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GERMAN INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE VICTORIAN ERA

IN some earlier contributions to the *QUARTERLY* Dr. Andrews has touched on German influence on one phase of religious life in this country—hymnody. Here he looks at German influence in other areas. Dr. Andrews, who is a member of the library staff at the University of Lancaster, is at present on secondment to a librarianship with the British Council in Germany.

IN Walter F. Schirmer's lecture delivered before the University of London in 1947 on "The Reception of German Literature in England in the 19th Century"¹ he divided the "century" into three periods: 1788-1813; 1813-32; and 1832-90. The present article concentrates mainly on the third period, a period concerned less with German *belles lettres* than with German historiography, scientific method, and theology; even in "pure literature" the focus of English interest was "the moral and philosophical evaluation of life".²

To quote G. M. Trevelyan,

If any real unity is to be ascribed to the Victorian era in England, it must be found in two governing conditions: first, there was no great war . . . secondly, the whole period was marked by interest in religious questions and was deeply influenced by seriousness of thought and self-discipline of character, an outcome of the Puritan ethos. This "seriousness" affected even the "agnostics". . . . Moreover, the High Church movement . . . inherited this strain of Puritanism.³

It was no accident that the 1890s, the time when (according to Schirmer) England's "vision of Germany" was beginning to fade, was also the time when Trevelyan noted a change in England in the direction of levity of outlook and conduct.⁴

¹ "German Literature, Historiography and Theology in Nineteenth-Century England", *German Life & Letters*, N.S. I (1947/48), 165-74 (cited as "German Literature"). This was expanded into a book entitled *Der Einfluss der deutschen Literatur auf die englische im 19. Jahrhundert* (Halle, 1947) (cited as *Der Einfluss*).

² "German Literature", p. 174.

³ *English Social History* (London, 1944, repr. 1948), chap. xvii, p. 513. A factor common to both Methodism and the Oxford Movement was an insistence upon holiness.

⁴ Schirmer, "German Literature", p. 167; *Der Einfluss*, p. 5; and Trevelyan, p. 574.

It may be argued that one should not view church history in denominational terms. Much of value takes place in the gaps between the denominations and in their inter-relationships. Moreover many other fine Christians are in no sense party men.⁵ Denominational historiography distorts, gives an over-polemic impression, and conceals the real problems.⁶ Nevertheless, the present writer hopes that the following attempt at orientation, not intended for specialists, may be of some value, provided readers remember that the whole story has not been told.

What then were the various theological groups and parties in Victorian England, and how did they react towards German theology?

ROMAN CATHOLICS

At the beginning of the century the few Roman Catholics in England were still suffering from legal disabilities. In 1829 the Roman Catholic Relief Act was passed, whereby Catholics were admitted to most public offices. The rise in the Church of England of the Tractarian Movement from 1833 onwards (discussed later) provoked a number of secessions to Rome. Among the converts were prominent figures such as John Henry Newman (1801-90) and Henry Edward Manning (1808-92).

In 1850 Pius IX restored the Catholic hierarchy in England; this resulted in a storm of protests at "papal aggression."⁷ Pius promoted ultramontanist and opposed liberal theological tendencies by promulgating the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 and the *Syllabus Errorum* in 1864, but preeminently by promulgat-

⁵ How else is one to explain, for example, a comment on the author of *Essays in Orthodox Dissent*? "When Bernard Manning died, requiems were said for him at Anglo-Catholic and Roman Catholic altars—a most striking tribute to the character of one who lived and died an uncompromising Dissenter and gloried in the name of Calvinist", F. Brittain, *Bernard Lord Manning* (Cambridge, [1943?]), p. 87. Elsewhere (p. iv) Brittain called Manning a "Congregational High Churchman". Cf. Manning's own testimony: "So, in piety, do extremes agree: Catholic and Evangelical meet, and kiss one another at the Cross", *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts* (London, 1942, repr. 1954), p. 133.

⁶ For a corrective see, e.g., two articles by T. C. F. Stunt, "Two Nineteenth-Century Movements" [*Tractarianism and Brethrenism*], *EQ*, XXXVII (1965), 221-31" and "John Henry Newman and the Evangelicals", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XXI (1970), 65-74.

