fulfilment of the Law. Third, Christ's Baptism so consecrated the waters of Baptism as to communicate to individuals the righteousness which he, by his Incarnation, had communicated to human nature as a whole. And finally, this same consecration introduces an 'everlasting righteousness' because it is by the water of

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[75] Pusey, 'Union with Christ Increased through Works Wrought through Him,' *Sermons on Repentance*, 218.

[76] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 19-20; emphasis Pusey's. While Newman technically admits something similar to Pusey's 'effective imputation,' his emphasis also falls much more strongly on the internal aspect of justification. Newman, *Justification*, 92, 116-143.

Baptism that 'the justifying efficacy of His meritorious Cross and Passion was to be conveyed to all believers.'[77] This reflects in the New Testament Pusey's appreciation of the multiple fulfilments of prophecy and demonstrates the interplay of unity and complexity in his thought: an emanation of varied significances from the central fact of Christ's obedience for us, which demonstrates the unity of the two aspects of Christ's work.[78] His obedience *for us* in the Incarnation is fulfilled by his righteousness *in us* through Baptism.

The indwelling of the resurrected Christ, however, is the source not only of justification, but of new life. '[W]hen, "by the Spirit of Holiness," He raised it [Christ's human nature] from the dead, he made it not only "the first fruits," but the source of our Resurrection, by communicating to our nature His own inherent Life.'[79] This is not, however, just a gift of spiritual life, but of physical life, and the renewal of the human body. This is fulfilled in the resurrection of the body. Again, sacramental union with Christ is central. 'He Himself is' our resurrection;

> He gives it us not, as it were, from without, as a possession, as something of our own, but Himself is it to us: He took our flesh, that he might vivify it; He dwelt in it, and obeyed in it, that He might sanctify it; He raised it from death by His quickening Spirit that He might give it immortality … And we in His Church being incorporated into Him, being made members of His Body, flesh of His Flesh, and bone of His bone, through His Sacraments, partake of His Life and immortality, because we partake of Him; we are made members of Him, He dwelleth in us, and is our Life; 'Because I live, ye shall live also.'[80]

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[77] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 277-280.

[78] See above, 90.

[79] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 101.

[80] Ibid., 101-102. This passage was reprinted in an 1871 sermon with minor grammatical alterations that considerably improve its readability. A larger change, however, is where 'and we in His Church … partake of Him,' is instead written, 'And we, in his Church, being incorporated into Him, being made members of His Body, flesh of His Flesh and bone of His Bones, through His Sacrament, partake of Him.' This makes communion with Christ much more direct and personal. The singular 'Sacrament' is also notable—' flesh of His Flesh and bone of His Bones' is a frequent eucharistic phrase in Pusey, and

The importance of not just spiritual but bodily life emerges in three sermons on the 'Bliss of Heaven' which form the climax of Pusey's *Sermons on Repentance*. Pusey repeats that our future blessed state is the result, not merely of grace, but of the indwelling of God himself, which replaces the original righteousness lost by sin.[81] The beatific vision is the fulfilment of this indwelling, because the transcendent God cannot be known or seen, but by God in us; and cannot be known or seen 'as He is' but by God *perfected* in us.[82] But even the beatific vision is, in some sense, incomplete: the martyrs under the altar cry out with longing for the fulfilment of God's will for the Church, at the general resurrection—the saints, as humans (both spiritual and material), are not perfect without the restoration of their bodies; bodies which, however, because of the deification of humanity in Christ, are themselves glorified.[83]

> Great is the gift, that we should not again be liable to corruption, dishonour, weakness, but, instead, have bodies whose beauty can have no decay, whose glory cannot be dimmed, obedient to the spirit, and so themselves spiritual, excelling in might, mighty as the Angels. But how much more that this beauty and glory and might and spirituality of our bodies shall be the likeness to the glorious Body of Christ; that they shall shine with His brightness, be spiritual through His indwelling love, be incorruptible through His life in the spirit, be swift through His drawing to Himself![84]

Moreover, the Transfiguration and the resurrection appearances of Christ were given to foreshadow our own glorification:

> Not for His own sake was that glory which ever resided in Him, the Glory of His Divine Person, allowed once to pierce through the Flesh which He for us had taken; nor for Himself after His Resurrection, was His Body, Which, before, once only walked on the water, removed above the laws of natural bodies … not being

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this could be a modification in that direction, shifting the meaning of 'partake' from *participation* to *eating* (see below, 165 n. 97). However, the edition used has many typographical errors, so not too much weight should be placed on this point, and the main idea of the passage remains unaltered. Pusey, 'The Resurrection of Christ, the Source, Earnest, Pattern of Ours,' 453.

[81] Pusey, 'Bliss of Heaven—"We Shall Be Like Him,"' in *Sermons on Repentance*, 255-267.

[82] Pusey, 'Bliss of Heaven—"We Shall See Him as He Is,"' in *Sermons on Repentance*, 272-288.

[83] Pusey, 'Bliss of Heaven—Glory of the Body,' in *Sermons on Repentance*, 289-304.

[84] Ibid., 301.

> merely Spirit but 'Flesh of our flesh, Bone of our bone,' as we are now by union with Him 'members of His flesh and His bones.'[85]

This transformation, in some measure—if not in the fullness it will have in the resurrection—can be seen even in this life. So, at Stephen's martyrdom, his face appeared like 'the face of an angel' (Acts 6:15). But there is also an analogy of opposites to be drawn: sinful or sensual living has observable physical effects in this life (most obvious, perhaps, with gluttony); and so, Pusey argues, holy and spiritual living likewise have present physical effects, however difficult to see or describe.[86]

Union with Christ II: Holiness, Sin, and Repentance

While justification and the glorification of the human body define *doctrinally* the effects of baptismal union with Christ, there remain the more practical aspects of Christ's indwelling: holiness and repentance. For any reader of Pusey's sermons, it is immediately clear that his foremost concern is the pursuit and encouragement of Christian holiness.[87] This concern for holiness drove the Tractarian preoccupation with diligence in pastoral care and catechesis.[88] The subject even found its way into Pusey's ecclesiology. In contrast with the High Church 'branch theory' which identified Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Anglicanism as the three 'branches' of the Catholic Church, the Tractarians have been identified as placing more emphasis on the shortcomings of Anglicanism.[89] But in Pusey at least, this more negative attitude is

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[85] 'Pusey, 'Bliss of Heaven—Glory of the Body,' 303; paraphrasing Eph. 5: 20.

[86] Pusey, 'The Transfiguration of our Lord the Earnest of the Christian's Glory,' in *Plain Sermons*, 223-240. Contrast with Newman's view of the resurrection, see above, 91.

[87] This is the case even in more doctrinal sermons: Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 10-12, 68-74; 'The Doctrine of the Atonement,' in *University Sermons II*, 261-262.

[88] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 201-208.

[89] C. Brad Faught. *The Oxford Movement: A Thematic History of the Tractarians and Their Times* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 43; cf. Nockles, *Context*, 178-180.

linked to the growing criticism outlined in chapter two. In his revision of branch theory, the emphasis shifts from polemical defence of the Church of England's catholicity, to criticism of how *each* branch has fallen away from true catholicity. These schisms are themselves sinful, falling short of the wholeness to which the Church is called, but they are also (perhaps more importantly) the *result* of sin. Consequently, the pursuit of holiness—and with it, love and humility—is the foundation of all Christian unity.[90]

But what are the characteristics of holiness? Commenting on the parable of the vine (John 15:1-17)—a natural type—Pusey maintains that the spiritual life, and any ability we have to 'bear fruit,' are the result of union with Christ, being 'grafted into Him,' and his life in us, through the gift of the Holy Spirit—so long as we do not shut out the grace given us by 'dead works.'[91] Christ in us, however, is not only life, but the life of the God who is love. Love is the very foundation of God's indwelling the Christian through Christ; that 'Love communicates Itself' is the fundamental reality of the Trinity.[92] Love flows out from the inner life of the Trinity, even before creation.

> He saw each one of us, just as He should create us … the individual object of His love. But each one made, to communicate Himself and His love to each … Himself the only adequate repose and joy of our souls; Himself the unceasing, overflowing, transporting contentment of our being, our God and our All: Himself to be united with us, and we with Him: to … be transported with and penetrated with His Love, and for ever thrill with the beatitude of the Beatific Vision.[93]

Love, however, is active. If we are indwelt by the divine love, that love will show itself in obedience to God, and flow through us, as it flowed out from God, to our

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[90] Pusey, *Eirenicon I*, 44-66; 'Introductory Essay,' 3-9.

[91] Pusey, 'Union with Christ,' 214-216.

[92] Pusey, 'The Love of God for Us,' in *Parochial and Cathedral Sermons*, 442.

[93] Ibid., 447-448; cf. 'The Mystery of the Trinity, the Revelation of Divine Love,' in *Parochial and Cathedral Sermons*, 493-502.

neighbour.[94] Union with God is the root of Pusey's challenge, 'Where [is] the Gospel measure of self-denying, self-sacrificing charity?'[95]

But there is a need to distinguish between Christian holiness and other virtue. While the holiness of regeneration, the new birth as sons of God, is reserved to the Church, sanctification extends beyond the Church, in various degrees as another sort of hierarchy: it describes 'the imparting of all holiness, from the faintest spark that ever purified the benighted heart of a benighted heathen, to the holiest Angel who stands before the throne of God.'[96] Even without accompanying holiness, the 'virtues and wisdom which were granted to the Heathen world,' are 'an effluence from Him who filleth all in all, as so many scattered rays from the Father of lights,' and, though they might be used in the service of sin (as, for instance, wisdom in pursuing pleasure, or self-denial for the sake of pride), are nonetheless 'faint emblems of that concentrated glory which was to be shed upon the world through the Sun of righteousness.'[97] One step nearer to Christian holiness are the patriarchs and Job, who were sanctified, but not regenerate: 'They were the faithful servants, but not as yet the sons, of God. Christ had not died: our nature was not yet placed at God's right hand: the ever-blessed Son of God had not yet become man, that we, whom "He is not ashamed to call brethren," might be sons of God, as being in and of Him.'[98] Even after the resurrection, Cornelius the

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[94] Pusey, 'Union with Christ,' 228-229; cf. John 14:15.

[95] Pusey, 'Victory over the World,' in *Plain Sermons*, 84.

[96] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 137. Parallel to this is inspiration, having been given not just to prophets in the Old Testament, but even to (e.g.) the craftsmen employed in the construction of the Tabernacle, just as much (although differently) as to the evangelists.

[97] Ibid., 137-138; 'The Love of God for Us,' 475; 'God's Condescending Love in Restoring Man by His Own Indwelling,' in *Parochial and Cathedral Sermons*, 459-461.

[98] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 135, c.f. Heb. 11:39-40: 'These all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise; God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.' Pusey does not deny the *ultimate* regeneration of the Old Testament patriarchs, only that they were regenerate within their earthly lives.

centurion was sanctified by God's grace, but not as a Christian: 'He was, then, as a Heathen, sanctified;' but 'the sanctification of a Heathen who feared God, fell far short of the holiness following upon the Christian birth.'[99] 'Cornelius had faith … he had love; he had self-denial; he had had the power to pray given to him; but he had not Christian faith, nor love, nor self-denial, nor prayer; for as yet he knew not Christ: he could not call God Father, for, as yet, he knew not the Son.'[100] So, being sanctified but not regenerate *before* his Baptism, he was regenerate *by* Baptism.[101] Meanwhile, above both mere virtue, and non-Christian sanctification, stands the holiness of Christ living in the Church.

With regard to practical holiness, however, the one virtue which colours all other Christian virtues, which removes selfishness from Christian love, is humility.[102] This, too, is derived from the Incarnation, in which Christ set aside his divine glory and power, in order to embrace human frailty and weakness. 'Nothing was lacking to His Perfection, as God; nothing of man's infirmities, which flow from sin, though without touch of sin, was lacking that He should be Perfect Man. Our imperfect nature He took perfectly.'[103] Even Christ's dependence on earthly food and drink is a sign of humility in embracing human weakness; and, as all sustenance comes from God, in submission to his Father.[104]

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[99] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 139.

[100] Ibid., 141.

[101] Ibid., 140. In the 2nd ed., Pusey concedes that Scripture is unclear as to whether or not regeneration was imparted to Cornelius before Baptism, but he notes that even if it were not, as an exception it should be understood in the light of the other instances of Baptism recounted in the New Testament, and points out that even if the order is reversed, Baptism is still inextricably linked with his conversion and spiritual rebirth (*Baptism 2*, 225-227).

[102] Pusey, 'The Incarnation a Lesson of Humility,' in *Parochial Sermons I*, 70-71.

[103] Ibid., *Parochial Sermons I*, 67.

[104] Ibid.

Charity and humility exist, above all, in actions. Much of this, especially for fostering humility, has to do with personal discipline. Pusey's earliest contribution to the Tracts was on fasting; and voluntary self denial (especially in keeping the fast days of the Church) remained important throughout his life. Occasions of self-denial should lead to charity, but, to foster humility, lesser denials are preferred to greater ones.[105] Interior mindfulness of one's own sin is recommended as an antidote to the receiving of outward recognition or honour.[106] Pusey himself was at one point inclined to make outward expressions of humility towards those of lower social standing than himself; Keble worried that this would become socially disruptive.[107] And the Church has a special duty of service to the poor, who reflect Christ's own humility. Just as Christ has declared himself to be present in his sacraments, he has also declared himself to be present in the poor. Therefore, '[t]he poor of Christ are the Church's special treasure … for they are what Christ for our sake made Himself.' 'Realize we that they are Christ's, yea, that we approach to Christ in them, feed Him, visit Him, clothe Him, attend on Him, and we shall feel … that it is a high honour to us to be admitted to them.' We should show charity to the poor, 'not relieving them coldly' but with humility and love before them, as we would show before Christ himself.[108]

These themes—concern for holiness; God's love shown through Christian action, especially towards the disadvantaged of society; and humility—are not surprising, though the brief account given here certainly contrasts with the 'grim' and 'gloomy' portrait of Pusey that is often given. But they also bring us back to his

[105] Pusey, 'The Cross Borne for Us, and in Us,' 15-17.

[106] Pusey, 'The Incarnation, a Lesson of Humility,' 72.

[107] Pusey to Keble, December 7, 1846, LBV 102; Keble to Pusey, December 1846, LBV 98.

[108] Pusey, 'God with Us,' in *Parochial Sermons I*, 58-60.

reforming instinct. In a striking sermon, originally delivered at a collection for a women's penitentiary, Pusey delivers a sharp critique of the social conditions which produce sin, and Christian complicity in this system. On the one hand, there are those 'who for want or homelessness or friendlessness broke the law of God,' but who 'may yet turn to God; and if there be a penitent sinner, over whom Angels may rejoice, surely it may well be such as these, who fell through others' sin even more than through their own, and who seem to have been dragged on to their misery, than themselves to have sought it.' On the other, there are the sinful 'others' who have caused their fall, the 'man, who makes light of other breaches of God's law, who forgives himself any breaches of the law of God;' but who 'fulfils in them the righteous judgment of God, and, as it were, outlaws them.'[109]

> We shall not always, I trust, be more moved by the exciting tales of misery, than by a holy jealousy and tender love for souls, to keep for our Redeemer those His yet untainted temples. We shall not for ever, I trust, look on unheeding, unmoved, with a sort of fatalist indifference, as though sin must have its course, although Christ died, and rose, and ascended, and sent down the Holy Ghost, to efface the guilt of sin and conquer its dominion over us. We shall not for ever pass by on the other side, while thousands upon thousands, still pure, still, like your own sisters or daughters, capable of becoming virtuous wives and loving mothers, are plunged, heap after heap, in their yet white garments, into that black, loathsome, defiling, stifling pool of sin, and then congratulate ourselves and plume ourselves and thank God, as though we had done Him good service, if, here and there, we drag one or other with difficulty to the shore, soiled, begrimed, half-dead, if so be Christ will yet restore life and cleanse them. 'This ought ye to have done, and not have left the other undone.'[110]

Here, Pusey's sharp contrast between a self-congratulatory sensationalism (which, in reality, is merely an excuse for complacency) and genuine love which would seek to prevent the harms of prostitution by addressing its socioeconomic causes, is an instance of preferring a humbler act of charity to a flashier one; and he is clear that a true

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[109] Pusey, 'God's Condescending Love,' 467-468.

[110] Ibid., 469-470.

Christian love would be concerned with preserving the Baptismal gifts ('white garments') they had received, rather than being resigned to 'indifference.' It should be noted, in passing, that Pusey lived what he preached, and founded a printing press at the Ascot Priory orphanage in order to teach the girls living there a trade which would provide economic stability once they were on their own.[111] Though Pusey's approach to the matter may place him firmly in the Victorian era, his judgment of society's role in laying the foundation for lives which are not only sinful but destructive of human dignity, and his sharp attack on the sinful complacency that allows this to continue, can surely be extended to many concerns in our own day.[112]

Though the Christian is called to holiness, inevitably, sin rears its head. One of the most controversial aspects of Pusey's teaching in his own day was his emphasis on the gravity of post-baptismal sin. This, however, is a direct consequence of his understanding of Baptism. The baptismal union with Christ unites us to Christ's death, so 'our life from Baptism to our death should be a practice of the Cross, a learning to be crucified, a crucifixion of our passions, appetites, desires, wills, until … we have no will, but the will of our Father which is in Heaven;' having the 'old man' crucified in us by God, 'we must, by the strength given us, keep it crucified; see that it strive not, rebel not, break not its bonds, much less ourselves seek to undo them.'[113] Moreover, the privileges given in Baptism, and implicitly renounced by subsequent sin, are unutterably high. All the gifts of regeneration, renewal, justification, and glorification which lie in Baptism are recklessly hazarded by sin; and what is more, the root of those gifts is in

[111] Leonard Prestige, *Pusey* (London: Philip Allan, 1933), 120-121.

[112] Skinner notes that the various oft-recounted acts of Pusey's charity are best seen as 'necessary expressions of his churchmanship.' Skinner, 14.

[113] Pusey, 'Cross Borne for Us, and in Us,' 5.

union with God himself—something far higher than Adam's original state of righteousness before the fall.[114] And, there can be no second Baptism. As Christ died 'once for all,' so we die and rise again *once* with Christ in Baptism; and as we can die but once, repeated Baptisms (were they effective) would invalidate previous Baptisms, offending against the grace of the sacrament.[115] God, by his grace, might yet restore through repentance, yet 'man has no means to restore such; for man it is impossible.'[116] And the consequences too are grave: 'branches really withered are not in the Vine, but cast forth; those dead in trespasses and sins, though they may yet be brought back to life, are not now *in* Christ.'[117]

Stated in its starkest form, in Tract 68, Pusey's emphasis on the gravity of post-baptismal sin raised an outcry. Even sympathetic readers thought he denied forgiveness for sins committed after Baptism. In reality, his aim was to emphasise the uniqueness of Baptism in the Christian life, the greatness of God's gift in it, and the gravity of sin, in light of that gift. There is forgiveness for sins after Baptism, but in contrast to the renewal given in Baptism, the healing received in penitence is incomplete. This is a practical observation on Pusey's part: whereas Baptism is the new beginning of the Christian life, subsequent repentance is a process of recovery. Whereas in Baptism we are given, spiritually and perhaps even psychologically (if the break with the past is as dramatic as Pusey's theology says it should be), a 'clean slate,' once sin is readmitted, it

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[114] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 59.

[115] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 51-53, on Heb. 6:1-6. Pusey is here following the widespread Patristic interpretation of the passage, although a hint of his intent can be taken from the fact that he does not follow rigorist interpreters like Tertullian, who denied the possibility of repentance for post-baptismal sin; but he instead draws on Chrysostom's account which moves directly from the impossibility of a second Baptism to the role of repentance. Erik M. Heen and Philip D. W. Krey eds., *Hebrews*, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, New Testament 10 (Downers Grove, Illinois, InterVarsity Press, 2005): 83-87.

[116] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 51.

[117] Pusey, *Parochial Sermons I*, ix; emphasis Pusey's.

must be uprooted and guarded against. While Baptism gives complete healing, the healing of repentance leaves spiritual 'scars:' 'there remaineth no more such complete ablution in this life.'[118] It is 'to be received gratefully, as a renewal of a portion of that former gift; to be exulted in, because it is life; but to be received and guarded with trembling, because it is the renewal of what had been forfeited; not to be boasted of, because it is but the fragment of an inheritance, "wasted in riotous living."'[119] Because of the difficulty of spiritual combat against sin, penitence is slow, 'rugged and toilsome and watered with bitter tears.'[120] And it is not the emotion of a brief moment; it is, rather, the continuous work of a lifetime;

> were the repentance at once perfect, so, doubtless, would the pardon be; but it is part of the disease, entailed by grievous sin, that men can but slowly repent; they have disabled themselves from applying completely their only cure: the anguish of repentance, in its early stages, is often the sharpest; it is generally long afterwards that it is in any real degree purified and deepened.[121]

The long and arduous work of true repentance leads Pusey to protest against anything that would give a superficial sense of spiritual security. He faults Roman Catholicism for its 'new Sacrament of Penance' by which 'they did contrive, without more cost, to restore men, however fallen, to the same state of undisturbed security in which God had by Baptism placed them. Penance became a second Baptism.' At the same time he warns against an 'opposite course' with the 'same result:' 'The blood of Christ is indeed all-powerful to wash away sin ; but it is not at our discretion, at once,

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[118] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 54-57, 63. Thomas Mozley reflected on Pusey's doctrine, that sin 'leaves its consequences in heart, mind, body, and soul, and in those who share it or suffer from it. This is not a truth of revelation, but a natural fact.' I.e., sin has negative consequences both for the sinner and those around him; while we may be forgiven by God, the real-life consequences of sin remain. Thomas Mozley, *Reminiscences: Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* (London: Longmans, Green, 1882), 2: 146-149; Calhoun, 181-182.

[119] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 72.

[120] Ibid., 62.

[121] Ibid., xiii.

on the first expression of what may be a passing sorrow, to apply It.'[122] Rather, the Church should preserve 'a reverent silence, not cutting off hope, and yet not nurturing an untimely confidence, or a presumptuous security.'[123] These themes from Tract 68 were taken up again in the *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*. There, Pusey mitigated some of his criticism of Rome, conceding that as the decayed remnants of the Patristic system of discipline, sacramental confession retains at least shadowy indications of the depth of sin and the holiness of God, though in practice it was used superficially.[124] But he continues to attack the 'modern system' which

> stifles continually the strong emotions of terror and amazement which God has wrought upon the soul, and 'healing slightly the wound' which He has made, makes it often incurable; [which] makes peace rather than holiness, the end of its ministrations, and by an artificial wrought-up peace, checks the deep and searching agony, whereby God, as in a furnace of fire, was purifying the whole man.[125]

For this reason Pusey would later emphasise that penitential acts are not 'payment' for sin, but a means of nourishing ongoing penitence.[126] Late in life, he would encourage the regular use of private confession, but insisted that it be infrequent so as to avoid overshadowing the deep inner workings of repentance.[127] But it is also important to distinguish between God's forgiveness, and the longer-term fruits of repentance. 'The

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[122] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 58-59. *Pace* Forrester, Pusey maintained this belief even after developing his understanding of absolution: 'Such a re-creation there cannot again be … In Baptism, sins are suddenly and painlessly blotted out through grace; deep sins after Baptism are forgiven, but upon deep contrition which God giveth: and deep contrition is, for the most part, slowly and gradually worked into the soul.'Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 22-23; Forrester, *Pusey*, 198.

[123] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, xiv.

[124] Pusey, *Oxford*, 84-87.

[125] Ibid., 87-88.

[126] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution II,' 29-37. Practically, this means that penances are to be undertaken for their psychological and spiritual effect, rather than for their severity; in his spiritual direction Pusey often chastised those to whom he was writing for excessive practices, discouraged sterner disciplines as impractical, and regularly emphasised the need for moderation. Pusey to Sr. Clara, May 23, 1846, LBV 76; April 12, 1873, LBV 77.

[127] Pusey to Sr. Clara Maria, n.d. [1877] in LBV 125, Pusey to Sr. Clara, [April] 1882 in LBV 77; cf. Pusey, *The Church of England Leaves Her Children Free*, 134-136.

restoration, on the part of God … is complete;' '[t]he effect of sin upon the soul may often be to be worked out by sorrow and toil; the forfeited crown and larger favour of Almighty God to be gained by subsequent self-denial or suffering for Him or devoted service. But we have the very craving of our hearts.'[128]

While Pusey insists that there can be no second Baptism—literally, or in effect—repentance is itself a fruit of baptismal union with Christ. It is 'our Baptism in the Blood of Christ, which renders that repentance effectual.'[129] Even the sharp, negative language Pusey uses of repentance is because it is, in part, a 'participation of His utter hatred of sin.'[130] The transformation and labour of repentance, aside from our willingness in it, is the work of God. God is the physician, 'probing the diseased and ulcerous part "to the very dividing of soul and body"' with a 'healthful severity.'[131] Although we are 'wearied and wasted by manifold wanderings, our steps unsteady through our many falls, *ourselves* to follow Him,' Christ the good shepherd 'layeth [us] on His shoulders, rejoicing.' And Christ carries us in this work of repentance, through the Incarnation and our union with him.

