

## CHAPTER VI

### ANGLICAN MISSION AND THE VICTORIAN INTELLECTUAL CRISES

#### The "Believing" Intellectual

As one would expect, theology and mission methodology engaged the intellect of the leadership of the Melanesian Mission to a far greater degree than anything else. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, neither of those pursuits could, for thoughtful individuals, be completely separated from the dramatic intellectual changes of the period. Butler and Hooker might have more reality for Patteson than Darwin or Lyell, but he did not choose, despite the readily available excuse of distance and the press of mission affairs, to ignore the intellectual dilemmas precipitated by advances in the natural sciences, new methods of biblical scholarship, and an increasingly secular approach to man and society. "We can't suppose," he wrote, "that men in the Nineteenth Century will view the questions as they did in the Sixteenth or Seventeenth. We must not seek simply to reproduce what to any of us may appear to be a golden age of theological literature and thought. Men must be dealt with as they are."<sup>1</sup> To avoid difficult questions or to ignore the character of one's own time was, in his view, to invite stagnation and indolence.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Charlotte Yonge, Life of John Coleridge Patteson, 2 vols. (London: The MacMillan Co., 1873), 2:204.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Patteson, in short, even from the remove of Melanesia, participated in the delicate process of integrating belief and tradition with new knowledge. The fact that a Victorian missionary engaged in this process at all is at variance with some scholarly conceptions of Victorian intellectual life. Those conceptions stressed dichotomy and conflict between religious traditions and new "scientific," secular views of man and society. In such a conflict, a clergyman of the Church of England ought to have known exactly where he stood. In fact, Patteson, like a great many other thoughtful Victorians, perceived no such conflict and was most vehement in his criticism of those who would create artificial schisms. Of Matthew Arnold, he said, "I suppose that an irreverent man e.g. Mat. Arnold, being partly disgusted with the popular theology and having no scruples about putting aside inspiration and believing that he is an adequate representative of the 19th century's intelligence . . . sets to work to demolish what is distasteful to himself, and what the unerring criticism of the day rejects . . . eliminating all that lies beyond the speculative range of the mind . . . ." <sup>3</sup> "A man needn't be unbelieving," in short, "because he doesn't like to be credulous." <sup>4</sup>

An understanding of the synthesizing process--indeed of Victorian intellectual change--would be seriously hampered by imposing a formal, doctrinaire structure on men who were decidedly eclectic in their intellectual outlook. For all that intellectual change could be

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<sup>3</sup>Patteson Papers, SPG Collection, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, 1871.

<sup>4</sup>Yonge, 2, p. 539.

problematic for religious men, it did not, for these High Church Anglican missionaries, represent insurmountable difficulties or require total rejection. But at the same time, the refusal of these particular Victorians to settle on a fixed ideological position complicates matters in terms of any attempt to "place" them intellectually. The approach taken in this chapter will be to reconstruct the Victorian intellectual climate at mid-century, emphasizing the effort to find a proper intellectual context for Christian belief, and then determine the effect of that effort on the Melanesian Mission. The emphasis is again on Patteson with particular attention paid to his educational background and his reading on problems of Christian restatement. A great deal of this effort must be categorized as logical speculation. But if Patteson was contradictory or unclear in his own synthesizing effort, he was all the more typical of his age. And surely, the means he found for integrating change in terms of European culture is of some significance for mission. His resolution of the "problem" of faith and expanded knowledge as it appeared in the mid-nineteenth century ultimately affected the Mission's view and expectations of Melanesians and its course of action in the field.

#### Nineteenth-Century Intellectual Change and Christian Restatement

Historians of the Victorian period have increasingly shied away from conceptualizing the critical intellectual developments of the mid-nineteenth century in terms of irreconcilable conflict. The "conflict view" of change, however, had considerable appeal in the second half of the nineteenth century and for a long time thereafter.

Not only did it have an appealing simplicity, but it found numerous articulate popularizers. John William Draper, for example, the forgotten principal speaker at the famous 1860 debate between Thomas Huxley and Samuel Wilberforce, bishop of Oxford, maintained in his History of the Conflict between Religion and Science (1874) that faith is stationary in that a revelation from God must be taken as an absolute. Science, by contrast, is always dynamic, always progressive. An immensely popular book, Draper's History was eventually translated into French, German, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Russian, Portuguese, and Serbian.<sup>5</sup>

In the United States, as part of his efforts to create the modern secular university, Andrew Dickson White further defined the "conflict" in his History of the Warfare of Science with the Theology in Christendom (1896). White assumed a clear conflict between "progressive" science on the one hand and reactionary religion on the other, with science, given its intrinsic advantages of logic and objectivity, ultimately victorious.<sup>6</sup> This conflict had a long history, culminating in the uproar over Charles Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859. After the Darwinian Revolution, which stripped man of his privileged status as God's special creation and relegated him to the biological order, Christianity, White thought, could no longer exert any influence on

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<sup>5</sup>Owen Chadwick, The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 161-162.

<sup>6</sup>Josef L. Altholz, "The Warfare of Conscience and Theology" in Mind and Art in Victorian England, ed. Josef Altholz (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 59.

the scientific community. Efforts to reconcile the obscurantist traditions of Christianity with the truth of science proved not only fruitless but entirely illogical.<sup>7</sup>

Yet almost from the point of full articulation of the "warfare of science and religion, there has been a parallel awareness that such an absolute dichotomy obscures an understanding of the nature of intellectual change. The legend of this dichotomy--Science and Religion, as Owen Chadwick phrases it, "blown up into balloon duellists"<sup>8</sup>--began to lose credibility with Emile Durkheim's and Max Weber's expositions, at the turn of the century, of the integral relationship between society and religion. Durkheim distrusted the notion that a society could discard irrationality with the accumulation of new scientific knowledge and then proceed with its own inexorable advance. Weber, in turn, developed the relationship between the religion and the ethical attitudes of even a so-called "advanced" society. The study of intellectual change in a given society moved, therefore, into a new phase, one in which it was no longer possible to map that change simply by formal propositions articulated by some of its members.<sup>9</sup>

In keeping with this more complex approach, modern scholars of the Victorian intellectual crisis have emphasized its multi-faceted nature, and the old view of clear-cut divisions and identifiable antagonists has undergone considerable revision. The Darwinian

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<sup>7</sup>A. Hunter Dupree, "Christianity and the Scientific Community in the Age of Darwin" in God and Nature, eds., David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 352.

<sup>8</sup>Chadwick, The Secularization of the European Mind, p. 162.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

Revolution--and, indeed, science itself--has increasingly come to be regarded as only one facet of a wider, long-standing movement toward a critical approach to man and his history, the natural sciences and, significantly, religion. Because this movement was so broad in scope, it engaged almost all thoughtful men at some level of inquiry that was problematic for them.