⁷ See L. E. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era*, 2nd ed. (London, 1946), pp. 123-8. Some idea of contemporary feeling may be gleaned from the then ultra-Protestant *Punch*, which had first appeared in 1841, the year of Tract 90. See D. W. Duthie, *The Church in the Pages of "Punch"* (London, 1912), chap. iii, and A. L. Drummond, *The Churches Pictured by "Punch"* (London, 1947), chap. i.

ing the decree of Papal Infallibility in 1870. In Germany a group associated with the Munich historian, Johann Josef Ignaz von Döllinger (1799-1890), and in England a group associated with the modern historian, Lord Acton (1834-1902), unsuccessfully opposed the decree.⁸

The seventies in Germany saw a bitter conflict between Bismarck and the Catholic Church; but good relations were restored after the election to the Papacy of Leo XIII in 1878. A modernist movement, which began within the Catholic Church in several different countries about 1890, was condemned by Pius X in 1907, and virtually ended about 1910.⁹

Most Catholics looked for their inspiration to Italy and other predominantly Catholic countries rather than to Germany.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE FREE CHURCHES

In a sermon preached on the centenary of the death of Charles Simeon, J. F. Clayton discerned no fewer than five groups within the Church of England in 1836.¹⁰ For simplicity's sake I have in what follows reduced the number of groups to three: the Tractarians; the Evangelicals; and the Broad Church. The other two (historically less significant) groups cited by Clayton were the old High Church party standing for apostolic succession, Tory politics, and dislike of Dissent, and the Low Church party, making only modest claims for the Church but disliking Evangelical enthusiasm.¹¹ Much of what I have written below about the Evangelicals applied equally to the orthodox Free Churchmen, and much of

⁸ As a layman Acton could oppose only privately. Newman in a well-known private letter, which became public by a misadventure, thought the dogma inopportune (Cuthbert Butler, *The Vatican Council, 1869-1870*, ed. Christopher Butler, London 1962, pp. 182-3). For a recent Roman Catholic reassessment see Edward P. Echlín, "The Petrine Office and Anglicanism", *Theology*, LXXIII (1970), 147-55.

⁹ For more information on the nineteenth-century background see E. E. Y. Hales, *The Catholic Church in the Modern World: A Survey from the French Revolution to the Present* (London, 1958) and James T. Burtchaell, *Catholic Theories of Biblical Interpretation since 1810* (London, 1969). On modernism see two books by Alec R. Vidler, *The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church* (Cambridge, 1934) and *A Variety of Catholic Modernists* (Cambridge, 1970) and Michele Ranchetti, *The Catholic Modernists . . . 1864-1907* (Oxford, 1970).

¹⁰ "The Centenary of Charles Simeon", *Modern Churchman*, XXVI (1936), 500-04.

¹¹ See J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (1800-1833)* (London, 1894), chap. ii, and G. R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*, new ed. (London, 1951), pp. 165 and 173.

what I have written about the Broad Churchmen to liberal Free Churchmen. I have therefore not written separately about the Free Churches.

THE TRACTARIANS

The permission granted to Roman Catholics and Nonconformists to sit in Parliament alarmed some Churchmen at Oxford, who were appalled at the prospect of non-Anglicans voting on questions affecting the Church. J. H. Newman, Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-36), Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82), and Hugh James Rose (1795-1838) (the latter of Cambridge) were among those who put themselves forward as defenders of the Church of England. To strengthen their position they sought to prove her unbroken continuity with the ancient Catholic Church and maintained a belief in the apostolic succession of her bishops.¹²

The immediate origin of what became known as the Oxford Movement was a sermon called "National Apostasy" preached by John Keble (1792-1866) before the Assizes at Oxford on 14 July, 1833.¹³ The Movement was called also Tractarian because its supporters disseminated their views in a series of *Tracts for the Times* issued from 1833 to 1841. In the final Tract, no. 90, *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles*, Newman tried to show that a man might sign these Articles and yet remain a Catholic at heart.¹⁴ In 1845 Newman and some other Tractarians were formally received into the Roman Church.¹⁵

By 1847 the Tractarians and their allies, the adherents of the old High Church party, were strong enough to challenge the appointment of an Evangelical clergyman, G. C. Gorham, to a living near Exeter. The High Church Bishop of Exeter, Henry Phillpotts,

¹² For the historical background to such views see G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The High Church Tradition: A Study in the Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1941), George Every, *The High Church Party, 1688-1718* (London, 1956), J. R. H. Moorman, "Forerunners of the Oxford Movement", *Theology*, XXVI (1933), 2-15, and Overton, *op. cit.*

¹³ Cf. Newman's comment, "I have ever considered and kept the day, as the start of the religious movement of 1833", *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, Oxford ed. (London, 1913), part III, p. 136.

¹⁴ The texts of Tracts 1, 11 and part of 90 are reprinted in A. O. J. Cockshut, *Religious Controversies of the Nineteenth Century: Selected Documents* (London, 1966), chap. 3.