> He bowed Himself from heaven to earth; He stooped to our lowliness; He folded us in love in His Bosom; in His lowliness on His shoulders which bare the Cross, He bare us; there would He have us lay down our sins; there would He have us rest our wearied limbs and our aching hearts; with His own pierced Hands would He hold us; there would He admit us nigh, … there would that thorn-crowned Head incline towards us, melt our stony heart with His look of tenderness, and cleanse us anew with that Precious Blood … Not to Angels only hath He given thee in charge, to bear thee up, but He Himself hath folded thee around Himself, hath bound thee like an ornament around His Neck, hath clothed Himself with thy mortality, that with thee, as part of Himself, 'His Body and His Bones,' He might

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[128] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 35, 54. See above, 19-23.

[129] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 54, 63-65; c.f. Rom. 3:25, Acts 17:30, 1 John 2:1.

[130] Ibid., 79-80.

[131] Pusey, *Oxford*, 96.

> ascend again to the Bosom of the Father, and Himself rejoicing, amid the rejoicing choirs of Angels, bring thee into the joy of thy Lord.[132]

As has been shown, one of the central realities of union with Christ is love. And so, as with justification and holiness, repentance too is above all a process of growing in love.

> [D]eep sins after Baptism are forgiven, but upon deep contrition which God giveth: and deep contrition is, for the most part, slowly and gradually worked into the soul, deepening with deepening grace, sorrowing still more, as, by God's grace, it more deeply loves; grieved the more, the more it knows Him Whom it once grieved, and through that grief and love inwrought in it by God, the more forgiven.[133]

The model for this is the penitent woman of Luke 7:36-50. Noting that 'because she loved much, her sins are forgiven,' he asks, 'But He Who gave to a sinner such love, shall we wonder that He received the love He gave? First, love made her offer to her Redeemer all which she had hitherto abused to sin, and then through her offering He kindled in her new love.' In this offering to God, '[t]he lips which she had profaned,' became, when she kissed Christ's feet, 'the very instruments of her acceptance … her sins had separated her from God; now she may touch Him.' Instead of anointing her own beauty, she anoints Christ; weeping and wiping his feet with her hair, not only her wealth but her very self is given, as an expression of penitent love.[134] The following practical exhortation recalls Pusey's social concerns: the penitent is called to imitate her by self denial ('at times at least, and in proportion to the form of their love'), and to 'shew love to Christ's poor, in order in them to shew love to Himself.'[135]

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[132] Pusey, 'Hopes of the Penitent,' in *Sermons on Repentance*, 250-251.

[133] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 23.

[134] Pusey, 'Loving Penitence,' in *Sermons on Repentance*, 8-9.

[135] Ibid., 17.

This, in turn, helps to distinguish between the 'sharp anguish' of early repentance, and the 'purified and deepened' repentance which is Pusey's true concern. Pure repentance is not fear or self-loathing, but the sorrow of love which sees that it has offended its beloved. '[B]y the very order of God with the soul … continued sorrow is not only the condition of continued pardon, but the very channel of new graces, and of the renewed life of the soul. Sorrow, as it flows on, is more refined, yet deeper. To part with sorrow and self-displeasure would be to part with love; for it grieveth, and is displeased because it loves.'[136] And yet, because this sorrow flows from love, 'the sting of sorrow is removed.'[137] The Church should 'hold out the prospect of peace, but as God's gift through the deepening of repentance; not to cut short His work … but to direct to His mercies in Christ,' for '[n]ot peace, but salvation is our end; but peace also He, the God of peace, will bestow, as He sees most healthful for them, according to the evenness and consistency of their course; clouding it, if they are remiss or halting; renewing it, when they humble themselves and press onward; and in all cases bestowing upon us more than we deserve, for His sake "Who is our Peace."'[138] And the offer of absolution 'is not to replace penitence … but to secure its fruits; not to diminish sorrow for past sin, but to make it joyous; not to offer easy terms, but to invite to the yoke of Christ, easy, but as freeing thee from the heavy yoke of sin; easy, because He Who placeth it upon thee, shall by it uphold thee.'[139] At the foot of the cross, the penitent finds sorrow 'sweeter than all other joy.'[140]

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[136] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 23-24.

[137] Pusey to Maria, May 16, 1828, LBV 23; given in Forrester, *Pusey*, 61.

[138] Pusey, *Oxford*, 96.

[139] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 55.

[140] Pusey, 'Looking unto Jesus,' 180.

While union with Christ was doctrinally important for Pusey, it also had significant practical implications. Union with Christ required the pursuit of holiness; and even when holiness was lost through sin, union with Christ is again the foundation of repentance. Throughout, however, the overarching theme is love, for in Christ the Christian is united to the God who *is* love. As this emphasis on divine love shows, the heart of Pusey's theology is not in his denunciations of sin, or any supposed harshness—those are merely the corollaries of his belief in the reality of God's redeeming work, not just in the next life but in this, which sin rejects. But the true heart of Pusey's theology is the exceeding depth of God's love for humanity, realised in the Incarnation of Jesus, in his union with the redeemed, and in the infinite expanse of grace given to those who love him. Pusey was speaking of the grace given to penitent love when he said, 'He giveth according to our longing. He Himself hath said, "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it:" the greater our longing for His grace, the larger His grace. His Infinite Love has no bounds, but the narrowness of our souls, which, if we crave it, He will enlarge.'[141] It is both fitting and poignant that he would echo those words in the weeks before his death.

> Each day is a day of growth. God says to you, 'Open thy mouth, and I will fill it.' Only long. He does not want our words. The parched soil, by its cracks, opens itself for the rains from Heaven and invites them. The parched soul cries out for the living God.
>
> Oh then long and long and long, and God will fill thee. More love, more love, more love![142]

The previous chapter ended with a consideration of the intimacy of God's relationship with creation; it is only fitting that the conclusion of this chapter should emphasise the intimacy of his relationship with his new creation, the Church, through

[141] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 53.

[142] Pusey to Sister Clara, August 22, 1882, LBV 77.

the union of Christ with each of its members. This union, as we have seen, is central to Pusey's understanding of the more doctrinal topics of justification and the glorification of the body; and it is also the foundation of his practical teaching on Christian holiness and repentance. But God's involvement in creation and his union with the Church are not merely similar. They are different degrees of the same phenomenon, for the sacral and allegorical possibilities of creation centre on the sacraments; and union with Christ is the sacramental reality given in Baptism. But Baptism is paired with the Eucharist as birth is followed by nourishment and growth; and so it is to the Eucharist that we now turn.

Chapter 5

Communion and the Real Presence

Pusey's eucharistic doctrine is perhaps one of the things for which he is best known. He was the champion of higher eucharistic teachings in the controversies of the 1850s and '60s, from which he is known as the 'father' of Anglo-Catholic eucharistic theology (which, however, should be understood in a highly qualified sense). In addition to relevant material in the 'Types,' he published four eucharistic sermons—including the famous 'condemned sermon' of 1843—and two lengthy historical treatises in defence of his doctrine; he was also intimately involved, either publicly or privately, with the theological defence of the Tractarian position in most of the eucharistic trials of this era. The Eucharist is also a recurring topic, in sermons on other subjects. As a major theme, Pusey's eucharistic doctrine clearly displays the allegorical and unitive elements of his theology already discussed. The first section of this chapter will detail those connections in his eucharistic thought. The remainder, however, returns to the question of Pusey's relationship with the High Churchmen, examining his eucharistic teaching in light of their loosely Calvinist approach. His understanding of the Eucharist is best understood as a development of that tradition, and his divergences from the older school should be seen, at least in part, as the result of differing emphases with regard to dynamics of spiritual ascent and descent in the sacrament, which are in turn driven by Pusey's understanding of divine love.

Eucharist and Communion

The common feature of Baptism and the Eucharist in Pusey's thought is that they both impart union with Christ. In contrast to lesser mysteries, the two dominical

sacraments are not merely 'means of grace,' but 'instruments of knitting the soul to Christ,' 'the appointed channels for applying the Atonement to the soul, the communication of Himself and His life.'[1] But whereas Baptism is given by God as the beginning of the life of faith, the Eucharist is for its growth. 'Baptism gives, the Holy Eucharist preserves and enlarges life. Baptism engraffs into the true Vine; the Holy Eucharist derives the richness and fullness of His life into the branches thus engraffed. Baptism buries in Christ's tomb, and through it He quickens with His life; the Holy Eucharist is given not to the dead, but to the living.'[2] The mode of Christ's indwelling differs as well. 'Christ dwells in us in a twofold way, spiritually and sacramentally. By His Spirit, He makes us the temples of God; by His Body and Blood, He is to our bodies also a source of life, incorruption, immortality.'[3] In Baptism, we receive the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, in our souls; in the Eucharist, we receive his body and blood into our bodies.

As we should expect, allegory plays a key role in Pusey's eucharistic teaching. The Passover is a prominent eucharistic type, as is the 'pure offering' (Mal. 1:11); these, however, as sacrificial types, will be discussed in chapter seven. But the 'pure offering' (that is, the grain offering or *mincha*) in particular shows Pusey's interest in the relation of the eucharistic elements to eucharistic types. Old Testament references to bread and wine (sometimes with oil) as 'gladdening man's heart' foreshadow the Eucharist.[4] Beyond biblical references there are natural types to consider. The 'nourishing' character of the Eucharist comes from an allegorical understanding of the bread and

[1] Pusey, *Jelf*, 39-40.

[2] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 4.

[3] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 69. That is, we become 'temples' of the Holy Spirit in Baptism, receiving Christ, in a sense, indirectly through the mediation of the Spirit (not directly in the sacrament); whereas in the Eucharist we receive Christ directly, in his own body and blood. See below, 153-154.

[4] Pusey, *London*, 148-149.

wine: the bread and wine of the Eucharist are food; food nourishes, and so the elements signify *through their matter* the spiritual nourishment given in the sacrament.[5] This is particularly the case with the bread: 'The seed corn, which is His Flesh, gives life by its death; as bread, again, His Body, it nourishes to Life eternal;' and, referring to the analogy of one bread and one body in 1 Corinthians 10:17, 'so again, this one image pourtrays [sic] to us the mysterious connexion between the Body of Christ, which is His Flesh, and the Body of Christ, which is the Church, and how, by partaking of that Body, we ourselves become what we partake of.'[6]

But the wine also has its symbolism. As noted in chapter two, Pusey put a great deal of emphasis on lay reception of the cup, which was withheld in Roman Catholicism; a part of his objection is the insistence that since Christ instituted the sacrament in two kinds, each element must have its own associated grace. The doctrine of concomitance (that the body and blood of Christ are fully present in both elements) is rejected as '[m]iserable and rationalistic arguments in divine mysteries,' insisting that 'to obey is better than sacrifice' (1 Sam. 15:22).[7] But whereas the bread conveys spiritual nourishment (as the element suggests), the wine suggests that its particular grace is one of joy, or spiritual inebriation.[8] The spiritual and the worldly are, as ever, opposed to one another; so in contrast to 'transport' or 'ecstasy' of worldly pride or success,

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[5] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 4.

[6] Pusey, *London*, 148-149.

[7] Pusey, *Oxford*, 135-144; citing Council of Constance, Sess. 13, cf. Trent, Sess. 21, Ch. 21, which holds that administration in one kind does not deprive the recipients of 'any grace *necessary to salvation*,' (emphasis Pusey's); Pusey reads this as a tacit admission that the laity are deprived of *some* grace by the practice, and challenges the right of any human institution to determine what grace is or isn't necessary, that God has ordained. A parallel argument (though in milder language) is given in *London*, 161-164.

[8] Pusey, *London*, 145-155.

> The gift vouchsafed in the Holy Communion must be altogether of a different kind, because it is not the stirring up of the human spirit, but the union of the Divine, the Presence of the Redeemer within the soul, when the soul is silent, not acting upon itself, but 'caught up,' present with its Lord, because 'one with Him,' penetrated with Him and His Divinity, when in solemn words which have been used, the soul is 'transfigured' by His Holy Presence in it.[9]

Therefore, this inebriation should lead to sobriety, rather than confusion; forgetfulness of the world, of sin, and sorrow; and should issue in works of love and righteousness.[10]

Despite the distinction between Baptism as the beginning of the Christian life, and the Eucharist as its nourishment, the gifts of life, love, and practical holiness towards which these types point are much the same, because they are founded, in both sacraments, on union with Christ. God *is* life; Christ, the second person of the Trinity, is God, and therefore has life in himself. In the Incarnation he united his living deity to his human body. So, in receiving Christ's body sacramentally, we receive into our own bodies his life and his divinity, for our own transformation. 'Receiving Him into this very body, they who receive Him, receive life, which shall pass over to our decaying flesh.'[11] Commenting on the latter verses of John 6, Pusey writes, 'His flesh was life-giving, because he Himself had life; and that this endless life passed over to us, through our eating His flesh and drinking His blood—words which have their adequate fulfilment in the mysteries of the Holy Eucharist … "The Spirit quickeneth." The life-giving Spirit, or Deity, which is life, made that sacred flesh wherewith it was united life-giving.'[12] Christ's 'inherent life … is transmitted on to us also, and not to our souls only, but our bodies also, since we become flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bone.'[13]

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[9] Pusey, *London*, 155-156.

[10] Ibid., 160-161.

[11] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 8-9.

[12] Pusey, 'Will Ye?' 4.

[13] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 11.

Again, with the gift of life comes the gift of love. We are to be 'caught up within the influence of the mystery of that ineffable love' within the life of the Trinity.[14] God's love is the answer to human love, which is the true longing of the human heart, and the true goal of religion. Moral perfection, even if it were attainable, would not satisfy the yearnings of human nature. The human heart can only be satisfied by love for God; yet love is unsatisfied if it cannot see its beloved. Even sight, however—blessed gift though the beatific vision may be—cannot fully satisfy love, if it does not end in union.[15] This is also true of knowledge. 'Knowledge, not even the knowledge of God, can never be the whole of man. For man is formed in the image of God, and "God is love."'[16] 'Only from God could we have this longing for God;' in fulfilment of this longing, and as a foretaste of our final communion with him, we have God's gift of himself in the sacraments.[17]

Love, however, is tied to holiness. As the Eucharist is both the gift and the consummation of love for God, it is therefore both the gift and the consummation of holiness more generally. It nourishes all the blessings given in Baptism; but in this nourishment partakes of a dual character. There is, at least theoretically, the possibility of real and untarnished sanctity in the Christian life, of keeping unstained the white robes of Baptism, and to such a 'saint,' the communion of Christ's body and blood is the consummation of earth's highest joys. But to those pursuing the more sombre sanctity of repentance, the Eucharist is also a gift: 'what wraps the saint already in the third Heaven, may yet uphold us sinners, that the pit shut not her mouth upon us. The

[14] Pusey, 'Comfort', 14.

[15] Pusey, 'This Is My Body,' 42-44.

[16] Pusey, 'Will Ye?' 7, quoting 1 Cor. 13:2.

[17] Pusey, 'This Is My Body,' 42; cf. also 'Comfort,' 18-19.

same reality of the Divine Gift makes It Angel's Food to the Saint, the ransom to the sinner. … To him its special joy is that it is His Redeemer's very broken Body, It is His Blood, which was shed for the remission of his sins.'[18] The Eucharist partakes of Christ's death *for sinners*; Christ's flesh was given 'for the life of the world,' (John 6:51) and thus, above all, for those who are dying through sin; Christ gave the sacramental cup of his blood, 'for the remission of sins' (Matt. 26:28).[19] In 'the communion of the blood of Christ' (1 Cor. 10:16), 'remission of sins is implied by the very words. For, if we be partakers of His atoning Blood, how should we not be partakers of its fruits?'[20] On the other hand, a measure of holiness is also required in receiving communion. All of his eucharistic sermons emphasise the call to personal holiness.[21] However, in the 1843 sermon, he emphasises rather the corporate holiness of the Church: the Church's lack of sanctity shows the need for more frequent communions, so that the Church might grow in holiness; but at the same time, the corruption of the Church and the holiness required for communion mean that increased communions should not be rashly introduced.[22]

Real Presence I: Pusey's Reformed Framework

This brief survey shows that, as expected, the unitive and allegorical themes already introduced are significant influences on Pusey's eucharistic theology. But in

[18] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 18.

[19] Ibid., 19-24.

[20] Ibid., 23.

[21] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 10-12, 69-74; 'Will Ye?' 20-24; 'This is My Body,' 46-47. Pusey frequently singles out sexual sin for his attention, which may strike the modern reader as awkward; but this is less surprising when it is remembered that these sermons were delivered to young male university students.

[22] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 27-32.

order to gain a proper understanding of this aspect of Pusey's thought, it is necessary to shift emphasis back to his theological continuity with and development of the old High Church tradition. This is important, because with regard to the question of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, Pusey is widely seen as introducing the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.[23] This has had its effect on his reputation. Certainly, it has not befriended him to Evangelicals; and while it may lead Anglo-Catholics to hail him as a restorer of true doctrine, in terms of scholarly interest, having such a major element of Pusey's work designated as the replication, within Anglicanism, of a eucharistic theory which had already been developed, has made him significantly less interesting than if he were portrayed as pursuing new developments of an older tradition.

It is also a category mistake. In at least some of the sources which hold this view (e.g. Mackean), there is clearly a polemical bias to this interpretation; and in many cases it may be suspected that Pusey's development is being read, subconsciously, through the lens of either Newman's conversion or later Anglo-Catholicism. While there are similarities to transubstantiation in Pusey's thought—many of which he himself noted—and though he thought Anglican and Roman doctrine close enough for dialogue, it would be a mistake to overlook his enduring criticisms of transubstantiation.[24] Moreover, we must ask where the fundamental elements of Pusey's doctrine come from. He *was* well-read, and increasingly knowledgeable of Roman Catholic theology in his later years. But his first statements of a strong doctrine of Christ's presence in the Eucharist predate that familiarity, and show a theology coloured by Patristic spirituality,

[23] See W.H. Mackean, *The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Oxford Movement: A Critical Survey* (London: Putnam, 1933), 121-122; Owen F. Cummings, *Eucharistic Doctors: A Theological History* (New York: Paulist Press, 2005), 248-250.

[24] See above, 54-57, 81-82, 89-91.

but structured by the Prayer Book and other Anglican formularies. This structural element points to the true foundations of Pusey's eucharistic theology: the High Church interpretation of the Prayer Book tradition.

Pusey's attitudes towards Roman Catholicism have already been surveyed, using the Eucharist as a test case, in chapter two. This leaves the question of Pusey's relation to the older High Churchmen, who fall, generally, within the Reformed tradition.[25] It may seem strange, in light of his attacks on the 'Zuingli-Calvinist' party, to suggest that Pusey's eucharistic doctrine is best understood as emerging from Reformed theology. Pusey's discussions of both the Eucharist and Baptism contain many arguments which are clearly framed as anti-Calvinist polemic. There are, however, other considerations which suggest a more complex relationship beneath the surface. In the preface to the first part of the *Enquiry*, Pusey's explanation of the 'Evangelical' (i.e. Lutheran) and 'Reformed' churches describes the latter as 'such as agree in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper with ourselves.'[26] As late as 1833, he held a high opinion of Calvin—Newman had to restrain him from calling the reformer a 'saint'![27] At the end of his life, he concluded years of wrestling with protestant eucharistic theologies by stating his preference for Calvin over Luther.[28] Indeed, he insisted throughout his life, that his eucharistic doctrine simply *was* a High Church reading of the Prayer Book Catechism

[25] The High Churchmen, though called Arminians by opponents, are perhaps best described as simply non-Calvinist Reformed, as many of the defining points of strictly Arminian *or* Calvinist theology were censured by 'reserve.' Nockles, *Context*, 31-32; Van Mildert, *Sermons*, 1: 94-114, see above, 73-74; see below 146-147, 182.

[26] Pusey, *Enquiry I*, xiv. His sermon for Christmas the same year, *pace* Liddon (1: 192), contains an unremarkable statement of High Church (vaguely 'virtualist') eucharistic doctrine. Pusey, Sermon for December 25, 1828, Pusey Early Sermons MSS, Pusey House.

[27] Liddon, 1: 232-234; cf. Pusey, *Cathedral Institutions*, 54, 73.

[28] Pusey, 'Introductory Essay,' 39-40. See below, 148-149.

taught him by his mother.[29] These factors suggest that Pusey's attacks are aimed primarily at Calvin*ists* in his own day; careful attention to his statements about Calvin himself shows an evolving understanding that moves far beyond his ham-handed description, in 1836, of the reformer as merely Zwingli's systematiser.[30] More importantly, these nuances raise the question of what *structural* similarities there might be in Pusey's eucharistic thought which might shed light on this relationship.

The old High Churchmen have been classified as either 'receptionist' or 'virtualist' views; respectively, the doctrines that the faithful communicant receives communion with Christ in the act of receiving the Eucharist (as distinct from *in* the Eucharist or the elements directly), or else receives the benefits or 'virtues' of Christ's body and blood in communion.[31] One example of the former is, in fact, the pre-Tractarian Keble, who wrote in an early edition of *The Christian Year* that Christ is received 'in the heart, / not in the hands' (later grudgingly amended to 'in the heart, / *as* in the hands').[32] The earlier Waterland has also been classed as a receptionist.[33] Van

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[29] Liddon, 1: 7. There *is* observable development in Pusey's thought, but despite the exaggeration, Pusey's attribution of the origin of his thought should not be dismissed.

[30] Pusey, *Baptism 1*, 107-114. Pusey's understanding of Calvin shows a clear progression from this point: in 1839, he distinguished Calvin from Zwingli though that their holding theories tended to the same end (*Oxford*, 172); in 1857, he links Calvin to an understanding of spiritual communion in the Eucharist, omitting Zwingli (*English Church*, 209); in 1871 Zwingli alone is singled out for holding a merely symbolic understanding of the Eucharist ('This is My Body,' 15-20). Despite this evolution, Pusey's understanding of Calvin must be counted as a weak point in his scholarship, although this might be partially excused since Pusey never had the personal motivations to engage with Calvin which led him into a deeper knowledge of Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism, and the tendency to read Calvin through the worst of contemporary Calvinists was likely not helped by Pusey's acquaintance with Lutheranism. However, Palmer notes in 1838 that Calvin's 'language was very strongly in favour of the real presence, though it is questionable whether his doctrine was really consistent with it,' in contrast with Zwingli. Palmer, *Treatise*, 1: 293. R.I. Wilberforce also distinguishes between Zwingli and Calvin, though he classes Calvin as a virtualist. However, he goes on to speak of a 'Zuinglo-Calvinistic system' in the 1552 Prayer Book, suggesting the term is less a confusion of the two reformers than a pejorative for a particular contemporary position. Robert Isaac Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, (London: John and Charles Mozley, 1853), 122-123, 137-149, 438-439.

[31] Nockles, *Context*, 236-238; Härdelin, *Eucharist*, 126-128.

[32] Härdelin, *Eucharist*, 129.

[33] Ibid., 126-128.

Mildert appears to have been a virtualist, holding that 'most of the Reformed Churches'—including the Church of England—

> while they declare the elements of bread and wine to remain unchanged, and deny the body and blood of Christ to be *corporally* present, acknowledge them nevertheless to be *mystically* and *sacramentally* present; that is, they acknowledge, that, by virtue of the spiritual grace which accompanies the elements, they convey to the penitent and faithful communicant the full and actual benefits of our Lord's death upon the cross.[34]

Such, at least, are the definitions used to categorise these perspectives.

If these doctrines are viewed descriptively, however, there are a number of shared characteristics between these positions which also occur in Pusey, suggesting that it may be more appropriate to think in terms of a sliding scale of overlapping weaker and stronger theories of the real presence, rather than in polemically loaded classifications. This can be seen in comparing Waterland and Calvin to Pusey.[35] Each shows a realism about union with Christ and its benefits, as communicated by the sacrament. This is balanced by several shared concerns: the continuation of the bread and wine as real material elements, the presence of Christ's body in heaven (the 'extra *Calvinisticum*'), and the necessity of faithfulness in receiving. With these caveats, however, these positions are emphatically *affirmations* made against lower views of the Eucharist. Calvin, though sharing some concerns with Zwingli, is often antagonistic to him; Waterland's weighty *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist* was, primarily, a rebuttal of the Latitudinarian Benjamin Hoadly's Zwinglian doctrine.[36] Pusey agreed

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[34] Van Mildert, *Sermons*, 1: 102; emphasis Van Mildert's.

[35] Bucer or Vermigli, among others, would admittedly be more directly relevant to the evolution of Anglican theology than Calvin, but this discussion does not aim to provide an exhaustive historical lineage for Pusey's thought. Although Calvin lies outside Anglicanism, he is useful for this discussion of Pusey's relationship to the High Church tradition, as the most prominent Reformation-era figure in Reformed eucharistic theology, because later English divines such as Waterland engaged extensively with his work, and finally, because of Pusey's own evolving attitudes towards him.

[36] Kilian McDonnell, *John Calvin, the Church, and the Eucharist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 94-95; *DNB*.

both with this affirmation of communion, and its caveats. However, whereas Pusey is clear about the connection between communion and Christ's eucharistic presence, the older High Churchmen were more reticent.[37] Van Mildert, for example, rejected speculation beyond the general views given above: theorizing about the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist was an unfruitful topic, tending only towards controversy. Calvin, in contrast to the English High Churchmen, *does* offer a more developed theory of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, though one markedly different from Pusey's; this provides a fruitful point of comparison between the two.