The application of critical thinking to one such problematic area tended, moreover, to overlap into another. The interplay between geology and biblical criticism provides an instructive example. Geology was an immensely popular subject well before 1859, with geologic surveys occasionally outselling the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Initially, clergymen-geologists such as William Buckland and Adam Sedgwick managed to adhere to the harmonizing traditions of eighteenth-century natural philosophy. Nature, in short, continued to interpret Genesis. But with the work of Charles Lyell, the anonymous publication of Robert Chamber's Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation (1844) and the introduction of concepts of uniformitarianism and evolution, this harmony threatened to become cacophonous. "The proof of design," writes Owen Chadwick, "which for a century and a half served to marry science and religion slid into the dust of prehistoric rocks."<sup>10</sup>

But, interestingly, a new critical approach to Old Testament studies, German in origin but increasingly available to English scholars

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<sup>10</sup>Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966-70) 2 (1970):568.

in the 1840s and 1850s, provided the means of reconciling what the intelligent believer could no longer ignore. Set in the larger framework of German idealism, this new biblical criticism was predicated on the conviction that the Bible could be read like any other book and subjected to the same scholarly criteria without damaging the validity of its fundamental message. Hence, the problem of conflicting biblical "facts" and scientific "facts" did not loom nearly as large. ". . . I owe," wrote Julius Hare, one of the earliest English scholarly proponents of this critical approach, "to them [German theologians and biblical scholars] my ability to believe in Christianity, with much more implicit and intellectual faith than I otherwise should have been able to have done, for without them I should only have saved myself from dreary suspicions, by a refusal to allow my heart to follow my head, and by a self-willed determination to believe, whether my reason approved of my belief or not."<sup>11</sup> It would appear, then that what the critical approach took away with one hand, it often gave back with the other.

The supposed dichotomy between science and religion breaks down in other areas as well. A. Hunter Dupree points out the degree to which Victorian scientists and science popularizers relied on religious symbolism when confronted with major philosophical issues. Even the agnosticism of "Darwin's bulldog," Thomas Huxley, utilized such

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<sup>11</sup> Julius Hare, Charges to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes (Cambridge, 1856) quoted in John Rogerson Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany (London: SPCK, 1984), p. 163.

Christian models as lay sermons, the concept of a new Reformation, and conversion.<sup>12</sup> Others have maintained that an increased moral sensibility and earnestness were as likely to be the source of the rejection of Christian orthodoxy as "scientific" knowledge and the strict application of reason. For many Victorians, the harsher Christian doctrines of original sin, eternal punishment, and the entire doctrine of the Atonement were simply incompatible with this heightened moral sensibility.<sup>13</sup> James Anthony Froude, who came from a strong Tractarian background, wrote of the Atonement in his famous account of his loss of orthodox belief, The Nemesis of Faith (1849): "That each should have his exact due is just--is the best for himself. That the consequence of his guilt should be transferred from him to one who is innocent . . . whatever else it be is not justice . . . To suppose that by our disobedience we have taken something away from God, in the loss of which He suffers, for which He requires satisfaction has been made to Him by the cross sacrifice (as if doing wrong were incurring a debt to Him which somehow must be paid, though it matters not by whom), is so infinitely derogatory to His majesty, to every idea which I can form of His nature, that to believe it in any sense as this confounds, and overwhelms me."<sup>14</sup> Yet, ironically, the ethical

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<sup>12</sup>Dupree, "Christianity and the Scientific Community . . . ," p. 363.

<sup>13</sup>Atholz, "The Warfare of Conscience with Theology," p. 64.

<sup>14</sup>A. A. Froude, The Nemesis of Faith, London, 1849, quoted in Howard R. Murphy, "Christian Orthodoxy in Early Victorian England," American Historical Review, 60, July, 1955, p. 808.



and moral yardstick by which orthodox belief was measured and found wanting was itself the result of the renewed religious fervency and interest marking English society in the first half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, this phenomenon--religious renewal, heightened moral sensitivity and the consequent rejection of orthodox belief--found expression in both the Evangelical and Tractarian segments of Victorian Christianity.<sup>15</sup>

In short, Patteson's position--neither unbelieving nor credulous--places him squarely in line with current thinking on the true nature of mid-nineteenth century intellectual patterns that were marked at least as much by accommodation, overlap and synthesis as by conflict. This is not, however, to deny the presence of conflict or to imply that accommodation was easy. Regardless of the symbolic overload it rapidly acquired, the fact remains that Origin of Species, with its total lack of theological reference points, destroyed the old clarity of the relationship between God, man and nature. The challenge of redefining that relationship fell, not on science as it had in the past, but on the community of Christian believers.<sup>16</sup>

Large segments of the community chose not to address that challenge at all. The traditional Calvinist stress on the Bible as the sole source of moral and religious authority made both biblical criticism

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 816.

<sup>16</sup>Frederick Gregory, "The Impact of Darwinian Evolution on Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century" in God and Nature, pp. 372-388.

and the new discoveries of the natural sciences particularly uncongenial to Evangelicals of every persuasion. Almost without exception, the Evangelical response was denial and reaffirmation of its orthodox position. High Church Anglicanism could produce the same reaction, albeit couched in somewhat more sophisticated language. In 1858, for example, H. L. Mansel argued, in a series of lectures on the limits of religious thought, that the Absolute or the Infinite existed on a level that was utterly beyond the comprehension of human reason. Man must, therefore, unconditionally accept God's revelation, as contained in the Bible, in complete and absolute faith. For man to explain or defend or deny the Infinite on rationalist grounds missed the point entirely.<sup>17</sup>

For others, this rather ostrich-like attitude was unacceptable. Yet they approached the alternative--restatement of Christian belief in such a way that new knowledge and sensibilities could be accommodated --with a certain amount of trepidation. In some cases, restatement entailed very real personal and professional sacrifices. Frederick Denison Maurice's views on the immorality of hell and eternal punishment cost him his divinity chair at King's College, London in 1853. At least two of the liberal clerical authors of the most famous expression of restatement, Essays and Reviews (1860), were charged with heresy before a judicial committee of the Privy Council.<sup>18</sup> Benjamin Jowett's

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<sup>17</sup>Altholz, "The Warfare of Conscience . . . ," p. 69.

<sup>18</sup>James R. Moore, "Geologists and Interpreters of Genesis in the Nineteenth Century" in God and Nation, p. 341.

academic career, in particular, suffered major set-backs because of his participation in Essays and Reviews, and Max Mueller, who was not even a contributor, lost the Oxford chair in Sanskrit through mere association with these "liberal" Anglicans.<sup>19</sup> A declaration repudiating Essays and Reviews and reaffirming biblical authority and inspiration garnered the signatures of nearly half the clergymen of England and Ireland by 1864, while written rebuttals in the form of books, pamphlets and articles numbered over four hundred.<sup>20</sup>

Patteson, cushioned by the remoteness of Melanesia and his own reverence for the Anglican tradition, never faced such professional risk. On a personal level, however, he was at some pains to explain his interests in restatement and expressed his concern that his much-revered father would think him wrong for questioning so much.<sup>21</sup> His interests also put him at theological odds with his Tractarian heroes. "Some of the very best men, Pusey, e.g.," he wrote, "puzzle one. In heart and in their theological books they belong to the Past, and would fain connect it unchanged with the present. But they do strange things, which seem to indicate that it is to them also a time and an age which demands new combinations, new modes of meeting error, new ways of presenting the Truth--almost as if the truth had a new aspect unfolded to the man of this time. . . . the outward circumstance do

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<sup>19</sup>George W. Stocking, Jr., Victorian Anthropology (New York: The Free Press, 1987), p. 57.