¹⁵ For conflicting interpretations of the first twelve years of the Movement see R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*, 3rd ed. (London, 1892) and E. A. Knox, *The Tractarian Movement*, 2nd ed. (London, 1934).

refused to institute him, a decision upheld by the ecclesiastical Court of Arches, but reversed by the lay Privy Council.¹⁶

The Tractarian Movement divided into two currents. One, led by Pusey and Keble, continued to promote the cause within the Established Church. The other was led by Manning; he, considering the Gorham Judgement to be a threat to the authority of the Church, went over to Rome in 1851. He and his followers helped to revive Roman Catholicism in England.

Professor L. A. Willoughby demonstrated that the Oxford Movement had affinities with Germany.¹⁷ While the Movement was indeed one manifestation of European romanticism, the links were closest, he maintained, with the German "ältere Romantik", whose leaders were the brothers Schlegel, Tieck, Wackenroder, Novalis and Schleiermacher.

Schleiermacher (1768-1834), the theologian of the group, was himself influenced by a number of conflicting currents of thought. The romanticism of Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829), with whom he lived and collaborated in Berlin, was compatible with the evangelical piety of the Moravians with whom he was brought up. He repudiated the traditional idea that religion was a compendium of fixed doctrines that must be accepted on faith. He looked for the springs of religion in human experience and in man's feeling of absolute dependence, which found its purest expressions in monotheism. The highest, though not the only true, religion was Christianity. His emphasis on feeling as the basis of religion, inherited from his Moravian upbringing, was at once a reaction from formal Protestant orthodoxy and from contemporary German rationalism. His influence on Protestant thought was enormous, although in the present century theologians like Karl Barth and Emil Brunner have opposed to his "feeling" the Scriptural principle of the Reformers. At all events, Schleiermacher and his disciples did leave open the possibility of faith even in a critical and scientific age.¹⁸

Most of the Tractarians, including Keble and Newman, were ignorant of German literature at first hand.¹⁹ Two notable exceptions were H. J. Rose and Pusey.

¹⁶ J. C. S. Nias in his *Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter* (London, 1951) provided an extensive bibliography of the case.

¹⁷ "On Some German Affinities with the Oxford Movement", *Modern Language Review*, XXIX (1934), 52-66. On the influence of Kant see C. C. J. Webb, *Religious Thought in the Oxford Movement* (London, 1928).

¹⁸ See H. R. Mackintosh, *Types of Modern Theology* (London, 1937), chaps. ii-iii.

¹⁹ Willoughby, *art. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

In 1825 the liberal historian, Connop Thirlwall (1797-1875), who later became Bishop of St. David's, translated Schleiermacher's *Versuch über das Lukasevangelium*, which (as Bishop Neill has pointed out) was not the author's best or most typical work. Schleiermacher's treatment of the Gospel offended conservatives and made them suspicious of all German theology.²⁰ Only two months after the translation had appeared Rose, having spent nearly a year in Germany, preached and then published four sermons at Cambridge on *The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany*, in which he attacked contemporary German rationalism. Pusey, who had studied in Göttingen and Berlin, published a reply, *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes lately predominant in the Rationalist Character of the Theology of Germany* (1828-30), in which he argued that German rationalism arose from the deadness of orthodoxy. The book was misunderstood and taken as a defence of rationalism; he later regretted its publication.²¹

THE EVANGELICALS

In many respects the Puritans, predecessors of the Evangelicals, owed more to Calvin than to Luther. One illustration of this was the practice, broken down by Isaac Watts in the eighteenth century, of using only "David's Psalms" rather than "human hymns" in public worship.²² Again, the typical theology of Evangelicals was more Calvinistic than Lutheran. Nevertheless, the Puritan tradition owed much to Luther, above all, the insistence upon the doctrine of justification by faith alone.²³

In the seventeenth century the rise of the Anglican religious societies was primarily due to the sermons of the German-born Dr. Anthony Horneck (1641-97), the minister of the Savoy Chapel.

²⁰ Stephen Neill, *The Interpretation of the New Testament*, 1861-1961 (London, 1964), pp. 9-10, and John Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1885), pp. 75-9.

²¹ On the controversy between Rose and Pusey see Neill, pp. 10-12, Tulloch, pp. 89-91, and Vernon F. Storr, *The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, 1800-1860 (London, 1913), pp. 188-9.

²² See, e.g., C. S. Phillips, *Hymnody, Past and Present* (London, 1937), pp. 124 and 167, and H. A. L. Jefferson, *Hymns in Christian Worship* (London, 1950), pp. 31-2. According to K. J. Kraan, "the tyranny of the Genevan principle" arose more from Calvin's followers than from Calvin himself, who had no wish to make the principle absolute, "Calvin and Hymn-Singing", *EQ*, XXVI (1954), 167-70.