For the moment, however, the structural similarities between Pusey and the High Churchmen should be stated more fully. Both emphasise sacramental communion with Christ. For Pusey, this is the foundation of belief in the real presence. '[S]ince we receive' the body and blood of Christ, 'they must be there, in order that we may receive them.'[38] This, he thought, was the clear teaching of the Prayer Book Catechism, which emphasises both the 'inward part' of the sacrament (the body and blood of Christ) and its 'benefit' (communion); the Prayer Book language of communion provided several arguments for the real presence.[39] So too, the final language of the Articles of Religion rejected an earlier denial of the 'reall and bodilie' presence of Christ, instead using language inspired by Lutheranism, but shifting its emphasis to make increased faith a secondary benefit to God's invisible working within the communicants.[40] Article 28's rendering of 1 Corinthians 10:16 as a 'partaking' of Christ's body and blood emphasises

[37] This may explain why High Church contemporaries of Pusey were divided on his teaching: some thought his language excessive; others (such as Phillpotts and Edward Churton) supported him. Nockles, *Context*, 239-240. Palmer's position is similar to Pusey's: Palmer, *Treatise*, 1: 401-406.

[38] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 21-22.

[39] Pusey, *English Church,* 161-166 on the Prayer Book Catechism, 167-183 on the Communion Service.

[40] Ibid., 194-196. Pusey's principal objection to the Lutheran conception of the Eucharist is the equivalence of word and sacrament, both as primarily means of increasing faith.

the 'eaten' nature of the sacrament, with Alexander Knox (and supported by a parallel usage in the Wittenberg Concord), the article's words 'given, taken, and received' are interpreted as saying that Christ's body and blood are 'given' by the priest, 'taken and received' by the communicants.[41] Once again, real communion is the foundation for the real presence.

Pusey's underlying conviction is that the Articles are properly read through the Catechism and Liturgy—both because instruction in the Church of England would have begun with the Catechism, continued with liturgical participation, and engaged the Articles only upon University matriculation; and because 'it is the order of nature and of grace, that our prayers are the interpreters of the Articles.'[42] Something of this process can be seen in Pusey's development, as well as belief in a real communion (as taught by the Catechism and liturgy) clearly preceded any definite doctrine of the real presence: in his sermon for Christmas 1828, Pusey describes the elements as 'symbols' for 'the renewal of the memory of Christ's death'—showing no clear doctrine of the real presence. However, they not only increase love for God, but are 'that means by which in a more special manner … we become partakers of Christ.'[43] Despite having defended the doctrine of the real presence to the Bishop of Oxford in 1839, four years later Pusey (by his own admission) *assumed* the doctrine of the real presence while preaching on the benefits of eucharistic *communion*; it was this unguarded assumption that led to the sermon's delation before the university and its subsequent condemnation. Pusey's later eucharistic sermons insist on the real presence, but only as a means of emphasising the reality of communion with Christ, in opposition to pantheistic 'communion.' His

[41] Pusey, *English Church,* 198-204. The argument from Knox also occurs, with other elements of the Pusey's articulation of the formularies, in *Oxford,* 125-128 and *London,* 39-40.

[42] Ibid., 183-186.

[43] Pusey, Sermon for December 25, 1828, in 'Pusey Early Sermons MSS.'

ultimate preference for Calvin over Luther was for the same reason. In Pusey's analysis (not necessarily accurate on either count), Calvin taught a real communion without a real presence, and Luther a real presence without a real communion. While both fell short of a real presence with a real communion, the communion as the end of the presence was the more important to retain.[44]

There is also an allegorical element to this argument. Allegory applies particularly to the Old Testament; the institutions of the New Testament are not 'figurative' or pointing beyond themselves in the same way as the institutions of the Law. Accordingly, while the allegorical meaning of the Old Testament is built on the foundation of the literal meaning, in the New Testament the literal meaning *is* the spiritual reality.[45] 'The Blood of the Old Testament was a shadow, not in itself, but in its value. It was the real, although unavailing, blood of bulls and goats, picturing that the Atonement should be through the shedding of the Precious Blood of Christ. But the picture itself was real blood.' And so, at the Last Supper, 'Why should we think that He brought in a mere shadow, less expressive than those which He abolished?'[46] This is not to say that there is no figurative language in the New Testament; but Pusey argues that the words of institution have neither the correct grammatical structure (that is, the 'figure' follows the subject; grammatically, Christ's body would be a figure of bread, not bread a figure of his body), nor the stylistic markers that would indicate a figurative meaning (e.g. use in a parable, or explicit identification as an allegory).[47] Pusey argues

[44] Pusey, *Fathers*, 37-40; 'Introductory Essay,' 39-40; cf. Jonathan Charles Naumann, 'The Eucharistic Theologies of Nineteenth Century Anglican and Lutheran Repristination Movements Compared,' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1990), 220-223; Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith*, 142-143; McDonnell, 241-246, 260-262.

[45] De Lubac, 1: 232-238.

[46] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 27-28.

[47] Ibid., 28-33.

that grammatical analysis points not to the figurative meaning, but to the reality of the gift given in the sacrament. The present participles, 'is given,' 'is broken,' 'is shed,' indicate that the institution of the Eucharist was the inauguration of the Passion, and so shares in it. 'Hereby [Christ] seems as well to teach us that the great Act of His Passion then began … then did He "consecrate" Himself … and all which followed, until He commended His Blessed Spirit to the Hands of His Heavenly Father, was One protracted, willing, Suffering.'[48] So, Pusey would eventually argue that Christ's body and blood were present 'by anticipation' 'under those visible forms, which our Great High Priest, antedating the violence of the Jews, consecrated by the words "This is My Body, this is My Blood."'[49] Still, this inauguration of the Passion in the Eucharist, the reality foreshadowed by the Old Covenant sacrifices, ultimately returns to communion: 'what else could the Apostles think, but that our Lord meant, that it was really and truly, and, in a Divine way, His Blood, and that they *now* [i.e., at the Last Supper] and henceforth should in a new and nearer way be united with Him and live by Him, as He Himself had promised … ?'[50]

Literalism, however, cuts both ways. Christ refers to the bread and wine as his body and blood; but afterwards refers to the cup as 'the fruit of the vine' (Matt. 26:28-29). Likewise Paul, discussing eucharistic communion, explicitly calls the bread not only the body of Christ, but *bread* (1 Cor. 10:16, 11:26-28). If the words of institution must be taken literally, so too must these. 'If one might be taken figuratively, so might the other. If, as the Genevan school would have it, the words "this is My Body" were figurative, or if, as Roman Divines say, St. Paul's words were figurative, "the bread

[48] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 20-22.

[49] Pusey, 'Will Ye?' 11-12.

[50] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 27-28; emphasis mine.

which we break," it would be but consistent to say with some modern sectaries, that the words "so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup," are figurative too.'[51] There is further support in the Fathers' doctrinal arguments (the eucharistic presence in the continuing elements provided arguments against Docetism and Apollinarianism) and philosophical arguments (in substance metaphysics, nourishment is provided by the substance rather than the accidents; yet the Fathers insisted that we are nourished by the eucharistic elements). Pusey then closes his argument, comparing the Fathers' language on the Eucharist with their language on the Incarnation and Baptism: words denoting change or becoming are used of all three, yet no one supposes that God changed in the Incarnation, or that we cease to be human after Baptism; neither is the 'change' in the consecrated elements a *physical* change.[52] 'Holy Scripture, taken in its plainest meaning, affirms both that the outward elements remain, and still that there is the real Presence of the Body of Christ'—or, as he puts it elsewhere, the 'co-existence' of Christ's body and blood with the bread and wine.[53] This, however, is beyond human explanation. Pusey cites Christ's passing through the door of his tomb and his entering the closed upper room after the resurrection, as well as his birth *illaesa virginitate*, as similar instances of 'coexistence,' yet in each case, as Christ's body 'passed, it must have been in the same place, penetrating, but not displacing them. Still less need we ask, by what law of nature that Sacramental Presence can be, which is not after the order of nature, but is above nature.'[54] 'Christ hath said, "This is My Body;" He saith not, by

[51] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 21-22, 33-34.

[52] Ibid., 36-47.

[53] Ibid., 14, 21-22; *Fathers*, 2-4. 'Co-existence' is borrowed from Occam.

[54] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 22-24. Each of these illustrations is borrowed from Patristic sources, given in *Fathers*, 56-60. Pusey's point here is that, even in the resurrection, Christ's body was naturally and

what mode. We believe what He, the Truth, saith. Truth cannot lie. How He bringeth it to pass, we may leave to His Omnipotency.'[55]

The second point of caution Pusey shares with the Reformed perspective of the High Churchmen is the insistence that 'the natural Body and Blood' of Christ 'are in Heaven.'[56] This language, drawn from the Declaration on Kneeling in the end of the Communion Service, became a central point in Tractarian discussions of the Eucharist, due to its apparent incompatibility with their teaching. Pusey emphasises, however, that the 1661 version prohibits belief in a 'corporal' presence, in contrast to the 'real and essential' presence prohibited in 1552, while rubrics directing reverence towards the consecrated elements, indirectly teach the real presence.[57] Similarly, Pusey argues that the reception of Christ's body and blood 'only after an heavenly and spiritual manner' (Article 28) is directed solely against carnal conceptions of the eucharistic presence.[58] However, he contrasts this proscribed 'natural' or 'corporal' presence of Christ with a sacramental presence, which 'is not circumscribed, not local, not after the mode of a body, but spiritual only and Sacramental.'[59] Human bodies, understood as 'natural' or physical entities, have certain properties, including presence in a particular place at a

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locally present, yet in these instances from before his ascension, such events were possible through the power of his divinity; it is thus even less problematic for his body to coexist with another material substance when it is sacramentally (rather than locally) present.

[55] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 22-23. Regarding 'coexistence' recall Pusey's emphasis on the material significance of types, see above, 87-90.

[56] Whereas Pusey's belief in the continuing material reality of the elements was a position shared by Reformed and Lutherans, the 'extra Calvinisticum' (despite its name) is held in common by most non-Lutherans; Pusey recognised, for instance, that it is just as much the teaching of Trent. However, when taken together, these elements clearly place Pusey in the Reformed tradition. Pusey, *London*, 53-54; *English Church*, 318-329; cf. Naumann, 171.

[57] Pusey, *English Church*, 222-239.

[58] Ibid., 198-204.

[59] Pusey, *London*, 53.

particular time. Christ's body, in this sense, is at God's right hand in heaven.[60] 'Sacramentally,' however—a word which expresses 'not our knowledge, but our ignorance'—Christ's body is nonetheless present in the Eucharist.[61]

This conception of Christ's sacramental presence shows a high degree of continuity from the late 1830s onwards, although it also shows a certain degree of development. In his *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford* (1839), Pusey describes his belief,

> that in the Communion, there is a true, actual, though Spiritual (or rather the more real, because Spiritual) Communication of the Body and Blood of Christ to the believer through the Holy Elements; that there is a true, real, spiritual, Presence of Christ at the Holy Supper; more real than if we could, with Thomas, feel Him with our hands, or thrust our hands into his side; that this is bestowed upon faith, and received by faith, as is every other Spiritual gift, but that our faith is but a receiver of God's real, mysterious, precious, Gift; that faith opens our eyes to see what is really there, and our hearts to receive it; but that It is there independently of our faith.[62]

Here we can see that Pusey does not yet describe the presence as 'sacramental,' but as 'spiritual.' 'Spiritual' does *not* mean subjective, or emotional, or 'to the soul of the believer;' rather Christ's presence 'is there independently of our faith.' Therefore, 'spiritual' means, primarily, '*after the nature of a spirit*,' not materially or corporally. A secondary sense, however, can be gleaned from Pusey's capitalisation. 'Spiritual,' when capitalised, appears to be a reference to the Holy Spirit; so *communion* with Christ is, in some sense, enabled by the Spirit; this reflects the relation between Baptism and the Eucharist. In keeping with Pusey's emphasis on consecration of the elements by the words of Christ, however, the eucharistic *presence* is 'spiritual' only in the primary sense.

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[60] Note the title of Pusey's 1867 sermon, 'Jesus *at the Right Hand of God*, the Object of Divine Worship,' *Lenten Sermons*, 438-464; emphasis mine.

[61] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 22; cf. *Jelf*, 48; *London*, 49-56. Contrast with R.I. Wilberforce, who applies Newman's understanding of Christ's resurrection appearances (see above, 90-91) to the mode of the eucharistic presence, not (as Pusey) to the coexistence of the elements. Wilberforce, *Eucharist*, 152-159.

[62] Pusey, *Oxford*, 128.

This distinction, however, is somewhat confusing—an instance of Pusey's difficult 'full-formed accuracy.' Moreover, a 'spiritual' presence is open to subjective interpretations. As a result, Pusey clarified his language in 1853.

> The Presence, of which our Lord speaks, has been termed Sacramental, supernatural, mystical, ineffable, as opposed *not* to what is real, but to what is natural. The word has been chosen to express, not our knowledge, but our ignorance; or that unknowing knowledge of faith, which we have of things Divine, surpassing knowledge. We know not the manner of His Presence, save that it is not according to the natural Presence of our Lord's Human Flesh, which is at the Right Hand of God; and therefore it is called Sacramental. But it is a Presence without us, not within us only; a Presence by virtue of our Lord's words, although to us it becomes a saving Presence, received to our salvation, through our faith.[63]

Here, Christ's presence independent of our faith becomes more clearly 'without us' in addition to his presence 'within us;' 'spiritual' presence is replaced by 'Sacramental.' This is synonymous with the primary meaning of 'spiritual' in the earlier work—in fact, 'spiritual' is used (un-capitalised) to describe the real presence at another point in the 1853 sermon—but it is a less ambiguous term with regard to possible subjective or psychologising interpretations.[64] But the shift to speaking of a 'Sacramental' presence signals a subtle movement with regard to the secondary meaning identified in the earlier passage. Sacramental communion is now contrasted with spiritual communion: 'It is not a Presence simply in the soul of the receiver, as "Christ dwells in our hearts by faith;" or as, in acts of Spiritual, apart from Sacramental, Communion, we, by our longings, invite Him into our souls.'[65] This distinction between internal, spiritual communion and

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[63] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 21-22.

[64] Ibid., 10. Hence the 'real objective presence,' see above, 82; See also the quotation from *London*, above, 152.

[65] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 21-22. It is likely that this distinction was driven in part by his engagement, over the 1840s, with Counter-Reformation Catholic spiritual writers. Certainly, a continual spiritual communion of the sort now popularised as 'practicing the presence of God' is a major feature of Pusey's spirituality. Sr. Clara, Reminiscences, in LBV 78; Pusey, Rule in Pusey to Keble, December 7, 1846, LBV 102; Pusey to Sr. Clara Maria, February 3, 1875, LBV 125; Pusey to Sr. Clara, May 11, 1844, LBV 76.

external, sacramental communion allows each to be given a valid place in the Christian life, whereas if both were 'Spiritual' either might eclipse the other, resulting in either 'orthodoxistic' or pietistic lapses of spirituality. It also clarifies the roles of the two sacraments, Baptism as giving the gift of the Holy Spirit and thereby a mediated communion with Christ, the Eucharist giving an immediate communion of Christ's own body and blood; Baptism planting the seed of spiritual renewal, the Eucharist emphasising also the renewal of our bodies—though it would be mistaken to make this difference more than one of emphasis.[66] It is too crude, however, to criticise him for assigning one sacrament to the Spirit and one to the Son and thus dividing the Trinity. Rather, instead of replicating baptismal communion in the Eucharist, this distinction clarifies the primary and secondary roles of each person in the sacraments: the 'indwelling' of the Spirit in Baptism makes us 'members of' the 'Son;' while in the Eucharist the Spirit serves a preparatory role (our souls must 'be prepared by repentance, faith, love, through the cleansing of His Spirit, for His Coming'), and communion with Christ feeds the inner fire of the Holy Spirit, which was received in Baptism.[67]

The role of direct allegory in regard to Pusey's understanding of eucharistic communion has been noted; but its deeper principles inform his understanding of the real presence. The resistance to over-definition, and insistence on mystery, which emerged from his earlier critique of rationalism, is one of the most constant aspects of his eucharistic teaching. In 1828, he argued that the communion was analogous to medicine or food; the inner workings of each need not be understood to have their

[66] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 4; 'Bliss of Heaven—Glory of the Body,' 301-304.

[67] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 10, 21-22.

benefit.[68] Late in life he would argue again, that failing to understand the forces of nature, or mysteries uncovered by science, does not lead to their rejection; so our inability to understand God's sacramental actions need not lead to denial of the real presence.[69] Jesus is asked, 'how can this man give us His Flesh to eat?' (John 6:52): 'He never answereth; and we, if we are wise, shall never ask how they can be elements of this world and yet His Body and Blood. But how they give life to us, He does answer …'[70] 'He does not explain' how we are to partake of him; 'but again He deepens His teaching, and tells them, in terms explicit although as yet unexplained, of that fulness [sic] of life and closeness of union with Himself which He would give to His own.' Though many leave, because pride insists on understanding, the humility of the apostles is answered in the Eucharist, 'but how that Body which was to be broken, that Blood which was to be shed, should … be present … this remained as much a mystery as before.'[71]

There are also two further principles at work—Pusey's insistence on holding together multiple truths which appear contradictory, and his material realism. Pusey argues the 'coexistence' of Christ's eucharistic presence with the bread and wine from the fact that Scripture speaks not in comprehensive theoretical statements, but by addressing particular points in different places. 'Our Blessed Lord does not say, "this is a figure of My absent Body," nor does He say, "This has altogether ceased to be bread, and is the same Body in the same way, as that which you see with your bodily eyes;"

[68] Pusey, Sermon for December 25, 1828, Pusey Early Sermons MSS.

[69] Pusey, 'This is My Body,' 13-14.

[70] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 7.

[71] Pusey, 'Will Ye?' 11-12.

but simply, "This is My Body."'[72] This is analogous, for instance, to the humanity and divinity of Christ, which are taught in different places in Scripture, that must be taken together.[73] The importance of the elements, however, is not soteriological (as in the Incarnation), but allegorical—as noted above, the bread and the wine teach us the spiritual fruits of the Eucharist, and, as with all types, this symbolic value is closely connected to their material reality.

The main structures of Pusey's eucharistic thought, ought, however briefly, to be compared with Waterland, as one of the major eucharistic writers of the earlier High Church tradition. Like Pusey, Waterland emphasises the reality of communion as the fundamental gift of the Eucharist. As the duty of communion encompasses all Christian duties, so it procures all the spiritual privileges given in Christ.[74] Beyond mere privileges, however, there is also a 'communication from God, and a participation by us, of Christ's *crucified* body directly, and of the body *glorified* consequentially.'[75] Like Pusey, he insists on a real presence of Christ in the elements. He does not make Pusey's inference from the reality of communion; but he does emphasise the meaning of the words of institution in much the same fashion. Mere remembrance is accomplished by the words, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' That Christ adds, 'This is my body,' 'This is my blood,' indicates something more. But to say that we receive Christ's body and blood '*in power and effect*, or *in virtue and energy*,' however, is to confuse the nature of what we receive, and the meaning of 'body.' But (as with Pusey) the bread and wine

[72] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 21.

[73] Ibid.,19-21.

[74] Waterland, *A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, as Laid Down in Scripture and Antiquity*, in *Works*, 4: 470-1.

[75] Ibid., 579; emphasis Waterland's.

remain, and the presence of Christ's body in heaven must be maintained. The bread and wine are not 'really and literally that body in the same *broken* state as it hung upon the cross,' which would displace the crucifixion from history; nor are they 'literally and properly' 'our Lord's *glorified body*, which is as far distant from us, as *heaven* is distant.'[76] Instead, Waterland uses a series of analogies to relate the elements to Christ's body and blood. Royal regalia is not kingship, but coronation makes one a king; a title deed is not property, but transference of the deed conveys the property.[77] Since God has decreed that the eucharistic elements are to serve as the 'deed' of our union with Christ, 'then those outward symbols are, though not *literally*, yet *interpretively*, and to all *saving* purposes, that very body and blood which they so represent *with effect.*'[78]

Although these analogies provide a weaker understanding of the real presence than Pusey's direct affirmation, it is not mere symbolism. This can be seen in Waterland's critique of Reformation-era eucharistic theology. Medieval understandings of the Eucharist were too carnal; Luther did not go far enough in his corrections, while Calvin achieved the right balance, but was somewhat confused. Whereas Calvin holds that the believer is raised to heaven to receive Christ, Waterland argues that this receiving is earthly, in the sacrament: 'the *natural* body is *there given*, but *not there present* … The *mystical union* with our Lord's *glorified* body is *there* (or in that service) strengthened, or *perfected*; as a *right* may be given to a *distant* possession: and such *union* as we now speak of, requires no *local* presence of Christ's body.'[79] On the other hand, Zwingli over-corrected; against his denial of a real presence, Waterland maintains

[76] Waterland, *Review*, 573; emphasis Waterland's.

[77] Ibid., 571-572.

[78] Ibid., 574; emphasis Waterland's.

[79] Ibid., 599-600; emphasis Waterland's.

that 'though there is no *corporal presence* yet there is a *spiritual* one, exhibitive of Divine *blessings* and *graces*: and though we *eat* not Christ's *natural* glorified body in the Sacrament, or out of it, yet our *mystical union* with that very body is strengthened and perfected in and through the Sacrament, by the operation of the *Holy Spirit*.'[80] This 'spiritual presence,' being contrasted with a 'corporal' one, appears to be virtually identical to Pusey's concept of a 'sacramental presence.'

Waterland's understanding of eucharistic communion, however, shows how Pusey's development moved him beyond the older High Churchmen. Waterland distinguishes between spiritual and sacramental receiving of Christ, but in a way that differs from Pusey. John 6, in his interpretation, refers to *spiritual* rather than sacramental feeding on Christ, because only worthy recipients receive life as the passage indicates. To receive Christ sacramentally is merely to receive the signs of communion (i.e., the signs of Christ's body and blood), while true communion is spiritual; sacramental communion is the 'ordinary' means of spiritual communion, but God may give other means.[81] Union with Christ is mediated by the Holy Spirit: Waterland even argues that Patristic language of the Spirit's descent on the elements is imprecise, and should be more accurately understood as the Spirit's descent on the communicants *in receiving* the elements.[82] Waterland's emphasis on the Spirit as the agent of union with Christ bears a strong resemblance to Pusey's position in 1839,

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[80] Waterland, *Review*, 609; emphasis Waterland's.

[81] Ibid., 535-539. Note that Waterland is here using 'sacramental' to mean *pertaining to the sacramental signs*, whereas Pusey uses the same term to refer to a mode of Christ's presence *by which he is present in the sacramental signs*.

[82] Ibid., 530, 609. Waterland's curious opposition to any action of the Spirit on the elements is likely derived from opposition to the controversial 'usages' of the non-jurors, including the *epiclesis*. Waterland sharply criticised the heavily pneumatological eucharistic theology of the non-juror John Johnson in 'The Sacramental Part of the Eucharist Explained,' in *Works*, 5: 185-270; cf. Richard Sharp, 'New Perspectives on the High Church Tradition: Historical Background 1730-1780,' in Rowell, *Tradition*, 11-13.

although even at that time Pusey's language is subtly stronger. The subsequent evolution of Pusey's thought which we have seen, however, moves him beyond this point of similarity. But in contrast to Waterland's theory, Pusey's developed position has a twofold advantage: as the 'ordinary means' of spiritual communion in Waterland's theory, the Eucharist is in danger of becoming secondary to Baptism (i.e., as merely its extension), while simultaneously more 'subjective' non-liturgical 'spiritual communion' (as a kind of devotional act) appears to be tacitly discouraged, as secondary to liturgical action and 'extraordinary' in the Christian life rather than normative. Pusey's distinction between communion with Christ by the Spirit in Baptism, and immediate communion in the Eucharist, balances the two sacraments as being distinct and complementary, while giving value to both the public devotion of eucharistic participation, and the more private life of prayer.

The most obvious difference between Pusey and Waterland, however, is one of tone. Pusey's fervid language is wedded to an adamant insistence on Christ's presence *with us*, not only spiritually but sacramentally. Waterland, by contrast, takes a more descriptive approach. He is clearer than Pusey in his explanations—Christ's dual presence in heaven and in the sacrament is left a paradox in Pusey, whereas Waterland's analogy to other 'effective signs' partially addresses the problem; but the explanation feels hollow compared to the paradox. In part, this may be because Waterland resorts to legal metaphors, while Pusey is more apt to speak of communion in biblical language which evokes marriage and new creation.[83] But beyond this, Waterland's eucharistic theory lacks motion: Christ is securely in heaven, we are firmly on earth, and the Spirit mediates between the two. But for Pusey, Christ comes near to us in the Eucharist.

[83] See above, 120, 122, 140.

A brief introduction to Calvin's eucharistic theology will lay the foundation for the remaining discussion of this chapter. Despite Tractarian assertions to the contrary, Calvin is not, in fact, a 'virtualist;' rather, he insists on the real presence, but hedges it with qualifications to avoid an overly materialistic conception of it, and is concerned to draw the believer's gaze away from the mere elements, to the reality they convey.[84] Beyond this, the sacraments are de-emphasised in comparison with the Anglican High Church positions of Pusey and Waterland. They are means of participation in Christ; but they are a part of the Church's broader participation, rather than the ground of it, and as such, they are not necessary to salvation (this position is implicitly the reverse of Waterland's, and is explicitly reversed in Pusey's understanding of spiritual communion as deriving from sacramental participation).[85] Beyond these differences of emphasis, however, there is one of orientation. Calvin's real presence is, like that of Waterland and, to some extent, Pusey, mediated by the Holy Spirit. But this is not the downward motion of Pusey's theory, nor the static bridging of heaven and earth put forward by Waterland. For Calvin, the role of the Holy Spirit is in raising us to heaven, where Christ is.[86] Julie Canlis notes, 'Where Calvin was unwilling to rethink human nature and embodiedness,'—the root of the *extra calvinisticum*—'he was willing to rethink presence.'[87] The weakness of Waterland's static view is he is *not* willing to rethink presence; Pusey, on the other hand, clearly *is* rethinking presence, though in a way that differed from Calvin. For Calvin, Christ is present because of our spiritual translation to

[84] McDonnell, 241-246, Julie Canlis, *Calvin's Ladder: A Spiritual Theology of Ascent and Ascension* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 159; cf. R.I. Wilberforce, *Eucharist*, 32-43, 137-149.