<sup>20</sup>J. R. Moore, "Geologists and Interpreters . . . ," p. 341.

<sup>21</sup>Patteson Papers, SPG Collection, 1861.

change--the truth of course cannot change. Yet is the old way of stating the truth a little worn out? Does it satisfy the wants of this generation which starts [with] difficulties not generally known and not perplexing the minds of our forefathers."<sup>22</sup>

For Patteson, then, the issue of restatement could not be avoided, however much one might long for the simpler faith of a simpler time. In that recognition, he aligned himself, albeit with some caution, with the so-called liberal Anglicans, a group loosely associated with the ideas and attitudes expressed in Essays and Reviews. Essentially, this group sought to address the fact that traditional, orthodox English Christianity offered no acceptable way of resolving the potential intellectual conflict that faced men of good faith by 1859. The key to the resolution of this conflict lay in restatement and expansion of a faith that continued to be a deep, personal reality.

Patteson, who, given his reverence for Anglican tradition, might have hesitated to call himself a religious liberal, nevertheless articulated the challenge of restatement extremely well. "Is there to be some legitimate development--not a compromise of truth, not a concession to Erastian worldly principles, not a negation of the Divine constitution and spiritual Life and Powers of the Church--but a something which I cannot describe, and for which I cannot find a name? Some recognition of the wants of the time, some humbling acknowledgment that we have never allowed Christianity to put forth its real

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<sup>22</sup>Patteson Papers, Selwyn Collection, Selwyn College Library, Cambridge, 1869.

powers; that our sins, divisions, uncharitableness have checked and thwarted and stifled the free manifestations of God's love and the full working of the Spirit."<sup>23</sup> For a man such as Patteson--a Christian of sufficient conviction to undertake mission who nonetheless recognized the validity of what man discovered by reason and observation--this "legitimate development" was critical. For how otherwise could the framework of Christian idealism be maintained? How, in short, could the intelligent, informed individual remain convinced of a moral deity's moral end for man and his world?

The critical approach had, by mid-way through the nineteenth century, played havoc with the traditional theological answers honed by William Paley and Bishop Butler. And neither Victorian Evangelicalism, with its dependence on personal religious experience and biblical literalism nor the romantic vision of the religious past of the Oxford Movement seemed likely to provide intellectually satisfying answers. If, however, the various elements of the English theological tradition, in themselves, failed, the deep religious feeling of the period combined with the intensified interest in history generated by English Romanticism to produce a new awareness in some quarters of an intellectual tradition with greater possibilities.

#### The German Contribution

As early as the 1820s, the importance of the contemporary intellectual developments in Germany began to dawn on a few serious-minded

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<sup>23</sup>Patteson Papers, Selwyn Collection, 1869.

Englishmen. This was particularly true of those with interests in the related disciplines of philosophy, philology, biblical studies, and theology. In these areas, the German intellectual effort had far outstripped anything in England. Unlike their English counterparts, the German Protestant clergy functioned as an educational civil service and were not required, by either their church or the state that employed them, to subscribe to particular statements of belief. So the theological faculties of German universities enjoyed a degree of scholarly freedom impossible in either the Anglican universities or the Evangelical academies of England.<sup>24</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Germany had twenty Protestant theological faculties engaged in innovative theological work and serious biblical scholarship based on comparative philology. Theology students were indeed required to undertake original research, thus adding to the existing body of critical knowledge.<sup>25</sup> At a time, then, when only the most tentative efforts for the improvement of the quality of the clergy were being made in England, German theological and biblical studies were both intense and highly polished. "Genesis," says one scholar of the period, "in the one land was being studied in the manner of geology in the other."<sup>26</sup>

In England, by contrast, the academic conditions under which an aspiring student could become a biblical specialist and produce and

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<sup>24</sup>Moore, "Geologists and Interpreters," p. 332.

<sup>25</sup>Rogerson, Old Testament Criticism, p. 249.

<sup>26</sup>Moore, "Geologists and Interpreters," p. 332.

publish original work simply did not exist. As we have already seen, university education continued to be dominated by classical studies until late in the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Serious postgraduate study in more specialized areas received little institutional recognition beyond the reward of a few essay prizes and merit examinations for a small number of fellowships.<sup>28</sup> Under these conditions, it comes as no surprise to find a contemporary observer of the English theological scene writing, in 1855, that, ". . . the very rudimentary idea of theology as the ever-fresh product of scripture and criticism, in short as a living science and not a dead system, is unknown."<sup>29</sup>

The German achievement, then, had to be acknowledged by Englishmen of a speculative, scholarly frame of mind, regardless of their own intellectual point of departure. When that most conservative and fervent of churchmen, Edmund Pusey, sought scholarly proofs of belief with which to refute the arguments of a friend whose faith had lapsed, he realized that the most definitive theological work was in German, a language that neither he nor anyone else at Oxford read. In 1825, he undertook the first of two excursions to Germany for studies in theology and biblical scholarship. Much of his encounter with the likes of J. G. Eichhorn, the father of modern biblical criticism, and

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<sup>27</sup> Rogerson, Old Testament Criticism, pp. 249-253.

<sup>28</sup> George Haines, Essays on German Influence upon English Education, 1850-1919 (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1969), p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> J. Tulloch, Theological Tendencies of the Age (Edinburgh, 1855), quoted in Ieuan Ellis, Seven Against Christ (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), p. 2.

the devout rationalist, Fredrich Schleiermacher, shocked Pusey to the core. "This," he wrote in horror of Eichhorn's cheerful dismissal of miracles, "will all come upon us in England; and how utterly unprepared for it we are."<sup>30</sup> But he could not, despite his unease, dismiss the German achievement, and his own biblical scholarship was clearly influenced by German methodology, if not German theology. While, for example, he steadfastly clung to his belief in the inerrant nature of "plenary inspiration" [what must be revealed and which is therefore without error], Pusey could concede that in other matters, biblical authors were susceptible to error.<sup>31</sup>

In the succeeding decades, English students trekked to Germany in ever-increasing numbers. The degree of recognition of the value of the German achievement forms, in a sense, a convenient gauge for measuring individual receptiveness to ideas of a more speculative, theoretical, and metaphysical nature than those that commonly prevailed in Victorian England. Walter Houghton, in his comprehensive study of the Victorian mind, has delineated the manner in which the Industrial Revolution, Evangelicalism, and the success of utilitarian philosophy all tended to reinforce a popular affinity for the pragmatic and a traditional distaste for abstract speculation. "The English public," he quotes from John Stuart Mill, "think nobody worth listening to except in so far as he tells them of something to be done . . . What

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<sup>30</sup> Geoffrey Faber, Oxford Apostles: A Character Study of the Oxford Movement (London: Faber and Faber, 1933), p. 134.