²³ On the British reception of Luther see Gordon Rupp, *The Righteousness of God: Luther Studies* (London, 1953), chap. 2. The periods of "lively concern" were: 1520-40; 1560-80; 1630-50; the last part of the 18th and the first part of the 19th centuries.

These societies were formed for the enrichment of spiritual life.²⁴ The organizations of the German Pietists, a group that reacted against the cold formalism of the contemporary Lutheran Church and emphasized personal and practical piety, greatly influenced the history of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.²⁵ The Society, founded in 1698, co-operated with Pietists in support of the joint Danish-German mission at Tranquebar, South India.²⁶

It was the orphanage at Halle, established by the leading Pietist, August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), that inspired German-born George Müller (1805-98), leader of the "Open Brethren", to establish a similar orphanage at Bristol.²⁷

In the eighteenth century it was from the German-speaking Moravians that John Wesley learned the possibility of a deep personal faith and devotion to Christ, and it was from hearing someone read from Luther's Preface to Romans that he found such a faith for himself.²⁸

In 1799 the Church Missionary Society was founded. Its first missionaries were Germans trained at a missionary school in Berlin.²⁹

Although it was said that "the dominant religious power, both inside and outside the Church of England, at the close of the eighteenth century was that which had been evoked by the Evangelical Revival",³⁰ no Evangelical was raised to the episcopate until

²⁴ J. Woodward, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London*, p. 34, quoted by A. Skevington Wood, *The Inextinguishable Blaze* (Exeter, 1960, rept. 1967), p. 30.

²⁵ W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The History of the S.P.C.K.* (London, 1959), pp. 2-3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. v.

²⁷ *Autobiography of George Müller*, comp. by G. F. Bergin, 4th ed. (London, 1929), pp. 16, 62, 74, 81, and Mrs. Kathleen Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of Their Social Work in the Victorian Era* (London, 1962), pp. 96-7 (*et passim* for other examples of German influence on Evangelical social work). Barnardo, converted under the ministry of a Brethren evangelist, was influenced by Müller. See J. W. Bready, *Dr. Barnardo: Physician, Pioneer, Prophet*, cheap ed. (London, 1935), pp. 52, 226, and Heasman, p. 97.

²⁸ See C. W. Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist: Relationships and Influences in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1957), chaps. i-iii.

²⁹ J. Edwin Orr, *The Light of the Nations* (Exeter, 1956), p. 41. Co-operation with Continental missionaries presented difficulties, however. See John Pinnington, "Church Principles in the Early Years of the Church Missionary Society", *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. XX (1969), 523-32.

³⁰ J. H. Overton, *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1866), p. 161.

1815. In that year the influence of Evangelicals was increased by the appointment of Henry Ryder (1777-1836) as Bishop of Gloucester.³¹ Until the middle of the century many Englishmen were at least outwardly Evangelical: there was regular attendance at Morning and Evening Prayer, close attention to sermons and Bible-reading, together with the widespread practice of Sunday observance and family prayers. In such matters the Royal family set an example.³² Much of the piety of Queen Victoria and her German Consort came from German sources.

One Evangelical Anglican, Richard Massie (1800-87), published his translations from the hymns of Luther and Spitta in order to encourage his fellow-churchmen to uphold the Reformation principles then under attack.³³ It was doubtful whether many other translators had such militant intentions; they wrote merely to supply what they felt was a gap in the Church's hymnody. The orthodox Free Churches contributed their share in making German hymns known. Two of the greatest names in this respect were the sisters, Jane Laurie Borthwick (1813-97) and Mrs. Sarah Findlater (1823-1907), who published anonymously *Hymns from the Land of Luther* (4 vols., 1854-62). Both were staunch members of the Free Church of Scotland.³⁴

THE BROAD CHURCH

At least from the seventeenth century onwards there were in the Church of England and the Dissenting Churches scholars who attached little importance to doctrine or ecclesiology, but who in varying ways laid stress upon the importance of human reason as opposed to divine revelation.³⁵

It was against such a background that about 1820 an influential group of Anglican scholars began to study German historiography and theology. Whilst their outlook differed from that of the eighteenth-century rationalists, they accepted many of their pre-

³¹ See G. C. B. Davies, *The First Evangelical Bishop* (London, 1958).

³² Many followed the example of the Queen and her Consort in communicating only twice a year (J. R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, London, 1953, p. 390).

³³ *Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs*, trans. by R. Massie (London, 1854), p. xiii. For a brief biography of Massie and accounts of the contributions to hymnody of Luther and Spitta see John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, rev. ed. (London, 1907).