[85] Canlis, 162-163, McDonnell, 184.

[86] McDonnell, 260-262.

[87] Canlis, 116-117.

heaven; for Pusey, Christ is present *to us*, though sacramentally, not naturally. Calvin's concept retains a spatial element to presence, while making it non-physical, whereas for Pusey, presence is neither strictly spatial nor physical. It has been suggested that Calvin, in attempting to mediate between Nestorianism and Eutychianism, is not entirely successful in avoiding the former, and constrains Christ's humanity to a particular place without allowing a role for his divinity. [88] Pusey avoids this, but at some loss. A non-local presence baffles the mind, and his 'sacramental presence,' chosen as a term to reflect our ignorance, though appropriate, is somewhat lacking in explanatory power.

Real Presence II: Ascent and Descent

Calvin's doctrine of ascent, however, introduces the final discussion of this chapter. Pusey departed from Waterland (and thus from a view we might consider widespread amongst the older High Churchmen), with regard to the Holy Spirit's role in eucharistic communion. However, there were two other points on which he ultimately differed from a more traditional High Church view; namely, eucharistic adoration and the reception of Christ by the wicked. Pusey's position on these doctrines is formed by his emphasis on Christ's descent, his coming *to us* in the sacrament, which contrasts with both Waterland's static view, and Calvin's dynamic of ascent.

Eucharistic adoration, for Pusey, resulted from an inference much like that which grounded his belief in the real presence. Pusey had argued from communion to the real presence, that if we receive Christ, he must be *there* for us to receive him.[89] But if Christ is present, it follows that he is to be adored. A favourite quotation of Pusey is drawn from Lancelot Andrewes: that '*Christ Himself, the Substance of the Sacrament*,

[88] McDonnell, 214-219.

[89] Pusey, *English Church*, 166.

in and with the Sacrament; out of and without the Sacrament wheresoever He is, is to be adored.'[90] The declaration on kneeling is no obstacle: as already discussed, it is not a 'corporal' presence of Christ's 'natural' body that is being adored, and Pusey thought it ridiculous that anyone would even consider adoring the *elements* rather than Christ.[91] Accordingly, he insisted on changes to W.J.E. Bennett's *Plea for Toleration* of Ritualism to reflect adoration of Christ present 'under the form of bread and wine' rather than adoration of the elements as Christ's 'visible Presence' in the Church.[92]

The question of reception by the wicked is more intricate, partly because of the apparent doctrinal prohibition in Article 29, 'Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ,' and in part because of the Reformed perspective this article exhibits, which was ingrained in the Tractarians. Their resistance to believing that the wicked in some way receive Christ in the Eucharist was not merely a matter of deference to authority, but an inherited theological trait. This can be seen both in Pusey's developing understanding of this doctrine, and in Keble's resistance to his new interpretation of it. Until 1856, Pusey held the position that although Christ was 'objectively' present in the Eucharist, his presence was withdrawn from unworthy receivers; but in that year, having reconsidered the matter because of the Denison case, he altered his position. Keble, however, resisted this change, and for more than two months they exchanged letters on the matter: ultimately agreeing to respect their differences of opinion, as neither position imperilled

[90] Pusey, *English Church*, 312-337, esp. 316-317; emphasis Pusey's.

[91] Ibid., 318-326 The same position is argued at length by Keble, *On Eucharistical Adoration*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, 1859).

[92] W.J.E. Bennett, *A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England* (London: J.T. Hayes, 1867), 3, 14; compare 3rd ed. (1868), iii-iv and 3, 14. The phrase is taken from the notice at the end of the first Book of Homilies; Pusey's extensive defence of the phrase as a statement of Anglican dogma may seem forced, but it had earlier been held as such by Palmer. Pusey, *English Church*, 4-7; Palmer, *Treatise*, 1: 389.

the central reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, though they both found the disagreement painful.[93]

The focus of this exchange—which ranged into patristic interpretations, textual criticism of patristic works, and the patristic scholarship of the article's framers—was the apparent conflict between John 6:53-56 ('He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him') and 1 Corinthians 11:27 ('whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord'). In the interpretation which Pusey had held, and which Keble maintained, the wicked are guilty of receiving impenitently a consecrated *symbol* of Christ's body and blood, but not *directly* guilty of violating Christ's body and blood, which had been withdrawn from them.[94] Pusey did not find this satisfactory; Paul's language was too direct. While there are many offences that might be given of impenitence or irreverence, even with regard to hearing the Gospel itself, none of these receives the singular distinction of making the offender 'guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.'[95] In order to reconcile the two passages, Pusey redeploys an argument from his discussion of the coexistence of Christ's presence with the eucharistic elements: Scripture speaks 'to the point,' not by means of giving complete systematic statements. So, John 6:54 does not mean that anyone who eats the sacramental body and blood of Christ, in any way and without qualification, has eternal life.[96] Rather, the references in that passage to 'eating' must be to a *manner* of eating, specifically, whereby Christ dwells in us and we in him. Article 29, which holds that the wicked are 'in no wise partakers of Christ' though they

[93] Pusey to Keble, August 15-October 10, 1856, LBV 104; Keble to Pusey, August 20-October 8, 1856, LBV 99. Given in Liddon, 3: 460-469.

[94] Keble to Pusey, August 1, 1853 and August 26, 1856 (among others), LBV 99; Pusey to Keble, August 19, 1856, LBV 104; Pusey, *London*, 41.

[95] Pusey, *English Church*, 293-300.

[96] Ibid., 300-307.

receive the sacrament, is interpreted in the same way—though Pusey's rendering of the Article somewhat stretches its apparent meaning.[97] His conclusion (suggested to him by Döllinger's writing on hell), is that 'Christ, although He could not dwell in their souls, could be present, as their Judge. God is present in Hell.'[98]

Despite Pusey's acknowledged change of position, its foundations are clearly laid in his earlier work. The dangers of receiving unworthily were used to argue, by analogy, the dangers of adult Baptism under false pretences in 1835.[99] In 1839, the contrast between unworthy receiving and other offenses is used as an argument in defence of the real presence.[100] The 'distinct ends,' 'manifold teaching' and 'different bearings' of God's single acts which provide the framework for the 1843 sermon also provide, implicitly, the framework for understanding the varying significance of Christ's presence as the 'joy of the saint,' the 'comfort to the penitent,' and the 'judge of the wicked.'[101] In 1851, Pusey took up the question directly; while he states that Christ's presence is withdrawn, he adds, that 'it must in some sense be the Body and Blood of Christ, since the very ground why those who profaned the Lord's Supper, "ate and drank condemnation to themselves" is, according to Holy Scripture, that they did "not discern the Lord's Body,"' and continues with an early form of the argument that

[97] Pusey, *English Church*, 250-257. Pusey reads this through the text of the article ('partakers,' cf. Heb, 3:14) to argue that, as with the passage from John, the article refers specifically to an eating with the stated effect, and argues that no more than this was intended by the framers of the article (Ibid., 257-93). Arguing that his position was permitted by the Articles was of particular importance, as this issue had drawn attention during the Denison case, and Abp. Sumner had declared his opinion that positions similar to Pusey's were proscribed. Pusey broke his preferred reserve in this volume as a matter of integrity: to make his views known, and to resign his Professorship if Sumner's opinion were to be upheld. *London*, 41-42; Pusey to Keble, September 29, 1856, LBV 104.

[98] Ibid., 307-308; Letter to Keble, August 19, 1856, LBV 104.

[99] Pusey, *Baptism 1* (TFT 69), 172-173.

[100] Pusey, *Oxford*, 129.

[101] Pusey, 'Comfort,' 1, 7. I first drew this connection in my M.Div. thesis, 'A Comfort to the Penitent' (Nashotah House), which discussed this 'three-fold presence' as a framework for understanding the role of the Eucharist in Christian spiritual growth. This is another instance of Pusey's principle of complexity. See above, 77-79.

to 'eat' (in Article 29 and John 6) is to eat 'beneficially.'[102] The very nature of this argument, however, reminds us of the larger backdrop of Pusey's eucharistic theology: the *purpose* of the sacrament is the *beneficial* receiving of Christ's body and blood, that he may 'dwell in us and we in him,' nourishing the growth in holiness presupposed by both sacraments. Receiving the sacrament unworthily, without repentance, is only so grave a matter because it is an offense against God's love. Although the warning of God's judgment is present, Pusey's call to holiness in preaching on the Eucharist emphasises rather the immensity of God's love, his self-giving, and the greatness of the gift of his indwelling.

Pusey's conception of God's love as descending to us is at the heart of his understanding of adoration and reception by the wicked. Among the many other gifts imparted by communion, 'the fervour of divine love' *is* 'that our Lord Jesus Christ, not in figure, but in reality, although a spiritual reality, does give Himself to us, does *come* to be in us.'[103] He is to be adored in the Eucharist, because he has *come*, and is *here*; he is present to (and, in a sense, received by, though to judgment rather than salvation) the wicked, because he has *come* and is *here*, as truly as in the Incarnation and at the Last Judgment, although he is present 'sacramentally,' not in his natural, physical body.[104]

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[102] Pusey, *London*, 42-44.

[103] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 10; emphasis mine.

[104] Keble appears to share Pusey's understanding of the Eucharist except on the point of reception by the wicked; here, it is to be suspected that he was held back from affirming Pusey's position by his fundamentally conservative nature, as this is a more dramatic departure from received Anglican tradition than the other points, which, however, entail it. The Tractarian understanding of the real presence can be argued from Scripture and an exact reading of the formularies; adoration has its supporters in, for instance, the oft-quoted Andrewes, and is at least unscathed by a precise reading of the Declaration on Kneeling. But Pusey's understanding of reception by the wicked, though faithful to the letter of the Article, stretches its breadth of interpretation nearly to breaking point. It should be noted, however, that Pusey was preceded in his belief here by Denison—a High Churchman who, despite Oriel ties and a sympathy of much Tractarian doctrine, never identified himself with them. Nockles, *Context*, 242.

The absence of these emphases in Waterland is explained simply by the fact that Christ does not come to us—the Holy Spirit comes, but Christ remains in heaven. Waterland's static view leaves a feeling of distance between Christ and the believer. But a more interesting contrast may be supplied by comparison with Calvin, whose dynamic of ascent achieves a similar nearness to Pusey's, though the motion of the sacrament is in the opposite direction.

Not surprisingly, given the Reformed heritage of Pusey's theology, Pusey and Calvin share much in common. The central fact of the Eucharist, which determines all subsequent considerations, is communion with Christ: Christ's body—not in itself, but united to his divinity—is a source of life to our bodies. As such, because Christ has promised to give us his body and blood in the Eucharist, we receive in the sacrament not 'a vain and empty sign,' but 'the reality' of that gift.[105] Even in defending the 'figurative' role of the Eucharist, Calvin is at pains to distinguish the sacrament, which 'not only symbolizes the thing that it has been consecrated to represent … but also truly exhibits it,' from human symbols, which are 'images of things absent rather than marks of things present.'[106] This is balanced in the same way Pusey was to do later: Calvin insists on a spiritual presence of Christ's body, which is physically present in heaven, and on the continuing reality of the elements.[107] For Calvin, however, John 6:48-58 teaches that Christ's nourishment of our souls is a general reality of the Christian life;

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[105] Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.17.8-10.

[106] Ibid., 4.17.21.

[107] Ibid., 4.17.11-12, 26-30, 43-50. David Steinmetz notes that Calvin's 'spiritual real presence' was 'an apparent oxymoron that bemused and annoyed Calvin's Lutheran critics' (Steinmetz, *Taking the Long View* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 123). The same paradox may be felt in Pusey's 'sacramental presence.' Calvin's rejection of a 'mixture, or transfusion of Christ's flesh with our soul' is principally directed against a local inclusion of Christ's body in the elements, also rejected by Pusey. (*Institutes*, 4.17.32). However, it sits uncomfortably with Pusey's statement that 'we become 'flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bone.' Pusey's stronger conception of communion may be influenced by his use of this natural allegory, suggested by biblical language on marriage.

this is particularly symbolised and instanced in the Eucharist, but the Eucharist is not the central focus of the passage.[108] And so, like Waterland after him (and indeed, like Pusey's initial position), Calvin's emphasis falls on the mediating role of the Spirit; however, in contrast to Waterland, and in common with Pusey, the Eucharist is not static, but an interpenetration of heaven and earth. Whereas Pusey emphasises descent, for Calvin, the motion of the Eucharist is upwards; the communicant is caught up into heaven, where Christ is, to receive him.[109] Pusey's dismissal of this as merely psychological is unfair: Calvin insists that there is 'no place for the sophistry that what I mean when I say Christ is received by faith is that he is received only by understanding and imagination.'[110]

These brief surveys of Calvin and Waterland allow for several observations on Pusey's theology. Historically, it is at least plausible to trace their differences in the sacramental connection between heaven and earth to the overriding *ethos* of their own day—Calvin's fascination with ascent may show the remnants of a late medieval fascination with transcendence; Waterland's static view echoes the eighteenth-century's aesthetic appreciation of permanence, and Pusey's emphasis on descent can of course be traced to the Romantic interest in nature. But beyond questions of historical location, a doctrinal trajectory can be discerned. For Calvin, the eucharistic presence is the result of the Spirit's action in lifting us to heaven. For Waterland, although the Spirit is the mediator of *communion*, the question of *presence* is more ambiguous: the Spirit does not act on the elements, and although Christ's presence is not clearly tied to the elements (it is not entirely distinct, either), his argument on this front relies exclusively

[108] Calvin, 4.17.4.

[109] Calvin, 4.17.18, 31.

[110] Pusey, *Oxford*, 132-133; Calvin, 4.17.11.

on the words of institution, not on any inferred action of the Spirit. Pusey appears to have inherited this tradition. From the start, he has a stronger emphasis on the connection of the presence with the elements than either Waterland or Calvin, but his mode of argument follows Waterland in emphasising the words of institution rather than a mediating role for the Spirit, with regard to *presence* rather than communion. This sets the stage, however, for a shift to a *communion* of Christ's body and blood that is not mediated by the Spirit. However, Pusey and Calvin share a dynamic and intimate sense of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, which is lacking in Waterland; Pusey can be taken as restoring this aspect of the Eucharist, but doing so by continuing in the direction which Waterland had set.

Beyond these observations, however, it is possible to make a structural comparison between Pusey and Calvin. Both employ a similar scheme of descent and ascent, with one important difference. Participation in Christ is the central reality of salvation; but Calvin's theory places this participation in a single cycle of ascent and descent, whereas for Pusey there is a double cycle. For Calvin, we participate in Christ in virtue of his descent, culminating on the cross; in him, we ascend as he ascends.[111] For Pusey, two aspects of Christ's work *for us* and *in us*, result in two cycles: Christ descends to take our humanity, and ascends to raise our humanity to God; the Spirit descends on Pentecost, and in the sacraments, to raise us. This produces a different schematic placement of the Eucharist. For Calvin, the Eucharist as part of the Church's life *after* the Incarnation, is, by definition, included in spiritual ascent. For Pusey, the Eucharist as communicating grace *from God* is thereby primarily *descending* in its motion. 'We need not then (as the School of Calvin bids men) "ascend to Heaven, to

[111] Canlis, 92-93.

bring down Christ from above," for He is truly present' in the Eucharist, on earth; 'Our Dear Lord in His glorious Body does ever, in the Presence of the Father, make Intercession for us: His Meritorious Sacrifice and Passion live on there … But to us He hath given the communion of His Body, not in Heaven as yet, but here on earth.'[112] There are still, however, strong elements of ascent associated with sanctification. One rhapsodic passage laments doctrinal controversy in language that recalls both Calvin's image of gazing into heaven, and the cry *sursum corda* so dear to him:

> O if we could, but for one moment, see, with St. Stephen, heaven opened, what should we behold, adored by Cherubim and Seraphim, the Joy of all the heavenly Intelligences, the Mystery above all mysteries, on which they ever gaze, in which they behold the Divine Love more and more unfolded to them, as they long to look into it, what but that sacred form of Jesus, irradiating heaven with the glory of the Indwelling Godhead? … Oh, sursum corda, sursum corda! One earnest, steadfast, piercing, longing, loving gaze into Heaven, will reveal to thee more than all the world's disputing, nay, than any argument, for 'flesh and blood will not reveal' it unto thee but 'thy Father which is in heaven.' Blessedness will it be beyond all bliss, blessedness above all created joy, for it is the fruit of the Infinite love of Jesus, the foretaste of the eternal joy of thy Lord, when, with God-given faith, thou canst say, I love thee, O only salvation of my soul; for thou hast redeemed me by Thy Blood, my Lord and my God. THOU, me![113]

Though not an explicitly eucharistic passage, the 'foretaste' of heavenly joy and its accompanying gift of love have strong eucharistic overtones. But elsewhere Pusey speaks more directly of sacramental ascent. 'It was then, as having been hallowed by Baptism, (and that, as connected with the Incarnation of our Lord, "through the vail, that is to say, His Flesh,") that St. Paul taught, that we might venture to draw near towards those heavens, where our ascended Lord now is, and which He had "opened to all believers."'[114] So, too, the Eucharist is 'the heaven of those whose conversation is in

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[112] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 22; 'This is My Body,' 25-26.

[113] Pusey, 'The Doctrine of the Atonement,' 261-262; cf. Canlis, 18-21.

[114] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 186.

heaven.'[115] Nonetheless, such images of ascent are secondary to, and the result of, the pentecostal descent of the Holy Spirit in Baptism, and the descent of Christ in the Eucharist.

It must be said, that Calvin's single-cycle model has considerable conceptual elegance; and there is much theological value in his emphatic realism about our ascent *in Christ*. Nonetheless, Pusey's double cycle of Christ's work *for us* and *in us* offers a clearer relation between universal and particular—between Christ's redemption of humanity in general, and the gift of that redemption to each Christian—which in Calvin appears to be somewhat muddled. For Pusey, humanity is put on by Christ, and by him carried into heaven, redeeming human nature; this redeemed humanity is then communicated to each Christian by the Spirit, through the sacraments. But for Calvin, participation in Christ is grounded simply on the fact of the Incarnation; 'adoption' into Christ, with no sacramental instrumentality, risks appearing either arbitrary or as merely a theological abstraction—there is a logic in Pusey, absent in Calvin, where God's working through Christ's humanity to redeem the Church is followed by his work through the earthly actions of the Church to save each Christian.[116] Meanwhile the reality of the ascension as an aspect of Christ's sacrificial work *for us* is in danger of being obscured by too close an association with the spiritual ascent of the Church.[117] Moreover, Canlis notes,

> Calvin's great strength lay in his rich and consistent emphasis on the necessity of human participation in Christ. His weakness lay in his inability (or polemical reticence?) to reflect on the fittingness of the material realm for just such a relation. This reticence resulted in a suspicion of material things as unable to bear

[115] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 10; cf. 'Comfort,' 14-15. Specifically (and paradoxically), it is 'heaven' because 'our Lord Jesus Christ … does give Himself to us, does *come* to be in us' (emphasis mine), underscoring the importance of God's descending grace, even when part of the passage suggests ascent.

[116] Canlis, 162-163.

[117] See below, 195-196.

> the weight of spiritual reality. That the Spirit does not lead us "up and away" to God but creates in material things God's divine reality is something from which Calvin tends to shy away.[118]

Pusey certainly does not face this difficulty, nor (as we saw in the previous chapter) any 'confusion as to the appropriateness of social justice,' which Canlis sees as flowing from Calvin's reticence regarding the spiritual capabilities of the material creation.[119] And, if in Calvin's account the Eucharist becomes more a fruition of the historical Incarnation and the Spirit's indwelling, than a gift *of* the Incarnation and a complement to the Spirit's work, it is then less able to be a 'comfort to the penitent,' though it offers a less convoluted answer to the problem of reception by the wicked.

Earlier, it was noted that the descending motion of sacramental grace shapes Pusey's understanding of eucharistic adoration and the reception of Christ by the wicked. The comparison between Pusey and Calvin reinforces this point. God is the agent for both descent and ascent, and while Pusey cites Christ's appearances to Stephen and Paul as instances of his presence on earth while bodily in heaven, Calvin explains the same through Christ's gift of 'a clarity of vision to pierce the heavens.'[120] Both attempt to represent the sacramental interpenetration of heaven and earth; both emphasise God's grace; both are, in fact, rooted in similar soteriological concepts, emphasising Christ's renewal of humanity through the Incarnation, and differing only in the conception of Christ's work and its fulfilment in the Church as a single cycle or as a pair. Abstracted from that larger soteriological *schema*, ascent and descent are, in a sense, mere matters of perspective; a question of which side of the eucharistic conjunction of heaven and earth one chooses to emphasise: Calvin emphasises the effect

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[118] Canlis, 170.

[119] Canlis, 244.

[120] Pusey, 'This is My Body,' 13-15; Calvin, 4.17.29.

of God's grace in exalting humanity; Pusey emphasises his humility in giving us himself. But they differ dramatically in their consequences. If Christ is present because we have ascended into heaven, he cannot be adored as if on earth; if receiving him requires being raised to heaven by the Spirit, the wicked by definition cannot. But despite these differences, there is nonetheless a correlation between the intimacy of Christ's presence and the danger of unworthy receiving, which draws Pusey and Calvin closer together. Calvin holds a stronger view than Waterland and Keble in this respect: they would agree with him that, although Christ is not received without faith, he is nonetheless offered to the unworthy.[121] But whereas they hold that the wicked receive condemnation as violating the sign of a holy thing, Calvin goes further still, suggesting that the very grace offered in it is a poison to them.[122] This is only a step away from Pusey's affirmation that to the wicked Christ is present as judge—and it is perhaps as far as Calvin could go in that direction, constrained by his ascending model for the Eucharist.

But this understanding of descent can also shed light on Pusey's understanding of divine love. The fundamental reality of God's relationship with us, is his coming down to us, his humility. Compared to this, Calvin might be said to have a more royal vision of God's love, a love shown in raising and ennobling. Waterland's static vision likewise has overtones of royalty, though it appears to be more of a royal generosity in issuing decrees rather than any sort of personal love. But Pusey offers a more human and humble vision of God's love, a love which consists in reaching out to us, lifting us indeed, but coming down from his throne to do so—not once, in the Incarnation, but daily. This should not surprise us, given his emphasis on the necessity of humble love.

[121] Calvin, 4.17.33, 40.

[122] Calvin, 4.17.40.

But we might speculate as well, that it is this vision of God's love which shaped both his own advocacy of social work, and that of those who followed him. Certainly, it was such an attitude that endeared the Ritualists of the next generation to the people of the slums.[123]

Returning to a broader perspective, Pusey's eucharistic doctrine can now be regarded in the larger context of his theology. The Eucharist is a complement to Baptism, furthering and nourishing the baptismal union with Christ. Such an understanding of the relation between the two sacraments is not merely drawn from tradition, but is supported by the symbolism of the eucharistic elements as food. The role of allegory in his thinking is also shown indirectly, however, in his insistence to hold together what might at first seem to be competing claims about the nature of the sacrament: the truth of the Eucharist is not to be communicated in a reduction of the sacrament to mere symbol or mere presence; rather, it is conveyed properly through a complex layering of significance, where different truths of the Eucharist—its nature as bread and wine, and as the body and blood of Christ; Christ's presence here, while his 'natural' body remains in heaven—are allowed each to inform the other. Pusey's insistence on the reality of the elements, therefore, is not merely deference to the Anglican formularies, but the expression of a deep appreciation for their significance. It is also possible to go beyond Pusey's explicit statements, and to suggest that the coexistence of Christ's body and blood with the elements is in fact the fulfilment of his sacramental vision of creation, and an eschatological foreshadowing of the time when God in Christ will fill all things.

[123] Richard Holloway, 'Social and Political Implications of the Oxford Movement,' in Wright, 30-45; John Macquarrie, 'Theological Implications of the Oxford Movement,' in Wright, 27-28.

However, the structure of Pusey's eucharistic thought points out both his indebtedness to earlier High Church positions, and his willingness to move beyond them. Even when compared to Calvin, there is something of a family resemblance, though Pusey is clearly in a very different part of the Reformed heritage. But the differences even between Pusey and Calvin are derived primarily from the different dynamics used to structure very similar understandings of union with Christ: while acknowledging that these differences are far-reaching in their consequences, we should also, perhaps, try to see beyond the polemics of nineteenth-century controversies, including Pusey's own, to acknowledge their similarities. Pusey's eucharistic doctrine, therefore, provides a strong case for questioning the view that Tractarian theology is a divergence from, rather than a development of, the earlier Reformed heritage of the Church of England.

Part III

Sacrifice

Chapter Six

Sacrifice and the Atonement

This thesis has followed two aspects of Pusey's thought which are necessary to a proper understanding of his theology: his complicated relationship of continuity with, and evolution beyond, the old High Churchmen, which is integral to his development; and his allegorical approach to theology, which emerged from his critique of the existing theological positions in the Church of England. The last two chapters showed how these elements shaped his theology of union with Christ, which is closely connected to his understanding of God's love. These final chapters continue the theme of divine love, but under the aspect of sacrifice rather than communion. Sacrifice provides a complement to the unitive aspect of his soteriology, and as the next chapter will show, it generates a recurring set of images throughout his work, even if it does not determine the form of his theology in the same way as the themes which have been discussed. In addition, it also provides a further opportunity to observe the confluence of these streams. The topic of sacrifice shows Pusey's strong continuity with the High Churchmen and his heavy reliance on biblical allegory. The complementarity of unitive and sacrificial models in soteriology is an instance of the allegorical principle that theological understanding is better served by the convergence of multiple images or 'models,' than by a systematic reliance on one.