<sup>31</sup> Rogerson, Old Testament Criticism, p. 169.



is more, the only reasons they will attend to, are those founded on the specific good consequences to be expected from the adoption of the specific proposition."<sup>32</sup>

"Germanism," despite its intellectual attractions, was regarded by many with considerable suspicion. Its more extreme critics, says Owen Chadwick, associated it with everything from David Strauss's radical interpretation of the historical Jesus to "lax attitudes toward Jonah's whale."<sup>33</sup> Among churchmen, even those who were decidedly progressive in other terms balked at some of the intellectual stretches German studies required. Bishop Bloomfield, a staunch advocate of institutional church reform and the expansion of the colonial Church, would nevertheless inquire of ordination candidates as proof of orthodoxy, "I trust, sir, that you don't understand German."<sup>34</sup> Pusey, despite his appreciation of German scholarly methodology, routinely greeted Max Mueller in Oxford High Street with the complaint, "I know you are a German."<sup>35</sup>

But the fact remained: Germany offered specialized study on an incomparable level. Beginning in the 1840s, a number of professors and fellows--notably Mueller, Jowett and Mark Pattison at Oxford--actively encouraged travel to Germany and the pursuit of German learning

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<sup>32</sup>Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 112.

<sup>33</sup>Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 1, p. 551.

<sup>34</sup>Ellis, Seven Against Christ, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

at home. A tutor and later master of Balliol College at Oxford, Jowett owned all the collected works of Schleiermacher and was of the opinion that more Schleiermacher had been read at Balliol than anywhere else in England.<sup>36</sup> In the 1840s, he also acquired a fascination for the work of Georg Wilhelm Hegel and consulted German scholars on the best approach to a study of his writings. His own lectures at Oxford on Greek philosophy began to reflect this influence.<sup>37</sup>

In 1852, a recent Balliol undergraduate took just the sort of scholarly pilgrimage that Jowett and others encouraged. And it was in Germany, John Coleridge Patteson later maintained, that his education really began. Patteson's scholarly interests focused on polishing his German skills in order to undertake a proper study of Hebrew, a task requiring access to German scholarship.<sup>38</sup> But he also made an effort to measure the theological climate in Germany by attending lectures and interviewing German clerics. That climate was, of course, extremely varied, and Patteson found its more extreme manifestations unpalatable. In his correspondence with his father, he expressed his relief that Strauss appeared to have relatively few followers and that skepticism in general seemed to be on the decline.<sup>39</sup>

The significance of Patteson's German connection--a connection almost certainly begun at Balliol and reinforced by his language and

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 306.

<sup>37</sup>Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, 21 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 22 (Supplement):922.

<sup>38</sup>Yonge, 1, pp. 42-44.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., pp. 100-08.

theology studies in Germany--lies not in his adherence to a particular doctrine, however, but in the degree to which it tied him to the so-called Liberal Anglicans. Patteson certainly valued his time in Germany and continued to read extensively in German. He was, for example, familiar with the German church historian, Augustus Neander, a student of Schleiermacher, and the Catholic theologian, Johann Dollinger, who was eventually excommunicated for his unorthodox views. But, more significantly, he read these Anglican thinkers who, in a variety of ways, undertook to retool German intellectual developments to meet English needs. These included Frederick Denison Maurice, A. P. Stanley, the seven authors involved in Essays and Reviews, John Seeley and the Anglican biblical scholars, Joseph Lightfoot and Brooke F. Westcott. Patteson did not always read with approval, but he never read with dismissal. If, as Bernard Reardon in his study of religious thought in the nineteenth century has suggested, the options for religion in the Victorian era were either retreat into the past or accommodation, Patteson, to a far greater extent than most of his contemporaries, had the training and inclination for accommodation and restatement.<sup>40</sup>

#### German Ideas in an English Context

The course of this German influence in England was, however, decidedly problematic. Walter F. Cannon, in his study of the cross-disciplinary network among Cambridge intellectuals that developed

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<sup>40</sup> Bernard Reardon, Religious Thought in the 19th Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 1-7.

between 1820 and 1850, identifies Germanism as a key component in a "progressive center" in English thought; the source of the growing professionalization and internationalization of English science, scholarship and religious thought.<sup>41</sup> Victorian intellectuals themselves sometimes saw their intellectual endeavors in the same light. The Oxford classicist and contributor to Essays and Reviews, Mark Pattison, regarded the controversy over that publication as symptomatic of a larger issue; the conflict between a new liberal scholarly, and essentially European, view of society and a conservative, anti-intellectual position.<sup>42</sup> As one might therefore expect, even those Liberal Anglicans who found the idealism, speculativeness and polished methodology of Germanism congenial utilized it in a highly selective manner.<sup>43</sup> What exactly, then, did Germanism mean for English intellectual life in general and for Christian restatement in particular?

On the most immediate and pragmatic level, German biblical criticism provided an escape from the intellectual dilemma of biblical literalism. German philology and biblical scholarship had undertaken the task of treating the Bible as a text like any other, reflecting its historical circumstance and subject to the limitations of that circumstance. Yet German theologians had not concluded that the entire Christian doctrine was thus at risk. Perhaps, then, a closed mind

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<sup>41</sup>Walter F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen: An Early Victorian Intellectual Network," Journal of British Studies, 4, 1964, pp. 87-88.

<sup>42</sup>Ellis, Seven Against Christ, p. x.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 308.

need not be as much a part of the professional equipment of the clergyman as the inevitable black coat. For clergymen seeking participation in the broader intellectual culture of their day--a participation that uncritical acceptance of the entire Bible precluded--the combination of reverence and scholarship found in at least some aspects of German biblical criticism appeared to offer an effective solution.<sup>44</sup>

This attitude underlaid the work of clerical scholars on the order of Brooke F. Westcott and Joseph Lightfoot, whose biblical commentaries Patteson eagerly solicited for the clerical library he was accumulating at Norfolk Island.<sup>45</sup> These Cambridge scholars, who readily acknowledged their debt to their German colleagues, insisted on meticulous scholarship. Lightfoot, particularly, stressed exact study of grammar and vocabulary as part of his conviction that the only access to a writer's meaning lay in an accurate understanding of his language.<sup>46</sup> By these means, they sought to separate the extraneous and the erroneous in biblical texts from the critical truths of the faith.<sup>47</sup>

Patteson found this perspective most congenial. He held Lightfoot, despite some reservations, to be a most valuable man.<sup>48</sup> And he shared Westcott's conviction that the theologian and the clergyman had a duty to take into account knowledge of all kinds. One of the most serious

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<sup>44</sup>Althoz, "The Warfare of Conscience with Theology," p. 61.

<sup>45</sup>Patteson Papers, SPG Collection, 1863 and Yonge, 2, p. 250.