³⁴ See Julian, *op. cit.*

³⁵ See John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1872) and R. N. Stromberg, *Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1954).

suppositions concerning Biblical criticism. Although the term "Broad Churchmen" was later applied to this group, the term was not a specific one; it was used to describe any Churchmen who did not align themselves with Evangelicals or Anglo-Catholics.³⁶ Such a man was the classical philologist and theologian, Julius Charles Hare (1795-1855). In Cambridge Hare became a friend of Connop Thirlwall, the historian. In the Apostles' Club (so called because there were twelve members), which Schirmer called "the cradle of the Broad Church movement",³⁷ German theology was accorded a prominent position. To the Club belonged, in addition to Hare and Thirlwall, Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72), the founder of Christian Socialism, and Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-81), the Dean of Westminster.

Hare had been a disciple of the poet and philosopher, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), who had found in German philosophical idealism a means of reconciliation with the Church's faith. The conviction that Christianity was primarily ethical led Coleridge to believe in the possibility of a unification of Christendom on a wide basis of common tenets and thereby earned him the title of "Father of the Broad Church Movement".³⁸ Thirlwall's translation of Schleiermacher's *Versuch über das Lukasevangelium* had, as we have seen, aroused opposition because of Schleiermacher's radical views on the composition of this Gospel.³⁹ Hare and Thirlwall combined to translate the *Römische Geschichte* of the German historian and statesman, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831). Niebuhr's method of source criticism had a great influence on all subsequent historians. The translation, published between 1828 and 1832, aroused opposition because Niebuhr, in applying his new critical historical approach to Roman history, had made comments on Genesis that could not be reconciled with the doctrine of verbal inspiration.⁴⁰

Two pioneers in popularizing German liberal theology in this country were Herbert Marsh (1757-1839), the Bishop of Peterborough, and Henry Hart Milman (1791-1868), the Dean of St

³⁶ Duncan Forbes called them "Liberal Anglicans" in *The Liberal Anglican Idea of History* (Cambridge, 1952).

³⁷ "German Literature", p. 173.

³⁸ See Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century*, lecture I, and especially Charles R. Sanders, *Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement* (Durham, N.C., 1942). Sanders discusses in detail the whole Movement, in particular, Coleridge, Thomas Arnold, Hare, Carlyle, and Maurice.

³⁹ See note 20 above.

⁴⁰ Neill, *op. cit.* (note 20), pp. 7-8, and Forbes, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-20.

Paul's. Marsh had studied under the German rationalist, Johann David Michaelis (1717-91), whose *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes* he translated. "He was one of the few English theological students who in the eighteenth century penetrated the world of Germany and mastered its secrets for themselves."⁴¹ His popular lectures on Biblical criticism (1809-16) helped to introduce German critical methods into England. Milman's *History of the Jews* (1829) applied Niebuhr's principles of historical criticism and was later described by Dean Stanley as the first decisive inroad of German theology into England.⁴²

Many German Biblical critics, notably Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus (1761-1851) of Heidelberg, explained away the supernatural elements of the Bible.⁴³ The distinctive feature, however, of the Tübingen School of Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860) was the doctrinaire application of the Hegelian concept of development to apostolic and early Church history.⁴⁴ In England an undistinguished writer, W. R. Cassels, published anonymously in 1874 the first volume of a book entitled *Supernatural Religion*; with a slender basis of Tübingen theology he sought in it to eliminate the supernatural element from religion. In Germany the conservative New Testament and Patristic scholar, Theodor Zahn (1838-1933), and in England Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828-89), the Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and later Bishop of Durham, were among the leading scholars who refuted the claims of both the Tübingen School and Cassels's popularized version of the School's theology.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Neill, p. 5. Neill added that a life of Marsh was a desideratum, although a short account had appeared in the *Directory of National Biography*.

⁴² Quoted in translation by Klaus Dockhorn, *Der deutsche Historismus in England: ein Beitrag zur englischen Geistesgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1950), p. 84. See also Alan Richardson, *History Sacred and Profane* (London, 1964), p. 170. I have not traced Stanley's original words.

⁴³ Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, rev. ed. (Edinburgh, 1959, repr. 1963), p. 490.

⁴⁴ See two works by Peter C. Hodgson: *The Formation of Historical Theology: A Study of F. C. Baur* (New York, 1966) and *F. C. Baur On the Writing of Church History* (New York, 1968). For a recent critique of Baur see W. Ward Gasque, "The Historical Value of the Book of Acts", *EQ*, XLI (1969), 68-88, especially 72-80. On Albrecht Ritschl (a one-time disciple of Baur's, who however soon developed his own philosophy) see Leonard De Moor, "The Ritschlian View of Revelation", *EQ*, XLII (1970), 18-28, 93-106.