This discussion of sacrifice in Pusey's theology follows the distinction already laid out with regard to union with Christ, between Christ's work *for us* and his work *in us*.[1] Like the unitive aspect of redemption, the sacrificial also has both inward and outward parts. Christ's recapitulation of humanity is *for us*, but without us; our *theosis*,

[1] See above, 112.

through union with him, is *in us*—justification too, is both declaration and transformation. Christ's death on the cross and self-offering in heaven are *for us*; but there is also an aspect of his sacrifice which is realised *in us*, as members of his body. This distinction therefore serves to divide the topic of sacrifice in Pusey's thought. The next chapter will take up the Christian's relationship to Christ's sacrifice through the sacraments. This chapter, however, will examine the external aspects of Christ's sacrifice in Pusey's theology; first, as a doctrine conditioned by both his High Church heritage and his interest in Old Testament types; and second, with regard to the influence of his unitive theology on his theory of the atonement, which highlights Pusey's importance as a transitional figure in nineteenth-century theology.

Allegory and the Atonement

The doctrine of the atonement has a complex history, and the character of Anglicanism is such that much of this complexity has existed in it, not only over time, but all at once—a statement as true in Pusey's day as in our own. So, in order to situate Pusey's doctrine of the atonement, a brief historical survey is necessary. The earliest prominent theory of the atonement (prevalent in the patristic and early medieval periods) has been called a 'ransom' or 'bargain' theory of the atonement. According to this theory, the devil has the right to punish humanity because of sin; Christ takes the place of humanity, but being sinless and divine, defeats the Devil, who thereby loses his claim. This theory, even at the peak of its influence, faced a number of difficulties, especially the question of whether the 'ruse' of the Incarnation by which Satan was defeated made God a deceiver, leaving Satan in the right. By the eleventh century, there was need of an alternative. This was provided in Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo?*, which

reinterprets the doctrine within the model of feudal justice. God's honour has been offended by human sin, making 'satisfaction' necessary through some form of recompense. Humanity, however, could only ever offer what was due to God, even if we were free from sin; therefore, Christ made the satisfaction on our behalf, being both perfect and divine—that is, owing nothing himself, infinite in honour and glory, and therefore able to make the compensation necessary to give satisfaction for sin. This became the dominant theory of the medieval period. By the time of the Reformation, however, theories of justice had changed, and so too the doctrine of the atonement, to a penal model emphasising punishment instead of satisfaction: Christ died to bear our punishment, so that we might be redeemed. In the early seventeenth century this theory was again modified: Christ died not to bear the punishment that was actually due to the whole of humanity, but to demonstrate God's justice and his hatred of sin (the 'rectoral' or 'governmental' theory). Finally, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (though anticipated in the medieval period by Abelard), legal theory shifted to a more rehabilitative model, and once again atonement theory moved with it. According to the 'moral' theory, Christ's death is an example of love and holiness, either for our imitation, or in which we participate through *theosis*.[2]

In England, however, several factors combined to make the situation by the nineteenth century more complex than in other places, where one theory or another

[2] The dependence of atonement theories, in Western theology, on the evolution of legal thought is followed by L.W. Grensted and Timothy Gorringe; to the basic outline, Gorringe adds the claim that these theories were not only influenced by the prevailing legal thought of the time they emerged, but were produced to provide religious justification for those legal systems. Timothy Gorringe, *God's Just Vengeance: Crime, Violence and the Rhetoric of Salvation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 26-27, 45-46. Grensted attributes this dependence to St. Paul, whose own perspective is 'profoundly affected by the legal bias of his mind.' L.W. Grensted, *A Short History of the Doctrine of the Atonement,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920), 7-8. *Pace* Grensted, it may be observed that Paul, like the rest of the New Testament, shows a 'mixing of metaphors' in discussing redemption. Stephen R. Holmes, *The Wondrous Cross: Atonement and Penal Substitution in the Bible and History* (London: Paternoster, 2007), 6-7. For purposes of this discussion, it is especially important to note the prominence of sacrificial language in Paul, e.g. Rom. 3:25, 12:1; 1 Cor. 5:7, Eph. 5:2.

might come to dominate. The English Church maintained contacts with continental reformers, so both the penal and the rectoral theories gained some currency. The comprehensive nature of the Church, however, allowed both to coexist; and, moreover, a conservative tendency in English theology, reinforced by the Prayer Book, preserved a strong role for satisfaction theory. Local culture also played a role: in the eighteenth century, the dominant image of God came to be the magistrate, charged with enforcing the law, but capable of exercising mercy. Within this framework, Christ's intercession receives the primary emphasis. Substitution of one victim for another would be considered unjust, but Christ's sufferings and obedience merit a reward, and so his pleas on our behalf are granted. This, too, can be traced to the influence of the legal system: Timothy Gorringe notes that the laws of this period provided for extensive use of the death penalty, but this was rarely applied; moreover, many clergy were themselves rural magistrates, making the analogy an easy one.[3] By the nineteenth century, the situation was still more complicated, as various theories occupied different portions of the intellectual landscape. Satisfaction retained official status in the Church of England. The rectoral theory remained prominent, as Gorringe emphasises with regard to its influence on the Scottish theologian John McLeod Campbell; among Pusey's influences, a very moderate statement of this theory can be found in the sermons of his undergraduate tutor, Thomas Vowler Short.[4] Meanwhile, in the broader cultural consciousness, penal theory became so prevalent as to influence social theory and economics.[5] The

[3] Gorringe, 170-182; see especially the discussion of John Balguy, 170-172. The similarities of this view to the rectoral theory are apparent: Christ is not a substitute for us in receiving punishment, and the emphasis is on the role of the divine magistrate in displaying both justice and mercy. However, Christ is not presented as the exemplar of either—rather, he merits forgiveness for us as a reward.

[4] Ibid., 197-204, 206; Short, *Sermons on Some Fundamental Truths of Christianity* (Oxford: J. Parker, 1829), 27-33, 381-383, 389-392.

[5] Boyd Hilton, 33, 81-89.

intercession of Christ remained important as well, though shorn of its explicitly magistratial imagery—it is a recurring theme in Pusey's discussion of the eucharistic sacrifice, and was the topic of one of his sermons on 'comforts to the penitent' meant to address the objections to his teaching on post-baptismal sin.[6] And, as I will argue, the strong High Church tradition of reserve introduced an element of allegory, in which Christ's death and intercession is seen in the ritual context of the Old Testament, rather than in the realm of legal transaction.

For Pusey in particular, however, the investigation should begin in 1830, with the second part of the Enquiry. In discussing an early form of the distinction between official and received doctrine—here the system *of* a church, and a system *in* a church—one of Pusey's examples is the Anselmian tradition of satisfaction. The doctrine *of* the Church is simply that Christ died for our sins; but the theory of satisfaction was widely held *in* the western Church as an explanation of that doctrine. As long as satisfaction is understood to be only an explanation, it is innocuous, and may indeed be helpful; but danger creeps in when what ought to be only an explanation *in* a given church is made the doctrine *of* that church—that is, when one 'model' for a doctrine is followed to the exclusion of others. With complementary perspectives silenced, the explanation risks obscuring the true doctrine, while giving 'advantage' to Christianity's detractors, and putting a 'stumbling block in the way of many an enquirer.'[7]

> [I]t is very different … whether the great doctrine of the atonement be presented to the mind simply, as it is in Scripture, as a proof of God's great love to the world, of his love for men, while they were yet sinners, at the same time that he condemned sin; or whether it be clogged with the scholastic appendage, that it

[6] Pusey, *Nine Sermons, Preached before the University of Oxford, and Printed Chiefly between 1843-1855* (Oxford: James Parker, 1879), v; cf. *Eleven Addresses During a Retreat of the Companions of the Love of Jesus, Engaged in Perpetual Intercession for the Conversion of Sinners*. (Oxford: James Parker, 1868), 57-60.

[7] Pusey, *Enquiry II*, 41-45.

> was *necessary* that an infinite satisfaction should first be made to God's justice before he *could* pardon us.[8]

This 'clogging' effect, among other things, suggests the opposition between God's mercy and justice; and while the theory of satisfaction may be edifying for some individuals, Pusey fears it has been the parent of reactions against orthodox Christianity, as well as a barrier by which the soul's 'efforts to grow in the love of God have been impeded by the early predominance given to the fear of Him.'[9]

This position, far from being 'liberal' (as some readers have thought), in fact puts Pusey very close to the High Church tradition. He had sent drafts of this volume to Bishop Blomfield of London, in which his language rejecting this 'infinite satisfaction' of God's justice was very possibly stronger than that eventually published. Blomfield's response on this point was balanced: he insists that satisfaction is the doctrine of the Church of England (the term is used in the Communion liturgy), but then goes on to dismiss 'infinite satisfaction' as a meaningless phrase of human theorising, and defines 'satisfaction' as meaning only that God '*judged it enough*, that Christ should die, instead of *our* suffering that punishment.'[10] This line of interpretation is also reflected by Van Mildert, who held that, as with the Eucharist, it is unhealthy and irreverent to press the specifics of the atonement too far.

> It is hardly to be expected that we should be able to clear up every difficulty respecting the necessity or efficacy of *vicarious suffering*. Neither may it be possible for us to affix so clear and definite a meaning to the word *satisfaction*, when applied to the propitiation of the Father by our Lord's death and sacrifice, as may preclude cavils and disputes. We know only that it has produced the effect which the word *satisfaction* implies, in that it has been accepted by the Almighty as a sufficient expiation for sin.[11]

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[8] *Enquiry II*, 93; emphasis Pusey's.

[9] Ibid., 93-94.

[10] Blomfield to Pusey, Letter of January 4, 1830, in LBV 40; emphasis Blomfield's.

[11] Van Mildert, *Sermons*, 1: 100-101; emphasis Van Mildert's. See below, 187 n. 28.

Likewise, he rejects questions of why satisfaction was necessary or 'how it was rendered efficacious,' as well as inquiries into the relation of God's infinite mercy and justice or the necessity of the cross. He admits that such speculations may have their place, either in increasing veneration of the mystery of the cross in 'pious and sober-minded men,' or for apologetic purposes, but beyond those limited ends, maintaining the simple teaching of the Gospel, 'that "Christ died, the just for the unjust;" and that "when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his son," must surely be sufficient.'[12] Here we see the three points echoed by Pusey: a general aversion to detailed speculation on the atonement, an allowance that such theorizing may have a limited role in personal edification, and the absolute rejection of any necessity that might interfere with the freedom of God's mercy.

This reticence—or we might appropriately say, 'reserve'—about theories of the atonement, however, raises a question. The atonement is a central doctrine in Western Christianity; but if theorising on it is discouraged, how does one speak of it? L.W. Grensted notes that 'exponents of the sacrificial aspect of Christ's death have never been wanting in the Church, though their language has seldom been developed into a definite theory, and it is interesting to notice how often the Anselmic satisfaction theory has itself tended to revert to sacrificial phrases and ideas.'[13] In fact, however, what the High Church tradition demonstrates is a very regular use of sacrificial imagery, not just by 'reversion' but by deliberate choice. As the earlier discussion of allegory suggests, such imagery is not, indeed, liable to 'definite theories'—for Pusey, this would be its attraction!—but there is sufficient evidence to establish a clear pattern of reliance

[12] Van Mildert, *Sermons*, 1: 101-102.

[13] Grensted, 7.

on sacrificial types in preference to more legal theories (if not entirely uninfluenced by them).

Although the High Churchmen are often cautious about allegory, this is one area where biblical precedent allowed it. So, in one place, Van Mildert establishes Christ's role as mediator and intercessor by elaborating on the pagan and Hebraic patterns of priesthood, which are fulfilled in Christ's self-offering.[14] In another, he argues that the purpose of the Law was not only to preserve the Jews from idolatry, but also 'to prepare them, by a typical and figurative service, for the acceptance of that one great atonement for sin to be effected by the promised seed.'[15] The sacrificial system of the Old Covenant 'taught, in the clearest manner, that momentous truth, that guilt could only be done away by some vicarious atonement offered up as a propitiation for sin.'[16] 'It was an intermediate dispensation between the giving of the promise and the fulfillment of that promise, shewing most clearly, by the very nature of its enactments and provisions, the guilt of sin and the necessity of a Redeemer.'[17] '[Paul] represents the Passover to have been a symbol of redemption through the blood of Christ. He raises the dignity of the Levitical sacrifices, by asserting them to have been figurative of our Lord's expiatory sacrifice upon the Cross.'[18]

The appeal to sacrificial types as models for the atonement is even stronger a generation earlier, in Jones of Nayland. Like Van Mildert after him, Jones shows an interest in the priesthood as a type of Christ, though he goes further in drawing a parallel between the life of the High Priest within the courts of the temple as a sort of

[14] Van Mildert, *Sermons*, 1: 422.

[15] Ibid., 1: 212.

[16] Ibid., 1: 215.

[17] Ibid., 1: 220

[18] Ibid., 1: 217-218.

living self-offering and Christ's self-offering to God within the true tabernacle in heaven.[19] With specific regard to sacrifice, he uses the description of Christ as the 'Lamb of God' to recall the sacrifices of Isaac and the Passover lamb, arguing that God provided in Christ 'another substitute of Isaac and of all mankind … who should taste of death for every man, and take away the sins of the world,' and providing an allegorized interpretation of the Exodus which portrays salvation as redemption from the slavery of sin.[20] Likewise, he summarizes the doctrine of Christ's sacrifice with relation to the Law: '1. That Christ is what the passover was, a lamb taken from the flock of his people. 2. That he was a sacrifice, put to death as an offering to God. 3. That this was done *for us,* for our redemption and deliverance from the divine wrath, as the passover was sacrificed for the redemption of the Hebrews, when the first born of Egypt were destroyed.'[21]

Still earlier in the eighteenth century, the same interest in sacrifice appears in Waterland's sermon, 'Christ's Sacrifice of Himself Explained.' As the title suggests, he dwells here on notions of sacrifice rather than on legal theories of the atonement. Although Waterland has 'just a hint of penal language,' he refuses 'to dogmatize upon so mysterious a subject.'[22] Instead, he emphasises that sacrifice is a gift to God, and that it was especially the obedience of Christ that was pleasing to God, while (showing some influence from the rectoral theory), he suggests that Christ's sacrifice can be understood (if not explained) as an appropriate means of our redemption, first in preserving the glory, holiness, and justice of God in requiring satisfaction for offenses, and second in

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[19] William Jones, *Figurative Language*, 91-99, 107-110, 351; *Sermons on Various Subjects and Occasions*, William Henry Walker, ed. (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1830), 2: 320.

[20] Jones, *Sermons*, 2: 83-90; emphasis in original.

[21] Jones, *Figurative Language*, 91-92; drawing on Heb. 9:24-25 and 1 Cor. 5:7.

[22] Grensted, 264-266.

making our redemption dependent on someone other than ourselves, thereby encouraging humility.[23] The frequent association of sacrifice with the victim's death is not emphasised, emerging only in Waterland's insistence that only Christ's humanity was offered (because divinity cannot suffer), and in the moral imperative that follows from Christ's sacrifice, 'to sacrifice the *old man*'—something which will become important in the next chapter.[24]

This brief survey, despite going no earlier than Waterland, should suffice to show that there is a tradition in High Church Anglicanism which relies more heavily on sacrificial than on legal imagery when speaking of the atonement. Before returning to Pusey, however, we should consider his mentor, Charles Lloyd, whose lectures on Romans provide a clear foundation for Pusey's later thought.[25] There is, for instance, a dual structure in Lloyd's soteriology similar to that later seen in Pusey: 'Our justification is ascribed to the death—to the very blood of Christ—our future salvation to his resurrection;' shortly thereafter, resurrection is equated with Christ's presence in heaven.[26] This justification is not 'effected—declared—or known, until he sat down on the right hand of his Father, and presented his sacrifice in heaven.'[27] Thus, the ascension—Christ's entry into the heavenly sanctuary (Heb. 9:24-25)—is especially important. This draws on the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement: the bull is killed, but the atonement is not made until its blood is sprinkled on the mercy seat; and so Christ's

[23] Waterland, 'Christ's Sacrifice,' 737-741, 743-744.

[24] Ibid., 740, 744-745.

[25] See above, 24.

[26] Lloyd, 'Romans,' 5:10-11.

[27] Ibid. 5:10.

atonement for humanity is made not in his death, but when, having died, he is enthroned in heaven.

Pusey's own understanding of the types which foreshadow the atonement has, of course, much in common with his High Church predecessors. But his treatment is much more complex, due to his understanding of symbolic networks, as discussed in chapter three. His preface to the major discussions of sacrifice in the 'Lectures on Types and Prophecies' places it firmly within a network of other images, all related to Christ's saving work:

> It had been perhaps misleading, had vicarious death and conquest over death been exhibited together: each was taught separately, that they might be taught purely: in that, as in Isaac, only an emblem of death, or in Moses, a punishment for their sakes but not vicarious: in the slain beasts vicarious, but not propitiatory: in the bronze serpent propitiatory, but not vicarious; all were to be united in Him who came in the likeness of sinful flesh and a sacrifice for sin to condemn sin in the flesh (Rom. 8.3).[28]

Though the role of the Law was to teach (Pusey is reinterpreting *torah*, 'teaching,' within his allegorical framework), its role was preparatory in illuminating each element

[28] Pusey, 'Types,' 89. Pusey uses both propitiation and expiation to describe the effects of sacrifice, following an established pattern in earlier Anglican theology. This may have roots in the Authorised Version, which differentiates between Old Testament כפר, 'atonement,' and New Testament ἱλαστήριον, ἱλασμός, 'propitiation.' Some, such as Van Mildert (quoted above), appear to use both interchangeably. Others, however, make a subtle distinction. Butler, followed by Edward Maltby (a Latitudinarian, Pusey's tutor after Eton and later Bishop of Durham), distinguishes between Christ's sacrifice as propitiatory, and the Old Testament sacrifices as expiatory. Butler, *Analogy*, 258; Maltby, *Sermons* (London: T. Cadell, 1819-1822), 1: 171-172. Waterland admits that the Eucharist can be called propitiatory, in a qualified or 'lax' sense, like any good work which pleases God, but only Christ's sacrifice is *properly* propitiatory (pleasing to God), or expiatory (effective to remove sin). Waterland, 'Christian Sacrifice,' 126, 148-149; 'Distinctions,' 280-282. Pusey's use reflects both of these elements. In the 'Types,' Pusey contrasts the Day of Atonement with the Passover as signifying respectively expiation and sorrow as opposed to freedom and joy; subsequent (commemorative) Passovers are propitiatory, 'as was all sacrifice … appointed by God.' And, '[a]s they were propitiatory,' so by analogy the Eucharist is 'well pleasing.' Later references to expiation are rare, but in 1844 he describes penance as expiation on the basis of Prov. 16:6. Propitiation, however, is prominent in his discussions of the eucharistic sacrifice: he identified himself with a tradition which understood propitiation to mean 'rendering God propitious'—favourable or gracious—and insisted that the Eucharist was in this sense propitiatory, although it was not *a propitiation*, which can only be said of Christ (similar to Waterland's 'lax' and 'proper' uses). This more positive sense of propitiation should not be confused with that of e.g. de la Taille (see below, 194, 209) for whom propitiation is reparatory bloodshed required for forgiveness. An awareness of such differences is reflected in the 'Types': translating '*propitiorium*' in Bellarmine, Pusey had half-written 'propitiatory,' before deciding 'expiatory' was more accurate. Pusey, 'Types,' 102-104 (quoted below, 205); *Jelf*, 68; *London*, 20-22; Pusey to Sr. Clara, June 7 1844, LBV 76.

distinctly. Their relationship with one another can only be seen in Christ; and indeed the fullness of their interrelations can only be known to God, who created them.[29] This is one dimension of these networks; another side can be seen in his treatment of the Levitical priesthood, where the image is the centre, symbolising many things. In the days of the Old Covenant, it was not only an institution, but a symbol of the holiness of God's chosen people; as a type, it foreshadowed not only the priesthood of Christ, but the holiness of the Church, and the 'future spiritual offices' of the Church's ministry.[30]

His discussion of sacrifice, however, focuses primarily on the two great festivals of the Day of Atonement and the Passover. Pusey sees the broader sacrificial system as deriving from these ceremonies—unfortunately allowing their significance as types to marginalise other rites, whereas according to his own theory, allowing an independent significance to *each* element of the sacrificial system would provide for a greater 'networking' between the significance of the various sacrifices, and thereby a deeper range of symbolic meaning in each.[31] Of these two, however, Pusey's understanding of Passover is closely linked with the Eucharist and will therefore be considered in the following chapter. And so, like Lloyd, his discussion of the atonement centres on the rituals of the Day of Atonement. Lloyd's parallel with the ascension, however, is shifted across the symbolic network associated with sacrifice to become another element associated with the Eucharist: although its imagery is from the Day of Atonement, the eternal reality of Christ's self-offering in heaven allows a connection with the repeated 'commemorative' nature of the Eucharist which Pusey draws from the Paschal type. Pusey's emphasis in the 'Types' falls instead on the instructive nature of the Atonement

[29] Pusey, 'Types,' 91-92.

[30] Ibid., 93.

[31] Ibid., 96, 100.

rituals, as seen particularly in the pair of goats: one sacrificed as a sin offering, the other sent away bearing the sins of the people. Drawing on Cyril of Alexandria, he interprets the pair as foreshadowing the duality of Christ's death and resurrected life which recurs so often in Pusey's soteriology. '[W]e hear death and life joined in the work of atonement: death for atonement to God, life for complete remission. The symbol speaks almost in the words of St. Paul, "He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. He ever liveth to make intercession for us."'[32] But, although the type is instructive, and even redeems from the penalties of the Law, it was nonetheless imperfect, as shown in its repetition and the continued reign of sin: it 'had no life to impart;' was 'outward and inadequate and transitory.'[33] Spiritual redemption was needed, which is found in Christ.

> Far different was it, when the real sacrifice was made … this was *adequate*, on account of the infinite dignity of Him, who offered it, the Eternal Son of God; it was inward, because He was the Son of Man also … He became Son of Man that we might be sons of God; and having by His sacrament made us members of Himself, his sufferings become ours, yea we share all which is His, His death, His sufferings, His life, because we are *in* Him of whom we have been made members; *in* whom we are accepted, *in* whom we have redemption (*in*, not merely *by*, nor *through* nor "for the sake of" but "*in*"), in whom we have been chosen, yea *in* whom we are.[34]

This passage shows the way in which Christ's sacrifice is shaped by the 'for us—in us' duality, being both external to us and realised within us through his sacramental indwelling. This internal aspect of sacrifice will be discussed in the following chapter. But this interaction between sacrifice and union with Christ in Pusey's theology also has its effect on how the external aspect of sacrifice is understood.

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[32] Pusey, 'Types,' 97, citing Rom. 4:25 and Heb. 7:25.

[33] Ibid., 97-98. The passage is heavily reliant on Heb. 8:1-9:14.

[34] Ibid., 98, citing Eph. 1:4, 6-7; emphasis Pusey's. In the MS, 'His sacrament' replaces 'Baptism,' which is struck out.

Atonement and Union

A deeper exploration of this interaction can be seen in Pusey's University Sermon, 'The Doctrine of the Atonement.' This sermon serves as a fascinating case-study in how he could maintain a thoroughly traditional position, while re-thinking most of the arguments made to support it—a traditionalism subtly subversive of its inherited tradition. On a superficial reading, the sermon appears to state a straightforward Anselmian understanding of the atonement as satisfaction; but careful attention shows that such an interpretation produces contradictions within the sermon itself. While Pusey insists (with Anselm) that the cross is the cause for our forgiveness and the means of our satisfaction, Anselm's arguments are either rejected or altered by the influence of the unitive aspect of Pusey's theology, so that the atonement is most fully a demonstration of God's love, rather than of his wrath, and God's justice is defined by that love.

In this sermon, Pusey is arguing against the position that 'the Satisfaction was … rather the cause than the fruit of the love of God for his creature man'—a position which Pusey attributes incidentally to 'the Arian poet' John Milton.[35] Pusey's arguments are not directed against Milton, however, but against Benjamin Jowett, as is made clear when he responds to Jowett's argument that union with Christ makes a vicarious atonement impossible. This response includes a lengthy quotation from Karl Friedrich August Fritsche, as 'one, who studied for many years the teaching of St. Paul, but, alas! apparently as a scholar only, studying St. Paul as he might any other book,' but who concluded that 'vicariousness' was indeed Paul's teaching—a not-so-subtle jab both at Jowett's position in *Essays and Reviews*, and at his depth of biblical

[35] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 232-234.

scholarship.[36] But, in fact, Pusey is responding to Jowett throughout the sermon, as an early footnote makes clear, in which Pusey quotes Jowett's commentary on St. Paul, with explanatory interpolations, as the full statement of the problem to be addressed:

> The doctrine of the Atonement … has often been explained in a way at which our moral feelings revolt. God is represented as angry with us, for what we never did [original sin]. He is ready to inflict a disproportionate punishment on us for what we are, [sinners by our own actual sins]. He is satisfied by the sufferings of His Son in our stead. Christ is a victim laid on the altar to appease the wrath of God. He is further said to bear the infinite punishment of infinite sin, When He had suffered or paid the penalty, God is described as granting Him the salvation of mankind in return.[37]

Pusey passes over several of Jowett's sentences, however: after 'in our stead,' he omits reference to the imputation of Adam's sin and Christ's righteousness; and both before and after 'Christ is a victim … to appease the wrath of God,' he omits statements linking Christ's death with the Old Testament sacrifices. The omitted statements appear to be points with which Pusey agrees; he quotes the portions that he criticises in his sermon. This continued agreement with understanding Christ's death through the sacrificial types suggests, as his conclusion will show, that this sermon is implicitly an attempt to rescue a doctrine of sacrifice from Jowett's harshly negative portrayal.