<sup>46</sup>Dictionary of National Biography, 22, pp. 1116-17.

<sup>47</sup>Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 60-61.

<sup>48</sup>Yonge, 2, p. 535.

charges that could be leveled against the clergy in these new critical-minded times, he maintained, was that of the neglect of serious study.<sup>49</sup> Far from being threatened by the approach of men such as Westcott and Lightfoot, Patteson looked to it to provide correctives to the generally lack-luster intellectual performance of the English clergy. "What offends . . . ," he wrote shortly before his death,

is the cool reckless way in which so many preachers make the most audacious statements, wholly unsupported by any sound learning and logical reasoning. A man makes a statement, quotes a text or two, which he doesn't even know to be capable of at least one interpretation different from that which he gives to it; and so the critical hearer is disgusted and no wonder. One gain of this critical spirit is, that it makes all of us Clergy more circumspect in what we say, and many a man looks at his Greek Testament nowadays and at a good commentary too, before he ventures to quote a text which formerly would have done duty in its English dress and passed muster among an uncritical congregation . . . . It offends . . . to have a shallow-minded preacher taking for granted the very points that he ought to prove, giving a sentence from some divine of his school as if it settled the question without further reference even to the Bible.<sup>50</sup>

But there was another dimension to this German influence; one involving issues more complex and subtle than deliverance from clerical parochialism. German biblical scholarship and theology did not exist in a religious vacuum. We have already noted the relative freedom of theological study from Church control in the German university setting. Equally important to its advanced degree of development was the close relationship between religious studies and other academic disciplines. In the eighteenth century, the theological faculties of German universities had incorporated philology, philosophy,

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<sup>49</sup>Yonge, 2, p. 52.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 539.

mathematics and the natural sciences as well as theology proper. Almost all of the significant figures in German philosophy in that century and the first years of the nineteenth were originally enrolled in the theological faculties.<sup>51</sup> Even after the philosophical faculties achieved an independence standing, theology students continued to receive a thorough grounding in philology, philosophy, mathematics and science before proceeding to more specialized studies.<sup>52</sup>

Thus an exposure to specialized German theological and biblical studies entailed, to some degree, an exposure to the broader pattern of German developments in philosophy and history. And, in some cases, access to German ideas in these areas was much more direct. Benjamin Jowett and Frederick Temple, for example, undertook extensive studies of Hegel as fellows at Oxford.<sup>53</sup> In this manner, the Liberal Anglicans found the necessary resources for addressing, not only the apparent dichotomy between science and religion, but the very question of the role of God in human affairs. Nowhere in their writings was this more apparent than in Essays and Reviews, the publication that precipitated what one scholar has termed the greatest religious crises of the Victorian Age.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>J. Conrad, The German Universities (Glasgow: David Bryce and Son, 1885), p. 80.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 154-55.

<sup>53</sup>Dictionary of National Biography, eds. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1922) 22 (Supplement): 922.

<sup>54</sup>Ellis, Seven Against Christ, pp. viii-x.

The seven clerical authors<sup>55</sup> of this highly controversial effort at restatement, despite their association with conservative Oxford, could all make some claim to Cannon's "progressive center." Almost without exception, their essays reflect the influence of Germanism, albeit in a qualified, limited form. In their attempt to reconcile Christian truth with both scientific fact and the possibility of biblical error, they found, for example, in Immanuel Kant's categorical division of the realm of knowledge the means of resolving any apparent conflict between Christian truth and scientific fact. In his Critique of Pure Reason (1781), Kant differentiated between the realm of science, or useful knowledge, and the realm of value or religion. While the former deals with the phenomenal world and can be rationally expressed, the latter is purely intuitive. The realm of value, in short, can be known to exist, but its expression and its "proofs" have nothing to do with the realm of science. In Kant's view, it was critical that the two not be confused. Arguments from design in nature were, therefore, both useless and inappropriate in establishing religious knowledge. Yet, at the same time, the reality of the realm of value could be established by the existence of moral consciousness.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>They were, specifically: Benjamin Jowett, Regius Professor of Greek--Oxford; Frederick Temple, headmaster of Rugby School; Rowland Williams, professor of Hebrew--St. David's College; Baden Powell, Savilian Professor of Geometry--Oxford; H. B. Wilson, vicar of Great Stoughton; C. W. Goodwin; and Mark Pattison, rector of Lincoln College--Oxford.

<sup>56</sup>Ronald N. Stromberg, European Intellectual History Since 1789 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1986), p. 27.



Kant thus provided a valuable apologetic tool for honest doubters of traditional religious exegesis who still believed in conscience and duty.<sup>57</sup> Science and religion could not inform each other, but neither could one threaten the other. Therefore, the preservation of one did not depend on the dismissal of the other. Baden Powell, in his essay "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity" would cheerfully dismiss argument from design as irrelevant. "All reason and science," he wrote, "conspire to the confession that beyond the domain of physical causation and the possible conceptions of intellect or knowledge there lies open the boundless regions of [the] spiritual which is sole dominion of faith . . . . Advancing knowledge, while it asserts the dominion of science in physical things, confirms that of faith in spiritual; we thus neither impugn the generalizations of philosophy, nor allow them to invade the dominion of faith, and admit that what is not a subject for a problem may hold its place in a creed."<sup>58</sup> In the same vein, another of the essayists, C. W. Goodwin, stressed the need to frankly admit errors of scientific fact in the Bible lest the pointless attempt to reconcile Scripture and science distorted meaningful interpretation.<sup>59</sup> Mark Pattison, while fully crediting the efforts and motivations of eighteenth-century rationalist

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<sup>57</sup>Ellis, Seven Against Christ, p. 10.

<sup>58</sup>Baden Powell, "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity" in Essays and Reviews (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Robert, 1861), p. 127).

<sup>59</sup>C. W. Goodwin, "On the Mosaic Cosmogony" in Essays and Reviews, pp. 251-52.

theologians, was still of the opinion that "the defect of the 18th-century theology was not in having too much good sense but in having nothing besides."<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the critical separation of forms of knowledge provided by Kantian philosophy, the liberal Anglicans found further intellectual affinities in the German idealist approach to history. As part of the Romantic rebellion against the rationalism and universalism of the Enlightenment, some German intellectuals began, early in the nineteenth century, to look at history in terms of the dynamic and the particular. In the work of men such as the legal scholar, Karl von Savigny, and the biblical critic, Karl Eichhorn, this dynamic was expressed as organic, evolutionary progression from the simple to the complex; a fact clearly demonstrable by the comparative method. Having first established the nature of the earliest usages and forms in language or belief systems as points of reference, the careful student could reconstruct the entire line of emergent growth.<sup>61</sup>

The concept of the dynamic in history reached its fullest expression in Germany in the work of Georg W. Hegel. Hegel supplied a possible solution to the problem of an underlying ideal unity of all things--a unity no longer provided for, in the view of many nineteenth-century intellectuals, by either rationalism or orthodox Christianity. What Hegel thought he discerned in the apparent chaos of human history was the process of the Idea working itself out in reality. The process

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<sup>60</sup>Mark Pattison, "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750" in Essays and Reviews, p. 207.