Two other followers of Hegel were David Friedrich Strauss (1808-74) and Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-72). In 1835 the former published the first volume of his *Leben Jesu*, in which he applied Hegelian dialectics so successfully that "very little in the Gospel records" did not yield to "the mythical disintegration".⁴⁶ In 1841 Feuerbach published his *Wesen des Christentums*, which rejected all belief in the supernatural and which profoundly affected Karl Marx and his followers.⁴⁷

Such studies as those of Baur, Strauss, and Feuerbach, influenced as they were by the rationalism of the eighteenth-century *Aufklärung*,⁴⁸ tended to lead to positivism, that is, the belief that the only truth that could be known to be true was that verifiable by scientific method.⁴⁹ It was no accident that George Eliot, who translated both Strauss and Feuerbach, became an enthusiastic follower of the French positivist, August Comte.⁵⁰

In 1860, the year after Darwin's *Origin of Species* had shocked conservative churchmen, seven Oxford scholars of liberal outlook published a book entitled *Essays and Reviews*. The most startling essay was that by Benjamin Jowett (1817-93), "On the Interpretation of Scripture", in which he urged people to study the Bible like any other book.⁵¹

In 1862 John William Colenso (1814-83), the Bishop of Natal, published the first of his papers entitled *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, which impugned the historicity of

⁴⁶ Neill, *op. cit.*, chap. ii. The conservative exegete, Adolf Schlatter, held a chair at the University of Tübingen between 1898 and 1922, and the conservative New Testament scholar, Otto Michel, holds a chair there today. Ernst Käsemann, also now at Tübingen, harks back to Baur; for a brief but hard-hitting critique of Käsemann see a review by A. M. Hunter, *Scottish Journal of Theology*, XXIII (1970), 112-15.

⁴⁷ Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 15. See Neill, pp. 12-28 *et passim*, for a critique of both Baur and Strauss.

⁴⁸ On Feuerbach see Etienne Gilson, *The Unity of Philosophical Experience* (London, 1938), pp. 287-92. On Strauss and Feuerbach see Mackintosh, *op. cit.* (note 18), chap. iv, sect. 2. On Strauss and the Tübingen School see Storr, *op. cit.* (note 21), chap. xii.

⁴⁹ On one aspect of the *Aufklärung* see Leonard De Moor, "The Problem of Revelation in 18th-Century Germany: with particular reference to Lessing", *EQ*, XXXIX (1967), 66-74, 139-51, 205-15.

⁴⁹ See Richardson, *op. cit.* (note 42), pp. 109-18.

⁵⁰ Schirmer, "German Literature", p. 169; *Der Einfluss*, pp. 122-3.

⁵¹ Two of the contributions are reprinted in Cockshut, *op. cit.* (note 14), chap. 8. A review by A. P. Stanley of the book is reprinted in chap. 9. For an assessment of each contribution in the book see Storr, *op. cit.*, chap. xxi.

that part of the Old Testament.⁵² Colenso was one of several scholars, whose combined studies during the sixties and seventies resulted in radical new views on the development of Old Testament literature and religion. Some of the other names were the German Biblical scholar and orientalist, Karl Heinrich Graf (1815-69), the Dutch Old Testament scholar, Abraham Kuenen (1828-91), and especially the German Biblical scholar and orientalist, Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918). Whereas the Tübingen School of New Testament criticism had been refuted by British scholars of the calibre of Lightfoot, it was British scholars of a similar calibre, notably William Robertson Smith (1846-94) in Scotland and Samuel Rolles Driver (1846-1914) in England, who popularized the "Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen documentary hypothesis" in this country.⁵³

In opposition to these liberal trends the Tractarians and the Evangelicals joined hands. In the early nineteenth century most, if not all, Tractarians and all Evangelicals had maintained the infallibility of Scripture, although Tractarians had insisted that Scripture needed to be interpreted in the light of the authority of the Church and Church tradition. To quote Bishop Neill, "almost all good Christians in England were what would now be called 'fundamentalists'".⁵⁴ In 1836 the two parties had both opposed the appointment to the Regius Chair of Divinity at Oxford of the liberal scholar, Renn Dickson Hampden, who later became Bishop of Hereford.⁵⁵ When *Essays and Reviews* appeared, Pusey joined with the Earl of Shaftesbury (1801-85), the Evangelical leader, in affirming "without reserve or qualification, the Inspiration and Divine Authority of the whole Canonical Scriptures, as not only containing but being the Word of God".⁵⁶ According to that stal-

⁵² The Preface to Colenso's work is reprinted in Cockshut, *op. cit.*, chap. 10.

⁵³ See Elliott-Binns, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 185-92. The history of the literary criticism of the Pentateuch is documented, and discussed from a conservative standpoint, in Edward J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (London, 1958), pp. 108-17, and R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (London, 1970), pp. 3-82.