Pusey's response opens by emphasising the unity of the persons of the Trinity in mind, will, and action; and the hypostatic union of Christ's divinity and his humanity. While his actions may be attributable to either his human or his divine nature, they are actions of Christ's one *person*, and therefore acts of the Triune God, known and decided upon in eternity. So Jowett's separation between the wrathful Father and the redeeming Son is impossible to maintain—our redemption is as much an act of the Father's love as

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[36] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 254-260; Benjamin Jowett, 'On the Interpretation of Scripture,' *Essays and Reviews*, 338; *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans* (London: John Murray, 1894), 2: 47-51.

[37] Ibid., 234-235; quoting Jowett, *Epistles*, 2: 317; bracketed words are Pusey's insertions.

the Son's.[38] Such a correction would likely serve to rebut the misinterpretations Pusey is addressing, but he may have thought that a mere rebuttal would not shape the minds of his hearers so well as a full explanation of the doctrine. In any case, this clarification merely serves as an introduction, and it is in the remainder of the sermon that Pusey's reinterpretation of traditional satisfaction theory comes to full bloom.

Pusey begins by rejecting any necessity in God's actions. With Anselm and the tradition that follows from him, he admits that 'sin has a sort of infinity of evil, as being done against the Infinite Majesty of the All-holy God.'[39] However, he rejects any necessity in God, insisting instead on divine freedom. And so, he acknowledges positively the positions which hold that God might have forgiven sin without satisfaction, or on 'the imperfect satisfaction of a holy but mere man,' or on the perfect satisfaction of one mere human, *accepted for* humanity though not in itself adequate for all humanity—a major contrast with Anselm, who acknowledges God's freedom from *external* constraint, but insists that the *internal* self-consistency of God's justice makes adequate recompense a necessary requirement of forgiveness.[40] But for Pusey, the 'way, which God has chosen, is eminent in these things, that no other way could so impress on us the heinousness of sin and the holiness of God, or the love of God for us, sinners as we are, or could so issue in the renewal of our nature and our union with God.'[41]

We can see here some influence from the rectoral theory of the atonement, in that Christ's death on the cross is, in a way, educational, as a demonstration of God's nature. But it is not, as was said of the rectoral theory, 'to demonstrate God's justice and

[38] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 232-234.

[39] Ibid., 236-237; cf. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo?* 1.13, 1.20-21, 2.6.

[40] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 235-236; cf. Anselm, 1.12, 1.19-20; David Brown, 'Anselm on Atonement,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, ed. Brian Davies and Brian Leftow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 284.

[41] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 237.

his hatred of sin,' but the *gravity* of sin against the God who loves us, and God's love for us, that are taught by the cross. The point that truly merits attention, however, is Pusey's emphasis on 'the renewal of our nature.' It is in this context that Pusey continues his argument:

> You know what you were by nature, aliens from God, at enmity with God, turned away and (it is the Scripture term) 'haters of God.' Man could not redeem man, because he had himself that great debt upon him. Man, even if one were created anew, free from that original stain and in a state of grace, could not redeem man, because he owed himself and all which he was, already to God. This, then, is what is meant by the doctrine of satisfaction: not that God was under any necessity to redeem man, but that, if He did, for the redemption of the whole race of man there was needed a Divine Redeemer.[42]

Here again we hear echoes of Anselm; but again, Pusey has shifted the thrust of his argument away from the traditional satisfaction theory. For Anselm and those who followed him, the concern was redemption from punishment for sin.[43] However, Pusey has just been arguing that forgiveness and freedom from punishment are of God's free grace, not constrained by any necessity, even the necessity of a divinely made satisfaction. So he cannot here be speaking about forgiveness; rather, the clue lies in his emphasis on what we are by *nature*, and our need for a renewed nature—we need to be redeemed, not from punishment, but from sin and its corruption.[44] This theme is made stronger as Pusey goes on to speak of our inability to offer our whole selves as we ought, as a 'sickness' or 'wound' in need of a physician.[45] So, despite outward similarities to Anselm, Pusey's underlying thought is in fact closer to the maxim of Gregory Nazianzen, 'that which He has not assumed He has not healed; but that which

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[42] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 240-241, quoting Rom. 1:30.

[43] Cf. Anselm, 1.11. See also 2.6, for comparison with Pusey's argument.

[44] Elsewhere, Pusey holds that we are redeemed (primarily) *from* 'an endless antipathy and rebellion and loss of God, our only Good,' *to* the beatific vision—the fullness of joy and love in union with God, and the full knowledge of God's love. Pusey, 'Jesus, the Redeemer, and His Redeemed,' in *Lenten Sermons*, 422-428.

[45] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 241-242.

is united to His Godhead is also saved.'[46] The post-Anselmian tradition came to use 'satisfaction' in a more punitive sense—as, for instance, in the early twentieth-century Roman Catholic theologian Maurice de la Taille, who defined it as *punishment*, required together with propitiation (reparation) for forgiveness, by removing the debt and the guilt of sin.[47] Pusey appears to have redefined 'satisfaction' according to an earlier patristic sense, close to that of Tertullian, which sees it in terms of returning to a right relationship with God.[48] Despite the differences noted above, on this point Pusey appears closer to Anselm than later interpreters such as de la Taille: for Anselm as well, satisfaction *itself* appears to be more concerned with compensation for the neglected worship properly due to God.[49]

In Pusey's early correspondence with Blomfield, his difficulties were with the notion of the cross as an 'infinite satisfaction' made to God's justice. Blomfield had insisted both on satisfaction and its connection with God's justice, but allowed some flexibility in how they were understood; and accordingly, just as he had reworked his understanding of satisfaction, Pusey goes on to redefine his understanding of God's justice—or perhaps more accurately, to reorient it. After describing the sickness of sin, cured by Christ the physician, he continues, 'And in that remedy, God so willed that His own justice should be shown, as well as his mercy and tender love … And yet how

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[46] Gregory Nazianzen, Ep. 101 (NPNF).

[47] Maurice de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith: Regarding the Most August Sacrament and Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1940), 1: 10-11.

[48] Tertullian is credited with introducing the term to theology, with reference to repentance for post-baptismal sin, for instance, connecting 'satisfaction' with the return of the prodigal son to his father. Tertullian, *On Repentance* 8, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Edinburgh, T&T Clark), 3: 663-664. The likely source of the term's ambiguity lies in its different uses in Roman law: 'Tertullian's doctrine of "satisfaction" may have come from Roman private law, where it referred to the amends one made to another for failing to discharge on obligation, or from Roman public law, which enabled the term to be interpreted as a form of punishment.' Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 1: 147.

[49] David Brown, 'Anselm,' 290-295.

depth answereth to depth! The depths of God's aweful Justice and holiness stream forth in His aweful love.' Pusey goes on to clarify his meaning, that God's righteousness is shown primarily in making righteous.[50] Paradoxically, the essence of God's justice is not punishment, but forgiveness:

> From first to last, St. Paul's theme is the righteousness of God Himself. It had to be explained how God could be righteous and yet forgive sin. It is not, as elsewhere, the love of God, although God's love shines not even in Heaven itself with such a divine tender lustre, as from the Cross. It is the 'righteousness of God,' which had been made manifest. To the unseared conscience the forgiveness of sin is a greater mystery than sin itself. We are, alas! too much at home with sin to be surprised at any thing about it. Damnation is no mystery to the soul which feels separate from God. Darkness transelemented into light, hate transformed into love, ghastliness of sin transformed into the beauty of holiness, deserved displeasure issuing into the overpowering, sin-forgiving, sin-annihilating love of God, this is the mystery of mysteries, which 'Angels desire to look into,' which man could scarcely dare believe.[51]

This is not to say that God's justice has nothing to do with punishment, however. Punishment is due to sin. '[I]t was to God's just judgment, that our lives were forfeited.' But, 'what was justly due to our sins, Christ paid; the punishment that we deserved, Christ bore. For Christ, the Innocent, Who owed nothing, took the place of us the guilty.'[52] This is how Pusey defines the vicarious 'satisfaction to the Divine justice.'[53] But, as we have seen, Pusey saw no necessity for *someone* to be punished, in order for God to forgive us; and our redemption is not primarily from punishment, but from sin. So the fact that Christ 'took the place of the guilty,' becomes first and foremost an expression of love, freely given. There are echoes once again of the patristic understanding of satisfaction as Pusey draws the sermon to a close: Man, even in his perfection, owes 'himself and all which he was,' to God; yet 'we were all sinners,

[50] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 242-245.

[51] Ibid., 243-244.

[52] Ibid., 246.

[53] Ibid.

and had nothing to offer.'[54] But 'God so loveth the service of our free will that it lay in the plan of salvation which He chose, that Jesus should with His Human Will choose freely to offer Himself as a Sacrifice for sin.'[55] Just as Tertullian links satisfaction with the return of the prodigal to his Father, Pusey links satisfaction—or as he puts it elsewhere in the sermon, 'propitiatory sacrifice'—with the restoration of human self-offering to God; with the single addition that the offering of the divine Son of God is infinite, and so is able not only to offer sacrifice on his own account, but to fill up all that is lacking on the part of humanity because of sin.[56] 'The infinite love of the satisfaction of Jesus remedies that quasi-infinity of evil, which sin has from "the infinity of the Divine Majesty, against which the contempt of disobedience offended, and the infinite good which is forfeited, which is, God."'[57]

Pusey's understanding of the atonement, then, rejects the *necessity* of satisfaction for God's forgiveness, and in so doing, redefines satisfaction as the restoration of right relationship with God, rather than a recompense to avert punishment, and reorients God's justice away from the punishment of sin, towards its fulfilment in redeeming love. Rather, the cross is the means by which God chooses to give his forgiveness (not the necessary precondition for it); Christ bears the punishment due to sin as the expression of God's love, while in giving of himself even unto death, he restores humanity's self-denying and self-giving relationship of love, obedience, and sacrifice towards God. Because he chose death freely as man, humanity is restored in him (recapitulated); because he is God, his self-offering is sufficient for all mankind.

[54] Pusey, 'Atonement,' 240-242.

[55] Ibid., 260-261.

[56] Ibid., 242-243, discussing Rom. 3:21-26.

[57] Ibid., 242, quoting Bernard, *On the Nativity*, Sermon 3.

Though only hinted at in this sermon, the realisation of this redemption in each Christian through the participation of the Christian life in Christ's sacrifice, is, as the next chapter will show, an important element in his spirituality.

This reinterpretation certainly has interest in its own right; for the purposes of this study, however, it is possible to trace once again the formative influences. We can see repeated here the same elements already identified. The sacrificial theme which he inherited from the High Churchmen is the culminating point of his reflections on satisfaction and divine justice, and one can speculate that their adherence to this biblical type instead of an over-reliance on legal model may have provided the flexibility for Pusey's redefinitions. His modifications themselves are driven by his understanding of divine love and union with Christ; and while the internal tensions which characterised his understanding of the Eucharist (for instance) are less in evidence here, atonement is clearly one among several aspects of Christ's work 'for us,' which is itself balanced by Christ's work 'in us,' and so participates on several levels in the networking of images and ideas which undergirds his appreciation for allegory. Pusey's preoccupation with love, which redirected the atonement away from penal concerns similarly affected his understanding of hell: his last major work begins with the premise that we can be separated from God's presence, but never his love—hell is not the loss of God's love, but hatred of it.[58]

But beyond this, Pusey's articulation of the atonement shows his interest as a transitional figure in nineteenth century theology. The beginning of the century showed a variety of satisfaction, penal, and rectoral theories; by the end of the century, the moral theory was finally gaining respectability as a major interpretation of the

[58]Pusey, *Everlasting Punishment*, 2-5.

atonement. Despite a long-standing history as a complement to other aspects of the atonement, earlier attempts to emphasise this perspective (by Abelard and Faustus Socinus) attracted widespread condemnation; acceptance came with works such as R.C. Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*, which combined the earlier attention to moral renewal with a greater emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit and the indwelling of Christ. Pusey's reorientation of a traditional 'external' model towards Christ's indwelling places him in the middle of this change.

Moberly, however, is an interesting figure to consider with regard to the Tractarians' role in this evolution: growing up, his father's parish neighboured Keble's, and the two families were on visiting terms; he went on to become a contributor to *Lux Mundi*, a volume which attempted to wed Tractarian theology to an endorsement of modern critical scholarship.[59] But beyond these connections, there are specific similarities between his argument and the teaching of the Oxford Movement. With regard to the Movement generally, we can note a strong emphasis on union with Christ, as mediated by the sacraments; his understanding of the eucharistic presence is very similar to Pusey's.[60] Beyond this, the Tractarian concern with *phronesis* shows itself in his rejection of reason as a mere 'infantile' playing with logic, in favour of a pre-Enlightenment emphasis on wisdom and the discernment of truth, the full realisation of which requires submission to and communion with God.[61] In an ingenious extension of this principle, Moberly rejects freedom as the ability to choose *anything*; rather, free

[59] *DNB*.

[60] Robert Campbell Moberly, *Atonement and Personality* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1906), 154-205, 254-276.

[61] Ibid., 234, 242.

will is the ability to act in such a way as to make the action truly one's own, which is determined by the way in which character and discernment have been formed.[62]

In terms of similarities with Pusey in particular, there is his understanding of penitence as an expression of love. However, the related idea of Christ as the perfect penitent, repentant on our behalf though not for himself, goes beyond anything Pusey suggests; for him, penitence, though it may be corporate, is never a characteristic of either the sinless Christ, or of the Church as it is in him.[63] The 'absolute and irreparable' 'antithesis of righteousness against unrighteousness' (in Moberly's words) is a common theme in Pusey.[64] And in matters more closely related to the atonement itself, we can see similarities in the assertion that forgiveness is not earned, but freely given, and in the belief that 'objective' and 'subjective' aspects of the atonement are complementary and linked to one another by the gift of the Holy Spirit—although in Moberly, this is more a reflection on the history of the doctrine, than the structural principle found in Pusey.[65] There are also differences: Moberly allows more of a mind-body dualism than Pusey would have, in suggesting that bodily sickness, unlike sin, is not truly a sickness of the self; and he betrays a progressive note when he suggests that the truths of past ages have been surpassed by the 'mature consciousness' of modern man.[66] Despite these differences, however (and it can be observed that the differences are more with Pusey in particular, than with the Tractarians generally, if Newman's philosophical disposition is recalled), the combination of these similar beliefs with his personal contacts makes a

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[62] Moberly, 222. For another Tractarian perspective foreshadowing Moberly, see R.I. Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of the Incarnation*, especially pp. 9-114 on 'Christ, the Pattern Man.'

[63] Moberly, 28-30, 117-131.

[64] Ibid., 14.

[65] Ibid., 58-63, 136-153.

[66] Ibid., 32, 50.

strong case for the influence of the Oxford Movement in general, and at least an indirect influence from Pusey himself.

What especially marks Pusey as a transitional figure, however, is his balance between a more traditional external account of the atonement and its inward realisation: between Christ's work for us and in us. While some acknowledgement of internal change has always accompanied the doctrine of the atonement, Pusey has clearly shifted strongly in that direction. But he has not moved all the way: the repeated insistence (in one form or another) on *both* the external and the internal aspects of Christ's work shows this clearly. Even in Christ's death 'for us,' there are recapitulatory elements which prepare the way for what is internal, but there are also aspects which are more 'purely' external. Christ's sacrifice restores humanity's proper sacrifice to God, but it is also the means and expression of God's forgiveness, distinct from his inward renewal, and it is such because Christ takes on the punishment due to human sin. A further element of externality can be found even in Pusey's understanding of union with Christ. Christ's sacrifice is, in one sense at least, without us: we participate in it, and it is ours because we are in him, but it is not ours apart from him; justification is *both* outward declaration and inward transformation, though these are in fact (if not in definition) inseparable. This shift in emphasis from a strongly external approach to the atonement towards one which involves internal moral change, but retains external elements, shows that Pusey is not only temporally between the beginning and end of the century, but doctrinally as well.

Pusey's understanding of the atonement through sacrificial models which are further shaped by his understanding of union with Christ highlights another aspect of his continuity with, but development from, the earlier High Church tradition. Indeed, since

union with Christ was present in High Church thought (as the discussions of Baptism and the Eucharist have shown), his position, though differing from theirs, may nonetheless be seen as a legitimate development *of* that tradition. This in turn highlights his role as a transitional figure in the nineteenth century's doctrinal developments. But whereas it has been supposed that Pusey was a harsh and grim theologian, his rapturous discourse on divine love paints a very different picture: even the justice of God is fulfilled in showing love and mercy. Beyond these matters, however, we see the once again the importance of allegory in Pusey's thought, both directly in the appeal to the sacrifices of the Old Testament as an alternative to legal models for interpreting the atonement, and indirectly through the 'for us—in us' distinction which shows the importance of multiple, mutually informing models in his theology. In Pusey's articulation of the atonement, these direct and indirect aspects of his allegorical approach to theology interact: Christ's sacrifice is both for us and in us. Christ's *sacrifice* as it is 'for us' has been discussed in this chapter; to complete a discussion of the core of Pusey's theology it now remains only to consider Christ's sacrifice in us, and our participation in it.

Chapter Seven

Sacrifice and the Sacraments

The previous chapter demonstrated how Pusey's High Church roots and his interest in allegory combined with an emphasis on union with Christ to shape his understanding of the atonement. This chapter provides a counterpart: Pusey's soteriology is built on the dual emphases of Christ's work *for us* and *in us*, and if the cross is Christ's sacrifice *for us*, the question remains as to how his sacrifice is realised *in us*. Part two of this thesis showed that in Pusey's thought, Christ's work *for us* is associated with the Incarnation, and his work *in us* principally with the sacraments. Accordingly, this chapter will examine the way in which elements of older High Church theology, combined with an allegorical reading of Scripture and Pusey's characteristic emphasis on union with Christ, connect Christ's sacrifice with the dominical sacraments. With regard to the Eucharist this is expected—although Pusey's doctrine, derived from earlier Anglican tradition and shaped by his appeal to Old Testament types, is very different from a classic Roman Catholic presentation of the eucharistic sacrifice. But there is a sacrificial aspect to Baptism as well. This is less obvious, and receives no explicit discussion; but a careful study of Pusey's allegorical descriptions of the sacrament, and of its gift of the Holy Spirit, reveals a pattern of thought which allows communion itself to become sacrificial. Because Pusey's discussions of the eucharistic sacrifice are more open and his sacrificial ideas about Baptism more implicit, the Eucharist provides an easier entry into this discussion, from which we can then move to consider Baptism and the way the sacrificial motifs discernible there might add to what is already said about the Eucharist.

Sacrifice and the Eucharist

Pusey's understanding of the atonement relies heavily on Old Testament types, reaching back to Abraham, but focusing on the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement. A similar pattern can be seen with regard to the eucharistic sacrifice. Again, he begins with Abraham; but with Abraham's tithe to Melchizedek rather than with the sacrifice of Isaac. Whereas Isaac and Melchizedek—the victim and the priest—are types of Christ, Abraham is a type of the Church. Accordingly, Christ (corresponding to Melchizedek) is the priest of the Eucharistic offering, and Abraham's tribute suggests that the Church offers its sacrifice through him.[1] The 'shewbread' within the holy place foreshadowed the Eucharist, 'in that it was an "unbloody offering," accompanied with frankincense, the representation of prayer, that it was continually before the Lord, that it was offered by the whole congregation … that it was eaten, in the holy place, and by men only who were at all events ritually holy and purified for the partaking of it—the priests,' parallel to the continuous offering of bread and wine, with prayer, by the Church; and, while the table of incense told of the Day of Atonement's sacrifices by which it was hallowed, the 'shewbread' echoed the Passover, as an offering of bread (recalling the unleavened bread) that was to be 'eaten entire,' like the Passover lamb (Ex.12:10).[2] Again, the 'meal offering' in particular—and especially when accompanied by a drink offering—foreshadows the Eucharist by its very elements; and just as in the Eucharist, those elements symbolise our spiritual nourishment by God; though not, in the Old Covenant, actually conveying it. Pusey draws particular attention to Malachi's

[1] Pusey, 'Types,' 72-73.

[2] Ibid., 111.

prophecy of a 'pure offering' (1:11) as foretelling the offering of the Eucharist by Gentiles, in contrast to the Jewish sacrifices at Jerusalem.[3]

However, as Pusey's principal type of the atonement was the ritual of the Day of Atonement, his main eucharistic type is the Passover. This celebration serves as a counterpart to the Day of Atonement: while both represent liberation from death by 'similar vicarious suffering,' 'the one represented humiliation, the other joy; the one the expiation of sin, the other the setting free of the sinner.'[4] But the Passover, unlike the Day of Atonement, 'partakes of a double character;' it had not only an annual celebration, but also a single historic event to which the annual celebration referred, and this duality produced a slight difference in the nature of the Paschal celebration when compared to the Day of Atonement. The first Passover was, in the strictest sense, a vicarious sacrifice: the lamb was slaughtered in place of the first-born children of Israel, and through this sacrifice Israel won redemption from bondage. 'The other passovers [sic],' however, 'were also sacrifices, but rather sacrifices commemorative of a vicarious sacrifice, than in themselves strictly vicarious. Their main office was to keep in mind that first sacrifice … Yet these subsequent Passovers were not only *feasts* but sacrifices, and "feasts upon a sacrifice."' These subsequent sacrifices were '*commemorative* and representative only of a vicarious sacrifice, yet although no longer vicarious, still propitiatory, as was all sacrifice, and all shedding of blood, appointed by God.'[5] It is through this duality that the Passover prefigures the Eucharist: 'As those subsequent Passovers were commemorations of the first, so is the Lord's Supper of the death of Christ; as they were commemorative and not vicarious, so is this; as they

[3] Pusey, 'Types,' 112-114; cf. *Minor Prophets*, 2: 471-474.

[4] Pusey, 'Types,' 102.

[5] Ibid., 102-103; emphasis Pusey's.

furnished sustenance, so does this; as they yet were propitiatory to God, so is the offering of the elements, as shewing forth the death of our Redeemer and Intercessor, well pleasing to Him.'[6]

Pusey emphasises, however, that the commemoration in the Eucharist is distinct from the element of sacramental participation.

> As in the Passover, so in the Eucharist; first that whereof the sacrifice consists, in the Passover, the lamb, in the Eucharist, the bread and wine, both alike symbolic of the Body and Blood of Christ, are first offered to God. … Then God gives them back in nourishment to His people, only to the Jews in type, to Christians in reality, to the Jews the nourishment of the body, to Christians to the strengthening and refreshing of the soul also, through the Body and Blood of Christ.[7]

This distinction, however, is perhaps better seen as clarifying two aspects of a single eucharistic action, than as separating two distinct actions. Although he laments the tendency of some Protestants to collapse the commemoration into the act of communion, he also notes that the fathers make a close link between the 'one sacrifice of the cross' and 'our daily refreshment through Christ's blood, derived from it;' while 'from their vivid perception of the relations between the several Christian truths,' they 'glide imperceptibly from the mention of the one to the other, or speak of the one under the form of the other.' The root of this, he notes, is Christ's presence in the symbols with which the commemoration is offered. '[A]lthough Christ does not now seem to be offered, yet he is offered on earth, when the body of Christ is offered;' indeed, Christ himself makes the offering, 'inasmuch as his word sacrifices the sacrifice which is offered.'[8]

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[6] Pusey, 'Types,' 103. On 'well pleasing' as parallel to 'propitiatory,' see above, 187 n. 28.

[7] Ibid., 104.

[8] Ibid., 107. Pusey appears to have held this doctrine into the late 1860s, see *Minor Prophets*, 472. However, his understanding of the Eucharistic sacrifice becomes difficult to trace in later years. *London* defends the description of the eucharistic offering as, in a limited sense, 'propitiatory' (see above, 187 n. 28) other statements are either concise affirmations of the eucharistic sacrifice, shaped by political considerations (which however remain very close to his earlier statements); or they are dialectical

This discussion of the Passover provides the foundation for Pusey's understanding of the Eucharist as a 'commemorative sacrifice.' This concept, however, allows for the interaction of the two main sacrificial types, because the Paschal event commemorated in the Eucharist is also the Christian Day of Atonement. This is the point at which we see the influence of Lloyd's understanding of the atonement as the offering of Christ's sacrifice in heaven.[9] Pusey connects this imagery from the Day of Atonement with the Passover, emphasising that our commemoration is not only internal, but an external act before God; it is performed not only in words, but symbolically, through our actions and through the eucharistic bread and wine. 'It is no small thing that we present unto God in figure, that whereof Christ our great High Priest presents the reality continually—the figure or memorials of that sacrifice, which was offered for the sins of the world.'[10] This theme is picked up in Tract 81, where, after his eucharistic interpretation of the Passover, he describes the commemoration 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.'[11] Within this framework, the relation of commemoration and communion in the Eucharist can be described thus: 'They first offered to God His gifts, in commemoration of that His inestimable gift, and placed them on His altar here, to be received and presented on the Heavenly Altar by Him, our High Priest; and then, trusted to receive them back,

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discussions of Protestant and Roman Catholic writers, which avoid direct statement of his own views. *London*, 20-36; 'Will Ye?' 26-27; *Eirenicon I*, 25-31; *Eirenicon III*, 88-90.