<sup>61</sup>Haines, Essays on German Influence, pp. 25-26.

manifested itself in a dialectical struggle between Spirit and Matter with the Absolute Spirit (God) ultimately accomplishing its purpose.<sup>62</sup>

All of this had, obviously, tremendous implications for the study of history. History, as the framework for this ultimate process, was increasingly seen as the source of significant truths about humanity and the universe. Its study therefore required a new, more precise methodology. In that methodology, as developed by historians like Leopold von Ranke and B. G. Niebuhr, comparative philology played as important a role as it did in biblical studies.<sup>63</sup> It is not surprising, then, that the "progressive center" among English intellectuals incorporated an admiration for this view of history into their affinity for things German. For the Liberal Anglicans, struggling to reconcile reason and faith and the spiritual ideal in the face of Victorian materialism, the German idealist vision of history must have seemed a god-send.

Part of its appeal lay in the solution offered to the problem of "progress." For the Liberal Anglicans, the popular notion of progress as it had evolved in the context of English utilitarian philosophy had unfortunate associations with an excessive materialism that, in their view, threatened spiritual life.<sup>64</sup> They also held a too narrow view of progress responsible for the backwardness of English intellectual life. In some instances, too, the conventional idea of

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<sup>62</sup>Stromberg, pp. 76-77.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Duncan Forbes, The Liberal Anglican Idea of History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), pp. 5-6.

material progress was tied to the widening gap between the classes. The Christian socialism of F. D. Maurice and Sir John Seeley, for example, deplored the human damage that was often the result of commercialism and competition and stressed instead the principle of cooperation.<sup>65</sup>

Bishop Patteson shared something of this distrust of conventional notions of progress. "A high degree of civilization seems to generate," he wrote in 1860, ". . . a state of society wherein the natural desires of people to gratify their inclinations in all directions, conjoined with the power of paying highly for the gratification of such inclinations, tends to call forth the ingenuity of the working class in meeting such inclinations in all agreeable ways. So springs up a complicated mechanism, by which a habit of life altogether unnecessary for health and security of life and property is introduced and becomes naturalized among a people."<sup>66</sup>

The Liberal Anglicans, then, took a much less sanguine view of the march of progress than most of their Victorian contemporaries. They did not necessarily deny it, but they certainly wanted it more carefully defined. What, in other words, represented "true progress"? As committed Christians, they believed unequivocally in God's providence. And in German idealism, they discovered the means of defining "true progress" as the unfolding, in history, of this divine plan.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Deborah Wormell, Sir John Seeley and the Uses of History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 19-20.

<sup>66</sup>Yonge, 1, pp. 448-49.

<sup>67</sup>Forbes, pp. 6-7.

Borrowing heavily from Niebuhr, the Liberal Anglican view of history absorbed the idea that all nations pass through similar stages of development with the momentum for that movement supplied by the inner dynamic of national life. These stages of national development were roughly analogous to the stages of human life, i.e., childhood, youth, maturity and old age. Because of the common nature of man, analogies could be drawn among the developmental cycles of all human societies, however dissimilar they might seem.<sup>68</sup>

But an accurate understanding of the Liberal Anglican view of "true progress" depends on a recognition of their assumption that man is, above all else, a religious being; a fact clearly revealed by history as well as religion. Hence there could be no real division between ecclesiastical and secular history. The history of men everywhere and at all times was no more and no less than the history of the common religious experience; the unfolding of the final ideal, the final manifestation of God's will.<sup>69</sup> While progress may appear to be cyclical on one level, "true progress" remains a slow, inexorable advance, through all the developmental stages of human societies, towards God's final, unknown purpose.<sup>70</sup>

This German-Anglican synthesis is clearly evident in the work of the Essays and Reviews writers. They made, for example, extensive use of both the developmental and the idealist elements found in the German historical approach. Temple, who had made fairly extensive

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., pp. 42-43.      <sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., pp. 65-66.

studies of German thought, illustrated, in his "The Education of the World," the concept of spiritual growth with the analogy of human life or the movement from childhood to maturity. The "natural religions" of ancient (or "primitive") peoples were the means of educating them to God's purposes and partially preparing the way for the last stage of spiritual development. Rome, Greece, Asia and Judea, in turn, all contributed to this final step--Christianity and the growth of the Church. The early Church, rather like a young man just beginning to explore his own intellect, tended to express itself in sweeping generalizations. But the mature institution, no longer faced with the chaotic conditions of its early years, was beginning "to modify and soften the hardness and severity of its principles which its early manhood had elevated into immutable statements of truth."<sup>71</sup> Tolerance, in short, had become part of moral evolution as science, history and an expanded view of the world changed man's perspective. The Bible remained the best guide for dealing with this evolution precisely because of its flexibility. A thorough study of its meaning, therefore, was not a matter of choice. "He is guilty," Temple felt, "of high treason against the faith who fears the result of any investigation, whether philosophical or scientific or historical."<sup>72</sup>

Baden Powell, in turn, quoted the Church historian, John Milman, to the effect that "history to be true must condescend to speak the

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<sup>71</sup>Frederick Temple, "The Education of the World" in Essays and Reviews, p. 40.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

language of legend; the belief of the times is part of the record of the times; and though there may occur what may baffle its more calm and searching philosophy, it must not disdain that which was the primal, almost universal motive of human life."<sup>73</sup>

Benjamin Jowett provided the clearest articulation of the Hegelian principle and its consequences. Critical interpretation of Scripture and theology inevitably created doubt and confusion. This had, however, less to do with the critics themselves who really only revealed an age to itself. Fundamentally, the confusion stemmed from the conflicts between reason and feeling, past and present, and older and younger generations. But to back away from these conflicts was to lose the opportunity for advancement. Jowett enumerated the possible ways in which Christianity might thus achieve its own further fulfillment. These included an expanded view of what the life of Christ really meant, greater common ground among the various elements of Christianity, and the rediscovery of the universalism of Scripture which would be useful to mission in that it would remove many obstacles to the reception of Christianity.<sup>74</sup>

Those obstacles, in Jowett's view, stemmed from the fact that the heathen ". . . are in one state of the world, and the missionary who teaches them is in another, and the Book through which they are

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<sup>73</sup>J. Milman, Latin Christianity, quoted in Essays and Reviews, p. 111.