⁵⁴ Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵⁵ The motives for the opposition were in this case mixed, Tractarians playing a more active part than Evangelicals. Hampden's daughter believed that his advocating the claims of Dissenters to admission to the University of Oxford made him more unpopular than his Bampton Lectures entitled *The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its relation to Christian Theology (Some Memorials of Renn Dickson Hampden)*, ed. by Henrietta Hampden, London, 1871, *passim*).

⁵⁶ Quoted by Alec R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (London, 1961), p. 128.

wart Evangelical, Sir Robert Anderson (1841-1918), one-time Chief of the C.I.D., "Pusey revered the Bible as supreme".⁵⁷ Pusey's biographer, Canon Henry Parry Liddon (1829-90), gave the Bampton Lectures for 1866 on *The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (1867), a work long held in esteem by conservatives of all parties.⁵⁸

In 1889, however, the publication of the volume of essays entitled *Lux Mundi*, written by a group of liberal High Churchmen at Oxford under the editorship of Charles Gore (1853-1932), indicated an increasing *rapprochement* between Anglo-Catholics and liberals.⁵⁹ With Liddon's death in 1890, hastened (it was said) by the publication of *Lux Mundi*, original Tractarianism came to an end.⁶⁰

The aim of the Broad Churchmen had been to accustom Anglicans to the critical and historical study of the Bible, which had been engaging the minds of German thinkers for the previous half-century. In Klaus Dockhorn's monograph, *Der deutsche Historismus in England*, he fully documented the impact that the German "Historical Movement" made upon this country in many spheres of study, including that of historical theology and Biblical criticism. He wrote: "Dass die englische Theologie seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts fast völlig unter deutschem Einfluss steht, ist eine von der englischen Wissenschaft in vielen Äusserungen anerkannte, oft auch bedauerte Tatsache". The Broad Church was, Dockhorn demonstrated, "in ihren Anfängen und in ihrer Entwicklung ein Niederschlag der durch Historismus and Idealismus bestimmten deutschen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts".⁶¹

At all events, it was due to the Broad Church Movement that Englishmen become most deeply concerned with German theology. Writing in 1915 in a series of tracts intended as war propaganda, the Free Church theologian, W. B. Selbie, admitted though with some apprehension the following facts:

⁵⁷ Quoted by J. K. Mozley, *Some Tendencies in British Theology from the Publication of "Lux Mundi" to the Present Day* (London, 1951), pp. 111-12.

⁵⁸ The book reached its 14th edition in 1890. As recently as 1934 an abridgement by the late George Goodman was published by the Evangelical house of Pickering & Inglis and has often been reprinted. Cf. notes 5 and 6 above.

⁵⁹ See Mozley, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 and 19.

⁶¹ Dockhorn, *op. cit.* (note 42), pp. 79 and 83.

. . . in the Liberal movement in English theology, represented by the Broad Church school among Anglicans, and the more advanced elements in the Free Churches . . . the influence of German thought has been supreme. . . . Almost every book on a theological subject written in this country shows traces of our indebtedness to Germans. . . . It has also been the custom for theological students from England and Scotland, in ever increasing numbers, to spend some part of their course at a German University. They come back imbued, with something of the German spirit and method . . .⁶²

THE BROAD CHURCH AND BUNSEN

One of the contributions to *Essays and Reviews*, by Rowland Williams (1817-70), Professor of Hebrew at Lampeter, was ostensibly a review of "Bunsen's Biblical Researches". The subject enabled Williams to commend Bunsen for his critical approach to the Bible and to insist on the need for reliance on reason rather than on authority in theological matters.⁶³

Although the "voluminous and verbose theological writings" of Christian Karl Josias Freiherr von Bunsen (1791-1860) were "for the most part of little enduring value",⁶⁴ he exercised considerable influence upon the domestic affairs of the Church of England, especially upon the Broad Churchmen in it. It was also due largely to him that Englishmen began to take an interest in German hymns.

Bunsen, a friend of the historian, Niebuhr, was employed in the diplomatic service of Prussia for thirty-seven years. The Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV and Bunsen evolved a grandiose but abortive scheme for uniting the Anglican and Lutheran Churches on the basis of Anglican episcopacy. Bunsen was more successful in promoting the establishment in 1841 of a joint bishopric in Jerusalem, a move largely responsible for Newman's secession from the Church of England.⁶⁵ After a short period in Bern, Bunsen became Prussian minister in London, where between 1842 and 1854 he acted as an intermediary between English scientific and cultural circles.