[9] See above, 186-187.

[10] Pusey, 'Types,' 106. It is notable that the appeal to Christ's entry into the holy place, so central to Lloyd's thought on the Atonement, appears not in Pusey's direct treatment of the Atonement, but primarily in his eucharistic teaching. See also *Eleven Addresses During a Retreat of the Companions of the Love of Jesus* (Oxford: James Parker, 1868), 57-58.

[11] Pusey, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 5.

conveying to them the life-giving Body and Blood.'[12] So, as Baptism begins and the Eucharist nourishes the Christian life, our Baptismal participation in Christ's self-offering appears to be enacted, and thereby strengthened, in the Eucharist. And just as Pusey emphasises the life-death duality with regard to the Day of Atonement, in the Eucharist, we gain life through participating in Christ's offering of his death. Both of these, however, are mediated to us through the central idea of the commemorative sacrifice.

Supporting this, however, is Pusey's vision of our union with Christ, not merely as individuals, but as the Church.

> [I]t is not accidental that the Christian Church is called by the same as the Eucharist—the Body of Christ; for Christ dwelleth in the Church, and it visibly exhibits Him, and He imparteth Himself through the Eucharist as the outward and visible sign; and the Priest, in presenting the sacred symbols of Christ's passion, presenteth them as the tokens of God's loving-kindness to the Church, which is a part of Christ and in Christ. Where Christ is, there in a measure is His Church; the Church is to share in the sufferings of Christ, not vicariously, but as part of Him; the Church is offered and presented by Christ, to the Father. In one way, there is then a difference between the offering of the symbols of Christ's Body and of His mystical Body, the Church; in another they take place together, and may be well opposed to other sacrifices. And so in the Old Testament, the sacrificer offered himself, and his sacrifice, as supplying what was lacking in himself; so also in the New Testament not only is Christ typically offered, but the Church also.[13]

There is a careful balance to be preserved, however. Augustine, for instance, 'neither identifies the sacrifice of the Cross with that of the Altar, nor that of the members of Christ with the Head, although he speaks as one who saw them to be intimately blended together; and the fact that he would seem to have blended what one might term the two extremes of interpretation, sufficiently shews that he did in fact confound neither.' Rather, he 'does not mean so to identify these sacrifices, as to merge in the lower the mystery of the higher, but rather represents the lower as contained within the mystery of

[12] Pusey, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 6.

[13] Pusey, 'Types,' 107-108.

the higher.'[14] The Eucharist is not the cross, but participates in it; the cross is not the Eucharist, but contains it. The self-offering of the Church participates in, and is contained by, the self-offering of Christ. There is a paradox, that although Christ suffered vicariously *for us,* we share in his sufferings 'not vicariously, but as part of Him,' through his work *in us*. Yet as Christ's work *for us* centres on the cross, and his work *in us* flows from the new life of the resurrection, ultimately we come around to the Day of Atonement's duality of life and death. Christ offers his death for us; we offer to God our new life, through his death. 'We have offered up "ourselves, our souls and bodies," on the Altar of His Cross, as "a reasonable, holy, and living Sacrifice" unto God, to be united with His Atoning Sacrifice, and consumed by the Fire of His Love.'[15]

As with Pusey's understanding of the real presence, however, there is a lurking question about his doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice. Just as his emphatic realism about Christ's presence in the Eucharist has been mistaken for the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, holding *a* doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice is often taken as holding *the* Roman Catholic doctrine. It has been shown, however, that his *rapprochement* with Rome regarding the real presence was nonetheless characterised by very 'protestant' concerns, even late in his life; and comparison with Waterland and Calvin showed the Reformed lineage evident even in Pusey's fully developed eucharistic theology. The same pattern appears here: comparison with what has become a classic Roman Catholic statement of the eucharistic sacrifice shows how strongly Pusey differs from such a theoretical framework, while Waterland is again much closer.

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[14] Pusey, 'Types,' 108.

[15] Pusey, 'Increased Communions,' in *Parochial Sermons I*, 325.

A Roman Catholic perspective is provided by Maurice de la Taille, whose work *The Mystery of Faith*, although written a few decades after Pusey's death, presents a traditional Roman Catholic understanding of the eucharistic sacrifice which is still cited today. He begins by distinguishing between sacrifice as an act of worship ('latreutic,' containing elements of both thanksgiving and petition), and as an act of propitiation.[16] Propitiation requires blood: the death of the victim symbolises both the restoration of the spiritual order over the physical, and the fact that the consequence of sin is death. As propitiation only becomes necessary in consequence of sin, the latreutic sense of sacrifice is primary, and its essential feature is not death, but the act of offering. Given the reality of sin, however, the propitiatory aspect of sacrifice becomes ubiquitous, and the immolation of the victim becomes inextricably linked with the offering.[17] 'The victim IS EITHER OFFERED TO BE IMMOLATED, OR IS OFFERED BY IMMOLATION, OR IS OFFERED AS IMMOLATED.'[18] This is then followed by God's acceptance of the offering—symbolised in the Old Testament by placing the sacrifice on the altar, or by its burning—and a partaking of the sacrifice, which signifies both God's answer to our prayers, and our corporate fellowship with him.[19] Understood in this *schema*, Christ's self-offering signifies 'the dedication of the human race to God and the alienation of the human race from sin,' while as the perfect and highest possible offering it is 'the most effective to appease the divine majesty.'[20] Christ's sacrifice is perfect, in part, because it is voluntary, which requires that he was living when the sacrifice was made; so the suffering of his Passion, as leading to his Death, is the

[16] De la Taille, 1: 1-10. 'Propitiation' here is used in a sense different from Pusey's; see above, 187 n. 28.

[17] Ibid., 1: 10-11.

[18] Ibid., 1: 14; emphasis his.

[19] Ibid., 1: 15-22.

[20] Ibid., 1: 34, 36-38.

sacrifice, rather than the death itself; i.e., Christ offers himself 'to be immolated.'[21] Both the resurrection and the ascension mark God's acceptance of Christ's sacrifice.[22] De la Taille emphasises, however, that in order fully to be a sacrifice, there must be a clear act of offering. Although Christ's suffering and death constitute his *immolation*, the only explicit act of *offering* among the events of the Passion is in the Last Supper.[23]

Here, de la Taille finds specific references to offering in the separate mention of Christ's body and blood—symbolizing Christ's death—in the Institution of the Eucharist; and especially in the statements that Christ's blood is shed 'for many,' 'for the remission of sins'—which indicate a propitiatory intent. In addition, he draws an analogy with the Passover, as initiating a covenant; and with Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine, which he interprets through John 6:51-59: 'Therefore, before Christ was to give His Flesh with the bread as food, He was to give it over to death in sacrifice, for the life of the world; and He was to give it as bread.'[24] Beyond these allegorical considerations, Judas' betrayal (the initiating event of the Passion) occurred at the Supper; and Jesus' High Priestly Prayer (John 17) links the Supper with the Passion. Christ's prayer, 'Let this cup pass from me,' reflects that having offered himself in the Supper, he was from then on bound to be immolated in the Passion.[25] So, in the Last Supper there is a representative slaying of Christ, which constitutes a real offering of his future immolation.[26] As offering and immolation together form a single sacrifice, the symbolic offering of the bread and wine is united to the real offering of Christ's body

[21] De la Taille, 1: 40-41.

[22] Ibid., 1: 185-201.

[23] Ibid., 1: 41-46.

[24] Ibid., 1: 51-115; quotation 110.

[25] Ibid., 1: 117-125.

[26] Ibid., 1: 51.

and blood; the bread and wine are not merely symbolic, but actually show what they represent, and so Christ's body and blood must be truly present in the eucharistic elements, as much at the Last Supper as in the Eucharist.[27]

However, if the sacrifices of the Old Testament were offered *by* immolation, and in the Last Supper Christ offered himself *to be* immolated, in the Eucharist, Christ is offered by the Church *as* immolated, eternally God's accepted victim in heaven (a classification which, incidentally, shows the circularity of his reasoning). In this, the Eucharist differs from Christ's offering of himself in the Passion as foretelling differs from commemoration—although 'it is one and the same thing to offer the Body of Christ as having suffered and died in the Passion, as to offer the Passion and death of the Body; it is the same to offer Christ as Victim of a past immolation, as to offer that immolation itself.'[28] More importantly, whereas Christ is the true priest, the Church's priesthood is derived from his, and so the Passion and the Eucharist relate to each other as a principal sacrifice which has 'propitiatory and latreutic power,' and a subordinate sacrifice, which applies to us the effects of that primary sacrifice.[29] The sacrificial nature of the Mass is further supported by arguments that it offers the same victim of the Passion by offering Christ; that in it, communicants partake of the same sacrificial victim; that Christ is, in heaven, an eternal victim just as he is the eternal priest; and finally, that as Christ's offering was accepted by God in the resurrection and ascension, the sanctification and future glorification imparted by communion indicate that we partake of his body.[30]

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[27] De la Taille, 1: 136-153.

[28] Ibid., 2: 23-24.

[29] Ibid., 2: 24-26.

[30] Ibid., 2: 93-184; cf. 1: 195-201.

In contrast, Waterland's understanding of the eucharistic sacrifice relies on the distinction between material and spiritual sacrifices. This is not, as it might seem, a division between the external and internal, or the physical and the psychological. Rather, it is an expression of the allegorical distinction between type and reality: the 'spiritual' is 'serving God in *newness* of *spirit*, not in the *oldness* of the *letter*.'[31] There is some tension here, however. Although the word 'spiritual' may be applied to material things (as the 'spiritual body' in 1 Cor. 15:44), the 'spiritual sacrifice' is not material, which would risk collapsing the distinction between type and antitype.[32] Rather, what is 'spiritual' pertains to God's redeeming work in the New Covenant, especially his renewing work within us and the actions that flow from it. The Eucharist is a spiritual sacrifice, which is performed outwardly, with material things; but the bread and wine themselves are not spiritual sacrifices.

This emphasis on the *action* of offering allows for a broader concept of sacrifice: all Christian acts done to God, whether of good works, prayer, or self-denial, are spiritual sacrifices.[33] This does not, however, deprive the Eucharist of its central place. While the good works of Christians can be described as acts of self-offering to God in a general sense, the Eucharist is emphatically the self-oblation of the Church—the good works of Christians are gathered up in the Eucharist.[34] So, among the actions before the consecration of the bread and wine, there is the offering of alms, which gathers within

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[31] Waterland, 'Christian Sacrifice,' 124; emphasis Waterland's.

[32] Waterland, 'Distinctions,' 267-268. Elsewhere he adds the objections that the analogy between the Eucharist and Old Testament grain-offerings fails in that there is no portion reserved for God; and accordingly, he accuses other High Churchmen who taught a material sacrifice of the eucharistic elements of conflating the *offering* of the elements for consecration with *sacrifice*, which is primarily a gift ('Christian Sacrifice,' 143-147; cf. 'Christ's Sacrifice,' 740).

[33] Cf. Waterland, 'Distinctions,' 234-259, 276-277.

[34] Ibid., 5: 282-284. 'Self-offering' is my rendering, as 'self-sacrifice' carries different connotations; Waterland distinguishes between sacrifice and offering, and is here speaking of these acts as sacrifices; see above n. 32. In practice, however, his own language is flexible.

the corporate offering of the Church the individual spiritual sacrifices of charity. In the prayers following the consecration, there is 'the offering up Christ's *mystical body*, the Church, or *ourselves* a part of it, as an holy, lively, reasonable *sacrifice* unto God: a sacrifice represented by the outward *signs*, and conveyed, as it were, under the *symbols* of bread and wine.'[35] The offering of the whole Church naturally includes the individual offerings of its members; it seems likely (given the tenor of his thought) that Waterland's use of the Prayer Book's adjectives 'holy, lively, reasonable,' is meant to suggest the holiness and devotion of individual Christians, their charitable actions in the world, and the service of their wills to God.

The fact that the Church's offering is the offering of Christ's mystical body, however, points to the centrality of Christ's sacrifice and its eucharistic commemoration. This begins with a direct correlation between Christ's sacrifice and that of the individual Christian: his sacrifice calls us to our own, sacrificing the '*old man* with the *affections* and *lusts*' while instead living to God, together with the 'spiritual sacrifices' of prayer, praise, and charitable acts.[36] While the distinction between 'new' and 'old' sacrifices is generally between the spiritual sacrifices of the new covenant and the typical sacrifices of the old, he notes that Augustine particularly calls Christ's sacrifice on the cross *the* 'new' sacrifice—and so our own offerings are, in some sense, derived from that great self-offering.[37] The Eucharist, however—the Church's self-offering as the body of Christ—is also the commemoration of his singular sacrifice, '*offering to view*' before 'God, angels, and men, under certain *symbols*, the *death, passion,* or *sacrifice* of Christ,' while 'pleading the merit' of Christ's sacrifice,

[35] Waterland, 'Christian Sacrifice,' 182-183; emphasis Waterland's.

[36] Waterland, 'Christ's Sacrifice,' 744-745; emphasis Waterland's.

[37] Waterland, 'Distinctions,' 260-262.

with praise and thanksgiving, 'in behalf of ourselves and others.'[38] This commemoration, however, reflects the characteristic ambiguity of Waterland's account. Insofar as it is a *commemoration*, it is more a means of relating us to Christ's redemptive sacrifice and applying its benefits to us, than it is itself a 'proper' sacrifice, and it can be called a sacrifice only as a figure of speech. As the commemoration itself, however, is an act of faithful obedience to God, and incorporates the Church's self-offering as the body of Christ, it *is* a 'proper' sacrifice, though one of thanksgiving rather than one that wins redemption.[39] This coincidence of the commemorative sacrifice with—and, in some sense, its incorporation within—the self-offering of the Church, leads to a unity between the two sacrifices. Whereas Christ himself is the primary altar of Christian sacrifice,

> His table here below is a secondary *altar* in two views; first, on the score of our *own* sacrifices of *prayers, praises, souls*, and *bodies*, which we offer up from thence; secondly, as it is the *seat* of the consecrated *elements*, that is, of the *body* and *blood* of Christ, that is, of the *grand sacrifice*, symbolically represented and exhibited, and spiritually there *received*; received by and with the *signs* bearing the name of the *things*.[40]

In this union of the sacrifices of Christ and the Church, our offering is, in a sense, added to Christ's, just as in the Old Testament, grain and libations were added to the daily sacrifice of a lamb. The sacrifices we offer on earth as we plead his sacrifice are added to the sacrifice which he pleads in heaven, 'not to *heighten the value* of it, which is already infinite, but to *render ourselves capable of the benefits* of it,' by uniting us to it. 'So may the *sacrifice* of Christ be *commemorated*, and *our own sacrifices* therewith

[38] Waterland, 'Christian Sacrifice,' 183; emphasis Waterland's.

[39] Ibid., 138-140; 'Distinctions,' 284-296.

[40] Waterland, 'Distinctions,' 296; emphasis Waterland's.

presented, be considered as *one sacrifice* of the *head* and *members*, in union together;' and, being united to Christ's self-offering, our own is made acceptable to God.[41]

Waterland provides an interesting comparison with Pusey, not least because there are other earlier Anglican writers who are much closer to Pusey's position. Tract 81 (for which Pusey wrote the introduction) contains several writers who use the same Paschal allegory as Pusey to explain the 'commemorative sacrifice,' while Waterland himself does not, and Pusey is clearly sympathetic to the line of Anglican thought connecting the eucharistic sacrifice with the elements, which Waterland rejects.[42] What unites Pusey and Waterland, however, is what appears to be an underlying, characteristically Protestant concern to preserve the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice, which can be observed in their conceptions of what sacrifice is itself, and the nature of eucharistic commemoration: both Pusey and Waterland distinguish firmly between the sacramental and sacrificial aspects of the Eucharist in a way de la Taille does not. These principles shape an understanding of eucharistic participation in Christ's sacrifice very different from de la Taille's.

Regarding the nature of sacrifice itself, de la Taille emphasises the act of *offering*, while Waterland picks out the nature of sacrifice as a gift to God. Pusey, unsurprisingly, does not offer a precise definition, but his language repeats the idea of a 'gift' as well. Aside from some terminological differences, these three views can be seen, thus far, as more or less synonymous. Differences emerge, however, when a

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[41] Waterland, 'Christ's Sacrifice,' 745-746; emphasis Waterland's.

[42] 'The Christian Sacrifice Explained,' 134-140. Although Waterland himself does not pursue the Paschal allegory as a means of explaining the 'commemorative sacrifice,' two of his sources for this discussion do (Buckeridge and Brevint, cf. excerpts in [Pusey], *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 83-92, 190-200). See above, 86 n. 94.

specifically propitiatory sacrifice is considered.[43] For de la Taille, the main aspect of propitiation is bloodshed, which receives so much emphasis that it becomes as necessary to sacrifice as offering (even if this necessity is practical, rather than intrinsic). For both Waterland and Pusey, the bloodshed of the Old Testament sacrifices is principally an allegorical foreshadowing of Christ's death, rather than an essential feature of propitiatory sacrifice. Waterland allows some consideration of bloodshed in Christ's sacrifice, but his emphasis is rather on Christ's obedience, as sacrifice is, for him, above all an inward action or disposition, although often (and particularly on the cross) enacted outwardly. Pusey's emphasis on vicarious suffering lends his perspective a more concrete and physical flavour than Waterland's. However, his tendency to extend Christ's vicarious suffering not only through the Passion, but even as far back as the divine humility shown in the Incarnation, makes Christ's death the focus, defining moment, and goal of his sacrificial work, rather than the sole essential element in it.[44] So, in contrast to de la Taille's entanglement of offering and immolation, both Waterland and Pusey retain a view of sacrifice emphasising solely the act of offering, even if it is a life (or death) being offered. De la Taille's three-part definition of propitiatory sacrifice seems forced, especially as his subsequent argument on the necessity of the eucharistic presence for the efficacy of the cross has overtones of a misguided anti-Protestant polemic. By contrast, the definitions of Pusey and Waterland, unentangled from the 'necessity' of immolation, can present the Passion as a single continuous act of self-offering, and the Eucharist as a sacrifice by analogy to it, without

[43] Many of the differences discussed below may be rooted in differing definitions of 'propitiation.' See above, 187 n. 28.

[44] Pusey, 'Christ Risen our Justification,' 217; *Eleven Addresses*, 25-26; 'God With Us,' 49-52. The cross *is* essential, together with the resurrection, for Pusey's understanding of *theosis*; see above, 112-114.

being forced to argue, counterintuitively, that offering *for immolation* and offering *as immolated* are identically sacrificial.

There is a further difference among the three positions as to the nature of the eucharistic commemoration. De la Taille's position rests on a strong doctrine of the real presence: Christ, the victim of the Passion, is present to be offered in the Mass; and therefore the Mass, by offering the same victim, offers the same sacrifice. Waterland and Pusey both, by contrast, rely on the allegorical interpretation of the Passover, so that what is offered is not, in the strictest sense, the same as what was offered in the Passion, but participates in it.[45] The contrast between them lies in their answers to the question, what is the 'commemoration' in the Eucharist, that participates in the Passion? For Waterland, the bread and wine are not 'sacrifices,' and so cannot be the commemoration offered to God; our offering lies, rather, in the verbal commemoration of the prayer of consecration.[46] Pusey, on the other hand, holds that the commemoration is made in the bread and wine, as symbols of Christ's Passion, and is impatient with Waterland's delicate ambiguity.[47] For both, however, this emphasis on commemorative action or symbols is closely connected to a clear distinction between the Eucharist as *sacrifice*

[45] Pusey acknowledges that the real presence strengthens the significance of the eucharistic sacrifice ('Types,' 105-109); but in the introduction to Tract 81 he cites transubstantiation as one of two major contributing factors in late medieval distortions of a true doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice (*Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 7-10).

[46] Waterland does not specifically state *what* in the Communion Service constitutes the commemoration, so it is conceivable that it could lie in the communion. However, the prayer of consecration is more likely, given his categorisation of various offerings associated with (but not constitutive of) the eucharistic sacrifice by their position before or after the prayer of consecration, as well as his distinction between sacrament and sacrifice ('Christian Sacrifice,' 123, 182-184).

[47] Pusey, 'Types,'108-109. It should be noted that Pusey's emphasis on the bread and wine as sacrificial offerings is well within the High Church tradition, though belonging to a different school than Waterland's. Pusey's position appears to be a synthesis of the two schools, one emphasising the offering of the bread and wine, the other emphasising the offering of a commemoration. Waterland, 'Christian Sacrifice,' 134-40, 143-147.

and as *sacrament* (though both writers see these dimensions as closely related).[48] With regard to de la Taille, it is tempting to suspect that sacramental union with Christ is a distant consideration. It is probably unfair to draw too strong a conclusion from the near-omission of this element from a work specifically on the *sacrificial* aspect of the Eucharist, and he does admit (however briefly) that we partake of Christ in the Eucharist. However, one cannot help but note that a work entitled *The Mystery of Faith* identifies that 'mystery' as the sacrifice of Christ on the cross and in the Eucharist, while the only mention of a partaking is as proof, that there is a sacrifice we partake of.[49] In connection with this, however it can be noted that de la Taille's structure is ultimately self-defeating. Forced to concede—despite their supposed structural identity—that an offering *after* the event of immolation is necessarily secondary to the offering leading immediately to that immolation, the eucharistic sacrifice becomes merely the means of applying the primary sacrifice. Seen through his attack on Protestants who hold only a partaking and not a true sacrifice in the Eucharist, this conclusion appears, at best, ironic.[50]

This, however, raises the question of participation. As we have seen, de la Taille describes the Eucharist as a re-offering of Christ's sacrifice; this re-offering is the means of appropriating its benefits. This structure leaves little room for participation in Christ's self-offering; and indeed, such considerations are absent from his work; the

[48] Pusey, 'Entire Absolution I,' 3-4; Waterland, 'Christian Sacrifice,' 123.

[49] This is not, perhaps, too surprising, when we consider that de la Taille was writing in an era when non-communicating Masses would still have been frequent within Roman Catholicism.

[50] De la Taille, 1: 20-22; 2: 24-26. Wilberforce appears to be closer to de la Taille: he defines sacrifice not just as offering, but as an offering which involves 'the slaughter of that which is offered.' R.I. Wilberforce, *Eucharist*, 349. Like Pusey, the eucharistic sacrifice is connected with Christ's intercession, but it is in virtue of the real presence and as mediated through Christ's natural body in heaven that the Church participates in Christ's sacrifice, not through a carefully defined commemorative participation (364, 389-392).

nearest topic is his extended discussion of how to compute the value of the Mass, based on how the infinite value of Christ's sacrifice presented therein is limited by the devotion of those offering it.[51] This contrasts sharply with Pusey and Waterland. Pusey holds that the eucharistic sacrifice is propitiatory, but overwhelmingly because it commemoratively 'pleads the sacrifice' of Christ to the Father.[52] Waterland goes even further to maintain that, insofar as this commemorative action is propitiatory, it is *not* a sacrifice (it is pleasing to God as an act of obedience, but it is not strictly an offering); it is only a sacrifice in the sense that it is *not* propitiatory (in the sense that it is offered, it is to give thanks and praise, not to win God's favour). For both, the primary means of appropriating the benefits of the cross is receiving communion. The Eucharist considered as a sacrifice, then, is free to hold a different significance.

As Waterland puts it, the Eucharist is 'a *federal* rite between God and man,' which therefore has both a gift from God to the Church, and a gift from the Church to God; it is both a sacrament and a sacrifice.[53] The sacrificial side of the Eucharist, as a gift to God, must have something mysterious about its effects; insofar as we can discuss what effect it might have on *us*, it pertains to our disposition. It does not add to the sacrifice of Christ, but 'renders us capable of it;' that is, it makes us able to receive it. As an act of obedience to God, the commemoration places us in the right disposition to receive his grace in the sacrament; and especially as the Eucharist incorporates into its offering the practical faithfulness of the whole Church, it can be seen as both the

[51] De la Taille, 2: 223-320.

[52] For Pusey, all sacrifices offered to God are, in some sense, pleasing to him (see above, 187 n. 28) but by analogy to the differing degrees of holiness, the sacrifice of the Church *as* Christ's body, in union with and pointing towards his self-offering, is propitiatory in a such a way that other offerings are not propitiatory by comparison (see above, 124-125).

[53] Waterland, 'Christian Sacrifice,' 123. Pusey holds a similar view; cf. above, 205. This is, incidentally, more intuitive than attempting, with de la Taille, to make the application of Christ's work (i.e., God's gift to us) the primary effect of the Church's sacrifice to God.

preparation for and the fulfilment of God's grace. This much is Waterland's position, and this much Pusey, too, accepts—adding only a much firmer insistence on the commemorative sacrifice, as made through the symbolic materials of bread and wine.[54] For both, the root of this is in our baptismal union with Christ, as members of his body. In this respect, the primary difference is in the contrast between Waterland's reserve—he only mentions this once—and Pusey's mystical fervour, where the minor sacrifices incorporated into the eucharistic offering are quickly passed over to allow a greater emphasis on our participation in Christ's offering.

Baptism, Sacrifice, and Communion

As expected, Pusey's understanding of the eucharistic sacrifice points back towards Baptism: the eucharistic self-offering of the Church as the Body of Christ is not only founded on the baptismal gift of union with Christ, but raises the question of whether that union itself may carry a sacrificial significance. Once more, Pusey's High Church lineage, allegorical interests, and unitive theology provide the structure of his thought. The note of continuity with the earlier High Churchmen is present, as seen in the displacement of Waterland's theme of Christian fidelity from a eucharistic to a baptismal context. Old Testament types show themselves to be central features in his thinking with regard to the sacrificial aspect of Baptism as in all else, and it is baptismal union with Christ, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, which constitutes the living baptismal sacrifice of Christian faithfulness.