<sup>74</sup>Benjamin Jowett, "On the Interpretation of Scripture" in Essays and Reviews, pp. 425-428.

taught does not altogether coincide with either."<sup>75</sup> In order to avoid a cultural impasse and appeal to the fundamentally religious and spiritual nature of man, the missionary himself had to be able to separate the accidents from the essence of religion.<sup>76</sup> Christianity would have to be presented, not as totally unlike other religions, but as their perfection and fulfillment. In keeping with his vision of the religious dynamic, Jowett saw the missionary task less as a matter of conversion and the zeal of martyrs and more as the amelioration of human social and physical conditions.<sup>77</sup>

Clearly, there was much in Essays and Reviews that was compatible with Patteson's own developing concept of the proper role of mission. The highly controversial book and Patteson's response to it is, however, much more important as a means of gauging Patteson's association with the "progressive center." The hue and cry over the views expressed by its clerical authors was, as we have already noted, intense; a matter of some bewilderment among German scholars who saw little original or startling in it.<sup>78</sup> But in an England where thoughtfulness was frequently regarded as detrimental to both Christian orthodoxy and vital religion, Essays and Reviews represented a real threat. Charles Kingsley, although an associate of F. D. Maurice and himself an admirer of science, thrust the book away in disgust and advised his curate not "to darken your mind with intellectual puzzles which may

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 427-28.      <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Ellis, Seven Against Christ, p. 17.

<sup>78</sup> Rogerson, Old Testament Criticism, p. 217.



breed disbelief but can never breed vital religion or practical usefulness."<sup>79</sup> Essays and Reviews, wrote the editor of one of the many published refutations of its ideas, simply surpassed all other books in its dangerous tendencies.<sup>80</sup>

Patteson's own response appears to be a cautious endorsement. He not only read the book himself almost as soon as it appeared but requested extra copies, apparently with a view to making them part of the mission library. While he did not question the Church's judgment on the book and in fact requested the sermons the Bishop of Oxford gave attacking it, he nevertheless thought it served a useful purpose in forcing churchmen to define their terms when speaking of dogma and theology.<sup>81</sup> Jowett, whose biblical commentaries also figure in Patteson's book requests, particularly concerned him. He was well acquainted with Jowett, he wrote in 1861, and he felt those who were attacking him were entirely too polemical.<sup>82</sup> The Oxford Declaration worried him. Despite the support it garnered from Pusey and Keble, Patteson doubted whether he could have brought himself to sign it had he been in England.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Charles Kingsley, Letters and Memories quoted in Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, pp. 125-28.

<sup>80</sup>Essays and Reviews and the People of England (London: Houston and Wright, 1861).

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., pp. 499-503.

<sup>82</sup>Patteson Papers, SPG Collection, 1861.

<sup>83</sup>Yonge, I, p. 499.

The source of Patteson's caution seems to have less to do with the intellectual propositions put forth in Essays and Reviews than in what he perceived as its tendency to deal with religion intellectually without the necessary conditions of humility and faith.<sup>84</sup> Where that difficulty did not present itself, his endorsement of liberal Anglican views could be enthusiastic. His reaction to Sir John Seeley's Ecce Homo (1865) provides a case in point. Like Essays and Reviews, Seeley's life of Christ proved controversial. William Gladstone in fact reviewed it as the most controversial book by an anonymous author since Vestiges of Creation.<sup>85</sup> Patteson himself doubted if it could have been published at all thirty years earlier. But he called Seeley's chapter on "Enthusiasm of Humanity" noble and freely admitted to using similar ideas in his own sermons and speeches.<sup>86</sup>

Seeley himself endorsed reason and science as cultural allies of religion, sharing religion's ability to draw mankind away from the curse of materialism.<sup>87</sup> Influenced by the ideas of F. D. Maurice, he accepted the basic tenet of Christian socialism that the Christian gospel must operate in a social context. He played an active role in the consumer cooperative movement and the formation of the London Working Man's College and the Working Women's College.<sup>88</sup> The emphasis

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 1, p. 499.

<sup>85</sup>William E. Gladstone, "Critique of Ecce Homo" (London: Strahan and Co., 1868).

<sup>86</sup>Patteson Papers, SPG Collection, 1866.

<sup>87</sup>Wormell, Sir John Seeley . . ., p. 33.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-18.

on reason, progress, and social amelioration in his survey of the life and mission of Christ was the source of both the adverse criticism and the enormous popularity of Ecce Homo. For the book that some critics condemned as a positivist, Utilitarian rendering of a sacred subject,<sup>89</sup> required seven editions by 1867 to meet the public demand, with the seventh edition requiring fifteen reprintings between 1867 and 1892.

Seeley, however, saw social amelioration as ultimately stemming from individual recognition of the fundamental worth of every other human being. That recognition had its basis in the example of what man can be provided by Christ. His example constituted ". . . the most helpful and redeeming fact in history; it is precisely what was wanting to raise the love of man as man to enthusiasm. . . . An eternal glory has been shed upon the human race by the love Christ bore for it."<sup>90</sup> The bond of love provided by Christ's example became the foundation of citizenship in Seeley's Christian Commonwealth. "The Christian has, as such," he wrote, "a definite relation to every other human being, to every Christian as a fellow-citizen and to every person who is not a Christian as possessing that humanity which is the ground of Christianity."<sup>91</sup> In this Commonwealth, too, the Christian had a clear duty, not just to refrain from injury, but to actively promote the welfare of others. It is small wonder that a missionary bishop

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>90</sup>Sir John Seeley, *Ecce Homo: A survey of the life and work of Jesus Christ* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1900), p. 185.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 355.

who fully credited the mystery of Christian love would find Seeley's work "noble."

Patteson's response to the work of Dr. J. C. Shairp, another liberal Anglican who retained his regard for religious mystery, was even more markedly enthusiastic. In the last letter he dispatched before his final cruise on the Southern Cross, Patteson personally conveyed his admiration to Shairp. "I find it difficult to read much of what is worth reading nowadays," he wrote to the then professor at St. Andrews, Edinburgh. "But I know enough of what is working in men's minds in Europe to be heartily thankful for such thoughtful, wholesome teaching as yours."<sup>92</sup>

Together with Jowett, Max Mueller, and the liberal Anglican writer, Arthur Hugh Clough, Shairp formed part of the intellectual center of Balliol in the 1840s when Patteson himself was a student there. Typically, he accepted the validity and importance of the critical approach to religious as well as secular concerns. Faith should never, he maintained, be "wholly dis severed" from intellect.<sup>93</sup> But for the most part, his essays on literary and religious themes sought to reaffirm the spiritual in English life and literature. In his Studies in Poetry and Philosophy, he attributed the appeal of Keble's poetry--and particularly of The Christian Year--to its deep religious feeling, expressed in terms of personal love and devotion to God rather than of awe or grandeur. This quiet, meditative spirituality--which Shairp

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<sup>92</sup>Yonge, 2, p. 564.