It was while Bunsen was minister at the Prussian legation in Rome (1823-39) that J. C. Hare had made his acquaintance; for since England had no representative at the Papal court Bunsen's

⁶² *The War and Theology* (Oxford Pamphlets, 1914-15), pp. 5-7. Until 1871 Free Churchmen had studied in Germany partly because they were debarred from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Elliott-Binns, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-5, 182-3).

⁶³ Storr, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp. 435-7. Williams's review is reprinted in Cockshut, *op. cit.* (note 14), chap. 8.

⁶⁴ F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, 1957).

⁶⁵ Willoughby, *art. cit.* (note 17), p. 65.

Villa Frascati became the meeting place of some of the most distinguished Englishmen and Germans of the day, including the liberal Churchman, Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), the Headmaster of Rugby. At Arnold's suggestion Bunsen compiled, on the model of the English Book of Common Prayer, his *Versuch eines allgemeinen evangelischen Gesang- und Gebetbuchs zum Kirchen- und Hausgebrauch* (Hamburg, 1833)⁶⁶. The collection sold rapidly in Germany, but never became a national hymn-book as the compiler had hoped. It was reprinted in an abridged form in 1846 and in a completely revised edition in 1881 after his death.⁶⁷

He was one of the first German hymnologists to go back to the original texts of authors; his abridgements and alterations were done circumspectly. His object was "to provide materials for a national hymn-book for the whole of Protestant Germany, of territorial, ecclesiastical or sectarian divisions. To this end he sought out the finest German hymns, and his selection [included] a large proportion of the best hymns in the language with no limitation of party". This extract from the biographical sketch in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* was written by Susanna Winkworth. Her sister, Catherine (1827-78), one of the most prolific English translators of German hymns and the greatest since John Wesley, was a friend of Bunsen's and made good use of his *Gesang- und Gebetbuch*.⁶⁸ Frances Elizabeth Cox (1812-97), another major translator, relied almost exclusively on it for her material.⁶⁹ Many other translators of all denominations and of none followed where Miss Winkworth and Miss Cox led and drew from the same source.⁷⁰

Bunsen's first edition came out in 1833 at a time of considerable

⁶⁶ See Schirmer, "German Literature", pp. 171-2; *Der Einfluss*, pp. 132-3.

⁶⁷ These two editions were entitled simply *Allgemeines evangelisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch zum Kirchen- und Hausgebrauch* (Hamburg, 1846) and (Gotha, 1881). The combination in one volume of a hymnal and a prayerbook is typically German.

⁶⁸ See the prefaces to her *Lyra Germanica* (2 vols., London, 1855-58).

⁶⁹ See the prefaces to her *Sacred Hymns from the German* (London, 1841) and 2nd ed. (London, 1864).

⁷⁰ For more information about Bunsen see the *Memorials of Two Sisters, Susanna and Catherine Winkworth*, ed. by Margaret J. Shaen (London, 1908), *passim*; R. A. D. Owen's University of Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis, *Christian Bunsen and Liberal English Theology* (1922); and W. Höcker, *Der Gesandte Bunsen als Vermittler zwischen Deutschland und England* (Göttingen, 1951). A. L. Drummond hailed Bunsen as "the pioneer of Pan-Protestantism", *EQ*, XIII (1941), 46-61.

hymnological activity in Germany.⁷¹ In that same year English interest in hymns was intense; within those twelve months about ten Anglican hymnals first came on the market. A number of Non-conformist hymnals were also published in that year.⁷² With the increase in the number of hymnals compiled came an increase in the number of hymns written and an increase in the demand for translations. About the year 1833 compilers were looking for fresh material, if only to distinguish their books from those of their many rivals. The Oxford Movement was not particularly interested in German hymns. In order to emphasize the antiquity and catholicity of the Church some Tractarians, notably John Mason Neale (1818-66), began to translate ancient and medieval hymns from the Latin and Greek. As for German hymns, John Wesley and a few others had made England aware of their existence. The time was now ripe for an importation on a large scale.⁷³

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⁷¹ Wilhelm Nelle, *Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes*, 3. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 286-7.

⁷² Thus Julian, *op. cit.* (note 33), p. 334. Whereas since Isaac Watts Nonconformists had felt free to sing hymns as well as Psalms (see note 22), many Anglicans had held the use of hymns to be unlawful. The quasi-legalization of hymns in the Church of England as a result of a lawsuit in 1820 released a spate of hymnals. See Percy Dearmer, *Songs of Praise Discussed* (London, 1933), pp. xi-xii; Erik R. Routley, *Hymns and Human Life* (London, 1952); and C. H. Phillips, *The Singing Church*, new ed. (London, 1968), p. 168

⁷³ For more information on the reception of German hymns see my thesis, *A Study of German Hymns in Current English Hymnals* (2 vols., Leeds Ph.D., 1966).