While sacrifice is discussed more overtly with regard to the Eucharist, the timeline of Pusey's work suggests that his understanding of our baptismal union with

[54] Pusey, 'Types,' 107-109.

Christ provides the starting point for his understanding of sacramental participation in Christ's sacrifice. The 'Types' were written in 1836, and Tract 81 was published in 1838, but it was in 1835, in Tract 68's discussion of post-baptismal sin, that we find the first reference to this idea.[55] Contrasting Christian penitence with the ideal sanctity of the baptised, Pusey writes,

> Since we have no longer a whole burnt-offering to lay upon God's altar, let us the more diligently 'gather up the fragments which remain,' and which, for His Son's sake, He wills 'not to be lost;' content, whatever the road may be, so it but end in Heaven; thankful if, although we cannot have the reward of those who have 'followed the Lamb whithersoever He goeth,' we may yet be accounted but as the least in the kingdom of Heaven, or as hired servants in our Father's house.[56]

The Christian life is a 'whole burnt offering;' sin defiles the sacrifice and scatters the sacrificial fire, and the work of penitence is one of gathering up the coals and fanning them once again into flame.

In the second edition of *Baptism*, Pusey connects Christ's baptising 'with the Holy Spirit and with fire,' both to the necessity of the Passion and ascension (with their sacrificial overtones), and with the renewal of God's presence in humanity—a Baptism in which Christ, 'as God, shed forth abundantly that Spirit, Which had again in His sacred person resumed His dwelling in man.[57] This draws on Exodus 40:29-34 and 2 Chronicles 7:1-2, where sacrifice is linked to the presence of God in the Tent of Meeting and in the Temple, and in the latter case (as also in 1 Kings 18:38) with the descent of fire from heaven upon the sacrifice—it is the 'burnt offering,' specifically, that is consumed. If the descent of heavenly fire upon the sacrifice as a sign of God's acceptance is read allegorically of the Holy Spirit's descent in tongues of flame at

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[55] See bibliographic note on *Eucharistic Sacrifice*.

[56] Pusey, *Baptism 1*,79-80.

[57] Pusey, *Baptism 2*, 243. It is possible to see this as an allusion to John 1:14, and thence to the Tabernacle as the sign of God's presence in Israel.

Pentecost, the following interpretation emerges. Christ's self-offering, as not only a sin-offering, but as a whole burnt offering, is accepted by God, in consequence of which the Holy Spirit fills his temple, the Church; and yet also, as we are 'in Christ,' we are united to the self-offering of his humanity, and the fire of heaven descends on us (the Holy Spirit, at Pentecost and in Baptism) to show God's acceptance of that offering.[58]

This interpretation is reinforced by scattered statements throughout Pusey's sermons. The strongest example comes from an Easter sermon published in 1848. 'Blessed whosoever, with the incense of prayer and the oil of charity, is feeding that Sacred Flame, which descended from Heaven, and mounteth thither again.' 'Ye sought Him, not to embalm His lifeless Body, but longing to offer to Him what He will accept "as a sweet-smelling savour," yourselves, with the fragrance of good works, which, "without money and without price," ye have bought of Him.'[59] These lines reiterate the sacrificial imagery first established in the work on Baptism. The descent of heavenly fire, although framed in sacrificial language, also refers to the Holy Spirit, as Pusey connects the 'Sacred Flame' with personal devotion and works of charity. There is also an indirect reference to the Eucharist: although the language of fire descending from heaven is specific to the burnt offering, incense and oil are the accompaniments of the grain offering (a eucharistic type), which *together* ascend as 'a sweet savour to the LORD' (Lev. 2:1-2). This bears a strong resemblance to Waterland's understanding of the eucharistic sacrifice. The descent and ascent of the heavenly flame appear to reiterate the pattern of grace shown in the Incarnation and ascension: as in Christ God

[58] It is notable that in the account of Exodus, Moses offers not only a burnt offering, but also a grain offering as well. Consequently, we should not be surprised for there to be eucharistic as well as baptismal implications; cf. Pusey, 'Types,' 112-113. Behind this is the 'upward' motion of *theosis* in the ascension; see above, 170, 195-196.

[59] Pusey, 'Christ Risen our Justification,' 227-228, 229-230; citing Is. 55:1.

became man, and man was taken into God, so the gift of the Holy Spirit descends to unite us to Christ, and sanctifying us, bears the fruits of our sanctification up to heaven as we are drawn into ever closer participation in Christ. Finally, the reference to 'embalming' Christ brings in the death-life duality that forms the central point of *theosis*: dying with Christ to sin, and living to God in him. This is much the same as the previous image of descent and ascent, as Christ's death was the nadir of the Incarnation's descent, and it is the resurrected Christ who ascends; in Baptism, the gift of the Holy Spirit coincides with our dying to sin, while our subsequent life to God *is* the process of sanctification that is borne up as a 'sweet-smelling savour.'[60]

Although the language is less explicitly sacrificial, the image of fire for holiness appears again in his later eucharistic sermons. So, in 1853, Pusey writes,

> This is the comfort of the penitent, the joy of the faithful, the Paradise of the holy, the Heaven of those whose conversation is in Heaven, the purity of those who long to be partakers of His holiness, the strengthening of man's heart, the renewal of the inward man, the fervour of Divine love, spiritual peace, *kindled* hope, assured faith, *burning* thankfulness,—that our Lord Jesus Christ, not in figure, but in reality, although a spiritual reality, does give Himself to us, does come to be in us.[61]

Again, in 1871: 'Prepare your souls, my sons, and so receive Him Who is your Life; He will dwell in you, and Himself will strengthen you: in darkness, He will enlighten you, for He is light … He, the living coal which the Seraph touched not with his hands, will be a living *Fire* of love within you.' And, even after sin, 'Jesus will not forsake the soul, though it has forsaken Him. Repentance will restore the forfeited grace and the union with God and Jesus. Each devout Communion will be fresh life and light and *fire* of love: each will be fresh power to love Him, and to contain His Love, yea Himself,

[60] This 'upward' motion of *theosis* in the ascension is also connected to the link between sacrifice and God's presence mentioned in the previous paragraph.

[61] Pusey, 'Presence of Christ,' 10; emphasis mine.

eternally.'[62] Although the 'fire' here is Christ's eucharistic presence, not the Holy Spirit, the sacrificial portrayal of the Christian's growth in holiness remains the same. The imagery of fire appears again at the very end of his life, once more when speaking of the source of human love in God: 'Love is indeed a wonderful thing, and yet it would be more wonderful, if it were not; since love is of God, a spark out of the boundless, shoreless Ocean of His Fire of love.'[63]

Most of the sacrificial allusions we can find in Pusey's work speak of this transformative, irradiating power of divine love, but there are a handful of allusions to sacrifice in his earlier *Plain Sermons*, which are of a different character. Sacrifice is here, as in his later work, something which relates to Christian holiness; but the emphasis is rather on self-denial and our dying with Christ than on our subsequent life in him. So, 'St. Paul … while setting forth the free grace of the Gospel, insists on the self-denial, and sacrifices, and sufferings of the Gospel.' Later, he cautions that 'we must not measure sacrifices by what seems great in the eyes of men,' and insists that regardless of whether we find joy in it (though he thinks, many will), 'every one has something to give up, as a sacrifice to God; and so every one has some cross, which he may thus take, and thus be doubly blest, both for bearing his Cross and lending to the Lord.'[64] In another sermon from the same volume, he questions contemporary standards of Christian living, asking, 'Where [is] the Gospel measure of self-denying, self-sacrificing charity?'[65] Here, 'sacrifice' is used synonymously with self-denial and

[62] Pusey, 'This is My Body,' 46-47; emphasis mine. The image of the coal (Is. 6:6) for the Eucharist, discussed in *Fathers*, 119-131, is derived from Ephraim Syrus. Rowell, 'Ephraim,' 113-117.

[63] Pusey, Letter to Sr. Clara, August 22, 1882, LBV 77.

[64] Pusey, 'The Cross Borne for Us, and in Us,' 2, 17.

[65] Pusey, 'Victory over the World,' 84.

suffering. But, as with the later instances we have just considered, these too are sacrifices *to God*, done for the sake of holiness.

This more austere aspect of internal sacrifice serves as a reminder that repentance, for all that it is turning *to* God in love, is also turning *away* from sin, and therefore, turning away from 'the world, the flesh, and the devil.' Pusey even goes so far as to describe life apart from God in terms of union with Satan.

> The reality of the Indwelling of the Divine Spirit in those who obey Him, throws an awful light on the reality of that of which our Lord also spake, the indwelling of the evil spirit in those who obey *him*. 'They dwell there;' a sevenfold spirit of evil as opposed to the One, but sevenfold, Spirit of Truth; so that as the souls of the saints are led by the indwelling 'Spirit,' and He rules their life, exalts their senses, fills their minds, sanctifies their thoughts, is the Author of their actions, so in the souls of those who have emptied themselves of Him, Satan dwells, rules their actions, prompts their words, moves their limbs, is at last the living Death within them, filling their every part, is the spirit, whom their soul and body obey.[66]

A little later, he concludes, 'Between these two, then, lies the course of men; here only are we two selves; hereafter unity is to be restored, wholly good or wholly evil; either all to be transfigured into the glory of our Lord, or all to be debased to hell; all to be spiritual, or all carnal.' For the present, however, our carnal nature is at odds with our spiritual nature, and we are set against ourselves.[67] Pusey presents a stark choice between two kinds of life; and of the two, one must be growing, the other dying. This more austere rendition of the Christian's internal sacrifice, then, is merely the shadow cast by the brighter, more transcendent version of Pusey's later years.[68]

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[66] Pusey, 'The Transfiguration of our Lord the Earnest of the Christian's Glory,' 231.

[67] Ibid., 233.

[68] This is not to deny that Pusey apparently came to the more austere rendition of Christian self-sacrifice first, which was then warmed by his growing mystical emphasis and a maturing understanding of divine love. Conceptually, however, these two versions are simply aspects one of the other. Closely related to asceticism and self-denial is Pusey's emphasis on works of mercy; these are described as sacrifices well into his maturity. Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, 1: 66-68, 2:84, 240.

The final passage to consider is a brief allusion to sacrifice in the *Sermons on Repentance* delivered at St. Saviour's, Leeds, where Pusey opens one sermon with the image of the martyrs under the altar in Revelation 6:9. Taking up the sacrificial imagery of the passage, Pusey describes them as 'souls, under the shadow of the Altar of God, to Whom they had offered their lives a sacrifice acceptable to Him, in union with His in Whom and through Whom they suffered.'[69] But their cry, 'How long?' is a statement of longing for the final perfection and glorification of humanity in the general resurrection, which is the fulfilment of union with Christ. Again, sacrifice blends with communion. This time, however, the combination comes not through holiness, either as a consuming fire of divine love, or as self-denial, but through actual bloodshed. Pusey does not elaborate on the image, but it suggests the connection between martyrdom and sacrifice. In particular, it suggests Cyprian's notion of 'white martyrdom' through asceticism, and Gregory the Great's description of this 'ascetic suffering' as a sacrificial flame—imagery that is quite familiar in Pusey's work.[70] It is worth noting, however, that in Pusey's treatment, it is rather the holiness of the divine indwelling that constitutes the sacrificial flame, fed and manifested by asceticism—the flame is not asceticism itself.

As these passages show, the sacrificial language appearing in the two editions of *Baptism* is not an isolated image, used at the moment and then discarded; it is rather the clearest statement of an underlying structural image in Pusey's thought. The ascended Christ offers himself as the new Adam in heaven, and as his offering is accepted the fire of the Holy Spirit descends on his earthly mystical body, in the sacrament of Baptism, to transform the Church and sanctify it. To be united to Christ in Baptism is for the old

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[69] Pusey, 'Bliss of Heaven—Glory of the Body,' 289.

[70] Isabelle Kinnard, '*Imitatio Christi* in Christian Martyrdom and Asceticism: A Critical Dialogue,' in *Asceticism and its Critics*, ed. Oliver Freiberger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 131, 141.

self to be consumed by the fire of divinity; daily fidelity is both the means by which the Christian is refined by this fire from heaven, and the choice continually to give oneself in love as a sacrificial gift to God. The central importance of transformation by and into the love of God even allows us to see this image beneath the surface where no sacrificial language is overtly used. The water of Baptism conveys the fire of the Holy Spirit; the water for which the parched soul longs (to recall Pusey's last letter to Sr. Clara) is the fire of divine love.[71] 'More love, more love, more love!' is, for Pusey, a cry of self-offering to God. It is as much the desire and fulfilment of self-sacrifice as it is the goal and realization of union with Christ, because growth in Christ is the sacrificial transformation into Christ's love.

This latent sacrificial dimension of Baptism provides the context for Pusey's discussion of the eucharistic sacrifice. The Eucharist is a sacrifice, both because the bread and wine are offered as a commemoration before God of Christ's sacrifice, and because that symbolic offering *by* the Church, is also an offering *of* the Church, which participates in the self-offering of Christ through union with him. The earthly commemoration points to and 'pleads' the sacrifice of Christ, which is the perfect self-offering of renewed humanity, whereas the offering of the Church is imperfect, but taken up in Christ's perfection. Just as the Eucharist is both the joy of the saint and a comfort to the penitent in communion, its sacrificial dimension also shares in the eschatological tension of being in Christ through Baptism, though not yet perfected in him. Moreover, as the offering of the Church, the Eucharist becomes the focal point for sacrificial living of the Christian life, the central act of participation in Christ's self-sacrificing love, which is to be practiced in daily life. The effect of the eucharistic

[71] See above, 135.

sacrifice on the Christian can be understood through *phronesis*: an act—indeed, the primary act—of participation in Christ's self-offering which increases the reality of that participation. This connection between Christian fidelity and the eucharistic sacrifice is present as much in Pusey as in Waterland, though in Pusey it is more implicit due to his emphasis on the commemorative aspect of the eucharistic sacrifice, and his transference of much of his sacrificial language about Christian living away from direct discussions of the Eucharist. This shift risks allowing the doctrine's ecclesial dimension to fall into the shade. Nonetheless, Pusey's use of such language reinforces his connection with the earlier High Churchmen.

The centrality of participation to the sacrificial aspect of the sacraments highlights the way in which this discussion forms a counterpart to Pusey's understanding of the atonement. Pusey relied heavily on sacrificial imagery in thinking about the atonement, and the central feature of his treatment of that doctrine is the restoration of humanity's right relationship of self-sacrificial love for God, which was realised in Christ. Seen together with his understanding of sacrifice in the Eucharist and in Baptism, Christ's sacrifice *for us* in the atonement and *in us* through our sacramental participation appear as two sides of a single sacrificial motif, appearing as an aspect included in the larger themes of Christ's work in recapitulating and divinizing humanity. Just as Christ was righteous and obedient on our behalf that we might become righteous and obedient, and just as Christ was raised on our behalf that we might share his resurrected life, so Christ restored the sacrificial self-giving of humanity in love to God, that through the sacraments we might offer ourselves to God in him.

That Pusey would emphasise a sacrificial dimension in communion is itself of note, as the classic forms of *theosis* only emphasise death to sin and new life in Christ.

But it should be noted that his understanding of sacrifice is facilitated by the allegorical structures underlying Pusey's thought. The vast array of Old Testament sacrifices provides a network of related images or 'models,' with Christ at the centre. The Day of Atonement, with its pair of goats, can speak to the death and resurrection of Jesus; but the entrance of the high priest into the holy place, interpreted through the ascension, gains an eternality which allows it to interpret the recurring commemorations of the paschal type, while the acceptance of Christ's heavenly sacrifice sends down the heavenly fire of the Holy Spirit upon his body, the Church. Pusey navigates these connections with a creative agility, and it is clear that his ability to weave these elements together owes much to an approach which fosters imaginative connections much more than an abstract and ostensibly 'direct' approach. The same can be said of his combination of sacrificial and unitive approaches. Too often, sacrifice (or rather, a forensic reinterpretation of it) has been set against an emphasis on union with Christ. Pusey's example suggests not only that these two approaches are mutually enriching, but that each is indeed fulfilled in the other.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: Reclaiming Pusey

In introducing this thesis, it was noted that one of the difficulties facing those who wish to study Pusey is one of accessibility: his difficult style, the dispersed and often occasional nature of his theological *corpus*, and the subtlety of his 'full formed accuracy' hamper easy familiarity with his work. Accordingly, one aim of this study has been to give an introduction to Pusey's theology, discussing his development, the influence of allegory on his theological method, and the core soteriological doctrines of union with Christ and of sacrifice, especially in their sacramental dimensions. It is hoped that this overview will provide a key to opening Pusey's theology.

Pusey has suffered still more as a subject of study from his caricature as an uncreative, reactionary writer morbidly obsessed with sin and punishment. He is more accurately portrayed as a cautious and critical, but nonetheless creative theologian, whose great theme was the immensity of divine love. Careful treatment of Pusey's development shows that one or more 'revolutions' in his thought cannot be supported. Rather, even in his earliest years, he was deeply critical of existing approaches to theology and saw the need for a robust alternative. This led him socially and politically to an association with the Oxford Movement, and methodologically to an abiding appreciation for biblical allegory. Allegory, in turn, provided both a use of images, and a deeper set of principles, which allowed him to develop a rich and imaginative approach to theology (though his originality is sometimes subtle, as in his discussion of the atonement). A proper appreciation of his theological roots in 'old' High Churchmanship further illustrates Pusey's creativity in developing that heritage. Both of these threads can be followed throughout his theology, as shown in the discussions of

union with Christ and sacrifice. These doctrines, in turn, show Pusey's emphasis on divine love: even sacrifice is not payment to a wrathful deity, but the height of selfless self-giving to God. The concreteness and symbolism involved in allegory, however, entail that communion and sacrifice are not merely spiritual but sacramental realities.

Beyond these demonstrations of Pusey's creativity and historical interest, however, it is possible to suggest (if not, in this space, to prove) that his work may have a continuing or even an increased relevance as theology moves into the twenty-first century. As we have seen, Pusey was sceptical of the claim that reason was a neutral and unprejudiced faculty; he rejected simplistic approaches to the language and meaning of Scripture, and repudiated 'progress' in favour of tradition. Each point of these rejections reflects a deep criticism of the intellectual assumptions of the 'modern' mindset, which raises the question of Pusey's relation to postmodernity. And indeed, postmodernism insists that reason is contextual, and favours complexity of meaning over a reductionist simplicity.[1] Comparison with the various postmodern theologies shows even closer similarities. Recent critiques read similarly to the *Enquiry* in tracing the rise of secular philosophies to an 'epistemological crisis' fostered by theological controversy over the supposedly 'plain' meaning of Scripture, and the critical quest for the history behind the canon of Scripture has been recognised as responsible for fragmenting the canon, destroying its literal meaning, and draining it of theological significance; meanwhile, tradition is finding a place once more.[2] Elsewhere, there are

[1] Kevin J. Vanhoozer, 'Theology and the condition of Postmodernity: a report on knowledge (of God).' in *The Cambridge Companion to Postmodern Theology*, Kevin J. Vanhoozer, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8, 10-11.

[2] Vanhoozer, 'Scripture and Tradition,' in Vanhoozer, *Postmodern Theology*, 150-155.

further resonances, such as the rejection of the 'progressive' paradigm, and an insistence on 'bodiliness,' rather than abstraction, as the foundation of knowledge.[3]

On some points, however, Pusey not only resonates, but shows useful insights. His ideas on the endless potential of words and symbols to grow in their meaning has clear similarities to the understanding of language as a shifting system of signs held in contemporary semiotic theory. But whereas deconstructionist theorists hold that words have 'an endless potential for being misread, misunderstood, and misinterpreted,' Pusey holds that in Scripture and the tradition of the Church, these words and symbols have an endless potential to be *re*-read, *re*-understood, and *re*-interpreted, with God's guidance: their meaning is intended to grow, but not vary.[4] Where the post-modern emphasis on plurality and complexity tends towards relativism, Pusey understands that pluralities and complexities are rather what *we* can grasp of a 'definite truth' that is greater than we can comprehend.[5] And while some attempts to define tradition as the Church's 'culture' in which Scripture is to be read have been criticised for lacking a Christological or Pneumatological emphasis, Pusey provides a possible corrective: tradition is the accumulated reading of the revelation of Christ in Scripture, with the mind of Christ, by the body of Christ.[6]

Pusey, then, may have greater contemporary relevance than many might at first suspect; and these brief comparisons also suggest that we may be in a better position now to understand his theology, than interpreters in the century after his death. The 'Types,' which do so much to reveal these patterns in the rest of Pusey's thought, were

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[3] D. Stephen Long, 'Radical Orthodoxy,' in Vanhoozer, *Postmodern Theology*, 126-127, 139-140.

[4] Graham Ward, 'Deconstructive Theology,' in Vanhoozer, *Postmodern Theology*, 78-79.

[5] 'Definite' truth, see above, 82.

[6] Vanhoozer, 'Scripture,' 160-164.

suppressed after his death as potentially scandalous, and even during his life he was hesitant to publicise them, due to the possible reaction. Now, they fit easily within a number of hermeneutical and theoretical discussions—foreshadowing the work of Austin Farrer in the twentieth century, and more recently Jean Luc Marion.[7] It was suggested that Pusey's use of allegory suggested a richer field of imagery than Farrer's theory, and it may be wondered what might have been the case had Farrer's philosophical acuity known of that richness. These comparisons, however, serve to distinguish Pusey from Keble (and later, from de Lubac) on the subject of allegory. He did not only seek a proper appreciation of the Fathers' interpretation of Scripture; rather, driven by his critique of the Enlightenment's ideas about knowledge, he sought to re-appropriate their way of thinking as an alternative approach to theology. While some problems remain—notably the difficulty of reconciling allegory with critical scholarship—Pusey's use of allegory offers promising engagement to those who wrestle with similar problems today.

With regard to his context in the Oxford Movement, this thesis points towards two areas for future scholarship to consider. It is true that the Oxford Movement cannot be understood without attention to its broader dimensions outside Oxford; but this approach needs a complement in correcting the unbalanced scholarly obsession with Newman.[8] The deep philosophical differences between Pusey and Newman point out the distortion introduced by understanding the Movement solely through one figure, and suggest that in the future, studies which allow greater individuality to the protagonists

[7] Douglas, 200. Other aspects of Pusey's thought have been compared with Rowan Williams and Yves Congar. Rowell, 'Europe and the Oxford Movement' *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Peter B. Nockles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 162; McCormack, 20.

[8] Herring, 2-4.

of the Movement might provide a deeper insight into its diversity. Similarly, Pusey's connections with the old High Churchmen demonstrate the error of viewing the Tractarians through the lens of later Anglo-Catholicism. Indeed, these connections—and even the observation of some similarities with Calvin—raise the tantalising possibility that at least some elements of the Movement might be seen as an evolution of Reformed theology rather than a departure from it.

With regard to Pusey himself, there are ample opportunities for scholarship. In addition to those further points of interest mentioned in the introduction, several others may be noted. An analysis of his letters of spiritual direction would add considerable depth to our understanding of both his personality and his spirituality. Pusey's correspondence with Keble is extensive, offering many fruits, and the differences between him and Newman, hinted at in this work, bear further exploration. Outside strictly religious matters, Pusey's political involvements were extensive, but have gone nearly untouched, and his energetic involvement in University affairs has only received brief treatment.[9] In terms of theological topics, the field is almost limitless. His sacramental theology has of course received a good deal of attention, though it has doubtless not been exhausted. Calhoun's study of Pusey's theology of conversion is a valuable contribution, but beyond this, little has been done. The topics of this thesis, viewed together here for the sake of studying their relations and the aspects of Pusey's thought which we have followed through them, could each receive individual attention; McCormack has suggested a study of Pusey's theology of joy, to which might be added the theology of repentance (partially covered in Calhoun's study, but there are other

[9] Alan Lively, 'Regius Professor of Hebrew,' in Perry Butler, 71-118; Ellis, 298-331.

aspects available), and his approach to ecumenism.[10] Westhaver's study of the 'Types' is a valuable introduction to that crucial document, but a larger study of Pusey's theology of Scripture, including both his early years and a number of later sermons, would be a welcome addition. One exception would be Pusey's teaching on hell: despite the enthusiasm of Liddon's editors, his volume on the topic has not aged well beyond the controversy for which it was written.[11]

Pusey was not the mere reactionary and grim ascetic portrayed in his caricatures. On the contrary, he was a man of ecstatic spirituality united with considerable critical ability and wise caution; though conservative, his positions were not born of mere traditionalism, but of a deep criticism of the often unexamined assumptions on which biblical and theological scholarship has 'progressed.' Yet faced with the problems his critique exposed, he went on to wrestle with these problems, and developed an approach to theology which provided him with the foundation for rich, imaginative, and often subtle thought, while avoiding the pitfalls of modernist assumptions—an approach which may still have much to offer us today. Pusey, as we have seen, has much more depth, warmth, and creativity than has often been allowed. It is time to begin the work of reclaiming him for theology.

[10] McCormack, 20-23.

[11] Liddon, 4: 344-59. Pusey himself thought the work was 'an odd mish-mash' of material and excessively dry (Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians: A Study of the Nineteenth-Century Theological Controversies Concerning Punishment and the Future Life* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1974), 143).

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[1] See notes at Liddon 4: 397-399.

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