<sup>93</sup>John C. Shairp, Culture and Religion (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1872), p. 30.

also associated with the work of Wordsworth and Coleridge--formed an important contribution to a modern world too prone to ignore the spiritual in human experience.<sup>94</sup>

It is almost to be expected, given his concern for the spiritual, that when Shairp examined the relationship between religion and culture, he relied heavily on German idealism, or at least German idealism in its Liberal Anglican incarnation. Far from being dichotomous or independent, human culture and religion could simply not be separated. "Culture must culminate in religion and religion must expand into culture"<sup>95</sup> for the simple reason that man possesses a moral nature. Everyone has, in short, the capacity to apprehend spiritual truth; a capacity which can be realized by the cultivation of moral consciousness. Shairp defined moral consciousness as the realization that the claims of others had equal validity with one's own. Such recognition represents a third and final stage of human moral development after the appetitive and the prudential (enlightened self-interest). The final stage could not, however, evolve without a concept of universal, transcendent law. Any system of thought failing to include the spiritual source of man's moral character, Shairp deemed incomplete. Predictably, he found both Kant and Bishop Butler most congenial.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>John C. Shairp, Studies in Poetry and Philosophy (London: Kennikat Press, 1970. First published 1868), pp. 33-52.

<sup>95</sup>Shairp, Culture and Religion, p. 31.

<sup>96</sup>Shairp, "The Moral Dynamic" in Religion and Culture, pp. 369-70.

All truth must, Shairp thought, be seen as the further revelation of the spiritual ideal. "One who really has confidence in truth--truth alike of science, of philosophy, of history and of faith--will desire to see truth sought and advanced along all the diverse lines on which it is to be found. He may not see the point at which lines converge, but he has perfect faith that they do converge, whether he sees it or not . . . . Sooner or later the full harmony will reveal itself, the discords and contradictions disappear."<sup>97</sup>

#### The Liberal Anglican Bridge

Patteson, by virtue of his Balliol associations, his German travels, the content of his reading, and his respect for the critical approach, can be associated with the Liberal Anglican perspective. And he, in turn, actively participated in the ordination training of younger members of the Mission and, as his frequent requests for a wide variety of books for the Mission library indicates, also concerned himself with the general edification of the Mission's European community. Robert Codrington, who knew Patteson best and came closest to sharing his intellectual interests, never doubted that the key concepts associated with the Mission originated with Patteson, including some of those commonly credited to the more pragmatic Bishop George Augustus Selwyn.<sup>98</sup> Even after his death, the ideas and methods of its martyred bishop had tremendous staying power in the philosophy of the Mission.

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Codrington Papers, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Series A, 1872.

Establishing Patteson's credentials as at least a cautious Liberal Anglican and acknowledging his profound personal influence on the Mission's outlook is not, however, quite the tidy equation that it might seem. Not only was Patteson's approach to this innovative strain in Anglican thought a cautious one, but Liberal Anglicanism itself defies doctrinaire definition. It encompassed a very diverse group of thinkers who found common cause only in a generalized perception of the validity of spiritual life and a respect for critical thinking and the broader intellectual perspective represented by Germanism. Indeed, in the intellectual turmoil of the mid-nineteenth century, churchmen often found it difficult to distinguish friend from foe in matters of religion.<sup>99</sup> Nor can the Liberal Anglican effort be termed "successful" in any meaningful sense. The Anglican Church as an institution never accepted even its restrained approach to change. If anything, in the decades following the 1850s and 1860s the Church veered toward a more conservative position.<sup>100</sup> From another perspective, the very moderation of Liberal Anglicanism has been seen as the source of its lack of influence. It had a tendency, as Owen Chadwick has observed in the work of F. D. Maurice, to go to the brink of a radical theological departure and then "totter back gasping."<sup>101</sup> Consequently, English theology failed to produce the truly innovative and compelling response the times required.

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<sup>99</sup>Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline, p. 45.

<sup>100</sup>Ellis, Seven Against Christ, p. ix.

<sup>101</sup>Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 1, p. 545.

The influence of Liberal Anglicanism on mission is not a matter of a direct connection between a widely acknowledged change in the paradigms of institutional belief and the application of those changes to mission practice. It is rather in the nuances of phrases such as Shairp's ". . . sooner or later the full harmony will reveal itself, the discords and contradictions may disappear" and "confidence in truth sought and advanced along all the diverse lines on which it is to be found" that its real significance is to be found. Essentially, Liberal Anglicanism, through its use of German historical and philosophical models, emerged as the guardian of the older Anglican tradition of accommodation.

The value Patteson placed on that tradition has already been noted. By the 1850s, it appeared to have found new validation at a time when one might have thought it could stretch no further. And perhaps no believer had a greater need for accommodation to be intellectually sustained and enhanced than the Anglican missionary in the field. The conditions under which he worked required him to deal with the strange and the unknown--perhaps even the unimagined--on a daily basis. Yet because the unknown/unimagined culture was the creation of God's children, it had somehow to be explained within the theoretical framework of Christianity.

Victorian Evangelicals, for whom an absolute connection existed between civilization and the Christian faith, did not find this task particularly congenial. Although the biblical interpretation of the origin of man and humanitarian sentiment prevented any adoption of the radical racialist conception of plural human origins which gained



credence after 1859, they nevertheless regarded "savages" in a negative light. As we have seen, the identification between Christianity and civilization and Victorian middle-class values was very nearly complete. "Heathen savages," living without the benefits of any of these virtues, had little to recommend them and were best explained in terms of degeneration from some state of primitive religious grace. Unwilling or no longer able to subject themselves to the discipline of labor and delayed gratification and self-indulgent in their passions, savages remained at the mercy of the forces of nature, unless they happened to be fortunate enough to be rescued by "civilized" men of Christian conscience.<sup>102</sup> In their encounter with the "other," they found little in indigenous culture that could, or should be, accommodated. Pragmatically, they had to accept in the field that which they lacked the power or persuasive ability to change. But nothing in their theological or philosophical outlook suggests that this was anything other than the accommodation of necessity.

Liberal Anglican thought, by contrast, provided an intellectual bridge to what might be termed accommodation of value. Given the difficult conditions of climate, language diversity and distance in Melanesia, the Mission's commitment to the use of indigenous clergy, Melanesian languages, and the building of a Melanesian Christianity could certainly be interpreted as accommodation of necessity as well. Pragmatic necessity in this case, however, was supported by a general intellectual acceptance among members of the Mission of the concept

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<sup>102</sup>Stocking, Victorian Anthropology, p. 36.

of the intrinsic value of the culture of the "other." An Anglican missionary on the order of Patteson could, thanks to the Liberal Anglican effort at Christian restatement, reassure himself that the alien culture he encountered represented a manifestation of the Divine Idea. That that manifestation was incomplete and perhaps incomprehensible in no way diminished its value as part of God's ultimate plan. In that all men shared a common spiritual nature, the savage culture had its own potential for expressing the Christian Ideal.

So if the Liberal Anglican effort to expand the Christian Ideal and free it from the constraints of biblical literalism and historical accretions failed, on the whole, to strike a responsive cord in English society, it remained vitally important for the determined Christian in the mission field. Moreover, because it had lessened, through its adaption of Kant's division of knowledge, the potential tension between things scientific and things religious, it in a sense legitimized secular intellectual developments. In those developments, the missionary often discovered further reinforcement and justification for his mission methodology. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the almost symbiotic relationship of the Melanesian Mission and the emerging discipline of anthropology.